REBRANDING "MADE IN INDIA" THROUGH CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

– EXPLORING AND EXPANDING INDIAN PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

This exploratory study is a first attempt to translate the Indian cultural context from a socio-cultural, and legal perspective by identifying the values attributed to Indian textile craftsmanship by Indian textile and fashion stakeholders, and how their perspective is influenced by the global recognition and perception of Indian textile crafts and connotation of “Made in India”. At the same time the study investigates the meaning of *“sustainability”* in the Indian cultural context, in relation to textile craftsmanship, and how this relates to the Western concept of “sustainability”. Through field research in conjunction with a series of in-depth unstructured interviews, this study reveals that Cultural Sustainability is the dominating narrative in the Indian cultural context due to the prevalence of culturally embedded sustainability practices and the role of textile craftsmanship in sustaining livelihood, being a unique exercise of positioning Indian textile craftsmanship within a framework of cultural heritage as a valuable source of knowledge for sustainable practices in the fashion and textile industry. Unique about this study are the India-centric approach combined with the ethnicity of the subjects interviewed - who are, without exception, Indian nationals, whose work, voice and reputation are shaping India's contemporary textile craft-sustainability narrative (being referred to as the “*Indian textiles and fashion elite*”) and the framing of traditional craftsmanship from a legal perspective, introducing the notion of legal protection of traditional textile knowledge and traditional cultural expressions.

Keywords: Cultural Sustainability, Indian cultural context, Indian textile craftsmanship, traditional cultural expressions, traditional textile knowledge, “Made in India”, sustainability by design, culturally embedded sustainability practices

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1 Prologue[1]

Despite this being a scientific work, and thus the decision to write a prologue possibly coming across as unusual, we felt it important to introduce our future readers (*i.e. textile and fashion professionals, craftspeople and fashion and textile designers, students, academic researchers, entrepreneurs, the public at large interested in textiles and sustainability matters)* to the story of, and milestone events leading up to, *Rebranding "Made in India" through Cultural Sustainability - Exploring and Expanding Indian Perspectives.*

To facilitate the best understanding of this study and maximise its relevance for further research, we must talk about cross-disciplinarity and reveal our sources of inspiration. We must also emphasise that this study should not be seen in isolation but in connection with the previous actions that made it possible.

Crossing disciplines

Rebranding "Made in India" through Cultural Sustainability - Exploring and Expanding Indian Perspectives is not a conventional topic for textile management studies. Without a doubt the reader will identify a tendency for cross-disciplinarity as this study combines a socio-cultural, an economic, and a legal perspective. This is not the result of hazard but derives from the complementary and multidisciplinary academic backgrounds of the authors of this study. When a background in law and inter-cultural negotiations meets a background in textile technology, on the common ground of textile management, a research of this kind is prone to be the outcome.

To guide the reader for a better understanding of this work and the perspectives we are exploring, we would like to emphasise already at the beginning that the concept of *Rebranding* is not used in a marketing strategy sense or in the sense of creating something new, but refers to valorizing what is already there and thus shining light on the rich and skillful culturally embedded Indian textile craftsmanship and its potential to becoming a key asset for holistic sustainable development approaches.

Sources of inspiration

Arjo Klamer's book, *Doing the Right Thing* (2017), and the academic work it has inspired (*see Kotipalli, 2018; Mignosa and Kotipalli, 2019),* have been a key source of inspiration for formulating the topic and choosing the approach of this research. Klamer's (2017) words are illuminating when it comes to understanding why we chose to address in this study the multifaceted values of textile craftsmanship in the Indian cultural context, and its valorization as intangible asset and sustainability enabler.

> *"The exploration of a value based approach requires a frame, a set up that can get us going. Values evoke the notion of culture because culture is about values. How then can we give culture a meaningful role in a conversation about the economy? [...] I will propose that a value based economy is about the realization of values.*

[1] According to Oxford Languages Dictionary, a prologue is a separate introductory section of a literary, dramatic, or musical work.

> *Realization of values in turn signifies the awareness of and the valorization of values."* (Arjo Klamer, 2017, p.1)

We also wish to credit David Goldsmith's work as a source of inspiration, who has been a mentor and a friend since 2018. In dialogue with Simonetta Carbonaro (Carbonaro and Goldsmith, 2013) they talk about *Fashion and the Design of Prosperity* and how it embraces *"a humanistic ethos that celebrates the designing of a new economy of significance and meaningfulness*" (Carbonaro and Goldsmith, 2013, p. 588). To achieve this, they see the potential of handmade textiles, due to being scarce and intrinsically embedded with emotional resonance, to have a unique contribution to the global challenge of reaching sustainability through consuming fewer but more meaningful items. They also conclude that the recognition of global interdependence remains the key to a sustainable future. It is on this basis that we were convinced that an investigation of the textile related sustainability practices embedded in the Indian culture, and how they relate to the Western concept of "sustainability", is a subject that cannot suffer postponement.

Previous actions and continuity

Rebranding "Made in India" through Cultural Sustainability - Exploring and Expanding Indian Perspectives builds on the work developed under the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative®**.**

The Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative® (CIPRI) is a private initiative launched by Monica Boța-Moisin in April 2018, with the mission of supporting the recognition of cultural intellectual property rights for craftsmen and women who are custodians and transmitters of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions and eliminating culturally appropriative behaviour in the fashion industry by acting as mediator between the interests of fashion businesses and those of artisans and traditional creative communities. CIPRI supports Cultural Sustainability and fashion as a form of education and promotion of cultural heritage and traditional cultural expressions (CIPRI, 2018). With solid representation in India (*i.e. in 2020 CIPRI has 9 Member Projects in India),* the CIPRI Network has been an asset for the development of this study. As a result of the field research conducted in February 2020, Raphael Schreiber joined the CIPRI team focusing on the development of culturally sustainable strategies for mutually beneficial collaborations between fashion and textile brands and craftspeople. Developing this study in co-authorship therefore enabled continuity of team effort and practical implementation.

As previous actions for this study it is also relevant to mention the workshop tailored to "*Cultural Sustainability in Fashion*" developed by CIPRI and introduced to the Master Students in Fashion Marketing and Textile Value Chain Management at the Swedish School of Textiles, Borås, in December 2018, with the support of senior lecturer Jonas Larsson, and the field study report "*Profiles of Textile Artisans in Kutch, Gujarat, India*" (Boța-Moisin, 2020) developed with the support of Ahmedabad based internationally known luxury embroidery artist Asif Shaikh as Key Informant (*see also Section 2.3*).

2 Introduction

Quote:

Fabric and *fabricate* share a common Latin root, *fabrica*: 'something skillfully produced'. *Text* and *textile* are similarly related, from the verb *texere*, to weave.
Cloth-making is a creative act, analogous to other creative acts.
To spin tales (or yarns) is to exercise imagination.
Even more than weaving, spinning mounds of tiny fibres into usable threads turns nothing into something, chaos into order.

(Postrel, 2015, n.p.)

2.1 Background

Despite possibly being one of the global leaders in handcrafted textile production, known worldwide for its traditional textile heritage, India's international reputation for value associated with its handcrafted textile production is lagging far behind that of Japan, France or Italy. Referred to as an emerging market or emerging economy, in India, a country of the Global South, the price of handcrafting textiles is unquestionably lower than in any European country despite the fact that the level of skill and the culturally embedded craft culture place Indian craftspeople amongst the most talented textile makers worldwide. This combination of knowledge, skill and low production cost makes India an attractive sourcing destination for European luxury fashion brands including Chanel, the Kering Group or the Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy Group. However, in the fashion and textiles industries, the dynamic between the Global North and the Global South is still reminiscent of colonial relationships and chronic racism.

In 2019 and 2020 conversations on decolonising the fashion system have moved from the focus of anthropologists, activists and fashion and textile researchers to the fashion media outlets and global press platforms. In 2019 The Business of Fashion condemns the white supremacy associated with textile production from the Global North. Punjya (2019) writes that *"Made in Europe"* and *"Made in USA"* labels have asserted themselves as the gold (or should I say white) standard of luxury" while "Made in India" is associated by fashion industry leaders outside the country with products of "low-quality, assembled in sweatshops and pertaining to a "hippie dippie" or bohemian aesthetic" (Punjya, 2019, n.p.). And in 2020, Phillida Jay, writing for the same publication, talks about the "Respect Deficit" of luxury fashion brands in relation to Indian artisans. The same year, together with Paton and Schultz, Jay publishes in The New York Times an ample investigation into the "Hidden Indian Supply Chain" of European Luxury fashion stakeholders, revealing the chronic discrimination faced by Indian artisans working for European luxury fashion brands who underpay and undervalue them. In a play of double standards, the same luxury fashion stakeholders talk about social and environmental sustainability standards and request their craft suppliers to achieve these Western-created standards but refuse to pay the costs of compliance to them.

But in addressing the respect deficit of luxury fashion brands to Indian artisans Jay (2020) does not point only towards the colonial mindset of the West, and underlines that "undervaluing artisans [...] is endemic in the country because of its hereditary caste system, reinforced by the pernicious marginalisation of its large Muslim minority – many of whom work in the apparel and textiles industry" (Jay, 2020, n.p.) thus brining to light a topic little

analysed in fashion and textile industry research: the relevance of cultural context for the global fashion discourse.

In fact, cultural context seems to heavily influence a variety of elements relevant to the textile and fashion system: from the very definition of fashion (Simmel, 1957), to the understanding of the concept of "sustainability in fashion", or the dynamic and power relationships exerted in textile supply chains.
Researchers in both anthropology and fashion anthropology talk about the racism embedded in the operational definition of fashion (Niessen, 2020) and the systemic nullification of non-western systems of dress and Indigenous fashion histories, *"which have all too often been erased or reduced to a static snapshot in time, and qualified as 'traditional dress"* (Jansen, 2019, n.p.). Is then this "Respect Deficit" of luxury fashion brands in relation to Indian artisans that Jay (2020) talks about, a result and a consequence of the eurocentrism that defines fashion as a system? The answer is not a simple one, especially when craftspeople in India are pointing out exploitation and unfair treatment from Indian stakeholders (Kuldova, 2017; Jay, 2020).

The phenomena we are investigating are (i) the recognition, within India, of the values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship (focusing in particular on the extent to which this is influenced by/or influences the external recognition by the Global North) and (ii) understanding the meaning of *"sustainability"* in the Indian cultural context, in relation to textile craftsmanship, and how does this understanding relate to the Western concept of "sustainability".

To do that, this study places focus on Indian textile craftsmanship seen in relation to the following conceptual triumvirate: (I) Value (of/associated with craft), (II) Heritage, and (III) Sustainability.

The starting point was immersion in the Indian cultural context and investigation of the role of textile craftsmanship from three different perspectives: (I) the multiple values of textile craftsmanship in the Indian cultural context (value attribution) (II) textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset and (III) textile craftsmanship as a source of culturally embedded sustainability practices.

To illustrate the first relationship, current academic literature of Indian authorship emphasises the importance of Indian textile craft (i.e. *not craftsmanship*) for Indian fashion identity. Kumar and Dutta (2011) compare the position of textile craft in India with that in the West underlining that, unlike the West, where the position of craft is quite ambiguous in the world of art, in the Indian tradition art and craft are seen as one unified whole, and go a step further concluding that the *"soul of Indian fashion design lies in its rich cultural heritage"* (Kumar and Dutta, 2011, p.17). And while this may be true, what does it say about the values associated with textile craft, by Indian stakeholders, in the Indian context?

In fashion media outlets, authors non-native to India conclude that "having garments embellished in India (*i.e. as opposed to Europe*) can yield superior results due to its centuries-old traditions of craft and incredibly high levels of artisanal excellence" Jay (2020, n.p.). Jay also quotes Carlo Capasa, president of the Camera Nazionale della Moda Italiana, *"embroidery, especially on silk or accessories, is in the ancient Indian tradition. This is why embroidery made in India is so popular with luxury brands"*, emphasising that the value of

Indian textile craft stems from its heritage (i.e. embroidery) and is a determinant factor for its quality.

But what are the values that Indian textile and fashion industry stakeholders associate with Indian textile crafts? Besides being a determinant of the Indian fashion identity, textile craftsmanship is seen as a source of income and an instrument of freedom from a colonial past (Carbonaro and Goldsmith, 2013). A value-based approach to cultural economics (Klamer, 2016) is increasingly attracting scholarly attention and following the body of work pioneered by Klamer, Kotipalli, Mignosa and more, our research is looking at Indian textile craftsmanship through the same lens. Klamer is not shy to point out the failure of the fashion industry and society in general, to recognise the importance of craftsmanship for the world of the arts and the economy at large.

To illustrate the second relationship, this research points towards a body of academic research pertaining to the field of law which qualifies craft knowledge as an intangible asset and ties it to intangible property and intellectual property rights. In this field of research, the same dichotomy between the West and "the Other" comes at play. With the current international intellectual property law system not offering adequate protection for Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions, designs and patterns pertaining to non-western systems of dress and Indigenous fashion histories can be appropriated by Western fashion system stakeholders without legal consequences. Moreover, paradoxically, these intangible assets are often converted to assets of the Western stakeholders through the use of conventional intellectual property tools such as copyright and trademark. In a case study focused on Indonesia, Halliburton and Aragon (2012) accurately summarise the status-quo by pointing out that *"The cultural knowledge of the less powerful — Third World and indigenous peoples [..] — becomes raw material for commercial appropriation and intellectual property enclosure by First World corporations and their representatives"* (Halliburton and Aragon, 2012, p. 280).

Cross-disciplinary research on textile craft knowledge as an intangible asset has emerged in the past years, but is still scarce, with *"Traditional Craftsmanship as Intangible Cultural Heritage and an Economic Factor in Austria"*, a study published in 2019 by The Austrian Federal Chancellery, being one of the most comprehensive works up to date. Focusing on the Indian case, our study adds therefore an element of novelty to the existing research by questioning to what extent is textile craftsmanship seen as an intangible asset in the Indian cultural context?

Last but not least, this research looks at the meaning of the concept of sustainability within the Indian cultural context and at the culturally embedded sustainability practices that textile craftsmanship reveals.

A white paper published by The Voice of Fashion, a fashion media outlet, titled *India Sustainability Report 2020. Science and Sentiment* concludes that in India most people mistake handmade as synonymous of [with] sustainability. But is this indeed a mistake or is it an indication of the fact that in the Indian context sustainability is intimately related to the craft economy and therefore Cultural Sustainability is the dominating narrative?

In fashion management and fashion marketing studies research on this topic is scarce, with only two authors specifically addressing the relevance of textile craftsmanship for sustainability: Arti Sandhu's *Fashioning Wellbeing Through Craft* (2020) and Matthew

Kiem's (2011) *Theorising a transformative agenda for craft.* The two works themselves are testament to the dependability of the notion of sustainability to that of cultural context. For Sandhu (of Indian descent) sustainability is equated to social wellbeing embedded in craft-based activities, whilst Kiem (2011) equates sustainability to the notion of sustainment, understood as *"an immense cultural project, encompassing changes to everything to everything that underscores our sense of being in the world, including economies, material and symbolic structures, knowledge, embodied experience, and social relations"* (Kiem, 2011, p. 5) and he proposes a reformation of the craft ecosystem to attain sustainment, as a goal for the future. Is Kiem imposing a Global Northern view on the craft economy? Without reference to Kiem's work Sandhu makes a general statement in her paper which is relevant for this research, namely that in the academic research that focuses on sustainability strategies/practices for the fashion and textiles industry, the voices of the relevant Indian stakeholders are not represented: *"[Now] the "West" is taking a U-turn…So the East must sit up and listen again… Unfortunately, no international conference bothers to ask people trapped on this side of the supply chain what sustainability means to them"* (Sandhu, 2020, p. 173).

To fill this gap, the current research is looking at this triumvirate of relationships for two reasons: (1) to present the perspectives of Indian textile and fashion stakeholders on what sustainability means to them and (2) to challenge the reduction of Indian textile crafts to tangible assets and focus on textile craftsmanship as intangible asset in the Indian context and the added value derived from this qualification.

What is unique about this work is the India-centric approach combined with the ethnicity of the subjects interviewed - who are, without exception, Indian nationals, whose work, voice and reputation are shaping India's contemporary textile craft-sustainability narrative. For the purpose of this study, we refer to them as representatives of the *"Indian textiles and fashion elite"*.

This research presents a collective overview of their views, which are at times conflicting, at times overlapping, and at times complementary, being a unique exercise of positioning Indian textile craftsmanship within a framework of cultural heritage as a valuable source of knowledge for sustainable practices in the fashion and textile industry.

Finally, this research is an exercise of translation of the Indian cultural context for textile professionals and consumers in the European Union. In today's socio-economic context it is essential to practice and enable cultural empathy, a condition sine-qua-non for long-term sustainable development. According to Klamer (2019) "Consumers" participate in the shared practice that is a craft as well and it is therefore essential that they understand the cultural meaning of craft.

2.2 Research problem

The Research problem is of theoretical nature. It refers to the cross-disciplinary study of a phenomenon that has not been closely studied, namely *the role of textile craftsmanship, as an intangible asset and element of cultural heritage, in understanding the meaning of "sustainability" in the Indian cultural context, based on the opinions of contemporary Indian textile and fashion stakeholders.*

The fact that the opinions of Indian stakeholders on the meaning of "sustainability" is not researched and validated at a global level has been problematized by Sandhu in 2020:

"[Now] the "West" is taking a U-turn…So the East must sit up and listen again… Unfortunately, no international conference bothers to ask people trapped on this side of the supply chain what sustainability means to them" (Sandhu, 2020, p. 173, i.e. *Sandhu's Appeal for inclusion of Indian Voices in the Global Sustainability in Fashion Narrative*). According to Gaurav Jai Gupta - one of the Key Informants for this research - founder of the textiles and lifestyle brand Akaaro and thought leader of the contemporary luxury fashion scene in India, *"Sustainability is not measurable. It is a personal commitment"*.

Understanding that "sustainability" is seen as a Western concept and that it is not understood the same globally, we added a cross-disciplinary filter to Sandhu's problematisation, starting the discussion from the values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship from a socio-cultural, and legal perspective.

Why textile craftsmanship as a starting point? According to Donkin (2001), textile craftsmanship plays a fundamental role in defining the Indian national and ethnic identity and culture, aspects that undoubtedly influence the meaning of "sustainability" in this cultural context. From defining cultural identity (Donkin, 2001) and being regarded as intangible cultural heritage of India (Gillow and Barnard, 2008; Singh et al., 2000), to being an essential and central element in the creation of fashion (Sandhu, 2020) as well as a source of livelihood and a key contributing factor to the Indian economy and its participation in global textile trade (Kotipalli, 2018), the understanding of European fashion and textile stakeholders and consumers of the meaning of textile craftsmanship in the Indian context is fragmented and dissociated from the concept of *sustainability*. Concluding on the basis of existing research in cultural, business and fashion studies, **textile craftsmanship is inherent to the Indian cultural context and defines it**, so to some extent, sustainability in fashion in India might be seen, by Indian stakeholders, in relation to textile craftsmanship.

In addressing the core aspects of the Research Problem - i.e the *"sustainability" phenomenon* (Campbell and Mollica, 2009) in the Indian cultural context, and *the values associated with traditional textile craftsmanship* in the Indian cultural context - the following aspects are relevant: the influence of the Colonial time on the Indian cultural context and the Indian fashion and textile industry (Ghosh and Ghosh, 1995; McGowan, 2009; Mayer, 2018; Jansen, 2019; Niessen, 2020), the globally perceived supremacy of *Made in Europe (*Punjya, 2019) and prejudice of *Made in India* (Ballyn, 2018; Punjya, 2019), the internal conflict within India between tradition and modernity (Chatterjee, 1988; McGowan, 2009; Venkatesan, 2009; Wood, 2012; Kotipalli, 2018; Mamidipudi, 2019), the multi-faceted value of craftsmanship in the world (UNESCO-WIPO, 1985; WIPO, 2004; Kotipalli, 2018; Buckley and Peters, 2019;) and the dominant perception on the value of textile crafts in India (Kotipalli, 2018 - especially the relevance of the terminology *crafts vs craftsmanship*).

This Research Problem is placed at the intersection of cultural and communication studies, studies on the craft economy and textile value chains, and legal studies on intangible cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions.

2.3 Research aim

2.3.1 Purpose

The main purpose of this research is to understand what are the values associated to Indian textile craftsmanship by Indian textile and fashion stakeholders, and to show that textile craftsmanship in India is a source of culturally embedded sustainability practices and so the

understanding of "sustainability" in the Indian cultural context is intrinsically connected to textile craftsmanship (*which is an intangible asset and defining element of Indian cultural heritage).*

In subsidiary, this research aims to contribute to an emerging body of work investigating Cultural Sustainability in fashion (Boța-Moisin, 2018 and 2020; Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative®, 2018) that looks at the way textile craftsmanship and the hereditary transmission of traditional textile knowledge from generation to generation is understood, enabled or damaged by fashion and textile industry stakeholders, by applying the lens of legal perspective.

Cultural Sustainability, as a concept, refers to the sustainability of cultural and artistic practices and knowledge, including, without limitation, identity formation and expression, cultural heritage conservation, aspects related to cultural continuity, as well as the role of cultural traits and actions as determinants of sustainable societies and sustainable living (Kangas, Duxbury, and De Beukelaer, 2017). From a legal perspective, textile craftsmanship falls in the category of Traditional Knowledge (TK) and Traditional Cultural Expressions (TCEs). Traditional Knowledge is defined as a living body of knowledge that is passed down from generation to generation in a community, often being part of the community's cultural or spiritual identity (World Intellectual Property Organization, n.d.). This knowledge includes skills, know-how and practices related to and associated with the production of textiles. TCEs on the other hand, are the expressions in which this knowledge is embodied. They can be tangible or intangible, or a combination of both. TK and intangible TCEs are also referred to as intangible cultural heritage. To ensure a better understanding of the "sustainability" phenomenon in the Indian cultural context, we believed it relevant for textile and fashion stakeholders in Europe to be introduced to the legal framework addressing the use and distribution of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions, especially in the context of the increasingly debated phenomenon of cultural appropriation in fashion (Stall-Meadows, 2018; Vézina, 2019).

In the context of fashion and textiles, Cultural Sustainability refers to transmitting or supporting the knowledge transfer of traditional textile knowledge and cultural expressions to future generations by integrating traditional craftsmanship in contemporary fashion and textile supply chains (Boța-Moisin, 2018), as well as acknowledging, respecting, protecting and continuing inherited culturally embedded sustainability orientated traits and actions reflected in sustainable design, sustainable production and consumption patterns.

Building on Kotipalli's research (2018), who studies in depth and reflects on the positioning of the crafts sector in India between two framings, i.e. the heritage framing and the creative industries framing (Vencatachellum, 2018), proposing a change of positioning by applying a value-based approach to the economics of intangible cultural heritage in India, this research examines Indian textile craftsmanship within the framework of (I) Value, (II) Heritage, and (III) Sustainability, providing a translation of the Indian cultural context for textile professionals and consumers in the European Union that merges a cultural, an economic and a legal perspective.

2.3.2 Research questions

Based on real-life, candid interactions with textile and fashion designers, textile craft professionals and artisans in India, and immersion in the Indian cultural context, this research reveals *how contemporary Indian textile and fashion industry stakeholders see the value of*

Indian textile craftsmanship for India, and what do they believe "sustainability" means in the Indian cultural context. (Main research question)

This subsequently enables the determination of a correlation between textile craftsmanship and sustainability in the Indian cultural context, revealing what is "sustainable", and the extent to which Indian textile craftsmanship, as an element of intangible cultural heritage and an intangible asset, influences the meaning *of* "sustainability" in the Indian cultural context. *(Sub-question)*

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this research consists of a main theory pertaining to the field of cultural economics and fundamented by Arjo Klamer in his book "Doing the Right Thing - A Value Based Economy" (2017) - *The Value Based Approach*, supported by a subsidiary theory pertaining to the field of anthropology - *Cultural Relativism* - promoted in anthropological research by Franz Boas, and the concept of *Legal Protection of Traditional Knowledge (TK) and Traditional Cultural Expressions (TCEs)*, pertaining to the field of law (*see* the establishment of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore.

2.4.1 Main Theory: The Value Based Approach

According to Klamer, a value-based economy is about the realization of values. Realization of values in turn signifies the awareness of and the valorization of values (2017). *The Value Based Approach* is seen by its proponents as an alternative to using neoclassical economics tools for the arts and cultural heritage, providing new framings to interpret the cultural sector beyond the realms of the orthodox economic thinking (Kotipalli, 2019). *The Value Based Approach* extends the term *economic value* to encompass a wide set of intangible values of craft beyond the purely economic ones resulting from a demand-supply algorithm, such as the value of craftsmanship as intangible heritage, which are not explored in the neoclassical approach to crafts (Kotipalli, 2019).

The Value Based Approach implies the realization of values within a cultural context. For Klamer (2017), cultural context is determined by a combination of culture in the anthropological sense - *material culture as well as symbols, identities and values that a group of people shares and with which they distinguish themselves from other people* - and culture in the sense of the sum of *achievements* that define nations, or a group of people in a certain region, *over a long period of time in the arts, sciences, technology, politics and social customs.*

Applying *The Value Based Approach* to the craft economy, and to textile craftsmanship in the Indian context in particular, this implies analysing the multiple values of textile craftsmanship in the Indian cultural context (*the intrinsic values of craftsmanship - e.g. the value of craftsmanship as intangible heritage, textile craftsmanship as an element of cultural identity, conveyor of sacred meanings, symbol of independence etc.*) and investigating the values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship by those who are directly involved in valorizing Indian textile craftsmanship (*the extrinsic values of craft)* - in this particular scenario fashion and textile industry stakeholders.

2.4.2 Subsidiary Theory: Cultural Relativism

According to Franz Boas, who introduced *Cultural Relativism* to anthropological research at the beginning of the 20th century, not only an individual's knowledge but also emotions are the result of the form of the social life and of the history of the people to whom one belongs. Boas conceived cultures as bounded wholes, stressing the singularity, diversity, and incommensurability of cultural systems (Caduff, 2011). Boas argued that each culture has to be understood on its own terms and that it would be scientifically misleading to judge and rank other cultures according to a Western, ethnocentric perspective (Eriksen, 1995; 2001).

In the context of this research, Cultural Relativism gives a particularly important perspective on Indian textile craftsmanship with regard to its role as determinant of Indian fashion identity, its valuation discrepancies (from heritage textiles and luxury craftsmanship to "low-quality" associated with "Made in India"), and the perspectives of Indian textile and fashion stakeholders on the value of textile craftsmanship for India and the meaning of "sustainability" in the Indian cultural context.

2.4.3 The Concept of Legal Protection of TK and TCEs

In relation to Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions, the notion of *protection* is understood and used in two different ways. The two types of *protection of TK and TCEs* can be cumulated and do not exclude each other. In the field of fashion and textile studies, most research however focuses on the UNESCO sense of protection of TK and TCEs.
In the sense provided by the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage ("the 2003 Convention"), *protection* means "preservation" and "safeguarding". This means the identification, documentation, transmission, revitalization and promotion of cultural heritage in order to ensure its maintenance or viability. To this end UNESCO has 3 lists for inscribing cultural practices and expressions of intangible heritage: The *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding,* the *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding,* and the *Register of Good Safeguarding Practices. There are traditional textile craft techniques (TK) and traditional textile cultural expressions (TCEs) inscribed on these lists but this* inscription does not provide any legal protection.

The 2005 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions ("the 2005 Convention") defines "Cultural activities, goods and services" as activities, goods and services, which embody or convey cultural expressions, irrespective of the commercial value they may have. Cultural activities may be an end in themselves, or they may contribute to the production of cultural goods and services and in article 13 calls for the integration of culture in sustainable development policies of all Member States. The notions of *cultural good* and *cultural activity* as defined by the 2005 Convention are relevant for our investigation, especially in relation to Indian textiles as an object of trade, and in relation to the concept of cultural sustainability.

Unlike protection in the UNESCO sense, protection in the WIPO sense refers to legal protection against **unauthorized copying**, **adaptation** and **use** of TK and TCEs by third parties. Legal protection can be obtained, to an extent, and depending on jurisdiction, through conventional intellectual property tools such as copyright, trademarks, certification marks, collective marks, or geographical indications, through laws of unfair competition or consumer protection, or through *sui-generis* legislation dedicated specifically to the protection, distribution and use of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural

Expressions. In respect to the latter, in September 2009 the WIPO Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore (IGC) was established. Currently the WIPO IGC undertakes text-based negotiations to finalise an agreement on an international legal instrument *(or more)* for the protection of TK, TCEs, and genetic resources (GRs).

The frameworks and visions of UNESCO and WIPO include internal inconsistencies and interorganizational incompatibilities which have not been harmonised up to date. For that reason, the two organisations now maintain *a modus vivendi* where, officially, UNESCO focuses on programs for "safeguarding" cultural heritage while WIPO focuses on the legal "protection" of intellectual and cultural property (Halliburton and Aragon, 2012). Therefore, *protection* in the UNESCO sense and *protection* in the WIPO sense should not be confused.

Legal protection of TK and TCEs, in the WIPO sense, is relevant to our investigation especially in relation to the lack of due recognition of "Made in India" by European fashion and textile stakeholders who source Indian textile craftsmanship.

2.5 Limitations

Given the complexity of the Research Problem, this study should be seen as "scratching the surface" in order to prepare the ground for long-term action research. It is the first immersive step which needs to be complemented by further in-depth research in order to translate the Indian cultural context in its relevant complexity, for textile and fashion stakeholders.
The small size of the chosen sample is a limitation of this research and underlines the necessity for further investigation and allocation of resources for such cross-cultural research. Additionally, the fact that there was only one round of interviews can be seen as a limiting aspect since it allowed only for capturing the perspectives of the respondents at one particular time and day. The limited time available for the whole study and for the stay in India in particular can, linked to the exploratory nature of this research, be seen as a limitation. This consequently underlines the importance to continue building on these conversations with the respondents and further explore and translate the Indian cultural context.

2.6 Terminology

Certain terms used throughout this study determine concepts of great complexity and are susceptible of multiple interpretations (such as *Cultural context, Cultural Sustainability, Traditional,* and *Value*), or must be understood in context and in conjunction with their relationships with other concepts (i.e. *Craftsmanship* in light of the relationship between the tangible craft good and the intangible craft knowledge, *Decolonization* in relation to the fashion system and the mind, and *Sustainability* in relation to fashion and textiles).

We refer to *Cultural context* as a sum of cultural determinants relevant to the beliefs, values, and practices of the culture under study, emphasising that cultures are dynamic and fluid entities, not static, individualistic or collectivistic to different extents, and that value orientations and sources and knowledge of human development can differ to a great extent among cultures and even within the same culture determining their homogeneity or heterogeneity (Khalakdina, 2008).

The concept of *Cultural Sustainability* and its expression in a fashion and textiles context is explained in *Section 1.3.1*

The connotation of the word *Traditional* throughout this study is referenced in the last paragraph of Section 3.3.

The term *Value* (both as a noun and as a verb) is used *lato-sensu.* As a noun it is used with ethical, cultural and economic connotation and as a verb it should be interpreted as including the processes of value attribution, value association and value recognition (i.e. *valorization).*

The choice for the systematic use of the term *Craftsmanship* in the syntagms *"Indian textile craftsmanship", "traditional textile craftsmanship",* and *"textile craftsmanship"* is deliberate and underlines the importance of recognizing the intangible element of knowledge involved in creating the craft goods. The relationship between *craftsmanship* and *craft* in relation to the concepts of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), Traditional Knowledge (TK) and Traditional Cultural Expressions (TCEs) is illustrated in *Section 3.2.*

For the term Decolonization in relation to the fashion system, we make direct reference to the definition of the term provided in *The Sustainable Fashion Glossary* (Condé Nast et al., 2020).

We frame the concept of sustainability *lato-sensu*, as a *"way of life in which human and natural systems co-exist in a balanced and non-destructive way that enables continuous prosperity and well-being for all"* (Condé Nast et al., 2020, n.p). We see sustainability as *"an ongoing process that draws on the interdependence of culture, society, economy and the environment, while constantly considering how they affect each other"* (Condé Nast et al., 2020, n.p.), recognising four aspects of sustainability equally important - cultural, social, environmental, and economic. Through the study we sometimes use the term between quotation marks *("Sustainability")* to emphasise the difference in understanding and measurement of sustainability in India and in the Western world.

3 Methodology

3.1 Research approach

The nature of this research is exploratory. India-centric, focused on valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship and on providing insights and perspectives on sustainability in the Indian context, this study covers scarcity of previous research on the topic. Exploratory research does not aim to provide clearly defined and concluded evidence, but rather to address and better understand a newly defined problem (Saunders et al., 2010; Brown, 2006). Consequently, this research of exploratory nature will remain flexible and adaptable to provide space for illumination of this topic henceforth.

Keeping with its India-centric orientation, the exploratory nature of the research is combined with an inductive approach. The choice for an inductive approach is guided by Blumer's (1969) explanation of the link between theory and the empirical world, where theory is valuable in empirical science only to the extent to which it connects fruitfully to the empirical world. Reflecting this postulation, field research was conducted in India investigating the following phenomena: (i) the recognition, within India, of the values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship (focusing in particular on the extent to which this is influenced by/or influence the external recognition by the Global North) and (ii) understanding the meaning of *"sustainability"* in the Indian cultural context, in relation to textile craftsmanship.

The inductive approach aligns with Sandhu's (2020) appeal to directly involve Indian stakeholders in the sustainability conversion and ensures an authentic and unbiased focus on Indian perspectives which enables the formulation of theories or insightful empirical generalisations based on them. Finally, the data points collected are analysed and discussed, reflecting a contemporary perspective on Indian textile craftsmanship in the global fashion and textile sustainability context.

To enhance the significance and applicability of the data collected, previous theories and research were studied extensively (Gilgun, 2001) (*see Sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3*). These previous theories and literature serve as a basis of understanding the research problem as well as identifying existing gaps of consideration by the interview participants. However, the primary focus of this study lies on the empirical data collected through real-life interactions with the respondents during field research conducted in India.

An important aspect to mention is the constellation of the two researchers working together for the development of the study. A particular feature of this dynamic is that one of the researchers had previous experience of immersing in the Indian cultural context through fieldwork whilst for the other this was a first interaction with the Indian culture. This particular dynamic led to a balancing of perspectives and overall reduction of bias related to both emotional involvement with the research problem or culture shock. The techniques of feedback and debriefing were constantly used by the researchers, as well as note-taking and journaling. This ensured multiple filtering stages enhancing objectivity in processing the data.

3.2 Research design and method

The design of this research is qualitative based on the inductive approach and the exploratory nature as well as the unstructured and flexible specificity of the empirical data. The choice of this qualitative research design rejects a positivist view and thus the application of natural scientific models and emphasises the way individuals perceive and interpret their professional and social environment (Bryman, 2012). The value of a qualitative research design is to observe and interview people in the context of their natural environment and thus gain an in-depth understanding of those individuals (Rossman and Rallis, 2017). In contrast to a quantitative approach, it is important to engage with the social, cultural as well as professional context with all possible complexities of a person not having any control or making any prior predictions and thereby without pulling that person out of his or her natural environment. As a practical implementation of the qualitative design, a 4-week field research was conducted in India between February 1st and February 28th 2020.

Field research involves studying real-life situations and participating and interviewing people in their daily lives. The common and applicable methods used in this context are unstructured, flexible and open-ended (Burgess, 2015). Accordingly, unstructured interviews were conducted with all respondents which consequently varied in length and content focus. In the course of this 4-week field research, we immersed ourselves in the Indian culture as well as in the private and professional environments of the respondents. Despite this involvement and immersion in this culture, we were conscious of the importance of maintaining an outsider's perspective, having constant feedback sessions as research partners and developing a constant self-criticism and self-awareness in order to ensure a balance between inclusion and detachment (Burgess, 2015).

3.3 Sampling

For choosing the respondents the snowball sampling strategy was used. Snowball sampling is a form of nonprobability sampling (non-random) used for difficult-to-reach populations, communities and individuals (Thompson, 2012). The underlying strategy of snowball sampling involves an initial identification and interviewing of one or more individuals who meet relevant characteristics and criteria for the ongoing research (Kawamura, 2020). These individuals are then asked about other contacts who have similar characteristics as themselves or are generally relevant to the progression of the study. For this research, all respondents can be labeled as Indian textile and fashion elite, characterised by being highly aware of the value of Indian craftsmanship and having the means and resources to communicate this awareness and valorize Indian textile craftsmanship in their work, thus creating direct impact in the textile and fashion space.

The snowball strategy used for this study can be described as a modified form of the defined *linear snowball sampling* and the *exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling*. In linear snowball sampling, the formation of the sample starts with one subject who makes only one further recommendation, and this in turn also only makes one further recommendation. In exponential non-discriminative snowball sampling, on the other hand, the first subject makes several interview recommendations and these in turn make several more until a sufficient number of subjects is reached (Dudovskiy, 2016).

The snowball strategy for this research started with 2 initial subjects referred to as the Key Informants since all interviews conducted for this study can be traced back to these two contacts.

Key informant 1:

Asif Shaikh (Embroidery specialist, head of Studio Asif, Co-founder of the Craft Design Society Art Foundation (CDS Art Foundation), based in Ahmedabad)

"Asif was fascinated by embroidery from a young age watching his mother embroider and transform a plain piece of cloth into an object of beauty and art. He finished his schooling and studied Interior Design at the School of Interior Design (CEPT). His deep sense for aesthetics, attention to detail and thirst for understanding how things are designed and produced made him explore different traditional textile techniques.

He developed thorough knowledge of weaving techniques, printing and dyeing, natural colors, embellishing techniques, yarns and threads, and all the different tools and apparatus that go into making and presenting a finished textile and garment.

He established his eponymous studio in 2002, embroidered himself and taught different embroidery techniques to a team of artisans."

(CIPRI, 2020, Page: https://www.culturalintellectualproperty.com/asif-shaikh)

Key informant 2:

Gaurav Jai Gupta (Fashion and textile designer, founder of contemporary fashion brand Akaaro, based in New Delhi)

(bio see 2.5.1 Table 1: List of respondents)

Access to the Key Informants has been facilitated through the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative Network. Both Key Informants are members of the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative and were the first contact persons for the start of the field research in India.

The advantages of snowball sampling as formulated by Dudovskiy (2016) are also the reasons this strategy was chosen for this research, namely:

(I) Possibility of recruiting hard-to-reach people: Possibility of recruiting hard to reach Indian textile and fashion stakeholders on the ground.

(II) Possibility of cost-effective primary data collection: As the 4-week field research in India was entirely self-funded, the planning was subject to the private budget at our disposal.

(III) Snowball sampling studies can be conducted in a short period of time: This was important for the limited duration of the stay in India, which could not exceed 4 weeks due to the available research budget.

(IV) There is little planning involved in starting the primary data collection: Since immersion in a different cultural context requires a lot of flexibility, adaptability to unexpected situations and spontaneity, a structured interview agenda planned in advance could prove problematic. In retrospect, this flexibility was the essential prerequisite for collecting the primary data for this study in the Indian context during this period.

3.4 Ethics

In conducting the field research for this study, strict care was taken to avoid any harm, both physical and psychological, to any active participants of the interviews as well as to people around them (Kawamura, 2020). To avoid any form of negative consequences for the participants as a result of the research, full transparency was ensured. Accordingly, the respondents were informed about the research in general as well as its objective and direction before the interview began. Likewise, their consent was asked for the audio recording, the later transcription of their statements as well as the mentioning of their names in the written elaboration of the research. Participants were informed prior to the interview that they could interrupt the recording at any time or indicate if they did not want certain parts of the interview to be on record. Consequently, off-the-record information was not transcribed and is not included in the data analysis. All participation was entirely voluntary.

The immersion into the Indian culture for the field research required a special sensitivity for the local cultural specificities. As all interviews took place in the private or professional environment of the respondents, the respondents were met with the greatest possible empathy and respect in order to do justice to the sensitivity of this setting. Accordingly, all types of demeaning or insensitive questions were strictly avoided, and personal matters were approached respectfully.

To ensure a responsible and honest analysis and presentation of the data, this was done with a high degree of objectivity. This objective approach is central to avoid misinterpretation of the data which would affect the credibility of the results (Saunders et al., 2010). Consequently, all perspectives of the respondents were taken into account and presented according to their original content. Integral transcriptions of the interviews are provided in *Appendix 1*.

3.5 Sources

3.5.1 Primary sources

As mentioned previously, unstructured interviews were used as the method for collecting the empirical data. Thus, the content of these interviews forms the primary data of this research and the interview transcriptions represent the primary sources (*see Appendix 1)*. In most cases, the Key Informants contacted the recommended respondents themselves informing them about our intention to conduct an interview for this study. The Key Informants subsequently provided us with the contact details of the recommended respondents for arranging personal meetings. A total of 6 in-depth interviews were carried out in three different locations across India: New Delhi, Ahmedabad and Mumbai.

The respondents for this research and their profiles are listed below in terms of interview order:

Respondent	Occupation
Respondent 1 (R1) *(New Delhi)*	- Former President of Delhi Crafts Council. Continues to be closely involved in the Council's activities; - Graduate of the School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi; - Joined the Delhi Crafts Council in 1986 after a few years of working on architectural projects; - Has worked on multidimensional aspects related to crafts including exhibitions, design projects, documentation and workshops.
Anjana Das (AD) *(New Delhi)*	- Fashion designer; - Founder and head of Delhi based fashion label White Champa; - Studied Indology in Göttingen and London; - Trained as a tailor in Thailand; - Worked several years with Jean-François Lesage in Chennai; - Member of the Advisory Board of the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative®.
Gaurav Jai Gupta (GG) *(New Delhi)*	- Textile and fashion designer; - Founder and head of New Delhi based fashion label Akaaro; - Trained in textile and fashion design at Chelsea College of Art and Design London and National Institute of Fashion Technology New Delhi; - Awards: Grazia Young Fashion Award 2011, Designer of the year award: International Apparel Federation Mexico 2011; - Akaaro is a member of the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative®.
Respondent 4 (R4) *(Ahmedabad)*	- Co-founder of CDS Art Foundation with Asif Shaikh; - Graduate from M.S University Vadodara Fine Arts Faculty and post-graduate from the National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad; - 34 years of experience in the field of handicrafts; - Has worked 12 years as a Chief Designer and Production Coordinator with State Government Corporation and Government of Gujarat in the textile and handicrafts sector; - Established the National Institute of Fashion Technology in Gandhinagar and served as a director for 6 years; - Founded Design Deals in 2013, a design studio to serve designers and skilled artisans from all over Gujarat and to promote sustainable fashion.

Rupa Trivedi (RT) *(Mumbai)*	- Founder of ADIV Pure Nature; - Identifies as an urban artisan.
Padmaja Krishnan (PK) *(Mumbai)*	- Fashion designer; - Founder and head of textiles and clothing brand Padmaja; - Studied Commerce at Kolkata University and Fashion Design at National Institute of Fashion Technology, New Delhi.

Table 1: List of Respondents

3.5.2 Secondary sources

As indicated in *Section 1.1*, investigations for this research began from the emerging conversations about decolonising the fashion system that have found their way into fashion media outlets and the global press in 2019 and 2020. The still prevalent contrasting connotations of "Made in Europe" and "Made in USA" versus "Made in India" described therein, along with the associated respect deficit of luxury fashion brands towards Indian textile artisans, brought to our attention the importance and relevance of highlighting the Indian cultural context for the global fashion discourse.

Two phenomena related to Indian textile craftsmanship in the Indian cultural context were found relevant for investigation and were consequently analysed by means of the conceptual triumvirate (I) Value (of/associated with textile craftsmanship), (II) (Cultural) Heritage as intangible asset, and (III) Sustainability. This conceptual triumvirate, and the 3 relationships with textile craftsmanship it generated (*i.e. (I) value attribution to textile craftsmanship in the Indian cultural context (II) textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset and (III) textile craftsmanship as a source of culturally embedded sustainability practices*), served as a basis and framework for the literature research.

The secondary sources used are peer-reviewed academic articles, reports and books in the fields of Fashion Management, Fashion Marketing, Law, Anthropology, Economics, Social Sciences, Indology and History. All sources were found through a systematic keyword search using SCOPUS, the library database PRIMO of the Hogskolan i Borås, Google Scholar and the Google search engine. Various key words and key word combinations were used with regard to the triumvirate and the relationships associated with it. The most relevant keywords and keyword combinations can be listed as follows:

- Craft, India, History
- Textile Craftsmanship
- India, Colonialism
- Indian Fashion
- Sustainability, India, Textile
- Textile Heritage, India
- Intangible cultural heritage, craft, tradition
- Value, India, craft
- Traditional Knowledge, Traditional Cultural Expressions
- Intellectual Property (Rights)
- Handicrafts, cultural heritage
- Cultural currency

In order to identify further relevant sources, in addition to the keyword search carried out, sources listed in these publications and which had not been identified by the previous keyword search, were used. Due to the general scarcity of relevant academic literature for this research problem, older publications were considered in equal measure to the most recent ones. Accordingly, no date-based exclusion procedure was applied and consequently a holistic literary background was formed with all existing relevant literature.

3.6 Collection of empirical data

Unstructured interviews were carried out for the collection of the empirical data. This method is aligned with the inductive approach of the research, since no hypotheses should be made beforehand given that the purpose of this methodology is theory development as opposed to theory testing (Denzin, 1989; Robertson and Boyle, 1984). Unstructured interviews are very close to the characteristics of a normal conversation and are a very helpful method to thoroughly understand a certain phenomenon in a certain cultural context (Burgess, 1984; Yan and Wildemuth, 2009). This is based on the assumption that the researcher wants to understand the phenomenon through the individual perspective of those who are part of that particular context.

In unstructured interviews, no predefined questions are asked and there is no defined and structured agenda of the interview process. However, this does not mean that this method is entirely random and non-directional. The start of unstructured interviews must be preceded by detailed and extensive research in order to gain deep insights of the subjects and the phenomenon attached to them (Patton, 2002). Applied to this study, the phenomena under investigation and the conceptual triumvirate linked to them served as a guideline for all interviews conducted. As a result, the conversations began with a guiding question in order to then respond individually to the respective statements and allow a natural flow of conversation to develop. If there was a feeling of moving too far away from the phenomena under investigation, we returned the conversation to a relevant context with a question or a statement, remaining conscious of the purpose of the research despite the unstructured nature of the interview (Fife, 2005). All interviews were conducted in one go and without changing locations. The length of the interviews varied between 45 to 60 minutes.

The interviews took place in the private as well as professional settings of the interviewees. Accordingly, we were invited to their private premises or to their work facilities and design studios. Since the audio recordings were usually accompanied by a pleasant personal encounter, during which the interviewees were informed about our research and our project, the interview atmosphere was very intimate and all respondents opened up in a very profound and passionate manner. The trust placed in us by the interviewees was not least due to the two Key Informants, who the respondents knew well, as well as to the work conducted by the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative, which was appreciated and perceived as important by all interviewees. Collecting the data through unstructured interviews was the appropriate way to capture the India-centric focus of this study. It gave the interviewees the necessary space to explain their experiences and perspectives in an unconstrained manner, thus creating an authentic reflection that is not subject to external guidelines.

3.7 Transcription of empirical data

Since all respondents agreed to an audio recording of the interview as well as to its subsequent use in written form, the six interviews were transcribed in their entirety. Due to the very tight schedule during the stay in India, the transcription was done upon return to

Europe. The transcription was done in direct form, but filler words, longer pauses and interruptions during the conversations were shortened because they had no contextual relevance. The passages of the interview with Gaurav Jai Gupta were merged due to several interruptions and thus transcribed as a coherent conversation. None of the respondents expressed the wish to remove certain passages from the recorded interview. Accordingly, all transcribed interviews can be considered complete and without any gaps.

3.8 Coding and analysis

For the coding of the primary data, recurring data patterns in the transcribed interviews were clustered under different topic blocks under the three pillars of the triumvirate (I) Values, (II) (Cultural) Heritage as intangible asset, and (III) Sustainability ("the thematic pillars"). The identified topic blocks were listed in tabular form and allocated to each thematic pillar by colour (*See Appendix 2)*. Overlapping or complementary topics were thematically combined to avoid redundancy.

Accordingly, the most relevant topic blocks form the framework for the analysis of the empirical data (*see Table below - Coding Framework)*. For each topic block, the most important aspects that significantly describe the content of this block were emphasised as part of the analysis. In addition, the most important and relevant quotations for each topic block were incorporated in the analysis of the data.

The three pillars of the conceptual triumvirate		
PILLAR I - VALUES	**PILLAR II - *(CULTURAL)* HERITAGE *(AS INTANGIBLE ASSET)***	**PILLAR III - SUSTAINABILITY**
Topic Blocks	**Topic Blocks**	**Topic Blocks**
Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"	**Internal recognition of textile craftsmanship as intangible asset**	**Culturally embedded sustainability practices**
Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (craftsmanship)	**Artisanal pride and lack of self-esteem in connection to textile craftsmanship**	**The difference between the Western and the Indian understanding of sustainability**
The clash between "tradition" and "modernity"	**Craft as commodity and the loss of intangible cultural heritage**	**The Indian "sustainability" paradox**
Translation of the conflictual values between India and the West	**"Luxury" in the Indian textile context**	**Sustainability in the Indian sartorial context**
The diversity factor in India		**New approaches for sustaining Indian craftsmanship**

Table 2: Coding Framework

The data analysis and interpretation look at the primary and secondary data as a total system of mutually influencing relationships and forces, a type of cognition that Brown (2005) refers to as ecological thinking. Ecological thinking is characterised by holism and awareness of interconnections.

3.9 Credibility of the study

Since this research is based on a qualitative design throughout, the terms reliability and validity, which have been coined in quantitative research, are less appropriate. According to Long and Johnson (2000), in qualitative research reliability describes the continuity of the analytical procedures, and validity the accuracy with which the results reflect the data, as well as the integrity and application of the methods used.
To describe the reliability and validity, and thus the credibility of qualitative research, (Sandelowski, 1993), Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide the following alternative criteria:

Truth value: We acknowledge that multiple realities exist, present personal experiences and viewpoints that could result in methodological bias, and clearly and accurately present the perspectives of respondents.
Consistency: The decisions made about the methods used are clear and transparent and followed a "decision path" from which there was no deviation. The possibility of an independent researcher arriving at similar results is thus given, whereby the trust factor of the respondents towards the researchers must be taken into account.
Neutrality (or confirmability): Is achieved, since truth value, continuity and applicability are clearly addressed, as well as the methods used and results achieved are intrinsically linked to our experiences and perspectives and are distinct from those of the respondents.
Applicability: Consideration is given to how the results of this research can be applied to other cultural contexts, settings and groups.

4 Literature review

4.1 Values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship: value attribution in the Indian cultural context

For the purpose of this literature review, from a value attribution perspective, we focused on research related to the values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship, in Indian history and contemporary society. Research on this topic is diverse and shows a wide-spectrum of values associated with textile craftsmanship in the Indian context. A cross-disciplinary analysis shows that textile craftsmanship is inherent to the Indian cultural context from having a fundamental role in defining cultural identity in both pre-colonial and post-colonial India (3.1.1), to being a determinant of the Indian fashion identity (3.1.2) and simultaneously being an instrument for securing livelihood (3.1.3). But as much as it is an element of unity, textile craftsmanship in the Indian context can also be an element of divide between *"tradition"* and *"modernity"*, between *"the common citizen"* and *"the elite"* (3.1.4).

Existing research under the pillar *Values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship* reveals interconnectivity between Indian textile craftsmanship and Indian cultural context, history and cultural identity, supporting Donkin's (2001) conclusion that crafts are not simply a particular way of making objects, but are inextricably bound up with the structures, values, history and identity of the communities in which they are practiced.

4.1.1 The role of textile craftsmanship in pre-colonial and post-colonial India

In an Indian context, craft knowledge is part of generation to generation learning, often passed down by inheritance and transferred as tacit knowledge. Craftsmanship has several meanings and functions, ranging from personal consumption to ritual and religious significance, as well as economic activity. It consequently plays a role in defining regional, national or ethnic identity and culture in India (Donkin, 2001). Traditional craftsmanship in India goes far beyond the special skill in handling materials and tools, and is described by Chattopadhyay (1980) as a "total operation" involving *the emotions, the mind, the body and the vibrant rhythm which is generated by such coordination.*

The origin of Indian textile craftsmanship can be dated back to the third Millennium BC, as revealed by the examination of tightly woven madder-dyed cotton fragments found in an archaeological site near the Indus River Valley (Yafa, 2006). The finely crafted bronze needles found accompanying these fragments further suggest that embellishments in the form of threadworks and embroideries were already done at this time (Mayer, 2018). This demonstrates that certain Indian communities were two to three millennia ahead of the Western world in terms of cotton weaving and the use of dyeing plants (Gillow and Barnard, 2008).

The high value and central role of textile craftsmanship in pre-colonial and colonial India is supported by numerous historical sources. For example, the first Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Glimpses of World History* (1949), refers to the international popularity of Indian textile artisans in the East as well as in the West for their incomparable skills. Textile historians Gillow and Barnard (2008) and Singh et al. (2000) emphasise the strong and far-reaching tradition of weaving various textiles, as well as the embellishing of fabrics through dyeing, printing, embroidery and ornamentation of India. The art of crafting these tangible textile artefacts has been associated with local intangible cultural heritage, Veenu, Katare and Sharma (2016) referring to the sources of inspiration for the craftspeople

who created these artifacts as having their origins in legends such as Vedas, Purnas, sacred stories and nature. Kapur and Mittar (2014) point out the hereditary factor of passing on skills and the cultural expressions associated with them, the cross-generational transmission of knowledge remaining dominant to this day (Boța-Moisin, 2020).

The values attributed to traditional textile Indian craftsmanship and the associated role of the craftspeople has, however, changed considerably in the course of colonisation and industrialisation. Chatterjee (1988), synthesises this devaluation process with great accuracy: *"The Indian craftsman was* [an] *artist, designer, and technician, working in all three ways to serve his users´ needs. He was a source both of inspiration and problem-solving, functioning always within the core of society. With the advent of colonialism and industrialism, the integral quality of his role, however, began to disintegrate. Efforts at craft regeneration during India's freedom movement and in the years after Independence have not yet been able to draw crafts back into the center of national consciousness" (*Chatterjee, 1988, from Wilkinson-Weber and DeNicola, 2016, n.p.)
Ghosh and Ghosh (1995), Kotipalli (2018) and Mayer (2018), explain this phenomenon by illustrating how the industrialisation of the textile craft economy in India under the British rule has impacted the global positioning of India as a textile producer, leading to a change in position and a reduction of India from a traditional and skillful producer to a colony of consumers for foreign textile goods and a source of raw materials.

But despite this devaluation of Indian textile craftsmanship during colonial rule, Indian textile craftsmanship becomes a source of empowerment of the Indian nation in its struggle for independence from the British Crown, becoming a tool for self-realisation through Gandhi's promotion of *Khadi*[2] during the Swadeshi Movement[3], as a replacement of textiles imported from Britain.

This is not the sole instance when Indian textile craftsmanship plays a role in politics and history. Indira Gandhi, India's first female prime minister has transformed the *Sari* to a *living garment* that permeates all areas of life and also plays an essential role in modern India by consistently wearing a minimalist handloom Sari on all formal occasions (Banerjee and Miller, 2003). This has elevated the status of the *Sari,* and implicitly of the value associated to hand-spun and hand-woven textiles. Given India's heterogeneity, which, expressed through the diversity of castes, societies and religions, equates India with a "forest of symbols" (Gonsalves, 2010), both the Khadi and the Sari have, to a certain extent, become symbols of unification, expressions of unity. As section 3.1.2. below reveals, the *Sari* has also taken a fundamental role in the formation of a sartorial identity in India, (Sharma, 2019), being directly connected with the inter-war feminist movement whose women, by combining sartorial taste in the form of their Nivi[4] style saris and their notion of ideal womanhood, directed post-colonial craft revival programs.

[2] Khadi, hand loomed fabric made from hand-spun yarn, whose use had been exhorted by Mohandas Gandhi as a way of both retaliating against British imported cloth and promoting Indian self-reliance (Khaire, 2011)

[3] The Swadeshi movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a campaign for the boycott of British cloth and the consumption of indigenous cloth, thus linking political self-determination with everyday materiality (Sharma, 2019)

[4] The Nivi style drape or the Modern drape of the Sari which shows the transition from traditional, regional Sari drape to more modern draping style, had a unifying effect and further created a national dress code for women joining the mainstream freedom struggle (Ranavaade and Karolia, 2016)

4.1.2 Indian textile craftsmanship as determinant of an "Indian fashion identity"

Clothing in India plays and has always played an important role in indicating the social status of the wearer (Trivedi, 2007). In this particularly heterogeneous context, clothing is a visual indicator which also conveys meanings related to identity and belonging to a particular group. This explains why Mayer (2018) defines the contemporary Indian sartorial codes as being fashion in the true sense; "culturally constructed, politically inflected, and historically contingent". Various sources, including Sharma (2019), Mayer (2018), Wood (2012) and Khaire (2011), point out to the central role of the Swadeshi Movement and Gandhi's promotion of *Khadi* in an attempt to create a new Indian identity through the expression of a sartorial identity. Mayer's (2018) observation on the role of *Khadi* as a tool for cleansing the nation of Western influence, a way *"to return, both sartorially and spiritually, to a mythical era of cultural unity prior to the divisive influences the British had inserted into India's social, economic, and religious life"* (Mayer, 2018, p. 190) is especially relevant in relation to the role of textile craftsmanship in configuring power-dynamics between Indian and the West. Historically, this marks the birth of an Indian fashion identity from a mix of cultural heritage, cultural identity, colonial history and the independence movement that followed it.

In contemporary context, a big challenge to overcome by Indian textile and fashion stakeholders (fashion designers and craftspeople alike) is the association of textile craftsmanship with "backwardness" and "inferiority", established in colonial times, which survives to this day in deep-rooted societal views that declare handicrafts to be backward and primitive processes and technologies that are no longer appropriate in a technologised and globalised world (Wood, 2012).

Zooming in on the Indian luxury fashion sector in particular, a study by Nagrath (2003) concluded that textile craftsmanship in the Indian luxury fashion context serves as a medium for authenticity and distinction from Western fashion. Although Indian fashion is still seen with an Oriental gaze, and as a result is characterised as slightly "lesser than", "other to" and more feminised than its consistent Western counterpart (John and Leshkowich, 2003), this perception has catalysed an internalisation of the Oriental gaze by Indian designers and a reflection of it in their work either through self-Orientalizing[5] or counter-Orientalism (Nagrath, 2003).

Attempting to differentiate from Western designs by the use of highly embellished traditional styles (Khaire, 2011), scholars describe the contemporary Indian luxury fashion industry as a hybrid of the aesthetic and industrial legacies of the independence movement and the resulting craft revival programs (Mayer, 2018). Contemporary Indian designers are propagating and incorporating Indian textile techniques into their work so that traditional Indian textile craft plays a central role in creating local design identities that are clearly different from other fashion capitals and highly evident on the catwalks in Delhi and Mumbai's Fashion Weeks (Nagrath, 2003). Recent research shows that this undertaking is linked to different approaches and convictions on the part of the designers: one is designer-focused, with emphasis on the "Indian-ness" of the designer, whereas the other is artisan-focused, emphasising the high quality and the value of Indian craftsmanship (Kalkreuter, 2020). A close examination of the two case-studies presented by Kalkreuter reveal that Indian fashion designers can have

[5] In the context of fashion creation, Self-Orientalization can be understood as a process whereby the designers make fashion choices that are primarily based on the way that the global fashion system operates, which includes following trends that involve seeing one's own tradition as unique and exotic (Nagrath, 2003).

different perspectives on value attributed to Indian textile craftsmanship. Emphasising the "amazing art and interpretations" of the craftspeople and putting textile craftsmanship at the center of fashion creation[6] Indian luxury fashion designer Rahul Mishra promotes a craft-centric approach to luxury fashion associating Indian fashion with high quality craftsmanship and culturally embedded values. In a different interpretation, Indian fashion designer Manish Arora emphasises that "Indian-ness" defines his style and he uses Indian techniques (innovative embroidery) in a very unusual and contemporary way to create his own "Indian-ness" (Kalkreuter, 2020). Moreover, he has registered his business in the UK so that this Indian-ness does not become a promotional disadvantage due to the negative international perception of "Made in India".

But despite the different approaches, according to Sandhu (2020), there is a unifying fact underlying these co-existing approaches to traditional textile craftsmanship in conjunction with fashion: textile craftsmanship in the Indian context is an essential and central element in the creation of fashion in India being a critical resource for fashion creation that Indian designers have easy access to.

4.1.3 Indian textile craftsmanship as a source of livelihood

Textile craftsmanship in pre-colonial India has not only created social identity, but was also a way of gaining power, wealth and influence (Sinopoli, 1988). Commerce with textiles, in the form of exports, has been a major component of ancient Indian trade as large volumes of textiles were produced in addition to production for private use (Mayer, 2018). The British colonisation led to the industrialisation of the textile craft sector in India (Kotipalli, 2018) resulting in a change of position and a reduction of India from a traditional and skillful producer to a colony of consumers of foreign textile goods and a source of raw material (Ghosh and Ghosh, 1995). The import of cheap British clothes, which were machine imitations based on the Indian model, was also linked to restrictions on the export of Indian textiles, which in turn led to a dramatic decline of the indigenous textile sector (Mayer, 2018). McGowan (2009) identifies in this colonial context, the birth of a change of connotation associated with textile craftsmanship that equated "traditional" crafts with backwardness and medieval, and in return focused on the process of industrialisation as progressive, modern, prosperous and the future of India.

However, the industrialisation process brought with it a neoclassical view on the craft economy in India where the value of craft is preponderantly understood in terms of price. This is a critique that Kotipalli upholds in his 2018 doctoral thesis *The Values of Craft - The Indian case*, explaining how this narrow view, involving only exports and consumption, deforms the understanding of the nature of traditional knowledge and reduces the notion of cultural consumption to the sale of tangible craft goods. The fact that textile craftsmanship is a source of livelihood in the Indian cultural context is not contested by any existing research. What is pointed out however, is the urgent need to change the broadly held perceptions of the handloom industry as skilled labour and realise its full creative potential with a view to the elevation, desirability and sustainability of craft livelihoods (Clifford, 2018). Oversimplifying craft and reducing artisans to simple factors of production has influenced the narrative for purchasing craft goods in India where currently the idea of supporting the "starving craftsman" prevails (Kotipalli, 2018). Kotipalli's critique is justified especially in relation to international guidelines provided by the ITC and WIPO - *Marketing Crafts and Visual Arts:*

[6] Rahul Mishra: "best fashion and best craft is created at a juncture where the newest technologies and oldest methodology come together" (The Woolmark Company, 2014).

The Role of Intellectual Property - A practical guide ("**the 2003 ITC-WIPO Guide**") *which* iterate that for artisans, relationships with middlemen and customers may range from nurturing to exploitative. The 2003 ITC-WIPO Guide underlines the need of each country to protect culture-based goods as a substantial part of its national cultural heritage in the context of international trade. This is especially relevant for many developing countries and countries in transition, in which the role of the craft sector can prove to be pivotal for sustainable development and poverty reduction (ITC/WIPO, 2003). Without developing the socio-cultural causes for such distinctions, the 2003 ITC-WIPO Guide underlines that there are distinctions of status between artisans in the developed and developing countries - in Japan, for example, artisans can be awarded the title "National Living Treasure" as a mark of respect for their talent. Artisans in developed countries are perceived as pursuing a career involving high levels of creativity, while in some other countries, artisans are not necessarily considered worthy of any special status or respect (ITC/WIPO, 2003). This observation is of particular relevance for this study as the values attributed by Indian fashion and textile stakeholders to Indian textile craftsmanship, and their observations related to the Indian textile artisans, will play a role in how non-Indian fashion and textile industry stakeholders understand the Indian textile ecosystem.

4.1.4 The clash between "tradition" and "modernity"

The idea of the clash between "tradition" and "modernity" is constant in research that touches upon the values associated with Indian textiles craftsmanship. Mamidipudi (2019) sees Indian craftsmanship as a system of knowledge that tends to be linked to the past rather than the future, resulting in a current conflict between science and crafts, modern and traditional, educated expert and illiterate labourer.

In this regard, an interesting view we identified in research is that craft revival policies in India are seen to have deepened the clash between "tradition" and "modernity" and the gap between their representatives: artisans and designers. Craft revival aims at the revitalisation and preservation of traditional textile crafts through design intervention and has been promoted and sustained by the government and representatives of the middle and upper middle classes since India's independence in 1947 until today. It is seen as an interface between traditional and modernity, that matches craft production to the needs of modern living, where designers are set-up to play the role of facilitator between rural, traditional India and a contemporary, cosmopolitan elite (Kapur and Mittar, 2014).

The process of craft revival is criticised in literature from two perspectives: one relates to the involvement of Indian elite in craft revival programs based on an interest in consolidating their own elite status rather than reviving the craft solely for the sake of preserving a tradition (Sharma, 2019); and the other refers to the inequality this process perpetuates between artisans and designers. For describing the latter perspective, Venkatesan (2009) uses Foucault's concept of "heterotopia" (1986). This critical consideration of craft revival implies an inequality of the agency of the actors: the craft producer takes on a victim role and functions as a symbol of the "traditional" whose position is managed in the "heterotopia" by the powerful Indian elite. Wilkinson-Weber and DeNicola (2016) support Venkatesan's criticism referring to the victim-artisan and the savior-designer. They explain this inequality through the fact that in design intervention there is also a clear division between manual and mental work where the designers are the thinkers and the craftspeople are only the executing force. This degradation to simple labour force negates the artisans any entrepreneurial skills and creates further divide between the two actors: the artisan and the designer. The policy of *Craft revival* in India has led to designers instrumentalising their collaboration with artisans by leveraging this power-relationship between design and craft. Kuldova (2017) refers to this

phenomenon as Philanthrocapitalism. According to this, many designers in India who collaborate with craftspeople are leading non-governmental organisations with a mission to empower craftspeople. Through this system, in addition to commercialising luxurious clothing, they also sell "a clean consciousness" to consumers through a rhetoric characterised by ethical business and philanthropy. Kuldova (2017) also illustrates the awareness of Indian artisans of the dependability of the designers from them. In the example of a group of craftswomen in Lucknow who embroider luxurious fabrics for the Indian elite, they respond with irony and laughter when reminded to be proud to represent the traditional Indian heritage through their work. In reaction to this patronising discourse, which positions the craftswomen as vulnerable, poor and in constant need of rescue, they refer to the continuous claim of credit for their work by designers in public. They systematically remind designers of the opposing relationship of *dependence*, in which designers would be *nobody* without the knowledge and skills of the artisans.

4.2 Indian traditional textile craftsmanship as intangible asset

For the purpose of this literature review, from a cultural heritage perspective, we focused on the characteristic of traditional textile craftsmanship as intangible cultural heritage and how this feature can be converted to economic value making Indian traditional textile craftsmanship an intangible asset. We looked at examples outside of India as well as research relevant to the Indian context.

The majority of scholarly and institutional work we reviewed under this pillar was published in fields related to the law and economics of crafts, as well as fashion marketing and communication. We looked at legal and economics perspectives because we believe that a textile value chain management perspective on craftsmanship is incomplete - a critique we uphold and seek to constructively tackle in this research - without an overview of relevant research pertaining to two main supporting branches of research: the law and the economics of crafts. We consider this insoluble connection a premise of our research framework mirroring the work conducted over the span of 73 years by three intergovernmental organisations: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) est. 1946, the International Trade Center (ITC) est. 1964 and the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) est. 1967. The publications of these organisations and the scholarly work they incentivised, should not be seen as parallel exercises but as part of a homogenous body of work relevant to understanding multidisciplinary perspectives relevant to crafts.

In the language of WIPO, textile craftsmanship is associated with both the concept of *Traditional Knowledge* and that of *Traditional Cultural Expressions* (TCEs). Artisanal products, generically referred to as handicrafts, are a type of *tangible cultural heritage*, while the knowledge embodied in these products or necessary for developing these products is a form of *intangible cultural heritage*. For the purpose of this research, craftsmanship refers to *knowledge, skills and know-how* and is therefore understood as intangible cultural heritage.

The official public documents of the first meeting of the WIPO IGC, held in Geneva, April 30 to May 3, 2001, point to the exploitative practices of the fashion industry as a root cause for the need of the development of an international legal framework globally applicable and sanctionable: *"Traditional designs, songs and dances have been used by the entertainment and fashion industries to create works which are protected by intellectual property"* (WIPO-ITC, 2001, p. 3).

4.2.1 Traditional textile craftsmanship as intangible asset from a legal perspective

Textile craftsmanship, or textile craft knowledge, is a type of intangible cultural heritage in the sense of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is defined by the 2003 Convention as *"the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage"* (Article 2 of the 2003 Convention, n.p.). This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. Safeguarding of ICH does not imply by default valorization thereof as an intangible asset. The concept of *"intangible asset"* is connected to intellectual property law and the WIPO sense of *legal protection of TK and TCEs.*

The question is, to what extent is textile craftsmanship valorized as an intangible asset in India? As of January 1st 2021, India has no textile craft inscribed on the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage. However, at a national level, the Indian Government has enacted a Geographical Indication (GI) Act in 1999, which came into force in 2003, creating an avenue for protection of Indian traditional cultural textile expressions (Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India) and taking a first step towards confirming the value of Indian textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset by valorizing it as industrial property. Article 32(1) of the GI Act supports this argument as a condition of application for GI protection is *"the detailed description of the human creativity involved"* and *"the particulars of special human skill involved"*. The Traditional Knowledge of textile manufacturing is therefore seen as an asset. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the efficiency of the GI protection of Indian traditional textile craftsmanship poses many challenges for the Indian stakeholders, a notable one being that it fails to ensure a fair share of the benefits resulting from the GI status of a tangible good is distributed downstream in the textile supply chain, to the artisans (Das, 2010). The GI Tag ascertains the authenticity of the handcrafted textiles it protects and their connection with a geographical region, but such registration has no effect in relation to European fashion and textile counterparts unless the GI is marketed, defended or enforced appropriately.

While the GI Tag protection is definitely a step towards valorization of textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset in India, the prevailing focus in India is on the textile goods as tangible assets. This is one of Kotipalli's (2018) main observations and critiques of the Indian craft economy. He emphasises that in India national policy promotes the product (tangible asset) over the knowledge associated with creating the product (intangible asset). India is recognised for selling crafts objects while Germany, Japan and Italy have made a leap from selling the crafts object to selling the intangible notion of skill through the articulation of the term craftsmanship. Moreover, in India craft knowledge is considered inferior with respect to the arts as opposed to the example of Japan where craft occupies a critical position next to the arts. Kotipalli sees this subordination position as the reason why artisans in India are predominantly associated with the culture of *Haats*[7] *and Melas*[8] and have ended up becoming suppliers of low cost labour, leading to low incomes.

[7] A *Haat*, is an open-air market that serves as a trading outlet for consumers in rural areas.

[8] A *Mela* is a large gathering of people on the occasion of a cultural celebration in India, an Indian fair.

Valorization of the craft knowledge through intellectual and cultural property policies, as opposed to valorization of the tangible goods through trade policies, is not a simple endeavour and as Halliburton and Aragon (2012) report after investigating the Indonesian cultural context and comparing the Indonesian copyright law and heritage discourse with the opinions of practitioners of local arts including music, dance, drama, puppetry, carving, painting, and textiles, the Euro-American (i.e. Global North) conception of intellectual property protection differs from the predominant view in the Global South. Whilst Westerners envision themselves as individual agents (and thus, sole creators) disembedded from a communal society, throughout Indonesia, the art of textile crafting, among others, is seen as a collaborative practice derived from ancestral tradition and community obligations, the relationship with craft being rather that of custodianship rather than ownership-based where craftspeople see themselves as authorised vehicles and transgenerational collaborators rather than sole source points of creativity (Halliburton and Aragon, 2012). Applied to the Indian context, the same custodianship relationship with textile craftsmanship was identified in relation to textiles artisans in Kutch, Gujarat, India (Boța-Moisin, 2020). This explains why a narrative focused on valorizing the traditional textile knowledge, as an intangible asset, is not prevalent in the Indian cultural context, especially given the incompatibility of Western intellectual property tools such as copyright, trademark or geographical indication with the Indian worldview and belief-system. However, the possibility to develop personalised legal protection tools based on the specificity of the local culture and cultural context exists and the *sui-generis law* of Panama for protecting traditional cultural expressions and related knowledge is just one such example (Law No. 20 of June 26, 2000 "on a special intellectual property regime for the collective rights of indigenous communities, for the protection of their cultural identities and traditional knowledge.") Kalkreuter (2020) studies the approach of world-wide acclaimed luxury Indian fashion designer Rahul Mishra as an example of the valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship in a global fashion context through an artisan-centric approach focused on nurturing this guardianship relationship with Indian textile craftsmanship and keeping the knowledge alive.

4.2.2 Nation branding - a form of valorization of cultural heritage as intangible asset

From a fashion marketing and communications perspective, research on valorization of intangible cultural heritage as an intangible asset is focused on the notion of *nation branding*. An example of that is the positioning and reputation of Italy as a fashion country. In their longitudinal cultural study analysing the history of the creation of "Made in Italy" as an intangible asset (a collective nation brand), Pinchera and Rinallo (2020) highlight the role of heritage-based narratives, and the mobilisation of local actors to uphold and communicate these narratives, in the creation of nation brands. They demonstrate that "Made in Italy" as an intangible asset that now equals luxury craftsmanship, elegance and good taste, is grounded in presenting Italy's fashion as one founded on the Renaissance tradition. Although historically inaccurate, the storytelling strategy promoted by Giovanni Battista Giorgini in the 1950s and 60s was based on the narrative that Italian fashion was the direct heir of the Renaissance craftsmanship tradition - a period that had produced a "material" artistic heritage and a correlated, "intangible", cultural patrimony known and admired all over the world (Belfanti, 2015). He valorized both tangible cultural heritage - i.e. *"Florence's historical, artistic and architectural heritage provided the material and symbolic bases to infuse the collections showcased at the Pitti Palace with resonant cultural meanings"* (Pinchera and Rinallo, 2020, p. 160) and intangible cultural heritage - i.e. the skills of Italian artisans and couturiers, the Italian "know-how". Belfanti (2015) calls this an appropriation of a particular historical

period, the Renaissance – as an intangible asset in the promotion of Italian fashion on the international market, due to the fabrication of "myth of continuity" based on which Italian fashion had descended directly from the Renaissance, *"an age in which the interaction among the most able craftsmen, the most genial artists and the most elegant aristocrats had produced a historic event, the birth of fashion, which had then been spread throughout Europe"* (Belfanti, 2015, 87).

In relation to the valorization of intangible cultural heritage (in India and anywhere around the world), Brown (2015) emphasises the increasing phenomenon of commodification of heritage in the context of the rise of the Information Society. Unlike the case of "Made in Italy", where Italian stakeholders developed a "country brand", the kind of commodification Brown speaks of is performed by stakeholders of the Global North and has as object the cultural heritage of the Global South, exhibiting a tendency to strip down information from the cultural contexts that give heritage its meaning. In reaction to this behaviour, the cultures whose heritage is being exploited are developing measures of protection against this phenomenon[9], which according to Brown explains the general gradual substitution of the expression "cultural heritage" for "cultural property".

Finally, in terms of valorization of intangible cultural heritage it is interesting to consider the concept of "cultural currency" proposed by Buckley and Peters (2019). They combine the legal and economic perspectives in the context of fashion defining "cultural currency" as a notion that goes beyond the financial reward of return on investment and includes the recognition of respecting basic human rights, traditional cultural expressions and exploring sustainable practice in collaborative relationships between European fashion brands and artisans from the Global South. Buckly and Peters (2019) identify a vulnerability of Global South representatives in relation to Global North representatives, due to the lack of tools available to craftspeople for ensuring a fair recognition, control and remuneration for their crafts, skills and techniques.

4.3 The meaning and understanding of "sustainability" as a concept in the Indian cultural context

For the purpose of this literature review, from a sustainability perspective, we focused on research related to textile craftsmanship as a source of culturally embedded sustainability practices.

Sustaining the craft is an important aspect associated with the notion of sustainability in fashion in the Indian cultural context. Sandhu (2020) links craftsmanship to sustainable design practices, where it meets many criteria for circular fashion models, emphasising its potential to serve as a paradigm of development and a source of spiritual and emotional enlightenment.

The word "sustainability" itself does not have an identical synonym in Hindi. Despite this, perpetuating a colonial attitude, fashion and textile industry stakeholders impose on India a sustainability narrative emanating from the West, imposing a certain standard on the Indian textile and fashion industry that is not integrative of the meaning and understanding of the concept of sustainability in the Indian cultural context (Sandhu, 2020). This Western

[9] According to Brown (2005) India, for example, has announced plans to "*carry out extensive documentation of intangible heritage to provide the preservation of each expression of heritage by making exhaustive inventories and storing them electronically for the future*." At the time of this research this information could not be fact-checked.

sustainability narrative, Vasudev (2019) critically points out, is one that usually describes India as a producer of cheap clothes with inadequate labour regulations, but mostly ignores the fact that clothing practices and the associated craft systems in India in the past were inherently sustainable. Paradoxically, it is these old practices that serve as the basis for innovation in the current fashion design industry, coupled with the development of new material processes to reduce the environmental impact of fashion. In this paradoxical sustainability context, where the global West criticises its own worldwide establishment of the linear take-make-disposal concept and acts as a global corrective, Sandhu (2020) illustrates that many Indian designers, in response to the calls for sustainable fashion innovations, are recalling their own rich heritage of traditional textile craftsmanship and placing it at the centre of their work. Sandhu shows that by focusing on a *model of design for wellbeing*, which is embedded in many craft activities, alternatives for future sustainable fashion and decolonising designs emerge, and therefore proposes *sustainability through craft*.

Wood (2012) too draws attention to the culturally rooted meaning of sustainability in the Indian context. She emphasises that the concept of sustainability in relation to Indian crafts is linked not only to ecological and economic concerns but also to cultural ones. This relates both to sustaining craft by creating employment opportunities and income for craftspeople and to enabling the longevity of craft communities and cultures. In India sustainability is not predominantly tied to environmental sustainability and climate change as it is in Europe in particular, as the focus on individualistic human survival in the Indian society (Tewari and Jyoti, 2017) does not allow the luxury of promoting a collective environmentally concerned narrative. However, to a great extent environmental sustainability is embedded in traditional craftsmanship. Jatin Bhatt, in *Philosophy and Practice of Crafts and Design* (n.d.), argues that not only do handcrafted objects form an important part of the creative cultural industries, they also occupy a space to counter techno-aesthetic dominance, as crafts inherently represent a source of sustainable practice, a connection and concern with material, and the environment. Promoting the same idea, Kiem (2011) sees crafts in general as a transforming force for sustainable development calling for practitioners of the craft sector to proactively respond to the need for sustainability by reorienting their own practice so that the craft sector can free itself from the narrow positioning within cultural production that undermines its sustainable qualities.

Finally, sustaining the craft tradition is also an aspect of “sustainability” in the Indian cultural context. For the craft tradition to sustain and adapt to the contemporary socio-cultural configuration, it requires a community of makers and users who give meaning to the craft traditions (Krishen, 2015). Applied to the Indian cultural context this translates in the way contemporary Indian fashion designers interact with traditional craftsmanship in their creative process and is tied to the valorization of textile craftsmanship by Indian fashion designers (Nagrath, 2003; Kalkreuter, 2020;). Krishen (2015) explains the importance of this joint process of value attribution claiming that if meanings are shared by makers and users and if meaning evolves through this process of sharing, a tradition can be said to be alive, and is contemporary and it may have a future. As the process of sharing dies, the tradition begins to die. When the products cease to embody mutually respected values, the tradition is dead (Krishen, 2015). Krishen's theory is backed up by the WIPO meaning of “traditional” in the context of Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions where it is to be understood as *expressing a traditional link with a community, meaning that it is developed, sustained and passed on within a community* (WIPO, n.d.). As such, sustaining Indian traditional textile craftsmanship through shared value attribution and joint creation of meaning

by makers and users is relevant for understanding of the meaning of “sustainability” in the Indian cultural context.

4.4 Research gap

The comprehensive review of the existing textile and fashion related literature indicates that a multidisciplinary approach to understanding the value of textile craftsmanship in contemporary textile value chains, that takes into account the cultural, legal and economic perspective, is missing. For an Indian specific context, it is evident that previous research fails to adopt holistic approaches to contextualise Indian textile craftsmanship within the discourses and efforts of sustainability and to understand sustainability in connection to sustaining textile craftsmanship by factoring in the legal and economic implications of textile craftsmanship as intangible cultural heritage.

Based on the prevalent undermining of the sustainable qualities and implications of Indian textile craftsmanship by the global textile and fashion industry (Kiem, 2011), the necessity of applying a Value based approach to craft (Kotipalli, 2018), and the plea to include the Indian voices into the western dominated textile and fashion sustainability discourse (Sandhu, 2020), this research is the first attempt to merge these indications and translate the Indian context for textile professionals in India and the EU by means of a India-centric approach in a holistic manner.

5 Findings and Analysis

In this section, the results of the 6 unstructured interviews are presented and analysed according to the Coding Framework described in *Section 2.8.*
For a complete and adequate classification of the primary data, the order in which the interviews were carried out is relevant. The interviews are therefore building on each other, where topics from previous interviews are reflected in the following. Consequently, the interviews are not to be seen in isolation from each other but as a collective body of continuous development and interlocking of ideas.

	Respondent	**Abbreviation**	**Location**
1	Respondent 1	R1	New Delhi
2	Anjana Das	AD	New Delhi
3	Gaurav Jai Gupta	GG	New Delhi
4	Respondent 4	R4	Ahmedabad
5	Rupa Trivedi	RT	Mumbai
6	Padmaja Krishnan	PK	Mumbai

Table 3: Order of the interviews

5.1 Values

5.1.1 Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"

The results of the first topic block under the pillar *Values* are characterised by the following aspects: (i) prejudice and stereotypical connotations of India as a country and in connection with textiles and garments "Made in India", (ii) lack of acknowledgement in the global fashion and textile context and reasons, and (iii) possibilities of overcoming the global prejudice and stigma.

> *"If you see a label and a garment which says "Made in India" people always have this association of either thinking it is going to be made by child labour, sweatshops, polluting work circumstances and so somehow for most people it still creates that imaginary of something that is cheap and not well made. And of course also the hippie vibe, so when it´s "Made in India" it has to be something people wear in Goa on the beach. […] People who know about textiles and that they are made in India often think that it is assumptious and therefore something they can't wear because it is too ornamented, too rich in terms of the aesthetic of it. So they feel it is not for them or for an European context." [AD]*

> *"Interestingly, what a lot of Indian designers would say, when you have tourists coming from the West, they are so used to the idea that India is cheap. So they wouldn't like to pay anything more." [PK]*

The prevailing connotations and prejudice described by most respondents relate to unethical and environmentally abusive production conditions, inadequate quality at a low price, as well as aesthetical alienation from a European perspective. Additionally, an oppositional aspect to these categories of prejudice is addressed, which refers to people with an affinity for textiles, who associate Indian textiles with its history of luxury trade and therefore consider them to be unaffordable. In a design context, a persistent Western stigmatisation of India and the Indian creative industry as not comprehending design is expressed.
This perspective on prejudice relates to the lack of acknowledgement of global textile and apparel brands for textiles "Made in India", even in cases when they are made according to the demanded quality standards.

> *"I ask why there is no acknowledgement? It's because India is associated with poor quality. That is shocking because it is even produced according to their standards. Maybe they feel they can just get away with it." [R1]*

The data also indicates an awareness of the difference in power dynamics between India and Western countries as well as the Indian society's own identification with being a low-cost producer country which is linked to the effects of colonialism and industrialisation.

In order to overcome this global perception and lack of recognition, the data suggests proactive education of the Western world about contrasting co-existing examples in India, as well as the intrinsic initiative to seek dialogue with the global North and to take a self-confident stand to aim for an equal positioning.

> *"You have to teach people that "Made in India" does not automatically mean that poor children are working by candle light. I mean, those companies exist here. You have very bad factories with very bad work circumstances. But there are enough of us who work very differently." [AD]*

However, an internal barrier and obstacle to address this approach collectively is described in connection to the existing unawareness of this issue in Indian society, which is partly due to the focus on livelihood by many people.

5.1.2 Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (craftsmanship)

Besides the external global recognition and perception of India and its textiles and textile production, the current internal value positioning of Indian textile craftsmanship was addressed by all respondents. The aspects most respondents referred to under this topic block are: (i) the internal unawareness and lack of appreciation of the intangible value of Indian textile crafts/craftsmanship, (ii) the Indian textile elite and luxury sector as the driving force for the increased valorization and reappreciation of Indian textile craftsmanship, and (iii) the lack of recognition for artisans and the impact of acknowledging Indian craftspeople for their work, beyond monetary compensation.

Aspects i) and ii) can be exemplified by the following two statements:

> *"I think it is a problem here in India that we don't appreciate and value our own homegrown talent. [...] we look at it from a very singular perspective which is commercial success." [GG*]

> *"Also sometimes Indian clients who don´t know our brand so well tell us to leave the embroidery and instead just put something on the garment. So we have to tell them*

that this is actually what makes our garments what they are. So Indian clients don't have the appreciation for their own craft culture." [AD]

Both indicate a lack of appreciation and understanding of the intangible value of the textile craftsmanship and a focus on aspects of monetary and aesthetical nature. In this context, reference was also made to the importance of traditional highly embellished garments for special occasions like weddings or festivals, where the emphasis lies on the aesthetic embellishment characteristics rather than the process of making. The results also indicate an existing unawareness of the intangible value and the connected tangible value of handcrafted production by Indian textile artisans, which leads them to sell their creations very cheaply.

"But there are also the sad stories in India, where people are doing all of this but think that it is not worth it, so they sell it very cheap." [PK]

Regarding the second aspect (ii), despite the above-mentioned lack of internal recognition, most of the conversations indicate a general internal increase of consciousness for Indian textile crafts. *"We are getting conscious and getting back to our roots." [R4]* This recalling of the own cultural heritage is mostly driven by the Indian textile elite and the luxury textile and fashion sector. Since all respondents are part of this segment, this suggests the existence of a critical mass who is aware of the value of Indian textile craftsmanship and can generate a trickle-down effect within the industry and to the core of society.

"The elite in India who recognize the dying crafts in India and that these are valuable, are actually willing to pay a better price." [PK]

In this context, the current situation of Indian fashion as well as the future of Indian high fashion was discussed. The current commercial Indian fashion landscape is characterised by little innovation in terms of a contemporary aesthetic with the focus being on dresses for special occasions like weddings and festivals. The prospects for Indian high fashion, however, are very much tied to indicators like slow-made, consciously and tailored-made garments with an individual aspiration.

In connection to the third aspect (iii) - aligned with the value-based approach of this study - the importance of dignifying the artisan through the acknowledgement of their work is mentioned.

"Besides monetary benefits, the person who made it is entitled to the acknowledgement that helps him. [...] It is not just money, it is also dignity which is important. So we should bring dignity back to hand skills." [R1]

In this respect the data also points out the celebration of individuality, and therefore the emphasis on the craftsperson as a skilled individual. This emphasis in connection with highlighting the origin and cultural context of the fabrics is additionally seen as an intangible added value for the finished product.

5.1.3 The clash between "tradition" and "modernity"

The main aspects identified under this topic block are: (i) the connotation of handcrafted production with being an outdated and inconvenient process and occupation, (ii) substituting traditional techniques by technology, and (iii) the merge of technology with traditional craft as a means of sustaining the craft while also creating a conflict between "new" and "traditional" artisans.

Most of the respondents gave examples of Indian customers or clients not seeing the value of handcrafted textile production when there is a more efficient technological way to do it.

> *"That's something that I face all the time. In India my customers would say: Why do you get it hand spun? Who cares?" [PK]*

> *They say: "you could do it by machine. Why do you do it by hand?". The Indian clients just take it for granted, not realising that the craft is dying" [AD]*

Mirroring the perception of the customers, an aspect mentioned is the unwillingness of young generations to pursue craftsmanship as an occupation which is linked to hard work, a boring activity and a general inconvenience. There is a strive for a more comfortable life, not wanting to work the whole day and rather *"[…] sit in front of the television and enjoy life" [R4]*

In relation to the second main aspect (ii), reference was made to the substitution of handmade processes by digital alternatives in the Indian textile sector, which are superior in terms of efficiency or colour intensity, but lack the intangible value which can only be achieved by hand. *[...] "there is an element in the hand printing which can never be achieved by digital printing" [R1]*

New technological processes or innovative design approaches are seen as an opportunity and means for sustaining the craft and preventing it from distinction. Charity based initiatives and craft revival programs are seen critical in this regard because of their approach to keep the status quo of the tradition alive not integrating any innovative alterations. The data also suggests that the new development of merging technology and craft by creating new approaches for textile craftsmanship produces a new breed and generation of artisans which are not understood and accepted by "regular" artisans.

> *"Here there are very few artisans that have a perspective outside of that world they are living in. Our artisan world is very insular. The insularity is actually going to be the downfall of us. Because we are not opening up. We are not letting another artisan in. So we need that. I am a new artisan. I still am on the fringe where regular artisans don't really accept my work. Though I am far more superior because I have put in technology I put in educational scientific technology to that art so that it sustains."* [RT]

5.1.4 Translation of the conflictual values between India and the West

The conflictual relationship between India and the West, where India is positioned in a subordinate position, borrowing and adopting Western values without the West understanding the Indian cultural context came up frequently in the conversations with the respondents. The main aspects identified for this topic block are: (i) the importance of translating cultural differences in work ethics, (ii) the varying relationship with handmade and machine-made textile production between India and the West, and (iii) the societal and industrial impact of Western values in India.

In relation to differences in work ethics of Indian textile artisans compared to Western approaches the main emphasis was placed on the unfamiliarity of Indian artisans with the Western concept of deadlines, timelines and quality guidelines with little fault tolerance.

"You have to bridge the cultural gap from both sides. You can't say the quality automatically is going to be to what a company like Chanel would expect. There is a phrase in Hindi where they say: "its Unispeas", which means 19 out of 20" [AD]

"Traditional artisans are so timeless. They don't have a concept of time. 'Today I am in the mood to sit at home, so I will sit at home. I am not going to worry that in two days I have to give that and that is my timeline for exports. So this is a little bit of a clash." [RT]

The data suggests the importance of translating cultural differences through mediators and at the same time emphasises on the necessity to teach the artisan to adapt to the Western work ethics by learning how to calculate prices for their working hours which need to be uninterrupted working hours. These mediators and translators, *"connectors of the dots" [RT]*, are seen as crucial for understanding the *"organic chaos"* of India in comparison to, for example, a perfectionist and methodical German perspective.

"I have a lot of German friends. Even the trees are straight. You cannot think of anything which is not perfect or not very methodical. And here it is all organic chaos "You cannot think of anything which is not perfection or not very methodical." [RT].

In relation to the second aspect (ii), some respondents indicated the different associations of handmade as opposed to machine-made textiles. It has been stated that Western textile clients associate very fine woven or embroidered fabrics with machine production rather than handcrafted work because they cannot imagine such fine work can be done by hand, and are not able to anticipate the mental work, time and calmness that is involved and needed for the creation of such handwork. Additionally, it is highlighted that the fact that a fabric or a garment is handmade is not the reason to demand a high price for it in an Indian context, whereas in a Western context it is associated with luxury and a high value.

"We don't say because it is handmade you have to pay an enormous amount of money for it." [GG]

Finally, most of the respondents referred to the enormous influence of Western values in India and the impact thereof. There are references to the adoption of the Western take-make-dispose concept and the generation of waste and landfills, which now reached the masses in Indian society. It was also indicated that the majority of the Indian fashion industry works according to Western set parameters, which are mainly characterised by quality, timeline and the ethical guidelines based on which the Indian suppliers are measured against. According to the data, this adaptation of Western values is based on a general aping of the West which is also visible in the Indian textile and fashion education systems where Western standards in aesthetic, manufacturing and design are emphasised.

"[...] when I started to study fashion at NIFT in Delhi, I was suddenly exposed to a whole of other things because you are at a fashion college. You enter a zone where you feel you need to attain something from the West to get better and what you have is kind of substandard and something to be embarrassed about." [PK]

5.1.5 The Diversity factor in India

Finally, the social and cultural diversity in India was also the subject discussion linking to diverse value attributions. The main aspects identified were: (i) India's diversity as an internal barrier and challenge to building a unified vision, and (ii) India's diversity and large

population as an opportunity for new internal approaches to textile craftsmanship and sustainability.

Discussions revealed with clarity that India cannot be considered a homogenous country. The different states and the different cultures, as well as the differences between North, South, East and West are so stark that they can be compared to the cultural differences between Germany and China. Against this backdrop, unified proactive action to challenge the prevalent stigma from the West of being a mere low-cost producer country with no understanding of design and consequently to be seen as an equal partner, is defined as a great challenge due to the internal heterogeneity of India *(see Section 4.1.1.*).

> *"If India would be a very simple unified place, that would be easy. But when you have so many different states it is very difficult to have a unified vision." [R1]*

Nevertheless, it was indicated that the many different stories which take place in India parallelly because of its diversity and vast population, can sometimes also create a trickle-down effect of sustainability related schemes and ideas from one societal sector to another.

> *" [...] there is not one universal story for the whole of India. There are many stories going on parallelly, which is why sometimes a trickle down happens from one sector to the other, and therefore hope for sustainability and saving something" [PK]*

5.2 Heritage

5.2.1 Internal recognition of textile craftsmanship as intangible asset

The first topic block under the pillar *Heritage (i.e. Cultural Heritage as intangible asset)* refers to the internal recognition in India of textile craftsmanship as intangible asset and its valorization in an economic context. The main aspects that could be identified in this regard are: (i) the recognition and use of cultural heritage as means of creating distinguishing design identities in the Indian fashion context, (ii) the importance of recognising the intangible value of craft by textile artisans, and (iii) the certification of authenticity of traditional cultural expressions.

The data suggests a current increase in recognising and implementing traditional textile craft techniques by the Indian fashion elite who create a hype about it and make it a central part of their own fashion identity. However, this does not apply to the general mainstream fashion industry in India which is still lacking the appreciation of artisans and the recognition of the intangible value tied to their work.

> *"[fashion designers are picking up different techniques.] and they are using it in their production and [making] a big boom about it. So then all others will follow them. So it trickles down like that." [R4]*

In this context, data indicates the importance of the artisans' own awareness of their intellectual property and ability to translate it into economic value. This process is described as rather challenging due to the particular nature of the creative process.

> *"So artisans have to be aware of their intellectual property and be able to value it. That is not easy, because you can´t say you thought of this design in one hour. That's not feasible, because designing happens in such different ways." [AD]*

Concerning the replacement of traditional handcrafting techniques with machine and technology-based techniques, as described in 4.1.3, the establishment of craft certification agencies and organizations was mentioned, to highlight the authenticity of handcrafted fabrics and could therefore contribute to emphasising the intangible value of traditional cultural expressions. This is already happening in India but on a very small scale.

5.2.2 Artisanal pride and lack of self-esteem in connection with textile craftsmanship

In conjunction with the results in *Section 4.1.2*, a closer reflection of the perspectives of Indian textile artisans and their pride of their craft as well as their self-esteem deficit was the object of several conversations. The main aspects identified for this thematic block are: (i) past and contemporary social structures as the cause of Indian artisans' self-esteem deficit as well as prevention of entrepreneurial skill development, and (ii) the conflictual relationship between pride and livelihood.

In relation to the first aspect, a comparison of Philippine and Indian weavers was made. Philippine weavers despite their greater remoteness have a much higher self-esteem leading to a more confident and higher pricing of their work. As the central justification for this circumstance, the patronage history of the Indian artisans and therefore the tradition of strictly working for somebody in a subordinate manner was discussed as well as today's hierarchical societal structure in India which disrespects and oppresses the artisans. The data indicates a resulting lack of confidence of Indian artisans.

> *"While here in India a lot of artisans feel pushed down because of the hierarchical society. Also this dealing with a brand is also a very new thing for the artisans, because there has been that patronage [...] I know it was a long time ago where that was the case, but somehow it is still embedded in their cultural DNA." [AD]*

Regarding the pride of Indian textile artisans in relation to their craft, the conflictual relationship with livelihood was mentioned. Accordingly, there are different layers to it, including artisans who see the future in their work and have a cultural connection to it, and the majority of artisans who practice their craft as a means of survival and securing their livelihood.

> *"I feel there are a lot of layers. There are people who are doing it because they see their future in it. There are young weavers now who have gone back to their family business. Because they have realised how it is appreciated by people. So there are stories like that existing. It's not that everything is just gone. But overall, craft is practiced only for livelihood. It gives them a livelihood, so that is why they practice it. If something else would give them livelihood, they would practice that. It is not that pride or anything is there, because they have to survive." [R4]*

5.2.3 Craft as a commodity and the loss of intangible cultural heritage

The main aspect for this topic block can be summarised as: (i) the neoclassical approach to the craft economy in India and its consequences.

In several interviews it was clearly expressed that the craft sector in India suffers from a continuous extinction of traditional handicraft techniques, which makes it generally difficult to find craftspeople who still possess the skills and knowledge of certain craft techniques. The main reason for this has been identified as the reduction of manufactured textiles to a purely tangible and monetised commodity. As a result, it was noted that it has become very

expensive to practice hand spinning, for example, and hardly anyone in the country is willing to pay this price when there are cheaper machine-made alternatives.

> *"It is not easy to find organisations that are promising hand spun fabric in India today, because it becomes very expensive. It is not cheap to do hand spinning and there is no one willing to pay the price for it." [PK]*

5.2.4 "Luxury" in the Indian textile context

With the Western-dominated global luxury fashion and textile context being the starting point of this research, all interviews aimed to shed light on the association and value attributions of luxury in an Indian textile context. The results of all the interviews can be divided into the following two main aspects: (i) the predominant intangible values associated with luxury, and (ii) the craft and cultural heritage centric perspective of luxury.

Beside the tangible elements of material and quality which have been associated with luxury, all the respondents stated predominantly intangible indicators for describing their perception of luxury in a textile context. The results varied from a very minimalistic and practical perspective, where "true luxury" equals finding a perfectly fitting garment and sticking to that, to the relation to a very spiritual dimension as a determinant for luxury in the fashion and textile context which is dominated by mindfulness and thoughtfulness emphasising on the "soul of the product" and its natural "purity".

> *"So this is true luxury. Once you find something that fits really well on you, why would you want to change that? Women's bodies are not changing, so why are we changing our garments every few months in different shapes?" [AD]*

> *"I would say that luxury should not be about terms. Luxury should be about the soul of the product. [...] I would say it is the purity. If it is pure, it is luxury to me." [GG]*

In addition, it was evident that luxury was automatically associated with very crafted textiles, which are characterised by their complexity, rarity, rich materials, difficult replicability and time-consuming and skill-demanding handcrafting processes. Luxury was perceived through a heritage centric lens where the transmission of rare luxury textiles and garments from generation to generation constitutes luxury due to the quality, longevity and history. Furthermore, there was the immediate connection to India's luxury export history and the continuous omnipresence of the finest textiles and craft techniques since ancient times.

> *"Luxury textiles would be very crafted textiles. Because in the Indian context you gave from one generation to another generation pieces that were valuable and made by hand. They were really crafted with very fine finishes, developed with very rich materials like silk. Also very rare skills went into the making of it." [R4]*

> *"We always had luxury textiles in India. As you know there is no other country that had all the techniques already in ancient times and was a very huge exporter of luxury textiles. India always has been home and has produced the most exquisite textiles." [R1]*

5.3 Sustainability

5.3.1 Culturally embedded sustainability practices

The starting point on the topic of sustainability in the interviews was the Western dominated sustainability discourse, where Western textile and fashion brands act as a global corrective towards the global South. All respondents referred to the centrality of sustainability in the Indian cultural context. Both spiritual and practical considerations were mentioned. The main aspects identified under this topic block are: (i) the link between sustainability and spirituality and, (ii) recycling and upcycling as culturally embedded practices and a way of living.

On a spiritual level, references were made to the existing gratitude and appreciation for nature in Indian society, expressed through the culturally ingrained worship of the flora and fauna visible through spiritual festivals all over the country.

> *"If I simplify sustainability from my personal perspective, it is [..] a part of the larger discourse in the way we live life from a day-to-day basis. […] All the festivals we have where the whole idea is the importance of color, the fact that we worship everything from a river to a snake, to a mango or to a monkey. So it is basically that we appreciate and have gratitude for nature." [GG]*

On a practical level it was unanimously emphasised that sustainability has been practiced for centuries in India through culturally inherited ways of recycling, upcycling, mending and repairing. Those were not understood as external concepts but as lifestyle practices and the way of life, *a natural way of doing things*. In this regard, the data indicates that this way of ingrained sustainable living is an unconscious rather than a conscious approach, not being linked with a conscious concern for environmental issues. Consequently, sustainability in India is more to be seen in a cultural rather than an industrial context.

> *"In India we have always been about recycling but might have been unconscious about it. Because in our country we don't believe in throwing anything. We are always recycling everything, even the smallest little bit that is there in the house. But the consciousness for doing it for environmental issue is not really being understood. [...] This is something we have done for ages." [RT]*

5.3.2 The difference between the Western and the Indian understanding of sustainability

Under this topic block, contradictory and conflictual perceptions of sustainability between the West and India were highlighted. Most of the participants could, based on their professional occupations, exemplify personal conflictual experiences with Western representatives of the textile and fashion industry. The results of this topic block can be summarised under the following aspects: (i) sustainability as a localised individual commitment vs. a collective industrial approach, and (ii) *handcrafted* as an equivalent for sustainability.

The respondents identified the Western sustainability approach as very conceptual and technical-centric with the emphasis on certificates and ethical considerations. Generally, the Western perspective is seen as a collective industrial approach which emanated as an afterthought to overconsumption and climate change, as opposed to the Indian perception of sustainability as a culturally embedded way of living coming from the past. Additionally, it has been stated that sustainability in India is understood in an individual and localised context rather than in a manner of generalisation irrespective of geographical and cultural differences.

"For example in India if we have an idea that from a local context is good might not be good from the Western perspective. Don't you think at the end of the day it should be a very localised point of view? It has a very contextual based concept." [GG]

"Their perception of sustainability was something completely different. It was about certifications and in general very technical. It was all about paying fair and right wages to your workers, whether you are giving them enough holidays. […] But I think the idea of sustainability in India, much of it was very individual. It was not from an industrial perspective. It was from an individual perspective." [PK]

In relation to the connection between sustainability and handcrafted production, the manual process itself and its influence on the processed fibers and the resulting fabrics and textiles was described as a source of spiritual and emotional enlightenment and as part of being sustainable. It was also emphasised that handcrafting provides more employment compared to machine-based production, leading to the idea of sustaining livelihoods through textile craftsmanship.

5.3.3 The Indian "sustainability" paradox

Various internal paradoxes became apparent when discussing sustainability, illustrating the complexity of this issue in the Indian cultural context. The ideas under this topic blocks can be summarised as: (i) "unconscious awareness" of environmental impact vs. individualistic human survival, and (ii) the coexistence of different sustainable approaches.

Unconscious environmental sustainability was seen as a consequence of the culturally embedded nature of sustainability practices in the Indian cultural context (*see 4.3.1).* This phenomenon was explained against the backdrop of the widespread struggle for survival with the prevalent poverty leaving no room for reflecting on one's own behavior and environmental impact.

"Here we are struggling to survive. How could I expect a guy who is barely making his ends meet to really understand what the earth is going to be in 10 years when he doesn't even know whether he is going to live 10 days?" [RT]

Reference was also made to many parallel realities in India, where on the one hand there are tendencies of the Indian elite to move to the countryside for a more sustainable, self-sufficient and better life, and the tendency of villagers on the other side to be drawn to the city with the same goal. Likewise, the increasing production of waste and the use of plastic is described as a consequence of Western influence also connected to the decrease of individual recycling and mending practices due to the lack of payment.

"Today when someone spends time recycling or mending or embroidering, there is no pay for it. You don't get a better pay for it. Today it is all about how much cash you can make with something." [PK]

5.3.4 Sustainability in the Indian sartorial context

Since a lot of the participants are actively part of the contemporary Indian fashion scene, sustainability was discussed in connection to the Indian sartorial identity and the current developments of the Indian fashion industry. Under this topic block two topics were identified: (i) sartorial sustainability by design and, (ii) current sustainability development in the Indian fashion context.

Traditional Indian garments were highlighted as being sustainable by design. The Kurta or the Sari were given as examples. The features of very straight cuts where no waste is created, as well as timeless designs exemplify the traditional ingrained sustainable practices in an Indian sartorial context. Another sustainable aspect of Indian traditional garments which was addressed is the longevity aspect due to the cultural practice of handing down garments from generation to generation.

> *"If you look at the Kurta with very straight cuts, you waste very little fabric, it is very sustainable, it's a very good design. It is for everybody." [R1]*

In a current Indian fashion context, the data indicates a conflictual situation where Indian designers try to navigate between the popular Western concept and understanding of sustainable fashion and the integration of their own cultural heritage. Sustainability is seen as a conflicting term in connection with fashion, not susceptible to fixed parameters. Accordingly, it is seen as an individual space of interpretation and exploration.

> *"Sustainability right now in India is a very buzzword*. [...] *it is about YOU, what sustainability is to you. I don't think sustainability can have guidelines - it is a much much larger topic." [GG]*

5.3.5 New approaches for sustaining Indian craftsmanship

Regarding the extinction of traditional craftsmanship in India, various innovative approaches were discussed which can contribute to preservation and valorization. The most relevant aspects under this topic block are: (i) intellectualising craftsmanship in connection with ethical commercialisation and, (ii) transnational knowledge exchange.

In relation to the first aspect, the importance of merging technology with the traditional art was addressed based on the example of optimising natural dying with an innovative recycling concept as a means of scaling this dying technique in an ethical manner and translating the unconscious recycling culture in India into a conscious one.

> *"We do a lot of the natural dyes., in technically right ways. [...] But for the natural dyes and all these beautiful traditional art to live, we need commercialisation. Ethical commercialisation.[…] So there is a craft, there is a tradition there is an artisan and there is the modern aspect of recycling. Because it is much more conscious recycling, let's put it that way. So it is the manage of conscious recycling and the traditional art. So culturally we are known to recycling but we are not aware of it. So that is the gap of conscious culture and unconscious cultur*e*."* [RT]

In relation to the second aspect, the necessity of knowledge exchange between India and European countries was emphasised, for the benefit of learning from each other's strengths and weaknesses. Herby, Indian processes could gain from the technological input exemplified by European pattern making, and European fashion brands could benefit by adopting a more human centric approach in production, through craftsmanship.

> *"In India we have a lot of weaving and embellishment techniques, embroidery and printing, but there is actually not a very strong flat pattern culture. [...] In Germany I think there is a very good system for that, for example with the zero waste patterns. And that is exactly the point where Europe can come in and the knowledge transfer with India should happen. [...] Indian fashion could gain and European fashion could go back to having a little bit more humanity" [AD]*

6 Discussion

Following the theoretical triumvirate (I) Values - (II) (Cultural) Heritage (as intangible asset) - (III) Sustainability, the aim of this discussion is to position Indian textile craftsmanship within a framework of cultural heritage as a valuable source of knowledge for sustainable practices in the fashion and textile industry.

6.1 Value attribution, Value recognition, Value affirmation in relation to Indian textile craftsmanship

On ***Values*** attributed to Indian textile craftsmanship by Indian textile and fashion stakeholders, and how their perspective is influenced by the global recognition and perception of Indian textile crafts and connotation of "Made in India", the following points of discussion are relevant.

Firstly, there is no doubt that in the Indian cultural context traditional textile craftsmanship plays a multivalent role, being intimately connected with the history of India, from both a commercial point of view and an identitary point of view. Not only does previous research confirm this point (*see Literature Review, Section 3.1.),* but so does immersion of the researchers in the Indian cultural context reveal, as well as the conversations conducted with the six respondents. This places India in a unique position when we look at India as a textile and fashion industry actor. There is arguably no other country in the world where textile craftsmanship has had such a long-lasting impact in shaping trade relations, international politics, national economy policies, cultural and fashion identity. The depth of the implications of this multifaceted role of traditional Indian textile craftsmanship for and in Indian society are clearly not profoundly understood by the overwhelming majority of Western counterparts (in the context of this study the reference is to fashion and textile industry stakeholders coming from the Global North, Western Europe in particular). This is demonstrated by the overwhelming association to prejudice and stereotyping Indian textile and fashion stakeholders express in relation to the global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India" *(see Section 4.1.1.).* This reveals a feeling of injustice and discontentment with the Western society that still displays a colonial mindset, colonising fashion as well as the "sustainability in fashion" narrative and ignoring the *Indian gaze* on Fashion and Sustainability.

It can be argued that the fashion industry at large fails to integrate Boas' *Cultural Relativism* lens into its understanding of the global fashion system and does not factor the Indian perspective in its conversations on "luxury fashion" and "sustainability in fashion". It is non-arguable nonetheless that the global recognition and valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship and "Made in India" influences to a great extent the contemporary internal recognition and perception of the value and future of Indian textile craftsmanship. The need for external validation and valuation of Indian textile craftsmanship is confirmed by the findings of this research and this confirmation strengthens the fact that the influence of British colonialism on the dignity and pride of Indian textile craft custodians cannot be ignored. This influence is reflected in the internal conflict Indian fashion and textile stakeholders reveal when it comes to subjects like (i) professional work ethics, (ii) borrowing aesthetic values and consumption patterns from the West or (iii) adapting to the business and aesthetic requirements of the West (or Global North) (*See 4.1.4.).*

Surely there are positive aspects that the West has promoted such as quality consistency, compliance to fixed timelines that ensure predictability in the commercial circuit, or innovation in sartorial design, but this does not mean that these positive aspects are unquestionable or that they represent an absolute standard for the fashion industry. As Niessen (2020) and Jansen (2019) point out, the fashion system is an inherently racist system by definition, built on ethnocentrism, supremacy of the Western fashion system and nullification of the clothing systems of other cultures. Jansen's (2019) blunt conclusion that *"For Europeans, the rest of the world never reached the state of producing art, literature or fashion; it is stuck producing 'arts-crafts,' 'myths' and 'costume'"* (Jansen, 2019, n.p.) is supported by our findings and this shows the urgency of changing the Western attitude towards India and expanding knowledge horizons in fashion and textile related research.

This research demonstrates that the Indian cultural context is characterised by an ongoing challenge to find a balance between (i) borrowing values from the West and adapting to Western values and success/efficiency parameters - or in the words of one respondent *"aping the West"* - and (ii) recontextualising the role of textile craftsmanship internally, transitioning from a neoclassical approach to the craft economy to a value-based approach that valorises the intangible heritage, as promoted by Kotipalli (2018), dignifying its craft custodians and embracing the diversity of "Indian-ness" (Kalkreuter, 2020). It appears that the existing cultural and ideological gap between India and the West can be bridged through cultural diplomacy and mediation, which require ongoing *translations* of the Indian cultural context for European textile and fashion stakeholders (*and vice-versa)*, as well as openness for knowledge exchange and knowledge partnership between India and Europe. In the words of one of the respondents, *it means bridging the cultural gap from both sides*. This gap seems to be deepened by a play of double standards on behalf of Western brands who position themselves as a global corrective and a role model for India (and the Global South in general), imposing compliance to certain social, ethical and environmental standards and requesting transparency in supply chains, but failing to acknowledge the quality of "Made in India" when they source luxury textiles and embellishments from India. We call this *"the Transparency Paradox"*.

In relation to the values Indian textile and fashion stakeholders attribute to Indian textile craftsmanship, this research confirms an ongoing clash between "tradition" and "modernity" in the Indian cultural context, clash which translates into a lack of unity and solidarity between textile artisans and textile and fashion designers in India and major differences in how the value of Indian traditional craftsmanship is perceived by Indian fashion and textile stakeholders and Indian consumers. There is even a conflict between "traditional artisans" and "urban artisans" or "artisan-designers".

The respondents in this study express a high degree of awareness of the value of Indian textile craftsmanship, its prospects and its relevance for the national and international textile and fashion ecosystem. By reference to the Indian society at large, they represent a minority. But at the same time, they are part of India's textile and fashion elite, who through their vision and work challenge the idea of obsolescence of handcrafted textiles and see Indian textile craftsmanship as an asset. The challenging realities they reveal in relation to how textile craftsmanship is valued in India are essential to understanding the Indian cultural context, and the solutions they propose for overcoming these challenges are redesigning the narrative attributing values to "Made in India", both at a national and an international level.

In the Indian cultural context, unawareness of the intrinsic value of handcrafted fabrics, lack of appreciation of homegrown talent, and disconnection from cultural heritage prevails, with a majority of Indian society taking its cultural heritage for granted and not seeing the importance of highlighting and sustaining the textile knowledge inherited through generations. Paradoxically these realities co-exist with increasing awareness of the value of intangible heritage, the rarity and uniqueness of Indian textile craftsmanship and aesthetic and a trend of getting conscious and returning to the cultural roots (*see Section 4.1.2)*.

What the conversations with the respondents reveal is a readiness to propose practical solutions for overcoming the "value deficit" Indian textile craftsmanship is suffering from, both at a national and an international level. A compilation of their inputs into a collective action proposal suggests as a starting point advocating for a change in perspective and adoption of multiple value-based indicators for assessing the value of Indian textile craftsmanship as opposed to the current assessment solely on the basis of commercial success. This implies a change in terminology to communicate the value of craft knowledge by using the term "craftsmanship" in association with Indian textile production and associating "Made in India" with a heritage of quality handcrafted textiles, complexity of manufacturing techniques and uniqueness of skill, with textiles that are cherished and transmitted from generation to generation as a culturally embedded practice (*see Section 5.3. Discussion on "Culturally embedded sustainability practices: Cultural Sustainability")*.

There is an apparent consensus that the processes of internal value recognition and value attribution in relation to Indian textile craftsmanship should follow a bottom-up approach, catalysed by the people and not by the Government through national policy. It remains unclear who "the people are"; which actors share this responsibility for "rebranding" "Made in India"? The Indian fashion and textile consumers at large? Textile artisans, fashion designers and textile craft professionals? Or the Indian fashion and textile industry elite as a driving force in the process for the valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship which would catalyse a trickle-down effect to the core of society and reach the masses? Elite in this context refers to textile and fashion stakeholders with a similar profile to the respondents, who are highly aware of the value of Indian textile craftsmanship, communicate this awareness and valorize Indian textile craftsmanship in their work.
And while this is the characterisation of a grassroots movement of changing a narrative in India, the role of state policy cannot be overlooked, especially in light of India's Geographical Indication Act (entered into force in 2003) and ratification by India of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (on September 18th 2005). Undeniably, internal valuation is influenced by external validation and external validation comes as a result of self-empowerment, self-determination and requesting recognition. Originating in international law, the notion of *self-determination* refers to a collective right by virtue of which all peoples (*only a "people", not an individual, can exercise the right*) can freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development *(Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights)*. In the context of this research, we use the notion of *self-determination* to convey the idea expressed by the respondents that Indian textile and fashion stakeholders need to stand up as a collective, disconnect from the colonial history of subordination and negotiate a new relationship with the Global North so that the West can no longer *"get away with"* the lack of acknowledgement of the value Indian textile craftsmanship.

In the context of this research, self-determination implies awareness of the intangible value of cultural heritage and of the modalities for valorization of cultural heritage as an intangible asset.

6.2 Valorization of cultural heritage as intangible asset: "Rebranding" "Made in India"

On valorization of Indian Cultural ***Heritage*** as an intangible asset, specifically, the uniqueness of textile crafts knowledge and skill, aspects of such valorization are reflected in the way the respondents define "luxury" in the Indian textile context and their references to the integration of Indian textile craftsmanship in the work of contemporary Indian textile creators and fashion designers. This reveals a high rebranding potential for "Made in India" through promoting a narrative based on India's textile heritage and the incomparable creativity and skill associated with Indian textile creation, following Italy's model of valorization of the "Renaissance" period (*See Section 3.2.2).*

Our findings suggest that the current *state of the art* in India indicates a worrying loss of intangible cultural heritage due to the devaluation of Indian textile craftsmanship. The focus on mass-production and financial reward over value, (what we call throughout this research the *"Money over value"* phenomenon), led to craftspeople being predominantly reduced to mere factors of production in India, which in turn caused a devaluation of the quality of Indian textile craftsmanship, a disconnection with the inherited values of quality, refinement and complexity. With reduced interest in learning the craft by young generations due to the society's lack of valorization and respect for handcrafted textiles, the knowledge is being lost, which equals a loss of intangible cultural heritage as high-quality craftsmanship and artistry in textile production is becoming a rarity.

At the same time, our findings reveal that contemporary fashion designers and textile stakeholders in India recognise that the Indian textile heritage is a beneficial distinguishing factor for creating local design identities and an intangible resource locally available. Kuldova's (2017) observations on the dependability of Indian designers from the skills and knowledge of textile artisans are also confirmed. Textile and fashion production in India would not exist without its heritage of textile craftsmanship and the inherited knowledge associated with textile raw material harvesting, weaving, finishing, embellishing etc. Contemporary Indian designers are propagating and incorporating Indian textile techniques into their work (Nagrath, 2003) because in India fashion and textile production is insolubly connected to textile craftsmanship. However, this connection is currently fragile - it can either be renewed and strengthened, or subjected to an irremediable rupture. Strengthening and renewal is possible through a craft-centric narrative and artisan-centric approach where the focus is on sustaining the craft and uplifting the craftspeople from the ground level and mid-level of the pyramid of influence in the craft sector (Boța-Moisin, 2020), by igniting a feeling of pride associated with textile craftsmanship in India, dignifying the textile craft custodians and introducing craft innovations that contribute to the process of textile craftsmanship valorization and which do not replace human creative input with that of a machine. On the other hand, the rupture can be caused by the accusation of the clash between "tradition" and "modernity" and failure to understand "traditional" as expressing a traditional link with the Indian society (*See Section 3.3., last paragraph),* as well as the lack of recontextualisation of traditional craftsmanship and understanding its value in contemporary fashion and textile production. In the scenario that the relationship between fashion and craftsmanship in India will strengthen its symbiosis, textile craftsmanship could become India's "cultural currency" for negotiating its position in the global textile market, and India's value proposition for the

global fashion and sustainability agenda.

Despite the legal terminology associated with valorization of cultural heritage as an intangible asset not being part of the conversational vocabulary of the respondents in this study, elements that define Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Cultural Expressions are identified in the respondents' reflections on *"luxury"* in the Indian fashion context. Luxury is therefore associated with rarity of craftsmanship and fineness of the embellishments *(a characteristic of heritage Indian textiles)*, time-consuming in terms of production processes and skill-demanding, high quality that allows it to be kept in the family and transmitted from generation to generation, longevity, purity of material, purity of aesthetic. Of particular interest is the association between luxury and intangible value expressed by one of the respondents as *"the soul of the product"*, and the identification of luxury with an Indian traditional textile cultural expression - the Sari (*"If I want to have a luxury item I would buy a Sari."*) - a tangible expression that conveys complex meaning in the Indian cultural context. All respondents, without exception, reject the narrative of associating luxury with brand value and marketing strategies as is common for Western luxury fashion brands. This demonstrates that the respondents in this study have a value-based perception of luxury which includes the value of craftsmanship as intangible heritage.

Our findings further suggest that in the current Indian cultural context, valorization of textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset is not realized at its full potential and certain reasons for that are identified and developed in Sections 4.2.1. to 4.2.3. There are limited legal and marketing tools available for this purpose (*see references to certification of authenticity of traditional cultural expressions in Section 4.2.1. and to the efficiency of the Geographical Indication protection for Indian traditional textile craftsmanship in Section 3.2.1.)* as well as limited access to information and awareness of the possibilities of valorizing textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset. Discussions like the ones this research incited are rare. Multidisciplinary approaches that bring law and sustainable development policy in a conversation on fashion and craft are not everyday topics of discussion in India, or elsewhere.

This process of "rebranding" following a heritage-based narrative can be a starting point for a multi-disciplinary valorization process of Indian craftsmanship and can include more than valorization of quality (*i.e. Indian heritage textiles*) and skill (*i.e. knowledge of textile processing and manufacturing transmitted from generation to generation*), extending to valorizing elements of culture and lifestyle reflected in culturally embedded sustainability practices that define the Indian cultural context. In a nutshell, *Rebranding "Made in India" through Cultural Sustainability.*

6.3 Culturally embedded sustainability practices: Cultural Sustainability

On **"*Sustainability*"** in the Indian fashion context, this research contributes a documented account of the fact that in the Indian cultural context Cultural Sustainability, as defined in *Section 1.3.1* of this study, represents the dominating narrative in relation to textile and fashion production and consumption. This translates into two main ideas: i) the prevalence of culturally embedded sustainability practices in the Indian cultural context and ii) sustaining textile craftsmanship - and therefore sustaining livelihoods through textile craftsmanship as a determinant of the Indian perspective on "sustainability".

Our findings suggest that, enabling cross-generational transmission of textile craft knowledge, informing customers and collaborators on the processes involved in handcrafting textiles, and

sustaining craftsmanship and livelihoods by integrating traditional textile manufacturing techniques in contemporary textile and fashion creation, are processes that enable and reflect Cultural Sustainability. At the level of design-thinking, culturally embedded sustainability practices are reflected in the Indian sartorial heritage (*See Section 4.3.3)*. Our findings reveal that Traditional Cultural Expressions such as the *Sari,* or the *Dhoti* demonstrate what we call *"Sustainability by Design"*. Designed to minimise waste, draped on the body or sewn in such a way that allows for easy adjustment and good fitting despite body modifications, handed down in the family and never discarded, traditionally garments in India are valorized in a household at the end of their lifecycle.

Our findings further indicate that, in relation to textile consumption in the Indian context, techniques of *upcycling*, *recycling* and *downcycling*, prolonging a product's lifecycle through *reuse* and *repair* are part of the lifestyle and not newly developed practices meant to solve textile overconsumption, since textile overconsumption is not a problem in India at the level it is a problem in Europe[10]. Corroborating this information with sustainability design-thinking promoted in Europe, it appears that "new" Western sustainable design principles like "Design to minimise waste", "Design to reduce the need to consume" or "Design that looks at models from nature and history" (*three of the TED's TEN Sustainable Design Principles*) have always been embedded in the making of traditional Indian garments. In India what is being practiced in terms of sustainability in fashion is more culturally ingrained rather than following prescribed sustainability strategies and sustainability measurement indicators. All respondents without exception confirm this thesis as *Section 4.3.1* of this study shows.

The analysis of the findings confirms that there is undeniably a difference between the Indian perspective on "sustainability" reflected in the sustainability practices identified in the Indian cultural context, and the Western understanding of sustainability and perspective on how to increase social and environmental sustainability. At a first glance it might seem that these perspectives are contradictory, and such an idea has been expressed by the respondents in this study and analysed in *Section 4.3.2*. Whilst the Western perspective focuses on certification systems, respect of socio-economic rights like payment of fair wages and allowing for adequate holiday recovery-time, the Indian perspective is focused on *sustainability through craft* (Sandhu, 2020), which is also connected to securing livelihood for a high proportion of the Indian population.

Despite an apparent lack of awareness of environmental impact in the Indian cultural context, this research demonstrates the existence of what has been referred to by one of the respondents as *"unconscious environmental sustainability"* resulting from the nature of Indian textile craftsmanship characterised by resource mindfulness due to its reliance on human capital (*i.e yarn handspun, fabric handwoven, embellishments hand-embroidered*). While resource mindfulness is culturally embedded, awareness of the global climate crisis and environmental sustainability takes a back-seat due to the prioritisation of individualistic human survival. Although this may come across as a "sustainability" paradox *(see Section 4.3.2),* we argue that it is in fact a key intangible asset for India. Having reached the same conclusion as Sandhu (2020) that there is a *model of design for wellbeing* embedded in many craft activities and a source of spiritual and emotional enlightenment, we would translate the Indian perspective on sustainability as complementary to the Western perspective and in no

[10] The challenge for the 2020 EU Social Innovation competition: Reimagine Fashion, was to propose socially innovative solutions "*that change the ways we produce, buy, use (up-cycle and recycle) fashion towards an increased social and environmental sustainability*" by reducing the overall environmental footprint and improving the societal impact of the fashion market.

case contradictory. In the context of decolonising the fashion system, not only does Indian fashion identity and sartorial heritage have an important role in changing paradigms in aesthetics, but it also provides culturally embedded solutions for creating sustainable fashion through a focus on Cultural Sustainability.

Related to sustaining textile craftsmanship in the Indian cultural context, and therefore sustaining livelihoods through textile craftsmanship, the respondents in this study agree that for Indian textile craftsmanship to sustain, craft innovation, mindful integration of technology and new approaches are needed (*See Section 4.3.5*). While visions and actions for sustaining Indian textile craftsmanship exist in the Indian textile and fashion ecosystem, knowledge exchange between Indian and European fashion and textile industry stakeholders is also indicated as a viable solution. Concurring with this view we believe that knowledge partnership for sustainability practices in the context of fashion and textiles is essential and India's Cultural Sustainability expertise (as well as that of the Global South in general) is essential for a holistic approach to sustainable development that equally considers people, planet, profit and culture.

To conclude the discussion on ***"Sustainability"*** in the Indian fashion context, we express disagreement with the conclusion of the "India Sustainability Report 2020. Science and Sentiment" according to which *sustainability is mistaken with handmade* in the Indian context. We would suggest that it is not that most people mistake handmade as synonymous with sustainability in India, but because of the culturally embedded sustainability practices in India being intimately connected to handcrafted textile production, they are more prone to understand "sustainability" as Cultural Sustainability and not environmental or social responsibility. Cultural relativism supports this interpretation. To see this as a "mistake" and not a particularity of the Indian cultural context underlines again the deeply rooted consequences of colonialism in the Indian society.

7 Managerial implications

From a Textile Management perspective, this research is relevant in terms of expanding the academic curricula in textile and fashion management educational institutions to include inter alia: i) a legal perspective for framing textile craftsmanship, ii) awareness of the legal protection tools for traditional textile knowledge and traditional cultural expressions in India, iii) cross-cultural negotiations and mediation strategies in buyer-supplier relationships with Indian counterparts, and iv) tools for Cultural Sustainability strategy development.

Specifically, in relation to textile applications of logistics and product development, this research contributes to new circular business model approaches. With relevance for developing and implementing Luxury Sustainable Circular Value Models (LSCV) (Jain and Mishra, 2018), this research introduces the potential of creating sustainable circular value textile and fashion business models by recognising and integrating traditional Indian textile craftsmanship (and its embedded sustainability implications) in contemporary textile value chains. If the current technology focused efforts for sustainable development of the industry can be merged with, and supplemented by, traditional handcrafting processes, textile craftsmanship can serve as an important component for building circular business models and creating sustainable value on a corporate and society level.

For fashion and textile industry stakeholders in executive management positions, this research can serve as the basis for, inter alia: i) introducing Cultural Sustainability on the executive agenda of Western fashion and textile companies sourcing from India, ii) developing internal codes of cultural ethics and sourcing guidelines for developing business relationships with Indian textile and fashion stakeholders, and, on a general scale, iv) incorporating cultural considerations into the textile management decision-making processes.

The cross-disciplinary nature of this research makes it a valuable resource for enabling interdepartmental communication at fashion company level and crafting new executive roles - such as Cultural Sustainability managers or internal auditors that immerse in the Indian cultural context on behalf of the foreign company - to bridge the cultural and ideological gap between India and the West through cultural diplomacy and mediation based on translations of the Indian cultural context for European textile and fashion stakeholders (and vice-versa).

At a global industry level, this research offers global industry stakeholders valuable information for developing strategies for taking positive action for reaching the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals by 2030 (the SDGs). Alignment of the textile and fashion industry with the 17 SDGs requires a holistic approach to sustainable development, cumulatively enabling environmental, social, economic, and Cultural Sustainability.

These managerial implications are especially relevant given the positioning of India as the third biggest exporter of textiles in the world after China and Europe (Statista, 2020), a fact that underlines the necessity and importance of understanding the Indian cultural context and broadening horizons and erasing the stereotypes and bias still associated in the West with textile and garment production “Made in India” (see Conclusion below).

8 Conclusion

In this study we investigated how contemporary Indian textile and fashion industry stakeholders see the valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship in India, how they perceive the external recognition of the value of Indian textile craftsmanship, and what does "sustainability" mean in the Indian cultural context in their opinion. To do that we conducted a 4 week-immersive field research, engaging in real-life, candid interactions with contemporary Indian textile and fashion stakeholders in the Indian cultural context. The focus of the sample on representatives of the Indian textile and fashion elite is intentional and a distinctive feature, since it allows for a unique direct and unbiased insight of the perspectives of Indian nationals who are highly experienced and educated in Indian textile craftsmanship, its cultural context as well as its global positioning. Their work, voice and reputation are shaping India's contemporary textile craft-sustainability narrative. Consequently, their strong awareness of the value of Indian textile craftsmanship in connection with their means and resources to create direct impact in the textile and fashion space, makes their voices an important narrative to contextualise India and Indian textile craftsmanship within the global textile and fashion industry.

The answers to our main research question and sub-research question are complex and certainly not exhaustive.

In relation to the recognition, within India, of the values associated with Indian textile craftsmanship, focusing in particular on the extent to which the external recognition by the Global North influences this process or is influenced by the internal value recognition, the departure point for this research was the premise that Western fashion industry stakeholders do not publicly acknowledge the value of Indian textile craftsmanship and express prejudice in connection with textiles "Made in India". This research validates this premise. Prejudices and stereotypes associated by the West with India as a country and with textiles and garments "Made in India" prevail. But this Western perspective is also influenced by the lack of unity and solidarity between textile artisans and textile and fashion designers in India and major differences in how the value of Indian traditional craftsmanship is perceived by Indian fashion and textile stakeholders and Indian consumers.

There is not one universal story for India. In working with India and Indian stakeholders, India's cultural heterogeneity must be taken into account, as well as the internal conflict between "modernity" and "tradition", the influence of colonialism on consumption, production, value recognition and attribution, and the focus of national policy on valorizing craft as a commodity and not as an intangible asset thus causing devaluation of intangible cultural heritage. Poverty and consequently the struggle for securing livelihood determines decision-making for the majority of the Indian population and is therefore to be seen as an obstacle to the self-determination necessary to challenge the current subordinate and submissive positioning of India within the global textile and fashion context. This unequal power relationship affects the existing progressive approaches of the Indian textile and fashion elite (as defined in the first paragraph of Section 2.3) who operate in an ethical and sustainable manner by means of sustaining traditional craftsmanship, preserving their cultural heritage and promoting a Cultural Sustainability narrative. This study concludes that the Indian textile and fashion elite redefines textile "luxury" in an Indian cultural context through a craftsmanship-centric perspective of luxury where focus is on the value of the process of making, the rarity of the knowledge and uniqueness of skill, rather than the brand value or the price of the product.

In relation to understanding the meaning of "sustainability" in the Indian cultural context, in relation to textile craftsmanship, and how this understanding relates to the Western concept of "sustainability", this study implies that the multifaceted role of traditional Indian textile craftsmanship for and in Indian society is not fully understood at a global level.

Understanding "sustainability" in the Indian fashion context requires understanding of the Indian cultural context and a translation of the sustainability practices identified based on immersion in this context as an observer and a mediator. Sustainability in India is seen as a localised individual commitment, as opposed to the predominantly collective industrial approach of the West. Textile craftsmanship plays a fundamental role in defining the Indian national and sartorial identity and influences the meaning of "sustainability" in this cultural context. Cultural Sustainability is the dominating narrative in the Indian cultural context due to the prevalence of culturally embedded sustainability practices and the role of textile craftsmanship in sustaining livelihood.

Based on the prevalence of culturally embedded sustainability practices this study formulates the notions of "Sustainability by Design" and "Unconscious Environmental Sustainability" and confirms that there is a "model of design for wellbeing" embedded in many craft activities and a source of spiritual and emotional enlightenment. This research concludes that the Indian perspective on sustainability is complementary to the Western perspective and this complementarity can yield mutually beneficial synergies. Finally, the findings of this study point towards India's Cultural Sustainability narrative as potentially becoming a key asset for a holistic approach to sustainable development that equally considers people, planet, profit and culture, and the medium for rebranding "Made in India".

The conclusions of this research and the new cross-disciplinary perspective it provides can be applied in developing and sustaining textile craftsmanship-centric collaborations between Indian fashion and textile industry stakeholders and Western counterparts and global knowledge partnerships for sustainability in the fashion and textile industry.

This research should be regarded as an imperative preparatory step for long-term action research on developing benefit-sharing business models based on ethical and fair collaborations between global fashion and Indian textile craftsmanship. It is the first immersive step which needs to be complemented by further in-depth research in order to translate the Indian cultural context in its relevant complexity, for textile and fashion stakeholders.

There are many aspects of the research problem that can be further explored in relation to either of the three perspectives of the conceptual triumvirate that defines the research framework - Values, (Cultural) Heritage as intangible asset and Sustainability. Based on this research corroborated with Buckley and Peters' 2019 case-study analysis on *Innovation and Intellectual Property: Creating Value and Cultural Currency in Fashion Products* an ample investigation of the existing collaboration frameworks and negotiation power-dynamics between Indian textile and fashion stakeholders and Western counterparts can be conducted, looking in particular at the valorization of textile craft knowledge as cultural intellectual property.

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11 Appendix

11.1 Appendix 1 - Transcription of interviews

1. Respondent 1 (Delhi Crafts Council)

Respondent 1: I am working at Delhi crafts council which works in Delhi and surrounding areas. If you view the scene now it has quite changed since the time I joined, which was around 30 years ago. There is still a lot to be done in the craft area. That's why I am still working for the crafts council after all these years and I still enjoy the work.

Monica Boța-Moisin: It is amazing, you have seen everything changing in front of your eyes.

Respondent 1: Yes it's been very different. When we started there was very little. All those institutes were set up. There was a Textile Ministry, there was a Handicraft Ministry, there were festivals abroad, there were many nice exhibitions, there were what you called Weaver Service Center all over the country and outlets like Cottage Industry. But it was all garment sponsored. We ourselves had very little funds, so all our programs would be sponsored and supported by the government. At that time there was a lot of emphasis on exports of Indian craft. To this day there is very little recognition of Indian textiles globally. And I ask myself why is that? If you look at the craft and textiles it is incredible. Maybe it is because in those export years the focus was on cheap Indian textiles and garments like skirts and maybe the Indian people started to identify themselves with those kinds of things. Maybe that's the reason why. Slowly now, things are changing, but on the whole, I feel it still doesn't have that much recognition as it should have. When we look back traditionally, we have a lot, but we ourselves are too dwell. But now I feel people are interested and go forward. There are a lot of private enterprises besides the government, which is very important. Now people are sort of taking a bit of their heritage. Like the fashion industry when it started in India. Now everybody is going back into sustainable fashion and designs because they realised we have the capacity, we have the people who can do those things. Where else in the world do you have that? Many designers are now looking at what we have as heritage and art. So they are going ahead in that way and that is very exciting.

Monica Boța-Moisin: If we would focus on the luxury textiles in India. Could you talk a bit about what you see as luxury textiles in India and the craftsmen who are involved?

Respondent 1: We always had luxury textiles in India. As you know there is no other country that had all the techniques already in ancient times and was a very huge exporter of luxury textiles. India always has been home and has produced the most exquisite textiles. Looking back now, we had these 200-300 years of foreign rule and 200 years of colonial rule which has totally devastated our economy. We were not the buyers of a market for such luxury goods but it is changing now since the 1990s. Now a lot of people are interested in luxury textiles, so things are coming back.

Monica Boța-Moisin: You mentioned in our previous talk off the record, that there is not really an Indian fashion identity. Can you explain that further?

Respondent 1: Yes I really feel that. We have such a strong background. For instance, sari or the garments that we wear (Kurta, Pajama). They got such fantastic design aspects. If you look at the Kurta with very straight cuts, you waste very little fabric, it is very sustainable, it's

a very good design. It is for everybody - you can get fat, you can get thin. Also the sari is easy to pack and it never goes out of style. You can make it as expensive as you want and pass it on to your daughter. You´re not cutting it up, you are not personalizing it, you are not changing the colors. The colors will be there forever. That doesn't mean that it is static, things always change but in a slow and organic way. In today's world slow and organic maybe is going out of style but maybe it will come back, because we will finally realise our foolishness, rushing and running. But a slow organic change is much more sensible. Indian designers really should look like what they have and go from there. Some of them are doing that, which is very nice that they are doing that. Especially younger people, younger labels are definitely looking into that. Things are changing, and that is nice.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Today we walked a bit around the most expensive area in Delhi to see a few Indian brands and we saw some saying they work with craftspeople and it is true artisanship.

Respondent 1: It goes both ways. It is also used as a selling gimmick. Sustainable, hand-dyed, etc. is the new thing now so everybody is putting that label on no matter what.

Monica Boța-Moisin: There is no one certifying that?

Respondent 1: There is a small organisation that certifies but it's not everywhere obviously. Soon what is going to kill the hand block printing is digital printing, because it is so close to the original and the colors are even better and they can do everything so cheaply. It has already happened. I don't know whether it can be done through rules and laws. Maybe it can. Maybe you can have a testing place where you can determine natural colors or synthetic colors, where you can say it is digital printing or done by hand. Actually if you have the eye for it, you can easily tell, no matter how good the digital printing is. Because there is an element in the hand printing which can never be achieved by digital printing. If there would be an agency that controls and senses that, it could be of use. But now what the Government of India has is the Silk Mark, the organisation ICA has a craft mark. They go to the producer and check out the processes and then they give a certification and then those people are allowed to use the craft mark. Things like that help.

Monica Boța-Moisin: What we saw is that those companies say they work with craftspeople but never say specifically from which region, like Made in Kashmir. The same happens in the larger fashion scene, where brands avoid naming Made in India. The same obviously also happens in India.

Respondent 1: Yes it's a great shame. I think it is really sad that you should not acknowledge the make of the product. I was really shocked in today's age where big brands would like to be so transparent, would like to dictate how things should be, they don't acknowledge that most of the luxury textiles they produce are handmade in India. What is the shame in doing that? You should be proud to say that it is handmade in India. It also says it is handmade in Turkey. It is a special product now. In earlier ages everything was handmade, everything was naturally dyed. Within 200 years everything has changed. Now we have this whole plethora of synthetic dyes so now that has become a very special thing. The more we go further, the more we look at our future, the more we look at our climate. So these things are probably coming back and there is already a great interest. Acknowledging the person who made it is also a very important part of this process. Besides monetary benefits, the person who made it is entitled to the acknowledgement that helps him. I have seen people who have got it - some

printers from Gujarat - they are so proud of what they are doing. It helps them in other ways. It is not just money, it is also dignity which is important. So we should bring dignity back to hand skills. We should feel happy that somebody else is doing it. Whenever I see big international fashion houses using traditional Indian weaved luxury textiles, I ask why there is no acknowledgement? It's because India is associated with poor quality. That is shocking because it is even produced according to their standards. Maybe they feel they can just get away with it. Maybe there is nobody in India who puts a case on them and takes them to task. They had it so easy for a very long time, because India was very poor economically and we were always looking for work and for people coming from other countries. Everybody who came from the outside was much wealthier than we were. We were always wanting work from them, so we were always running after exports and foreign exchange. Maybe that's why we still keep quiet.

Monica Boța-Moisin: They got used to having India as a supply partner not as an equal partner.

Respondent 1: Yes, so equal partnership has to come from both sides. I think primarily it has to come from India. Because if we don´t stand up, they will never acknowledge us. So we have to push for the Indian people.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Who is we?

Respondent 1: That´s a very difficult question. One person obviously can't do it. Indian is diverse, so each region having there own organisation may or may not be possible Some self-help organisation should form. I am sure that has not even entered the minds of everybody, that such a thing is happening and that such a thing is possible. So it is not even on the agenda of many people because they are too busy making a living or whatever. If India would be a very simple unified place, that would be easy. But when you have so many different states it is very difficult to have a unified vision. So it has to come from society or it has to come from for example the weavers who form an organisation. So somebody has to take the initiative.

Monica Boța-Moisin: We are personally afraid to come from the outside and tell you what you can do and we know how to. Because we are not Indian, we love this culture, but we do believe that India should stand up and say: Handcrafted in India should be on all our fabrics. Could we come and help to organise that into coherent actions?

Respondent 1: Why can't you come? If it is for our good and we recognise that, it is just a question of logic. In this question of equal equations there is no you or me. It doesn't matter. Whatever you feel strongly about one should say. And if it can help, even more so.

2. Anjana Das (White Champa)

Anjana Das: You have to bridge the cultural gap from both sides. You can't say the quality automatically is going to be to what a company like Chanel would expect. There is a phrase in Hindi where they say: “its Unispeas”, which means 19 out of 20. Also my embroidery in the beginning was saying it´s “unispeas”, so it's okay, it´ll go. So I was saying “no, for me it has to be 20 out of 20. So that is a learning process. The embroider I work with was with me from me from the very beginning, so by now it is clear and he knows that. So that was definitely a gap that was there, and what you in general often see in all units when you walk around. So

basically they don't reach their full potential because there is not somebody who is putting a little extra love into the final finished product.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Why do you think people shy away from Made in India?

Anjana Das: If you see a label and a garment which says Made in India people always have this association of either thinking it is going to be made by child labour, sweat shops, polluting work circumstances and so somehow for most people it still creates that imaginary of something that is cheap and not well made. And of course also the hippie vibe, so when it´s Made in India it has to be something people wear in Goa on the beach. But of course for the people who know a bit more about textiles, there is still the connotation about historical trade and luxury fashion but in connection to textiles that are unaffordable. People who know about textiles and that they are made in India often think that it is assumptious and therefore something they can't wear because it is too ornamented, too rich in terms of the aesthetic of it. So they feel it is not for them or for an European context. So I think it is both - too colorful and not suitable for European fashion identity - or that it is made under poor work circumstances that are not very supportable for the consumer and their new mindset of wanting to feel good about yourself and buying things made in work circumstances that can only be met in Europe. I think that is in consumers minds nowadays, in Germany at least.

Raphael Schreiber: How do you think it is possible to change that connotation?

Anjana Das: I think by knowledge about companies and units like ours. We pay our workers fairly and well and we have a work ethic that is very similar or even better to companies in Europe. I think it's all about knowledge. You have to teach people that Made in India does not automatically mean that poor children are working by candle light. I mean, those companies exist here. You have very bad factories with very bad work circumstances. But there are enough of us who work very differently. So it is all about documenting that and also doing shows like we are planning at the moment, where you show the approach that those Indian brands have. That you can only do by showcasing in Europe. Where you bring those brands from India and show them what they do.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes, and acknowledge the relationship between craft and culture and that you can't really replicate the quality of it by machines.

Anjana Das: Exactly, it is the knowledge of showing. So that is what we are planning to do, video documenting and showing that in Germany for people to notice that. I noticed with my clients in Germany, when I show them my embroideries, they don´t believe that it is done by hand looking at this very fine woven fabrics from Bengal for example. They can´t believe it is handmade, so you really have to show what skill and knowledge goes into that. So knowledge it's not only something where you set up a machine or press a button, but it is actually something that is in people's minds and it takes all this calmness to make a fabric and an embroidery like that by hand. You have to sit very peacefully. So you have to show that and educate people because it is ignorance which feeds all these stereotypes and prejudices. So education is the only way to overcome that.

Monica Boța-Moisin: So you have different collaborators for the different kinds of embellishments you make?

Anjana Das: I work a lot with all kinds of hand woven fabrics. I work with people from every state because I try to buy directly from the weavers, which is always my preferred way of working. I also buy from stores, especially when you need something quicker than usual and the timelines are too long, but only if there is an ongoing link between the store and the weaver.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Do you communicate from which state or region your fabrics come from?

Anjana Das: Yes of course. I would always say that and you can also see from the patterns where it comes from. When we sell that and talk to the client I always indicate that. That is the added value of what I do. Otherwise where would be the difference. Coming back to that design exchange, in India we have a lot of weaving and embellishment techniques, embroidery and printing, but there is actually not a very strong flat pattern culture. A lot of the Indian garments come from the trade, so when you look at the pattern making skills of the master artisans, they are often not very trained. There are now these schools like NIFT and MID where there are also pattern making courses, but in reality the masters are mostly trained at home. In Germany I think there is a very good system for that, for example with the zero waste patterns. And that is exactly the point where Europe can come in and the knowledge transfer with India should happen. So if we start this kind of effort and learn from each other's strengths and weaknesses, Indian fashion could gain and European fashion could go back to having a little bit more humanity, embellishment and ornamentation on the garments.

Monica Boța-Moisin: We also have this motto at the Cultural Intellectual Property Rights Initiative - "traditional knowledge meeting innovative technology". You have to merge them together.

Anjana Das: Yes, otherwise craft will not survive. I think a lot of this charity-based initiatives for saving the artisans are unfortunately about leaving everything on the same level. When you look at the designs or motifs they use, of course a lot of it comes from tradition which should stay alive, but there also needs to be innovation that makes it wearable for an urban person in Germany. That's what I was referring to when people say Made in India, they imagine something folkloristic or the color sense is not the same. So you have to adapt, otherwise craft will not survive. Also sometimes Indian clients who don´t know our brand so well tell us to leave the embroidery and instead just put something on the garment. So we have to tell them that this is actually what makes our garments what they are. So Indian clients don't have the appreciation for their own craft culture. My European clients on the other side, who understand what our brands stands for, are all very in love with the embroidery. Indian clients not so much. They say: "you could do it by machine. Why do you do it by hand?". The Indian clients just take it for granted, not realising that the craft is dying. European clients on the other hand are not so used to having their clothes made. So people in Germany for example wouldn't let a dress be made for a party, because it is also quite unaffordable there. So when I showcase in Germany they exactly realise how luxurious that is. When the clients there don´t know our brand they are always very surprised that they actually can choose out of so many colors. They start very carefully and then it´s like a girl in a candy store, so they really go for it. So it's really about the joy of making clothes and how much you will enjoy wearing this for the rest of your life. At White Champa we always leave a bit more fabric allowance so if you change your figure you can come back to us and we will change it for you- we make it wider or tighter. So we expect our customers to wear our garments for years. Also when customers come to us with a garment from ten years ago where

maybe the color faded over the years, but they really like it, we make the same again for them. So this is true luxury. Once you find something that fits really well on you, why would you want to change that? Women's bodies are not changing, so why are we changing our garments every few months in different shapes? It is not very logical.

Monica Boța-Moisin: What is the Indian fashion identity?

Anjana Das: That's a difficult one. When you are in Delhi you sit a little bit in a bubble of a small community of fashion designers. I am very much on the outskirts of that "village" I would say because I come and go between Germany and India, so I am not that much part of the Indian designer scene. The Delhi scene consists more of smaller labels that use craft a lot and really make that a point of their fashion identity and talk about it. But all these labels have representations or relations to brands abroad or have agents abroad. So you could say that it is really like a little oasis. But in general Indian fashion, when you look more at the mainstream, there is still not much appreciation for the artisan. There is a lot of embellishment that happens without taking it to a 21st century aesthetic. It is basically a repetition of what was made in the past. There is a lot of activity in the sort of fine dressing for special occasions, like weddings or parties. They pretty much still look the same, only with few alterations, so it is still the same concept. There has not been so much innovation in women's fashion, I would say. I think that's a danger. Because less and less women will wear these traditional clothes, in an urban setting at least. So I am now talking about cities, not about villages. In cities where women go out more, work more, move more, it is not so suitable to wear the same kind of garments. So then it gets relegated to only occasion wear. So it becomes only something for the evening, wedding, party or festival. That is a very sad thing, because there is no innovation happening within the traditional clothing sector. That is definitely one of the problems at the moment.

Monica Boța-Moisin: You have a lot of different cuts. You definitely see the cultural influence but at the same time it is stuff I haven't seen anywhere else.

Anjana Das: Yes, but I am like a Chameleon. I used to live in South-East Asia - I lived in Thailand and I lived in the Philippines, I went to Japan a lot. So I have different inspirations that are Asian. So that's a thing India has not called on enough compared to other Southeast Asian countries. So India should look to the Asian market rather than looking always towards the West. When I lived in the Philippine, the women there were very appreciative of the craft, because in the Philippines for different reasons it was that the Americans killed the cotton sector when they replaced cotton with tobacco in the late 19th century. So they basically stopped growing cotton. They are now slowly regrowing cotton. Philippine cotton used to be very fine and now it has become very coarse. So they know how quickly you lose the status of the finest cotton production country in southeast Asia being now back to the "baby-level". Also in Thailand they are very innovative in their pattern making. So I take a lot of inspiration from these clothing traditions as well. A lot of Indian designers want to grow and become big at some point. I myself decided to keep my brand small. For me luxury is not only about the price, luxury is about how it is made. The bigger you are, the more compromises there are.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes we like that very much. That luxury is about execution and producing small quantities. The Western brand concept on the other side, where it's the bigger the brand, to bigger the brand value.

Anjana Das: Yes for me that is definitely the definition of luxury. As a designer you need to find the balance. If you work with handmade textiles you can't say you want to make a 1000 pieces of something, which would be the demand of a big western brand. Then there are also high and consistent quality standards which are hard to meet having big orders. That's why I decided to stay small. But I also understand, depending where you are coming from, that brands and designers in India want to become big. I think there is nothing wrong with that, but it always comes with a price. On the other hand, Lesage would be an example that it is still possible to produce higher quantities without making compromises in quality and work circumstances. Their fashion production they do in South India is very remarkable. But Lesage also has the comfort of having Chanel supplementing that effort. You have to have an investor. That is what it boils down to, having those structures in place. It is possible to do it but you have to run a unit with an almost superhuman effort of quality control. But it is a 24/7 approach you have to have. It is possible to do it but not many people succeed. You have to put a lot of structures in place. But it's one thing if you are an embroiderer working for Lesage, you are fine. But the majority of artisans are not working for Lesage. From a brand perspective working with them is also quite difficult sometimes because the pricing is often so haphazard. So sometimes they quote you prices where you can tell that they just been thought of, so they look at your brand and see that it is an expensive brand so they hike their prices accordingly. In order to work it needs to be a supply chain that is reliable. It goes in any direction. Also sometimes they underquote their prices because they want to have the job so they put themselves in a position where it's like slave labour. Also people buying from these artisans often don't know how much time it takes to make these garments or applying those techniques of embellishment so they will pay a much too low price thinking that they are paying fairly. So I really think it needs those middle people who teach the artisans how to calculate a price for their craft and teach that an hour of work needs to be an hour of uninterrupted work. Calculating the price for craft is not an easy thing to do. That's very much for me part of a sustainable future of craft.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Where is the difference between the artisan as a laborer and the artisan as a creative who puts heart and soul into the embellishment?

Anjana Dan: You have to pay for the design. You have to have a design fee build into the product that you are making for someone. What tends to happen is that they pay you for the hour, four examples for one hour of embroidery. So there needs to be a design fee built in either for the designer or for the artisan. So artisans have to be aware of their intellectual property and be able to value it. That is not easy, because you can´t say you thought of this design in one hour. That's not feasible, because designing happens in such different ways. Those banana fiber products that I make, the weavers that make them call themselves the “Dreamweavers” because they believe that the spirits give them the designs in their sleep. So how will I tell them how to bill those designs? I would totally cut off the tradition that is integral to the beauty of this weaving they are making. But in the Philippines for some reason, the indigenous weavers I work with, they have a much higher self-esteem than weavers in India. They bill a price per meter that is fair and for me still sellable. So they are much more expensive per meter than what weavers charge in India. So there needs somebody, also like you, who has the interest of the artisan in mind and helps them to come to a workable figure. So it takes mediators.

Raphael Schreiber: Yes, so it is also important to create references for artisans who are inexperienced in working together with brands and designers for prices that are suitable for their work.

Anjana Das: Yes, you also have to take it to a very basic level and tell them, if you do this full time, what would be the amount you need at the end of the month to live. You really have to make the feasibility of it part of the calculation process. Then I think, people come to a realistic price. I´ve been wondering how come these women in the Philippines who really live cut off in the mountains are very good with technology and connected. They are very entrepreneurial. So how is it that those women who live much more far away than a lot of people here in India, are more advanced in that sense? They mostly don´t do it full time, so it is not the only livelihood and sometimes maybe the remoteness helps because they still have their pride. While here in India a lot of artisans feel pushed down because of the hierarchical society. Also this dealing with a brand is also a very new thing for the artisans, because there has been that patronage. So they come from a tradition where they were strictly working for somebody and being told what to do. So how now can you calculate prices? I know it was a long time ago where that was the case, but somehow it is still embedded in their cultural DNA. Also Indian designers still have this post-colonial fear in their DNA. So a lot of their approaches are based on a "now we will show you" attitude. It should be from a very different position.

Monica Boța-Moisin: So the power of a contract of equal footing is important and how to address that and know not to exploit your counterpart. So the interest of the artisan needs to be represented.

Anjana Das: Yes, there is definitely the need for communication and discourse that has to happen. But it has to be done with a lot of time. There is not just a formula that you can develop and apply. That was my problem when I was talking to people in Germany who are now trying to build up these platforms, where they just put an artisan on it and a Designer from Brazil can order directly from an artisan in India. This is bound to cause so many misunderstandings. Without any framework that won´t work. All these things like quality control and promised timelines, they are all to be seen in a cultural context. So unless you have somebody who translates that it won't work. If a German designer says I need it by the 20th, he will say that he needs it by the 20th, while a Indian designer will say I need it by the first. So when you look into these platforms, there is a lot more to do than just uploading addresses and creating landing pages. But I think in general it is a very good idea.

3. Gaurav Jai Gupta (Akaaro)

Gaurav Jai Gupta: Unfortunately what is happening, largely as an industry, in India we are sort of following the guidelines that come from the west. We also have the other side, where a lot of us are developing their own systems and formats, but I think the mainstream fashion industry is very much based on the set parameters which are coming from the west. Personally I think we need to break away from that and explore new ways of doing things. What we do at Akaaro is not what I would call mainstream fashion. At Akaaro we don't say handmade and craft in the same sentence. We don't say because it is handmade you have to pay an enormous amount of money for it. I come from a small city close to Delhi where we have somebody who drives us. He is a driver from that village. If I bring and show him a fabric which is handmade he would say "so what is the big deal? This is what we grew up all our lives with." So when we talk about that we don't associate craft and handmade with luxury, I would say that luxury should not be about terms. Luxury should be about the soul of the product. They say you need 8 hours of sleep. But having 2 hours of deep sleep is fine. So luxury for me is deep sleep. That deep sleep can happen in any context. Luxury for me is to

not be disturbed, where I can be in my own place. It is hard to define for me because I don't use it that often, but I would say it is the purity. If it is pure it is luxury to me. Everything which is in its pure form. What we are struggling now in India with is that everything is mixed.

Monica Boța-Moisin: And in the textile context, what is luxury for you?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: It is definitely about quality in terms of material, which is by far the most important thing I would say. Again it is about the purity of the material. Viscose for example can never be luxury for me. I think all of this goes to a very spiritual level eventually. All of what we consume comes from nature. So anything which is in its pure form of nature is luxury. Also the skills and aesthetic are important. For me brands are never luxury. I don't believe in brands. For me luxury is also about honesty. I think we go more and more in the future where trust and faith become more valuable.

Purity is something that I connect to. So, purity. Aesthetic, the skill. And I also think to a large extent textiles speak. When I weave a fabric there is a beat. There is this evenness every time it beats in terms of the thread. So there is a uniformity when you drape it as a result of that. Now I don't know how many people respond to that but for me it's very very important. Some people don't even think about these things. Just by looking at the fabric you just know or you don't know. For me brands are never luxury. Brands for me are people and organisations that push themselves to create things. Like I would never create something that I wouldn't wear. For me luxury is trust and honesty.

Monica Boța-Moisin: You are an activist - the products that you make are a byproduct of what you think and what your values are. It's a form of activism. You are an activist designer.

Gauruav Jai Gupta: I do not identify as such. I call my collections projects. Internally when we look at them we call them projects. I am not creating products every six months. I do not produce collection after collection. I think this is a very skewed and flawed idea.

People do not talk here about the conditions in which these things are produced here at this speed - collection after collection each 20 days. The onus is also on the people who are wearing them.

Monica Boța-Moisin: You need to curb the will of the consumer to buy fast fashion and educate the consumer to buy this kind of work (Akaaro quality) - to request the slow work, the quality. With a textile that speaks to you do not get bored.

Gaurav Jai Gupta: A good product is something that you would wear 20, 30, 40 years down the line. That to me largely is more sustainable than using anything else. Like the parameters of how much chemical, how much natural dyes etc, are not so important. There are brands today that call themselves sustainable because they use natural dyes. But these dyes come also from nature. This means you change the structure of your company, your sourcing, and end up producing like crazy with eco-natural processes and materials. How is that sustainable? But if you do sustainable work and you do not mass-produce, you are not a billionaire?

Monica Boța-Moisin: why do you have to be a billionaire?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: This is the big question. What does being a billionaire have to do with what you are creating?

Monica Boța-Moisin: What are the criteria that we believe are important to us when we are talking about sustainability? Are we talking about knowledge related, culture related, are you focusing on the environment, or are you aiming to give work to a large number of people? What is the spectrum of sustainability you are focusing on?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: Sustainability right now in India is a very **buzzword**. Oh we are doing this event, we are doing this show. So many people claim they are sustainable - (was asked) what can you say about people who claim they are sustainable? I say it is not about what they claim to be, **it is about YOU, what sustainability is to you.** I don't think sustainability can have guidelines - it is a much much larger topic. I think it can mean different things to different people. For fashion if you talk about sustainability I think it is a very conflicting term. I think there is not a determined narration for it. It is a space for exploration.

Monica Boța-Moisin (Frameworks for Sustainability) - People, Planet, Profit, Culture

What does social sustainability mean for the fashion industry? What does environmental sustainability mean to the fashion industry? These things are culture specific.

Gaurav Jai Gupta: Don't you think this is a very Western idea? For example in India if we have an idea that from a local context is good might not be good from the Western perspective. Don't you think at the end of the day it should be a very localised point of view? It has a very contextual based concept. And design is important because it can determine whether something is or not sustainable

Coming back to the first point. In India we never really had an organised industry and distribution network. Also when it comes to creating in a structured format like design, it is a very new phenomena in India. There is no equivalent word for ‘design’ in Hindi, which is our national language. We have been told for a very long time that we don’t understand design as a country and industry.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Who was saying that?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: I mean it is like that. Globally we always have been seen as a global sweatshop. Subconsciously and psychologically in India I think we haven’t reached the point where we wear things for the love of what it is. We wear things for the brand value of it.

Why do you think that we are not yet in the center of global points of design? Why is the process so tough for us? **I think we really need to find a new way of engaging in conversations.**

Monica Boța-Moisin: But that is not just a problem of India. It is everywhere. There are very few countries in the world where people are very proudly wearing their designs. So let’s talk about this lack of confidence in India and the connected external validation that is needed.

Gaurav Jai Gupta: I think it is a problem here in India that we don’t appreciate and value our own homegrown talent. Especially looking at design and fashion I think it is a problem. Here we look at it from a very singular perspective which is commercial success.
There are a few touch points (the traditional crafts - jamdani, bandhani, etc.) - we are looked upon as if this is the only thing that is happening here. There is a lot more beyond what you see and that's what needs to come to the surface. I would love to be part of a conversation where I am looked upon not just somebody who is coming from India. I am proud of where I

come from but I would be more than happy if that whole context is deleted and we look at the work just for what it is and not where it comes from**.** Why do we have to have that whole vocabulary around it and why do we have to have that indication? In a lot of shows that I have done outside, the moment we say India people already make stories in their head. People don't take things at the face value of that.

I think we need to celebrate the whole idea of individuality in the fashion, textiles and craft space. Because also craft is about individuality. I think in India there are some wonderful brands, so many people who do amazing things. There are a lot of people who try to do things which are new, at least from a local point of view. But then what happens is, when it comes to economics, the things do not sell. I come from a big business-oriented community. At our weddings, traditionally, we are supposed to wear things which are very rich and have a lot of work on it. So sometimes when some family members are coming to my place who do not know anything about clothes, they say "oh it is too light, that won't work". So it is not about the people who are wearing it and them to feel good about it, they say "we also have to think what other people will think about it. It will be a wedding with 1000 people, so it needs to look a certain way". So it is also about the cultural aspect of our society.
I think as an industry we create some excellent, phenomenal quality. We have so many amazing people doing amazing work, both at the craft level and the design level. We also have an evolving consumer base now where people start to understand what we guys do. But at the same time, there is definitely a struggle about just having a singular narrative which is just talking about sustainability as a new trend. But it has always existed. If I simplify sustainability from my personal perspective, it is detachment which is a part of the larger discourse in the way we live life from a day-to-day basis. You will find the equivalent word Hindi mentioned in most of the descriptions. It has always existed and I think it is just a part of how we live. But I think it is not just in India, it was all over like that in the past. But in India maybe a bit more prevalent. When you travel through the country you will still find it. All the festivals we had where the whole idea is the importance of color, the fact that we worship everything from a river to a snake, to a mango or to a monkey. So it is basically that we appreciate and have gratitude for nature. So now with this "new" sustainability trend, the words get picked up but not necessarily understood what they mean.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes, so it has been picked up, it is part of the conversation and now we are trying to define the terms that equal sustainability for India. But first we have to frame whether you talk about textile production in general, or are you just talking about the Indian fashion industry? Are you talking about the Indian luxury fashion industry? So we have to first frame the conversation.

Gaurav Jai Gupta: What I am talking about right now is more high fashion.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Okay, so how do you see the sustainability development of Indian high fashion in the next ten years?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: I personally think that it will be slowly, consciously made, bespoke things which are tailored to a certain aspirational mood of an individual.

Monica Boța-Moisin: What do you mean when you say consciously?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: I mean mindful. It is like when you make food and now exactly what you put in. So when I say mindful, it is when you are making something you are making it from your heart. So it means the world to you. So it also means that you know why you are making

it. So the whole idea is not just about getting an excessive amount of money and you are not trying to please people, you are rather trying to communicate something, you are trying to say something. It has a certain process, you are being careful and thoughtful. So luxury also has to do with thoughtfulness.

Monica Boța-Moisin: So what you're saying implies a redefinition of luxury and luxury textiles and what it means for the industry to look like that in the next 10 years. So going away from merely the commercial success.

Gaurav Jai Gupta: Yes, I think that is important. But what I also find in India is that nobody questions. It is almost like 'everything is good, all is well'.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes, that is why there is a need for this conversation and a critique.

Gaurav Jai Gupta: Yes, there is no critique here. I am nobody to question anybody. We can do just what we do as individuals. But I question things through my work. All the projects we do is about questioning. As creative individuals, I mean all of us - so talking about few of my friends and the industry where I think people are genuinely doing good work - we are trying to question things through our work. What should be the way. But it also would be really nice if what we question through our work is understood.
We need to be part of the larger conversation as an equal partner

[previous part contains an informal conversation]

Gaurav Jai Gupta: Talking about this external validation thing. How do you think this can be restructured? I don't think I want to be part of a trade show anymore.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Do you have these conversations with your friends?

Gaurav Jai Gupta: We do not have these conversations - we do not have platforms here where people can talk. For people for whom things work - they don't have time for this and for people for whom things don't work, they are too busy trying to make things work.

I have a problem with the fact that we look at things from a single narrative which is economic success.

4. Respondent 4 (CDS Art Foundation)

Monica Boța-Moisin: We are curious, what is the context of India on sustainability and luxury textiles? What we saw is that a lot of brands that make embellishments or just produce in India don't communicate "Made in India" -luxury textile and fashion brands. So we also would like to know what the luxury textile production context is in India and how you see it.

Respondent 4: In Indian tradition this kind of craft, of putting all the reminiscence, each and every household would do this. It was so popular because in India the lifestyle is such that nobody throws away anything. They will recycle it. Everything gets recycled in the house. It is a way of living. It's a habitat. Nobody throws away like the western culture. Because this western influence came to India the people here have adapted this lifestyle. The last 50 or 60 years have brought this situation. We also didn't have so many restaurants and outlets. Before nobody ate that food. Because there was no need for doing so many things. The people in India have started aping the west. But now Indian habitat is changing again. We are getting conscious and getting back to our roots.

Raphael Schreiber: How do you currently see the development towards that direction of going back to the roots. Is the main direction going back to the roots or is the majority still becoming more and more westernized?

Respondent 4: What has happened is that this western culture has come to the masses. In India we have this pyramid structure - from very rich to very poor (drawing a pyramid on paper). So the western influence now has come to the biggest part of the pyramid (the masses). I will give you an example. My little girl who comes to work with her mother told me that it's a "chocolate day". We in our culture never had a "chocolate day". It is coming from the west. So I said "What is that chocolate day?". She says "Whoever you like you have to give chocolate to". The western influence has come to that level of a girl who is working in the house. So wearing jeans or leggings, that culture has come to them now. The people who are aware of it are not so much sensitized. I am meeting people who want the best of what was available in the textile context, but it is now very hard to find artisans who can do it. Because they are not existing anymore. You have seen Asif's work. That kind of breed is no longer left. Everybody is doing very commercial work. Everybody is in a hurry to make a big buck. So there are a lot of compromises in putting a product together. Now nobody wants to work with the hand. Now I even have difficulties finding women who can do these hand stitches (showing fabric). The women who did this work only feel very bored by it. They want to sit in front of the television and enjoy life. They don't want to do the work they did before and do that the whole day. Before, little was done, it was not a mass production but everybody had their little things with them. So it is not practiced anymore now. Everybody has the aspiration to come to the city. They want to disown the villages. The people who are aware of the pollution and the hazards in the city are going back to the villages where they build big farm houses, creating sustainable energy with solar systems and all that. This is simultaneously going on. Everything is happening. It's not that this is not happening but in a very small way because we just have a very big population. Not everybody can afford this kind of life going back to the villages. But there is not a lot of consciousness of the harm the people are doing to the environment and all that. So much waste is now coming. Previously we didn't have all that waste, that plastic waste. In the 60s or in the 50s we never had so much plastic in usage. But now everything is packed in plastic. It is growing more and more. So the problem is not stopping, it is growing. It is getting more and more because the Indian consumers are not aware of what harm they are doing to the environment. It is the masses I am talking about. This is the situation right now.

Monica Boța-Moisin: In Romania there is a similar development happening. During my grandparents' time, everybody wanted to move to the city. The villages got slightly depopulated, because there was nobody who wanted to work the land. So we don't have any agricultural production. The craft was the first thing we lost, then we lost agricultural production. Now corporate people who were living in cities and got too much of it started to come back to the villages. The biggest trend in Romania right now is to live this simple, slow and sustainable life in the village.

Respondent 4: Yes, we are also going into the same direction.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes, but here there are so many people.

Respondent 4: Yes, and we are very divided in terms of wealth. We have extremely rich and super rich people and then the bottom of the pyramid which is the huge mass of poverty.

Monica Boța-Moisin: What are luxury textiles from your perspective?

Respondent 4: Luxury textiles would be very crafted textiles. Because in the Indian context you gave from one generation to another generation pieces that were valuable and made by hand. They were really crafted with very fine finishes, developed with very rich materials like silk. Also very rare skills went into the making of it. Very few people and communities had those skills. So they delivered it to the society. For example double Ikat weaving. We have a community of those Patola weavers who made these Patolas (showing fabric), which are very rare textiles. It is a very trivious process because it is made with double Ikat which is a process where the warp and the weft is tied and then it is woven. It also has to match the design of the motifs. So it is quite a challenge when you weave it with the hand. There is no machinery involved or anything. So that kind of textile is a luxury textile. That was a very rare thing. So in a family they would maybe have three pieces of that. So when they have the three sons wives coming in, they would give each one that. In each community they had their own textiles. It was so rich. And now the fashion designers are using these treasure and making new products with it. So all these designers are using all these lost crafts in their work and make big hypes about it and make it popular.

Raphael Schreiber: But nevertheless, overall more and more craft techniques are getting lost right?

Respondent 4: I have worked with artisans for so many years. There was no respect for the craftsmen left. The kids of the craftsperson never wanted to pursue that profession. That is why even the craftsman was not inspired to make his son or daughter follow his craft. He would rather say “do something else”.

Raphael Schreiber: So you can say it is craftsmanship vs. going for education?

Respondent 4. Yes. Previously, the kids wouldn’t go for apprenticeships and so on, so the craft would go on. But after independence with a lot of input from the government, it has not sustained. Revival has taken place but nobody wants to work that hard. So it is becoming more rare and rare. Few artisans who have real respect for their work have survived. It’s not that everything is lost. We still have living crafts but not what was existing in those days where everything was made by hand. All the utilities in the house were produced by hand only. Now it has become a rare item. Now there are easy ways of production. We don’t have an educational system like for example in Japan where all the artisans are put on pedestals and are worshiped. In India we never have given that kind of recognition to our artisans.

Monica Boța-Moisin: How do you think that can be done for the Indian artisans?

Respondent 4: I worked in a governmental organisation. We had a lot of brainstorming on this and how can we change it. We brought in a lot of schemes and projects. But there are a lot of loopholes in the implementing stage. I give you an example. If we had a very good master artisan, the government would give him 10 lakhs per work. So he doesn’t have to worry about his day-to-day life. So he can sustain and in that time he would impart these techniques to another 5-10 people. So that was a scheme we worked out. So we implemented that but it didn’t go to the roots. It was very superficially worked out. So also people who didn’t deserve it got it - people who were not in that category of master artisan. It is not an easy thing to apply because our structure of corruption is so complex when it trickles down.

People who have nothing to do with the craft get all the advantages and benefits of it. So it is not an easy proposition. It just doesn't work. This is how money from the government is eaten away.

Moncia: Yes because it never starts at the grassroot level. It is always from top to down.

Respondent 4: Yes, I think the government cannot be used for all that. If you are aware of your heritage and if you like good things, it is you who has to start it, all the people who are aware of it to build it up as a programme. Otherwise it will never reach the artisans. Even the artisans who have been successful are only those who have never been the ones saying "help us, only then we will continue". So that is why they have survived. We have both kinds of artisans: One who always looks to the government for help and one who would never care for it, who do their work not wanting anything for the government.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Do you think textile artisans here are proud of their heritage? Their textile heritage?

Respondent 4: I feel there are a lot of layers. There are people who are doing it because they see their future in it. There are young weavers now who have gone back to their family business. Because they have realised how it is appreciated by people. So there are stories like that existing. It's not that everything is just gone. But overall, craft is practiced only for livelihood. It gives them a livelihood, so that is why they practice it. If something else would give them livelihood, they would practice that. It is not that pride or anything is there, because they have to survive. They don't know what will happen the next day if they don't work. So if craft gives them their wage component, they will do that. So that's the situation with craft in India.

Monica Boța-Moisin: But the artisans I interviewed last year, none of them said they would do anything else but the craft.

Respondent 4: Maybe it is because you went to the artisans who are very well off.

Monica Boța-Moisin: No, I also went to very poor people. People from the bottom of the pyramid. For example one man who earns 80 rupees a day for hand weaving.

Respondent 4: Yes, but it is not that he is proud to be associated with the weaving. I don't think that exists. He is doing it only to earn his livelihood because he doesn't know what else he can do. I also have worked with NGOs where women were teached skills so they can put out good products instead of doing very under quality products. So they were given that kind of training. We have categorised them in A, B and C. The woman who did the best work had the passion for it. The others just wanted to earn a livelihood. They were not keen to pursue it because they like it. For example with potters. Each village would have about 5-10 potters. Now if you go to these villages there would be hardly 1 potter left. Gradually people gave it away because it is a lot of hard work and no returns, so they go for office jobs or something. But I think it must be the same also in other places like Africa or other Islamic countries where craft goes through that phase. But as you said, the artisans who have not bothered, because they are quite sustainable for themselves. They don't have to worry about their bread and butter. They have survived. They have takers for their crafts so they have lived their lives.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Why do you think they have survived and the other ones not. Why did they better than the other ones? For example the Khatris in Ajrakhpur and Dhamadka, they

work with Maiwa in Canada. Maiwa appreciated their craft and then started promoting natural dyed Ajshrak to clients who understand what natural dyed Ajshrak is and who associate it with Indian heritage. The Khatris do very well because they have such an exposure to people who appreciate what they do and they have been working with Maiwa for the past 20 years. They have obviously a better situation than other artisans. They stuck to their natural dyes and natural techniques as their heritage, regardless what the market asks. So how did they get to do the right thing and are now one of the few ones who can actually afford doing natural Ajshrak dyes?

Respondent 4: When I was the chief designer for the Gujarat handicrafts compilation, a lot of artisans had switched to chemical printing because there was a demand for it. It is cheaper to do it with chemicals and faster compared to the natural process. So a lot of harm has been done with the chemical dying processes, polluting rivers and ponts. Then a time came, where they were asked to do the natural dying and they had all forgotten how to do it.

Raphael Schreiber: Yes probably in the end it is a question of demand. So if there are now brands inside our outside of India who are demanding natural dyes, more want and maybe will try to switch back to it

Respondent 4: Yes, but natural dyes can not be done in a mass production. What has happened is that everybody wanted to put up a natural dye plant. There were people who tried to do natural dyes on a big scale but haven't been very successful with it. But there is no need to mix up things. The artisans who are able to do natural dyes should have a small production and only do how much they can control.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes, also Dr. Ismail Khatri said last year that mass production has killed natural Ajshrak. He said "when I am asked for the local market, I don't do natural because I cannot do natural Ajshrak for that price. When I am asked for natural Ajshrak from the outside market, I'll do it because the price is different". It makes sense, because to do natural Ajshrak is more expensive.
But back to luxury textiles. You were saying that the fashion designers are picking up different techniques.

Respondent 4: Yes and they are using it in their production and make a big boom about it. So then all others will follow them. So it trickles down like that.

Monica Boța-Moisin: So they would do for example the real Ajshrak or do they just say Ajshrak but it can be screen printed?

Respondent 4: Yes, it can be digital printed. It's just that the essence of the whole craft is taken. I will show you some pictures. I do some consultancy work for a production house that does digital embroidery. Their clientele are Indians who have gone abroad. They are huge in numbers and when they come to India they want to buy those Indian looking things, but don't want to pay the price the original version of it would cost. So they do production of this kind for that particular market. (Showing pictures of original real embroideries and the digital printing version) Their Indian clients love this and want to possess this. They sell it very cheap and in big numbers.

Monica Boța-Moisin: But this is not luxury. It is a technological printed mass production of the original luxury version.

Respondent 4: Yes but I feel the wearer is not bothered about that. It is about affordability. But yes of course it is not luxury. But it is a luxury product which has trickled down to that version. I will now show you some real nice things. (Showing pictures of handmade textiles) This is a collection for an exhibition I did. I am from a Parsi community where we announced a collective textile display in that community. So every woman would bring their inherited very fine hand worked textiles. So each home got two or three pieces. So this is luxury. But these luxury textiles, these families now could not afford. But because it got passed from generation to generation they possess it. But this is now in demand by the super-rich. But now it is very difficult to make this by hand. There are hardly any artisans left who make this.

Monica Boța-Moisin: But why? If it is so much worth, why wouldn't an artisan make it?

Respondent 4: Because everybody has forgotten this craft. We had the time when artisans made it but now there are vanished. But we made this exhibition and project to make the community proud of their craft and show them how rich their textiles were. I told those women that whatever they have, they should keep it and not give it away and that they even should make their children conscious of it. So we had a hall in which we displayed all the textiles to make the community understand what their rich heritage is all about.

Monica Boța-Moisin: We keep saying luxury textiles because maybe it is an understanding problem we have that we associate that fine work with luxury textiles. So what is luxury?

Respondent 4: No that fine work can come from a very humbled family as well. Luxury is something rare, not replicable, a collectors item. For a Indian, a Louis Vuitton bag is not something they would love to possess. They would look out for a very fine crafted, hand embellished product. They would not go for a designer's brand. So if you see all the Indian designers, they use a lot of embellishments, because only then their products will sell. A very fine but plain textile, nobody would sell. But the concept in the west with having a very fine bag, that means big money. In an Indian context this is very hard to digest. I mean there are Indian buying this bags but in general we have a lot of other things to buy than that bag. If I want to have a luxury item I would buy a Sari.

5. Rupa Trivedi (ADIV Pure Nature India)

Rupa Trivedi: I come from a very technical industrial background of industry engineering. And I took ADIV Pure Nature up as my passion about 10 years back. I created a whole team of artisans, mainly women. So I very strongly believe all of us are inherently an artisan. If you bring that forward, you will become that. So there isn’t anything required to be rural or traditional to it. You can become a really good craftsperson. We are working very well with that. The other description of ADIV is that we are very very much into sustainability. Because when I started to learn natural dyes - I don’t have a textile background, very important to know that - So I learned everything from zero. Practical learning because I didn’t go to college. I learned natural dyeing from the internet, from books, from really intense reading. We have developed our own dying techniques now. We do a lot of the natural dyes, in technically right ways. I can say that I have been very successful in commercially dying. Because there are the hobby dyers, there are many of those. But for the natural dyes and all these beautiful traditional art to live, we need commercialisation. Ethical commercialisation. Not just commercialisation but to be ethically true to what you’re doing. So not just having a

small piece of the flower and the rest is just a chemical that you're added. Ethics is a tough one to have because any time when you're doing something that is craft that is hand and nature, it is never going to be cheap. So the viability of a commercial project and to be able to sell and to be able to survive and to remain and to keep this art going, is one of the most challenging. It's like climbing on the wrong side of the cliff. And not like on a ready path. You have to make your own pathways as you climb this mountain. That is what ADIV is about. So when I started with this, I am in the midst of Mumbai. You saw how it is. It is this chaotic industrial zone. So how in the first place can you even imagine an artisan or traditional art being done here? So this is how I really started it. To do this in a way that anybody could get this going anywhere. So all you need to have is a little madness, a little bit of passion to do creativity and from there choose your craft and go into it. So when I started we had only just the garment unit which I had put up, and I put two machines, but my main focus had been dying. So I have revived natural dyes in a city. My core concept was to recycle as much as I can. So I recycled the flowers from the temple. My main project is the Temple Dye Project. There is a very very big temple in Mumbai which I don't know whether you are aware of. It is the Elephant god temple. It is called Siddhivinayak Temple which is in the middle of the city.

So then I started with the temple, and I approached many temples in Mumbai to collect the flowers. But eventually it was the Siddhivinayak Temple that agreed to give us their flowers. So this is the offering to the gods. As you know the Hindu custom is to offer a lot of flowers to the god. That flowers cannot be thrown into regular waste bins, so they are normally disposed into water bodies. Now that is water pollution and large-scale water pollution because every diligent ceremony needs tons of flowers and every ceremony must have the flowers put into waters. So the amount of water pollution that can come out of it was enormous. So that is when this thought came to me that I should set an example of using those flowers, recycling them into fabrics and the balanced waste or whatever gets left and we composed it. So here we are having a beautiful earth to earth story. So this is an innovation to the already existing natural dye craft. So we are recycling. So we are recycling the common temples flowers. We are also recycling coconut, the coconut shells waste. Onions, that is onion colors that we used (showing onion dyed fabric), I go and collect it at the farmer's market. Really setting an example of how to recycle as much of whatever you have around you. I recently also collected flowers at a mosque. So our primary dye is of the flowers that I collect from these places. Of course we are using the traditional dyes, the non-natural dyes as any artisan would be using. So this is in a nutshell what ADIC Pure Nature is all about. I will show you my dying unit. It is mainly women who are doing the main dying and they are creating all these beautiful textures you see around you. Created by hand. It is all hand work. There are no machines. The dying over here is all hand. And to make it in a quality which is accepted globally. I don't believe in excusing myself by saying "because I am an artisan there will be mistakes that need to be accepted". This is not what a world likes to really know. They will accept an emotion up to a point. But beyond the emotion you need to be utility wise right, you need to have many of those other things in place. So this is the world of ADIV. So if you have any questions on this you can talk to me more.

Raphael Schreiber: Is for you this recycling approach a new thing for India? Or is it more like going back to the roots?

Rupa Trivedi: India we are always have been about recycling but might have been unconscious about it. Because in our country we don't believe in throwing anything. We are always recycling everything even the smallest little bit that is there in the house. But the consciousness for doing it for environmental issue is not really being understood. So this is

something you're doing like a robot. This is something we have done for ages. You don't throw away your paper you are selling it to the vender and he gives you money for it. So the recycling always has been ingrained into us. But so ingrained that we are not conscious of it. We are not aware of its impact on sustainability or the environment. So we are recycling and yet we are not recycling. So there is a funny dichotomy to it.

Raphael Schreiber: And you also try to teach the Indian society about it?

Rupa Trivedi: At least who is with me. Because society is a large animal here. But at least if I can impact 10 and they can impact the next 10, that at least will start the reconnecting of the dots. So within this small zone in the middle of this entirely pollution zone is a small world of complete nature. You will see my natural dye unit which is just next to here. I have also created a very simple recycling of water. So I am trying to make it sustainable because natural dyeing is not necessarily sustainable. You are using water, you are using so much of heat. Just because it is natural doesn't mean it is sustainable. So we are trying to recycle the water so we are closer to sustainability. So there is a craft, there is a tradition there is an artisan and there is the modern aspect of recycling. Because it is much more conscious recycling, let's put it that way. So it is the manage of conscious recycling and the traditional art. So culturally we are known to recycling but we are not aware of it. So that is the gap of conscious culture and unconscious culture.

Raphael Schreiber: Where do you see India in this current whole recycling development process? Is is still at a very early stage or are people becoming more and more aware of it?

Rupa Trivedi: There is much more awareness then it was before, but we are a very vast population. So really saying that has impacted enough, it is time consuming.

Monica Boța-Moisin: What do you think about the sustainable luxury idea of the textiles of India?

Rupa Trivedi: That is what this is about because the international market gets it. But when it comes to the Indian market the impact is still not as much as you want it to be, because of our own way of perspective. Everything is kind of closed in our minds, so our perspectives are limited. There is so much that is there in the market, it is fast moving. The international level of awareness of sustainability and impact of this all, is much much more. Here we are struggling to survive. How could I expect a guy who is barely making his ends meet to really understand what the earth is going to be in 10 years when he doesn't even know whether he is going to live 10 days? So even if I would give them this very high-end lecture about how they must make sure that their foot fall is right – "Listen I need to survive for tomorrow. Don't tell me this". - So there are too many in this strata. So the awareness is there, but who cares? We know about it but we don't know about it. There is that very thin line that separates it. There is too much poverty. There is more requirement to have food. And in a city like Mumbai they are living in slums which are so tiny and cramped. Where is this talk of keeping this earth going really going to happen to them? For them each day is a survival.

Monica Boța-Moisin: So how can the players in this luxury textile sector make an impact that would ripple down to the core of society. Or is the Indian luxury fashion identity something that could help forming that?

Rupa Trivedi: Yes it can help. Because we have these two different ends. There is also the luxury buyer and because there is a luxury buyer that will make it viable enough to have commercial manufacturing. And with this commercial manufacturing you are going to employ people. So you are impacting both those people. The one who is employed to do the work here with you and they learn through their own work how they can be impacting. They are getting aware because of that. So they might not be the direct users. Because how would I be able to afford a scarf which is 3000/4000 Rupees. But because I am making it I am aware of the entire process. So the sustainability, social culture and culture of art gets recognized commercially for them to work on it and get more understanding of what it is. So for example if I am working it the zone, I am only a worker. I don't have the money or the brain span to think of these sort of luxury textiles. But Because I am making it I am initially aware of it. And then I go back home to my small slum and explain the things of what I am doing there. There is a sense of pride with which I go back. I create another small ripple down there. So I personally believe this is how the ripple will happen. This is the impact it will have for the two sides. You can buy it and I can make it. So when the two of us are aware you will create your impact and I will create my impact. I don't know if it makes sense.

Monica Boța-Moisin: It does make sense. It is very interesting to hear different perspectives from different people who are in your position, working with the finest level of craftsmanship. Initially we started with why does the western world not recognize the finest Indian craftsmanship. That was the thing we started with and as we went through we saw that it would be important to understand what sustainability is in India.

Rupa Trivedi: I began also with the same question that you have. Because I wasn't really into this. My background is not at all textiles. I have a lot of Swiss friends. I am very connected with Europe, because with my other business with which we work in Europe and the US etc. In all our conversations the only thing that came up was "Indian products we don't really think are sustainable. They can never maintain qualities". So I did think "of course we can maintain qualities. Why not?" I as an engineer can produce something that is bought by the globe and even a scarf manufacturer can do the same and give it to the globe. This is how I had also started. And I think we proved that we can make quality and be ethical. Their three main parameters that all westerners had their perspectives based one: One was quality, one was the timelines, and the third was ethical. How ethical will the Indian supplier be? I do not know whether you face that part, you know many foreign buyers say "oh I show you one thing, sell you one thing". So unless there are people aware, people like me. More and more of us to do the translating and be the connector of dots. Because we are connecters. Today we are a tiny connection, but many more of us and that will be the impact. So that is the requirement. We need you to connect and this will be the world we will get out of these connected dots.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes this is what we are trying to do with this work. To help connecting the dots coming from a western perspective but translating a bit the Indian context. Because it is not really understood what the Indian context is. And the multiple ramifications of craft. So what is indeed dying, natural dying. Here people have much more understanding of the processes, less understanding or appreciation of the actual value of the product. But in order of the western world to understand the value of the product the processes need to be somehow translated to them.

Rupa Trivedi: That's right. The translation is very important.

Monica Boța-Moisin: And this mediation between the industry and the buyer and the craftspeople, is a gap where we hope to add something. This is also the work of CIPRI, we are trying to bridge that gap.

Rupa Trivedi: There is a lot of translation that can help in this context. Will your translation be global or more European? That would be a very important thing because there is a very subtle difference in the global language. Europe's language is a little more subtle in understanding and the US market or the US language is a lot more different. There is a different perspective.

Raphael Schreiber: Since we are both coming from Europe a European translation might be the best start.

Rupa Trivedi: The reason why I said it is, that if there is a little ambiguity, you might have to actually become non-Europeans to understand all this. I will give you an example. Germany. I have a lot of German friends. Even the trees are straight. You cannot think of anything which is not perfection or not very methodical. And here it is all organic chaos. So to understand this organic chaos, if you turn your perspective a little so then when you translate you will actually translate global. I don't know whether I am making sense to you. Here your perspective has changed in its access a little bit to take in a lot more of the chaos. So between the perfection of Germany and a little bit of the imperfection of the US and the total chaos of India you cover the globe. That access part. Here there are very few artisans that have a perspective outside of that world they are living in. Our artisan world is very insular. The insularity is actually going to be the downfall of us. Because we are not opening up. We are not letting another artisan in. So we need that. I am a new artisan. I still am on the fringe where regular artisans don't really accept my work. Though I am far more superior because I have put in technology I put in educational scientific technology to that art so that it sustains. And I am not just doing one piece, I am doing about 5000 pieces per day. So how does that translate?

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes, this is an ungapped bridge because you can't really sustain the craft without technology these days. They are merging. To what amount you interfere with technology is a question, but you also can't disregard it completely. So that is the intervention of technology. Where can it intervene and where not? For that you need a body of people to have this conversation and communicate this information. But the question is how do you bring the information to the artisans at grassroot level?

Rupa Trivedi: What is very important in that information is how will you give them the commercially valuable information. You might say, what is recycling for example, and among one of the most important examples to give is: When I wanted to really recycle my water, there are huge plants using tons and tons of water, but I only have 500 liters to recycle, which is going to be what most of the small artisans are going to be about. "How would I set up a recycle? This is not possible". This would be the initial answer that would be given to you. So this is want I was so keen about doing, to set up a very simple recycle. Like a 1, 2 3 recycle which is cost wise also very effective. Honestly when I went researching whom I can get to come and help me to set up the recycle, the cost factors were enormous. Crazy amounts of money which no artisan is going to be able to afford. So it needs to be a tool which is affordable so this is when we came across this and I am so happy and proud and I really want this to go to as many people who can use it. But that language translation would need people like you being like "Oh there is that one person, she might be able to give it to you". So you can connect artisan to artisan also.

Raphael Schreiber: We also spoke a lot about the cultural heritage part of the craft. So then now I am wondering to what extent you can implement technology and still keeping the cultural heritage alive.

Rupa Trivedi: What is really getting down here is that you are using technology or a little more intellectual application, not even technology necessarily. It is applying intelligence to an existing art which is more brainless. You know you are printing, but not applying the intellectual application to it. So the existing art remains. It is improving it to make it better and more sustainable. I show you some stuff. (Showing different natural dyed and printed fabrics and garments) All the colors you see here are natural, every single color is natural. My dealer is working a lot with US brand buyers. Now the brand is trying to understand small artisan level work but the translation is very difficult for them. So you know that life is like this. We wake up at 7 in the morning. That is difficult for the artisans to understand. They might not wake up at 7, they might wake up at 10. So this translation goes very differently when you are talking to a brand who is a big elephant trying to watch this tiny little ant move and support the ant. We are these small ants that need to be supported. They want the natural dyes but they want it perfect like factory manufactured. They are able to accept tiny bits of differences, so it has to be a 19/20 difference or a 18/20 but it should look all perfect and the same. It is difficult because even in nature you can see marigolds where one might look a little darker, so that is acceptable there but if you're making a garment out of it they all have to be the same tone of yellow. So these are translations which need a lot of help.

Raphael Schreiber: So this is actually a misinterpretation of the art and the craft by comparing it to industrial produced garments.

Rupa Trivedi: Yes, and then there should be timelines. Traditional artisans are so timeless. They don't have a concept of time. "Today I am in the mood to sit at home, so I will sit at home. I am not going to worry that in two days I have to give that and that is my timeline for exports". So this is a little bit of a clash. But it can change now because there are a lot of the younger generation of the artisans who are educated. So there is a little bit more understanding of time and timing, the quality. But the ethical part will always be very ambiguous because of the poverty levels. Or if I can earn two Rupees more, why would I not? But even with the education, their forefathers have only brought them three steps forward, so not really in a way that they can work with a different perspective. So there is a little bit more of that bridge that needs to be built.
Have tests. Now everyone wants tests. All the fabrics should be tested in certain ways. How does an artisan understand a technical testing lab? So if the brand wants anything, unless you're technically tested it, they won't take it. It is fine, we do testing, but because I am technically aware. So that is probably the rise of new urban artisans. New educated artisans will make an impact on the traditional art and continue that sort of art.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Are there many natural dyers?

Rupa Trivedi: It is so expensive to sustain anything like this. It is always a loss-making business. I keep this going because I love it. But my bread and butter is coming from a family business which is a totally different one. If I have to do this as a completely commercially viable business, there is a gap.

Monica Boța-Moisin: I must appreciate and say it: You are one of the few very very honest people with this. You're saying things as they really are. Because here not always things are said as they really are.

Rupa Trivedi: Yes because that is important, otherwise you're not able to give the translation right and are not able to build that bridge. It is so important for the tomorrow. It is very necessary. So I have always found that ethics is one of the biggest challenges to overcome in our country. I mean in all artisanal countries. All artisans are communities. Kutch for example has too much recognition. Too many people who are just focused on the Kutch art and tradition. But India has tradition everywhere, many of them are dying. There is no one who is going to look at it. Language is a big problem. How many of them know English how many of them will understand what you are talking about?
So there are so many challenges but all challenges that can be overcome with enough time and people like you who can bring together a lot of things, a lot of connections of dots. In time it will work.

Monica Boța-Moisin & Raphael Schreiber: Thank you so much!

6. Padmaja Krishnan (Padmaja)

Monica Boța-Moisin: When you get to the intersection of craft and fashion and the whole sustainability conversation, what came up is this concept of Cultural Sustainability. Cultural Sustainability exists as a concept and means "access of future generations to intangible cultural heritage and therefore to the craft knowledge for example". Transmitting this knowledge from generation to generation is a process of Cultural Sustainability. I conceptualised it in the fashion context, by starting doing workshops and talks on this topic, addressing this problem in the textile and fashion space. What we saw is that Cultural Sustainability is indeed very much applicable to and resonates with India, rather than the Western concepts of sustainability. There are four pillars of sustainability: Economical, Social, Environmental and Cultural Sustainability. So our initial thought was that India could be very strong on the Cultural Sustainability aspect and work from there towards the other aspects rather than having to fit into the frameworks of the western world that emphasise on reducing the carbon footprint.

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes you're definitely right, In India what we are doing in terms of sustainability is what was practiced for centuries. It has nothing to do with the industrial practice. It is more cultural rather than going to the grounds of ethics or finding out what is good for the future. It is more coming from the past than coming as an afterthought by looking at the situation of the world right now. So it is a contradiction to the western concept of sustainability. A few months back I was at the Italian Chamber of Commerce. They called me to talk about sustainability and fashion. There were mostly people from Europe, who were hardcore into the common corporate manufacturing approach. Their perception of sustainability was something completely different. It was about certifications and in general very technical. It was all about paying fair and right wages to your workers, whether you are giving them enough holidays. This is all fine and those are definitely important aspects of it. But the Cultural Sustainability part is very old in India. A lot of us practiced it very naturally in our homes, including repairing and mending. In the last 15 years it has reduced because of excessive industrialization and garments coming from everywhere. Even when I grew up, you

always mended clothes at home. I don´t know whether this also was like this in Germany or not.

Raphael Schreiber: Yes we discussed that point, and maybe it is not a specific Indian thing. So back in the days where there was not so much industry it was more common to fix stuff instead of replacing it immediately.

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes exactly. And now you almost think that it is not nice to fix stuff in the sense that you feel you need to be very impoverished to fix something. Otherwise you don't need to fix anything. You just need to waste it, throw it and buy something new.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Also in India today?

Padmaja Krishnan: Not so much in India yet but it is growing. In the urban context it is growing. Though, it is still very different from Europe. Here we don't actually end up having landfills of clothes. Because if I have used my clothes enough I give it away to a lot of people in the country who still are homeless. I think most people here do that. I think almost 90 percent of the population is doing that. There are a lot of people who are poor enough to take clothes. So it always gets recycled, but I guess within the next 20-30 years we will get there where Europe is now, in terms of the waste.

Monica Boța-Moisin: This is the gap where we need to act with the Cultural Sustainability mindset. Because, if you don't do it now, you end up going to end up in the same process.

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes, you're bang on right!

Monica Boța-Moisin: In Romania we had a different speed in this consumerist wheel because we were always behind the west of Europe. I grew up with my grandmother mending stuff. I grew up seeing a bit of craft left, but now it is luxury. There are so few doing it that it became so extravagantly expensive. People are trying to get back and learn but it is very difficult. Passing on garments to family members was a natural thing to do. Now you can't even do it anymore, because the quality of the clothes is so bad that you can only wear them a few times. Here the quality is different, especially the "good stuff" when you can afford it. So now is the time to understand what is sustainability for India and how this cultural element plays a role, in order for India not getting in the same loop that happened in the western world. So it's also a time from the Indian side to voicing this and being a bit critical about it, emphasising that upcycling and downcycling are concepts that are ingrained in our culture and that we need to appreciate the craft culture again and build up our self-esteem.

Padmaja Krishnan: Absolutely. Sustainability is something that I started before I started my journey with fashion. Because coming from a traditional family we practiced it in many different ways. Not just in clothing but also the way you live. I think we recycled pretty much everything, including peels and vegetables. Vegetable peels that are thrown away, were not just composed, but recycled to make other pickles and chutneys. Very few people in India are even aware of this now. But most parts and most communities in India did have a way of recycling everything. So that was where it all began. Then when I started to study fashion at NIFT in Delhi, I was suddenly exposed to a whole of other things because you are at a fashion college. You enter a zone where you feel you need to attain something from the West to get better and what you have is kind of substandard and something to be embarrassed about. With all these craft stories we were told that the crafts are great and should keep it but similarly we

should look about all these great things we get from the West. That's where the manufacturing process and so one comes from. So we had this whole aspirational thing, but after I finished my studies I worked in the craft sector for a couple of years, where I was just travelling and living in villages. Some of them had no electricity, so completely rural areas. There I get completely new perspectives. I was in one village where they had never seen plastic. Can you imagine that? That was in the year 2004. We were four designers who went there from Delhi and stayed for three months. Since we came from the city, we brought our plastic water bottles with us. They have never seen a bottle like that, that can hold a liquid. There was nothing disposed of, they also had no garbage bin because there is no garbage. That's the reality and I am sure that there are a lot of villages in India that still are like this. We always have been a strange mix. You have villages like these, you have the medium level towns that are horrible polluted where everything is out of plastic, including the flowers offered to the gods. This is like the opposite to what the culture was. Most of the things that we offered to the gods and goddesses were all medical flowers or plants. There was a very strong symbolism to it, not just in terms of color but also to its usage. Now suddenly you throw plastic flowers. It would be actually better to put nothing at all for the gods than doing this. Now real things have become expensive and plastic has become cheaper everywhere. So you have that and you have cities that are trying a very western concept of recycling, upcycling and downcycling. Within those cities you have a pocket full of designers like Asif, Gaurav or me, who are able to see all this from a third perspective and who see the circus that is going on. To set it right, is quite a challenge, because where do you begin the education from? I think most of the crafts or the ideas of sustainability were not related to how much money you can make out of it. I realised that in the talk at the Italian Chamber of Commerce, the motivation to adopt sustainability practices was that you get those certificates and that you´ll be seen as a better company so in the long-term it will be more profitable. But I think the idea of sustainability in India, much of it was very individual. It was not from an industrial perspective. It was from an individual perspective. It was more about what you are doing at home as an individual. It was never about what you do as a whole world to stop pollution, to stop climate change and all of that. So it is about what you could do on your own.
Today when someone spends time recycling or mending or embroidering, there is no pay for it. You don't get a better pay for it. Today it is all about how much cash you can make with something.

Monica Boța-Moisin: We started with this topic "luxury textiles in India", because of the bias of what luxury exactly is, but then here, a lot of things that we refer to as luxury textiles are not perceived as such.

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes that's true. It is also about the access to the market, because not every person who is creating these luxury textiles has access to an European market or access to the American market. Interestingly, what a lot of Indian designers would say, when you have tourists coming from the west, they are so used to the idea that India is cheap. So they wouldn't like to pay anything more. The elite in India who recognize the dying crafts in India and that these are valuable, are actually willing to pay a better prize. I think what happens with a lot of western customers is that pretty often when you go to a foreign country you get fleeced and you kind of imagine that things are cheap. But as we discussed before, there is not one format in India. Everything exists together. In Bombay, you can eat the famous traditional burger for 10 rupees which is much less than a 7th of a dollar and you have the very fancy places where you spend as much as you would spend in London or Tokyo to eat. That makes it also difficult for a person to find out what is authentic and what is not - 'Am I paying the right price or not'.

Monica Boța-Moisin: Do you have a distribution of your stuff in Europe?

Padmaja Krishnan: No not yet. I have a distribution in Japan where I sell through one store. I've done a couple of exhibitions in Europe and America but I would like to start selling now. This year I think I have to move things more in that direction. I was aware of that even before, but my children were very young so I didn't want to get into exports at that point because it requires a certain deliverability and credibility. So you can't just toy with it and only do it a little bit.

Monica Boța-Moisin: And you work directly with craftspeople?

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes I do. I work with sustainability in different ways. I worked with the woven sector, an exclusively women's group who are doing hand spinning and hand weaving. It is not easy to find organisations that are promising hand spun fabric in India today, because it becomes very expensive. It is not cheap to do hand spinning and there is no one willing to pay the prize for it. That's something that I face all the time. In India my customers would say: 'Why do you get it hand spun? Who cares?'

Monica Boța-Moisin: It feels differently.

Padmaja Krishnan: It does but it is also the whole idea that everything that is made by hand is a part of it being sustainable. There are all these studies on what makes the textile touch and feel and what happens to the fibers, yarn and fabrics. The touch with the human hand is very different from when it is mill spun. It also provides employment to more people. There is also this whole angle that it rewires your brain differently as opposed to the mass mill manufacturing and mill spun. So I would like to keep that alive, but it is a concept that really needs that packaging - telling people that whole story. Probably the western market is better suited for that than the Indian. But there are also the sad stories in India, where people are doing all of this but think that it is not worth it, so they sell it very cheap.

Raphael Schreiber: Maybe we could go back to the initial start of our discussion, about the different sustainability approaches of the west and India and the point that the western concept which focuses clearly on high-tech solutions, are not applicable in an Indian context.

Padmaja Krishnan: One of the gentlemen, in the particular event I was talking about, who was one of the heads of these large garment manufacturing companies from Italy that are manufacturing in India and Bangladesh said: "If you guys in India are not trying to bug up and pull up your socks, you will be left behind in the race". He was coming from a completely different angle, a very ignorant one. He was basically talking about, if you (India) are not doing the certifications and if you are not following the requirements we would be left behind. So I suggested to him that they should manufacture in their own country, which would be the best for humanity and for sustainability. We are also fine losing the jobs because obviously the jobs are not paying enough. If it would pay enough, people would do everything that is needed. Most of the time in garment manufacturing companies in India, Sri Lanka or Bangladesh are the worst paid ones. We all know what happened in Rana Plaza and so one. So if you get paid like this, who wants to get certifications?

Monica Boța-Moisin: Exactly, and it is an extra cost and burden.

Padmaja Krishnan: Exactly it is an extra cost. And the thing is the supplier is passing on the burden to the poor guy who is not even able to eat two meals a day. If you tell him to follow the rules and so one it doesn't make sense. People have to be able to eat well and live well, at least on a basic level. You need to have your basic comforts covered, then you can talk with the person about discipline and accountability and all of that. If you cover all of that, the people would realise it is maybe cheaper to produce in their own country. That's the irony of it, that is the oxymoron. If you would cover all of that, you wouldn't send your textiles so far to get it made in India, Sri Lanka or Bangladesh.

Monica Boța-Moisin: So India should position itself as a cultural textile hub to free itself from the perception of the global sweatshop.

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes I absolutely agree. In fact one of my friends in Bombay who has no exposure to all of this told me: 'I don't know why you don't call your business a social and cultural business, because you're not practicing it as a usual business woman does. It is not only about how much you buy and how much you sell. You are concerned about so many other things, like employment, the surviving of the weavers.'

Monica Boța-Moisin: Yes what you talking about is being a cultural entrepreneur who creates a social vision for the world.

Padmaja Krishnan: Exactly, it is not just about creating a living for yourself. I think there are very few countries that have this level of craft still existing. Even in South America, where I had the chance to visit a few countries in the past years, they have great crafts, but I feel the percentage of people in work is far less than in India. In Mexico for example, where they have great crafts, it becomes almost like a museum level. It is not worn by many local people anymore. Most of the Spanish population there I think, wouldn't wear indigenous crafts at all. The indigenous people living in the city would rather not acknowledge their indigenousness. So it is only the rural villagers who wear it, or the craftsmen themselves. So they only wear it on festivals and special occasions. But also we in India are heading towards that, unless there are projects like yours. Each of us are doing a little bit to change this but we are certainly heading in that direction where crafts won't survive. But nevertheless, sometimes it works in India because of how large the country is and how diverse it is. Because you have one section that is talking with you for example, one section that is living without electricity. So as I said before, there is not one universal story for the whole of India. There are many stories going on parallelly, which is why sometimes a trickle down happens from one sector to the other, and therefore hope for sustainability and saving something,

Monica Boța-Moisin: This craft at museum level or wearing it only for special occasions, also happened drastically in Europe. In Romania there was a big movement happening, which started in 2012, when Tom Ford copied 1:1 a Romanian blouse.

Padmaja Krishnan: Yes, I know that case.

Monica Boța-Moisin: That was when we started La Blouse Romain, a project I co-founded, to emphasise that there needs to be credit and compensation when copying a traditional garment or pattern. Now Romanian women are wearing the traditional blouses again, of course they are a bit modified in the sense that they need to be contemporary. So it is coming back once you understand the value of it. We also had this discussion with Gaurav, where we came to the conclusion that you in India kind of need this validation from the outside. If there

is no external validation somehow people in India don't validate it internally. In Norway for example, they have this traditional garment called the "Bunad". It is the biggest pride of every teenager to get themselves a Bunad. It is also very expensive to get that. That was a cultural reform of the country, so there is an institution of the Bunad. So everyone has this piece of garment, men and women. They of course wouldn't wear it every day but there is this pride associated with the craft and garment.

Padmaja Krishnan: That's wonderful. There is some amount of that happening in India with the revival of the Sari. There is a younger crowd as well that is willing to wear. But it is again really urban. The Dhoti for example is pretty much disappearing, except for festivals. There are very few men who are wearing the Dhoti. I actually belong to the south of India, but I didn't grow up there. I grew up in West Bengal which is in the east of India. In the South we all wear the Dhotis. In my family everybody wore Dhotis, at least at home. Now my husband actually wears the Dhotis at work as well. He wears it everywhere. He is not from my side of the country. He is actually from West Bengal. I don't know whether you are aware of the cultural differences from east, west, north and south India. It is as stark as China and Germany. In terms of cultures, it is as diverse as that. Even if you marry another Indian, it is like a foreigner almost.

11.2 Appendix 2 - Coding tables with topic blocks

Interview 1 - Respondent 1 [R1]

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**
Topic Block 1	**Topic Block 2**	**Topic Block 3**	**Topic Block 4**	**Topic Block 5**
Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"	**Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts)**	**Indian textile craftsmanship as cultural heritage**	**"Luxury" in the Indian textile context**	**Sustainability in Indian fashion context**
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***
"To this day there is very little recognition of Indian textiles globally. And I ask myself why is that? If you look at the craft and textiles it is incredible." **Idea:** The general perception from an Indian perspective to not sufficiently being recognized for their rich textile and craft culture	*"When we look back traditionally, we have a lot, but we ourselves are too dwell"* **Idea:** A lot of Indians don't see the importance (taking for granted attitude) of highlighting and preserving their own cultural heritage.	*"Many designers are now looking at what we have as heritage and art. So they are going ahead in that way and that is very exciting."* **Idea**: Indian designers recognize their own heritage as a beneficial distinguishing factor creating local design identities. - Contemporary Indian designers are propagating and incorporating Indian textile techniques into their work (Nagrath, 2003)	*"We always had luxury textiles in India. As you know there is no other country that had all the techniques already in ancient times and was a very huge exporter of luxury textiles. India always has been home and has produced the most exquisite textiles."* **Idea**: The link between luxury and textile in India was always existing based on the incomparable skills. - Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in his *Glimpses of World History* (1949)	*"Now everybody is going back into sustainable fashion and designs because they realised we have the capacity, we have the people who can do those things."*
"Maybe it is because in those export years the focus was on cheap Indian textiles and garments like skirts and maybe the Indian people started to identify themselves with those kinds of things"	*"But now I feel people are interested and go forward. There are a lot of private enterprises besides the government, which is very important. Now people are sort of taking a bit of their heritage."*		*"We were not the buyers of a market for such luxury goods but it is changing now since the 1990s. Now a lot of people are interested in luxury textiles, so things are coming back."*	*"If you look at the Kurta with very straight cuts, you waste very little fabric, it is very sustainable, it's a very good design. It is for everybody."* **Idea.** "New" western sustainable concepts like "design to minimise" waste have always

Idea: Link to the Indian colonial past as a reason for this external as well as internal stigma which has been adopted and accepted from the Indian society as a new identity. Also proof that all the efforts of Gandhi and the Swadeshi Movement, all the craft revival programs were not sufficient to overcome this stigma and to create a new Indian identity. Kotipalli and Klamer (2018), Gosh and Gosh (2017) and Mayer (2018) - illustrating how the industrialization of the textile craft economy in India under the British rule has impacted the global positioning of India as a textile producer, leading to a change in position	**Idea:** Increasing internal awareness for own cultural heritage.			been naturally ingrained in the making of traditional Indian garments.
"I was really shocked in today's age where big brands would like to be so transparent, would like to dictate how things should be, they don't acknowledge that most of the luxury textiles they produce are handmade in India." **Idea:** Referring to the paradoxical positioning of the west (western brands) to act as a global corrective and a role model for India (and the Global South in general)	*"You should be proud to say that it is handmade in India."* **Idea:** "Made in India" as a sign for quality			"*Also the sari is easy to pack and it never goes out of style. You can make it as expensive as you want and pass it on to your daughter. You´re not cutting it up, you are not personalizing it, you are not changing the colors. The colors will be there forever. That doesn't mean that it is static, things always change but in a slow and organic way.*" **Idea:** sustainability by design embedded in the culture of passing down garments from generation to generation (the Sari).
"I ask why there is no acknowledgement? It's because India is associated with poor	*"Acknowledging the person who made it is also a very important part of this process.*			*"Sustainable, hand-dyed, etc. is the new thing now so everybody*

quality. That is shocking because it is even produced according to their standards. Maybe they feel they can just get away with it." **Idea**: General prevalent connotation of India with poor and subordinate - important to underline the intentional omission to acknowledge the Quality of 'Made in India' despite quality being of Western set standards. The power-dynamic and colonial mindset of the West that is still prevalent (*"..Maybe they feel they can just get away with it.*")	*Besides monetary benefits, the person who made it is entitled to the acknowledgement that helps him." [...] It is not just money, it is also dignity which is important. So we should bring dignity back to hand skills."* **Idea:** Referring to Chatterjee (1988): The artisan was a source both of inspiration and problem-solving, functioning always within the core of society + connected to the value-based approach and dignifying the traditional knowledge holder			*is putting that label on no matter what."*
"We were always wanting work from them, so we were always running after exports and foreign exchange. Maybe that's why we still keep quiet." **Idea**: Showing the dependability of India and the created submissiveness to foreign countries and industries which was developed under colonial rule and which still creates a low self-esteem in India.	*"I have seen people who have got it [acknowledgement] some printers from Gujarat - they are so proud of what they are doing.*" **Idea**: Value recognition internally and external validation dignifies the craftspeople This can be a conclusion and recommendation			*"In earlier ages everything was handmade, everything was naturally dyed. Within 200 years everything has changed.*" **Idea:** Contextualising sustainability. It is true for both the Global North and the Global South societies just that in the West the skills to for handcrafting today are lost
"if we don´t stand up, they will never acknowledge us." **Idea:** In order to achieve a paradigm shift the initiative needs to come intrinsically.				

Comment: Also intrinsically but not only - it has to come from both sides, it is a relationship.				
"*Slowly now, things are changing, but on the whole, I feel it still doesn't have that much recognition as it should have*." **Idea**: Connecting back to her perspective as a long-term craft professional: acquiring global recognition is a process and even the fact that we have chosen this topic is a step forward in changing perspectives				
"*I am sure that has not even entered the minds of everybody, that such a thing is happening and that such a thing is possible. So it is not even on the agenda of many people because they are too busy making a living or whatever*." ***Idea**: Self-determination and requesting recognition - this ties with the awareness of the intangible value of Cultural Heritage - lack of access to useful information - this thesis will bring new information Indian stakeholders*				

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**
Topic Block 6	**Topic Block 7**	**Topic Block 8**		
The clash between "modernity" and "traditional"	**The challenge of diversity in India**	**Certification of authenticity of the traditional cultural expression**		
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***		
"Soon what is going to kill the hand block printing is digital printing, because it is so close to the original and the colors are even better and they can do everything so cheaply."	*"If India would be a very simple unified place, that would be easy. But when you have so many different states it is very difficult to have a unified vision."* **Idea:** Given India's heterogeneity, which, expressed through the diversity of castes, societies and religions, equates India with a 'forest of symbols' (Gonsalves, 2010),	"*If there would be an agency that controls and senses that, it could be of use. But now what the Government of India has is the Silks Mark, the organisation ICA has a craft mark. They go to the producer and check out the processes and then they give a certification and then those people are allowed to use the craft mark. Things like that help.*"		
[...] "there is an element in the hand printing which can never be achieved by digital printing" **Idea:** Replacement of traditional techniques by digital alternatives. - resulting in a current conflict between science and crafts (Mamidipudi, 2019)				

Interview 2 - Anjana Das [AD]

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET		PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY	
Topic Block 1	**Topic Block 2**	**Topic Block 3**	**Topic Block 4**	**Topic Block 5**	
Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"	**Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts)**	**Valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship in a fashion context**	**"Luxury" in the Indian textile context**	**Sustaining craft: Innovation, technology and new approaches**	
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	
"If you see a label and a garment which says Made in India people always have this association of either thinking it is going to be made by child labour, sweatshops, polluting work circumstances and so somehow for most people it still creates that imaginary of something that is cheap and not well made. And of course also the hippie vibe, so when it´s Made in India it has to be something people wear in Goa on the beach." **Idea:** Prevailing connotation of cheap and low quality as the legacy of colonial rule. (Connecting with Purnima and Padmaja)	(Communication of state and region of fabric*) " I would always say that and you can also see from the patterns where it comes from. When we sell that and talk to the client I always indicate that. That is the added value of what I do. Otherwise where would be the difference?"* **Idea:** Origin and cultural context of fabrics as intangible added value. Designer vs artisan focused approach - designer-focused, with emphasis on the 'Indian-ness' of the designer, whereas the other is artisan-focused, emphasising the high quality and the value of Indian craftsmanship (Kalkreuter, 2020).	*"The Delhi scene consists more of smaller labels that use craft a lot and really make that a point of their fashion identity and talk about it. But all these labels have representations or relations to brands abroad or have agents abroad. So you could say that it is really like a little oasis."* **Idea:** Indian designers recognize their own heritage as a beneficial distinguishing factor for creating local design identities. Not representative for the majority of Indian designers	*"Also when customers come to us with a garment from ten years ago where maybe the color faded over the years, but they really like it, we make the same again for them. So this is true luxury. Once you find something that fits really well on you, why would you want to change that? Women's bodies are not changing, so why are we changing our garments every few months in different shapes? It is not very logical"* **Idea:** A minimalistic and practical perspective of luxury. +what Purnima says about sustainability by design and how this is ingrained in Indian culture	*"That's what I was referring to when people say Made in India, they imagine something folkloristic or the color sense is not the same. So you have to adapt, otherwise craft will not survive."* **Idea:** Need for an innovative change and merge with technology in order to sustain and survive. - here we have to be careful as to what innovation means. We see in Padmaja's work or Asif's work that is maybe an issue of simplicity, or less color combinations to translate Indian quality and heritage to a global audience	

"People who know about textiles and that they are made in India often think that it is assumptious and therefore something they can't wear because it is too ornamented, too rich in terms of the aesthetic of it. So they feel it is not for them or for an European context." **Idea**: Equals the oriental gaze of the west - Although Indian fashion is still seen with an Oriental gaze, and as a result is characterised as slightly 'lesser than', 'other to' and more feminised than its consistent Western counterpart (John and Leshkowich, 2003)	*"Also sometimes Indian clients who don´t know our brand so well tell us to leave the embroidery and instead just put something on the garment. So we have to tell them that this is actually what makes our garments what they are. So Indian clients don't have the appreciation for their own craft culture."* **Idea:** Lack of internal appreciation for own craft culture	*"But in general Indian fashion, when you look more at the mainstream, there is still not much appreciation for the artisan."* **Idea:** Devaluation of Indian textile craftsmanship	*"For me luxury is not only about the price, luxury is about how it is made"* **Idea:** craft-centric perspective of luxury	*"Calculating the price for craft is not an easy thing to do. That's very much for me part of a sustainable future of craft"* **Idea:** Importance of giving craft a clear economical value, taking tangible and intangible values into account	
"*But of course for the people who know a bit more about textiles, there is still the connotation about historical trade and luxury fashion but in connection to textiles that are unaffordable*." **Idea:** Heritage textiles are known for their value but associated with India's history not its present. It's about bringing those inherited values into the present day		*"So artisans have to be aware of their intellectual property and be able to value it. That is not easy, because you can´t say you thought of this design in one hour. That's not feasible, because designing happens in such different ways."* **Idea:** Recognizing textile craftsmanship as intangible asset			

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET		PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY	
Topic Block 6	**Topic Block 7**	**Topic Block 8**			
The clash between "modernity" and "traditional"	**Work ethics: The cultural gap between India and the West**	**Lack of self-esteem and confidence of Indian artisans**			
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***			
"I noticed with my clients in Germany, when I show them my embroideries, they don´t believe that it is done by hand looking at this very fine woven fabrics from Bengal for example." **Idea:** In the predominant technologised thinking of the west fine and perfectionist textile work can only be achieved with machines. Handmade is equated with being unperfect and not replicable.	*"You have to bridge the cultural gap from both sides. You can't say the quality automatically is going to be to what a company like Chanel would expect. There is a phrase in Hindi where they say: "its Unispeas", which means 19 out of 20"* **Idea:** Importance of translation of cultural context.	*"But in the Philippines for some reason, the indigenous weavers I work with, they have a much higher self-esteem than weavers in India. They bill a price per meter that is fair and for me still sellable. So they are much more expensive per meter than what weavers charge in India."* **Idea:** Lack of confidence of Indian artisans and the connected distrust in the value of their own work			
"So knowledge it's not only something where you set up a machine or press a button, but it is actually something that is in people's minds and it takes all this calmness to make a fabric and an embroidery like that by hand." **Idea**: Emphasising beside the tangible on the intangible value	*"Also people buying from these artisans often don't know how much time it takes to make these garments or applying those techniques of embellishment so they will pay a much too low price thinking that they are paying fairly. So I really think it needs those middle people who teach the artisans how to calculate a*	*"While here in India a lot of artisans feel pushed down because of the hierarchical society. Also this dealing with a brand is also a very new thing for the artisans, because there has been that patronage. So they come from a tradition where they were strictly working for somebody and being told what to do. So how now*			

implication of creating a fabric by hand - link to Chattopadhyay (1980) a "total operation" involving *the emotions, the mind, the body and the vibrant rhythm which is generated by such coordination.*	*price for their craft and teach that an hour of work needs to be an hour of uninterrupted work."*	*can you calculate prices? I know it was a long time ago where that was the case, but somehow it is still embedded in their cultural DNA."* **Idea:** Societal structures from the past till today as prevention for entrepreneurial development of Indian artisans			
"I think a lot of these charity based initiatives for saving the artisans are unfortunately about leaving everything on the same level. When you look at the designs or motifs they use, of course a lot of it comes from tradition which should stay alive, but there also needs to be innovation that makes it wearable for an urban person in Germany." **Idea:** Critical stance on craft revival to preserve a tradition with no innovative approach. Indian textile craft needs to evolve in order to survive - link to craft revival policies in India are seen to have deepened the clash between "tradition" and "modernity"	*"If a German designer says I need it by the 20th, he will say that he needs it by the 20th, while a Indian designer will say I need it by the first."*				
" My European clients on					

the other side, who understand what our brands stands for, are all very in love with the embroidery. Indian clients not so much. They say: "you could do it by machine. Why do you do it by hand?". The Indian clients just take it for granted, not realising that the craft is dying" **Idea**: Ingrained connotation of craft/handmade with backwardness as a legacy of colonial rule and industrialization. - craft tends to be linked to the past rather than the future (Mamidipudi, 2019)					

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 9	**Topic Block 10**				
Overcoming prejudice and Indian stereotypes	**Design and knowledge exchange: India - Europe**				
Quotes	***Quotes***				
"I think by knowledge about companies and units like ours. We pay our workers fairly and well and we have a work ethic that is very similar or even better to companies in Europe. I think it's all about knowledge."	*"in India we have a lot of weaving and embellishment techniques, embroidery and printing, but there is actually not a very strong flat pattern culture.[...] In Germany I think there is a very good system for that, for*				

Idea: Confirmation of the importance of translating and communicating the coexistence of the progessive textile Indian world beside the stereotypical India	*example with the zero waste patterns. And that is exactly the point where Europe can come in and the knowledge transfer with India should happen.[...] Indian fashion could gain and European fashion could go back to having a little bit more humanity"* **Idea:** Learning from each other's strengths and weaknesses. Leaving eurocentric perspective and recognizing India as a valuable knowledge partner.				
"You have to teach people that Made in India does not automatically mean that poor children are working by candle light. I mean, those companies exist here. You have very bad factories with very bad work circumstances. But there are enough of us who work very differently." **Idea***:* As above					
"[...] so you really have to show what skill and knowledge goes into that.*They can´t believe it is handmade, so you really have to show what skill and knowledge goes into that. [...] So you have to*					

show that and educate people because it is ignorance which feeds all these stereotypes and prejudices. So education is the only way to overcome that" **Idea:** Proactive education as a means of overcoming prejudice and stereotypes + showing knowledge and knowledge exchange as well as showcasing the positive examples. Focus on finding the good. "So it is all about documenting that and also doing shows like we are planning at the moment, where you show the approach that those Indian brands have. That you can only do by showcasing in Europe. Where you bring those brands from India and show them what they do."					

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 11					
Current state of Indian fashion					
Quotes					

"There is a lot of embellishment that happens without taking it to a 21st century aesthetic. It is basically a repetition of what was made in the past. There is a lot of activity in the sort of fine dressing for special occasions, like weddings or parties. They pretty much still look the same, only with few alterations, so it is still the same concept."					
"That is a very sad thing, because there is no innovation happening within the traditional clothing sector. That is definitely one of the problems at the moment." **Idea:** Lack of innovation in design and aesthetic as a means of supporting the backwardness aspect of craftsmanship internally and externally. Traditional textiles becoming mere occasion wear - link the Padmaja					

Interview 3 – Gaurav Jai Gupta [GG]

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 1	**Topic Block 2**	**Topic Block 3**	**Topic Block 4**	**Topic Block 5**	
Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"	**Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts)**	**Lack of valorization of textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset**	**"Luxury" in the Indian textile context**	**Culturally embedded lifestyle sustainability practices**	
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	
"*When it comes to creating in a structured format like design, it is a very new phenomena in India. There is no equivalent word for 'design' in Hindi, which is our national language. We have been told for a very long time that we don't understand design as a country and industry.*" **Idea**: connected to fashion colonialism and Orientalization of the other. Nullification of their system of creating and disrespect to the Indian creative system - connecting to Boas's cultural relativism	"I think it is a problem here in India that we don't appreciate and value our own homegrown talent. Especially looking at design and fashion I think it is a problem. Here we look at it from a very singular perspective which is commercial success." **Idea**: confirming Kotipalli's conclusions and the need for a holistic values-based approach to textile craftsmanship in India - combined with the need for external validation this implies that the way the Global North treats and responds to Indian stakeholders is equally important	*"Focus of attention is the garment*." **Idea**: it's like an iceberg. You just see the garment then but do not see all the work and time that went into creating the fabric first	*"I would say that luxury should not be about terms. Luxury should be about the soul of the product. [...] I would say it is the purity. If it is pure it is luxury to me. Everything which is in its pure form. What we are struggling now in India with is that everything is mixed*." **Idea**: Features of luxury in the Indian context indicates - rarity, valuable, irreplaceable	"*But it has always existed. If I simplify sustainability from my personal perspective, it is [..] a part of the larger discourse in the way we live life from a day to day basis. [..] It has always existed and I think it is just a part of how we live. But I think it is not just in India, it was all over like that in the past. But in India maybe a bit more prevalent. When you travel through the country you will still find it. All the festivals we have where the whole idea is the importance of color, the fact that we worship everything from a river to a snake, to a mango or to a monkey. So it is basically that we appreciate and have gratitude for nature. So now with this 'new' sustainability trend, the*	

				words get picked up but not necessarily understood what they mean." **Idea**: sustainability in the Indian context can be equated with gratitude and appreciation for nature. Environmental sustainability is part of the Indian cultural identity.	
"Globally we always have been seen as a global sweatshop. Subconsciously and psychologically in India I think we haven't reached the point where we wear things for the love of what it is. We wear things for the brand value of it." **Idea**: consequences of the colonial history and of the stigmatization of Indian creativity and manufacturing - lack of confidence in India and the need for external validation.	"I think we need to celebrate the whole idea of individuality in the fashion, textiles and craft space. Because also craft is about individuality." **Idea**: Craftsmanship expresses individuality		*"It is definitely about quality in terms of material, which is by far the most important thing I would say. Again it is about the purity of the material. [...] I think all of this goes to a very spiritual level eventually. All of what we consume comes from nature. So anything which is in its pure form of nature is luxury. Also the skills and aesthetic are important. [...] For me luxury is also about honesty. I think we go more and more in the future where trust and faith becomes more valuable.*" "*I also think all of this goes back to a very spiritual level. All that we consume comes from nature. Everything that is in a pure form from nature will in turn become pure. Purity is something that I*	*"For example in India if we have an idea that from a local context is good might not be good from the Western perspective. Don't you think at the end of the day it should be a very localised point of view? It has a very contextual based concept*." **Idea**: Basically he says - sustainability should be defined by cultural context. - this is also one of our conclusions	

			connect to. So, purity. Aesthetic, the skill. And I also think to a large extent textiles speak. When I weave a fabric there is a beat. There is this evenness everytime it beats in terms of the thread. So there is a uniformity when you drape it as a result of that. Now I don't know how many people respond to that but for me it's very very important. *Some people don't even think about these things. Just by looking at the fabric you just know or you don't know.*" **Idea**: related to values and integrating the spiritual dimension as a determinant of luxury in the fashion and textiles context		
"*Why do you think that we are not yet in the center of global points of design? Why is the process so tough for us? I think we really need to find a new way of engaging in conversations*." **Idea**: Engaging in conversations with the Global North and determining a change in perception	"*At our weddings, traditionally, we are supposed to wear things which are very rich and have a lot of work on it. So sometimes when some family members are coming to my place who do not know anything about clothes, they say 'oh it is too light, that won't work'. So it is not about the people who are wearing it and them to feel good about it, they say 'we also have to think what*		"*So when I say mindful, it is when you are making something you are making it from your heart. So it means the world to you. So it also means that you know why you are making it. So the whole idea is not just about getting an excessive amount of money and you are not trying to please people, you are rather trying to communicate something, you are trying to say something. It has a certain*	"*Sustainability right now in India is a very buzzword.* [...] *it is about YOU, what sustainability is to you. I don't think sustainability can have guidelines - it is a much much larger topic. I think it can mean different things to different people. For fashion if you talk about sustainability I think it is a very conflicting term. I think there is not a determined narration for*	

	other people will think about it. It will be a wedding with 1000 people, so it needs to look a certain way'. So it is also about the cultural aspect of our society." **Idea**: Richness of embellishment equates value in the Indian cultural context The paradox: they do not value the fact that it is made by hand and is simple, but they they value it when there is a lot of embellishment (this influences the way European textile and fashion stakeholders value Indian craftsmanship - related to external recognition)		*process, you are being careful and thoughtful. So luxury also has to do with thoughtfulness*." **Idea**: In the Indian cultural context mindfulness and thoughtfulness in textile creation is luxury - it implies a detachment from merely the commercial success.	*it. It is a space for exploration.*" **Idea**: Sustainability is not universally understood the same. There is no "one size fits all" way of assessing sustainability impact	
"*I would love to be part of a conversation where I am looked upon not just somebody who is coming from India. I am proud of where I come from but I would be more than happy if that whole context is deleted and we look at the work just for what it is and not where it comes from. Why do we have to have that whole vocabulary around it and why do we have to have that indication? In a lot of shows that I have done outside, the moment we*	"*I think as an industry we create some excellent, phenomenal quality. We have so many amazing people doing amazing work, both at the craft level and the design level. We also have an evolving consumer base now where people start to understand what we guys do*." **Idea**: a shift in value identification is visible		*"Anything which is fragile, needs protection, like a baby. Anything which is handmade is fragile."*	*"A good product is something that you would wear 20, 30, 40 years down the line. That to me largely is more sustainable than using anything else. Like the parameters of how much chemical, how much natural dyes etc, are not so important. There are brands today that call themselves sustainable because they use natural dyes. But these dyes come also from nature. This means you change the structure of your company, your sourcing, and end up*	

say India people already make stories in their head. People don't take things at the face value of that." **Idea**: the burdening stereotype				*producing like crazy with eco-natural processes and materials. How is that sustainable*?" **Idea**: sustainability is durability, good quality. Mass-production is incompatible with sustainability in the fashion and textile sector	

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 6	**Topic Block 7**				
The future of high fashion in India	**The cultural gap between India and the West**				
Quotes	***Quotes***				
"*I personally think that it will be slowly, consciously made, bespoke things which are tailored to a certain aspirational mood of an individual*." **Idea:** these are all features of what is defined in the West as sustainable fashion - slow fashion, no waste, emotional connection with the garment being tailor-made. He also connects this with *luxury*	"*In India we are sort of following the guidelines that come from the west. We also have the other side, where a lot of us are developing their own systems and formats, but I think the mainstream fashion industry is very much based on the set parameters which are coming from the west. Personally I think we need to break away from that and explore new ways of doing things*."				

	Idea: the formulation of an individual identity and own set of values connected with Angela Jensen's critique: the white man's Gaze on fashion systems - [...] nullification of non-western systems of dress and Indigenous fashion histories, "*which have all too often been erased or reduced to a static snapshot in time, and qualified as 'traditional dress*'" (Jensen, 2019).				
	"*We don't say because it is handmade you have to pay an enormous amount of money for it*." **Idea**: In the Indian cultural context *handmade* is not associated with luxury or high value because it is such a common practice, it is not a rarity like in the West. In addition to being made by hand, which is largely associated with cheap labour force, Indian fashion stakeholders refer to elements like: purity, rarity, peace, longevity as value attributors.				
	"[...] *there is definitely a struggle about just having a singular narrative which is just talking about sustainability as a new trend*."				

	Idea: appropriation of concepts since many of the practices labelled by the West as sustainable and given new terminology, are culturally embedded in the Indian culture and lifestyle				
	"*I call my collections projects. Internally when we look at them we call them projects. I am not creating products every six months. I do not produce collection after collection. I think this is a very skewed and flawed idea*." **Idea**: not following guidelines of the West				

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 8					
Overcoming prejudice and Indian stereotypes					
Quotes					
"*There is a lot more beyond what you see and that's what needs to come to the surface. I would love to be part of a conversation where I am*					

looked upon not just somebody who is coming from India. I am proud of where I come from but I would be more than happy if that whole context is deleted and we ***look at the work just for what it is and not where it comes from.*** *Why do we have to have that whole vocabulary around it and why do we have to have that indication? In a lot of shows that I have done outside, the moment we say India people already make stories in their head. People don't take things at the face value of that*." **Idea**: connected to value identification and valorization. But who is responsible for the stories people make about India?					

Interview 4 – Respondent 4 [R4]

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 1	**Topic Block 2**	**Topic Block 3**	**Topic Block 4**	**Topic Block 5**	**Topic Block 6**
Global recognition of Indian textile(s) (crafts)	**Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts)**	**Loss of intangible cultural heritage due to the devaluation of Indian textile craftsmanship**	**Focus on monetary compensation for craft - Craft as a commodity** (opposite of craftsmanship as intangible asset) **i.e., Money over value**	**The "sustainability" Paradox**	**Culturally embedded lifestyle sustainability practices**
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***
"*[the Ajrakh or the embroidery] can be digitally printed. It's just that the essence of the whole craft is taken. [...] Their clientele are Indians who have gone abroad. They are huge in numbers and when they come to India they want to buy those Indian looking things, but don't want to pay the price the original version of it would cost. So they do production of this kind for that particular market.*" **Idea**: Indians outside India demand the Indian idea but not the authentic craftsmanship - the heritage connection is diluted. The focus is on the tangible.	"*We are getting conscious and getting back to our roots.*" **Idea:** Return to the culturally embedded values - can this catalyse a change in terms of quality of handcrafted textiles in India - liaise to (Krishen, 2015) - When the products cease to embody mutually respected values, the tradition is dead.	"*I am meeting people who want the best of what was available in the textile context, but it is now very hard to find artisans who can do it. Because they are not existing anymore. You have seen Asif's work. That kind of breed is no longer left.*" **Idea:** The neoclassical approach to the craft economy in India has led to artisans being predominantly reduced to mere factors of production and this led to reduced interest in learning the craft by young generations. The knowledge is being lost and the high quality craftsmanship is becoming a rarity.	"*You have seen Asif's work. That kind of breed is no longer left. Everybody is doing very commercial work. Everybody is in a hurry to make a big buck. So there are a lot of compromises in putting a product together*." **Idea**: The focus on enrichment that only makes it worse for the reputation of 'Made in India' - Gaurav Jai Gupta mentions the same - **Money over Values**	"*The people who are aware of the pollution and the hazards in the city are going back to the villages where they build big farm houses, creating sustainable energy with solar systems and all that. This is simultaneously going on.*" **Idea:** The Indian elite is conscious of environmental sustainability and seeks to return to rural living - *exodus* from the big cities; simultaneously with the desire of certain people from villages to move to the city for a better life. (In the 2019 field study I did find that this is not a dominant reality. People do not want to leave their	"*In Indian tradition this kind of craft, of putting all the reminiscence, each and every household would do this. It was so popular because in India the lifestyle is such that nobody throws away anything. They will recycle it. Everything gets recycled in the house. It is a way of living*." **Idea:** Recycling and upcycling are not Western concepts from an Indian perspective. They are culturally embedded practices that have been transmitted from generation to generation as part of the lifestyle.

				families to go to live the city life unless circumstances force them to).	
	"*We don't have an educational system like for example in Japan where all the artisans are put on pedestals and are worshiped. In India we never have given that kind of recognition to our artisans*." **Idea**: Conforming Kotipalli's conclusions (2018) in India the distinction between crafted product and craftsmanship (the knowledge) is still prevalent and knowledge (the intangible) is not valued the same as in Japan, or Western Europe. *See also ITC Guidelines in LR*	*"I have worked with artisans for so many years. There was no respect for the craftsmen left. The kids of the craftsperson never wanted to pursue that profession. That is why even the craftsman was not inspired to make his son or daughter follow his craft. He would rather say 'do something else"* **Idea:** Lack of respect and appreciation leading to disinterest of the younger generation to pursue a craft profession			
	"*So we implemented that [craft revival program] but it didn't go to the roots. It was very superficially worked out. So also people who didn't deserve it got it - people who were not in that category of master artisan. It is not an easy thing to apply because our structure of corruption is so complex when it trickles down. People who have nothing to do with the*				

	craft get all the advantages and benefits of it. So it is not an easy proposition." **Idea**: transitioning to a Value-Based approach requires a national policy change and elimination of endemic corruption. Politics has a strong impact on value creation, value recognition and value attribution in India				
	"*If you are aware of your heritage and if you like good things, it is you [...]. Otherwise it will never reach the artisans. Even the artisans who have been successful are only those who have never been the ones saying 'help us, only then we will continue'. So that is why they have survived. We have both kinds of artisans: One who always looks to the government for help and one who would never care for it, who does their work not wanting anything for the government.*" **tied to pride for heritage (Intangible Cultural Heritage)** **Idea**: Value recognition and value attribution have to follow a bottom-up				

	approach (individuals to Government and national policy), not bottom-down				
	"*I told those women that whatever they have, they should keep it and not give it away and that they even should make their children conscious of it. So we had a hall in which we displayed all the textiles to make the community understand what their rich heritage is all about.*" **Idea**: Elite generating the awareness for the value of Indian textile craftsmanship so that it trickles down to the masses (tied to pride associated with ICH)				

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 7	**Topic Block 8**	**Topic Block 9**	**Topic Block 10**	**Topic Block 11**	**Topic Block 12**
Pride associated with textile craftsmanship as value determinant	**Borrowing values from the West**	**Valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship in a fashion context**	**"Luxury" in the Indian textile context**	**Lack of awareness of environmental impact**	**Difference from the Western understanding of sustainability**
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***
"I feel there are a lot of layers. There are people who are doing it because they see their future in it.	"*What has happened is that this western culture has come to the masses. In India we have this*	*"[fashion designers are picking up different techniques.] and they are using it in their production*	"*Luxury textiles would be very crafted textiles. Because in the Indian context you gave from one*	"*There is not a lot of consciousness of the harm the people are doing to the environment and all*	"*Nobody throws away like the western culture. Because this western influence came to India*

There are young weavers now who have gone back to their family business because they have realised how it is appreciated by people. [...] But overall, craft is practiced only for livelihood."	*pyramid structure - from very rich to very poor (drawing a pyramid on paper). So the western influence now has come to the biggest part of the pyramid (the masses).*" **Idea:** Connected to Self-Orientalization in Fashion, just that here it is reflected at the level of consumption	*and make a big boom about it. So then all others will follow them. So it trickles down like that.*"	*generation to another generation pieces that were valuable and made by hand. They were really crafted with very fine finishes, developed with very rich materials like silk. Also very rare skills went into the making of it. Very few people and communities had those skills. So they delivered it to the society. For example double Ikat weaving. We have a community of those Patola weavers who made these Patolas (showing fabric), which are very rare textiles. It is a very trivious process because it is made with double Ikat which is a process where the warp and the weft is tied and then it is woven. It also has to match the design of the motifs. So it is quite a challenge when you weave it with the hand. There is no machinery involved or anything. So that kind of textile is a luxury textile. That was a very rare thing.*" **Idea**: complexity, rarity, rich materials, time-consuming, skill-demanding = very crafted textiles in a fashion context	*that.[...] In the 60s or in the 50s we never had so much plastic in usage. But now everything is packed in plastic. It is growing more and more. So the problem is not stopping, it is growing. It is getting more and more because the Indian consumers are not aware of what harm they are doing to the environment. It is the masses I am talking about.*" **Idea**: confirming the conclusions of Tewari and Jyoti, (2017) in LR - the focus on individualistic human survival in the Indian society does not allow the luxury of promoting a collective environmentally concerned narrative. + overlapping with Padmaja's statement	*the people here have adapted this lifestyle.*"

	"*But the concept in the west with having a very fine bag, that means big money. In an Indian context this is very hard to digest.*"		"*Luxury is something rare, not replicable, a collectors item.*"		"*The people in India have started aping the west.*" **Idea:** In fashion, Self-Orientalization (Nagrath, 2003) - Pillar III of LR
			"*If I want to have a luxury item I would buy a Sari.*"		
			"*But because it got passed from generation to generation they possess it. But this is now in demand by the super rich. But now it is very difficult to make this by hand. There are hardly any artisans left who make this.*" **Idea**: heritage, transmission from generation to generation - this is rare and constitutes luxury both due to the quality, longevity and history. The rich and Indian elite seem to take a value-based approach to Indian textile craftsmanship valorization		

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET		PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY	
Topic Block 13					
The clash between "modernity" and "traditional"					
Quotes					
"Now nobody wants to work with the hand. Now I even have difficulties finding women who can do these hand stitches (showing fabric). The women who did this work only feel very bored by it. They want to sit in front of the television and enjoy life. They don't want to do the work they did before and do that the whole day." **Idea:** The conflictual strive for a more comfortable life.					

Interview 5 – Rupa Trivedi [RT]

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 1	**Topic Block 2**	**Topic Block 3**	**Topic Block 4**	**Topic Block 5**	**Topic Block 6**
Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"	**Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts)**	**Lack of valorization of textile craftsmanship as an intangible asset**	**"Luxury" in the Indian textile context**	**Sustaining craft: Innovation, technology and new approaches**	**Culturally embedded lifestyle sustainability practices**
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***
"*That is what this is about because the international market gets it.* [...] *The international level of awareness of sustainability and impact of this all, is much much more.*" **Idea**: natural dyeing is considered luxury by the international market	*"Because we have these two different ends.* [the buyer and the maker] *There is also the luxury buyer and because there is a luxury buyer that will make it viable enough to have commercial manufacturing. And with this commercial manufacturing you are going to employ people. So you are impacting both those people. The one who is employed to do the work here with you and they learn through their own work how they can be impacting. They are getting aware because of that. So they might not be the direct users*. [Because how wouldI be able to afford a scarf which is 3000/4000 Rupees.] *But because I am making it I am aware of the entire*	*"It is applying intelligence to an existing art which is more brainless. You know you are printing, but not applying the intellectual application to it. So the existing art remains. It is improving it to make it better and more sustainable*." **Idea**: focus on intellectualizing heritage	**Idea:** Connected to complying with Western values	*"The other description of ADIV is that we are very very much into sustainability. [...] We have developed our own dying techniques now. We do a lot of the natural dyes., in technically right ways. [...] But for the natural dyes and all these beautiful traditional art to live, we need commercialisation. Ethical commercialisation. Not just commercialisation but to be ethically true to what you're doing. So not just having a small piece of the flower and the rest is just a chemical that you're added. Ethics is a tough one to have because any time when you're doing something that is craft that is hand and nature, it is never going to be cheap.*"	"*In India we are always been about recycling but might have been unconscious about it. Because in our country we don't believe in throwing anything. We are always recycling everything even the smallest little bit that is there in the house. But the consciousness for doing it for environmental issue is not really being understood. [...] This is something we have done for ages. You don't throw away your paper you are selling it to the vender and he gives you money for it. So recycling always has been ingrained into us. But so ingrained that we are not conscious of it. We are not aware of its impact on sustainability or the environment.*"

	process. So the sustainability, social culture and culture of art gets recognized commercially for them to work on it and get more understanding of what it is." **Idea***:* luxury textile sector make an impact that would ripple down to the core of society			**Idea**: connected to the value-based approach	**Idea:** The concept of **unconscious sustainability** or maybe just an evidence that the sustainability vocabulary is different + Can be perfectly linked to Padmaja's statement of being a individual activity rather than a conscious collective approach + Mirza is basically saying the same thing than Rupa
"I am very connected with Europe, because with my other business with which we work in Europe and the US etc. In all our conversations the only thing that came up was 'Indian products we don't really think are sustainable. They can never maintain qualities." **Idea**: the association with inconsistency in quality				*"So I have revived natural dyes in a city. My core concept was to recycle as much as I can. So I recycled the flowers from the temple. My main project is the Temple Dye Project*." **Idea*:*** Recycling flowers from the temple as an innovation to scale natural dyeing in the city "*As you know the Hindu custom is to offer a lot of flowers to the god. That flowers cannot be thrown into regular waste bins, so they are normally disposed into water bodies. Now that is water pollution and large scale water pollution because every diligent ceremony needs tons of flowers and every ceremony must have the flowers put into waters. So the amount of water*	

				pollution that can come out of it was enormous. So that is when this thought came to me that I should set an example of using those flowers, recycling them into fabrics and the balanced waste or whatever gets left and we composed it. So here we are having a beautiful earth to earth story."	
"Now the brand is trying to understand small artisan level work but the translation is very difficult for them. So you know that life is like this. We wake up at 7 in the morning. That is difficult for the artisans to understand. They might not wake up at 7, they might wake up at 10. So this translation goes very differently when you are talking to a brand who is a big elephant trying to watch this tiny little ant move and support the ant. We are these small ants that need to be supported. They want the natural dyes but they want it perfect like factory manufactured. They are able to accept tiny bits of differences, so it has to be a 19/20 difference or a 18/20 but it should look all perfect and the same. It is difficult because even in nature you can see				"*I have also created a very simple recycling of water. So I am trying to make it sustainable because natural dyeing is not necessarily sustainable. You are using water, you are using so much of heat. Just because it is natural doesn't mean it is sustainable. So we are trying to recycle the water so we are closer to sustainability. So there is a craft, there is a tradition there is an artisan and there is the modern aspect of recycling. Because it is much more conscious recycling, let's put it that way. So it is the manage of conscious recycling and the traditional art. So culturally we are known to recycling but we are not aware of it. So that is the gap of conscious culture and unconscious culture*."	

marigolds where one might look a little darker, so that is acceptable there but if you're making a garment out of it they all have to be the same tone of yellow. So these are translations which need a lot of help." **Idea**: Translation of craftsmanship to the international market - connected to "Profiles of Textile Artisans in Kutch, Gujarat, India" - misinterpretation of the art and the craft by comparing it to industrial produced garments				**Idea**: Combining "conscious recycling" (by this she engineering solutions for resource waste reduction) with culturally embedded recycling	

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 7	**Topic Block 8**			**Topic Block 9**	
The clash between "modernity" and "traditional"	**Adapting to Western values**			**Unconscious environmental sustainability impact due to focus on survival and livelihood**	
Quotes	***Quotes***			***Quotes***	
"*So I very strongly believe all of us are inherently an artisan. If you bring that forward, you will become*	"*Their three main parameters that all westerners had their perspectives based one:*			"*Here we are struggling to survive. How could I expect a guy who is barely making his ends meet to*	

that. So there isn't anything required to be rural or traditional to it. You can become a really good craftsperson." **Idea**: Connected to sustaining the craft through innovation	*One was quality, one was the timelines, and the third was ethical. How ethical will the Indian supplier be?*" **Idea**: Aligning to Western values - opposed to what Gaurav says about not following the Western mold + Combining it with what Padmaja says about the western perspectives on Indian production (certificates, etc.) Emphasises the needs for *translation* and *mediation* - we see this exercise as coming from both sides! "*More and more of us to do the translating and be the connector of dots. Because we are connecters. Today we are a tiny connection, but many more of us and that will be the impact. So that is the requirement. We need you to connect and this will be the world we will get out of these connected dots*." **Idea: This is also a conclusion of our research!**			*really understand what the earth is going to be in 10 years when he doesn't even know whether he is going to live 10 days? So even if I would give them this very high end lecture about how they must make sure that their foot fall is right - 'Listen I need to survive for tomorrow. Don't tell me this.'- So there are too many in this strata*." **Idea**: Connected with *unconscious environmental sustainability* and Sandhu (2020), Wood (2012), Tewari and Jyoti, (2017)	
"*All the fabrics should be tested in certain ways. How does an artisan*				"*Where is this talk of keeping this earth going really going to happen to*	

understand a technical testing lab? So if the brand wants anything, unless you're technically tested it, they won't take it. It is fine, we do testing, but because I am technically aware. So that is probably the rise of new urban artisans. New educated artisans will make an impact on the traditional art and continue that sort of art. " **Idea**: traditional craftspeople resist the technological change - We can problematize the limits between compliance of the Global South to the West, and the West adapting to the Global South				*them? For them each day is a survival.*" **Idea**: need to adapt the narrative to the cultural context	
"Here there are very few artisans that have a perspective outside of that world they are living in. Our artisan world is very insular. The insurelarity is actually going to be the downfall of us. Because we are not opening up. We are not letting another artisan in. So we need that. I am a new artisan. I still am on the fringe where regular artisans don't really accept my work. Though I am far more superior because I have put in technology I					

put in educational scientific technology to that art so that it sustains." **Idea:** "Traditional artisans" vs: "New artisans"					

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 10					
Translation of the Indian cultural context					
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***	***Quotes***
"[...] you might have to actually become non Europeans to understand all this. I will give you an example. I have a lot of German friends. Even the trees are straight. You can not think of anything which is not perfection or not very methodical. And here it is all organic chaos. So to understand this organic chaos, if you turn your perspective a little so then when you translate you will actually translate global.					

Interview 6 – Padmaja Krishnan [PK]

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET		PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY	
Topic Block 1	**Topic Block 2**	**Topic Block 3**		**Topic Block 4**	**Topic Block 5**
Global recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts) and "Made in India"	**Internal recognition and perception of Indian textile(s) (crafts)**	**Focus on monetary compensation for craft - Craft as a commodity**		**The "sustainability" Paradox**	**Culturally embedded lifestyle sustainability practices**
Quotes	***Quotes***	***Quotes***		***Quotes***	***Quotes***
"Interestingly, what a lot of Indian designers would say, when you have tourists coming from the west, they are so used to the idea that India is cheap. So they wouldn't like to pay anything more." **Idea:** Prevalent connotation of India with being cheap	*"The elite in India who recognize the dying crafts in India and that these are valuable, are actually willing to pay a better price."* **Idea**: The Indian elite as the driver entity for the valorization of Indian textile craftsmanship	*"It is not easy to find organisations that are promising hand spun fabric in India today, because it becomes very expensive. It is not cheap to do hand spinning and there is no one willing to pay the prize for it."*		*"I was in one village where they had never seen plastic. Can you imagine that? That was in the year 2004.[...] There was nothing disposed of, they also had no garbage bin because there is no garbage.[...] We always have been a strange mix. You have villages like these, you have the medium level towns that are horrible polluted where everything is out of plastic, including the flowers offered to the gods.[...] So you have that and you have cities that are trying a very western concept of recycling, upcycling and downcycling."* **Idea:** Coexistence of the whole scale of sustainability.	*"In India what we are doing in terms of sustainability is what was practiced for centuries. It has nothing to do with the industrial practice. It is more cultural rather than going to the grounds of ethics or finding out what is good for the future. It is more coming from the past than coming as an afterthought by looking at the situation of the world right now."* **Idea:** The sustainability practices in India are seen completely detached from the western concepts, being nothing methodic and conceptualised but cultural embedded from the past

" I think what happens with a lot of western customers is that pretty often when you go to a foreign country you get fleeced and you kind of imagine that things are cheap. But as we discussed before, there is not one format in India." **Idea:** Stereotypical cultural biases leading to expectations of a low-price value and therefore to a general devaluation of Indian craftsmanship	(talking about handmade) *"But there are also the sad stories in India, where people are doing all of this but think that it is not worth it, so they sell it very cheap."* **Idea:** Unawareness of the value of handcrafted fabrics. Lack of self-esteem and confidence.			*"Today when someone spends time recycling or mending or embroidering, there is no pay for it. You don't get a better pay for it. Today it is all about how much cash you can make with something. "* **Idea**: Neoclassical perspective has been adopted to all areas of life	*"But the cultural sustainability part is very old in India. A lot of us practiced it very naturally in our homes, including repairing and mending. In the last 15 years it has reduced because of excessive industrialization and garments coming from everywhere. Even when I grew up, you always mended clothes at home. I don´t know whether this also was like this in Germany or not."*
	"In Mexico for example, where they have great crafts, it becomes almost like a museum level. It is not worn by many local people anymore.[...] The indigienous people living in the city would rather not acknowledge their indigenousness. So it is only the rural villagers who wear it, or the craftsmen themselves. So they only wear it on festivals and special occasions. But also we in India are heading towards that, unless there are projekts like yours." **Idea:** Traditional garments become mere occasion wear. Loss of pride (Link with Anjana)				*"Absolutely. Sustainability is something that I started before I started my journey with fashion. Because coming from a traditional family we practiced it in many different ways. Not just in clothing but also the way you live. I think we recycled pretty much everything, including peels and vegetables."* **Idea:** Western coined concepts like recycling and upcycling are seen as traditional inherited practices in India which were practised naturally without any conceptual frame.

PILLAR 1 - VALUES		**PILLAR 2 - CULTURAL HERITAGE AS INTANGIBLE ASSET**		**PILLAR 3 - SUSTAINABILITY**	
Topic Block 6	**Topic Block 7**			**Topic Block 8**	
The clash between "modernity" and "traditional"	**Borrowing values from the West**			**Difference from the Western understanding of sustainability**	
Quotes	***Quotes***			***Quotes***	
"That's something that I face all the time. In India my customers would say: 'Why do you get it hand spun? Who cares?" **Idea:** Disconnection of own cultural heritage and internal perception of handmade being obsolete having machines and technology.	*"Not so much in India yet but it is growing. In the urban context it is growing. Though, it is still very different from Europe. Here we don't actually end up having landfills of clothes. Because if I have used my clothes enough I give it away to a lot of people in the country who still are homeless.[...] So it always gets recycled, but I guess within the next 20-30 years we will get there where Europe is now, in terms of the waste."* **Idea:** Self-Orientalization expressed through the approximation to the take-make-dispose model			*"It is more coming from the past than coming as an afterthought by looking at the situation of the world right now. So it is a contradiction to the western concept of sustainability."*	
	"when I started to study fashion at NIFT in Delhi, I was suddenly exposed to a whole of other things because you are at a fashion college. You enter a zone where you feel you			*"A few months back I was at the Italian Chamber of Commerce. They called me to talk about sustainability and fashion. There were mostly people from Europe, who were*	

	need to attain something from the West to get better and what you have is kind of substandard and something to be embarrassed about." **Idea:** Embedded submissiveness of India towards the West			*hardcore into the common corporate manufacturing approach. Their perception of sustainability was something completely different. It was about certifications and in general very technical. It was all about paying fair and right wages to your workers, whether you are giving them enough holidays"*	
	"With all these craft stories we were told that the crafts are great and should keep it but similarly we should look about all these great things we get from the West."			*"I realised that in the talk at the Italian Chamber of Commerce, the motivation to adopt sustainability practices was that you get those certificates and that you´ll be seen as a better company so in the long-term it will be more profitable. But I think the idea of sustainability in India, much of it was very individual. It was not from an industrial perspective. It was from an individual perspective.*" **Idea:** Sustainability as ingrained individual activity rather than a collective approach - Vasudev (2019) critically points out, is one that usually describes India as a producer of cheap clothes with inadequate labour regulations, but mostly ignores the fact that	

				clothing practices and the associated craft systems in India in the past were inherently sustainable.	
				"It does but it is also the whole idea that everything that is made by hand is a part of it being sustainable. There are all these studies on what makes the textile touch and feel and what happens to the fibres, yarn and fabrics. The touch with the human hand is very different from when it is mill spun. It also provides employment to more people." **Idea:** Handmade as an equivalent for sustainability. Aligned with: Sandhu (2020) links craftsmanship to sustainable design practices, where it meets many criteria for circular fashion models, emphasising its potential to serve as a paradigm of development and a source of spiritual and emotional enlightenment.	

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