

The Weavers in Tangier

What measures can Tangier's Weavers Association take for the revival and future prosperity of the craft, in response to an ageing work force and a declining tourist market?

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Preface

When I first started out, little did I realise the gem that I would stumble across in finding the Weavers of Tangier. From the many hours of listening to their stories to watching them mystically play with their looms, it can only be referred to as a real honour to have been accepted into their special lives.

The further I delved into their world, the more important it became for their voices to be heard in the face of their adversities. This is by no means the solution to their problems, but merely an attempt to open up a dialogue about considerations and possibilities for the future. Perhaps this paper can offer a platform to raise awareness of the challenges they are facing and offer some guidance that can be taken in the years to come. I believe this promise could not only preserve the expertise of this valuable weaving knowledge, but could also open up economic, social and further cultural opportunities in the wake of a dramatically developing Tangier. These are opportunities that would be senseless to miss out on. The intricate craft knowledge still exists and can still enrich the future of the city.

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Research Question

What measures can Tangier's Weavers Association take for the revival and future prosperity of the craft, in response to an ageing work force and declining tourist market?

Abstract

In this work, a study into the weaver's of Tangier is carried out. A first-hand investigation takes place in order to reveal the weaver's main challenges, their desires and therefore the interventions that a hypothetical association should consider in order to revive the craft. Further fieldwork, looks into the aspirations of the Moroccan youth and why they are not interested in traditional craft, as well as into the potential for collaboration with modern designers. Two case studies in which a traditional craft was revived and introduced into the modern market are looked into: the World of Weaving enterprise of Tanzania and Harris Tweed, in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland. In a cross-analysis, these case studies indicate the importance of 3 main aspects of the trade: the brand, the access to the market and the access to supplies. With the knowledge acquired throughout the fieldwork and with the indications given by the case studies, a series of considerations are suggested for the hypothetical association. These considerations are based on the level of centralisation that this association could develop with regards to the 3 aspects.

Key Words

Weaving, challenges, craft values, desires, craft revival, association, youth, designer, branding, market, supply.

Background Relevance

The Medina

Gucci, Prada and Louis Vuitton, names you will discover in the old Medina. Shiny windows of avenue des Champs-Elysees possibly may come to mind, although unsurprisingly this picture is out of reach as you immerse into the bargaining alleyways of Petit Socco. Tangier is a special place, with many clues of it's connection to the *birani* world. From the fake Prado sunglasses, the faded remains of Spanish shop fronts to the stranger thrusting a 'traditional' crafted souvenir into the red-faced *nisrani*. It is a port city with a heavy outlook to Europe, in the presence of silhouetted Spain.

This strategic gateway between the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean connects Europe and Africa. It has cultivated a rich history, providing a haven for many cultures since the Phoenician times (Ring, Watson and Schellinger 1996). Tangier's history is the consequence of years of foreign invasion starting with the Phoenicians in 1450BC and ending with the withdrawal of the French in 1956. The Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs, Portuguese, Spanish, British and French built this unique cosmopolitan city. Under the Arab rule the city became the most important port on the northern west coast of Africa, and still thrives as a significant port city today (Ring, Watson and Schellinger 1996). Various artists and writers such as Mohammed Choukri, William Burroughs, Paul Bowles and Jack Kerouac have lived and written about Tangier during it's international status between 1923 and 1950 (Walonen 2011). Throughout this time Tangier became a home for actors, businessman, spies and artists that were enchanted by the city (Walonen 2011). Today many tourists visit Tangier to walk in the steps of these greats in order to capture an essence of the stories described in their literature.

The hard-hitting yells of '*sahbi...ya sahbi*' echo between the weathered Moorish and colonial passages of the medina. Little does the visitor understand that these overwhelming tones of *Darija* that bounce between the decaying walls are in fact a sympathetic gesture from the Tangawi greeting his 'friend' afar. If you were to curiously listen to them speak *Darija*, you can spot this warmer familiarity. *Darija* is a dialect of Arabic that is unique to Morocco; it holds influences from the Berber languages as well as from the French and Spanish (Dawn 2005) (Lotfi 2004). Since it has not always been written, there is no standard and so overtime it has had the freedom to continuously pick up new vocabulary from the cultural changes incurred. This relationship between what is seen and what is heard is undoubtedly historically intertwined and the visitor's experience of sight and sound should resonate Tangier's strong essence of adoption throughout time.

Glossary

Birani: Foreign person

Nisrani: Christian man, used to describe someone from the west

Sahbi : My friend

Darija: Name of the language spoken in Morocco

Tangawi: Indigenous resident of Tangier

The Changing Coast

To the native *Tanjawi*, walking along a familiar stretch of coastline is becoming something of a foggy memory. The dunes of the sandy rubble that stretch from the bottom of Malabata right up to the ancient port, truly demonstrate the changes in the horizon.

Whilst clinging on to their *charms* of dated décor, ageing hotels situated along this stretch cautiously peer over a sea of construction works. The view out of their window is a constant reminder for the flashy future of five star seaside resorts, accommodating towards the city's reinforcement of tourism appeal.¹

These works along the Malabata coast seek to support the conversion of Tangier's ancient port into a recreational marina. This ambition is to enhance the attractiveness for business passengers as well as tourists (Chatin 2015). The progression is in line with the Moroccan King's initiative to also 'host sports, recreational, cultural, business and commercial activities' all under the title of 'Metropolitan Tangier Programme' (Oxford Business Group 2016). The new developments coming into place such as office blocks, congress halls, luxury hotels, shopping centres, cable cars and more free zones² reveal the city's future prospects. Tangier is preparing itself for a resilient vision to create further job opportunities through recreational, tourism and foreign business relations (Chatin 2015) (Maroc 2014).

Now, picture colossal pieces of multi-coloured Lego hauled up into the air and then arrayed one by one on top of each other to readily await their carrier ship. A very different kind of coast has recently been completed. This cargo port named 'Tanger-Med' opened up 40 km east of Tangier in 2007 and is the largest commercial gateway between Africa and Europe. In seeking to hold approximately 8 million shipping containers a year, Tangier is orientating Morocco's economic policy towards export (Morocco Business News 2009). Due to its position on the Straits of Gibraltar it will be able to serve a market of hundreds of millions of consumers through industrial and commercial free zones (Morocco Business News 2009). By the time construction is completed³, it is expected to be the busiest port on the Mediterranean (The Economist 2016).

In this stirring of international integration, Tangier is becoming a globalised city arising from the interchange of world trade market and tourist travel. This broadcasted prosperity has resulted in a soaring population that have journeyed from all ends of the country in the hopes for better job opportunities and quality of life (Z. J. Kulenovic 2015). Tangier's exponential changes in the physical deliberates on what the immaterial consequences are to be within the city's future.

¹ For many decades Tangier has had a strong relationship with cultural tourism and has economically relied on this sector. In the last few years, there has been heavy investment into tourist infrastructures from foreign sponsors, real estate and construction companies. Tangier's type of investments demonstrates that they will continue to develop into the tourist sector into the near future (Chatin 2015).

² The Free Zone in Tangier currently holds over 400 businesses employing approx. 40,000 people. (Morocco Business News 2009). These includes many automotive industries such as Renault and Seat. (TMSA 2016)

³ Construction of the port is to be completed in 2018, (The Economist 2016).

Buying and Selling

In the heart of the Medina, colonies of sightseers nervously dash through the market alleyways whilst averting the gazes of street sellers. As the tourists further wind into the pathways of the old city, the lone salesmen scurry alongside to desperately play a game of language bingo. If lucky enough to unlock a *Nisrani* mumble, this hopeful key quickly turns into a convincing pitch that in his hands he holds an *authentic* traditional souvenir; the must-have crafted Moroccan emblem!⁴ Over time, this persisting and thrusting nature reasons these groups to fearfully huddle even tighter and avoid any contact at all. It is here that a game of cat and mouse is adopted, whereby the unfortunate salesman befalls further desperation and takes on even more aggressive methods to be visible, to of course try and make a living.

For the well travelled, this tourist-local relationship may seem nothing out of the ordinary and only to be expected in such a country. However, locals express that it is the rate in which this type of relationship is growing that is deeply concerning for the consequences that it resonates. Within the first occurrences of the research, many described that the city is cultivating hostile and aggressive behaviour around tourism, more than before.⁵

'Tangier is not what it was anymore, our people are scaring the tourists away, they used to feel safer here and buy more, but now they don't even look me in the eye when they come into my shop'.

Omar Mohammed Bazaar Owner (2016)

Conversations with bazaar owners expressed that Tangier is experiencing, to say the least, a culture of 'fake handcraft products', 'fake tourist guides' and 'aggressive ways of approaching [tourists]' (Mohammed 2016). It seems that the explicit repercussions of this are being experienced by both the *Tangawis* e.g. bazaar owners, as well as the tourists, causing anxiously attached and anxiously avoidant behaviour, respectively. It also highlights Tangier's current bittersweet relationship with cultural tourism. On one hand, the *Tangawis* recognise that it is the tourists that appreciate and value the traditional, whilst on the other hand their dependence on this matter is placing unorthodox means to make a sell. (Mohammed 2016). It places to question what exactly are the changes that have incurred in Tangier to cause this harsher climate around cultural tourism. Perhaps the country's awareness of the city's changes is what was meant by 'tourism reform in Tangier' under the King's Metropolis Programme.

⁴ This was something that I had observed as well experienced. I took some time to sit in the street cafes of the Medina and stand outside the craft bazaar shops to watch tourist's relationship with locals. There are sketches and videos that highlight this.

⁵ During the initial trip in April, the Medina was well aware of the first set of group tours were arriving over the weekend. It seemed to be the kick-off for tourist season. It was made very clear to me that the craftsman and bazaar owners would not have time to help for the research on that weekend. Evidently the anticipation for their arrival was high.

Weaving craft

Free-spirited hands playfully dance intimately within their majestic looms as though they were simply an extension to the human body. Having spent many days observing the craftsmen rhythmically play between their minds and their instrument, it is unsurprising to understand why many tourists congregate around to marvel at the performance. For the audience it sets the scene for *ancient civilization*, cultivating their eagerness for the orient. Of course the craftsman is well aware, and with a mischievous sparkle in his eye, plays into character. Smiling away with pride, the *Moalem* sincerely hopes that amongst one of the peering rosy faces, the worth of his creations could be seen. With some luck, a glimpse of the lifetime of heart and soul recounting the heritage of Morocco and all the imaginary patterns handed down by weavers since 1500 are recognised enough for a sale (Nassih 2016).

It takes decades to master the weaving craft where many commence the journey in order to become a *Moalem* (Master) from as little as five years. Traditionally, the weaving of fabrics had been done by Berber women of Morocco, along the mountains and deep rooted in countryside living (Nassih 2016). This art was, and still is, employed in basketry, carpets, clothing, ritual or decorative fabrics for household linen (Nassih 2016). Customarily women would weave *haiks* using wool or cotton, which are several metres long. These would be used as wraps around their bodies called *handira*, or thick blankets called *betaniya* often given as wedding gifts to a bride (Nassih 2016).

As the city developed it's roads and advanced forms of travel, the craft journeyed from 'countryside living to the city centre of Tangier' (Mohammed 2016). Weaving ateliers popped up in their galore, mainly by men, to cater for city clothing and tourist's desires, to adapt to Tangier's climatic lifestyle (Mohammed 2016).

Today handcraft has a strong connection with tourism, whereby 17% of the population economically relies on the relationship between hand-craft production and tourism. (Ministère du Tourisme et de l'Artisanat 2005). To many of the weavers in Tangier their patterns, styles and colour cater to those visiting in the spirit of cultural travel.

Glossary

Moalem: A Master of a craft

Berber: Descendant of the pre-Arab inhabitants of Morocco

Haiks: Traditional out-door garments

Handira: Traditional body wraps

Betaniya: Blankets

Moalem

'Ana Moalem' smiled the old man gleaming as he firmly held his head high and rested his hands over crossed legs; a pinnacle gesture in its own right.

With a hanging camera swinging side to side, I was hastily lead by the craftsmen to the weaving taverns. It quickly became clear that a sense of order had to be complied with – *you may speak with me, but first you speak to the Moalem*. It presented that the *Moalem* bore a powerful sense of pride and respect within the craft community⁶ and so most felt inadequate to participate with the study until their craft Master had spoken first. In fitting with this role, the Moalems radiated from within the dim-lit ateliers as they re-told the tales it took to gain the vast knowledge, wisdom and creativity to surpass Apprentice to their position today.

'All those that work in this [weaving] craft start from when they are very young six, seven or eight ...every age counts where he develops his knowledge so that he becomes a Master, he reaches the top. After reaching that, this stays with him forever. [But] in order to become a master he has to go through many years to develop and innovate the craft...you need patience...'

Adullah Souri (2016)

The furrowed lines within the Moalem's face express the years of explicit and tacit absorption within the hand weaving realms of his former master. After more than forty years patiently climbing up the level of wisdom the *Haraf*, in other words 'craftsman', is awarded the title *Moalem*. It is under this prerequisite that he no longer works under his former master and performs to pass on the knowledge to his very own apprentices.

This serves the literal translation of *Moalem*, meaning 'Teacher' by which the root of *Moalem* derives from 'to be in charge and the informer of knowledge' (Cambridge Dictionary 2017) Contrastingly, the root for the Moroccan word of 'Craft', pronounced *Herfa*, translates to 'expert work' and so the 'craftsman' (*Herafi*) decodes to 'an expert' (Cambridge Dictionary 2017). The relations between the translation of 'Craft' and 'Master' should be grasped as culturally informative; the meaning of the word *Herafi* (an expert) gives an idea of the traditional place that the craftsman has in Moroccan society. The very fact that the Moalem (or Teacher) is a transcendent from the 'Expert' can also showcase the importance given to teaching in craft. It reveals the significance of role placement whereby the new craftsman learns from the old master and the old master teaches the new.

Glossary

Ana Moalem: I am a Master Craftsman

Moalem: Teacher. Rooted to mean 'to be in charge and the informer of knowledge'. It is used to describe a Craft Master.

Herfa: Expertise work. It is used to describe a craft

Herafi: An Expert. It is used to describe a Craftsman.

⁶ This title of Moalem extends to different lines of work such as musicians, bakers, seamstresses etc. It is mainly used for the hand trades however it is also used to describe knowledgeable elderly within communities.

News of the Weavers

Me: I want to do some research on craft in Tangier...

Tangawi: Why? There is nothing here...go to Marrakech, Asafi and Fes they are the Masters, they are the best in Morocco, they can show you the most beautiful things...

Me: Yes but what about the craft weavers in Tangier?

Tangawi: That was 30 years ago, there are none left...very very few ...

Me: Where are they now in Tangier? What is happening to them? Why are they disappearing?

Tangawi: Marrakech and Fes is better for you, they have better knowledge of weaving than Tangier, you should go there with your camera.

It appeared that this strange *birani's* inquisition created an air of uncertainty. Coupled up with the inundated frowns, there seemed to be a wariness as to what image she was painting of Tangier for Europe to see. Tangawis stressed that there were few weavers left and so it was not worth the energy to look for them. With much emphasis, it was advised that the current connoisseurs of weaving were in Asafi, Fes and Marrakech and for them that was where lens ought to go.

It was these outlets that unearthed a curiosity to understand why this craft was disappearing in Tangier and what challenges and pressures they could be facing. Since, according to the Governmental Ministry of Artisan and Tourism, there exists a high economic dependence on hand-craft, what was then fuelling for the reduction of weaving practice? (Artisanat 2015). Essentially, meeting the weavers would truly reveal these key insights and open up what significant topics are in need of discussion so that the Weavers could prosper.

Problem Statement: Meeting Tangier's Weavers

'We know something needs to be done, but how do we do it? Who will do it? We are becoming old and tired'

Nordine Al Asri (2016)

In the face of their adversities, Tangier's Weavers held an undeniable desire for their voices to be heard and uniformly agreed for the need for an intervention. However it seemed that they lacked an understanding as to what to do. Notably there were floating rumours that a potential weaving association might be set up. This could be due to the announced governmental strategies for reviving handcraft in Morocco (Artisanat 2015).

With this in mind, this study offers a framework to explicitly highlight the challenges and desires that the weavers are facing and therefore offer preliminary steps in which a weaving association could initiate. By carrying out this study, it is in the hope that it can help the craft to prosper so that it would also improve the lives of the craftsmen and sustain a craft society.

In chronological order, the investigation will aim to reveal the weaver's explicit challenges, their desires and potential interventions. As a result of these goals, the following research question and sub-questions will be answered:

- a) Research Question:
- b) What measures can Tangier's Weavers Association take for the revival and future prosperity of the craft, in response to an ageing work force and declining tourist market?
 - i) Sub-questions:
 - (a) What are the challenges the weavers face?
 - (b) How do the challenges affect the weaver's values for craft practice?
 - (c) What do the craftsmen desire?
 - (d) How have other case studies revived their craft?
 - (e) What are the crucial aspects to consider for a revival in craft?
 - (f) How could these aspects be implemented into Tangier's Weaving association?
 - (g) How could this instigate revival and prosperity of the weaving craft?

In brief, the format of this study shall be broken down into four stages. Firstly, it will showcase the relevant data collection conducted through interviews. Secondly, the interpretation of this data highlighting the new views and information will be revealed. After this, the connections between the interpreted information will be discovered. Finally, from these findings the study will conclude by offering theory that explains potential solutions and the relevance.

Method

In the initial phase of the research, the collection of data took an ethnographic approach (Agar 1996) whereby qualitative data was collected mainly through interviews and observations. To the knowledge of the author, no previous study had been conducted regarding the weavers of Tangier. Therefore in order to obtain an understanding of the weaving community's circumstances, first-hand data collection was a necessary path to proceed with.

As shall be explained further on in this chapter, the research initially adopted a deductive framework by formulating a hypothesis and analysing this with the acquired data. However, as the data was collected this hypothesis was quickly discarded because it revealed to be based upon a naïve assumption. During the interview process, it was clear that the craftsmen were facing various challenges. The lack of understanding regarding these challenges and the amount of information collected from the interviews suggested that the most adequate approach would be to develop a research question induced by this data.

Therefore, a more inductive approach to the research was taken. A research question was developed and a series of initial steps were suggested for the revival of the craft (a hypothesis on how this can occur). Further data was collected (i.e. from Fatima Choukri, the American Language Centre) that was representative of Tangier and the present environment of the craftsmen. Furthermore, the research was reinforced with two case studies regarding revival of traditional crafts. It is assumed that the informant data and the additional information obtained from the case studies are sufficient in order to conduct this initial research.

More specifically, the collected data from the craftsmen's interviews was analysed in such a way that repeated ideas, concepts and elements became apparent through the selective coding method of categorization (Corbin 1990).

This chapter firstly describes the general 'Intended Method' for the research. It will then be followed by a description of the 'Preliminary study' that occurred before deciding the final set of research questions. Then the procedure for 'Data collection' coupled with 'Information Interpretation' shall be explained which has been split up into three stages of the research 'Stage one: Initial Trip', 'Stage two: Second Trip' and 'Stage three: Final interviews'.

- 1. Method Intention:**
 - a. The Phenomenon
 - b. Data Collection
 - c. Information Interpretation
 - d. Knowledge
 - e. Wisdom

- 2. The Preliminary Study**

- 3. Stage one: Initial Trip**
 - a. Data Collection
 - b. Analysis
 - c. Reflection

- 4. Stage Two: Second Trip**

- a. Data Collection
- b. Analysis
- c. Reflection

5. Stage Three: Final Interviews (Delft)

- a. Data Collection
- b. Analysis
- c. Reflection

Method Intention

To help structure the different levels of sense making, the DIKW (Data, Information, Knowledge and Wisdom) model shall be used as a way to frame the research. This version of the model was taken from the book Convivial Toolbox by Liz Sanders and is based on Russell Ackoff's Theory (Ackoff 1989). The value of this model is that it can help structure and explain how to deal with data gathering and analysis. (Sanders and Switchers 2012). Whilst the steps are in order, they should not be seen as successive stages for a deeper understanding of the research would involve being able to move between the levels.



1.Devise a Phenomenon

Goal: To make sense of the subject in study

Why: Initiates the framework for the collection of data and therefore sets up a platform to further refine the topic of focus.

Procedure: Literature

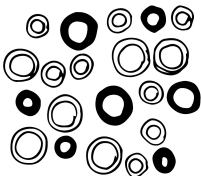


2.Collect Data: Facts

Goal: To collect selective data centred on the phenomenon in a manner that can be stored and extracted.

Why: To later be retrieved for sense making.

Procedure: Literature, Interviews, Observations, Notes, Filming

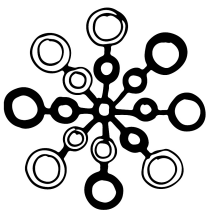


3.Provide Information: Meaningful Data

Goal: To sort the data into interpreted symbols and categories

Why: To be compared and enables for patterns or links to be found.

Procedure: Grouping and Categorising



4. Knowledge: Organised Information

Goal: To find links and patterns from the information to create new theory

Why: To discover core concepts, new views and ideas. To reflect on what more is need to be collected. To also refocus/refine the research question if needed.

Procedure: Analyse, compare and contextualize the information



5. Wisdom: Applied Knowledge

Goal: To understand how to deal with the knowledge gained

Why: To inform on what decisions to make (to use theory or not)

Procedure: Reflecting on the theory, it's limitations and strengths
Develop an initial understanding and sound base for further decision making.

By referring to the DIKW scheme, it positioned the research conducted in Tangier to be seen as a preliminary study that would therefore help to further focus the topic of study. Subsequently after, analysing the collected data based on the assumption, the information gained proved to be a gateway, revealing core ideas and unanimous points that the craftsmen had been voicing in the interviews. It was these united voices of concern that were in need to be brought to the discussion table and therefore refine the research question in order help address these challenges. In addition the results of the analysis prompted for further data to be collected in which a second trip to Tangier was also made. ⁷

The Preliminary Study



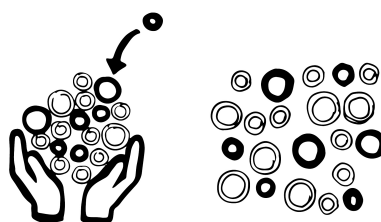
According to Morocco's *Ministere du Tourism et de l'Artisanat*, 17% of the population economically relies on the relationship between hand-craft production and tourism. However, the ministry claims that there has been a decline in craft quality and want to counteract this. They believe there to 'exist [a] high demand' for artisanal handcraft within the 'foreign/tourist sector' and so see it necessary to improve the quality. (Artisanat 2015) (Ministère du Tourisme et de l'Artisanat 2005).

The awareness of this caused to question whether the matter of 'high-demand' was in fact linked to the declination of the quality in craft. Since the livelihood of many Moroccan craftsmen are dependent on selling to tourists, it questioned whether there were certain pressures they were facing in order to deliver to this 'high-demand'. If that were the case how were these pressures affecting the craftsman's value of craft? These early deliberations instigated an initial set of questions to formulate a main research question:

Can the production of artisanal souvenirs in Morocco be considered craftsmanship?

However, after a few days conducting interviews in Tangier it was revealed that this 'high-demand' from tourism was not so present in the city and exposed it to be an assumption. Since much focus was dedicated to try and answer the prepared questions, it was realised that after discovering the study to be an assumption what the weavers were stressing to be important might have been missed. Thus, in the attempt to follow through with the interview questions that had been formulated by this belief it deemed likely that core concepts had been missed. Where perhaps this assumption may be more applicable to other parts of the country, to the craftsmen in Tangier this belief deemed unfitting. Consequently, a form of sense making was required in order to piece the seemingly disconnected data and reel out the core concepts and any repeating ideas that were being expressed amongst the weavers that were less obvious at the time.

Stage One: Initial Trip



The following shall firstly describe the procedure that took place for data collection in the initial trip to Tangier. It will then explain the method used to interpret the data.

Data Collection

The Participants:

The first interviews conducted in Tangier were with two bazaar owners, Omar Mohammed and Mohammed Rafa both located in the Old Medina of the city. The purpose of this was for them to introduce an overview regarding tourism and craft demand within Morocco and in Tangier. This initiated the discovery of the craftsman lifestyle and challenges in Morocco and in Tangier, it also and revealed some background information about the city's relation to craft. The bazaar owners put me in touch with two leather craftsmen in Tangier.

First interviews in Tangier:

- **2 x Bazaar Owners:** Omar Mohammed and Mohammed Rafa
- **2 x Leather craftsmen:** Mohammed Abdullah and Khalid Benniche

The bazaar owners also pointed out the location of the Weavers and after visiting them it was decided here that they would be the focus of the study. As seven were interviewed:

- **2 x Employed Weavers:** Nordine Al Asri, Khalid Birawi
- **1 x Independent Weaver:** Mohammed Jillali
- **3 x Directors/Weavers:** Abdullah Souri, Mustafa Boumghait, Oussama Bakkali
- **1 x Weaving Director:** Mohammed Mdioui

With the exception of one, all were situated at the 'Fondouq Chejra' an old caravanserai built in the early 1900's and located within the Old Medina. Abdullah Fillah a weaver/director was the exemption as his hand-weaving company was located in El Jadida on the outskirts of Tangier, this gave the opportunity to reflect and compare the data collected away from a localised setting.⁸ Please see Appendix A: The Participants for further details. Names given are pseudonyms.

The interviews were either filmed or audio recorded depending on the interviewee's preference. When it was possible, interviews were carried out in the working context of

⁸ The building currently holds around fifteen weaving ateliers as opposed to the thirty-five weaving ateliers ten or so years ago. These rooms have been replaced as storage or shops that sell mass manufactured items or as the Tanjawi's call it the *chinwa* (Chinese) goods.

the participants for their comfort and not to feel too self-conscious. It also allowed me to observe them in their natural setting of work.

With an interpreter present at the interview, the questions were asked in English, which were then translated to the craftsmen in Darija by the interpreter. Since my background is of Moroccan heritage I was able to understand most of the Darija spoken by the craftsmen and the interpreter was present to translate parts that I did not understand.

In most cases a short introduction was given on the topic of research and myself. However at times due to their friendly nature some of the craftsman would jump straight into conversation and a formal introduction was not given as it was thought best to not interrupt the flow and to slowly integrate questions within.

To avoid a high consciousness of audio or camera equipment I would sit next to and slightly in front of the camera, as opposed to behind. Generally the interviews lasted between 20 to 70 minutes. For further details please see Appendix A: The Participants.

Interview Material:

The interview questions were semi-structured and as they progressed questions were adapted to either closed or open questions depending on how the conversation was advancing with the interviewee. Since the questions were based on an initial assumption, as the interviews progressed some questions changed, added or removed. Please See Appendix B: Interview Questions for prepared questions and alterations made. Please see Appendix E: Transcripts for questions asked during interviews.

Part of the interview preparation was inspired by the 'path of expression' (Sanders and Switchers 2012). The questions were prepared in such a way to try to take the participant through sensitizing stages. These stages are:

- a) Immersion into current experiences
- b) Activate feelings and memories from the past
- c) Dream about possible futures
- d) Generate and express new ideas relating to the future

Please see Appendix B: Interview Questions for how this method related to the questions.

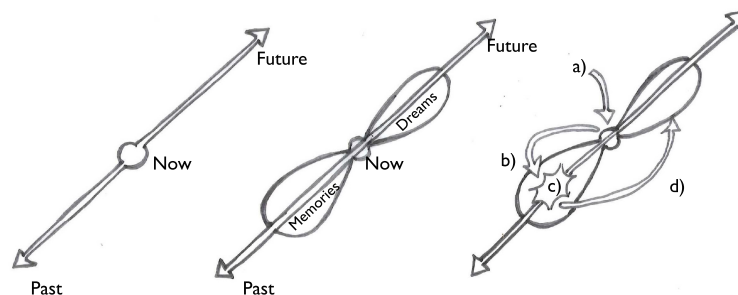


Fig 1- Path of Expression. Source: (Sanders and Switchers 2012).

'The experience of the moment (now) is connected to past and future through memories and dreams. The path of expression (right) shows how a person's awareness can be guided in steps by thinking first of the present, then of the past, then looking for underlying layers in order to move towards the future.' (Sanders and Switchers 2012)

Reflection and Limitations

There were still limitations to my understanding of the craftsmen, particularly since many of the craftsmen would jump between Darija, French and Modern Standard Arabic.⁹ Despite there being an interpreter at the interviews, it presented to be rather difficult to have all what I did not understand at the time of the conversation translated immediately back to me as it interrupted the flow of the conversation.

It also proved to be difficult to keep in plan of the interview structure and to have the prepared questions answered. This particularly occurred when asking open questions regarding what changes they thought should occur to address their challenges. However they would be able to answer the questions when relating to a specific scenario in their daily craft practice, something that the path of expression helped to induce. However trying to keep line with the 'path of expression' proved to be rather difficult due to the nature of conducting an interview with open questions as dialogue would naturally jump back and forth between these stages.

Information Interpretation:

Procedure: Selective Coding: 'Revealing common views'

The interviews were translated and then transcribed. The transcripts went through a process of selective coding in order to reveal the common views between the craftsmen and other core concepts. Initial quotes selected were related to strong themes that stood out from the interviews and as the coding developed revealing further themes, further quotes were highlighted. Quotes that stood out were also highlighted.

From here these quotations were then paraphrased and written onto post it notes. The paraphrased statement cards were then initially categorised based on the sub-questions and then went under several iterations of grouping based on themed commonalities. A post-it note colour was designated to a specific craftsman in order to be able to track who was saying what. Since the selective coding went through an exhaustive process, six of the recorded interviews were transcribed and underwent selective coding, the rest of the interviews were listened to and any quotes that stood out away from the common views were taken note of. Please see Appendix D: Initial Selective Coding for initial and final layers of categorization.

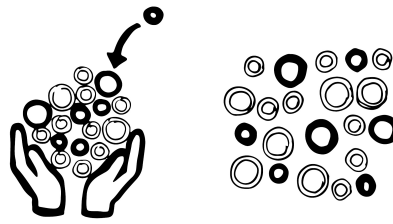
Reflection and Limitations:

Through the analysis of data a theoretical framework was established and helped to establish a refined research question and deliberate on what more was needed to be found out and why. The categorization helped to devise the sub-questions and main research question.

At times transcribing the interview proved to be difficult for my limited knowledge of Darija and particularly when the craftsmen spoke in Modern Standard Arabic or French. As a result with sentences that deemed to be important I asked friend and family to help translate.

⁹ Moroccans will often speak French or Modern Standard Arabic when discussing topics of professional value.

Stage Two: Second Trip



After interpreting the data collected from the initial trip, a second trip to Tangier was required for an additional set of data. Firstly, interviews were conducted in order to confirm the interpretations made from the previous interviews by the craftsman. Secondly, two interviews and a workshop were set up in Tangier with a designer, a teacher and students, respectively; these encounters were set up in order to obtain data on collaboration with designers and on the aspirations of the youth, two aspects intimately related to the desires of the craftsmen.

The following shall firstly describe the procedure that took place in this second Trip. It will then explain the method used to interpret the data.

Data collection and interpretation

The Participants:

1. Four the weavers were interviewed again in order reflect on the information gained from the coding and to therefore see if there were any other points that were vitally missing

- **1 x Employed Weaver:** Khalid Birawi
- **1 x Independent Weaver:** Mohammed Jillali
- **1 x Directors/Weavers:** Abdullah Sour, Mustafa Boumghait
- **1 x Weaving Director:** Mohammed Mdioui

2. An interview with Fatima Choukri, a fashion accessory Moroccan designer

3. An interview with Fahmi Naguib, a preparatory high school teacher in Tangier.

4. A workshop was also conducted amongst 27 Tanjawi students, ranging between ages 14-19, at the American Language Centre.

Please see Appendix A: The Participants for further details. Names given are pseudonyms.

Procedure, Material, Data and Interpretation

1. The weavers. Interviews were retaken with four of the weavers that were interviewed on the initial trip to see if there had been any major points missed out during the coding process. Overall, summaries of the craftsmen's challenges and desires were read out to them. An interpreter was present for the translation. After which, the recordings were listened back to repeatedly to discover any similarities or differences in response to the summaries. The interviews lasted between 20-70 minutes. The

interviews were recorded using video cameras. Please refer Appendix C: Summary to for the bullet pointed summaries that were given to the craftsmen.

2. Fatima Choukri. An interview was conducted in Cinema Rif of Tangier for a duration of 35 minutes. The interview was conducted in English. It was transcribed and any statement that stood out was highlighted. This interview was audio recorded; please see Appendix E.9: Fatima Choukri for transcript.

3. Fahmi Naguib. The interview was conducted in the American Center of Tangier and it lasted 60 minutes. The interview was conducted in English. It was transcribed and any statement that stood out was highlighted. This interview was video recorded.

4. The workshop. For the research in total 27 students, ranging from the ages of 14 to 19, participated in the workshop. These were carried out in English in one of the classrooms at the center. The following tasks were carried out:

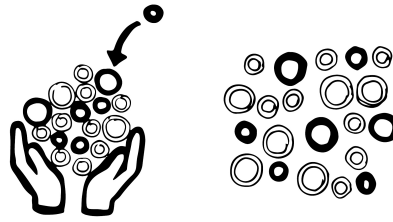
1. Students were asked to order a list of 13 professions from most successful to least successful in Morocco in groups of 4-5.
2. Students were asked to order a list of 13 professions from most important to least important in Morocco in groups of 4-5.
3. Students were individually asked to indicate which job they most aspired for.
4. Students were individually asked which profession their family preferred for them.

Please see Appendix C: Workshop Material for images that was used for the ranking tasks.

Reflection and limitations

The workshop presented some limitations in language since it was conducted in English. The students that were studying at the American Language Centre had the levels of English that ranged from low to high; as a result, this could have interfered in their understanding of the task.

Stage Three: Final interviews (from Delft)



After the previous trip further interviews were required in order to investigate into a case that has shown a revival in craft and gain further insight into the culture of Tangier.

Data collection and interpretation

The Participants

1. Anneloes Roelandschap – Founder and owner of World of weaving, a social enterprise based in Zanzibar, Tanzania for weavers of Tanzania (World Of Weaving 2013).

Procedure and Material: Data and Interpretation

Both of these interviews were carried out over Skype and lasted between 30 to 40 minutes. Questions were semi-structured, consisting of both open and closed questions. Interviews were video recorded and then transcribed. After which quotes relating to the research question and any other powerful quotes were highlighted.

The Weavers

Introduction

In this chapter, results from the selective coding method that revealed the unanimous opinions amongst the craftsmen shall be revealed. The data shall be supported with statements from the interviews together with descriptive accounts of their working environments, to provide a sense of the weavers' working nature.

Throughout the chapter, the main challenges that the weavers face shall be disclosed; then, how these challenges have affected their craft values shall be presented and thirdly the chapter shall present their future desires. Subsequently, the results from the second round of interviews shall be presented at the end to showcase any other important points that were missed on the first trip. Overall, the conclusions derived in this chapter shall be used to determine any other further research required in order to present preliminary conditions for the weaving association to consider for the revival of the weaving craft.

The transcripts of the interviews can be found in Appendix E: Transcripts. All the results of the coding can be found in Appendix D: Final Selective Coding.

Background information

'They sell craft in the market; you can see all kinds of traditional craft. For us weavers it is the tourists that help to maintain it. We are working with tourism'

Khalid Birawi (2016)

Every inch of Nordine Al Asri' walls narrates the ancestry tales of colour, material and pattern, all simultaneously feeding into a series of historical time lapses. The hand-woven artefacts piled one on top of another could have deceived you into another time zone, if it were not for the words 'air-ness' slashed across the synthetic sweater of the *Moalem*. The weaver sits surrounded by the works he learnt as a child in Ouzanne; now he lives in Tangier, displaced in his weaving den for visitors to see. Like Al Asri, all the weavers interviewed within the 'Fondouk Chejra' had their weaving dens arranged for the tourists that pass-by. Handlooms in full display, welcome signs in English and cushioned seating for the tourists to sit and observe the craftsmen weave. Each of the craftsmen's traditions was rooted away from Tangier city and each of the craftsmen's weaving heritages were rooted to different geographical areas in Morocco.

Foreign Relation

However, despite the weavers' accommodating arrangements, the corridors of the Fondouk were empty, to which the weavers replied that this was because 'few tourists come'. (See Appendix D.3: Challenges, Market).Appendix D.3:

' Since the European Financial crisis, few tourists visit. The Spanish and the French used to buy a lot. But not anymore...and the few [tourists] that do come only buy small items worth €10 or €5'.

Mustafa Boumghait (2016)

The coding revealed that all the weavers, that is, Al Asri, Mdioui, Birawi, Mrabet, Boumghait and Abdullah were experiencing the repercussions of the European Financial Crisis today. Birawi also included the media portrayal of political unrest in the Arab world and the development of a stronger tourist industry in places like Fes and Marrakech as factors that caused the diminished presence of tourists in Tangier. Since most of the weavers were dependent on selling to the tourist market, they were struggling to make a living. However Boumghait had found alternative channels for selling and as he took out his phone to scroll through and reveal his email list, he said:

'I work with clients in America and France, in London. I have also worked for Barnaby's in New York'

However, many of the weavers have not been able to access this market and equally expressed their desire to so (See Appendix D.4: Market Relations, Clients):

'Working with people abroad and having publicity abroad can help us to innovate the craft forward'

Abdullah Souri (2016)

However, whilst Boumghait has the skills in which to communicate to the international market such as using the internet, many of the craftsmen expressed that it very common to find craftsmen unable to even read (See Appendix D.3: Challenges, Age Limitation):

'For most of the craftsmen who are working, their weakness is illiteracy; they did not get a chance to go to school because in those days when you are young you had to chose between school or craft. So those who chose craft are not as well educated as they could be.'

Oussama Bakkali (2016)

Despite Boumghait's independence from the tourist market and the craftsmen recognizing the limitations with the tourist market, when asked the question: "Do you think there are negative impacts from tourism? Many of the weavers expressed disagreement, (See Appendix D.4: Market Relations, Tourist Benefits).

'No no no, there are no negative impacts. Firstly it is good, they [tourists] bring work to the artisans and at the same time they export out...you see... it is very good plus they add something extra [creativity] for the Moroccan artisan!. They add to it, their own culture, and they also would have seen many things, there can be creation and they could add something. It's really good.'

Mustafa Boumghait (2016)

The weavers responded to the question by explaining that tourists were in fact the ones who 'created demand'.¹⁰ Moreover not only did they feel that this therefore 'encouraged the craft', but the results also show that they felt tourists helped to 'advance innovation' by offering 'creative' and 'new ideas' . (See Appendix D.1: What is craft?, Tourist Benefits)

¹⁰It is worth noting that despite question itself was referring to 'Tourism' as an entity; the weavers understood this as reference to a tourist.

Tourist Values

Khalid Birawi, the only weaver under the age of 50, leans casually against a table stacked high with all his creations. In the background one could see a desk, a futon, a small television box and his Grandmother's loom; all verifying that he lived and weaved between the strings and the loom. Whilst holding onto a neck scarf, he claims to have spent much time thinking about, he explained that this one was very 'popular amongst tourists'. Birawi expressed, that when the craftsmen weave, they try to imagine what a tourist would like in that moment of time. This was unanimously agreed amongst the weavers, each of whom had strong ideas on what a tourist wanted. (See Appendix E.1: Omar Mohammed, Tourist Wants).

"Today when tourists come to Morocco they want to take away a beautiful, natural, reasonably priced product, which has a weaving and an artisanal quality. A tourist does not come and just buy anything, they buy something that does not exist in their own country"

Mohammed Mdiou (2016)

"We make craft products...in several ways. Products that are natural, beautiful and hand-made. We look to create quality of product and the quality of the artisan. Tourists will not just buy anything. No it is not like that, they look for the quality!"

Mustafa Boumghait (2016)

"You cannot allow for tourists to see the same thing every year in which you have not changed...it is even like that for Moroccans"

Abdullah Souri (2016)

Similarly to the other weavers, Birawi explained that tourists liked crafts that were exclusive, he explains:

'[Tourists] like craft that if you have worked on it today you won't do the same tomorrow. This is because they have travelled the whole world and [they like] to have something with a unique decoration, that you will not find.'

To reiterate further on his response, the question was asked: "so...tourists like uniqueness?" To which he replied:

'Yes...That is what craftsmanship is!'

Mohammed was not the only weaver to share a common ground with the tourist values. When we look at the coding, we can see similarities between the qualities that the craftsmen understood as desirable for tourists compared with values and qualities that the craftsmen use to define craft. (See Appendix D.4: Market Relations, Tourist Wants and See Appendix D.1: What is craft?) This suggests that weavers may feel that they share mutual beliefs over the values of craft and thus explains their warmth towards tourists:

'You see, tourists are good people [...] tourists care for traditional craft and they care for this craft [...] Moroccans are only now starting to care.'

Nordine Al Asri (2016)

Overall, the craftsmen view their relationship with tourists as one of reciprocal understanding. Furthermore, we can see this in their accommodating practice towards tourists, suggesting that the relationship exceeds beyond a simple exchange of Dirhams. Instead it creates an environment offering an intimate and unique experience for tourists, whom from the perspective of the weavers, are viewed in a positive light.

Craft values: Adaptability and Change

Questions to the craftsmen were asked relating to what they considered to be important values for craft and how they defined craft. It was unanimously stressed that every craftsman must be willing to practice: 'change' and the importance of this value presented itself when referring to the significance for 'innovation', 'uniqueness' and 'creativity' within craft practice' (See Appendix D.1: What is craft?).

"You have to change every year... in craft it is obligatory to innovate, to rethink everyday so that you can imagine, work with the hands and the mind".

Abdullah Souri (2016)

'I will tell you something [...] each craftsman has their own way of doing.... But every piece must be very creative and very different from the other one...'

Khalid Birawi (2016)

In support for this eagerness of progression many of the craftsmen equally expressed that repetition was unjustifiable and was what prevented craft from advancing.

'Personally... in my age and the years experience that I have gained, it is unforgivable to repeat work'.

Mustafa Boumghait (2016)

The Age Gap

'I still remember seeing the Fondouk filled with weavers on both floors, the courtyard was open, unlike now, and there were craftsmen spinning yarn in the middle. But today, from the large number of craftsmen that existed, only half are left.'

Abdullah Souri (2016)

The coding also revealed that one of the main challenges that the craftsmen were facing that prevented them from full-filling their crafts values was on account of their age.

'You reach a point of tiredness. [...] Here in Morocco we have to do everything and so you end up doing nothing. It's all up to you... everyday I say to myself I need to sit and generate new ideas, but I do not have time because I am old and tired... '.

Mustafa Boumghait (2016)

The weavers felt that their age limited their ability to be creative and noticed that this was stopping them from advancing forward in their craft-work. Souri further explains that the level of energy when young provided strong creative skills which helped them pioneer craft from 'comfort clothing' to designing fabrics within the 'interior design'

sector, (See Appendix: Craft Changes). However, with a lack of youth presence in the industry and an ageing work force, the craftsmen believe this has also contributed to the decline in the weaving craft industry and thus a desire for the youth to engage with the craft is desired. (See Appendix D.3: Challenges, No youth)

'We need younger people to come into this craft, without them the crafts will significantly reduce, young people can help to give new ideas.'

Designers

Whilst the craftsmen consider the youth as one way for progression, many of the weavers expressed how collaboration with designers could also aid the craft to advance forward. (See Appendix D.4: Market Relations, Designers).

'There are a lot of foreign designers that bring work to the craft, they like to introduce ideas into weaving products. Designers in Morocco also they like to work in this industry...Those kind of people add something to craft, they bring out something new'

Abdullah Souri (2016)

'Like in Marrakech there are designers that create their own ateliers and work with artisans, they create and design. Importantly they know how to work the hands of people, the artisans. They know how to work them and the designers have their ideas that they create. They bring new ideas in to artisan, they bring more to it.'

Mustafa Boumghait (2016)

Desires

After reflecting on the coding, there were three main desires that were unanimously expressed amongst the craftsmen:

- To connect to the international market
- To engage with the Youth
- To collaborate with Designers

Firstly, whilst it is clear the craftsmen have an intimate relationship with tourists, due to the decline of tourists, the weavers wish to be connected to the International Market. However due to their lack of school education and taking into account their age, they are finding this increasingly difficult to do so. Secondly, in recognising their limitations in creativity and innovating the craft forward due to their old-age, they firstly require more youth to enter into the weaving craft industry and secondly hold a strong desire to collaborate with designers as a means to innovate the craft.

The Weavers Revisited

A few months later, interviews were retaken with four of the weavers that were interviewed on the initial trip to see if there had been any major points missed out during the coding process. Overall, summaries of the craftsmen's challenges and desires were read out to them. The recordings of these interviews were then listened back to repeatedly, to see if there were any similarities and important differences between their responses to the summaries given. (See Appendix C: Summary) Quotes were lifted directly from the video recordings.

Inside the weaving dens within the Fondouk, sitting between cracked ceilings, chipped paint, unprotected wire works and rusting corrugated sheeting that stretched from one of the courtyards to the other, was Rashid Mrabet witnessing this as a symbol for the fall in weaving craft said:

'How can we expect for young people to want to come and work here? The building does not look nice anymore, and where it used to be known as the Fondouk Chejra Weavers. It is not the case anymore. We used to be seen as group, but since over time there are not anymore, we do not look like a group. Young people want to be working in something that shows professionalism and societal importance and if we want to give them training, then there needs to be an establishment that can do that, to help with that.'

After reciting back the summaries, all the weavers emphasized the importance for there to be an institution:

'If we want these things to happen, like connect to the market then there needs be a governing body that can help with that, to teach us a few things.'

Khalid Birawi (2016)

'There needs to be some help, professional help from the government....'

Oussama Boumghait (2016)

However, Mohammed Mdiou, one of the many weavers that had expressed this need for an association but stated that it may prove to be difficult, suggest that it was due to the value of competition.

'I have tried to make a union, but it won't work out, I have tried, the but there isn't enough trust amongst each other.'

Conclusion

Youth engagement, access to international markets and design collaboration were confirmed as the weavers' desires. However, the weavers also expressed that in order for this to contribute to the revival and prosperity of the craft, 'professionalization' would be required through initiating a type of establishment/association. Nevertheless, one of the weavers had already tried and was unsuccessful. Whilst this weaver does consider an association to be necessary, it suggests an importance to consider how and by whom the association should be initiated.

Furthermore, taking into account the results gained from the initial trip, it would be important for the association to reflect on the desires of the weavers and how facilitating these could help to contribute to a revival of the craft. Whilst looking into these options, it would be important to consider the craftsman's working nature, particularly for their value for 'adaptability and change' and unique interaction with tourists. Furthermore, it would be equally important to consider their limitations such as age and illiteracy.

In order for this paper to present some preliminary conditions for the association to consider, the next chapters shall investigate further into their desires as a means for craft revival. After which, it will look into case studies that have shown examples of craft revival to therefore offer some conditions for the association to consider when deciding a type of institutional model.

Who are the Youth?

Introduction

The weavers stated that the lack of interest in craft by the Tanjawi youth was one of their greatest problems. A study was conducted in the American Language Center of Tangier to collate first-hand information about the aspirations of the local youth and understand their attitudes to different professions. The study consisted of two separate parts: a workshop with the students in which they completed four questionnaires and an interview with one of the teachers of the center, Fahmi Naguib. In addition to this, the center provides English classes and is part of the American Cultural Association – a private, non-profit educational and cultural service (The American Language Center of Tangier 2017).

In the following sections both aspects of the study are discussed. This is then followed by some preliminary conclusions that can shed light on the lack of interest that young Tanjawi's have in hand-craft and what professional values they give importance to. These conclusions will be used in this paper when considering the measures that could be taken by the association for the revival of the weaving craft of Tangier.

Workshop with the students

For the research in total 27 students, ranging from the ages of 14 to 19, participated in the workshop. These were carried out in English in one of the classrooms at the center.

The first and second questionnaires were conducted group interviews, whereby 5 to 6 students in each group responded to different professions. Using printed portraits of different professions, the students had to order the images in terms of their success (first questionnaire). For the second questionnaire, the students had to rank the professions in terms of importance within society. During the questionnaires 13 different professions were shown to the participants. During the third and fourth questionnaires individuals were required to note their families career aspirations for them and then they had to document their own desired career. The results of this workshop can be found in at the end of this chapter.

The third and fourth questionnaires were individual tasks and required each student to write down a job that the family desired for them and a job that they aspired for themselves. The results of this workshop can be found in at the end of this chapter.

When evaluating the results obtained from this study, it is important to recognize that these students are possibly representative of the middle-upper classes in Moroccan society. This conclusion is based on the fact that the average Moroccan-working class family are unable to afford the tuition costs of an English language center.

In terms of the results, the most notable comments and observations include:

- From the images 50% of the groups listed the business manager as the most successful profession. The other 50% rated this either second or third place. However, this position was considered less desirable by the participants families. See Fig 1, Fig 3.
- Together with doctor and engineer, the teacher revealed itself to be one of the most important professions amongst these students. 'Patience', 'learning',

'hardworking', and 'valuable', 'respect' etc. were the words used to explain why. Furthermore, it was considered one of the highly aspired professions for both the students and their parents. See Fig 1, Fig 2, Fig 3.

- 'The students appeared to show little interest in the craftsmen. In fact, when considering the success of this career it was ranked amongst the lowest. See Fig 1. In terms of 'importance', the craftsmen took an intermediate to low position. Furthermore, in the last questionnaires, when the students were not given a list of professions the craftsman was not selected as a career by them or their parents as a desirable occupation. See Fig 1, Fig 2, Fig 3
- When asked out aloud why the students had ranked the craftsman in a lower position when considering both success and importance, 'no money', 'poor life', 'old fashioned' were words used to explain this.

Interview with Naguib

Meeting Naguib was as Moroccans describe *Zhar* (luck), not only was he a native *Tanjawi* teacher, he was also the son of a *Moalem*. His eagerness to help settle questions regarding the values, the desires and influences that the youth have towards the professional realm, was at the grace of his background. Naguib has been a teacher for over 15 years in both private and public school and mainly teaching students between the ages of 16-18. Over the years he has noticed changes in students in their aspirations. The interview with Naguib was conducted before having interacted with the students in the previous workshop. When listening back to the interview it was able to shed some contextual light on the results that were obtained from the workshop.

The importance of craft according to the youth

Naguib opened the discussion by asking 'I mean the question to ask here is what is the problem, why? Why was I not really interested in that [craft]?' One of the contextual reasons Naguib states is that 'education here does not appreciate, it does not value it [craft]'.

As a child, Naguib would see his father be regularly asked to provide 'craft workshops to students', but these invitations were strictly from 'private schools'. Since Naguib's teaching experience extends to both private and public, he has noticed that private schools tend to encourage creative activities (such as craft) more so than public schools and it is viewed positively as a form of 'cultural interaction for the students'. Naguib explains:

"... they give them different materials. They work with wood they work with leather, they work with different things and items. It gives them a chance to be close to these items, this is what is important. So the thing is an intercultural interaction and like an environmental interaction. I mean they interact with their environments and they interact with their society."

By reaching out to craftsmen, private schools are also extending out to the local community and so in return it 'opens up the school to the environment' providing 'a kind of advertisement to the school'. These schools reach out to the surrounding community that they exist and have become part of the 'pedagogical educational procedure'. However, this is feasible because the schools have the finances to facilitate these ventures. On the other hand, public schools are part of a 'national strategy'

whereby all public schools follow one educational curriculum as governed by the country's educational ministry. Therefore, attempting to implement a local outreach is more challenging as it is not part of the national curriculum. While these creative workshops or clubs occur in Moroccan schools, they are 'rare'. However, the initiative would have to come from the teachers themselves, out of class time and part of the voluntarily sector.

Despite this, it is difficult to suggest that the students' low aspiration for the craftsman was because of the lack of local outreach. Naguib explains that the youth regard it 'as something not potentially rewarding' and therefore do not feel the 'need to give it much importance'. In other words, they view the craftsman as someone without any financial security but this 'matters the most to ensure their future'. In addition to this, they consider this a profession that they are not 'going to prosper' from i.e. 'to give them a kind of fame'.

The importance of industry

Another topic that was explored in this interview was the perceived success of an industrial-related career such as engineer. Naguib was interested in this question and spoke about how in recent years the country has been announcing increasing developments into the industry. He explains:

"...the bigger cities like Tangier, Casablanca, Rabat, Kenitra, Al Hoceima and so on.. These cities are getting bigger and bigger and then there is kind of an awareness that science is flourishing in Morocco. Big companies are coming into Morocco and big projects we have in Morocco now and people are aware of the impacts of science and so that is why from the very early stages of their studies they [parents] start making plans of how to educate their children on this."

Recently, Tangier has witnessed major changes in its landscape which include: alterations in the coastal line, an extension of railways, a growing automotive industry, technology parks and energy plants. This growth within science-based industries has become a directional symbol for success and students are being influenced towards these fields. From Naguib's experience as a teacher, he has seen that the 'students [career] decisions depends on the subject they study and the way their parents see it.' Since parents value the scientific/industrial path, Naguib has witnessed parents 'pushing' their children increasingly toward these types of careers. Consequently, parents have a crucial influence on both the students' educational and career and therefore determining their futures.

Conclusions

Both the students and Naguib revealed that the Moroccan youth have little to no interest in the crafts industry. Moreover, Naguib mentioned that public schools do not promote creative activities or interact with craftsmen. Furthermore, the modernisation and the growth of industry in Morocco has drawn the attention of the youth and given them promises of financial security and success.

The results suggest the youth strongly desire a focus on security and want professions with status. Therefore, the association will have to consider what makes a profession attractive to the youth if they want them to come and contribute for new designs and help the craft and its heritage progress. In this sense connecting the craft with the international market could be a positive step forward. This would make the youth feel a

part of the global community, therefore increasing the potential for rewards and success.

Most Successful to Least Successful:

G1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7
Doctor	Doctor	Musician	Business Manager	Business Manager	Business Manager	Doctor
Engineer	Engineer	Business Manager	Engineer	Engineer	Musician	Engineer
Business Manager	Designer	Artist	Doctor	Doctor	Engineer	Business Manager
Lawyer	Business Manager	Lawyer	Lawyer	Accountant	Doctor	Lawyer
Accountant	Lawyer	Designer	Designer	Lawyer	Designer	Musician
Teacher	Accountant	Engineer	Accountant	Musician	Lawyer	Accountant
Artist	Teacher	Doctor	Sales Person	Artist	Accountant	Designer
Musician	Sales Person	Teacher	Artist	Designer	Teacher	Sales Person
Designer	Musician	Accountant	Musician	Teacher	Sales Person	Taxi Driver
Sales Person	Artist	Sales Person	Teacher	Sales Person	Waiter	Teacher
Taxi Driver	Craftsman	Craftsman	Craftsman	Waiter	Artist	Waiter
Waiter	Waiter	Taxi Driver	Taxi driver	Taxi Driver	Taxi Driver	Artist
Craftsman	Taxi Driver	Waiter	Waiter	Craftsman	Craftsman	Craftsman

Most important to Least important:

Teacher	Doctor	Doctor	Doctor	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher
Doctor	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher	Artist	Doctor	Doctor
Lawyer	Engineer	Lawyer	Engineer	Craftsman	Engineer	Taxi Driver
Engineer	Taxi Driver	Engineer	Lawyer	Doctor	Taxi Driver	Lawyer
Business Manager	Sales Person	Taxi Driver	Designer	Musician	Lawyer	Accountant
Taxi Driver	Lawyer	Waiter	Business Manager	Lawyer	Accountant	Waiter
Designer	Accountant	Accountant	Accountant	Accountant	Waiter	Musician
Accountant	Designer	Business Manager	Taxi Driver	Engineer	Musician	Craftsman
Craftsman	Business Manager	Musician	Craftsman	Designer	Artist	Designer
Sales Person	Waiter	Craftsman	Sales Person	Sales Person	Craftsman	Sales Person
Artist	Musician	Designer	Waiter	Waiter	Sales Person	Artist
Waiter	Artist	Sales Person	Artist	Taxi Driver	Designer	Business Manager
Musician	Craftsman	Artist	Musician	Business Manner	Business Manager	Engineer

Fig 1 Tables to show the ranking given by the student participants

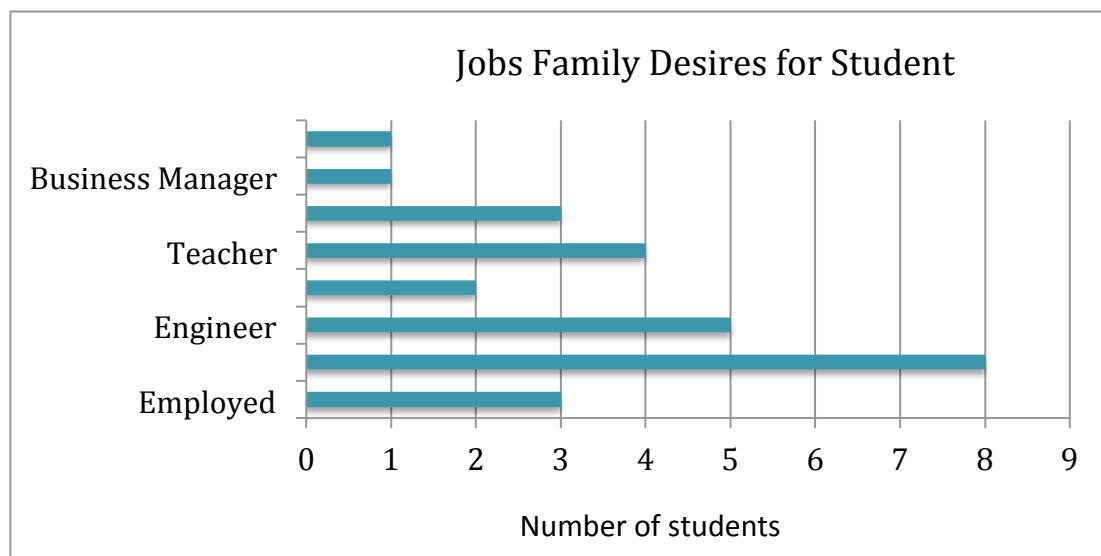


Fig 2 Chart to show occupations in which parents desired the participants to take.

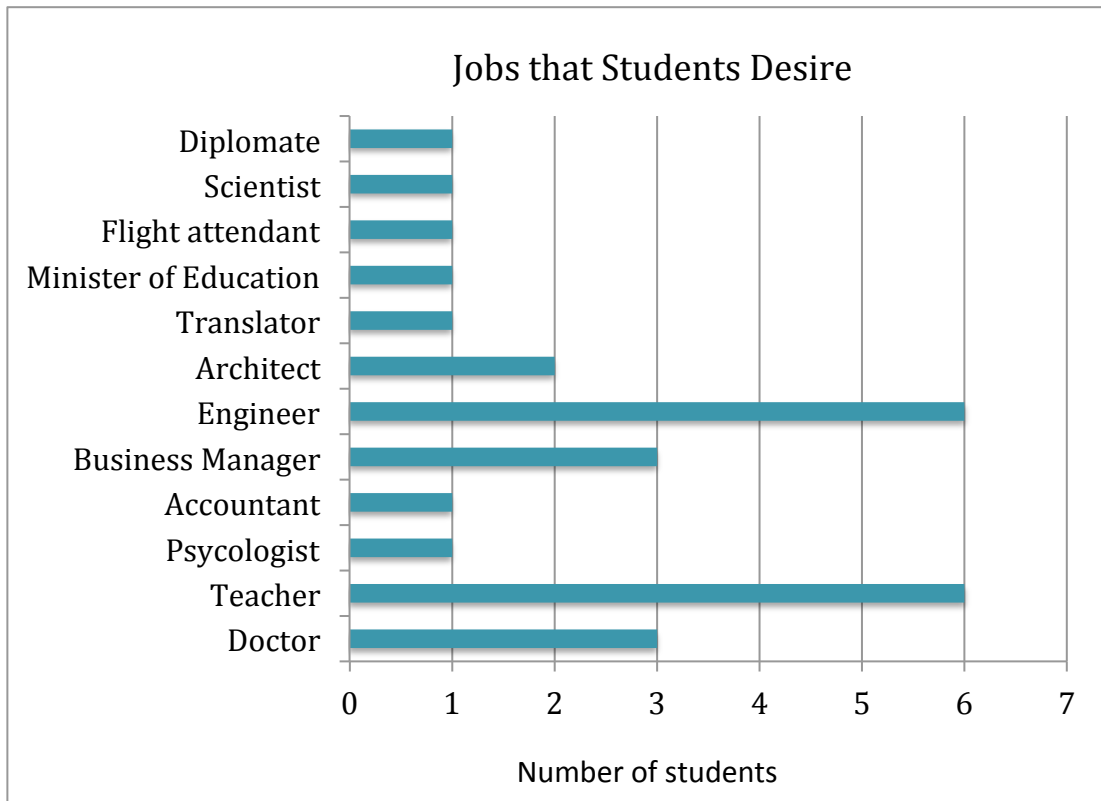


Fig 3 Chart to show occupations that the participants desired.

New Tangier: 'Traditional Craft. New Design'

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of an interview taken with an established international designer, Fatima Choukri of New Tangier a luxury designer brand who work closely with Moroccan craftsmen. Since one of the craftsmen's main desires is to collaborate with designers as a means for craft revival, how designer collaboration can contribute to this shall be revealed. The chapter shall also be looking to understand the conditions in which for this can occur, the relationship with the international market and how this would work within the context that the Tangier's weavers find themselves within.

Transcripts of the interview can be found in Appendix E.9: Fatima Choukri.

Craft Issues

Facing towards the ancient gates of Petit Socco whilst looking out to a variety of passerbys wearing burqas, jellabas, khaki shorts - sat the newly renovated alternative film house- Cinema Rif. As suggested by the designer as a place to meet, the café within was busy and mainly packed with what looked to be young stylish students- sat amongst this crowd Moroccan accessory designer Fatima Choukri, she asked.

'How can we modernize this craft? How could we turn it into something? ...I believe that the only way for allowing craft to survive is through innovation, through design [...] and actually re-defining it'

The design studio, New Tangier, believes that craft 'needs to come out [...] by decontextualizing things that already exist', 'tell[ing] the story of that craft' and ensuring that the 'quality is impeccable'. These ideals were all captured under 'Traditional Craft. New Design' (Tangier 2014). As the creation was pulled from underneath, New Tangier's philosophy succinctly presented itself in the shape of a beautifully crafted turquoise handbag. The intricately embroidered macramé gracefully danced in and out of its new identity and then draped into a woven finale. These emblematic tassels are what would typically be found on the edges of a Moroccan pillow and represented one of many ways of New Tangier decontextualizing craft. Choukri went on to explain that the macramé that twirled into the center of the bag would have traditionally been worked into with 'many different colours'. However this particular all in-one-colour bag was counteracting what she saw as 'folkloric and culturally charged' and the 'outdated' look was a cause of concern:

'I think craft cannot survive if we continue creating this ...what you call it... this kind of fantasy of the orient which is purely outdated and you know...that is not what it's about. It's about how it can look really modern even if it has a touch of bohemian...'

Choukri pointed out that if Moroccan artisans were unable to change their way of practice, what would be left is 'just something they survive of'. She says:

'...they don't make enough money [because] they have a bunch of tourists trying to buy the same things because they are souvenirs [...]they said oh the younger kids they don't want to learn because you know there is no money in it. And I'm thinking well of course there is no money in it. Rent is so much more expensive these days and people are still expecting to pay the same money...So I thought okay then, the only way we can do this is if we create

something that looks completely different from what people are used to seeing, using the same craft but we are going to make sure the quality is impeccable and we are going to tell the story...'

It revealed New Tangier's position within the craft practice as something that extended beyond an inward-looking business. Leaving London to come to Tangier, Fatima took her experience working for the likes of Louis Vuitton and Jimmy Choo to launch New Tangier in 2014. This venture into 'traditional craft- new design' was the means to marry the 'well-being of the craftsmen' into the business. And so by 'decontextualizing', 'telling the story' and 'increasing the quality' of craft, she reasons to charge a higher price to not only make money as a designer, but so that the 'craftsmen can get paid better'. Through this way of practice, she believes that 'they will find value in learning' and 'find something to motivate the younger generation to want to learn'.

The European bling

Choukri had not anticipated that she would be staying in Tangier for very long. In her mission to modernize Moroccan craft and 'contribute to the prevention of its obsolescence', her experience had shown her that the spending power was back in Europe and she was going to target what she called the 'global nomad' (Tangier 2014). The plan was to round up the making team in Tangier then head back to London to be closer to her customer base. However, two years on and Fatima is still in Tangier:

'I'm going to go to Morocco, I'm going to start a business and I will come back to London to run it. But I was shocked when I started to find out that I had a customer base in Morocco because I thought initially that [this would only be the] affluent kind of section of Moroccan customers ...'

This popularity had come as surprise since the expectation was that Moroccans would only have been interested in the handbag after it was being carried out of store in a fluorescent yellow paper bag with the words 'Selfridges & Co' boldly lettered across it. But instead the bag brought back the smells of *Aziza's* couscous Fridays and the reminiscence of the large extended family eagerly waiting around the circular table for the tagine's grand reveal. It recalled the heat that rushed out onto your face as the terracotta lid was lifted and the shuffling noises as everyone shifted to the edge of the shared cushioned seating in order to reach the centered steaming pot. The special connection was in the bag's fabric as it resembled the intricately embroidered cushioned seated fabric. The flooded warm sentimental memories of your 'Grandmother's house' made the handbag 'really personal' for many, and so 'it didn't hit just fashionable girls' but right up to the likes of older conservative ladies. In its rise to fame, Choukri summarised what was bringing these different people together:

'... I realized it was really about pride.'

Choukri explains that Moroccans of all kinds were quickly warming to New Tangier's work and in this attempt to modernize Moroccan craft, had created a commonplace of 'pride'. She further explains, that the product spoke of the people's national heritage via a fresh look and on-top of that people were equally 'proud that someone from Morocco' was openly wanting to honor the country's craft.

'the whole thing kind of was really attractive which is why I ended up making sales here and it's been incredible to actually build a customer base here'

Still, to reach this kind of popularity it had taken Choukri's deeply explorative nature

within the design approach:

'I will generally try to figure out if this would excite him or not. Because to me it is such an intimate process'

Choukri starts off by inquisitively probing into the *Moalem's* realm of knowledge:

"And so once I have the design that I like I kind of dissect it and then I find the guys that can do the different bits. Then I go to this one guy and say, Okay I love what you do', 'Can you do it in a different dimension? Can you do it larger? Bigger? Can you blow this up? Can you instead of using 15million colours can you use just one or two colours? Can you do something really graphic with it? Can we really work around this design?"

The unique designs are born out of an investigative approach, assessing and intuitively testing both the idea as well as the craftsman. Choukri looks to see if the 'craftsman is excited' and if so, it is seen as a good sign to ignite a newfound working relationship. These signs of eagerness showcase that the craftsmen hold a willingness to adapt the traditional way. However, Choukri's experience has shown her that this is not always the case for the idea of changing up tradition are thought of as a 'headache'. But these signs of apathy are often encountered and quickly become an indicator that to start a collaboration could 'waste a lot of time'. Choukri explains that this is because many of them are 'used to just repeating' and prefer to produce orders of a thousand of the same items. To go against this norm would deter them away from their comfort zones, something not many are willing to chance. Choukri believes this to be heavily nurtured by the souvenir industry.

Locality

Despite what the name New Tangier might suggest, Choukri's search for the right craftsmen is not limited to the city. Although she tries 'to get as many people in Tangier' as possible, 'some crafts are not available', such as that of the turquoise macramé bag. Choukri journeys to different parts of the country in search of the right craftsman, technique, design etc. Her buyers are also not in Tangier, they are in fact predominantly found in Casablanca. She explains that it is the main economic city, the 'London of Morocco' and incomparable to 'any other city with regards to money and movement'. But it does beg to question, why Tangier at all?

'This [Tangier] still has magic; it has a feel of getting to see the light. Casa is grey, it's dark with clouds of pollution [...] here at least [...] I have that real authentic feel of the medina, of the people that are still living on another time period. It's that bridge, it's the history of Tangier, having welcomed so many people from abroad and the arts...'

Choukri, as well many of the literary writers, artists, visitors, tanjawis etc share or have shared her connection to the city. She described that this cultural 'bridge' she finds herself within lends itself to be a unique and 'inspiring' place to work in. Silhouetted Spain, the colonial passageways, roman graves, the darija dialect, Moorish styles buildings. This cross between the Arab and European culture recalls for the eponymous city's multicultural, vibrant and eccentric history. Choukri challenges herself to integrate this history and to build on this heritage with eyes set firmly on the future, something the title New Tangier does capture.

Conclusion

Choukri emphasises an importance for the craftsmen to show a degree of openness and an attitude for adaptability, if wanting to establish a collaborative relationship. Furthermore, it also suggests that relationships between craftsmen and designers can prove to help revive craft, which can therefore be placed on the market successfully. This gives an indication that Tangier's weaving institution may want to encourage facilitating collaboration with designers since particularly since the weavers themselves claim and pride themselves have innate craft value for adaptability and being open to ideas.

Rather importantly, it is also revealed that whilst the Tangier's weavers would like to be connected to the International Market, there also seems to be a rising market trend in Morocco for heritage designed in a modernised way.

World of Weaving

Introduction

This case study will analyse the developments made by World of Weaving, a social enterprise, in order to help the Ifakara Women a group of weavers, to access the international market. By doing so, the social enterprise was able to revive the craft. Like Tangier's weavers, the Ifakara women wish to connect to the international market and collaborate with designers. Furthermore they both do not officially belong to an establishment.

The chapter shall look into how they were brought up onto the international market and the relationship between the weavers and the social enterprise. Through examining this case study, possible problems and solutions can be identified that can be put forward for Tangier's Weaving Association to consider in the concluding chapter.

Background Information

'Our mission is to improve the economic, social and cultural well-being of woman weavers by giving them training in contemporary home textile designs and connecting to them to the global marketplace.'

(World Of Weaving 2013)

World of Weaving is a social enterprise based in Zanzibar, Tanzania, that was established in 2012 by hotel and boutique owner, Anneloes Roelandschap. On the ground floor of her hotel is Zenji boutique, selling local and national crafts ranging from crafted beads to woven products. The main clients are part of the local expat community and tourists. Currently, the enterprise is working with the Ifakara Women Weavers Association, located in the Ifakara Town of the Morogori region, 500km away from Zanzibar. In addition to this, it is supporting the Samara women's weaving group in Dar es Salaam.

WOW state that:

'Through training, WOW has helped these groups to modernise and diversify their collections resulting in higher sales and a more sustainable income.'

The women work on traditional handlooms while 'located in their home, where they can share their time between family, household chores and weaving' (World Of Weaving 2013). In brief, Roelandschap argues that through the enterprise the weavers gained new looms, and trained them with international weavers, therefore learning 'new designs'.

The Fall

'We have a hotel there and on the ground there is a boutique, I used to sell these really beautiful weaving products at the shop, but every time I wanted to order something it was very difficult to reach the weavers. Also, when I made an order, I had to wait a long time and then it never came and so it caused many problems'

WOW's story begins with Roelandschap unable to receive her handmade weaving products from the Ifakara Town in order to sell them in her boutique. After countless unanswered calls to the weavers and discovering that a fellow friend and shop owner in

Dar es Salaam was also not receiving her weaving products, they both decide to embark on an 8-hour drive to Ifakara to find out what was happening.

Upon arrival they discover a group of 'very enthusiastic ladies' that make 'good quality products' but had been left behind from a 'Swedish NGO that had helped the Ifakara ladies start an association', and had since left the village. The NGO had donated looms and provided trainers that taught the women weaving skills. Unfortunately, due to issues in funding, the NGO withdrew support, leaving the women with their looms without further help and the project 'never-finalised'. The women explained to Roelandschap that they encountered difficulties 'selling and marketing, finding clients and they didn't know about any new designs'.

Roelandschap also discovered that they desired an increased marketplace and support distributing their goods to the European market. As a result, they decided to embark on a venture and put together WOW in order to help the weavers and restock their goods back in the store.

As long as they produce and they earn their money we can put it on the market for them. We can also let them know like what is in fashion, we can train them with international designers weaving experts, so that is how it started actually.

This reveals a reciprocal relationship between Roelandschap and the weavers: under the condition that if the women produce, they will be supported. Therefore, they are dependent on her to teach them and she is dependent on them to produce.

The Rise

After deciding to set up a social enterprise, Roelandschap decided to get in touch with the CBI (Centre for the Promotion of Imports from developing countries) of the Dutch government in order to receive 'funding' and knowledge on how to enter the European Market.

'They coached us for three years on putting our products on the export market so they give advise on design, cost pricing, calculation everything and our coach he recommended like a two really good weaving experts'

Location

Initially, they decided to open a manufacturing centre in Dar el Salaam – a 'central place' to receive weavers from all over the country. This centre appeared advantageous as it helped to inform the weavers and to train them in new weaving ideas and techniques with the assistance of trainers, designers or weaving experts.

'We have quite some looms now and so the weavers we work on them to come over there and the trainers also and we teach them how to do something and then they go back to their individual places where they come from they teach it to the other ones...'

WOW also recognised how difficult it was to 'depend' on the weavers to complete sizeable orders during important occasions, as it would take a really long time to finish'. This was due to a variety of reasons, such as 'funeral', 'marriages', 'rain', 'farming' or other such problems. To combat this they decided it to centralise production as much as possible in one place and use their own material for the loom.

'We thought like if we always have to depend on them we would not be good so we have each design on our own work place, like one loom with a design so that we can always continue weaving as well.'

By implementing these strategies, WOW developed a structure that ensured the weavers could apply knowledge gained from the CBI. Therefore, WOW's products could be weaved effectively and sold directly to the International market.

Connecting to the Market

Knowledge

To connect the weavers to the European Market, WOW informed them that their cottons and dyes were toxic and therefore did not conform to market regulations. As a result, WOW would supply the weavers with 'acid free' cottons and dyes:

'We try to help and also we buy bigger quantity of cotton and then they can buy that cotton from us, for that same prices that we bought it from the factory. Because they will never be able to buy such big quantities for lower price and that was also one of the issues...they can also buy this acid free dye for the same prices we buy it for, to dye their own products...'

Moreover, their designs also required alterations to satisfy the new market, so the fabrics needed to be modernised and be made more attractive to the European Market. The moment the quality of the weaving reached a higher standard, WOW invited designers to teach the women how to use different colours and materials. For instance, the women learnt how to utilise natural fibres, more suitable for European market trends.

Furthermore, in order to connect to the Market, WOW regularly attends international trade fairs such as the Paris vision 'to find more European buyers'. More recently, such events occurring in East Africa have also connected the enterprise with buyers from USA, UK, and Australia. Apart from this being opportunities for opening up new channels into the market, she took one of the weaving managers with her to Paris, and found that it boosted the pride and morale of the weavers.

Understanding the cyclic process:

WOW has found that to connect the weavers products efficiently with the European Market, it has been 'really important' for the weavers to understand the whole commercial process, from buying the raw material to selling it on the market. In this way, the relationship becomes transparent and the weavers begin to trust her payment decision:

'We like them to understand the whole cycle from the beginning and what you all need and like the raw materials that you until the end when it is at the shop and [therefore] why it is much more expensive than what they get per piece.'

Since explaining this to the weavers, WOW have found that they understand the reason the products are more expensive in the shop in comparison to what they receive. As a result, the weavers no longer feel that they could be cheated since they recognise 'where all the money goes in between'. Implementing this training enables WOW to regulate the pricing process more efficiently and therefore have more work to pay the

weavers regularly. Consequently, this creates a more cohesive and mutual enterprise to sell their products onto the market.

However, despite the weavers' training in cost calculation in order to 'become more sustainable', WOW have noticed that the weavers themselves sell their '[own] product much cheaper on the market'. Whilst WOW perceives this as a way to 'spoil' their own business, it is unsure how much each weaver gets paid. Ultimately, WOW considers that it is the weavers own responsibility to decide whether they should implement what has been learnt in training for personal gains.

Identity

Combined with the training that WOW provides for the weavers they have also invested in branding. This means that the weavers are being given support with the process from production to market as well as their logo and website. All of which contribute to create a strong sense of branding/reputation in the context of market. Consequently, WOW's branding and reputational investment has increased sales in the market and therefore work for the weavers. For the weavers themselves, they also feel connected to the brand (give quote) embracing a sense of pride and identity as the products they are making are being recognised by the international market.

However, there is clear distinction that it is in fact WOW's branding, so the enterprise ensures that the logo is only sewn in once the product has been received from the weavers. Roelandschap investment into her brand has also protected her from copyright infringement. For example, Khallista tried to sell 'exact copies' from an order sent out by WOW, 'for much cheaper on the same market', She explains:

'It's not nice, but we felt you know she doesn't have the capacity to [sell], because we put our logo on [the product] and we do these extra things to make it look a little more sophisticated and also we are able to communicate through our website and emails. Which Kallista will never be able to do that...'

It is of interest to the weavers that WOW's branding is successful so that they receive orders from the enterprise. Unfortunately, the weavers are limited in supporting the branding because they do not have the appropriate tools. Whilst the weavers have gained much knowledge about needs of the European Market, they lack the skills to communicate with buyers i.e. access to the internet. WOW is obviously dependent on the weavers to provide the products and the weavers are dependent on WOW's ability to sell to the market. Evidently, there is a codependence between the weavers and the enterprise, with both needing each other to reach a European Market.

WOW explain that they do not provide 'advice' to the weavers on how to 'set up their own business', as the weavers operate as an independent business working with WOW. In fact, Roelandschap argues:

'It is actually their own business what they are doing because they are weaving and they sell it to us'

Conclusion

The weavers depend on Anneloes Roelandschap's motives, particularly because the Ifakara women live in a remote location. This reliance makes them vulnerable for exploitation to occur, such as the control over the supply for cotton. Therefore, the weavers rely on her good nature and are dependent on their association to her brand

helping them gain access to the market. If WOW decides to no longer work with the weaver, then they may suffer similar to the way they struggled once the Swedish NGO left. Again, this would mean the women lack a brand and thus no relationship with the market. In reality though the weavers are more independent, the only identity on the market is through WOW.

In the context of the modern market, this case study reveals the importance of a unified workforce, explicit representation, and strong brand identity. The Ifakara women are unfamiliar with the modern market and although after training they understand better the market demands there remain issues. Primarily, the weavers continue to not understand and lack the skills to connect with the modern market. Thus, they become dependent on WOW's branding to effectively connect with the international market place.

Harris Tweed

Introduction

In this case study, the developments that were made around the Harris Tweed Brand will be analysed and the importance that this played for the weavers working in the Outer Hebrides. By comparing the developments that occurred from the Kenneth Mckenzie Mill from 2005 and then the Shawbost Mill from 2006, conclusions can be drawn to understand why the Shawbost Mill was more successful in contributing to the revival of the Harris Tweed industry rather than the strategies that were implemented by the Kenneth Mckenzie Mill. This case study shall focus on the decisions made by the production mills as well as analyse the relationship this had with the market and how this fit with the Harris Tweed reputation. The study will also show how these relations impacted the weavers on the island itself.

Like Tangier's weavers, Harris Tweed consists of independent weavers who's weaving industry fell due to the economic crisis and an ageing workforce. However, unlike the Harris Tweed weaver, Tangier's weavers do not own or belong to an internationally known established brand. Through examining this case study possible problems and solutions can be identified that can be put forward for Tangier's Weaving Association to consider in the concluding chapter.

Before the comparison, background information regarding the nature of Harris Tweed, the traditional relationship between the weavers and the mills and how the weavers are tied to the brand accordingly shall be looked at first.

Background Information

'People who think about [Harris Tweed], buy and wear it are capturing a sense of a beautiful place and wonderful people in a textile. You are buying a little piece of a simpler more pleasant way of life'

Patrick Grant-Tailor at Norton & Sons (Denyer 2009)

Harris tweed is a cloth 'woven in the Outer Hebrides for centuries' born from virgin wools that have been transported in from mainland. They are taken to the mills on the islands to be dyed, carded and then spun ready for the weavers to use. (Harris Tweed Authority 2017). This order of dyeing before spinning is unique to Harris Tweed as it enables precision and variety for texture, colour, hues and tones- all of which have been inspired by the surrounding 'fauna and flora' across the mountains and western sea shore. (Harris Tweed Authority 2017) It is a fabric notoriously known for its diversity of patterns that come in the thousands.

For centuries Harris Tweed was used locally, but 'it was not until the nineteenth century that it became available to a wider market' (Harris Tweed Act 1993). As a result of this popularity, merchants around the country started to demand 'a declaration from the weavers' in order to distinguish the authenticity of hand-woven tweed (Moisley 1961). To provide 'confidence to the trade and public' the Harris Tweed Orb an official stamp was awarded and provided inspectors to grant certification onto 'material which can genuinely be described as Harris Tweed, and which the Company has authenticated, as such' (Harris Tweed Act 1993). Following this the Harris Tweed Association Limited (hereinafter called "the Company") was formed as a company

limited by guarantee in order to promote, maintain and advertise the reputation and standard of quality of Harris Tweed’.

‘Harris Tweed provides the main source of work within the private sector of the Outer Hebrides and it is vital to the economy of those islands that the integrity, distinctive character and worldwide renown of Harris Tweed should be maintained.’

(Harris Tweed Act 1993)

Today there are around 150 independent (self-employed) weavers across the islands, some of which are freelancers such as Donald John Mackay and others that are employed by the mills (Harris Tweed Authority 2017). After the craftsmen finish weaving, they all take their fabric back to the mills to be cleaned, inspected by the Harris Tweed Authority and then stamped with ‘The Orb’ trademark across every metre piece (Harper and McDougall 2012).

This official stamp is seen as a testimony to the market that the fabric conforms to the statutory definition of Harris Tweed as passed by the parliamentary act of 1993 - ‘hand woven by the islanders at their homes in the outer Hebrides, finished in the outer Hebrides, and made from pure virgin wool dyed and spun in the outer Hebrides (Harris Tweed Act 1993). Without this symbol, the weavers cannot declare their fabric to be Harris Tweed. The very fact that the mill’s produce and supply the weavers with yarn and facilitate the inspection process, showcases the important role they have in supporting the islands economy. Without the mills not only are weavers unable to weave Harris Tweed but farmers, crofters, mill workers and colour technicians also cannot work or trade. Today there are three main mills the Kenneth Mckenzie, Shawbost and Conway mills.

The Decline

During Harris Tweed’s popularity in the 1950’s ‘seven million yards’ of fabric was produced but by 2006 it was ‘less than a tenth’ of that. (Moisley 1961) (Denyer 2009) This reduction was on account of the American and Japanese market crash (1970’s, 1990’s) combined with the appearance of cheaper mass-market fabrics. (Harper and McDougall 2012) As a result, the main mill on Stornaway Island closed down leaving weavers and mill workers to lose their jobs, younger generations to leave the island and thus creating an ageing workforce (Harper and McDougall 2012).

The Kenneth Mckenzie Mill.

Mill production begins

‘Harris tweed was very close to almost total collapse...there must a future for this we can’t let this die’

Brian Haggas (Denyer 2009)

After hearing the news of the decline, Brian Haggas- a ‘multimillionaire textile tycoon from Yorkshire decided to buy the Kenneth Mckenzie Mill, in 2005, in an attempt to save the industry (Harper and McDougall 2012). Haggas ‘set off by cutting the patterns down from eight thousand down to four’ expressing that the bespoke way of production was what caused the ‘enormous costs over the years’ and the ‘road to ruin’ (Denyer 2009). Furthermore in his mission to ‘discipline the customer’ Brian Haggas decided to produce 75,000 Harris Tweed Jackets in four different patterns.

'There are literally thousands of patterns that they would come out with, all with different variations that would go out to a customer. So it was up to the customers, what they wanted is what they would make and sell. Whereas we cleared all that out, we are trying to discipline the customer.'

Brian Haggas (Denyer 2009)

By limiting the choice of pattern and colour, Haggas envisioned that the weavers could produce fabric in larger quantities and therefore earn more. As a result the mill stopped producing the multi-coloured yarn, cutting an essential supply for independent free-lance weavers who weave cloths for their own clientele. (Denyer 2009)

After years of not working, many of weavers decided to work with Haggas and create tweed in four patterns. The mill sent out a large production order to the weavers to produce 150,000 metres of fabric 16 weeks (Harper and McDougall 2012)

Reaction from the Market

'It's a blue version of that and it's just so beautiful. If I can't get that again and I don't think I can...I've been asking for it for over a year and I just cant get a straight answer.'

Katherine Hooker – Tweed Specialist (Denyer 2009)

However, whilst the opening of the Kenneth Mckenzie Mill looked promising to most of the islanders, the reaction from tailors and designers was quite the opposite. What with the Mckenzie Mill now seizing the Harris Tweed market, they found themselves cut from their supply and unable to produce bespoke pieces for their clients. Furthermore many of them felt that by limiting down the patterns and colours into one-sized jackets it stood against the identity of Harris Tweed.

'I think restricting that supply seems to counter everything that Harris Tweed stands for. If Harris Tweed stops producing the interesting colours then...it really loses a lot of it's charm. You know the people who wear this cloth are not wearing it because they need something to keep them warm. They're wearing it because they want to feel part of this Romantic history of the highlands of Scotland'

Patrick Grant-Tailor at Norton & Sons (Denyer 2009)

However, in 2008 the production of tweed came to a halt. Only 2,000 out of the 75,000 jackets had been sold. Retailers were not interested in buying the jackets, and those who had bought them were finding them difficult to sell on.

'When people look at the [jackets] they [ask] is there anything else? They aren't as interesting patterns as they could be, there is not enough modern shaping it's too boxy. When you know there are so many different colours they can weave in Harris Tweed, the combinations is a shame when you got something as bland as something as grey and black.'

David Goldy -Yorkshire Tweed Seller (Denyer 2009)

Designers, tailors and retailers etc reflected that the jackets were not fulfilling the Harris Tweed's global reputation for variety and were therefore causing a lack of sales. They felt that without this recognised tradition of the weaver, an important part of what Harris Tweed meant to people was being lost and therefore no one was buying them.

On the other hand, Haggas reasoned that the lack of sales was due to 'world wide recession', citing that they could not 'have possibly picked a worse time to launch a new product'. Since they could no longer sell the produce, the mill closed down and weavers and mill workers were laid off. (Denyer 2009)

Shawbost Mill.

Mill production begins

'When Haggas bought the Kenneth Mckenzie people realised the danger, they then came to me and asked if there was anything I could do about it'

Brian Wilson- Former Labour Minister (Denyer 2009)

After hearing news the news that Kenneth Mckenzie Mill closing was causing unemployment, Brian Wilson a former Labour Minister, opened Shawbost Mill. Together with a group of venture capitalists they created the company Harris Tweed Hebrides. Soon after, they reached out the old clients of Harris Tweed who were unable to receive any fabric from Haggas, and reestablished the bespoke service with them (Harper and McDougall 2012).

In order to work with the clients, the mill re-opened the production of multi-coloured yarn and designated an in house designer to create requested patterns into fabric samples for weavers to make. Certain weavers were commissioned with these designs, and could now buy their yarn from the mill and buy back their cloth. Independent free-lance weavers could also buy the variety of yarn and 'weave traditional multi-coloured tweed' for their customers once again (Denyer 2009). Tailors and designers such as Grant and Hooker were restored with their tweed (Harper and McDougall 2012).

Furthermore, Brian Wilson believed it was necessary to also 're-model the image' of Harris Tweed and therefore decided to 'associate with good young designers' in the hope of further understanding the market and to 'open tweed up to a younger generation' (Fraser 2013). By consulting with award winning Scottish designer Deryck Walker, they work together to fuse 'ancient with modern' in colours inspired by 'a muslim grocery shop'. (Harper and McDougall 2012)

Moreover, through Walker's connection with Japan, they discover that market trends were leaning 'towards heritage, quality and provenance' (Denyer 2009) (Fraser 2013) In confirming that they were in line with what the market wanted, Shawbost mill and Walker prepare for the Paris Fashion Week to launch the autumn collection 2009.

'They love what we have done with Harris Tweed and nobody can believe that such a traditional fabric can be adapted to such a modern look.'

Deryck Walker (Denyer 2009)

Since collaborating with Deryck walker, Showbost mill have further ventured in other collaborative disciplines and appointed other expertise in fashion and marketing in their mill. Today there has been a boost in interested from younger generation to become involved with weaving Harris Tweed (Harristweedhebrides 2015). The mills currently employ around '80 mill workers and 140 home hand weavers' in which the production in the last five years has more than doubled with '800,000 in the first couple of years to £10 million' (Moss 2015).

Conclusion

Haggas disciplined both the weavers and customers by seizing the supply of yarn from the weavers and cutting the supply of cloth to the wholesale industry. As a result he took control over the Harris Tweed market and his mass-market approach removed any possibility of customisation. This made it unsuitable for both the craft and fashion market because it defeated the idea of hand woven cloth. Therefore, he represented the brand inadequately as his approach did not fit in with the existing global reputation for the variety and bespoke tradition associated with the romantic notions of the island.

Shawbost Mill on the other hand, restored the business model for bespoke. Instead of centrally controlling the process, he worked with the community of weavers enabling both commissioned and free-lance weavers to weave in a variety of colours and patterns. As a result, the mill was able to maintain the tradition and restore the widely associated notions of the fabric. Furthermore, by exercising a more open approach than Haggas, Wilson looked to experts in design and marketing in order to understand how Harris Tweed could fit within the modern market so that the brand could be suitably represented.

Tangier's weavers should take into consideration that both these cases highlight how dependent the weavers were on the mill's intention in order to craft and access the market. The weavers were firstly dependent on them to supply them with material to craft, secondly to understand how to access the market and thirdly to represent their brand adequately. All of these key aspects prove to be essential in order to gain access to a national/international market and as both mills show, can be achieved in different manners.

The Harris Tweed brand, set up by the Authority, ties the weavers to their geographical location and reflects a historical heritage. Whilst this has proven to establish a strong identity that has helped to maintain and protect the craft, it has also proved to limit the craftsmen when the mills had closed down and when Haggas took over the Kenneth Mckenzie. The brand regulatory standard limits the supply of yarn to that produced by the mills of the island in order for the fabric to be considered Harris Tweed. Whilst Tangier's weavers should consider establishing a brand, they should also therefore assess any restrictive implications that could prevent them from accessing the International Market.

Cross Analysis: Harris Tweed and WOW

Introduction

From both case studies, it is clear that a revival in craft was related to the weaver's relationship with branding, their ability to access the market and the supply of materials. There are also visible differences and similarities in the approaches that were exercised by the respective organisations with regards to these three aspects. Therefore, it is important to evaluate these approaches in order to explore the most effective conditions for Tangier's Weavers when establishing their own association. This cross analysis will compare the level of control exerted by the organisations on the weavers relationship with brand, market and supply and its influence on craft prosperity and revival.

Ownership of Brand

Harris Tweed and WOW both revealed the importance for brand establishment and development in creating and continuously strengthening a presence within the international market. However, in the case of the Ifakara Women their skill limitations in establishing a brand meant that they relied on weaving specific fabrics suited to WOW's brand to therefore gain indirect access to the modern market. Thus, this demonstrates that without a unique brand the Ifakara women would struggle to gain access to the intended market.

Contrastingly, the Harris Tweed weavers collectively and individually own their brand as a result of the Harris Tweed Authority, a body specifically set up to protect, maintain and promote exclusively to their identity. Notably, the authority has regulations to which the weavers must comply so that their products can be lawfully recognised as Harris Tweed on the market. These regulations have nurtured a global reputation and facilitated the weavers in individually presenting themselves and their craft to the market. This is valuable as it facilitates self-expression within their medium and craft, which further diversifies the handcraft. Arguably, it can be stated that this approach restricts the craftsmen's growth and development because only hand-woven yarn from the island can be used.

When weavers can own their brand they can present themselves individually to the market therefore nurturing self-expression within their work. However, when they don't own their brand, it is difficult to have direct access to the market; this has the risk of contributing to negligence of self-expression and individuality.

Access to Market: Facilitation or Discipline?

Both case studies reveal different approaches taken by the establishments to facilitate the weavers access to the market, ranging between a direct, indirect or a mixed level of access as a means to revive the craft.

The Mckenzie Mill considered a variety of designs and patterns as being the main barrier for craft revival. Thus, the company found it adequate to firstly discipline the buyer by removing the possibility for bespoke design and therefore constrain the weavers into mass producing a given number of designs. As a result, the Mill secured its position as the main representative to the market, controlling the communication between the buyer and Harris Tweed. Therefore many of the independent weavers shifted from having the possibility for direct access to only indirect access to market,

such that the mill became the only distribution channel. In the end, it proved to be an unsuitable approach, for it removed the craftsmen's freedom for individual design which defeated the point of placing hand woven craft on the market.

In contrast to this, WOW adopted a more educational approach by informing the weavers about the market demand. Having this knowledge enabled the weavers to adapt/tweak their designs to attract the buyers once on the market place. Nevertheless, the women lacked the skills to communicate to buyers to then place their own designs onto the international market directly. Therefore the social enterprise's position remained to be a vital distribution channel for the weavers, insinuating that they were reliant on indirect relations to buyers. Certainly, the weavers are dependent on the social enterprise for sales and also, like the Mckenzie Mill, they were commissioned by WOW with preselected designs. There is argument suggesting that this environment cultivates less individual freedom within design amongst the weavers.

Weavers that successfully have direct access to market can cultivate a practice for individuality and self – expression within the medium of their work. However without knowledge of market and communicative skills, it can prove to be difficult to access.

Supply

Both case studies reveal different approaches taken to either facilitate or control the weavers access to market through the supply of material. It also presents certain conditions that weavers found themselves in that made them vulnerable for exploitation.

In understanding the weaver's difficulty in accessing suitable cotton for the market, WOW decided to provide the weavers with the material they required at the whole-sale price. Thus, their craft could be sold on the market. However, the weaver's remote geographical location reveals how dependent they were on the social enterprise's motives to sell them the supply and not take financial advantage - so that the weavers could have access to the market directly if they wished.

Harris Tweed weavers bound by the 1993 Harris Tweed Act could only be supplied of material from the Mills from within the islands, if they were to claim their craft to be Harris Tweed on the market. Since the Mckenzie Mill was only producing yarn required for the jackets in the four patterns, this limited the independent weaver's choice of colour and variety of texture as it went against its global reputation for variety.

Shawbost Mill, unlike the Mckenzie Mill, did not regard variety of design and patterns amongst the weavers as a barrier for revival. Although a series of weavers from the island follow a weaving instruction card provided by the mill, Shawbost Mill also allows independent weavers to buy a variety of coloured yarn from the Mill in order to weave their own designs and produce their own Harris Tweed cloth, maintaining the tradition for variety of colours and patterns by which the reputation of Harris Tweed stands for globally. It keeps a balance between facilitation and disciplining of the craftsmen and their connection with the buyers. Independent weavers can individually gain a position to sell directly to the Market if they wish.

Establishing security for supply ensures stability for weaving practice- without this access to market cannot exist and can hinder branding reputation if crafts cannot be made. Both of these have an important role for revival in craft. The case studies also reveal that there ought to be awareness of the conditions that could prevent weavers

from accessing supply, such as case regulatory standards in branding, geographical location and the motives of the supplier.

Conclusion

Overall, the case studies revealed that a revival in craft was crucially related to the level of control exercised by an establishment/s over the relationship between the weaver and 1) the brand (level of ownership), 2) market (level of access, knowledge and skills of communication), and/or 3) material supply (level of access). The case studies also suggested that facilitating these three aspects in a manner that would allow direct interaction between weaver and buyer can cultivate freedom for individual expression within the craft. Although, the cross analysis examined these three aspect separately, it should be noted that all three elements interrelate.

Furthermore, the case studies reveal the benefits for weavers to either belong to or work with central gatekeeping organisations — if control or discipline work in favour of their identity. In the case of Tangier, the weavers must consider whether the gate keeping organisation takes on the control of the market and ‘disciplines’ both buyers and makers, or whether it should only facilitate the weavers collectively and individually, allowing them to express themselves through the potentials of their medium.

The two case studies show that the weavers couldn’t control one or two of these aspects of the trade, causing problems. Problems could be greatly reduced if there were no intermediate agents between the weavers and these three elements. How is this obtained?

Conclusion: Tangier's Weaving Association

Introduction

Let us imagine that the weavers have gathered together in order to start discussing the set up of an association as a means to help the revival and future prosperity of their craft.

Firstly, some preliminary conditions for Tangier's Weavers Association to consider when deciding how to organise their relationship with brand, market and supply will be presented. Their current situation (challenges, values and desires) with respect to these three aspects will be drawn forward whilst referring to the conclusions deduced from the previous chapters and the cross analysis of the case studies. By doing this I hope to establish the initial steps that would create the foundations for weaver's prosperity with their craft practice.

Brand Ownership

The weavers in Tangier currently do not own an established brand, collectively or individually, and primarily rely on developing their own reputation with the tourists. Most of the weavers are situated within an old caravanserai and are known collectively by Tanjavis as the 'Fondouk Chejra Weavers'. Whilst this name serves them well as a form of identity, this title is under threat due to the deterioration of the caravanserai and the reducing number of weavers. Notably, the weavers state that this title is not used as prominently as before and thus has become a symbol for their fall within society.

Since the weavers in Tangier are independent and most want to connect to the international market. Similarly to Harris Tweed, establishing a brand as a collective of individual weavers can be advantageous and can help to gain a stronger presence on the market. Tangier's weavers could exemplify this unification of the individual weavers by setting standards/criteria of the weaving practice that they would all conform to. Furthermore, like Harris Tweed's 'The Orb', it would be in the weavers' interest that these set standards represented by a symbol or logo. This would be marked onto the products and therefore have a unique association to Tangier craftspeople. Having this could symbolise an authenticity to the buyer whether it's a promised value, origination, history or any other affiliations identifiable to Tangier's weavers. For example, Harris Tweed Orb is widely associated with quality, sustainability, variety, fauna, flora, heritage etc.

The Harris Tweed Brand is specific to the weavers' location and working nature, enabling the weavers to therefore own their brand. Thus in order for Tangier's weavers to also own their brand, it would be important to reflect on their unique selling point. In comparison to cities like Fes and Marrakech, Tangier has never been historically associated to weaving or craft for that matter. However, it's identity as a cultural bridge between Europe, Africa and the Arab world is widely renowned and thus the city has been considered an access point to craft Unlike Harris Tweed where the weaving history is tied to one geographical location, Tangier's weavers are made up of diverse heritages creating both different and similar styles of weaving to each other. This fusion of styles is perhaps what is uniquely identifiable to Tangier, as it emulates the very nature of city that has developed a cultural familiarity to the passer-by and the traveler.

Moreover, if the weavers want to consider a collective identity associated to their location, this is a possibility that would also connect well with their united craft value for 'adaptability and change'. If the brand is established in such a way that it expresses these qualities, it can satisfy their desires for collaboration with designers who naturally like to work with open-minded craftsmen. Furthermore, establishing a brand could also encourage more youth to engage with the craft, since the workshop revealed that they desired occupations with a professionalized status.

Market

The weavers in Tangier currently sell directly and independently to their customers which are mainly tourists. Furthermore they wish to connect to the international market and collaborate with designers, by so this would help to reduce their independence on the few tourists that visit. In order to achieve this, it would therefore be important to reflect on how the association could facilitate this interaction between the weaver and the buyer.

To Educate or to Represent?

WOW educated the Ifakara weavers with knowledge regarding demands of the market, however, the women lacked the skills in which to communicate and sell on the market, so they were reliant on the enterprise as an important distribution channel. To facilitate direct access to the market for Tangier's weavers, the institution could take on an educational role teaching the weavers on market knowledge (trends etc. fashion, inviting designers). In addition to this, the weavers could be taught skills to help them communicate to the market (email, social media etc.) However, the weaver's average age is 50-60 and they have unanimously expressed that their fatigue has presented them with the inability to learn new skills and ideas. Not only that but it was also revealed that many of the craftsmen are illiterate, thus indicating that facilitating this approach could prove to be difficult.

Alternatively, like the Shawbost Mill in Harris Tweed, the institute could represent the weavers and centralize the distribution of their crafts to the buyer, so that the weavers would indirectly be connected to the market. Not only could this reduce the stress of the elderly craftsmen learning new communicative skills to the market but it could ease brand regulation over the weaving products going out to the market. However, part of Tangier's weavers unique characteristic is the personal and intimate interaction that takes between the individual craftsmen and the buyer. Facilitating this approach would therefore remove a special and unique experience. Furthermore, to adopt an exact model as Shawbost Mill would mean to commission Tangier's weavers with the association's own design and patterns. Whilst Shawbost Mill adequately represents the Harris Tweed brand, this method may not suit the identity for Tangier's weavers due their collective mix of heritage and want for self-expression.

Moreover with a model like Shawbost Mill, Tangier's weavers could run the risk of the association becoming the main face towards the market, therefore cultivating a sense of competition amongst the weavers. It also cultivate a sense dependency with the association

WOW and Shawbost Mill represent two different models. Irrespective of the approach adopted it would be equally important for the institute to also consider facilitating the weavers to a way that would allow them to be represented collectively to the international market. To achieve this perhaps there would need to be a balance between both educational and representational being that the institute would facilitate

the weavers to have both direct and indirect channels to the market. . Understanding how to centralize and balance between the educational and representational roles would require further investigation.

As we revealed in the introduction, the city has made large amounts of investment into the reformation of the tourist industry, which would suggest that this is therefore to rise in the future. Thus would also be worth the association to consider facilitating the connection between the tourists and craftsmen in the future. Furthermore, bazaar owners repeatedly expressed that over the years Tangier had cultivated a harsh environment for tourist. Therefore by facilitating tourist and weaver connection, Tangier's weavers can offer a more pleasant and safer experience providing a cultural attraction point to the city.

Supply

Currently, each weaver in Tangier has their own supplier for cotton, yarn, and dyes. Both case studies revealed the importance of always having access to supply. Otherwise without access to the materials, the craftsmen cannot access the market and having no goods to sell will inevitably effect their brand presence. The weavers could consider centralising the distribution of supply to the weavers, so that the material not only could be regulated according to their brand standards but to also to ensure that there is constant supply. While having access to supply is vital, particularly for the direct implications, it has with accessing the market and brand reputation. However, the weavers did not consider this a main concern or challenge for their business. If the weavers were presented the option to centralising the supply (bulk buy the materials) they would need to consider whether there would be any implications to Weavers collective identity.

Who?

Lastly, considering the lead of the organization is equally important particularly to take into account their motives. It is crucial that the institution is concerned with maintaining the best interest of the weavers, as they could be dependent on the motives of the facilitator. Whilst leading roles could be divided amongst the weavers, it may prove to be difficult due to competitiveness as explained by one of the weaver who had tried and failed. It is probable that they need an "outsider" to arrange and organize the association, but whether that is similar to an NGO, social enterprise, governmental association etc, requires further investigation.

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Appendix A: The Participants

List of participants and details interviewed in 'Stage One: Initial trip'.

Name	Age	Profession	Professional Location	Location of Interview	Duration (mins)	Month	Recording Method	Transcribed?
Mohammed Rafa	32	Bazaar Owner	Bazaar Shop, Old Medina. Petit Socco	Bazaar Shop, Old Medina. Petit Socco	30	April	Audio	Yes
Omar Mohammed	50+	Bazaar Owner	Bazaar Shop, Old Medina.	Bazaar Shop, Old Medina.	22	April	Audio	Yes
Mohammed Abdullah	N/A	Leather Craftsmen	Saniya	Saniya	40	April	Video	No
Khalid Benniche	N/A	Leather Craftsmen	Old Medina.	Old Medina	20	April	Audio	No
Hamed Al Asri	69	Independent Weaver	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	62	April	Video	Yes
Abdullah Bentni	51	Weaving & Director	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	40	April	Video	Yes
Abdullah Fillah	26	Weaver & Director	Dakhar El Jadida	American Language Centre	60	April	Video	Yes
Amine Bakkali	64	Weaver & Director	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	72	April	Video	Yes
Mohammed Bentni	32	Weaver	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	35	April	Video	Yes
Haj Rachid	62	Director	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	32	April	Video	No
Mohammed Jillali	60+	Independent Weaver	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	30	April	Video	No

List of participants and details interviewed in 'Stage Two: Initial trip'.

Name	Age	Profession	Professional Location	Location of Interview	Month	Duration (mins)	Recording Method	Transcribed?
Mustafa Boumghait	64	Weaver & Director	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	July	30	Video	no
Khalid Birawi	32	Weaver	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	July	20	Video	no
Mohammed Mdioui	62	Director	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	July	55	Video	no
Rashid Mrabet	60+	Independent Weaver	Fondouk Chejra	Fondouk Chejra	July	58	Video	no
Fatima Choukri	N/A	Fashion Accessory Designer	Tangier	Cinema Rif's Cafe	July	40	Audio	yes
Fahmi Naguib	32	Preparatory High School Teacher	American Language Centre, American School of Tangier	American Language Centre,	July	62	Video	Yes

Participants of the Youth Workshop: 'Stage Two: Second trip'

Class session	Location	No of Students	No of Groups	Ages	Average English Level	Duration (Mins)	Method Recording	Material Used
Morning	American Language Centre	27	6	14-19	Low-Medium	45	Video	Post it notes, TV screens, Pictures, Pens

List of Participants in 'Stage Three: Final Interviews'

Name	Age	Profession	Professional Location	Location of Interview	Month	Duration (mins)	Record. Method	Transcript?
Anneloes Roelanschap		Director of World of weavers a social enterprise	Tanzania	Skype	Nov	35	Video	Yes

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Appendix B: Interview Questions

Prepared Interview Questions

- . Over your life as a craftsman, what significant changes have you occurred?
- . What is your profession?
- . Why are you a craftsman?
- . Do you enjoy being a craftsman?
- . What does craftsmanship mean to you?
- . Who are your most popular clients? hat is your favorite piece to make and why
- . What are the most popular crafts that tourists buy, (Trends)?
- . Why do you think tourists buy souvenirs? What do you think they want?
- . Who are your competitors?
- . When the summer season has died down, who become your main clientele?
- . Has tourism affected your work, if so how?
- . What struggles do you face due to tourism?
- . What negative impacts does tourism bring to the craft?
- . What are the benefits for your work due to tourism?
- . When the summer season has died down, who become your main clientele?
- . Do you see any changes in the way you work due to tourism?
- . What was the relationship from your parents generation with tourism?
- . What was the practice of craft like for your parents?
- . What was tourism like for you parents?
- . What were the struggles when you were young and practicing craft in comparison to today?
- . Will your children take over the business, yes/no...why?
- . Do you think you will work with tourists in the future?
- . What would you like to see change in the future of craft?
- . What changes could occur to help you in your craft practice?

Immersion
into current
experiences



Activate
feelings of
past

Dream
about
possible
futures

New ideas
relating to
future

Examples of questions added/alterd as interviews progressed

- . Over your life as a craftsman, what significant changes have you occurred?
- . Has tourism affected your work, if so how?
- . Do you see any changes in the way you work due to tourism?
- . What are the benefits for your work due to tourism?
- . What is your family history in accordance to craftsmanship?
- . Will your children take over the business, yes/no...why?
- . Do you feel what you do is creative?
- . What stops your creativity?
- . When the summer season has died down, who become your main clientele?
- . Why do you think tourists buy souvenirs? What do you think they want?
- . When is craft craft, when is it not?
- . What qualities do you feel craft gives to a person?

- . What stops something being craft?
- . What qualities define craft?
- . Do you think tourism encourages good craft?
- . How do you think tourism affects craft?
- . Do you think it negatively affects craft?
- . How does tourism affect the way craft is practiced?
- . How old are the craftsmen?
- . How has tourism affected craftsmanship in Morocco/Tangier
- . Do you think tourism encourages creative innovation amongst craftsmen or not?
- . How has the consumer demand changed over time? why?
- . What are the main crafts that exist in Morocco/Tangier?
- . Where do you buy your crafts?
- . What is your relationship with the craftsmen?
- . Do their crafts have an official stamp?
- . Where are your craftsmen from?
- . What is Tangier's experience with craftsmen and why?
- . How old are the craftsmen? What about the younger generation?
- . How do you see craftsmanship in the future?
- . Do you know any examples of new modern/ Traditional ways of dealing with craftsmanship?
- . Why do you think there are not many craftsmen in Tangier?

Appendix C: Summary

Summaries given to the craftsmen to respond to on the second trip:

Challenges:

- The European Crisis
- Tourism has reduced
- No Youth taking on the craft
- The Youth see no future

Craft Values

- Important value for craft its the value for adaptability and change

Desires

- You like youth, they bring creativity and new ideas
- You like tourists
- Tourism bring creativity and new ideas
- You like would like to be connected to the international market
- You feel designers can bring creativity, new ideas and innovation
-

Appendix C: Workshop Material

Images given to the student when asked to rank based on importance and successful



Accountant



Doctor



Waiter



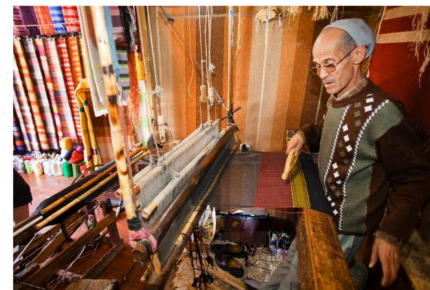
Musician



Designer



Taxi Driver



Craftsman



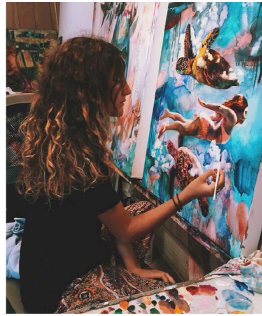
Teacher



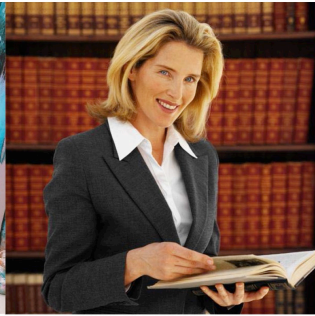
Business Manager



Engineer



Artist

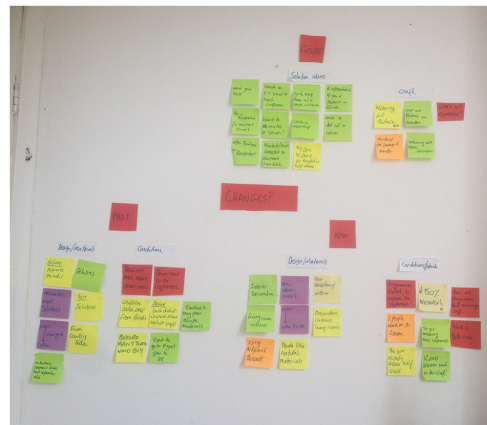
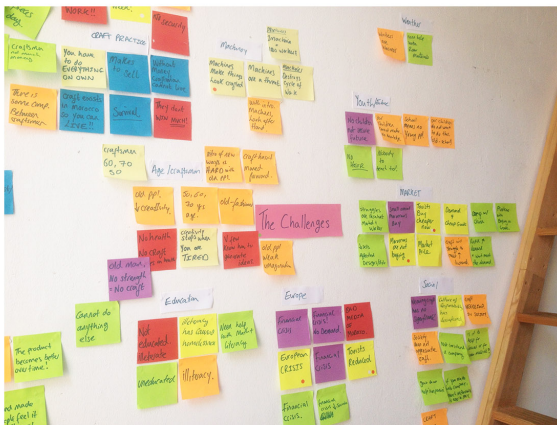
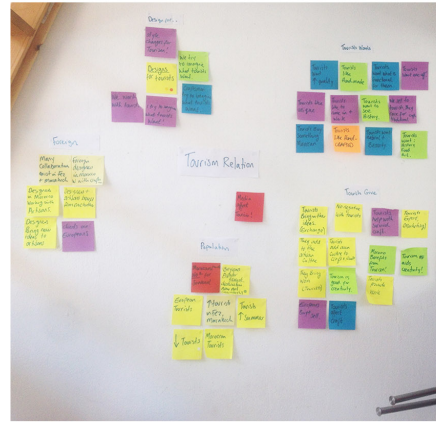
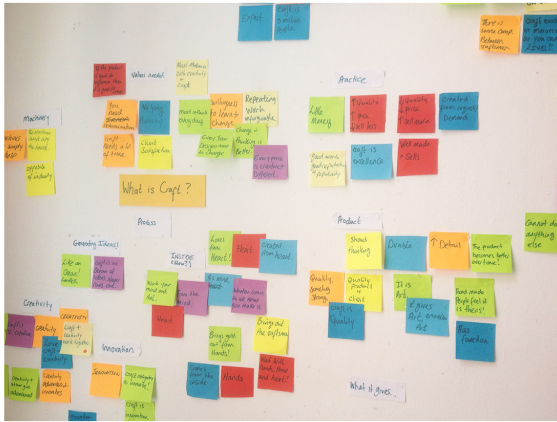


Lawyer



Sales Person

Second initial layer of Coding: Sample pictures



Key

- Mohammed Mdioui
- Nordine Al Asri
- Mustafa Boumghat
- Khalid Birawi
- Oussama Bakkali
- Abdullah Souri
- Mohammed Rifa

Appendix D: Final Selective Coding

Appendix D.1: What is craft?

What is Craft?

Values:

To Change:

- Willingness to learn & change
- Balance creativity & craft
- Client satisfaction
- Requires Time
- Determination
- No Lying, Honesty
- Well Made
- Repeating work = Unforgivable
- Must re-think everyday
- Change in thinking is better
- Every year designs need to change
- Every piece needs to be different
- Innovating to change craft is important

It Offers:

Mental:

- Patience
- Calm
- Think Deeply
- Simplicity
- Imagine
- Thoroughness
- Happiness
- Sense of Achievement
- Sense of Love
- Patience
- Peace
- Patience

Culture:

History:

- Big History
- Historical & Old

Culture:

- Culture
- Main Culture in Morocco
- Identity

Livelihood:

Survival:

- To Make a Living
- You can eat from it
- To Live
- To make a living
- Expert
- Master
- Professional Value

Practice:

- Good Work, Reputation, High Popularity
- Well Made Sells
- It is 3 Million People
- Created from Demand
- High Quality, High Price, Less Sales
- Low Quality, Low Price, More Sales
- Little Money
- No Money

Generating Ideas:

Limitless:

- Like an Ocean, Limitless
- Ocean of Ideas, Never runs out

Origination:

The Mind:

- Work From Your Mind
- From the Mind
- Craftsman Mind
- The Head

Heart:

- From the Heart
- The Heart
- From the Heart

Gold from the Hands

- The Hands
- Hands

From the Inside

- Union between hands, head and heart
- Brings out the Craftsman

Creativity:

Creativity:

- Craft is Creativity
- Craft is Creativity
- Craft is Creativity & Craft Working Together
- Craft is High Creativity
- Craft is Creativity & Love
- Craft is Creativity

Advancement:

- Craft is Creativity
- Craft is Creativity
- Craft is Creativity & Love
- Craft is Creativity

Advancement:

- Creativity advances craft
- Creativity advances and innovates craft
- Creativity means more sales
- Creativity & innovation means to sell craft and live

Innovation:

Innovation:

- Craft is Innovation
- Craft is Innovation
- Creativity & innovation means to sell craft and live

Product Qualities:

Quality:

- Quality Product for clients
- Craft is Quality
- Craft is Quality, Strong

Art:

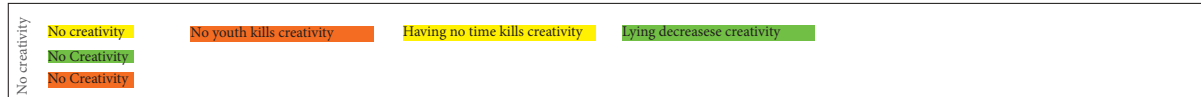
- Craft is Art
- Craft is Art

- Shows thinking
- Durable
- Functional
- Product gets better over time
- Hand-Made, people feel ownership
- High Detail

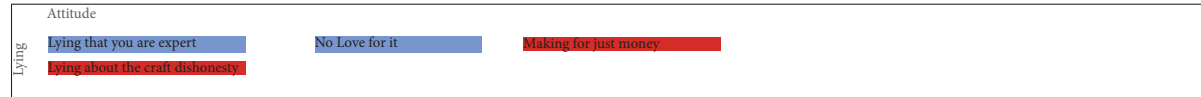
Appendix D.2: What Kills Craft

What Kills Craft

No Creativity



Attitude:



Enviroment:



Key

Mohammed Mdioui
Nordine Al Asri
Mustafa Boumghait
Khalid Birawi
Oussama Bakkali
Abdullah Souri
Mohammed Rafa

Appendix D.3: Challenges

What are the challenges?

Market:

European Economic Crisis	Financial Crisis	Tourists Reduced	Struggle to meet High Demand	Moroccans not buying	Market Price	Buying in goods	Comp. China	Struggles Ikrabat
	Financial Crisis	Tourists Reduced	Struggle to meet High Demand	New Moroccans Buy	Demand for cheap goods			
	Financial Crisis	Tourists Reduced						
	Financial Crisis	Tourists Reduced						
	Financial Crisis	Tourists Reduced						
	Financial Crisis	Tourists Reduced						

Age Limitation:

Old Age	50,60,70 Years	No creativity when old and tired	Elderly craftsman are illiterate	Health	No health, no craft	No Change	Craft has not moved forward
	Elderly Generation	V. few elderly generate new ideas	High illiteracy, causes poverty	Health	Old man, physically weaker for craft		Old-fashioned
	50, 60, 70 Years	Elderly is less creativity	Need help with literacy and Math	Health	No creativity when tired		
	Old Generation	Elderly have weaker imagination	Illiterate, not educated				
	Elderly Men	Difficult to intro. new methods	No education				
	Old age	Find it Hard for new ideas					

No Youth:

No Youth	Schools has meant no youth in the craft	Children have no making knowledge	Desires	Youth have strong Imagination	Youth do not have patience
	No Youth, future of weaving not secure	The youth do not want to do this	Qualities of Youth	Youth have energy	
	Nobody to teach to		Qualities of Youth	Young people to move ideas forward	
	There is no heir		Qualities of Youth	The youth can innovate forward than us	
	There are no young people		Qualities of Youth	Youth have ideas	
	Not Many Youth				

Mechanisation:

Threat	Machines are a threat to Hand-Craft	Must look after Hand-craft with intro of Machinery
	Machines destroy cycle of work	
	1 Machine = 200 craftsman	
	Machine made can look hand-crafted	

Craft Practice

Survival	Makes so that he can sell	Finance	Don't win that much Money	Labour	Make only 2 pieces a day	Development	Need to be good at accounts	Some Comp b/w them
	Without Money craftsman cannot live	Finance	Little Money for Craftsman	Labour	Low creativity as can only make a few pieces	Development	Craft needs to be developed	
	Survival	Finance	No Security in Work	Labour	Reduction of Tourists = Only few days work P/W	Development	Trends Change Every Year	
	Craft in Morocco exists so that you can live			Labour	Many Hours of Work			Craft needs saving

Contextual

Societal Importance	Weaving craft has no significance	Governmental	Not considered a company	Need help with Raw Materials	Winters are warmer
	Dissappearing culture of responsibilities	Governmental	Govt. do not aid companies		
	Weaving craft needs importance in society	Governmental	Many financial responsibilities if made a company		
	Weaving has lost in importance in Tangier	Governmental	Don't know if help is needed socially or in materials?		

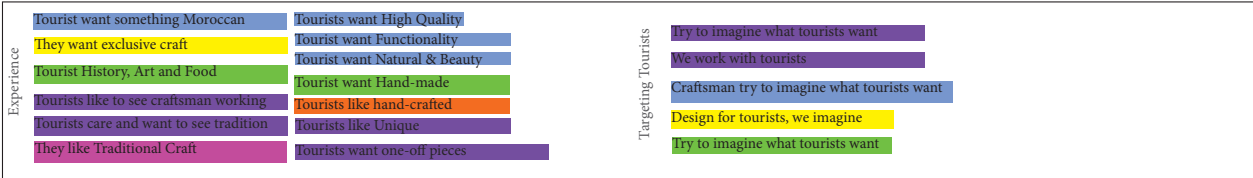
Key

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- Nordine Al Asri
- Mustafa Boumghait
- Khalid Birawi
- Oussama Bakkali
- Abdullah Souri
- Mohammed Rafa

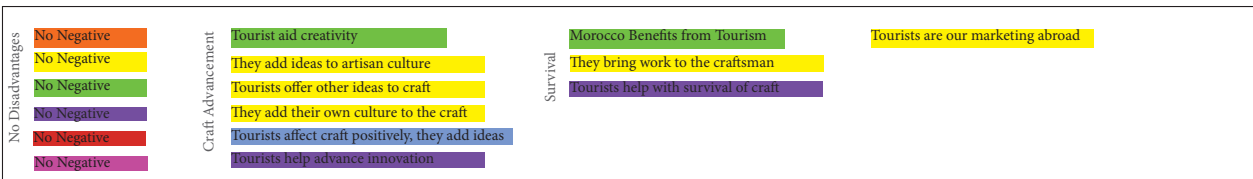
Appendix D.4: Market Relations

Market Relation

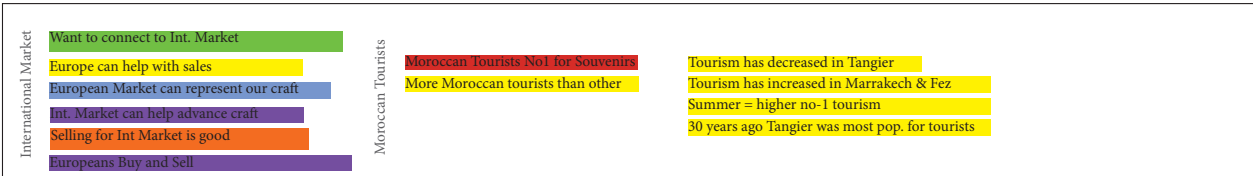
Tourist Wants



Tourist Benefits:



Clients



Designers

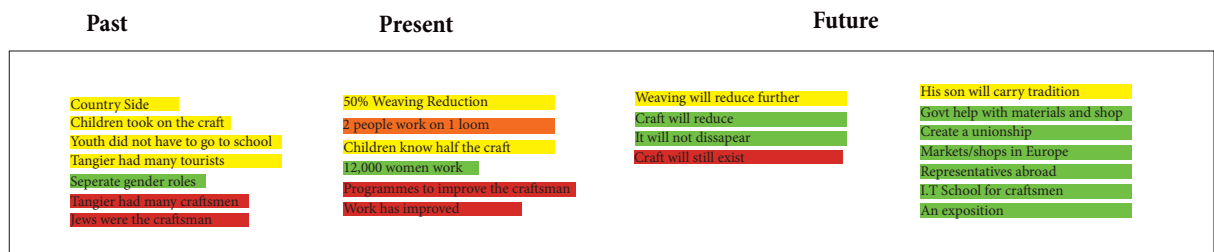
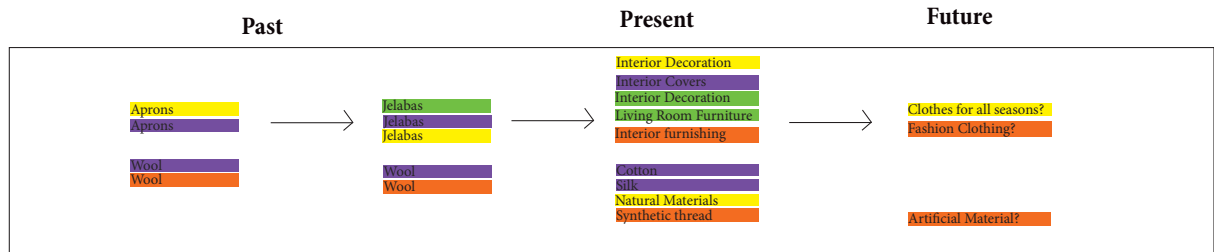


Key

- Mohammed Mdioui
- Nordine Al Asri
- Mustafa Boumghait
- Khalid Birawi
- Oussama Bakkali
- Abdullah Souri
- Mohammed Rafa

Appendix D.5: Craft Changes

Craft Changes



Key

Mohammed Mdioui
Nordine Al Asri
Mustafa Boumghait
Khalid Birawi
Oussama Bakkali
Abdullah Souri
Mohammed Rafa

Appendix E: Transcripts

Appendix E.1: Omar Mohammed (Bazaar Owner)

Maybe you can tell me what your name is and what your profession is to begin with?

This is the first profession. My name is Omar.

And describe your profession, what is it?

Before?

You can see it is Arabic or in Darija that is..

Oh...merchant, buying and selling...a business man

Like a merchant...And what is the location?

Here? 8 Street Seeyareen...I will give you my business card after.

So what I am really interested in understanding is first of all the craftsmanship in Tangier. What is craftsmanship in Tangier at the moment? How many? Because you said earlier that there were not that many...and then you said before it was better? Was it better before?

Yes, before was better. It was not so many stuff...before they made less...goods less, but the business was good

But when you say before, before

.... the 70's and the 80's, a long time ago

But it was better but not as...?

Better business...tourists have money, they buy more...

So there were more crafts?

Yeah...more crafts but less things, there was...less things, not as much. The art is getting better. The artisan is getting better...the hand craft is getting better..

It is getting better?

It is getting better, but the people have less money. Tourists have less money...

It is going in different direction...?

Traditional handcraft has advanced/innovated...there are so many...and tourists have reduced. There is not that money left...it is about the financial crisis.

So people the tourists are still getting out of the recession...

Well almost...like this...

If there was...you said that craftsmanship is getting better...but then you said that in the 70's there was more...

No there was less...there was more people, more tourists

More tourists?

And they have more money and they buy more...it was better business.

So there was less craftsman and more tourists...but now are there...?

More craftsman and ...there are tourists but they have less money. We [are] talking about the sale...

For me that is a very different opinion than what I heard from other people. Because a lot of people have told me that craftsmanship has gone down in Tangier.

No no, we talk about the total of Morocco...all in Morocco.

Let's say we talk about Tangier first and then we talk about Morocco.

I [was] talking about all that we have in the shop. We [were] talking about all that was made in Morocco with craftsmanship.

So then maybe let's change the tactics. Let's talk about Tangier now and then after I will ask you about Morocco. I am interested in both. So Tangier itself, what do you think... do you think there are many craftsmen today? Is there more than before or less than before?

Less, Less...it is much less. A lot of people [have] closed. And that it was the ensemble artisanal...where all the government-shop...up near the tennis court...it has closed.

So my next question is why? Why do you think it is being closed?

I think it is because of competition... [with] the centre of Morocco like Fes, they make more things. The business people prefer to buy things original, from Fes, Mekness...Marrakech is the first...

What do you mean by the original...?

(Abdullah Translator) Like...craftsmanship came from the inside [centre] of Morocco like Mekness, that is what you are saying, right? [directed to Omar]

Places like Marrakech, they make more...

(Abdullah Translator) That is where it started... basically

They always make new things...

So they were innovators.?

Here [Tangier] they were making things, but not many it was limited. Like Kaftans, like other embroideries. Some bags, not very.... But now are less. There were 15 fabrecks (factories?) that made kaftans, Moroccan kaftans. Now there are much less...there are 2 or 3 people who make them.

And you said that was because of competition and like merchants, like yourself buying from Fes and Meknes. But...what about the relationship with tourism on that?

This is another things...

So what is the relation...because I am very interested in the relationship between craftsmanship and tourism.

If we talk about that, it will be very difficult. The responsibility for the people is mixed. People coming again and the way how they treat the tourists, is getting...now with the people, the guide on the street and the people who sell things on the street. So they make people [tourists] gone.

So tourism has gone down...?

Yeah a little bit...yeah

So you think that also would have affected craftsmanship? And what about the relationship between the craftsman...

The cheating, the cheating, the guides on the street, the fake guide, the fake guides. You know, the one without...the fake guides, the one that follow the tourists, the ones that sell to the tourists on the street. Tangier is not what it was anymore, our people are scaring the tourists away, they used to feel safer here and buy more, but now they don't even look me in the eye when they come into my shop. It is the fake tourist guides on the streets, they sell fake things and have aggressive ways of approaching them.

(Abdullah Translator) They are fake, they just want to make money so they don't show them where to go exactly, you know. So they just, the cheating.

Yeah and some shops, they play again. They sell ridiculous prices for the tourists.

(Abdullah) It's kind of competition between store and the other store, you know

The cheating....fake competition, hotels everything. In a hotel you have a bottle of water for 2€ and actually the tourist does not have to pay for the water. Everyone is playing with the tourists. Bazaar, hotels the streets, the guide. It is not an official guide. An official guide takes the tourists to the shops and he wants a commission so the salesman has to sell ridiculous prices to give 30% or 25% to the guide.

Because they have a contract...

If you don't pay him, next time he will not bring you people. This is very bad for the tourist

And you think this whole dynamic has affected the decrease of tourism..

Well of course they go, the prices are high...

I am going to ask more questions about the meaning of craftsmanship, how do you think the relationship the craftsman has with his materials and his objects have changed with tourism?

Well quality is different, it depends. There are different qualities. Quality costs money and this tourist comes and he wants to buy quality but he doesn't have enough [money].

He doesn't have enough

It is not enough, you understand? You find a kaftan and it costs 100€ and you, find another one and it costs 5€. So a big difference...

So do you think that the craftsmen decides to do a less quality product so that he can sell it?

You know it depends on what the market is asking for. The market is...I mean you own your business and you ask for something quality, you sell quality...you understand? Or you sell cheap.

(Abdullah Translator)I have a question, according to that. You sell like previously...there were less traditional handcraft but there was volume, there was more Do you think now that whether the value of craftsmanship had reduced? For example the original does not exist?

No no, a lot of things have happened, some have reduced and some that are still good and some that has improved. Every one thing has...So, for example, I am a craftsman and you are a craftsman and you create a good quality product. When you start you make best, always the best. You have your own clients and they come to you and buy from you etc. Whereas me, I make things cheap...cheap is always cheap. You understand? There are bazaars that sell cheap to sell quickly, they sell these things quick. Because people they come with less money and they want cheap. If you are looking for the best, wanting the best you will find the best. Whatever you want...everything is available. It is just that quality the owners of that do not have money anymore. And heavy things big things, things of value like carpets, like big handcraft...they cost 2000, 3000, 5000 DH and people do not buy them. Because they are expensive and have less...

Maybe people do not value it enough and understand that it is worth that...

No they know but it is just...financially..

Abdullah: they have problems with finance. It is a financial problem

So tourists make less money..

You can sell more with economic things than expensive things, because you sell quickly. You have 100 cheap djellabas and you have 20 djellabas of the expensive kind. You can sell 100 quickly than you can sell 20. That is what the situation is.

I read somewhere that there was an official stamp to prove something...What do you think of that?

Stamp is good...sometimes it is important, from the company from the factory, from the man who makes...

Is it sometimes for you...[is it important] for you who somebody who buys?

Of course , you buy for example a tea pot with a stamp with it with the name, it is good to know him, to know his quality and then you know from where he is coming.

But there is also a special stamp, like a Moroccan hand-craft official stamp...to prove

From government, they make them on the carpet

Only on carpets...and nothing else?

Only on carpet...

Abdullah: And that has closed, the artisanal centre...did they not have a [a stamp]?

No...of course, for example if you made leather and you make something special then you stamp it. If I made a teapot I put my name on the back. And those that make something else, he also does the same. It normally just carpet that has control from the government [the stamp is required]. This is wool this that, this is extra, this is.

And what you said about the [artisanal] centre that was there before. Why did it close down? Do you know?

I think they are going to build somewhere, something else

Abdullah: That is what they say?

That is what I hear, met too. I know people that were working there, I know the people that were in the office. Some people were making wood, they make place they make a lot of things. They were always with me. They are waiting...good people, they make good things.

So they closed it down

Maybe they will [rebuild] something there... the government are going to make something there. And they are going to build somewhere else. With governmental things you can't know, no you can never know.

I think that is it...

Goodbye and good luck with you

(Omar suddenly decides to carry on...)

There were no stones and ceramics like this. There was nothing...now there are new artisans

So there are new crafts?

There are a lot of new crafts...that is what I told you in the beginning, it is new and it is better than that craft. But the business is getting...it is like this.

So like the creativity is high, but the business is low..

It is low.

That is very strange,

Yeah it is like this

Abdullah: It is going in different directions...

We [the shop] we only had downstairs before, up here there was nothing, it was just a living place here. We opened but the business...

But do you think...

If I had had the same [upstairs part] in the 70's and 80's I would do very good.

But do you think it is because of the...

Good people come with closed eyes and will a full pocket. Really...[this was] before.

Abdullah: They don't guide them, they don't take them to the right places...

No, sorry...there [were] guides...but no guide anymore. Very few followed the tourists, we don't talk about official ones, we talk about the fake, the fake ones. But the official there are still some here. People would come a lot ...

(Recording interrupted)

So within the craft there is now more creativity, but the business is low. Why do you think that has happened? Do you think there is a relationship with that? Or do you feel that they are completely separate.

A bit of everything. Even the tourists they have less money, even French people, Spanish people.

But why is the creativity high then?

Well people try to make new things to sell...

Because they think that the old ways are not selling?

You make today something and tomorrow you make another thing to sell it, to leave.

Okay so that is quite interesting. So when the market has changed the it looks like the craftsmen have tried to adapt to that and maybe have tried to push something a little more different to see if that sells or not.

The government always try to bring more people, more people more tourists, they make more publicity in Europe, in America all over. But when the tourists they come they find another things. They [publicity] give them a nice picture of Morocco. But when they come, okay nice picture, good weather, sun, beautiful country, but the people [tanagwis] they are not very friendly with them sometimes. The guide, the people that follow the tourists...what do you call those that sleep on the floor, the homeless...

The beggars...

They tried to cheat them...it is something like this...

But before it wasn't like this?

No no, it was respectful...

(Oussama Translator) It has changed a lot...a lot people, a lot of people

Abdullah: Tangier has become horrible

Right now if want to go next to the Minzah in the night and go down those stairs, you cannot! You would not go and see that is how you know. Tourist want to come, they want their freedom and go out at two in the morning, and go have breakfast in Flaniya and come back, got to Kasbah and be left alone, go here. That is what is important, with tourists they need to be free, without anyone talking to them on the street and go out whenever they want and buy whatever they want. Prices need to be fixed.

So tourists are too scared to buy things...

Look, so you are a tourist and you went to town and you find something that you didn't like. I don't think you will go in..

Yes, I will leave...

And then you will speak to your friends and maybe you will put it on the internet.

Yeah don't go here

Yes,

Abdullah: So I guess that is the main reason why the business

Everyone, and those people they resist and they accept it...and they still keep coming. Because they come and go and even with all of this, they still come.

For me if I go and these things would happen to me, I could not go back. I meet some people, I say no thank you and he doesn't go I would call the police or maybe I would not like that . I like to be free I like to look for myself I have my eyes I have my money I have...so there is no where to. The other sells to them on the street, one is strying to sell him a kaftan and he doesn't want it. And then another comes and tries to sell a purse. These tourists have not come to see things, they have come here to then tell people to leave the alone 'no thank you' 'I don't want that'. There are some tourist that say 'ahhh

go away I don't want to'. And then Morocco say they want more tourists...and they so they come here and then they are shooed away.

Oussama: Whereas Marrakech is good, Marrakech is really good, no one will speak to you.

Next time I am going to try and go to fes and then Marrakech

You see tourism, is not that the tourist comes so that he can go. The tourist is someone to come...to make an advertisement and to spend money to make an advertisement to come to morocco. No no advertisement has to come from us, because if the tourist comes and you treat him well with price, hotel this and that, happiness. Everything, he will go and he will tell his friends and they will come back to him. Each one brings another until you have a million people that come.

So its like tourists do not have that much money but then the people's attitude is not so good so then it is like, they do not have that much money and then combining with the bad reputation, they don't tell people yeah... its not so great.

Yes and then ontop of that the cheating, the cheating within buying and selling. They say this is...just like the programme in the National Geographic, Marrakech carpets, it is something like this. Carpet is wool or it is silk...

So they are lying about the material?

They are lying about the material and this is not good.

And this is more than before...

No no the same things, it is always like that

With business you have to be very clever with people. Wool is wool, cotton is cotton. And the luck god will bring. What comes to you, comes to you.

Abdullah: If it's meant to be it will be.

That is it

Thanks so much

Appendix E.2: Mohammed Rafa (Bazaar Owner)

What is your name, how old are you and how long have you been working here?

My name is Mohammed Rafa', I am 32 years old,. I am a bazaar owner, I have been working here for almost 9...maybe 8 or 9 years.

And is this your place?

Family...

Who are your main clients, are they tourists or businesses?

Like who comes in...are ordinary, they are not like clients. Like I said Moroccans, are number one.

Moroccans who are tourists? Or Moroccans?

Moroccan tourists...

They are the most popular clients?

Yes the most, and then it is the Spanish...and then possibly England, and then France.

Tourists?

Yes tourists.

What does craftsmanship mean to you?

Ahh it's a difficult question, Like...one man is working by hands..he works more that 12 hours and doesn't win anything. In the whole craft industry he is on the losing end. The less earnings will belong to him. It is not like here in a shop where you can do what you like. You can buy something for 10 and then sell for 100 DH, not everyone does this...

Sorry but why can't they sell for a high price?

Who will buy from them? There are some that work well. There are two things one that works well at 90%, there is no 100% because you make it by hand in which the price is high. The other...the creations are he must sell so that he can make another.

In the work that they do, what good do you see in it?

The good is that they work with dignity. He works so that he can feed his children, he works with dignity It is not everyone,

Has there been any changes with tourism in the last years, in your family business and you? In the 90's?

In the beginning there wasn't any internet, there was no phones...someone would not know... They [tourists] would come to morocco thinking that there was only desert; they would come and would not know how to speak to the other. I think it was like this... now thank god it is good...

Now it is better?

There are clothes in which before were better...and now it is a little. There are clothes now in which are better that were not before.

Like what?

Before...because the house of craftsmanship where the people of before. Before there would someone that would make a carpet and say that it had 200 years of age. Something that is nothing they would say that it had 100 years or 50 years. There are no longer things like that. There was work before, there was better work...

Why was there more work before and not now?

Because of what happening in the middle east... the media

How did media affect this?

Racism...and all of this that you see with Isis,

Oh so people are scared to come?

Yes... all that war, people are scared to come...because they do not know what is really happening they don't know what Morocco really is. Morocco is better than Algeria, better than Tunisia, better than Egypt...a lot

So tourism has gone down?

No the opposite, it has increased... yeah it has increased, from last year.

But you said because of ISIS....

Yes...thank god that nothing happens in Morocco... Unlike Egypt, Tunisia... even in France things have happened.

But here we are talking about Morocco?

Yes but the companies that used to work with tourists like Russia that would work Egypt, everything changed towards Morocco.

The English go to Egypt and Tunisia, everyone did of Morocco. Because in Morocco there are not any [trouble]. Thank god there are no troubles...

So tourism has gone up?

Yes..

Has your family business always been popular with tourists or is it popular in your generation?

They bought it, there wasn't anything in it...it stayed like that a while until we came here after we had finished school. Then we came and entered the bazaar...it was then thank God, little by little. All this around was not here before.

So your most popular clients have always been tourists?

Yes

Do you think that tourism encourages creative innovation with craftsman?

Only a few understand how things are made. They give it a special something special. If he is going to give dignity he needs to understand how these things are made. The hard that is made by his hand..

Do the craftsman design for tourist? Or do they design for themselves?

Look those craftsman...they work on one thing. He is not educated, he does not perform innovation, he does want to bring something out from his mind. He finds that his father makes this and so he will make the same and he lets his children do the same. There are very few people that are creative and come up with their own ideas. Today he made a door tomorrow he will make a mosque and he so he progresses forward and forward. But now, thank God that there are masters in craft, there are groups for Craft...

There are programs that demand?

Yes there are programs and there are things that you can't even photograph...But this type of activity only started in the last 4 years, it only started 4 years ago. And it is progressing, thank god.

What started in the last 4 years?

As in they just started to work on this type of thing in craft. So that they give creativity and teach people what craft is. Even the craftsman needs to work and bring better craft out...he shouldn't just work with just his hands. Because are unfortunately that they only work from their hands.

He needs to work with his hands and with his head and his heart. With these 3 things he can....A singer doesn't just sing from his voice...he sings with his heart

So for you when is craft craft, and when is it not craft?

This is difficult...look, when you got to buy something and it is well made, you can take it and you sell it...really quickly. If it was something that was not well crafted, for example it is just made because he just want to make money and nothing else...then you bring it and will just remain sitting in the shop. I think that this is the answer...the question is difficult but that is how I can bring it out... I mean there that two things.. to be well made to that in the end would sell so even the one that will buy it will like it. And the other person will buy it just so he bought something from Morocco and that is it.

But for you, the craft is about the heart, the head and the hands. That is your definition of craft right?

Yes, in my opinion. Because if it is good for me than it will be good for you and it will be good for the other. He used to sell it for 10dh and now he sells it for 50dh. He will gain more from it more and will give something better. And so who will buy it will something...you understand...

And so when is it not craft?

It something like if someone tells you it is leather and it is not? For example it is like when someone has lied to you, stole from you. I think this is what possibly is not craft. Like even if he is crafting...he steals and he lies...

What is your relationship with craftsman?

Thanks God

You know all of them here?

Not all of them, just the ones I go to...I know if he is good so not to become scared, you can go in with your eyes clothes. There are some you have to go and stay with him because if you turned your back he will cheat you. There are some and not. How he makes is how he sells. That person that you go to that is making, there are good ones and there ones that you say you want 10 and when you arrive you only find 8. And so he has stolen from you, and he will swear to god. And there is the same system..so whoever sells, it is the same...even those who will sell you will find good people and then you will find those that will lie etc...

What about Tangier, what is the history with craftsman?

Before, Tangier had craftsman and now there are not. There are very few now....Now there those that work with wood and there are some that work with metal and there are a few in weaving and sewing. There are also very few in leather. Leather and masonry

So this is what was before?

Yes

What was here in Tangier before in which is not now?

What isn't there before...craft is not as much anymore, unlike Fes, Essouira and Asafi.

Why do you think it has changed?

Tangier used to be an international city. Then the Christians left. When they started to leave and go back to Eurooe, that is when the surroundings started to change. I mean there used Jews and they would work, they were the ones that were crafting in Tangier.

Do you think that craftsmanship will disappear in Tangier? Or do you think it will always be hear?

No I don't think so. This is because Tangier has a lot of work now, there used to be house for craft in Tangier, they took it away. But they will build a new one and bigger.

Appendix E.3: Nordine Al Asri (Weaver)

What is your name, age and your profession and how long he has been doing this.

Nordine Al asri I was born in Ouzzane and I am now 62 years old. I used to do this since I was 7 years old.

Weaving? Since you were 7 years old?

Yes

When did you come here?

To Tangier, almost 4 years now since I have come. But my origins are in Ouzanne and then I came here... This craft... my parents were famers.

So you didn't take it from your parents?

No I was the one who went into this craft...

From when you were 7?

Yes, no education...just craft, it was craft over education. This is how it is...there are djellabas there in the materials and colour. Anyhow I did have some things back in Ouzzane. But today you found me just about to be working with people.

So you have yours [weaving] in Ouzzane?

I do, but it is very quiet. Even a house I have there with my sisters. Anyway a lot of issues occurred So I left ouzzanne and came to Tangier.

Where do you prefer here or there more?

Well of course I prefer my home but difficult circumstances over rules.

Is it good here?

It is good for those who have own the company, have your own shop and sell. For a Boss this this good for him whereas the worker earns 70dh, 80dh even 100Dh if you are [lucky]

What does this mean to you? What does craft mean to you?

This craft I learnt a lot in it and I learned it until the end. However, I would not be able to enter another profession, I would not know.

This is your life?

This is what my life is....and thank God for it. We have eaten from it, we have drank and bought from it and have worked. Then we came to Tangier. To go into craft however the strength for it has gone, the strength that has left is 30%, 50% or 60% and so we stay in the same way of craft. If you want to try something new you have to be still very young and very strong. But now it just about tomorrow and that is it.

Do you like this, your work?

Of course I like it. I don't have anything else there is no other job.

When are you busy and when are you not? What months of the year?

This profession is free, whenever you want to rest you can and whenever you want to work you work.

But in relation with the year?

Within the year, from September commercial work is good until March.

And what is your relationship with tourists?

Tourists are good.

Are they your main clients?

Main clients are tourists, they are the ones that demand) the trade. Whereas the people here [tanjawi] or those from Casablanca or Rabat...with craft they just started to care for it. Today they started to care for it and before those things were just made from cotton....it now advances/innovates. Before it was djellaba...now they have started with the coats and curtains They have started to do like that shawl over there, shawls for the girls. You know...like this one here, they work on this so that they it seems like craft advances forward. And how much would this be? This would cost 100DH

Is your craft affected by tourism?

Tourist they create demand for work, they encourage the craft.

So they affect the craft, they encourage the craft.

Tourist value it and care for it and they take pictures of us. There comes where tourist are really good and they take pictures of the workers and then they give out 50Dh here and there and help the workers and not give it to the Director. Those tourists are good people. We leave them to take pictures, we give them to wear a mindir a sheshiya, you photograph with her. If they stay with you quarter of an hour they will give around 50dh or 100dh. They go away feeling like they took your time away from working. You see, tourists are good people, tourists care for traditional craft and they care for this craft, Moroccans are only now starting to care.

Do you think that Moroccans care about traditional craft, with your craft?

Yes, they care for it.

Who is more?

They are the same. The muslims they too come and take a Djellabas and they change it into another type of fashion. They wear it and they great...that is also something good. Some of them are good and some of them not so much. With tourists it is also the same. It is the same problem. There are people that feel that they are come with a full heart and say it is impossible that I would come here and see this craft and not take

something. It is like they want to help you, they take it they take it home for decoration or take it and show it to their friends as presents like Mindir or sheshiyet or kechaba like this or djellaba. Like this manta...this manta to go over his bed in it's décor. That is what traditional craft is. Most importantly tourist care for this.

That is how it is, those who work as a director work well and those who are not working as a director work, there is September to March...

Do you work September until March?

No I work always...I

If you could change something to improve what would it be?

What should change for me? or for the craft? Or for the worker?

For you, for the worker...

If you work and you become tired, you will do nothing and you become as if you are waiting for the news. You just have nothing...

You see those who have an owner, the patron, he makes money he is able to buy a house or two and rent it out. You understand so those who have a director/boss after 15 years or 10 years he has one or two houses, he rents them out and that rent money. Whereas, a worker that is not a director has nothing. Only if he has some inheritance or he has family that helps him from time to time. You see people with this, needs to be still young and saving money those who have a brain. Those who do not have a brain everything he makes he eats it. When he gets older he gets married etc he wakes up without a house or nothing. If he had good money he can rent out and help out with something else like buy and selling. Whereas craft on it's own is not enough to live with. It only works if you are able to combine buying and selling with craft. Then maybe you can build a house. The worker on his own has nothing. The worker goes to the market and finds himself without enough money.

However you did not tell me, what could we do in order to better the conditions for the craft? What could we do?

Well some sort of organisation/institution for those who do not have, for those who feelthat they do not have. To create an institution for traditional craft. We know something needs to be done, but how do we do it? Who will do it? We are becoming old and tired.

Would you want you children to carry on with this?

No no...my children have grown now. Each one of them do not enter here [weaving craft]. They do know how to craft however they are not working within it.

Because, there is no future?

No no, With my first wife I had two daughters and two sons, they are married now , the son is married and the other is 2 years at university.

They are studying?

Yes they are studying, one only reached baccalaureate but didn't go further with this, then he repeated and he was able to pass. However is not doing anything, he went and now he has gone to work in the port. He has a drivers licence and went to work in the port.

So with you children they don't do this craft?

Well my eldest is a Master of this craft, but he did not continue into it, he saw this and did not see a future in this. So now he has gone to work in the port...

And so you don't want your children to do this?

I would like them to, however they want, they want more money.

In your opinion, what do you think is good craft and what do you think kills good craft?

You stop craft through the challenges/problems of weather. This [craft] follows agriculture, farming This craft follows farming in the sake of Morocco. With the problems of tourist etc it is normal, when there are tourist it is the same for the Bazaars, Marrakech, Fes and Tangier. But you must have the willingness to learn and change.

For those who have money they buy and for those who do not have money do not buy they just come have a look and they go. With regard to Morocco it follow farming, if the crops are good and the winter is cold with snow etc and the year for was good, the crops were good etc, people then come and buy.

Appendix E.4: Khalid Birawi (Weaver)

My name is Khalid Birawi and my profession is a weaver which is traditional craft.

Why are you a craftsman?

Because I was born and raised in it, because my parents and grandparents worked in this craft.

What does it mean to be a craftsman?

What it means to me is my life. From when I was born I was raised in it, I could not do another job away from craft.

Why?

Because I found my piece with it in this.

Do you enjoy what you do?

There were some days where I could not. But now it seems that the craft has reduced due to the lack of tourist that would enter. Because of financial crisis There is no longer demand for this.

Why do you think there are not many craftsman?

It was before that there were many craftsman, but today that have stopped learning, no children because the craft does not have a secure future. The poor craftsman works from his strength, if his strength goes then that is it.

Why do you think there is not any?

Because it hasn't been given significance, it does not have significance. There are other crafts, like carpenters and paint decorators, those have significance. But traditional craft...it is only a little and that's it.

What crafts were there before?

There were Bilgha (traditional Moroccan slippers), there were reed weaving. This is a 'kofa', this made by hand, they make this in the countryside by women

There are not many left?

They sell in the market, they sell it a lot and you see all traditional craft, it is tourists that help maintain it. We are working with tourism,

Who in your family did your craft?

My grandma, my grandma was a craftswomen. My grandma...

What was she doing?

She used to work this and make aprons

Was she one of the only ones?

Yes, she would create aprons and towels, she would work on wool

And the loom is yours or did it belong to your grandma?

No my grandmothers, lasted only up until two years ago and no longer, it broke didn't last, we only just bought a new one. But all this here we didn't work on it here, we used to work in (Badiya) in the mountains..

And then after your brought it here?

No, and after I came here ...

So why did you come here then?

Because in the city there is a bit more activity happening, it keeps things moving a bit.

What is the name of this place?

Foundak Shijra...

Why it is here? What is the meaning of Foundak Shijra?

Here there was, historically, for the army, they were the days of the 3istimaar, I don't know if they were English or Spanish. After that it became a place for traditional craft.

The government did all of this?

Yes... it was either the government or somebody for example opened up a shop and then other craftsman followed. It is not like that it was obligatory for them to do this. For example, in one of the places someone would come and set it up as they could I have seen that of another person that it was working well for him. And so I craftsman would come next to him and then would start growing until it became...you see here..

How long has it been here?

Like 60 years..

And you?

No I have been here for 13 years now,

And this is yours?

No this is my cousin's, it's the families..

So it is not that you are renting this?

No no, this is that you buy the key, however you do still keep paying rent.

To the government, the chinese?

No, Iraqi's I think hotel Minzah and all around belongs to them. Someone says that he is Iraqi. I don't know if the name stayed like that even when buying or that is still theirs.

What did craftsmanship mean to your grandmother or grandfather?

This is how they could live, this was their way of living this was their lives. She used to work, and she would take to the market the things she would make. For example Jelabas and then she would sell them.

And do you think that the quality has changed from your grandparents to today? Or do you think it is the same?

No, how we used to know craftsmanship was by two things. There was Jelabas and the Mindirs. Today, the craft has advanced a bit, what we used to make for covers, we now make them out of cotton we used only work with wool before. For example all these (foulars, head scarves) is [recent]

What is better wool or cotton?

Wool is good for Jelabas and scarves are good for the neck it is soft.

Each material has its own thing.

What is your relationship with tourism?

It is a normal relationship, they come you work with them

Do they come here a lot?

No, only a little. They used to come but now

They used to?

Yes

Why do you think there were and not now?

The financial crisis

Do you sell more to merchants to tourist?

No no, tourists...our work is with tourists. It is tourists that care for this traditional craft.

And Moroccans not so much?

A little, people

So who are your clients?

Clients are...for example Spanish, French or Europeans. Anyway...

And so they would sell your product?

Yes there are some that would buy and then sell

Yes there are, there's not a lot, there was a Spanish that was with me and she bought a lot and she had a craft shop in sevilla.

When did you see the change happen with tourist?

Now around 4 years, and now it is climbing...

And do you think with the craft, the design has changed because of tourism or is it always the same?

Change has happened, change has happened a bit. Not many tourists come anymore,

Did you change the style?

No the style from what we had is the same. Not from the very beginning. After when we stopped working with Jelabas etc, that is when we started to work with cotton and silk. You know silk?

What is your favorite piece to make? Something that is close to you?

I like to make a neck scarf (bufanda), many tourists buy this one.

Do you have one here, one that you like and you like to make to make that style?

Ahh yes like this, for example. (he goes on to show his favourite piece)

It is very very nice.

How do you decide what to design?

Each time it is however...

Is it from your head?

Yes, when I go to work it is then it all appears to me...I works and it appears to me, whatever I want. Do you understand?

Yes, each day.. whatever you want. You see with craftsmanship, whatever comes to your head you make it.

So then it is very creative?

Yes, it is like the ocean...it never runs out.

And do you think that there is a relationship between creativity and the struggles with tourism? Or do you think it is always just creative?

I do have relationship with tourists.

What is it?

I have with tourist are the people that that I design for, so that I can buy and sell from with them.

What like that have a type of decoration that they like?

Oh, for them they like things that if you have worked on it today you won't do the same tomorrow. Because they have travelled the whole world and that you won't find that specific decoration.

So like unique?

Yes...that is what craftsmanship is. I will tell you something, whoever does this specifically, the other will not. Each person has their own way

Almost that every piece is very creative and very different from the other one...

Appendix E.5: Abdullah Souri (Weaver)

What is your name, how old are you, what is your profession and how long have you been doing this?

My name is Abdullah Souri my age 51 years old my profession is weaving craftsman, Mod'a is nearly 20 years... I used to study...

Did you inherit this from your parents?

Yes, not just from my parents but from almost my whole family works in this craft, used to study until I reached baccalaureate.

What do you study?

I just reached baccalaureate...before I entered into this trade. No I studied and obtained my baccalaureate in Spain in that time. I was going to Spain to study but there were unfortunate events, my father was ill. My father was the one that used to do this. Anyway it was obligatory because of the young children and I was the eldest, so that I can take on this craft and enter it so I can make it easy and stand with it. That is how it was. I stopped here I stayed in it because I liked it, I found peace with it. This is because it is art, traditional art, it has creativity it is of value, it's a collective you can't repeat it. If you love it, it is impossible to leave it. In any case it is a lot, and for those who love all of things. It does not run on oil but from a traditional machine. This first machine in the world is this...it is natural...it is life... ordinary life. It is life..for example it is wool, cotton, silk a lot of things silk that is good...it works with all of these things with a lot of things together, like living rooms, it gives something extra to the house it is possible to have a whole house traditionally crafted. It prepares I think that it is these things that we consider for that is like the ocean, as we say the ocean... the world. This is because it is not possible for it to stop because he does not have in his head, he did not study at university. His is in his work so it is in his hands, we say that he brings out gold from his hands. He loves this (mi3na) from his heart and this craftsman is unable to do anything else. He would not now how to change to another profession, he would not know...How to bring something else out. His happiness is that he comes in the morning those threads and wool and all that stuff and he makes them, he rises until half a day had passed...he will make around 2 pieces a day. He will then sell them, pay a little to the worker, a little for himself and then a little goes. It is like he is drawing on a canvas, and he feels that he is happy that he has achieved something because he has achieved something.

Because he said what craft means for other people, but what does it mean for him?

Yes because there is a tradition.

But what does it mean for you?

For me it is the same, I love it I have come to a time whereby I will stay with it could finish my studies do other jobs or I could go towards many things. There were many big possibilities. However what happened is that I fell in love with it with this. All those that work in this [weaving] craft start from when they are very young six, seven or eight ...every age counts where he develops his knowledge so that he becomes a Master, he reaches the top. After reaching that, this stays with him forever, but in order to become a master he has to go through many years to develop and innovate the craft...you need patience. My father my mother, even my grandmother worked on the weaving craft and we followed this a lot. I also teach a group of women for example for example we called them mounadeelet that work on this for example in Tanjra there 12000 women that work on this craft. It is not easy.

So in your opinion when is something when you can call it a craft and when is something when you cannot call it a craft?

I don't understand the question... craft is always craft.

So in your opinion when is something when you can call it a craft and when is something when you cannot call it a craft? Something when it is not good.

Traditional craft can split. There is hand craft for industry and hand craft for tradition. I will explain, those that fix and make fridges with his hand and those that make carpets.

So what do you think stop people from producing good craft?

Well that is it, no creativity

The prosperity for craft?

Firstly it is something there are difficult problems. Just like this craft, there are craft that are still alive. However this craft does not have and youth, there is no heir. Those they did not want...we can't find anyone to teach this, we cannot find...it is a problem. I still remember seeing the Fondouk filled with weavers on both floors, the courtyard was open, unlike now, and there were craftsmen spinning yarn in the middle. But today, from the large number of craftsmen that existed, only half are left. There are no youth like before.

The problems with this is that like these things of craft is dependant with tourism. And tourists is what we call ajnabi, what we call Europe. The most popular tourist is Spanish and French and few Dutch and German. Morocco benefits from tourism. However, after the European world (financial crisis)....it also affected us to the the craft.

And so what do you think is the relationship between this craft and tourism?

Whoever comes to the medina or comes to a country. They do not want to see the boulevard or for example the super markets, because they have all of this. He wants to see the history of the Medina, and the history of the Medina can be categorized in 3 ways. Therefore this should be....and this is what we have in Morocco, has a great attraction for tourists. This however, the tourists, he either eats or visits the historical places and visit this (craft) and takes away with a craft, that they buy a scarf or wrap a cover. With this when they buy something that has been made by hand, they tell others that they bought it in Morocco by a machines, they take pictures etc etc

Do you think tourism has affected this crafted? It has affected the style or the quantity?

We try to imagine the work that the tourist would like...and what the clients would like...we try to imagine. We also try to advance the style of what is available. You have to every year to change...so not to find the following year you have the same products. No, the following year they need to find that you...You cannot allow for tourists to see the same thing every year in which you have not changed...it is even like that for Moroccans. No, craft is obligatory that you innovate, to re-think everyday so you can imagine and work his hand and his mind in...it is even for Moroccans.

Is the relation with tourism with the style and the changes that he makes, does he see everything as beneficial as an advantage? Or does he see some negative sides to that, some disadvantages?

Quite the opposite it never has been that creativity is negative. Creativity are things that you can use to advance further, anything that aids advancement is good in life. Even with people, it gives so that people will come to you and buy from you. It gives a variety of things. Even Moroccans come because they can find something new, something strong that it is not rough material and that it is soft. For example it is 100% cotton there isn't any cheating. Cheating is evil. When you are lying about the colouring or the dyeing that it when the quality decreases of creativity One can do a scarf and if you can wash it and it become nicer and each time you wash it is nicer, it stays a fashionable and you can say that is mine and it is still then you will become happy with it.

And has he experience through his life a craftsman and someone in charge of craftsman, has he experienced moment of struggles?

That's normal any maker in life however it is has difficulty. The difficulty present are of the market...

Do you think that competition can affect the craftsmanship the quality of the craftsmanship?

There was a time when there was one thing people couldn't do. For example the traditional Moroccan shoe, now the Chinese make them.

What about he consumer demand?

The demand of clients depends. There was a time where women's Jelabas were fashionable. There was when they would create for living rooms. They would make for example carpets...a collective of things. They started to make towels, jelabas etc there were things that have a there are chairs, there are scarves.. However it is not obligatory, however sometimes it like cushions like that can be made in a living room, a person building a villa can have a hand-crafted living room made from weaving.

Has he ever experience very high demands?

Not a lot. Very high, I have never had that. I have reached a demand of 120 orders to 200. There is now a demand of some that I used to work with such as 1,2,3,4 carpets that I would send over the post. But this is normal not really a demand. However here, such as Oussama Boumhait has worked with very high demands. He has worked with demand up to 1000, 500, he as worked. With us...it is not like that we work with smaller demand like 10, 5 or 6.

Has tourism always been buying these souvenirs, or has that gone down? Or has it gone up?

Now it has decreased, because of the financial crisis. They also say that they don't have anything [money].

How has that affected the craft apart from less sales? Has it affected the design and style?

Oh yes in the materials and patterns.

And the creativity?

No not anymore, so you normally make 3 or 4 pieces in a day you would only make 1 or 2. That is normal.

So they have stopped...

Well you used find that tourists would come in and buy and the same with Moroccans, there is a little of that now.

Would you like to see a younger generation taking on board this craft?

I wish it so because it has creativity. Any person needs to look after it ...this is a tradition in Morocco it is very big in Morocco. It has history it we can talk about the fact that the history of craft is very big.

But do you think that one day that it will prosper?

Weaving will never prosper.

But do you see that?

No, it will never prosper..

A lot of peoples have said yes that it could prosper.

No it will never happen, this craft is in Baadeeya in it's roots. It is from the Badeeya, the Badiya women, before it became considered a craft. Here the Badiya in Morocco the women would pick the this wool not to sell but for them, for the children

Man: No no no

The women had a role, she would wash an clean and then give to the husband to weave. The women in time would then also start weaving, would rotate the machine with her husband.

Do you have any ideas of how you can make it more popular with the younger generation and in the future to make it survive and more?

A very large academia and it has a collection/variety of craft.

Is this a company?

No, this is not considered a company. That is the problem they are not forgiving if you are paying for yourself. So with craft it would be needed to have a company and the traditional craft industry does not have a company.

No it is not a company

-----Interview is interrupted-----

To go back to my question about if there is anything that we could do here?

Here we would all do an association for craft ...and create an association. I would do that myself and I would see all the possibilities where would it possible to help.

It is just your opinion...how could we help the people in this place...

We could help them like I said, like a craft association and all of that in a social collective, help them with the supply, help them with material etc., it is best that way. Give so that he can work.

And what about publicity?

And help him with where they can sell and create an advert for that. That is also help. That is the most important better than all of that. Also you can open them a market such as in Holland...Working with people abroad and having publicity abroad can help us to innovate the craft forward. There are a lot of foreign designers that bring work to the craft, they like to introduce ideas into weaving products. Designers in Morocco also they like to work in this industry...Those kind of people add something to craft, they bring out something new.

But to make this famous then people would come?

No it is possible to do open up a boutique inside Amsterdam. To give them a gallery, an exposition. We can give a cut price and that a buyer [from Amsterdam] would sell for you, he doesn't have to buy from you, you just give him the product and he/she sells. You just give it. No, could be profit from it not very big, but just so it can sell. Well there could be an representative, for example in Holland.

This would reach people? Yes it would reach people

Yes it would go far. However so you the sales man etc etc...many people would come right?...However with the high demand he will not be able deliver. [The craftsman] won't be able to keep up.

But what about a volunteer to help them?

Volunteer...you need to have a leader, how long would a volunteer stay?

I have an idea what if they teach the young people so they always help for the future and the young people can help them with...

That is it, that's it. Like I said.... Pull together an association to create a school of craft and to learn even information technology.

So the younger generation can keep it alive and they also help the older generation.

Thank you for coming and thinking about your origins.

Appendix E.6: Mustafa Boumghait (Weaver)

If you could tell me your name, how old you are and how long you have been in this craft?

My name is Mustafa Boumghait, I am 64 years old, from when I was young from family, it has been 40 years.

What is the name of your profession?

It is weaving ('Drez'),

How long has weaving been in the family?

100 years, more than 100 year

Was it from your father's side or your mother's side?

My Father

What does craftsmanship mean to you?

It means, For me I love it, the work is full of colour, it has design, creation.

What does it mean for you, in your life?

What it means for me? Well, I love it a lot, I gained from it, I live from it, I eat from it, others and myself. It is everything; I met a lot of people. I met Europeans, Americans, Latin Americans, the Arab world, Africans. I met them, you understand?. I have clients in America and France, London. I have worked for Barnaby's in New York.

Why are you a craftsman still today and not something else?

Look, I didn't not choose it, but I love it and I want to maintain it. Importantly, I arrived to this time with it. I lot of people left (the craft), and I stayed with this now and introduced a lot of ideas to people. To work in it, I gave them a lot of ideas so that they can work in it.so that it arrived with it today. A lot of people left.

You said that you wanted to maintain the craft, why?

Because...look.... at this time, people are using it (weaving craft) for decoration, they use. So it is possible to work and possible to move with it. For me, I want to stay with it, despite that I don't win money. But I love it. I love it and I met a lot of wonderful people. It allowed me to meet many people. Because the product, the produce the fabrication of this ...thank god, I was able to meet very nice people.

What qualities do you feel that this craft or craftsmanship gives to people, the people who make it?

Look it is, the quality comes from the first items and job, and after you can make anything. Like there are things that ...work is distributed to all the people and then there is specializing... each person wants their own work. We make craft products...in several ways. Products that are natural, beautiful and hand-made. We look to create quality of product and the quality of the artisan. Tourists will not just buy anything. No it is not like that, they look for the quality.

My question is more like the craftsman who's making the product of the fabric, what do you think they learn in the process? Like mentally or from the heart?

This is artisan, a work of patience, calm. Each person, each craftsman that works, he works and he works his brain he does creation. It's the life, for example a person that draws is like a craftsman. He imagine to do something that can be rewarded. An artisan works so that he can work something, he lives it, he think about it. Even his mentality, his culture is placed in the work. So the craft in Asia is not the craft in Africa nor is of the Morocco or Arab. Even the culture...and he lives it. From inside of him,the artisan industry, he lives with it. An industrial worker puts the car together , but the designer works on this firstly, they work this out. However the worker has to stick the door together, he has do this and that . But not for the artisan, he thinks he crafts every material he makes. Like now the women in the countryside they create carpets, that colour she picks it and the design she decides then she creates something that everyone likes. American like berber carpets, the English, everyone. Therefore all the thinking has been placed in that. If she was happy she could pick a colourArtisan is brought out from inside you, it is made by hand. For me I make a tea pot, and then the mind will say no I will change it like this or like that. Artisan is not like industry, industry wants to work on one thing , the machine, passing plastics, pick this up. Artisan not, each person and his work.

Each thing has it's thinking behind it?

Thinking, work, creation everything.

When do you think something is craft, and when is it not craft?

----- missing info!-----

What experience or environment creates somebody to create bad craft?

No, something that is not good is the market price, like I want something cheaper. Right now the livelihood of the artisan, materials are expensive, the product quality is medium so that it can be sold. High quality is higher prices. Right now everything is expensive. Morocco make a lot of product so that we can make of use, we use everything, trays, teapots, we want a lot of artisan products and a medium price. Like in London, you have to make one thing beautiful, for example artisan in France, there are not a lot of product but you make a few.

Do you have many tourists who are your clients?

Now in Tanger, the north, there are less. When the financial crisis came from France and Spain [it reduced].

Do you have tourists that are clients?

There are tourists, but a few...

When were there more tourists?

Now possibly, in summer possibly some ...in September. Like in August there are lot of Moroccan tourists here. And in September a few do come , the come...I mean a few not a lot but they come.

So before the crisis, you had many tourists who would buy from you?

Yes! Since the European Financial crisis, few tourists visit. The Spanish and the French used to buy a lot. But not anymore...and the few that do come only buy small items worth €10 or €5

How has that affected the design of the weaving? How was the decrease of weaving affected the design? Has it affected?

In my case...leave it, but there those who won't work the whole week...there is not any [work]. There is tourism in Morocco, is little/few Even in Morocco for people to buy there are also problems. There are some work that you go to those you have done well.

How do tourist affect the style of the weaving?

There is [design] for ours and there is for theirs.

So you guys like to work with what they want, and you work with what Moroccans want?

With the [tourists] you bring in their ideas.. they also like to say they want something like this they give their ideas. I want something like this...he draws something, picks a colour, there is innovation, they add something more.

How do you make sure that your craft is good when there are other competitors and demands?

For me with my clients it needs to be quality and I want it him to be satisfied and happy. I don't have any problems with anyone. When his work is good he is happy. Happy...happy I want it to reach how he wants it. This thing is what you want and so I want you to be happy with it. In your house, however you want. Nothing bad has ever happened...the result is always 100%. This is something...like if something happened and that hey may not like it, we say to just leave it...because thing that he left it is possible that another will like it.

Do you think tourism encourages good craft or innovation? The craft and the design, and the creativity?

They are in morocco there are foreign French. Like in Marrakech there are foreigners that create their own atelier and work with artisans, they create and design, this is their work. Importantly they know how to work the hands of people, the artisans, the women. They know how to work them and the designers have their ideas that they create. They make them and they bring new ideas in artisan, they bring more to it.

Do you think there are negative affects with tourism, with the craft, the justice of the craft?

No no no, there are no negative. firstly it is good, they [tourists] bring work to the artisans and at the same time they export out...you see... it is very good plus they add something extra [creativity] for the Moroccan artisan!. They add to it, their own culture, and they also would have seen many things, there can be creation and they could add something. It's really good.

Have there been any major, very important changes that have happened during your life within this craft?

The changes are going,of time of work and the time of the whole life. Thank God, everything is good.

There hasn't been any changes? Good changes or bad changes?

No everything the same, I'm going and I am happy even though I don't have money, I am very happy. I am happy because there is creativity In the same way you came to me, that it also how I meet people. People come to thank god that is the way it is. That is what is important to people. Any worker that I create with, 100%...95% he will be happy. Day by day it is going...we don't have any problems, nothing. Thank God, that is what it is. The job is an active one, as you can see from me I need to move with the times. look at the colours look at this. I create and dye colours. I look at the work of craftsman because it needs to pass by for control check. With every situation..you can forget and and you don't have any problems.

What do you think is the future for this?

The future is that it will reduce.

Why do you think it will reduce? Has it been reducing from the beginning?

In Tangier there was a lot of craft like leather...and they all have reduced.

Do you think tourism could return in Tangier?

it is possible it will return it is also possible it might not return.

What do you think should happen to keep the weaving craft alive?

Right now I have a son, there are others which are still young and they can go on together

Why do you want your children to carry on with this?

It is good...he starts to draw a little...he can learn to love it and advance with it. Certainly we should do something...time is what is needed, so that you can start , time is what can structure people.

So why do you want your children to carry on with this?

Well of course...someone should carry on it is important

You don't want it to stop?

No

Why is it important?

For me it is not important because of money,

I know it's not out of money...so what is the reason?

It is because it is family, it is also Moroccan's heritage, It has it's historyweaving has a significant history in the world. If you look at France, you won't find clothes old fashioned in the work, but this is one off unique pieces...they are not that available. I met a Spaniard in Tenerife, he still working in traditional women's folklore clothing. And they are so different., With this even if you go to England and scotland they too also still have the same traditional clothing of theirs...it is possible to grow more in England. More traditional..

Why do people want this?

Because it does progress, this craft..we changed it. Before ...the work is well-know, there was work for the city and there was work for the countryside (balya), The women from the countryside have aprons. they have blankets. In the City there was Jelabas, my mother and before, all had Haik's . It was until around the 70's that they started were Jelabas, they used make

them. But now, not many people wear Jelabas, and the craft has moved towards decoration. For example, living rooms, curtains and blinds. Now it is mainly interior decoration and variety of patterns, such as medium or thin. It had its place in its time. Thank God, it had its time. This Moroccan craft needs to move forward it has its life, it is alive. The people live with it and so it also lives. There is a lot of opportunity. This [craft] has a lot that can be done. I will give you an example, a combined beach bag with towel...it has a lot...what do you call that? ... In the summer there is that light cotton with colour .and you can just put it on and go on your way to the beach. There is a lot. There is also the material for clothing...I used to work a lot with clothing. there is also material for decoration. Everything is possible. With today's time, people like everything to be natural. With my generation we performed our blessings [within the craft] and with other yet to come they too will create their own blessings with it.

And so in order to keep this craft alive, you want your children to carry on. How can we make other younger people carry on with this craft?

Whenever a father chooses a profession...when a father has chosen his work, his children also has his work for each day, today and tomorrow. There is a saying that a son of a master has half the craft without needing to learn it. Because everyday he is observing, the children know half the work because they are observing, without practicing the craft and at the same time they have learnt a lot already and so they have the means in which they can start. In Morocco, naturally those who do not go to school, they enter their father's craft. They say if you did not finish your education, then go to your father's craft so life doesn't defeat you.

What do you think of that, what is your opinion on that, what can we do with the younger generation?

This is the general population, that is the general cultural population, those who want to work at something will, and those who do not, will not. Today we have reached , in Morocco, groups of workers have problems. Everything will stay like that, unless something is created. We don't win here, we don't win there, we won't gain anything. In the 1980, education was not great and many people were thrown out on the streets, how many of those in front of you here that did not receive an education. This what is there generally...and so what can we do? This is the culture...

Do you think that the government should do more to help?

I will give you a saying that people: even the ouzara , doesn't win 100% in her work. Start with the learning, start with your strength and your pushing on. Therefore there are problems that is that the cases relate to each other. There is...we need to learn that each person in the country should be responsible, and each person is responsible over that person, you work and this person comes to you. If we want to be a certain way, then that is the way we want. We want for them to study then we want for them to study. If we want them to read a book they will read a book, if we don't want them to read a book, they won't read a book. There are children who do not even know how to write.

How old is this craft?

From the moment the world was created, the moment that Adam landed he needed clothing. It was until 1800 and 1900 that the machine began, even silk everything is weaving. What was able to be created by hand, the machine was not able to. Your surah The people who made this were craftsmen themselves. They crafted this and then the machine crafted it. This is old, the whole world.. all the craft has their history.

What is the history of this building?

They built this when tangier when the English were here, the English built this. There was an English company here , like hotel minzah and others, there are a lot here. Possibly around 1818, this region here. There is a plaque outside here that say 1818 for when this was built.

What is the history of the Foundouk?

They built this for (casil/6ashla) for the military and until 1948 there were no cars, there were horses and they had horses here underneath the building. Here possibly lodging rooms.

Why is it called tree hotel?

This foundak had a tree here and now it's been moved, that's it.

When did it become a place for craftsman?

After when they emptied out this place, I think the English, when they emptied it they chose a man.... and those who had a horses here they started, this place became a aplace for for the people. In that time people would only be travelling via horses it was not like London whereby in 1800 they cars or trains. Here there was nothing. There were people here that would use this...they would come from far , they would come from tetouan or Newahi...and they started to use this as place for sleeping. And this little by little started to grow, because they were in the center of Tanger they were able to buy oil flour etc everything was available. It became an equivalent of a station.

What was the date?

1930's and from there. At the same time there were Jews living in Tanger and they had rooms here (foundak) and they would be working, not in weaving but other things.

Like what?

There was a man, a jewish man that was making here, that my father would tell, would be making chocolate. Downstairs there were small scale workers like those(e points) I can remember them downstairs making them the were all, it was small scale work that they were doing, There were also blacksmiths and they would make horse shoes. They were here. At the time that people started to come here, weavers came here too...

What date?

Around 1900 - 1935, something like that , that's when they started to come here. And those people that started to come here there specialty was clothing like Jelabas, blankets there were (masaael) everything was hand crafted. Then afterwards the things...when people started to demand weaved products that is when these places opened up here. Even the jews that left their shop their shop became a weaving one. All the rooms that you see here were all part of weaving shop. All of them, all of them... but now it is reduced and about half left, even more than half.

So now, everything is closed?

No, they have become other things, they left and the ones who died

Why did it reduce?

It reduced because the weaver's children did not carry the craft on, it [industry] became quite difficult. The benefits was no longer.. in order for the production to be successful it need to work in the country in Morocco...now there are few and we moved it into the direction of interior decoration...I changed the direction it was in another direction and I changed it to this domain. And now Moroccan craft, there are a lot of designers that bring work to the craft, they like to bring my weaving product with their ideas. Designers in Morocco they like to work in this industry. People that have crossed my path are, for example, stylists. Those kind of people add something to craft, they bring out something new. I work with clients in America and France, in London. I have also worked for Barnaby's in New York. There was a French man that was a stylist in New York with Quartier, he just came.

And do you think that is good?

Yes of course!

Do you think that those new relationships will keep weaving alive?

Yes, It helps..

How do you think we can encourage people to know more about this place?

Produce good work and the client leaves happy...

It is reputation...

Now this place has became very famous, in France in Paris in many places. Look it never came to my head to carry out publicity, I will tell you something, a man bought something from me, his wife never buys anything and she says to the husband I would like a gift, he gives the gift. So what is that? Advertisement you place on a paper, however with the gift she can leave happy. With anything, if you have the will to work on it well, then that is it. When you can work on your own thing, which is by itself it's own publicity.

What do you think is the relationship between creativity and this craft?

The relationship is that they work together. Creativity is something that you need to develop just like reading, to develop and work your mind and so you can reach great clothing. It is so you can imagine to create something in a specific way. It is always creating and work together. If all the time you work on one it is not good, you have to balance both. With creativity...you have old (tajarib) and it works with creativity so that it not just for you but for others, it's not that I should do it because I like it. The two work together. It is with anything, and if you sleep you will not achieve anything.

What do you think stops creativity?

Possibly, that people are tired. If people find that time to help it can bring more. Creativity, even people that shij3uu or 7amas. However don't forget that in morocco we do everything.

Like what?

Here you have to do everything, Everything you have to do on your own. This is a problem you have to think of money, the training of workers to think of the first to be patient, problems, on top of quality

That stops creativity?

Yeah, you reach a point of tiredness, that is just an example of mine. These workers here I have ensure they have work, sort out the colours, etc. Everyday I say to myself I need to sit and generate new ideas, but I do not have time. Here in morocco we have to do everything, you have to do everything and so you end up doing nothing. It's everything, it's up to you everyday I say to myself I need to sit and generate new ideas, but I do not have time because I am old and tired. In my opinion, for the age that I am, it is unforgivable to repeat work.. However in order to provide work we still have to imagine. There was one time when one lady came, just like you guys, came to morocco as a tourist and bought something from me, we started to talk. She left France and was on her way to work in Japan to specialize in colour. However with colour, without any procedures I reached, even without laboraties etc I know how to work with colour directly! I just add this and and that. She is going to work with colour in Japan! And colour is something that I just play with...

You learn this from experience?

At that point you have energy and you want to give it something. Right now, for me personally to keep going and continue and those whoever takes it on god help him.

How old are the crafts women/men?

They are all like me, 60 years old. Wait let me tell you...there are some that are almost 40, and therefore 50 years old and there 60 years old. That is our group.

What is the difference between Tanger and the rest of the places in relation to tourism?

Places were there a tourists they are quite active. Tourist exist within Fez, there are some in Marrakech.

They too have weaving craft?

Yes, they have a history too. Now in Fez they still work with light weight Jelabas etc, they still work in this.

However has it increased?

Yes of course, now when there are tourists the weaving craft can exist.

Do you think morocco as a country, the crafts benefit a lot form tourism? Or do you think there are also negative affects?

No no it is the opposite , it is really good. Tourist buy ...foreigners like crafts and they do a lot they also create their own projects. They work the craft...there are lot, there is in Marrakech, in fez,...

Foreigners?

Yes they like the craft and they their own ideas in which they create. What happens is that it is expensive, it is expensive. They do one thing where they create their own designs and it is a few and well made but it is the price....but it has an owner. If there is somebody that wants to open up a boutique need a client. That is with some craft work it is expensive however, if it is not too expensive they will have an owner. There can be (métier), creativity, design, it can be something really good. And there are ordinary things that sell as presents for tourists. And they

all have quality, so you cant say that something cheap does not have quality, they are just ordinary things that can be move quickly. Just like food, a 10 dirham sandwiches a 5 dirham sandwich. It is not that you can eat 5 dirham sandwich and it wont be good. 5dh has good bread, butter and cheese. It can have quality It is like this..not to say that if something cheap ..no it is the opposite, each thing that has quality thave something special, there will not be many of it, it would be very few.

Are there factories that make this by machine?

Yes there are , I saw beach towels, and it could seem that it was crafted even though made from the machine. With that they just want profit,

Do you think they are a danger to the life of the craftsman?

Yes of course! You see wit this a lot of people live and eat from this. I will give you an example...this job is something in which can feed 100 people, and when someone bring a machine he destroys 100 people. One story is one spanish, this is old 50 years, here in the north, girls were working on aprons small serviettes that tie around them. A Spanish man saw that they were being sold in a market, and he realized that could make many of them with a machine. And so he asked to the merchant who makes them? He replied those women to which he replied no I cannot do this on the machine.

For example in Morocco, somebody that will come and start up with machines and create jelabas that would be otherwise made by hand, he has to stop! ... al'an, wzal have their own model/style is sucessul and is all made by hand. It is the womena that makes the thread by hand, everything! It is of high quality. Even the style, the colour and deisgn is all theirs. He made everything in acrylic in the exactly the same style and they sell. This type of thing is harem and needs to stop. He will destroy...listen there are women, the sewer, everything. He will destroy this cycle of work that is so important. This can be seen in Morocco.

Do you think that the machines have affected the sales of the weaving craft?

Yes of course, one machine is able to stop 200 people..

And this is what your facing?

Yes, life is that everyone can live. Here in the country everyone is to live. In England, does everyone have money? Everyone has money so that they can live. People that money they have money.... You have on level that you can live from, people, life...What is important is that we have clothes in which someone should not interfere with what belong to people.

Would you be want to part of to teach younger generation?

Now the generation, in morocco's sake, it is illigeal to take a young person under 16 years. So at 16 then you can start to teach them..

And you like to teach them, if they would want?

Yes, of course like a school yes. There is a lot what can be done with this work. It needs the youth to innovate forward, it is possible to head in the direction of women's clothing, etc

Appendix E.7: Mohammed Mdiou (Weaving Director)

What does craftsmanship mean to you?

It has a professional value, Morocco. I would say that it is a profession that can offer jobs in an artistic way. It is a way that you can love your job. That is the profession. The profession is that it is impossible for the person to do a good job if he doesn't love that job. Therefore if a man loves that job he will sit in his own time and he can be creative. This is the same for metal workers, copper workers and tile makers. Any kind of craftsman works because he loves it and he makes a living out of it. And so he works from the inside but also so he can live. He doesn't do this so he just places it for show. He makes craft so that in the evening he can sell it. Therefore craft is a necessity for living and something eat from and love. This is innovation.

Why are you involved in craftsmanship?

It is a hobby, I don't know how to say this in English... I adore it, I adore this craft in everything. In the jewelry, in the Jelabas, in the shoes...in everything. I just adore this...I love this, it does not bother me to sell I do not do commerce. I mean from the inside I do not do commerce, it does not bother me. I does this as a hobby. I have some things that are my hobby. I am not a craftsman, however I love this craft and that is it.

-Do you think commerce and money if you are not careful can affect the beauty of craftsmanship?

Of course for the purpose of craft...you need to write this saying down. Money is not happiness, but the lack of money is unfortunate. Another one in Arabic without money the craftsman cannot live. Because the craft we have in morocco is so that we can live. However in Morocco, agriculture comes before craft, We have agriculture that comes first and then come craft. The craft industry in morocco is around 3 million people, that work with it.

However there is no such thing as to ask the craftsman to give me something for free, or that he will make it to just hang it. No, he has to finish it and then sell so that he can bring in money to that tomorrow he can innovate and start the next piece of craft.. We needs to have a request or demand. For example, I want a good jelaba...I would then go to a craftsman and ask him to make me a good one. I Price does not bother me. When he will realize that I want something good he will request a price, so he can make it. The same it if it was for a sewer, the same if it were a person making a door for me etc. For any person I make a request to give me creative/innovative piece of craft... I will have to pay more. This is the spirit of the traditional craftsmanship. It is not that you make a carpet and then you just have it to look at it, no. You create a carpet so that you can sell it. And sell it for a price so that you can live. As there is no other way in which to live. Therefore it is the necessary way to live and the necessary way for creativity/innovation, it's the source of living and innovation. The both, it is inspiration.....it directly affects and indirectly.

Do you think that tourism affects craftsmanship?

Of course, because we imagine what the tourist would want. We try to follow what they would want. I will tell you how...it is because today when tourist come to morocco they want to take away a beautiful, natural, reasonably priced product. Which has a weaving

quality and an artisanal quality. A tourist does not come and just buy anything, they buy something in which does not exist in their own country.

From polyester etc we do cotton, wool silk etc so that we can create a piece of value....We try to imagine how we could do this so that we can enter into market, so that when tourists come they can place it in their home. It is not they hang it on the wall for decoration. No, the carpet he will place it on the floor, with clothing they want to wear it. This is what we try to aim for. If a tourist came and found something polyester he wont take it. And it is on your part not to lie about it. You cannot say polyester is cotton or wool. Wool is wool, cotton is cotton, silk is silk and polyester is polyester. For example the tourist will not take a Jelaba made from wool, he wont take a Kechaba, those are the things for the local market. We have craft for the locals like, Jelabas made from wool, and we have for the tourists, covers for the table etc. We imagine to give something good for the tourists, so that when he goes back to his country so that he can really have something. We work with the Spanish, French and Americans.

We make craft products...in two ways. Products that are natural and beautiful and hand-made. We look for quality of product and the quality of the artisan. For tourist to just buy whatever, no it is not like that. They look for the quality.

So in your opinion when do you think craft is the true meaning of craft and when is not the true meaning of craft?

Craft is in the quality, craft with regard to myself means expert Why do you think we call it craft. This is Arabic. What is the meaning of craft?

When do you see that it is not craft?

That is when it is no longer quality and there is no quality. I can pick this up and hold it in my hands and I can say that the man that made this is a craftsman and I can pick up another things and say he is not a craftsman. I will see this shoe, I will try it on my foot and think yes a craftsman an expert. When does he stop being an expert is when he gives me rubbish. Craft is the excellence. Work and the worker

What qualities do you think this craftsmanship gives to people? Who are doing it, who are learning it?

It gives art craft gives/enables art. When people come and I make a beautiful scarf, I am giving out art.

What can the craftsman learn from it?

The craftsman that looks after his tradition he will always have his dignity, he will work with quality. There are craftsman that that we call themselves craftsmen, but he is not a craftsman. He says he is a master/expert but when he produces something, he is not. Firstly what a craftsman has to give to the traditional craft industry, is his mind and to give his

heart and to give soul and to give his dignity. Because if the craftsman takes hold of something and makes it, he will say that this is valueable. They try to make something that is durable, in order to give something it needs to be durable, it remains for a long time.

----He shows his favourite piece----

This whole thing gives out art. This is quality. This is wool this made from hand, and this is silk made from hand. This is from silk worms. When a piece, like this, is made it is a durable piece. With regards to myself I cannot put a price on this. This is my favourite piece. I adore this, this is what you call quality of work. The intention in everything, intention in the material and intention in art. With this I can make a table cover. I have my own, which I wear on Friday on my way to Friday prayer, but is in white. I wear it in my neck. This does not have a price. Even if someone comes to me and I sell it at a high price. However if I sell it, I wont be able to have it. This is because we call this a unique piece, You wont find someone who can make this one specifically. This is created from the heart the mind and from one off production.

Appendix E.8: Oussama Bakkali

What is your name, how old are you, what is your profession and your relationship with craft?

My name is Oussama Bakkali I am 26 years old I prefer to speak in Arabic, I am engineer and my father was a craftsman. I took work on in two ways. My own profession and at the same time the craft organization in, el jadida At the same time I completed the craft path from my parents and , my father passed away. Anyway I completed it, I was the one that took on his work, his profession...two professions.

Was it only our fathers or was it in the family before him?

Yes, it was before in the family, the father of my grandfather, he was doing the same craft, the same profession. This profession was in college. In Belda, where I was born craft is very famous there. The crafts means a lot to the family. We are well known as good craftsmen we have a history. Our craft derives from Wool.

Do you know how to make/craft this?

Yes

What machines do you use to make kechaba?

It is a loom. It has strings...Before, it would be worked with two people the workers that are in charge of it. You thread through the string and then you thread through the wool and they are the ones that work it in a way that is difficult to explain. They work with the wool to make piece of material. And those who know how to would then make it into a piece of clothing such as Jelabas or a cover.

You said that you had a relationship with craft due to your family history and that it means a lot to you...so what is your definition of craft what do you believe is craft?

Craft is an identity it is creativity, it was from my grandfather.. It is a craft should not disappear, we have to do have a lot of people so that we can look after it. Especially with all the revolution with the machinery, we become even closer to it. It is something that we look after, Especially for the North East of Morocco.

For the people that work for you, what mental attitude do you believe they need to have in order to create good craft? What qualities do you think they need?

The first thing is quality. Those that start, start when they are children, the ones that are working in this craft. It is not possible that they would start late for example a man over 20 would then decide to enter the craft because it is almost too late. They need start from when they are very young, so that he can learn over the years to becomes a Master, he becomes at the top. After that he stays with this forever. It is not a question

that many people think about. The second thing is that you need patience and another thing that is

Do you have any relationship with tourism?

A relationship, no. However tourists do come to us a lot and they buy from us. However to say that we have a small relationship with tourism. However, a lot of tourists do pop by and we assist them, they like what we have because it represents the place and it is hand crafted.

Are tourist your most important clients? Or other clients more important?

No, it is mainly the locals that buy from us. The most important people for us are the people from Bawadi those are the people that come to us a lot.

Do you think craft is a creative work? Where do you think creativity lies in it?

There is always creativity, there is always a place for innovation. This is our house of reason. When I took on the responsibility, for almost 2 years now.

Why are you doing that? Why are you finding new ways and new techniques to do that?

The demand from people continuously changes. In any domain if there is not space for creativity and innovation then it will die in time.

So everything is a trend?

Yes. Firstly, we imagine the demand of the craft and the demand of the craft has to always be advancing, has to always be innovating, you always have to 3sar because the pathway for clothing is not the same pathway as our fathers and our grandfather and our sons.

Does that create a competitive environment that you are trying...in the sense to move away from old fashion and toward new fashion? Does it create competitive environments or is it more steady?

Yes there are, but to the extent like in the real fashion world. Every year it changes, so of course there is some. The people that do this craft there is always competition between them so that they can try to come up with something new. For example we have tried to weave/craft jackets and coats. Anyway we want to bring out from the Jelabas and the kechabas and make them into coats.

So to summaries there is some competition but not that much. And there is always a little bit of competition between the craftsman. Because of this competition do you think that can affect creativity or do you think that encourages creativity?

Well yes, when we are talking about the competition, creativity is born from that. Competition brings out the difference. With us, because of our competitors we try very hard to bring out new products, so that we try to create something new. For this you need creativity that is for innovation.

What do you think kills creativity? When does it become a bad definition of craft?

What kills creativity is the youth not entering into this domain of craft. What is left is the older men that are still fatigued. There are very few youth that mix within this craft. This is what reduces creativity. People from before, for example in 40 years if worked in same job, the same way the same craft, he no longer has a strength to come up with something new. Youth always try to imagine how to push forward, try create something new that for example has never been. That is what is very important that reduces creativity and kills creativity. This is also for all type of craft.

Why do you think young people are not wanting to do craft?

Young people, they don't do this craft. Firstly, this is because there is school. School takes away a lot of time away from a person. When someone finishes school, they don't then have the intention to then learn a craft from the very beginning. Those who normally enter the craft are children, they would 12 or 13 that they would start learning, advancing and over time build themselves up to be a master.

What qualities do you think you gain when you learn a craft?

Well the first thing is patience that is number one. Number two is had work to get the job done well. It teaches the existence of quality. Something that is worked by hand is not the same as something made by hand and worked over a really long time. The third thing is that it teaches

Would you want your children to carry on with this craft?

I really don't know.

How old are the craftsmen?

Okay, in my case it is from 20 years to very old. There are some that 50 to 60 years, those that are working with us. Because honestly, I don't think that with the way that we are practicing the craft, that our children will follow suit. New products, new techniques need to be developed.

When you mean new techniques, what do you mean? Is like industrial techniques or creative techniques?

It is both. For industrial techniques how can you advance the produce, because with this craft or this industry we try to bring a a big demand of produce. The second thing is to always have creativity within our products so that we can provide the demand of the market, the market is the demand.

Firstly, in order to pass on to the generation they need to work on new machines or techniques. The machines that can produce a lot of quantities can cover a lot of the demands and use different materials.

What do you mean by different materials?

We were working on a type of thread. It is not wool we try to use some other new materials so we can try to imagine how to improve to make the quality higher. This is because with wool, when you first put it on it, it can be feel quite harsh on your skin and

can heat you up. However if improved the material then, then we could created a product that we could wear also in the summer. So that even the way of sewing could and the product is improved so it can be requested in all season and not just in winter.

What happens with the relationship between machines and hand-craft? What are your thoughts within that?

We have to find the balance between hand-craft and advancing the product, with introducing machinery of course hand-craft would reduce. There will always be a challenge between the machine and handmade. We try as much as possible to keep it balanced, the hand made and the machine. This is because the material that they work with has gone through a lot of steps. For example there are some people who specialize the wool and others that cut up the pieces. There are a lot of other steps. If we use a lot of machines it will not be considered craftsmanship. So we try to keep as much as we can hand-made...

So there are some parts that are hand-made and there are some parts that are industrious...?

But we try to make hand made more important than the machine. The machine is to simply to help out.

Obviously you could argue that you have to be careful with the balance between machines because if you appreciate the hand-craft and the creativity with the handcraft then the machines would start to produce quantities so that each piece would not become unique anymore. I don't know because I am not sure how you intersect with machinery. So my question is could you give me an example of where you think it is appropriate for the machine, so it is there helping the craftsman? At what point in the stage of making a kechaba is appropriate to have the machine?

At the moment it is possible to introduce the machine in two ways. The first is the crafting of the material. There are machines in which you can in put the wool and it will make it into a fabric. A second machine that could be used, which has already started to be in use is the process of sewing, it is no longer the old tradition way of sewing and it now done my sewing machines.

For the person that is in the craft profession, what do you think kills creativity for them? What kind of environment can kill the creativity?

The most important is not having the willingness to learn. It is important that you do not force people go to school if they want to go into the craft to understand the meaning of what creativity is. For most of the craftsmen who are working, their weakness is illiteracy; they did not get a chance to go to school because in those days when you are young you had to choose between school of craft. So those who chose craft are not as well educated as they could be. Craft is all about creativity.

The second thing is the age that they are mainly between 40, 50, 60 and even 70. Within these ages creativity become reduced, they are from a very different generation it is very difficult for them to keep up with what is going on now.. Let's say for example that I have passed through 40 years on working on one job it would be hard for me to introduce a machine and work from that from the beginning.

What is your favourite piece to make and why?

I really like to make coats and it something many young people like, this is something that has become popular. It wasn't there before, this something that I feel something really nice with it.

Do you see the definitions of good creativity and with good craft? Or do you feel the definition between the two is completely different. Do you see a relationship between good craft and high creativity?

Creativity is what can stop good craft, in my sake the livelihood/process of quality...I don't think so. Because I don't creativity would a strong relationship with product quality. However...

So then you equal quality with good craft?

Quality is when we are talking about something good something strong, those are the things that meets demand, that is what is requested. Whereas with creativity its process is to advance and innovate, it is for example to advance the product in the sense that you can make product only suited for 10 or you make a product that it suitable for 100 people.

Okay so this is my final question. What do you think kills craftsmanship?

The first thing is that there would not be a lot of creativity. Is that products are not being made to push forward to be in part of fashions and trends, as most of the people that are working in this are of an older age so they are unable to innovate forward with it. However in order to hand-craft to be successful and to have a future it needs play a big importance in society. Which unfortunately there isn't at this time. To be in with the times and part of the trends of society, that is what is lacking in this craft. The third thing is that in order for creativity to happen we need to advance in the product, because the demand is too high but this craft cannot meet all the demands. That is why we need think about how to advance it.

So what is good craft?

The first thing is that the detail of the material needs to be well done. It is the attention to detail. It should be strong and perfectly made. The second thing is that needs be within the times, what do the younger generation want? Our clothing is not same as the clothing of our fathers. We need products that appeal to the youth of today.

.....end of interview....

