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Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Luxury and Social Value in Contemporary Sri Lanka
A Case Study of Barefoot

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Abstract

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Doctor of Philosophy

Luxury and Social Value in Contemporary Sri Lanka

A Case Study of Barefoot

by

Lucy Hitchcock

In this research project I explore the relationship between luxury and social value in response to a growing argument, in both academic and marketing discourse, that luxury production can create social value, particularly in increasing the well-being of individuals and communities. Proponents of this position argue that certain common qualities of luxury production create social value, particularly in contrast to the mass manufacture of low-cost and -quality commodities that fulfil the same utilitarian purpose. I hone in on one particular facet of this argument, that as luxury production frequently involves handicraft technique, it creates social value for the producer as an enjoyable process. However this line of argument lacks empirical grounding and critical engagement with the complexity of social value creation.

In order to explore the potential for luxury production involving handicraft technique to create social value, I undertook an in-depth, mixed methodology case study of Barefoot, a handloom weaving social enterprise in Sri Lanka. A prestigious brand name in Sri Lanka, Barefoot produces luxury commodities for the local market alongside a significant export market. In operating as a social enterprise, the company primarily intends to create social value in improving the well-being of employees, many of whom are women in rural Sri Lankan communities. Barefoot was selected as an appropriate case study for this thesis due to the fact that it purposefully utilises and has retained handicraft production for this purpose.

The data set confirms that luxury production at Barefoot improves the well-being of employees, and thus creates social value, in two crucial ways: firstly, as a means of nurturing economic security that can subsequently improve well-being; and, secondly, in utilising handicraft production to ensure that the process of labour

is enjoyable. However, the data set also demonstrates the importance of Barefoot's commitment to operate as a social enterprise, in that if Barefoot were not operating in this way, its potential to create social value would be significantly reduced. In light of these findings, I propose the term 'precious', rather than luxurious, as a potential way to conceptualise the product of social enterprise in the luxury sector. This concept is intended to differentiate the product of instances of purpose-driven luxury production, such as Barefoot, from traditional profit-driven activity that may unintentionally create social value in ultimately marginal ways.

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Declaration of Authorship

Lucy Hitchcock

Luxury and Social Value in Contemporary Sri Lanka: A Case Study of Barefoot

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

- 1) This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- 2) Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- 3) Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- 4) Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given.
With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- 5) I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- 6) Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- 7) Parts of this work have been published as:
Hitchcock, L. (2016). A Lack of Luxury? Contemporary Luxury Fashion in Sri Lanka. *Luxury: History, Culture, Consumption*, 3(1-2), 63-82.

Signature:

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In loving memory of Jane Conrad

Introduction

This thesis seeks to explore the relationship between luxury and social value, through empirical investigation into the social impact of luxury production in Sri Lanka. In particular, it is concerned to explore how social enterprise in the luxury sector creates social value. As extrapolated in Chapter One, I understand social value as the primary outcome of social enterprise. Social enterprise seeks to create social value in approaching a social issue that hinders well-being, and thus intends to improve the well-being of certain individuals, a community, or even the global population as a whole. Considering this, there are manifold ways in which luxury production could create social value, dependent upon the nature of the social issue that a social enterprise seeks to approach, and the socio-economic and -cultural context in which it operates. I explore the relationship between luxury and social value in Sri Lanka through an in-depth case study of Barefoot, a handloom weaving social enterprise seeking to create social value in improving the well-being of its employees. Barefoot pertains to facilitate accessible and high quality employment opportunities in rural areas of Sri Lanka where economic security is lacking. In doing so, it improves the well-being of its employees in supporting economic security and increased material wealth. This is particularly pertinent considering that the majority of Barefoot employees are women who face greater barriers to economic security as a result of socio-cultural norms that exclude them from employment. Furthermore, Barefoot has purposefully utilised and retained handicraft production due to a common-held belief, both in popular and academic discourse (as will be discussed in Chapter Three), that the process of such activity also improve the well-being of producers as an enjoyable and fulfilling process. This thesis is therefore additionally concerned to examine how handicraft production impacts the potential for luxury production to create social value.

Context of Study

In consideration of my own professional experience as a creative in the marketing of luxury brands, I was compelled to explore the relationship between luxury and social value in the context of growing interest into the social impact of commodity

production and wider corporate social responsibility, particularly in the face of social issues such as economic inequality and environmental degradation that hinder well-being. Increased awareness of the social impact of commodity production is implicit to a wider discourse criticising particular practices and outcomes of contemporary neoliberal capitalism that are deemed to be detrimental to well-being (Berry, 2016). In recent history, this discourse has foregrounded increased occurrence of purpose-driven enterprise, such as social enterprise, and the expansion of the wider social economy, which seeks to prioritise social value and well-being over profit for shareholders (as will be explored in Chapter One) (Nyssens, 2006; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2015). But furthermore, growing awareness of and dissatisfaction with particular impacts of capitalist commodity production that are perceived as anti-social has provoked a conscious consumerism movement reminiscent of the socialist concept of ‘economic chivalry’, calling for individuals to recognise the moral responsibility of their economic choices and to thus ensure that their consumption is socially productive, being in the interest of collective well-being (Marshall, 1907). In this context, contemporary luxury consumers are increasingly concerned about the social impact of their purchases. A report published by Deloitte, entitled *Global Powers of Luxury Goods 2020* conveys the growing imperative for luxury companies to have a positive social impact, informed by the increasing conscientiousness of their consumers. This report states that ‘contributing to the protection of the planet, adopting more ethical and responsible lifestyles, and being more attentive to the origin and provenance of... products’ is of increasing concern for Millennial and Generation Z consumers in particular, who are expected to account for half of all luxury goods sales by 2025 (Deloitte, 2020, p. 7). The corporate social responsibility of luxury producers has a significant influence over the purchasing decisions of these consumers. Similarly, in the same report from the previous year, Deloitte reported that ‘the environment, sustainability... production and labor practices, [and] positive impact on communities are all elements now taken into consideration when buying a product’ (Deloitte, 2019, p. 8). This report also suggests that consumers are willing to pay a higher price to ensure that the brands they endorse have a positive social impact (Deloitte, 2019, p. 8).

Despite the fact that the success of contemporary luxury brands appears to be increasingly dependent upon the social impact of their activity, there is a lack of

academic insight and empirical investigation into the relationship between luxury and social value. Contemporary commentators, often involved in the marketing of luxury brands, are concerned to convey common characteristics of luxury commodities, such as rarity, high quality, and timelessness, that are deemed to ensure luxury production has a positive social impact, particularly in contrast to the mass-manufacture of low-cost and -quality commodities. Furthermore, these proponents point to the fact that the higher profit margin of luxury production enables luxury brands to have a positive social impact. This discourse is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, and crucially, these claims lack empirical evidence and are therefore speculative, particularly considering that they are often advanced by individuals working in the luxury sector. Secondly, this discourse implies that all instances of luxury production, provided that such activity and the resultant commodities possess those certain characteristics that are deemed to ensure that luxury production creates social value, will have a positive social impact, regardless of the motivations, processes, and outcomes of such activity. Thirdly, and importantly for this study, this discourse does not differentiate between traditional profit-driven and purpose-driven enterprises in the luxury sector. In general, there is a lack of academic research into the occurrence of social enterprise and other purpose-driven activity in the luxury sector. Considering this lack of academic insight alongside increased consumer interest into the social impact of luxury production, I was motivated to explore the role of social enterprise in the luxury sector.

I do so through an empirical investigation of a luxury social enterprise in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is a small, developing economy in South Asia, perhaps most commonly characterised in Western media by its long and complex civil war between 1983 and 2009. The impacts of economic development and globalisation in Sri Lanka's recent history, pertinently since the end of the civil war, provide an interesting and under-researched context for this study. However, it is important to acknowledge that this exploration into the relationship between luxury and social value could have been undertaken in many locations, being primarily dependent upon the occurrence of social enterprise in the luxury sector. I made a purposeful decision to situate this study in Sri Lanka largely as a result of prior knowledge of both the luxury sector

and the social economy in this location. I have a family connection to Sri Lanka, and have spent a considerable amount of time there. Initially, I was interested in the difference between the luxury sector in a developing economy such as Sri Lanka in comparison with my own experience of the luxury sector in the United Kingdom. The luxury sector in Sri Lanka informs a unique understanding of luxury as a result of the relative lack of omnipresent, global luxury brands in this context. Furthermore, I noticed that domestic brands and designers operating in the Sri Lankan luxury sector frequently sought to convey the positive social impact of their operations. The prevalence of pertained social value creation further differentiates the luxury sector in Sri Lanka as offering a unique characterisation of contemporary luxury. In this way, Sri Lanka offered an appropriate and under-researched location for this study.

However, it is important to acknowledge from the outset the potential issues in a Western researcher applying Western theory to a non-Western context such as Sri Lanka. There is a lack of English language (and, indeed, non-English language) academic research and insight exploring how key concepts and terminologies, such as luxury, social enterprise, and social value, are used and understood in Sri Lanka. This is a potential weakness of the literature review and theoretical framework (as detailed in Chapters One and Two) which primarily draw from Western academic sources and literature. When applying Western concepts to a non-Western context, as in this study, it is important to consider their relevance and interpretation, which I discuss in Chapter Four. That being acknowledged, such Western literature offers a starting point with which to explore these concepts and terminologies in Sri Lanka. The original, empirical insight garnered in this study not only offers a foundation with which to assess the relevance of these key concepts in this under-researched context, but also enriches understanding in contributing knowledge into how they are used and understood in Sri Lanka. As such, this thesis contributes toward global understanding of luxury and social enterprise that is not limited to Western points of view.

Influenced by my own prior study in textile design, I was also interested in the common use of textile handicraft technique by Sri Lankan designers and brands catering to the local luxury market. In particular, textile handicraft techniques such as handloom weaving, batik, and beeralu lace making, are commonly utilised by Sri

Lankan luxury fashion designers and brands. There is a long and enduring history between luxury production and handicraft production, not only due to the relative expense of such labour in contrast to mechanised production, but also as a result of the perceived rarity, high quality, uniqueness, and artistry of handicraft commodities. In this way, handicraft production contributes towards these Sri Lankan brands and designers sense of luxuriousness. Handicraft production is also a common component of social enterprise in Sri Lanka, being perceived as socially valuable in that it generates important and accessible employment opportunities in rural areas, particularly for women, where economic security and opportunities for social mobility are lacking (as will be further detailed in Chapter Four). Additionally, both in Sri Lankan and Western popular and academic discourse, handicraft production is frequently perceived as improving the well-being of producers as an enjoyable and fulfilling process, nurturing positive feelings as a result of being skilful. In this way, handicraft production is framed as socially valuable not only in generating imperative employment opportunities in rural areas of Sri Lanka, but in ensuring these employment opportunities entail enjoyable and fulfilling labour. This premise has informed a growing argument (as will be outlined in Chapter Three) that luxury production is socially valuable because it involves handicraft production.

This assumption underpins the case study of this thesis: Barefoot. Barefoot is a well-known, prestigious handloom weaving company in Sri Lanka. Its products command a high price in comparison to similar products that fulfil the same function. As a result, Barefoot attracts exclusive local clientele, and its commodities are frequently utilised as objects of conspicuous consumption. Therefore, Barefoot can be interpreted as a luxury producer (as will be further detailed in Chapter Six). The company was conceived in 1964 when Sri Lankan artist, designer, illustrator, and author Barbara Sansoni was approached by Mother Good Council of the Catholic Good Shepherd Order to create designs for the woven cloth that was being produced in one of their convents. The weaving centre had been established with the aim of providing an independent means of subsistence among the women seeking refuge with the convent, who were deemed to be economically and socially marginalised. In this way, luxury production at Barefoot was undertaken with the aim of creating social value, in improving the well-being of these women, from the very outset. Barefoot has maintained this local, small-scale form of luxury

production with the pertained primary aim of creating social value (as I outline in Chapters Seven and Eight). However, that Barefoot has historically utilised and retains handicraft production for this purpose is not purely a matter of convenience or chance. The owners and management of Barefoot oft express the aforementioned sentiment that, as a result of certain inherent qualities of handicraft production that make the process enjoyable and fulfilling, employment involving handicraft production further contributes to the well-being of producers. In this way, that luxury production at Barefoot involves handicraft production is perceived as further ensuring that such activity creates social value.

Research Questions, Aims & Objectives

Initial insight into the case study of Barefoot, and wider investigation into perceptions of how luxury production might create social value, informed the following research aims, questions, and objectives of this thesis.

Research Aim:

The aim of this research is to garner new insight into the relationship between luxury and social value, through an empirical investigation into the role, processes, and outcomes of social enterprise in the Sri Lankan luxury sector. More specifically, through the case study of Barefoot, this research is concerned to explore the potential for luxury production to create social value in improving the well-being of producers. Furthermore, it aims to examine and clarify the role of handicraft production in improving the well-being of producers in this context.

Research Questions:

- 1) Does luxury production at Barefoot create social value in improving the well-being of producers?
- 2) If so, does handicraft production contribute to the potential for luxury production at Barefoot to create social value?

Research Objectives:

- 1) To identify appropriate theories of both social value and luxury, as the key concepts of this thesis.
- 2) To investigate existing literature exploring the ways in which luxury production might, or has been claimed to, create social value.
- 3) To outline appropriate context for the case study of Barefoot, in particular conveying socio-economic and -cultural context that might impact upon the potential for luxury production to create social value in Sri Lanka.
- 4) To design and delineate an appropriate research methodology for the case study of Barefoot, paying attention to and approaching the limitations of this study.
- 5) To undertake original, empirical investigation into the ways in which luxury production and handicraft production at Barefoot create social value.
- 6) To analyse the data set in respect of the research questions, exploring how the case study of Barefoot supports or disproves the theory that luxury production and handicraft production create social value in improving the well-being of producers.
- 7) To contribute new knowledge regarding how luxury production can create social value, and original insight into the topics of luxury production, handicraft production, and social enterprise in Sri Lanka.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of this introduction, nine chapters, and a conclusion. In the first two chapters I define the two key concepts of this thesis: luxury and social value.

In Chapter One, I outline a definition of social value apt for this study. Considering the purpose of this thesis, to explore the social impact of luxury production, I define social value in the context of entrepreneurial activity, as the primary outcome of social enterprise. Subsequently, I review contemporary literature exploring social enterprise and its outcome of social value, to inform my own definition of social value as improvement to the well-being of the beneficiaries of a specific social enterprise. I thereafter outline a relevant understanding of well-being, as the conceptual foundation of social value.

In Chapter Two, I am concerned to outline a definition of luxury. Firstly, I consider historical understandings of luxury throughout Western history. This historical insight illustrates a long-standing understanding of luxury in opposition to necessity. Furthermore, this section highlights historic debate into the social impact of luxury. The constancy of this debate foregrounds investigation into the relationship between luxury and social value. Secondly, I explore two contemporary approaches to define luxury, as exemplified by the luxury sector and the research field of critical luxury studies. I conclude this chapter with a pragmatic definition of luxury, unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities that command a relatively high economic value (regardless of the qualities that may justify a high price) in comparison to commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose.

In Chapter Three, I conduct a literature review exploring how luxury production might create social value. Literature exploring the occurrence of social enterprise, and its outcome of social value, in the luxury sector is limited. As such, I consider how luxury production has been argued to create social value in being sustainable. Subsequently, in the second half of this chapter, I hone in on a common characteristic of luxury production that has been argued to make such activity sustainable, and subsequently socially valuable: its use of handicraft production. In this section I review literature outlining how handicraft production might create social value both as a source of employment and as a process in itself.

In Chapter Four I introduce the context of this study, Sri Lanka. In doing so, and whilst acknowledging the limitations of applying Western concepts to a non-Western context, I illustrate why Sri Lanka provided a suitable setting to study the social impact of luxury production, as a result of an expanding luxury market, growing social economy, and the prevalent use of handicraft technique in the production of luxury commodities. I end this chapter by briefly introducing the case study of this thesis.

The purpose of Chapter Five is to detail the research methodology of the case study of Barefoot. In doing so I justify why this methodology was appropriate, and how it ensured the reliability of the insight garnered. I divided the research sample into two groups: Barefoot employees who intend to facilitate social enterprise (group A) and employees who stand to benefit from social enterprise (group B). Dividing the research sample in this way was integral to ensure reliable data from both groups

of participants. Subsequently, I outline the different qualitative and quantitative data collection methods employed as part of a mixed methodology case study to approach both group A and B participants. I also discuss measures taken to approach limitations and ethical considerations.

In Chapter Six, I introduce Barefoot in more depth, drawing upon insight from primary and secondary data. Firstly, I offer an insight into the history and development of Barefoot. This insight is important as it demonstrates that the historic purpose of the company was to approach a social issue and thus create social value. Secondly, I introduce the contemporary operations of Barefoot, in particular exploring the company's pertained commitment to the principles of social enterprise. Finally, in the third section I demonstrate that Barefoot is a luxury producer, and thus a suitable case study for this thesis.

In Chapters Seven and Eight I outline the research findings. In Chapter Seven I explore how the data set supports the premise that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in improving the well-being of group B employees. I first consider how the data set illustrates that employment at Barefoot improves the well-being of group B employees. Secondly, I outline the premise that employment at Barefoot improves group B employees' well-being in supporting economic security and, in some instances, increased wealth and material assets. Thirdly, I explore how a variety of atypical employment practices further improve the well-being of group B employees beyond the economic security attained.

In Chapter Eight, I consider how the data set supports the premise that handicraft production, as a prevalent quality of luxury production, further improves the well-being of group B employees. In order to do so, I outline three particular qualities of handicraft production that the data set suggests makes the process of labour enjoyable: first that it is skilful; second that it is mentally engaging; and third that it is satisfying.

In Chapter Nine I present the discussion of findings, relating the insight garnered back to the research questions of this thesis and the literature outlined in Chapter Three. I highlight the central finding of this thesis, that the potential for luxury production to create social value is ultimately dependent upon a condition of social enterprise, rather than particular qualities of either luxury or handicraft production that ensure that employment at Barefoot is socially valuable. Finally, I

propose the possibility of a new concept with which to conceptualise instances of social enterprise in the luxury sector: as precious rather than luxurious.

I conclude the thesis with a brief summary of the research findings and outline how this thesis has contributed to existing knowledge, undertake some reflection on the research process, and present possible avenues for the continuation of the research.

Chapter One – What is Social Value?

I begin this thesis by defining its central concept: social value. The concept of social value occurs in a variety of different academic discourses, but is perhaps most prevalently used in philosophy as a component of value theory. The philosophical discourse of value theory is situated in the realms of ethics and axiology, and is concerned to delineate what is “good” and “bad”, as an investigation into what has value and what doesn’t. The social sciences also contribute towards value theory, particularly in the studies of psychology, sociology, and economics, through empirical investigation into what people value and why. Whilst acknowledging the significance of these fields, it is not the intention of this thesis to contribute toward such philosophical debate or empirical investigation into a theory of value. Instead, this chapter explores and defines social value as the primary outcome of contemporary social enterprise. Discourse around social enterprise and its outcome of social value has increased significantly in the twenty-first century, particularly since the global economic crisis in 2008. This event foregrounded ‘vigorous debate on the strengths and weaknesses of market capitalism, its values and ethics, and its alternatives’, and supported a growing argument that neoliberal capitalism has ‘increased environmental and economic risk, rampant individualism and consumerism, and the gap between rich and poor’ (Amin, 2009, pp. 31, 30). Growing discontents with the impacts of neoliberal capitalism has nurtured a culture of ‘heightened accountability’, where policies, institutions, organisations, and enterprises face ‘growing pressure for more rigorous impact measurement’ (Kato, Ashley, & Weaver, 2017, p. 559). In light of this, academics, policymakers, and entrepreneurs have looked to social enterprise as a means of reconsidering the purpose, goals, and outcomes of entrepreneurial activity under neoliberal capitalism to ‘achieve a better balance between economic efficiency, ecological sustainability and social equity’, and prioritise collective, rather than individual, benefit (Amin, 2009, p. 30).

The first section of this chapter explores understandings of social enterprise and its place in the wider social economy. Because I use the term social value in this thesis to refer to the primary outcome of social enterprise, the purpose and motivations of such entrepreneurial activity offers an initial insight into an

understanding of social value. Subsequently, I consider how social value is conceptualised in this context: as well-being. Improvement to well-being provides a metric of social value, and thus a crucial tool for evaluating the social impact of entrepreneurial activity. As a result, the second section of this chapter is concerned to review different approaches to well-being, as a metric of social value, in order to identify a pragmatic understanding.

The literature surveyed in this chapter is Western and therefore shaped by a Western cultural lens. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, there are limitations in applying such theory to a non-Western context, such as Sri Lanka. It is therefore important to consider the relevance and interpretation of Western conceptions of social enterprise and social value in Sri Lanka, where conceptual understanding is informed by different socio-cultural norms and context. Additionally, when Western concepts are implanted into a new cultural context, it is important to consider how understanding might be impacted by the process of implantation. In light of this, in Chapter Four I explore how the concepts of social enterprise and social value are utilised and defined in Sri Lankan business practices and discuss similarities and disparity with the literature surveyed in this chapter.

1.1 Social Enterprise and Social Value

As aforementioned, I use the term social value to characterise the primary purpose of contemporary social enterprise. Social enterprise is the most recent development of activity in the social economy (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 312). The social economy encompasses a variety of entrepreneurial and organisation forms (notably with varying forms of ownership and control), including social enterprises, cooperative, charities, voluntary and community organisations, and research institutions, with a common purpose: to 'privilege meeting social (and environmental) needs before profit maximisation' (Amin, 2009, pp. 30-31). The social economy is often ascribed as belonging to the 'third sector', meaning that activity in the social economy does not belong to either the public sector (organisations owned and/or operated by the state) nor the private sector (privately owned, profit-making enterprise) (Defourny, 2001, p. 1). Unlike the private sector,

activity in the social economy is not primarily motivated by individual financial interests and economic return on investment but equally, unlike the public sector, is not necessarily dependent upon a system of representative democracy (Laville & Nyssens, 2001, p. 314). Subsequently, Jean-Louis Laville and Marthe Nyssens argue that organisations and enterprises are ascribed as operating in the social economy when the ‘material interest of capital investors is subject to limits’ and a social goal is ‘given priority over a return on individual investment’ (Laville & Nyssens, 2001, p. 312). Thus, the social economy differentiates instances of purpose- and profit-driven enterprise.

As Ash Amin illustrates, the social economy is simultaneously perceived as ‘a distinctive value system privileging meeting needs and building social power’, ‘a parallel system to states and markets’, and ‘an emblem of post-capitalist solidarity and human sustainability’ (Amin, 2009, p. 31). It is commonly agreed that the growth of the social economy has coincided with the dismantling of welfare states in the context of neoliberal capitalism, where the state rolls back its social obligations in favour of market solutions (De Neve, Luetchford, Pratt, & Wood, 2008; Fridell, 2006). Neoliberal policy, characterised by free-trade in the global marketplace, the deregulation of the economy, and the privatisation of state-owned entities, intends to support a ‘self-regulating market’ where individual pursuit of wealth drives economic growth that subsequently diminishes the role of the welfare state in providing essential resources (Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 2). Considering this, the growth of the social economy infers that the economic distribution of neoliberal capitalism does not necessarily support the collective realisation of essential resources. Indeed, Jacques Defourny argues that the social economy has emerged against ‘a background of economic crisis, the weakening of social bonds and difficulties of the welfare state’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 1). In this view, activity in the social economy effectively ‘acts as adjunct and safety net’ to the welfare state (Amin, 2009, p. 31). Similarly, Philip Auerswald argues that ‘it is precisely the failure of governments [to provide essential resources] that creates opportunities’ in the social economy (Auerswald, 2009, p. 54). In contrast to neoliberal policy where the realisation of essential resources is a secondary outcome of private economic interests, activity in the social economy ‘is being seen as the way to a fairer and more sustainable society based on popular mobilisation to meet local needs’ (Amin,

2009, p. 33). This collective, rather than individualistic, aspect of the social economy offers important initial insight into social value. I will subsequently explore the concept of social enterprise to gain further understanding. Social enterprise, as opposed to other activity in the social economy, is of particular relevance to this study as it concerns the social impact of entrepreneurial activity, such as commodity production.

Social Enterprise

As aforementioned, social enterprise is a fairly recent organisational form in the social economy. Academic research into the qualities, aims and structures of social enterprise has flourished in the twenty-first century (Borzaga & Defourny, 2001; Huybrechts, 2016; Nyssens, 2006; Ridley-Duff & Bull, 2015). Furthermore, growing popular discourse and public policy about social enterprise suggests greater awareness and understanding of social enterprise. Before exploring the defining characteristics of social enterprise, it is important to briefly acknowledge the differentiation between ‘social enterprise’ and ‘social entrepreneurship’ in this literature. The term ‘social entrepreneurship’ is used broadly to illustrate ‘an approach which can be used in a wide range of settings’, whereas ‘social enterprise’ is ‘but one set of organizational arrangements which lend themselves to resolving some of the objectives that social entrepreneurs hold’ (Young, 2006, p. 61). When necessary to outline the philosophy and motivation of social enterprise effectively, this section will also refer to literature concerning the broader category of social entrepreneurship.

The EMES European Research Network was established in 1996 to study the emergence of social enterprise in all fifteen of the European member states at that time. At the beginning of this project the EMES Network developed a ‘working definition’ of social enterprise, which the empirical research undertaken ‘proved to be fairly robust and reliable’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 16). This framework of social enterprise is outlined by Defourny in the introduction to an edited volume of the EMES Network’s research findings, entitled *The Emergence of Social Enterprise* (2001). This framework not only seeks to clarify the processes and outcomes of social enterprise, but differentiate it from other organisational forms in the social

economy. What is notable about this framework is that social enterprise is delineated as having both an economic, or entrepreneurial, and a social dimension. Defourny outlines four entrepreneurial criteria that define social enterprise. Firstly, they stipulate that social enterprise primarily involves ‘the production of goods or the provision of services’, rather than ‘advocacy activities’ or the ‘redistribution of financial flows’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 16). Secondly, social enterprise is not managed by ‘public authorities or other organisations’. As a result of this, and thirdly, the viability of such activity ‘depends on the efforts of... members and workers to secure adequate resources’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 17). Finally, although social enterprises may utilise a combination of ‘monetary and non-monetary resources’, they must employ paid workers (Defourny, 2001, p. 17). In terms of the social dimension, Defourny subsequently outlines five further characteristics of social enterprise. Firstly, the principle and explicit aim of social enterprise is to ‘serve the community or a specific group of people’, and to ‘promote a sense of social responsibility at local level’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 17). Secondly, social enterprise is governed by a ‘collective dynamic’, ‘involving people belonging to a community or group’ with a shared need or aim (Defourny, 2001, p. 17). Related to this, and thirdly, decision-making rights are shared with stakeholders, rather than determined by capital ownership. Fourthly, social enterprise has a ‘participatory nature’ in that it ‘involves the persons affected by the activity’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 18). Finally, and importantly, social enterprise is characterised by limited profit distribution, ‘thus avoiding a profit-maximising behaviour’ (Defourny, 2001, p. 18).

In the introduction to Nyssen’s more recent edited volume entitled *Social Enterprise: At the Crossroads of Market, Public Policies and Civil Society* (2006), Defourny and Nyssens build upon this EMES framework of social enterprise. They broadly define social enterprise as ‘market-oriented economic activities serving a social goal’ (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 4). They further stipulate that ‘the nature of the economic activity must be connected to the social mission’, rather than funding or facilitating another organisation (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 12). Defourny and Nyssens further define social enterprise in relation to what they perceive as two distinct spheres of activity in the third sector: cooperative associations (entrepreneurial activity owned and run by its members who subsequently share profit or benefit), and non-profit organisations. In this way, they

perceive of social enterprise ‘at the crossroads of the co-operative and the non-profit sectors’ (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 8). In contrast to non-profit organisations, ‘social enterprises place a higher value on economic risk-taking related to an ongoing productive activity’. Furthermore, Defourny and Nyssens emphasise the ‘multidimensional mode[s] of governance’ of social enterprise in contrast to non-profit organisations (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 11). They define the governance structure of social enterprise beyond ‘limited profit distribution’ to include ‘the existence of a collective dynamic of entrepreneurship involving people belonging to a community or to a group that shares a well-defined need or aim’ (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 11). Social enterprise also differs from cooperatives in that they are ‘more oriented to the whole community’ rather than the owners of the enterprise, and ‘combine different stakeholders in their membership’ (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, pp. 8-9). Furthermore, they also acknowledge an important divergence in their framework, stating that, unlike cooperatives, the trading activity of social enterprise needn’t necessarily achieve economic sustainability. Defourny and Nyssens argue that social enterprises achieve economic sustainability through a combination of ‘trading activities’, ‘public subsidies’ and ‘voluntary resources’ (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 12). They perceive of social enterprise as a new dynamic within the third sector, rather than a ‘conceptual break’ from the institutions that foreground it (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 9). However, they are also concerned to demonstrate how social enterprise transcends the boundaries of the third sector in being ‘located in an intermediate space... at the crossroad of market, public policy and civil society’, involving characteristics of the public, private and third sector (Defourny & Nyssens, 2006, p. 13).

Likewise, in the introduction to *Social Entrepreneurship: New Models of Sustainable Social Change* (2006), Alex Nicholls states that a lack of clarity into social entrepreneurship (and subsequently social enterprise) results from its ‘dynamic flexibility’, where an ‘unrelenting focus of systematic social change... disregards institutional and organizational norms and boundaries’, thus ‘operating in a more diverse and dynamic strategic landscape than conventional businesses or social ventures’ (Nicholls, 2006, p. 10). Like Defourny and Nyssens, Nicholls states that social enterprise does not necessarily achieve economic sustainability through its market activity, instead engaging with ‘government, philanthropic institutions, the

voluntary sector, and banks, as well as the commercial market to secure funding and other support where necessary' (Nicholls, 2006, p. 10). They also seek to point out that social enterprise exists in a variety of different, and sometimes unique hybrids of, organisational forms in order to 'maximise social value creation' (Nicholls, 2006, p. 11). Consider this, and again reflecting Defourny and Nyssens sentiment above, Nicholls perceives of social entrepreneurship as a 'multi-dimensional and dynamic construct, that operates across the public, private and third sector (Nicholls, 2006, p. 12). Nicholls therefore defines social entrepreneurship, and differentiates it from the public, private, and third sector, by two constituent factors: 'a prime strategic focus on [positive] social impact and an innovative approach to achieving its mission' (Nicholls, 2006, p. 13). This definition stresses that social entrepreneurship employs a variety of different strategies to achieve economic sustainability. But furthermore, it conveys that the prioritisation of a social mission is 'the first key determinant' of social entrepreneurship and social enterprise, whereas the operational process employed to achieve this mission varies dependent upon the socio-cultural and - economic context of such activity (Nicholls, 2006, p. 13).

This literature has highlighted that the interdependence of economic and social dimensions is an important, defining characteristic of social enterprise. This poses a challenge in its definition, particularly when the interrelation of economic and social aims may appear conflicting (Evers, 2001, p. 296). Furthermore, the actuality of social enterprise differs across national context, considering that 'social enterprises adopt differing legal formats and abide by different legal frameworks and fiscal responsibilities and duties in different countries' (Haugh, 2005, p. 2). The diverse possibilities of social enterprise, employing a variety of different forms and processes to achieve unique social outcomes, means that rigorous certification of social enterprise, even on a local level, is complex. Having acknowledged this, I argue that the defining characteristic of social enterprise, as demonstrated by the literature above, is its primary and explicit purpose of generating social value. Reflecting this argument, Lars Hulgård states that 'a review of the literature on social entrepreneurship reveals 'social value' as the core of any definition' (Hulgård, 2010, p. 297). Although social enterprise is differentiated from other organisational forms in the third sector through its continuous economy activity, it is also crucially differentiated from 'unproductive and destructive entrepreneurship' in the private

sector, which ‘create[s] economic value for the entrepreneur but do not result in a net social value creation’ (Acs, Boardman, & McNeely, 2010, p. 786). As such, I understand social value as the explicit purpose, outcome, and defining characteristic of social enterprise.

Social Value

As we have seen in the literature surveyed above, the primary motivation and defining characteristic of social enterprise is to create social value (Lautermann, 2013, p. 184). As the key concept of this thesis, it is therefore important to understand how social value is conceptualised within literature concerning social enterprise. In the introduction of their book investigating the meaning and measurement of social value (2016), Emily Barman summarises that the term ‘social value’ is used within social enterprise theory (and wider literature exploring the social economy) ‘to describe the distinctive contributions of social purpose organisations to society’ (Barman, 2016, p. 7). Thus, social value is framed as ‘the value that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), social enterprises, social ventures, and social programs [or, indeed, other organisational forms in the wider social economy] create’ (Phills, Deiglmeier, & Miller, 2008, p. 38).

Commentators have suggested that it is important not to define social value in opposition to economic value. This dichotomy not only disregards the importance of economic value towards realising social value, but also suggests that profit-driven enterprises create no social value. In reality, as Filipe M. Santos argues, ‘all economic value creation is inherently social in the sense that actions that create economic value also improve society’s welfare through a better allocation of resources’ (Santos, 2012, p. 337). Furthermore, Philip Auerswald highlights that profit-driven enterprises play an important role in the healthy functioning of society. By creating job opportunities profit-driven enterprises ‘keep existing companies from underpaying their employees’. Similarly, in producing new goods and services they ‘keep existing producers from overcharging otherwise potentially vulnerable consumers’ (Auerswald, 2009, p. 53). Furthermore, the residual value (or profit) from such activity ‘creates opportunities for reinvestment and cross-subsidization of activities that may potentially benefit people not involved in the original

transactions’ (Auerswald, 2009, p. 53). Considering this, it can be argued that any entrepreneurial activity will create some ‘provision of benefit to one’s community, be it local, regional, or global in scope’, as ‘when people trade money for something they value, both economic wealth and social value is created’ (Acs et al., 2010, p. 787).

Auerswald argue that in order to recognise social value it is important to differentiate between forms of residual value: financial; reputational; and ethical (Auerswald, 2009, p. 53). The ethical dimension of residual value is crucial to recognising social value as it demonstrates how purpose-driven enterprise (such as, but not limited to, social enterprise), ‘derive their impacts not from market exchange, but rather from the inherent value of the human lives that their actions help to preserve or enhance’ (Auerswald, 2009, p. 55). Social value is distinct as ‘the creation of benefits or reductions of costs for society—through efforts to address societal needs and problems—in ways that go beyond the private gains and general benefits of market activity’ (Phills et al., 2008, p. 39). As such, social impact ‘can be seen in changes that occur in communities or social groups’, where ‘social value reflect[s] positive effects for individuals, for communities, and for society’ (Acs et al., 2010, p. 787). Similarly, Christian Lautermann notes that a normative understanding of social value denotes what is ‘good for society or any other human community’ (Lautermann, 2013, p. 186). This is why the purpose of social enterprise is frequently described as creating social benefit, approaching social issues, or supporting socially disadvantaged communities (Dees, 2007). Rowena Young argues that social value ‘benefits people whose urgent and reasonable needs are not being met by other means’ (Young, 2006, p. 56). In this sense, ‘social value creation is about solving social problems or resolving social issues’ (Singh, 2016, p. 105). Thus, social value can be conceptualised as positive public benefits that enable ‘attainment, preservation, or enhancement of living’, particularly of those whose quality of life is inhibited by social issues (Tsirogianni, Sammut, & Park, 2014, p. 6187).

This normative understanding of social value as creating public benefit for those in need utilises the concept of the ‘social’ to signify an important sense of collectivism. For example, Barman defines the ‘social’ aspect of social value ‘as the presence of relationships among individuals’, to argue that ‘the social... reference[s] action with positive intent toward and/or beneficial consequences for the well being

of others, as opposed to the expectation of individuals' rational and self-interested behaviour in the market' (Barman, 2016, pp. 7-8). Related to this, 'social' can also refer to 'organised efforts... to improve the lives of individuals, communities, and/or society' (Barman, 2016, p. 8). In the context of social enterprise, 'social value concerns actors' purposeful production of collective well-being for others', rather than prioritising their private interests (Barman, 2016, p. 10). Similarly, as quoted above, James A. Phills Jr., Kriss Deiglmeier, and Dale T. Miller highlight this contrast of private versus collective interest in their definition of social value as 'the creation of benefits or reductions of costs for society' as a whole (Phills et al., 2008, p. 39). In consideration of this, I understand that social enterprise is concerned to create social value for others.

A normative understanding of social value also requires a conceptual basis of its 'value'. This is particularly important to be able to identify a metric of social value, that offers a basis for measuring and analysing the social impact of social enterprise. In their investigation into the measurement of social value, Shoko Kato, Shena R. Ashley and Resheda L. Weaver argue that delineating and measuring social value is difficult not only as a result of 'methodological limitations', but also due to a 'lack of consensus' regarding the conceptual foundation of social value (Kato et al., 2017, p. 558). Indeed, in their review of social impact measurement, K. Maas and K. Liket identified 30 different measurement tools that have been developed to assess social impact, and subsequent social value, of organisations and enterprises (Maas & Liket, 2011). However, these measurement tools tend to measure and communicate the economic value of the cost and impact of social enterprise (and other organisational forms in the social economy), and thus 'assign monetary values to social and environmental impacts' (Kato et al., 2017, p. 559). In light of these limitations, the heterogeneity of social value 'calls for a uniform social value construct' that 'requires an 'essential' unit of measurement', that not only enables measurement of social value but comparison between different organisations intending to create social value (Kroege & Weber, 2014, p. 518).

Literature exploring social impact and value frequently delineates well-being as the conceptual basis of social value. As we have seen, Barman argues that social value involves the 'purposeful production of collective well-being' (Barman, 2016, p. 10). Similarly, in developing a conceptual framework for social value creation,

Arne Kroeger and Christiana Weber state that ‘the ultimate purpose of social interventions is to create social value by improving the well-being of disadvantaged individuals’ (Kroeger & Weber, 2014, p. 514). They define social value ‘as the positive change... in the subjective well-being of disadvantaged individuals’, with the understanding that well-being is the ‘result of an individual's perceived discrepancy between his or her aspired and achieved levels of need’ (Kroeger & Weber, 2014, pp. 519-520). They argue that well-being offers both an effective and functional construct of social value as, despite the ‘enormous range of heterogeneous social interventions’, the measurement of well-being ‘can subsume the different needs experienced by different treatment groups [beneficiaries] targeted by social interventions’ (Kroeger & Weber, 2014, p. 521). Likewise, Kato et al. propose well-being as an appropriate metric of social value because it ‘incorporat[es] the beneficiary’s perspective, broad[ens] the scale of inquiry to include the social context, and utiliz[es] a broad and holistic view of the beneficiary’s life’ (Kato et al., 2017, p. 571). Understanding well-being as the conceptual foundation of social value ‘provide[s] a path for the integration of social factors in impact measurement’ (Kato et al., 2017, p. 571).

In this section I have analysed relevant literature in order to define social value as the primary outcome and motivation of social enterprise. Insight into the aims of social enterprise and the measurement of social value clarifies an appropriate conceptual basis of social value as well-being. In consideration of this, I further delineate social value as improvement to the well-being of others, being the intended beneficiaries of a specific social enterprise. In the next section of this chapter I will explore different approaches to well-being, as the foundation for greater understanding of social value.

1.2 Well-being and Social Value

In a normative sense, the term well-being is broadly used to describe quality of life. The Oxford English Dictionary defines well-being for a person or community as ‘the state of being healthy, happy, or prosperous; physical, psychological, or moral welfare’ (OED: Oxford English Dictionary, 2017). Furthermore, in a report into the measurement of well-being, the New Economics Foundation defines well-being

through three criteria: how an individual feels, how they are able to function, and how they would evaluate their life. Thus, this report argues that an individual possesses well-being when ‘they function well, have positive feelings day-to-day’, and ‘think their lives are going well’ (Michaelson, Mahony, & Schifferes, 2012, p. 6). However, the academic study of well-being is broad. In moral philosophy, well-being is a component of value theory that explores the concept of what is good for a person. In contrast, the social sciences, and particularly development and public policy studies, seek to understand well-being through investigation into entities that improve quality of life. A review of any academic literature demonstrates that well-being is a complex concept. In this section I outline some of these different approaches in order to identify an appropriate theory (as the conceptual foundation of social value) for this study, that captures ‘both the subjectivity and the normativity of well-being’ (Tiberius, 2015b, p. 339).

A philosophical understanding of well-being necessarily begins with an investigation into its value, often called prudential value. Valerie Tiberius defines well-being as what is ‘good for you’, ‘benefits you’, and ‘makes your life go well’ (Tiberius, 2015a, p. 158). As prudential value is ‘the good for a person’, well-being is comprised of entities that possess prudential value (Tiberius, 2015a, p. 158). Similarly, Tim E. Taylor argues that ‘well-being is what someone has if their life goes well; prudential value (for that person) is what something has if it contributes towards making their life go well’ (Taylor, 2012, p. 8). In order to have well-being, a life must have prudential value. Conversely, if something has prudential value for a person, it is more than likely that it will also positively contribute toward their well-being. On this basis, both Tiberius and Taylor argue that the most appropriate means of evaluating well-being is on a scale of prudential value. In the middle is a neutral point (which is approximately the same for all persons), above which we have well-being and below which we do not. Perceiving of well-being on this scale allows for a level of interpersonal comparison, without which an account of well-being would not have functional adequacy (Taylor, 2012, p. 164). Considering this, a person has well-being if they would judge, ‘in a process of thorough and reflective introspective comparison’, that at that moment in time there is a positive balance of prudential value in their life (Taylor, 2012, p. 152). Consequently, philosophical well-being

theories seek to delineate what has prudential value, or what is good for someone, and why. These philosophical approaches are categorised as either being subjective or objective (Raibley, 2010; Sumner, 2003; Taylor, 2012; Tiberius, 2015a).

Subjective Approaches

Subjective approaches to well-being argue that prudential value is always value *for* someone, making it inherently subject-relative. As L. W. Sumner states, ‘however valuable something may be in itself, it can promote my well-being only if it is also good or beneficial for me’ (Sumner, 1995, pp. 769-770). Prudential value is dependent upon the socio-cultural and -economic context, mental state and belief system of each individual. There are a variety of different subjective theories of well-being. For example, some believe we achieve well-being through hedonism, or the experience of pleasure and the avoidance of pain (Crisp, 2006; Feldman, 2004). For hedonists, realising pleasure (whatever that entails to an individual) is the key to a good life. However, there remains debate between hedonist theories about the nature of pleasure, and of what makes something pleasurable (Tiberius, 2015a, p. 162). Others, such as Sumner, argues that we derive well-being from the experience of happiness, or the ‘positive cognitive/affective response on the part of a subject to (some or all of) the conditions or circumstances of her life’ (Sumner, 2003, p. 156). Although happiness is a commonly accepted source of prudential value, ‘it is less plausible that it is the only mental state that has value’ (Taylor, 2012, p. 92). Additionally, it has been argued that we achieve well-being when we are able to satisfy our desires (Brandt, 1998; Griffin, 1988; Kraut, 1994). However, there is the potential for an individual’s desires to be at odds with what is good for them. Furthermore, sometimes what we desire, and subsequently what we think will have prudential value, does not live up to our expectation. Conversely, we often gain prudential value unexpectedly, through sources that we did not actively desire (Taylor, 2012, pp. 63-66).

These approaches to well-being have ‘intuitive plausibility’ due to their subjectivity, in that they encapsulate the diversity of sources of prudential value (Taylor, 2012, pp. 24, 58). Furthermore, subjective approaches are appealing as they depend upon a single evaluation of well-being (Taylor, 2012, p. 27). However,

although all of these approaches delineate sources of prudential value, in that experiencing pleasure, happiness, and realising our desires is likely to support well-being, both Tiberius and Taylor argue that none of these approaches, in isolation, can offer a full picture of well-being. Considering this, scholars have suggested a broader subjective theory of well-being called ‘subjective valuing’, to use a specific term coined by Taylor (Raibley, 2010; Taylor, 2012; Tiberius, 2015a). Instead of attempting to conceptualise a single source of prudential value, such as pleasure, happiness, or the realisation of desire, this approach argues something has prudential value ‘when one has a pro-attitude towards [it], and also stably identifies with this pro-attitude’ (Raibley, 2010, pp. 606-607). As Tiberius argues, ‘we live well when we realize what matters to us’ (Tiberius, 2015b, p. 341). These subjective values must be considered, autonomous and relatively stable, in that they would not change or disappear with reflection (Raibley, 2010, p. 607). That being said, such subjective values are not concrete either; it is likely that what has will change with time and circumstance (Tiberius, 2015b, p. 344). Understanding prudential value and well-being in this way addresses the limitation of the subjective approaches above, as it does not attempt to encapsulate prudential value in a single positive mental state. However, Jason Raibley argues that the subject valuing approach to well-being also depends upon a single evaluation as ‘realizing your values... is a matter of fact [to an individual], not opinion’ (Raibley, 2010, p. 620).

Objective Approaches

Although I acknowledge the importance of subject-relativity toward a philosophical understanding of well-being, these subjective approaches do not offer an insight into the normativity of well-being. The subjective valuing approach outlined above does not encapsulate the normative experience of well-being, as according to this approach there is ‘no single, well-defined best life for a person overall... even at a particular time’ (Tiberius, 2015b, p. 346). In contrast, proponents of objective approaches claim that subjective evaluations are often unpredictable, unreliable, and contradictory, and are therefore an unsuitable foundation for a theory of well-being (Taylor, 2012, p. 37). Objective theories seek to encapsulate a normative experience of well-being in order to delineate supposed universal sources of prudential value.

For example, within *Natural Law and Natural Rights* (1980), John Finnis outlines an objective-list approach, claiming that well-being is derived from seven universal sources of prudential value: life; knowledge; play; aesthetic experience; sociability; practical reasonableness; and religion (Finnis, 1980). There are clear limitations to such an objective list approach to well-being. The fact that objective list approaches to well-being vary dependent upon the individual beliefs of each scholar, demonstrates that the proposed sources of prudential value are not universal (Taylor, 2012, p. 34). An objective theory may stipulate that something has universal prudential value, yet a fully informed individual would not acknowledge or appreciate this value to any degree at any point in time. Objective approaches to well-being cannot encapsulate the inherent subjectivity of well-being.

However, in certain research fields that are concerned to measure well-being, objective approaches are appealing in that they enable cross-comparison of individual well-being. This is why social sciences, such as development studies, often adopt an objective approach to well-being. Historically well-being has been objectively measured through Gross Domestic Product (GDP), income, or material commodities (Spillemaeckers, Ootegem, & Westerhof, 2011, p. 63). Although material wealth is arguably an important facet of well-being in capitalist societies, being essential to secure many sources of prudential value, this approach is fallible in suggesting that financial security is the only thing we require in order for our lives to go well, and that all sources of prudential value are realised materially (Jordan, 2008, p. 5). In contrast, Amartya Sen argues that well-being is derived from capabilities and functionings that are ‘directly valuable in a way that the possession of primary goods cannot be, since they evidently are means to some more human ends’ (Sen, 1984, p. 323). Understanding well-being in this way establishes a focus upon ‘what people ‘can’ have, do, and feel, rather than only what they lack’ (Coulthard, Sandaruwan, Paranamana, & Koralgama, 2014, p. 78). In consideration of this, new objective approaches have been developed that encompass broader ideals and criteria of well-being. For example, Martha Nussbaum proposes a list of cross-cultural ‘functional capabilities’ necessary ‘to function in a fully human way’ as the basis of well-being: life; bodily health; bodily integrity; sense/imagination/thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; concern for other species; play; and control over environment’ (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 71). Although this

approach does not intend to encapsulate everything that might have value in an individual life, Nussbaum argues that '[a] life that lacks any of these capabilities, no matter what else it has, will fall short of being a good human life' (Nussbaum, 1999, p. 42). Considering this, popular well-being concepts utilised in development research and the wider social sciences tend to measure a variety of cross-cultural aspects of well-being. For examples, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has developed an approach called the Better Life Index, which determines well-being by eleven different categories: housing; income; jobs; community; education; environment; civic engagement; health; life satisfaction; safety; and work-life balance (OECD, 2014).

A Blended Approach

In response to the inherent limitations of both subjective objective approaches (as discussed above), blended approaches to well-being intend to enrich objective measurements with subjective narrative, and subsequently acknowledge both the subjective and normative nature of well-being. For example, the Wellbeing in Developing Countries ESRC Research Group (WeD) developed an approach that measures 'the objective circumstances of the person and their subjective evaluation of these [circumstances]' (Gough, Allister McGregor, & Camfield, 2007, p. 5). The WeD approach conceives of and measures well-being as '1) what a person has; 2) what they can do with what they have, and; 3) how they think about what they have and can do' (Allister McGregor, 2007, p. 317). It has been argued that the blended WeD approach 'provides a powerful multi-dimensional vision of a person's quality of life' (Coulthard et al., 2014, p. 93). For example, Leonardo Becchetti, Stefano Castriota and Nazaria Solferino employ the WeD approach in their study into the impact of fair trade production upon the well-being of Peruvian handicraft producers (Becchetti, Castriota, & Solferino, 2011). To garner a well-rounded account of well-being in this context, they collected quantitative data to measure the extent to which objective components of well-being are being met, alongside qualitative data that explore subjective evaluations made by individual's about their own well-being (Becchetti et al., 2011). Although their results show a 'substantial homogeneity'

between the objective and subjective accounts of well-being, such a blended approach increases both detail and validity.

This section has explored prevalent approaches to well-being as the conceptual foundation of social value. As aforementioned, I define social value as improvement to the well-being of others. Having discussed the possibilities and limitations of both subjective and objective approaches to well-being, a blended approach to well-being is appropriate for this study because it encompasses both the subjective and normative character of well-being. It acknowledges that objective approaches are fallible as they neglect the inherent subjectivity of well-being. However, a blended approach also acknowledges the importance of inter-personal comparison of well-being that ultimately depends upon objective components of prudential value. A blended approach approaches these limitations and utilises the possibilities of both subjective and objective approaches to well-being.

In this chapter I have reviewed relevant literature in order to outline an appropriate definition of social value for this study. In this thesis I am interested in the concept of social value in the context of entrepreneurial activity. I define social value as the primary outcome and motivation of social enterprise. Social enterprise creates social value in approaching and alleviating a social issue that hinders well-being. As the primary outcome of social enterprise, social value improves the well-being of others, being the intended beneficiaries of a specific social enterprise. As such, well-being is the conceptual foundation of social value. Well-being is delineated from the balance of prudential value, or the good for a person, in a life. An appropriate understanding of well-being for this thesis, acknowledging both its subjective and normative character, recognises that these sources of prudential are both subjective, being informed by the preferences of the individual, and objective, being informed by the necessities of what is widely and commonly perceived as being a good human life.

Chapter Two – What is Luxury?

The previous chapter outlined a definition of social value, as the central concept of this study. In this thesis I am concerned to explore the relationship between social value and luxury, through an investigation into social enterprise in the luxury sector. Considering this, it is also necessary to delineate a suitable definition of luxury for this study. Luxury is generally thought of as being extravagant, out of the ordinary, indulgent and, perhaps most commonly, expensive. In the first section of this chapter, I conduct a literature review exploring historical understandings of luxury throughout Western history. This historical insight is important as it illustrates a long-standing understanding of luxury in opposition to necessity. Furthermore, in this section I am concerned to highlight ongoing historical debate into the social impact of luxury, or whether it was popularly believed to be in the interest of, or at the detriment to, collective and individual well-being. In the second section of this chapter, I outline two contemporary approaches to defining luxury. Firstly, I explore the development and scale of the luxury sector. This insight is necessary as the sheer scale and prevalence of the luxury sector in some ways characterise an understanding of contemporary luxury. The luxury sector promotes an understanding of luxury primarily delineated through high economic value. In contrast, I also review literature taking a more philosophical approach towards an understanding of luxury. This literature argues that an objective definition of luxury is implausible, as what is unnecessary, and therefore luxurious, is dependent upon socio-economic and -cultural context. Having conducted this literature review, I conclude with a pragmatic definition of luxury for this study.

As with the previous chapter, the literature surveyed in this chapter is primarily Western. As such, it is important to consider the relevance of the understandings and subsequent definition of luxury outlined in this chapter in Sri Lanka. In respect of this, in Chapter Four I explore the contemporary luxury sector in Sri Lanka, and subsequently discussing how perceptions of luxury are aligned with and disparate to the insight in this chapter.

2.1 Luxury in Western History

In this section I conduct a review into luxury in Western history through the lens of social value, particularly drawing from authors and scholars concerned to extrapolate the social impact of luxury. First and foremost, this literature offers useful insight into pre-dominant understandings of luxury throughout Western history. But furthermore, this review illustrates that debate about the social impact of luxury is long-standing in Western societies, raising questions about ‘necessity and waste... and of social justice’ (Kuldova, 2016, p. 120). The constancy of this debate foregrounds the need for contemporary investigation into the relationship between luxury and social value.

Ancient Greek Philosophy

From the dawn of classical thought all the way until the end of the seventeenth century, luxury was predominantly perceived as being detrimental to both collective and individual well-being, and subsequently anti-social. This critique of luxury was apparent in Ancient Greek philosophy, for example in book II of Plato’s *Republic* (Plato & Bloom, 2016). This text is especially significant in that it introduces the broad themes – particularly of equality and social justice – that recur in discourse around luxury to this day. In this text, the characters of Glaucon, Socrates, and Adeimantus discuss an ideal social structure in which labour is limited to meeting finite human needs. Socrates identifies three such needs, food, dwelling, and clothing, which must be fulfilled to avoid physical bodily harm (Plato & Bloom, 2016, 369d). Given that these needs are dictated by the human body, they are universal and democratic. There is no scope for refining these needs, waste, or accumulation, for ‘there is no purpose to be served by wanting more’ (Berry, 1994, p. 47). To ensure that these needs are met, every member of society must ‘put his work at the disposition of all in common’ (Plato & Bloom, 2016, 369e). This polis is presented as an ideal, democratic social structure, in which a controlled population would live equally, satisfied, and peacefully (Plato & Bloom, 2016, 372a,b). Crucially, as consumption is limited to meeting finite human needs, the well-being of the entire society is realised. If we are to understand luxury in opposition to

necessity, as what one could ‘rationally live without’, there is no scope for luxury in a polis limited to the basic satisfaction of finite human needs (Adams, 2012, p. 22).

Luxury is not only construed to be unnecessary in this text, but also dangerous to the harmony of civil society. Plato contrasts the ‘healthy’ polis described above with the ‘feverish’ city, where necessity is surpassed and luxury occurs (Plato & Bloom, 2016, 372e). The fevered city is motivated by ‘qualitative desires’; the pleasure derived from the refinement of commodities beyond functionality (Berry, 1994, p. 50). Whereas necessity, as dictated by the human body, is finite, the possibility of luxury is infinite, as ‘once appetite goes beyond what is necessary to meet fixed bodily needs, it will develop out of control’ (Berry, 1994, p. 51). The satisfaction of qualitative desires necessitates a larger population, and a wealth of new occupations including ‘poets... rhapsodes, actors, choral dancers, contractors, and craftsmen... teachers, wet nurses, governesses, beauticians, barbers... [and] more servants too’. There will also be ‘a much greater need of doctors’ in the fevered city, suggesting health issues that develop alongside bodily indulgence (Plato & Bloom, 2016, 373b,c). A greater population and increased industry in turn require additional landmass. Socrates thus states that to acquire additional land mass ‘we [must] cut off a piece of our neighbors’ land... and they in turn from ours, if they [also] let themselves go to the unlimited acquisition of money, overstepping the boundary of the necessary’ (Plato & Bloom, 2016, 373d). Subsequently, the pursuit of luxury leads to warfare. Furthermore, as Christopher J. Berry argues in their analysis of the text, the contrast between the healthy and the fevered polis is an exploration of justice and injustice. As justice ‘is a relationship between classes’, and there is only one class in the healthy polis, there is no scope for injustice (Berry, 1994, p. 52). Subsequently, to allow luxury into the polis is to sacrifice equality, fuel individualism, and ‘give rise to invidious comparison, envy and dispute’ (Berry, 1994, p. 51). In nurturing warfare and dissensus, Plato portrays luxury as being detrimental to collective well-being. Considering this, the ability to resist luxury ‘became the true measure of one’s philosophical temperament, physical well-being, and morality’ in Ancient Greek thought, and ‘a standard of virtuous conduct that would persist into the beginning of the modern era’ (Adams, 2012, p. 27).

Reflecting Plato's healthy polis, the political policy of the Roman period was informed by a Stoic ideal that 'calls for simple living', dictated by the natural, finite needs of the human body (Seneca & Campbell, 1969, p. 37). Stoic philosophy argues that to indulge in luxury, and surpass the finite needs of the body, is unnatural. For example, Seneca believes that to desire beyond necessity is unnatural because it is unlimited and thus leads to dissatisfaction. As Berry states in their analysis, 'those who keep within the bounds of nature will not experience poverty; rather, poverty is only experienced by those who have exceeded those bounds, whoever desire more' (Berry, 1994, p. 66). In Letter XVI, Seneca argues that a life of wealth and luxury would not make Lucilius happy, as it 'will only induce in you a craving for even bigger things' (Seneca & Campbell, 1969, p. 65). Essentially Seneca argues that those who are satisfied with necessity will lead a peaceful life, whereas those who indulge in luxury become a slave to their desires, 'handing the mind over to the body and commanding it to be the out and out slave of the body's whim and pleasure' (Seneca & Campbell, 1969, p. 168). Furthermore, those who desire beyond necessity are prone to vanity, as 'where prosperity has spread luxury over a wide area of society, people start by paying closer attention to their personal turnout' (Seneca & Campbell, 1969, p. 215). To live in this way, where the rational mind is subordinate not only to the whims of the body but to vanity, is unnatural and unfree, and subsequently detrimental to individual well-being.

The frugality and self-control necessary to live such a natural life were therefore key components of virtue in Roman thought. Another Stoic philosopher Gaius Musonius Rufus asserts that 'I would choose sickness rather than luxury, for sickness harms only the body, but luxury destroys both body and soul, causing weakness and impotence in the body and lack of self-control and cowardice in the soul' (Lutz, 2020, Lecture 20). This insight illuminates how luxury has historically been understood as selfish, as to be 'made soft through a life of luxury' is to become weak, cowardly and self-interested (Seneca & Campbell, 1969, p. 138).¹ Berry

¹ In the context of a Western-centric genealogy it is also important to acknowledge that luxury is understood as being characteristically 'Eastern' in Roman society, drawing upon long held narratives of the Orient as being decadent, corrupt, and effeminate. This narrative of the East is explored by Edward W. Said in their seminal text *Orientalism* originally published in 1978 (Said, 2003).

argues that these qualities were nefarious in Roman society as they were perceived to erode commitment to public good and collective well-being. Perhaps most importantly, such self-interest was dangerous militarily; when the warrior becomes soft, they are 'unable and unwilling to act for the public good when that might involve risk, or even death' (Berry, 1994, p. 84). As 'a society of weak characters is a society that cannot defend itself against either external enemies or internal conflict', individual behaviour was a concern of societal well-being, particularly during the Republican Era, and was subsequently approached by the state through sumptuary legislation (Berry, 1994, p. 75). Berry argues that this legislation was concerned to curb extravagance (for example, limiting the number of guests that could attend a dinner) and were often incredibly detailed (the value of silverware used at such a feast would also be regulated) (Berry, 1994, p. 77). The existence of such legislation highlights the Roman concern to cultivate Stoicism, which would protect both individual and collective well-being.

Early Christianity

The Roman conception of luxury endured, influencing popular understandings of virtue and corruption throughout Western history. In early Christian writings, luxury was condemned as a mortal sin, particularly in contrast to chastity. Whereas chastity was valorised as requiring restraint and self-control, luxury was denounced as indulgence and intemperance. In accordance with both Ancient Greek and Roman thought, to indulge in luxury represented the inability of the soul to control the desires of the body, to thus consume beyond necessity. This understanding of luxury is apparent in an etymological association between luxury and lust. The French word *luxure* translates as lechery, or lewdness (Berry, 1994, p. 87). To condemn luxury as a sin was to moralise, and therefore control, sexual lust as an affront to Christian modesty. Lust exceeds the natural (and necessary) purpose of sexual activity; pursuing pleasure or 'a lecherous indulgence in carnal delights', rather than procreation (Berry, 1994, p. 93). As such, through its association with lust, luxury is condemned as the inability of the soul to govern the carnal appetites of the body. In positioning luxury as a mortal sin Christian thought draws particular attention to the

danger of luxury to individual, rather than collective, well-being. In this context to indulge in luxury was to endanger the future of one's soul.

This idea is encapsulated in Dante Alighieri's *Inferno* (1320), the first part of their fourteenth century poem entitled the *Divine Comedy*. The *Divine Comedy* conveys Dante's guided journey through three imagined realms of the medieval Roman Catholic afterlife: hell, purgatory, and heaven. In *Inferno*, Dante is led by the character Virgil (representing human reason), through the nine circles of hell, depicting each of the different mortal sins that lead there. This work had an ethical purpose, 'to transform people's moral lives and to reform the institutions that governed them' (Corbett, 2020, p. 2). The *Divine Comedy* therefore encapsulates Christian moral ideas of the time in informing the reader how to merit eternal happiness in the afterlife, and avoid eternal damnation in hell. The mortal sins of lust and gluttony, both of which are related to luxury, led to sinners being deposited in the second and third circles of hell. In the second circle of hell, 'carnal malefactors' are punished for committing adultery and failing to control the appetites of their lust. These souls are condemned to endlessly drift in a violent storm, symbolizing how they 'drifted into self-indulgence and were carried away by their passions' in their lifetime (Alighieri, 2013, Canto V). In the third circle of hell, gluttons are condemned to eternally wallow in a cesspit produced by a ceaseless 'storm of putrefaction', just as they wallowed in luxury in their lifetime, as punishment for their earthly indulgence (Alighieri, 2013, Canto VI). Notably, the gluttonous souls are self-centred, not even heeding Dante and Virgil stepping on their vanity (in that they literally walk over these souls) as they pass through the third circle (Alighieri, 2013, Canto VI). The third circle of hell is filthy, cold, and barren, in poignant contrast to the glutton's life of luxury spent in splendour, warmth, and excess.

In these three eras luxury is poignantly understood in opposition to the finite needs of the human body, and is thus unnecessary. In being unnecessary luxury is subsequently critiqued as nurturing indulgence and self-interest that ultimately damages not only individual well-being but also the collective well-being of society. In this way, luxury was largely condemned as being anti-social. However, the gradual development of capitalist economies and the disruption of feudal class

structures in Western societies at the end of the seventeenth century had a profound impact on how luxury was perceived in newly industrialised societies.

Luxury and the Industrial Revolution

The rise of the middle class, the expansion of consumer culture, and the industrial revolution during the late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-centuries set the scene for a crucial shift in predominant moral attitudes toward luxury. During this period much of the stigma previously attached to luxury was eroded, a process that Berry has termed the ‘de-moralisation’ of luxury (Berry, 1994). However, this term suggests that as a result of its ‘de-moralisation’, luxury no longer provokes moral debate, leading Berry to consider the potential ‘re-moralisation’ of luxury in contemporary culture (Berry, 2016). Consequently, in this study I will instead refer to this process as the de-stigmatisation of luxury, to reflect the fact that luxury still evokes moral debate to this day. The de-stigmatisation of luxury at this time was informed by a growing awareness of its purported social benefits.

In their exploration of the growth of the European luxury industries in this period, Maxine Berg argues that the colonial trade of new, novel commodities from Asia facilitated this shift. These commodities, such as fashion fabrics, lacquerware, porcelain, ornamental objects and trinkets, were luxurious because they were unnecessary or unnecessarily refined. However, their design and manufacture, and subsequent quantity and cost, meant that they were economically attainable to a much wider proportion of European society. Being refined and modern, these commodities offered pleasure and convenience to the growing middle class (Berg, 1999, p. 69). Furthermore, stimulating a growing consumer culture, such dispensable goods provided ‘important material adjuncts to personal identities, cultural and symbolic display’ (Berg, 2005, p. 5).

The demand for these luxury commodities has been argued as the catalyst of Europe’s industrial revolution and the subsequent growth of capitalist industry. In *Luxus und Kapitalismus*, or *Luxury and Capitalism*, economist Werner Sombart looks back to consider the social circumstance that led to the creation of early capitalist economies in Europe. Sombart defines luxury as ‘any expenditure in excess of the necessary’, again identifying luxury in opposition to necessity. However, they assert that necessity is not static, being comprised not only by the

finite needs of the human body, but also ‘psychological needs’ and ‘cultural wants’ (Sombart, 1967, p. 59). Sombart also specifies two forms of luxury: ‘quantitative’ luxury referring to excess or a surplus of goods; and ‘qualitative’ luxury describing increased quality through refinement (Sombart, 1967, p. 59). The crux of Sombart’s argument is that, alongside expanding global trade and technological advancement, a shifting class structure, and the gradual secularisation of society, the increased production and consumption of what they deem to be luxury commodities was the ‘deciding factor’ in the creation of early capitalist economies in Europe (Sombart, 1967, p. 169). Thus, the growing desire and demand for luxury, increasingly devoid of moral stigma, and the opportunity to create financial profit from said desire, was crucial for the expansion of capitalist economies, driving consumption and establishing new markets.

As a result of its role in driving industrialisation and an emerging system of capitalism, luxury, ‘once associated with the preservation of social hierarchies, and its limitations with Christian economic ethics, became [positively] associated with the expansion of markets, wealth and economic growth’ (Berg, 1999, p. 68). Political economists of the time foresaw the economic growth that could be facilitated from increased industrialisation, which would not only promote ingenuity and technological advancement, but also create employment opportunities. At this time well-being was increasingly associated with economic prosperity and material comfort, rather than frugality and virtue (Berry, 1994, p. 101). Subsequently the well-being of society became an economic issue. As outlined below, commentators at this time were concerned to illustrate the role of luxury in ensuring the material well-being of ‘good’ and prosperous nations.

Bernard Mandeville’s poem *The Fable of the Bees* (1714) encapsulates this growing understanding that the production and consumption of luxury commodities was beneficial to society in driving industry. Defining luxury as ‘a refinement in the gratification of the senses’, Mandeville acts as an intermediary figure between the historical criticism of luxury and the endorsement that was emerging at this time, particularly in framing luxury as a personal vice. Yet, Mandeville is concerned to demonstrate the benefits of luxury on a societal level. In positioning luxury as ‘that noble sin’ which ‘employ’d a Million of the Poor’, Mandeville suggests that luxury

nurtures industry and trade that subsequently supports the collective well-being of society:

Thus Vice nurs'd Ingenuity,
Which join'd with Time and Industry,
Had carry'd Life's Conveniencies,
It's real Pleasures, Comforts, Ease,
To such a Height, the very Poor
Liv'd better than the Rich before,
And nothing could be added more.
(Mandeville, 1970)

Mandeville understands luxury as the key driver of an expanding system of capitalism that could facilitate material well-being, ensuring that the entire population not only possess the necessities of life but also experience some material comfort and pleasure. In arguing luxury as the root of societal prosperity the moral stigma attached to it was eroded, as to allow people to indulge in luxury, although ultimately self-satisfying, was also seen as being socially valuable in facilitating the well-being of society.

Similarly, in their essay *A Discourse of Trade* (1690) Nicholas Barbon argues that trade is in the interest of collective well-being as 'it provides employment, improves the natural stock of the country, raises rent and improves yield, occasions peace, increases revenue, [and] enlarges defensive capabilities' (Berry, 1994, p. 125). Barbon's essay is pertinent as it explicitly counters the longstanding, pre-modern belief that luxury is unnatural and therefore detrimental to individual well-being. Instead, Barbon argues that the 'wants of the mind', or the desire for luxury, is as natural as those essential necessities dictated by the human body: 'Desire implies Want: It is the Appetite of the Soul, and is as natural to the Soul, as Hunger to the Body' (Barbon, 1905, p. 14). In Barbon's view, rather than a flaw of character, to desire luxury and consume beyond necessity is a natural human impulse for betterment. As such, the realisation of such desires would likely improve individual well-being. Furthermore, in proclaiming that luxury is natural, Barbon illustrates the

development of perceived human necessity, now encompassing comfort and pleasure as essential components of well-being.

Both *The Fable of the Bees* and *A Discourse of Trade* illustrate a growing understanding that luxury and economic prosperity, rather than virtue, is at the heart of individual and collective well-being. This notion was further developed by David Hume, particularly in their works *Of Commerce* (1752) and *Of Refinement in the Arts* (1760), previously published with the title *Of Luxury* (1752), in which they remark that the modern age of commerce is ‘both the happiest and most virtuous’ era (Hume, 1994, p. 106). Hume argues that the quality of life of the general population is higher in these ‘ages of refinement’, particularly in contrast to pre-modern moralist subsistence economies where luxury was illicit, which they characterise as a ‘savage state’ (Hume, 1994, pp. 106, 195). Hume directly correlates happiness not only with prosperity but with the pleasure derived from luxury, as luxury commodities ‘add to the happiness of the state; since they afford to many the opportunity of receiving enjoyments, with which they would otherwise have been unacquainted’ (Hume, 1994, p. 95). Beyond the pleasure derived from indulging in luxury, Hume also contends that happiness is derived from what they call ‘action’, or participation in industrial activity with the motivation of a ‘more splendid way of life than what their ancestors enjoyed’ (Hume, 1994, pp. 106-107, 101). This action ‘invigorates the mind’ and prevents idleness, which for Hume was the true unnatural state (Berry, 1994, p. 144). Hume understands luxury not only as driving economic growth, but as a crucial facet of individual well-being, as a source of pleasure and satisfaction.

As we have seen, prevalent beliefs about the social impact of luxury have varied drastically throughout Western history. In the pre-modern era luxury was criticised and censored as an unnecessary indulgence that was deemed to be harmful to both individual and collective well-being, and therefore anti-social. In contrast, during the European industrial revolution luxury came to be endorsed as having a positive social impact, in that it promoted economic activity that was in the interest of both individual and collective well-being. This section has also demonstrated a constant and crucial facet toward an understanding of luxury, that it is perceived as being unnecessary or unnecessarily refined.

2.2 Understanding Contemporary Luxury

In this section I am concerned to determine a definition of luxury for this study. In order to do so, I first explore the development and defining characteristics of the luxury sector. In 2020, despite shrinking 20-22% since 2019 as a result of the Covid-19 crisis, the luxury sector had an estimated global worth of approximately €1 trillion (D'Arpizio, Levato, Prete, Gault, & de Montgolfier, 2021). The companies and brands that operate in the luxury industries, increasingly omnipresent around the world, offer an overt and coherent understanding of luxury as defined by this market segment. Insight into the luxury sector is important as, in some way, it characterises what is luxurious. This has led to what Joanne Roberts and John Armitage term the 'codification' of luxury, where an understanding of luxury overall is increasingly influenced by the sector of luxury commodities in the neoliberal marketplace (Roberts & Armitage, 2016). However, as this section will subsequently demonstrate, luxury cannot be defined objectively, as what is luxurious is unavoidably subject relative. Considering this, whilst acknowledging the importance of socio-cultural context to both identifying and understanding luxury, I conclude this section with a pragmatic definition of luxury for this study.

Conspicuous Consumption and the Birth of Luxury Brands

The de-stigmatisation of luxury and the expanding market for luxury commodities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries foregrounded the emergence and development of European luxury brands, particularly from the nineteenth century onwards. Journalist and author Dana Thomas charts the history of such brands in their book *Deluxe: How Luxury lost its Luster* (2007) demonstrating that luxury brands originated with the master craftspeople and ateliers producing bespoke luxury commodities for European court society in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries (Thomas, 2008). Establishing businesses within expanding urban centres, ateliers such as Louis Vuitton, Cartier, Hermès, and Bulgari, sought expansion through the production of new alluring goods, embracing innovation and adapting to the constantly evolving consumer marketplace (Wierzba, 2015, p. 12). Thomas suggests that perhaps the first example of a branded luxury good occurred in 1876 when Louis Vuitton applied a (now synonymous) monogram pattern to its trunks as a

registered trademark (Thomas, 2008, p. 25). This trademark was not only intended to avoid counterfeiting, but to develop a visual identity of the Louis Vuitton brand and its products.

As European court society gave way to more democratic societies and the industrial revolution continued to create affluence and social mobility, luxury commodities were increasingly consumed as symbols of social status (Thomas, 2008, pp. 25-26). The branding of luxury commodities expanded their potential for 'conspicuous consumption', as termed by Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). Veblen defines the leisure class as the economic elite whom need not undertake productive labour yet still enjoy all the finest things in life. The leisure class establish and uphold their social status through conspicuous consumption, or the process of asserting the stature of one's wealth through the visible consumption of luxury commodities and comfortable living. The lifestyle of the leisure class is aspirational because wealth is the root of social status and therefore 'intrinsically honourable' (Veblen, 2007, p. 24). As 'each class envies and emulates the class next above it in the social scale', luxury commodities become increasingly desirable as a result of the high social status that they signify through their high economic value (Veblen, 2007, p. 74). Veblen defines luxury in opposition to necessity, as the consumption of luxury commodities is 'a race of reputability on the basis of invidious comparison' rather than 'the want of subsistence or of physical comfort' (Veblen, 2007, p. 26). In this way, they ultimately critique luxury as being wasteful and therefore anti-social. The theory of conspicuous consumption is important to an understanding of luxury in demonstrating the increasingly important role of luxury commodities in signifying social status. Furthermore, the occurrence of conspicuous consumption (particularly of branded luxury commodities) suggests that what is luxurious is delineated by high economic value, as the 'price must be high in order to convey value' and the subsequent economic status of the consumer (McNeil & Riello, 2016, p. 4).

The Contemporary Luxury Sector

The increasing occurrence and importance of conspicuous consumption contributed to the expansion of the luxury sector. Some of those European brands established in

the nineteenth century have grown to become eponymous global brands that dominate the market to this day. The luxury sector expanded phenomenally at the end of the twentieth century. The development of neoliberal capitalism at this time, which substantially accelerated the growth of free trade in an open global marketplace, provided a crucial foundation for the mass-expansion of luxury brands. The pre-eminence of neoliberal capitalism also facilitated the creation and growth of a handful of multinational conglomerate groups that now own the vast majority of globally-marketed luxury brands, such as LVMH (Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton) and Kering. As Leanne Wierzba succinctly summarises, these conglomerate groups, and the luxury brands that they own, dominate the contemporary luxury sector through:

‘the corporatization and industrialization of artisanal trades, the globalization of both production and retailing, the diversification of product lines across a broad range of price points, the marketing of elite and aspirational goods to an increasingly large audience of potential customers, and, of course, soaring profits’ (Wierzba, 2015, p. 13).

Similarly, Thomas argues that luxury brands (and the conglomerate groups that own them) initially expanded through approaching the ‘middle-market’, those who could not afford traditional luxury goods but aspired to. Brand licensing, entry level products (such as perfumes and small leather goods), and duty-free and outlet stores ensured that these brands were accessible to an increasingly wide consumer group, resulting in higher sales, profit, and growth. Furthermore, the dominance of the luxury conglomerate under the conditions of neoliberal capitalism paved the way for the expansion of European and American luxury brands into new global markets, such as increasingly affluent economies in Asia. In particular, the phenomenal economic growth in China created a vast new luxury consumer group, and thus secured the fortunes of the most successful and ubiquitous global luxury brands, who ‘capitalized on the fact that China is considered the best at everything, apart from producing its own luxury goods and luxury brands’ (McNeil & Riello, 2016, p. 247). Subsequently, luxury brands have been transformed into publicly traded global companies focussed upon profit and expansion (Thomas, 2008, pp. 36-37).

The ultimate purpose of Thomas' text is to illustrate the transformation of luxury commodities and companies from small-scale family businesses handcrafting bespoke goods that were only economically accessible to the economic elite to powerful conglomerate-owned enterprises that have, they argue, sacrificed their integrity for the sake of profit. Thomas is concerned to critique contemporary luxury producers who, in their view, disregard the characteristics of luxury commodities that once justified their high economic value. The high quality and limited availability of luxury commodities has been sacrificed to ensure that luxury is 'available to anyone, anywhere, at any price point' (Thomas, 2008, p. 12). In particular, they argue that 'by putting an emphasis on the logo', 'luxury companies made their brands, rather than the actual products, the objects of public desire' (Thomas, 2008, p. 272). Consequently, for this reason, they state that the luxury sector 'has sacrificed its integrity, undermined its products, tarnished its history, and hookwinked its consumers', and thus 'stripped away all that has made it special', in pursuit of profit and growth (Thomas, 2008, p. 13). Regardless of whether this argument is true, Thomas' insight does demonstrate how luxury commodities have changed since the nineteenth century, particularly as a result of the growing importance of brand names, and their subsequent potential for conspicuous consumption.

The contemporary luxury sector is successful and significant. A report published by Deloitte, entitled *Global Powers of Luxury Goods 2020* offers an insight into the scale and wealth of what it terms the fashion and luxury industry. This report compiles a ranking of the top 100 luxury companies, many of which are conglomerate groups (although the report acknowledges that a small number of privately owned luxury brands cannot be included in the ranking because there is insufficient data around their operations). This report is specifically concerned with luxury commodities 'for personal use', including 'designer clothing and footwear (ready-to-wear), luxury bags and accessories (including eyewear), luxury jewelry and watches, and prestige cosmetics and fragrances' (Deloitte, 2020, p. 45). Consequently, it only represents a portion of the entire luxury sector, which also includes other industries such as automobiles, fine art and collectibles, and leisure services among others. Deloitte report that in 2019 the top 100 luxury brands included in the study made aggregate global sales of \$281bn. The average valuation

of these companies was \$2.8bn. Furthermore, in order to be included in this top 100, luxury companies made a minimum of \$238m in sales (Deloitte, 2020, p. 4). The LVMH group was the largest and most successful of the companies included in the study, with sales of \$37.468m and a 14.5% net profit margin in 2019. The second most successful was Kering, with sales of \$17.777m and a 14.7% net profit margin. Chanel Limited, the only private company in the top 10 ranking, rated sixth, with sales of \$12.273m and a 19.6% net profit margin (Deloitte, 2020, p. 17). Especially considering that this report is limited in its scope, it demonstrates the significance of the luxury sector. The sheer scale and wealth of these companies is important in informing contemporary perceptions of luxury, as recognised through market segmentation in the capitalist marketplace.

What is the Luxury Sector?

The figures above pose the question of how companies and brands are defined as belonging to the luxury sector, and how this market sector is differentiated from others. The Deloitte report defines a luxury company as having a 'strong consumer brand' and operating 'at the higher end of retail' (Deloitte, 2020, p. 45). Furthermore, it outlines certain factors 'affecting the positioning of companies on this luxury spectrum: price premium; quality/rarity of raw materials; quality of craftsmanship; product exclusivity; service and personalisation; and quality and exclusivity of points of sale' (Deloitte, 2020, p. 45). This definition demonstrates the importance of both strong branding and a relatively high price point in recognising the brands and companies that operate in the luxury sector. In this sense, the Deloitte report summarises a common perception that the luxury sector is primarily recognised in contrast to other market segments as a result of price point. Accompanying the growth of the luxury market, an array of literature engaged with the marketing practices of luxury brands has emerged that supports this differentiation of the luxury sector (Atwal & Bryson, 2014; Atwal & Jain, 2012; Chadha & Husband, 2006; Chevalier & Mazzalovo, 2012; Hoffmann & Coste-Manière, 2012; Kapferer, 2015; Kapferer & Bastian, 2012; Phillips, 2012; Silverstein, Fiske, & Butman, 2005; Tungate, 2009).

In *Trading Up* (2003), Michael Silverstein, Neil Fiske, and John Butman argue that increasingly wealthy American consumers are driving what they term the 'New Luxury' market. These consumers choose to 'trade up' in particular product categories, of importance to them as individuals, meaning that a much wider proportion of society is consuming luxury commodities and brands. They subsequently outline three dominant forms of 'New Luxury' commodities: 'accessible superpremium', commodities priced 'at or near the top of their category, and a considerable premium to conventional offerings'; 'Old Luxury brands extensions', 'lower-priced versions of products created by companies whose brands have traditionally been affordable only for the rich' (which they define as household incomes over \$200,000 per annum); and 'Masstige' goods, which 'occupy a sweet spot in the market', 'commanding a premium over conventional products, but priced well below superpremium or Old Luxury goods' (Silverstein et al., 2005, pp. 4-5). From this description it can be deduced that price premium, particularly in comparison to 'conventional products' of the same use value, differentiates the contemporary luxury sector.

Like Silverstein et al., in *Luxury Brand Management* (2008), Michel Chevalier and Gérald Mazzalovo, acknowledge that the contemporary luxury market is an 'extensive and highly contrasted landscape' that thus requires further segmentation (Chevalier & Mazzalovo, 2012, p. 2). They draw upon Danielle Allérès' identification of three segments in the luxury market, as outlined in their article *Luxe: Stratégie, Marketing* (1990): inaccessible luxury (exclusive products made by hand in single units); intermediary luxury (expensive replicas of inaccessible luxury); and accessible luxury (products made in larger quantities, often using mechanised manufacture) (Chevalier & Mazzalovo, 2012, p. xviii). Having acknowledged the diversity of the luxury market, that clearly encompasses a wide range of different commodities with different corresponding price points, they further argue that there are two separate approaches that determine or justify the place of a commodity in the luxury sector: perceptual and productive approaches. Productive approaches to luxury concern 'qualifications embedded in the production of the object or service' such as quality, technological innovation, creative design, tradition, and artisanal exigency (Chevalier & Mazzalovo, 2012, p. 8). Perceptual approaches to luxury concerns its potential to distinguish social standing. It is this

social significance of luxury that informs the elasticity of demand for luxury commodities, where ‘the demand, paradoxically, will increase when the price increases’ (Chevalier & Mazzalovo, 2012, p. 8). A commodity belongs to the luxury sector either because of its social perception (as objects of conspicuous consumption), or because of qualities of production that result in high economic value.

Similarly, in *The Luxury Strategy* (2009), Jean-Noël Kapferer and Vincent Bastian argue that to be considered luxurious, a commodity must fulfil two separate but related functions. What they term ‘luxury for others’ refers to the social dimension of luxury commodities and brands in signifying social status as items of conspicuous consumption. They state that luxury ‘has a fundamental function of recreating... social stratification’, as ‘the DNA of luxury... is the symbolic desire to belong to a superior class’ (Kapferer & Bastian, 2012, pp. 18,19). The second function that luxury must fulfil, termed ‘luxury for oneself’, is as a source of pleasure and indulgence for the consumer. They argue that luxury ‘should have a very strong personal and hedonistic component, otherwise it is no longer a luxury but simple snobbery’ (Kapferer & Bastian, 2012, p. 20). As a source of pleasure, they argue that luxury is qualitative, multisensory, aesthetic, has a strong ‘human content’, and is not restricted by functionality (Kapferer & Bastian, 2012, p. 21). Any commodity or brand that does not fulfil these two functions is therefore not luxurious, according to Kapferer and Bastian. Furthermore, they are concerned to differentiate ‘luxury’ commodities from ‘premium’ commodities, arguing that, ‘luxury is the ultimate version of a range, marked by all the well-known criteria of rarity, high price, sensuality, creativity, attention to detail, age, quality, imagination’ (Kapferer & Bastian, 2012, p. 40).

This review of luxury brand management literature demonstrates that what significantly differentiates the luxury sector is the high price point of luxury commodities in contrast to alternative products that perform the same utilitarian function. In their attempt to ‘outline the formulation of a definition of luxury’ Dimitri Mortelmans states that ‘higher prices are an essential feature of a luxury product, be it somewhat derived’ from additional qualities such as high quality and rarity (Mortelmans, 2005, pp. 495, 507). However, Mortelmans’ article subsequently argues for defining luxury through its sign value, derived from high economic value,

as items of conspicuous consumption: ‘in a world of signs with which people distinguish themselves from others’, ‘we therefore define luxury products as those products that have a sign value on top of (or in substitution of) their functional or economical meaning’ (Mortelmans, 2005, pp. 517, 510). Considering this, contemporary luxury is ‘manifested in a very real form in the global marketplace where luxury goods and services may be defined by high price’ and their subsequent potential for conspicuous consumption (Roberts & Armitage, 2016, p. 30).

From the perspective of social value, the growth of the luxury sector and the social function of luxury commodities from the nineteenth century until today has informed debate about the social impact of luxury. As McNeil and Riello note, ‘on the one hand, luxury is [seen as] uplifting both spiritually and materially; on the other, it is seen as ‘unproductive’ and therefore useless in any society that privileges economic and social rationality’ (McNeil & Riello, 2016, p. 4). Reflecting those political theorists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the production and consumption of luxury (or unnecessary) commodities facilitates demand in the capitalist marketplace, upon which collective well-being is increasingly dependent. Furthermore, luxury has been perceived as a source of innocent pleasure that further improves individual well-being. However, for the integrity of this thesis, it is also important to acknowledge that critical approaches to luxury have endured and have even been invigorated in recent history. As we have seen in this section, Veblen was concerned to critique luxury due to its role in demonstrating (and, indeed, accentuating) social stratification, which is at the detriment of equality and social harmony. Furthermore, contemporary commentators have argued that luxury is anti-social (in that it damages both collective and individual well-being) on multiple grounds, including but not limited to: its negative impact upon the environment, that ultimately damages collective well-being in making the planet increasingly uninhabitable; its promotion of a materially acquisitive lifestyle that leads to dissatisfaction and thus negatively impacts individual well-being; and its reinforcement of economic inequality, particularly considering that surplus wealth could be utilised to approach pressing social issues that hinder the realisation of global collective well-being (Barber, 2007; Frank, 2010; Gough, 2017; Singer, 2016; Skidelsky & Skidelsky, 2012). Despite the phenomenal growth of its market sector,

it is important to acknowledge that contemporary luxury still invites moral stigma as a result of the perceived negative impact it has upon collective and individual well-being.

The Idea of Contemporary Luxury

The luxury sector offers an important characterisation of contemporary luxury, promoting a popular understanding derived from market segmentation. McNeil and Riello state that the contemporary market for luxury commodities ‘has changed forever the meaning of luxury’ (McNeil & Riello, 2016, p. 253). As we have seen, this segment is primarily recognised as being economically valorous, operating at a relatively high price point within each category of consumer good or service (regardless of the qualities that may justify the high economic value of such commodities). Related to this, as a result of their relatively high price point, we can recognise luxury commodities through their potential for conspicuous consumption in demonstrating the social standing of the consumer.

Considering this, Roberts and Armitage argue that ‘we *know that* something is luxury because we can objectively measure its standing as ‘verified’ by its market price and other indicators of worth’ (Roberts & Armitage, 2016, p. 39). They state that the prevalence of the luxury sector has ‘codified’ a contemporary understanding of luxury, as ‘knowing that something is a luxury through the codified knowledge distributed by luxury brand companies and market price becomes more prevalent than knowing how it is a luxury through socio-cultural practices’ (Roberts & Armitage, 2016, p. 40). Because of the prevalence of the contemporary luxury sector, ‘how luxury is known from a consumer, societal, and philosophical perspective has been overlooked’ (Roberts & Armitage, 2016, pp. 25-26). In response to this, and in contrast to literature primarily concerned with luxury brand management practices, scholars working in the relatively new field of critical luxury studies explore an understanding of contemporary luxury outside of the often limited perspectives of entrepreneurship and capitalist growth, demonstrating the inherent relativity of the concept.

Armitage and Roberts lay out the parameters of critical luxury studies in the introduction to their edited volume of the same title (2016). They argue that ‘critical

luxury studies can be seen to be setting itself against the preconceptions about luxury found in contemporary uncritical disciplines, exemplified by luxury brand management' (Armitage & Roberts, 2016, p. 16). Critical luxury studies is primarily concerned to create 'beneficial knowledge about the study of luxury', in order to facilitate 'a reconceptualisation of what, precisely, is entailed by the term 'luxury' in the present period' (Armitage & Roberts, 2016, pp. 13, 16). Considering this, scholars contributing toward the field of critical luxury studies seek a broader understanding of luxury, crucially outside of the physical manifestation of the luxury sector. These scholars recognise that although the commodities of the luxury sector may 'characterise luxury, they are not sufficient in themselves to *define* it' (Berry, 1994, p. 9).

The Importance of Socio Cultural and Economic Context

It would be difficult to argue that the sheer prevalence of the luxury sector has not impacted popular understandings of contemporary luxury, especially as many people would sensibly identify the commodities produced by the luxury sector as luxurious *for them*. However, scholars within critical luxury studies argue that 'luxury is contingent on specific sociocultural and economic contexts' (McNeil & Riello, 2016, p. 10). Characterising contemporary luxury through its market sector would suggest that it is only experienced by those with the economic resources and personal inclination to consume such commodities. What is unnecessary or costly is clearly relative. As such, it is important to consider how individuals understand and experience luxury in their daily lives. As Armitage and Roberts argue, a crucial aim of critical luxury studies is to demonstrate that because value is unavoidably impacted by socio-cultural and -economic context, 'luxury cannot be objectively defined' (Armitage & Roberts, 2016, p. 30). They explore the inherent relativity of luxury, as derived from tacit knowledge of *how* something is luxurious on a personal level (as briefly mentioned above). The knowledge of how something is luxurious or valuable is gained through lived experience, and the socio-cultural and -economic practices that shape and inform an individual life, which therefore can be expected to be diverse and nuanced (Roberts & Armitage, 2016, p. 35). As a result, 'the meaning of luxury varies through time and space, and across economic, social and cultural contexts' (Armitage & Roberts, 2016, p. 30).

This idea is apparent in Christopher J. Berry book *The Idea of Luxury* (1994), in which they delineate an understanding of luxury through both historical analysis and a conceptual contribution. Berry notes that the term 'luxury' is inescapable in contemporary marketing media which, although at times arbitrarily, draws upon 'certain assumed connotations' that have come to be associated with luxury due to the prevalence of the luxury sector (Berry, 1994, p. 4). However, they also argue that, in contrast to an understanding of luxury derived from the luxury sector, 'neither expense nor rarity are of themselves sufficient conditions for a good to be accounted a luxury', particularly considering that purported exclusivity is frequently a marketing tool to increase sales (Berry, 1994, pp. 4-5). Instead, Berry derives an understanding of luxury in differentiating between needs and wants (or desires), and outlines four categories of needs: sustenance; shelter; clothing; and leisure (Berry, 1994, p. 9). Whereas 'wants, unlike needs, are intentional', 'needs, unlike wants, are objective or universal' in that they are 'involuntary or necessary' to sustain human life (Berry, 1994, pp. 9,10). Furthermore, when considering needs, Berry also differentiates between fundamental and instrumental needs, where the latter are 'only called forth by virtue of the prior desire or want' and are therefore not intrinsic to sustain life (Berry, 1994, p. 10). Berry thus associates luxury with wants, in that although 'a luxury is something that would be nice to have', it is 'relatively easily substituted' so that 'not having it would cause no particular pain' as it is not objective or involuntary like needs (Berry, 1994, p. 24).

Berry subsequently identifies luxury with the refinement, or qualitative dimension, of fundamental needs, in that desire 'expresses itself in the greater refinement of the goods that serve generically to meet universally experienced satisfactions or needs' (Berry, 1994, p. 11). In this way, they highlight that 'all luxuries 'relate' to basic satisfactions', and thus argue that 'it is important in a consideration of luxury not to identify it with redundancy or uselessness' (Berry, 1994, p. 17). Although easily substitutable, luxury goods still perform a function and relate to fundamental needs. However, as a result of its refinement, what is perceived as luxurious is inevitably 'subject to development as... desires... are met and then fuelled with further qualitative modifications or refinements'. The dynamism and subjectivity of desire (informed by personal taste and aspiration) thus demonstrates the 'transient status of luxury goods' (Berry, 1994, p. 18). As commodities that were

once deemed to be luxurious become an essential part of daily life, they no longer command luxury status.

That what is perceived as luxurious, on both a societal and individual level, can and has altered drastically over time, particularly in the face of technological advancement and improved quality of life, demonstrates what Berry calls the ‘relativity’ of luxury, in that ‘one person’s luxury can be another’s necessity’ (Berry, 1994, p. 33). Even branded luxury commodities, despite the existence of ‘virtually perfect substitutes’, can be necessary to an individual that needs to express and maintain their high social standing through conspicuous consumption (Berry, 1994, p. 26). In defining the relationship between luxury and need as ‘negative or oppositional’, Berry subsequently demonstrates the relativity of luxury, as what is deemed to be necessary is ultimately dependent upon the socio-cultural and -economic context of an individual or society at a certain point in time (Berry, 1994, p. 232).

Understanding luxury in opposition to necessity, like Berry, and therefore acknowledging the unavoidably relativity of luxury that, like necessity, is in a constant state of flux, thus demonstrates the limitations of objective manifestations of contemporary luxury, such as the commodities produced by the luxury sector. The true relativity and subsequent diversity of contemporary luxury is vividly encapsulated in Juliana Mansvelt, Mary Breheny and Iain Hay’s research into what they term ‘Life’s Little Luxuries’ (Mansvelt, Breheny, & Hay, 2016). In general, Mansvelt et al.’s study demonstrates the importance of ‘empirical expressions of luxury’, toward an understanding of contemporary luxury. Contributing toward critical luxury studies, they contend that ‘critical perspectives on luxury consumption must acknowledge how luxury is experienced, valued and moralised in specific temporal and geographical context’, particularly outside of the luxury sector (Mansvelt et al., 2016, p. 93). Their research is intended to explore ‘how luxury is understood beyond the realms of the wealthy’, suggesting that luxury is in fact democratic (Mansvelt et al., 2016, p. 88). They illustrate this argument through qualitative research into how individuals perceive and experience luxury in their lives. A research sample of varied socio-cultural and -economic backgrounds ultimately demonstrates that what is understood as luxurious to each individual is

'materially grounded and morally constituted' (Mansvelt et al., 2016, p. 88). The majority of the research participants expressed luxury as extravagance (in that it is unnecessary or easily substitutable) that is ultimately dependent upon their individual socio-cultural and -economic status. In this way, a DVD and a top of the range car were simultaneously ascribed as being luxurious by the research sample. This study also establishes that luxury is universally experienced and valued by the research sample (although in a huge variety of forms), 'providing a sense of pleasure and contributing to autonomy and well-being' (Mansvelt et al., 2016, p. 105).

Having undertaken a literature review into prevalent understandings of luxury, I conclude this chapter with a pragmatic definition of luxury apt for this thesis. Mansvelt et al.'s study emphasise the wider argument made in critical luxury studies that what is luxurious is inherently relative and dependent upon the socio-cultural and -economic context of an individual at a particular point in time. The literature in this section has demonstrated that what is perceived and marketed as 'luxury' has changed considerably over time as social-cultural and -economic context evolves: '[t]he latest incarnations of luxury should be read not as some 'absolute', but in the light of the long historical evolution of the concept and the changing material and social practice that it has assumed over time' (McNeil & Riello, 2016, p. 291). Branded luxury commodities offer an interpretation of what is desirable and has a relatively high economic value in our contemporary consumer societies, otherwise they would not generally be perceived as such. But fundamentally, the field of critical luxury studies establishes the limitations of any objective definition of luxury, as it is impossible to explore the endless possibilities of luxury in 'different times and locations or across all economic, social and cultural contexts' (Roberts & Armitage, 2016, p. 31).

As a contribution to critical luxury studies, I acknowledge in this thesis that luxury is ultimately dependent on socio-cultural and -economic context, and therefore has an infinite range of possibilities. However, for the sake of the coherence of this thesis, an objective definition of luxury is essential. Whilst acknowledging the limitations of this approach, it is necessary to define luxury primarily by its market segmentation, particularly considering that the possibility of luxury production creating social value involves the capitalist production of

commodities that would be perceived as belonging to the luxury sector. Considering this, in this thesis I define luxury as unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities that command a relatively high economic value (regardless of the qualities that may justify a high price) in comparison to commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose.

Chapter Three – Luxury and Social Value

Thus far in this thesis, I have defined the concepts of social value and luxury. I define social value as the primary outcome of social enterprise, approaching and alleviating a social issue that hinders well-being. I subsequently define luxury as unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities that command a relatively high economic value in comparison to commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose. In this thesis I am concerned to explore the role of social enterprise in the luxury sector, and the ways in which luxury production might create social value. The next task, then, is to conduct a literature review of prior research into this topic. As aforementioned, the concept of social value is of increasing importance in the context of greater occurrence of social enterprise and the growing importance of conscientious consumerism. However, there is a lack of research into the role of social enterprise in the luxury sector. In the first section of this chapter, I therefore review literature exploring the theme of sustainability in the luxury sector. As this section will demonstrate, although this literature doesn't necessarily offer insight into social enterprise in the luxury sector, the concept of sustainability offers insight into how particular qualities and outcomes of luxury production might create social value. Subsequently, in the second section of this chapter, I hone in on one particular quality of luxury production that is argued to make such activity sustainable: the use of handicraft technique. In light of this, I review literature exploring the potential for handicraft production to create social value, specifically in improving the well-being of the maker. I conclude this chapter with two research questions that arose from this literature review.

3.1 Sustainability and Social Value

In this section, I review literature offering insight into how contemporary luxury production might create social value. Despite the growing occurrence of social enterprise in the twenty-first century, and the fact that 'luxury buyers are increasingly interested in the provenance and social and environmental impact of their luxury brands', academic literature exploring the role of social enterprise in the luxury sector, and its potential to create social value, is extremely limited (Amatulli,

De Angelis, Costabile, & Guido, 2017, p. 3). This thesis intends to address this lack. Two volumes edited by Miguel Ángel Gardetti and María Eugenia Girón, *Sustainable Luxury and Social Entrepreneurship: Stories from the Pioneers* (2014), and *Sustainable Luxury and Social Entrepreneurship: More Stories from the Pioneers* (2016), offer some insight into the role of the broader category of social entrepreneurship in luxury production. These volumes bring together case studies of social entrepreneurs operating in the luxury sector, as recognised by the IE (Istituto di Empresa University) Awards for Sustainability in the Premium and Luxury Sectors. These volumes equate social entrepreneurship in the luxury sector with sustainability, rather than social value.

In consideration of the lack of literature explicitly exploring social value (as the outcome of social enterprise) in the luxury sector, in this section I subsequently review literature concerned with the sustainability of luxury production, such as those volumes mentioned above. This literature commonly defines sustainability in accordance with the World Commission on Environment and Development report, titled *Our Common Future* (1987). This report defines sustainable economic development as the development model ‘that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Subsequently, it argues that the neoliberal development model is unsustainable in that it threatens the well-being of the global population now and in the future (Amatulli et al., 2017, pp. 38-42). This report proposes a new approach to economic development, what is termed sustainable development, that would ensure that the basic needs of the entire global population are met whilst simultaneously protecting natural resources and preventing environmental degradation.

Considering this, literature regarding the sustainability of luxury offers some insight into its social impact. What is termed sustainable luxury production pertains to have a positive impact upon human well-being, both now and in the future. For example, in the introduction of *Sustainable Luxury and Social Entrepreneurship: Stories from the Pioneers*, Girón argues that ‘the development, manufacturing and sale’ of sustainable luxury commodities has a ‘positive impact on the planet and on people’ (Girón, 2014, p. 8). Similarly, in the same volume Gardetti states that sustainable luxury businesses ‘have an active attitude based on a very pronounced

values approach with the intention to generate [positive] social and environmental changes’ (Gardetti, 2014, p. 28). Furthermore, in their report for the WWF (World Wide Fund for Nature) calling on the luxury industries to embrace sustainable production, Jen Bendell and Anthony Kleanthous argue that ‘the credibility of luxury products and services will be derived from their ability to generate wellbeing, not only for consumers, but also for those involved in (or affected by) their production, use, reuse and disposal’ (Bendell & Kleanthous, 2007, p. 3). Considering my definition of social value in Chapter One, as improving the well-being of others, these insights into what is termed sustainable luxury production demonstrate its compatibility with the concept of social value. Discussions centred around sustainability therefore offer an insight into the potential for luxury production to create social value.

In this literature, luxury production is often deemed to be sustainable in opposition to what is perceived to be unsustainable commodity production: the mass-manufacture of low cost, and therefore throwaway, commodities which ‘causes disturbing environmental challenges due to overproduction and overconsumption’ (Skjold, 2017, p. 103). This type of unsustainable commodity production is illustrated by the growing critique of the fast-fashion industry that has emerged in recent history (Brooks, 2015; Cline, 2012; Siegle, 2014; Thomas, 2019). For example, in the introduction of their exposé into the social and environmental impact of the fast fashion industry, entitled *Fashionopolis* (2019), Thomas considers the fast-fashion brand Zara. They state that, as the world’s largest fashion brand, Zara produced 450 million items of clothing in 2018, with sales of approximately \$18.8bn in 2017. Amancio Ortega, the co-founder and former chairman of Zara’s parent company Inditex had a net worth of €67bn at the time (making them the second richest person in the world). Yet, in order to make a robust profit on relatively cheap clothing items, Zara’s business model outsources labour to independent factories in developing economies, where employees often earn less than living wage, and work

in unsafe conditions with no labour protections.² Furthermore, Zara products are often made of raw materials whose crops are highly polluting and water-intensive, synthetic fabrics that contribute to the plight of non-biodegradable plastic waste, and toxic colouring agents and chemical processes. Finally, the average piece of Zara clothing would be worn only seven times before being disposed increasing the landfill problem that contemporary consumerism has created (Thomas, 2019). Because of this, Thomas argues that Zara's mass-manufacture of low-cost commodities is unsustainable and therefore anti-social, in that it negatively impacts the collective well-being of the global population.

In contrast, in their book entitled *Sustainable Luxury Brands* (2017), C. Amatulli et al. argue that 'luxury brands promote an approach to production and consumption that might be considered sustainable by definition' (Amatulli et al., 2017, pp. 35-36). They seek to demonstrate the sustainability of luxury production in contrast to a critique of what they perceive as unsustainable production (as detailed above), stating that 'luxury is the enemy of resource destruction, mass production, over-consumption, and, in general, of the throwaway society' (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 36). They therefore imply that certain qualities of luxury production and luxury commodities are inherently sustainable. Similarly, Gardetti argues that 'the essence of luxury', or certain qualities that they delineate as being characteristic of luxury production, such as 'the thoughtful purchase', 'artisanal manufacturing', 'beauty of materials', and 'respect for social and environmental issues', are inherently sustainable and therefore socially valuable. I now consider the particular qualities of luxury production that have been argued to ensure that such activity is sustainable.

Environmental Grounds

This literature argues that luxury production is environmentally sustainable in contrast to the mass-production of low-cost and -quality commodities, subsequently reducing environmental degradation that jeopardises the well-being of the current

² This vignette of the poor working conditions in such garment manufacturing facilities is perhaps most vividly characterised by the 2013 Rana Plaza disaster in Bangladesh, where 1,132 people lost their lives when an unsafe building complex containing five garment manufacturing facilities collapsed. This instance highlighted the unsafe and unfair working conditions of employees, particularly in developing economies, often producing commodities for well-known global brand names (Murray, 2017).

and future global population. Firstly, luxury production is deemed to be environmentally sustainable because it involves limited production which cannot be reproduced in mass quantities. Kapferer argues that because the value of luxury ‘is based on its objective rarity’, it is therefore ‘resource dependent and obsessed by the sustainability of its resource’. The high price of luxury commodities naturally ‘limit[s] the demand’ for such finite resources and thus ensures their sustainability (Kapferer, 2010, p. 41). Furthermore, in their article considering consumer perception of sustainable luxury (2014), Janssen et al. state that ‘scarcity restricts product availability’ and thereby moderates consumption. As such, the scarcity of limited production ‘encourage[s] more reasonable, responsible consumption and help[s] protect natural resources’ to support environmental sustainability (Janssen, Vanhamme, Lindgreen, & Lefebvre, 2014, p. 47). Amatulli et al. concur with this point, arguing that luxury is produced in limited quantities ‘thus inducing less supply chain activities and becoming, by definition, more sustainable than mass-market products, which are typically produced in large volumes’ (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 55). However, this argument is clearly dependent upon an assumption that the production of commodities sold in the luxury sector is, in fact, limited. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, Thomas has argued to the contrary, stating that many luxury commodities are actually mass-produced (despite being marketed to the contrary) (Thomas, 2008).

In being limited, luxury production is also argued to ‘contribute[s] to the preservation of natural resources’ (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 54). Silvia Ranfagni and Simone Guercini assert that luxury producers make a ‘pact’ with their environment: ‘they safeguard it and make it the protagonist of their collections’, and take on a sense of ‘stewardship’ for precious natural resources, which they use in ways that ensure their availability in the future (Ranfagni & Guercini, 2016, p. 53). They illustrate this argument in their case study of LVMH-owned Italian cashmere brand Loro Piana, which pertains to safeguard a threatened goat breed and its ecosystem in inner Mongolia, alongside other sustainable practices (Ranfagni & Guercini, 2016, pp. 55-57). Although the marketing claims of a luxury producer like Loro Piana offer an insight into how certain qualities of luxury production might be sustainable, without empirical evidence these claims are unsubstantiated. Furthermore, Ranfagni and Guercini do not differentiate the aims and impacts of a luxury producer like

Loro Piana from the wider luxury industries, including other LVMH-owned luxury brands that may not operate in the same way or with the same motivations.

Luxury production is also argued to be environmentally sustainable because it limits waste. Commentators seeking to portray luxury production as sustainable argue that the high quality and durability of luxury commodities ensures that their production is environmentally sustainable because they need replacing less frequently and therefore create less emissions and waste. As ‘enduring products reflect conservation values’ that are compatible with environmental sustainability, luxury production is endorsed as the most efficient use of the resources and processes necessary to their manufacture (Janssen et al., 2014, p. 48). Therefore, ‘durability is not only the heart of sustainable development; it is also the core of luxury’ (Hennigs et al., 2013, p. 30). Again, here Hennigs et al. argue that, as a result of certain qualities of luxury commodities, in this case high quality, luxury production is subsequently sustainable. In an article for *Positive Luxury*, Stephen Armstrong argues that ‘the truest measure of luxury is something that survives to be passed on to the next generation. That’s the attitude all sustainable consumption needs ensuring the Earth survives for the next generation, and every generation to come’ (Armstrong, 2019). In making this argument, commentators in both academic discourse and marketing practices often draw upon the example of a Patek Philippe watch, the long-term durability of which is advertised through the tagline ‘you never actually own a Patek Philippe. You merely look after it for the next generation’ (Naas, 2016). Such long-term durability ensures that luxury production is environmentally sustainable as it results in ‘fewer consumed resources and fewer products discarded’ (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 36). Furthermore, Kapferer argues that because luxury commodities are made of high quality materials, they can frequently be repaired rather than replaced. In verifying this argument they state that Louis Vuitton offers an unlimited customer repair service for their products, regardless of when and where they were purchased, that is intended to ensure that they are not prematurely discarded and are therefore environmentally sustainable (Kapferer, 2010, p. 42). However, this argument depends upon the assumption that all luxury commodities are in fact high quality, and furthermore that luxury consumers do not frequently replace such commodities. Assumptions such as this, and the marketing

claim that Patek Philippe watches are multi-generational, requires empirical verification.

Related to this, it is argued that luxury commodities are longer-lasting because they are less seasonal, and thus resist going ‘out of fashion’ and becoming undesirable (and subsequently discarded). Bendell and Kleanthous argue that luxury brands are sustainable because they ‘do not merely sway with the latest fashion fads, but focus on adapting traditions to create products that will last’ (Bendell & Kleanthous, 2007, p. 29). Here, Bendell and Kleanthous suggest that luxury commodities are not impacted by fashion cycles that may lead to them being discarded, subsequently causing environmental damage. Kapferer makes the same argument through the fact that 90% of all the Porsche cars ever produced are still in use and on the road, their designs becoming ‘classic’ but never out of fashion (Kapferer, 2010, p. 42). It has also been argued that the timelessness of such luxury commodities, such as Hermès’ classic Birkin bag (which Time Magazine announced in 2016 was a better investment than gold), encourages a sustainable circular economy, in that they can be re-sold and re-used (John, 2016).³ Porsche and Hermès appear to offer good examples of such ‘timeless’ luxury. In contrast, seasonal, high-fashion commodities (again, well characterised by the fast-fashion industry) are ‘based on planned obsolescence’ that is not environmentally sustainable (Kapferer, 2010, p. 42). However, this argument is again based on an assumption that luxury commodities are, in fact, able to withstand changes in taste that might render them undesirable. In contrast, it was reported in 2016 that Burberry had destroyed £28.6m worth of out-of-season surplus stock, including clothes, accessories, and perfume, in order to protect the brand image. This practice is common in the luxury industries, in order to ‘prevent unwanted items being stolen or sold at a significant discount and in that way eroding the high-end price tags they can command in stores’ (Paton, 2018).⁴

³ The idea of an environmentally sustainable circular economy is founded on the 6R concept for sustainable manufacturing: reduce; reuse; recycle; recover; redesign; and re-manufacture. See, for example, I.S. Jawahir and Ryan Bradley’s article entitled Technological Elements of the Circular Economy and the Principles of 6R-Based Closed-loop Material Flow in Sustainable Manufacturing (Jawahir & Bradley, 2016).

⁴ Representatives of Burberry subsequently stated that because the energy generated from burning these products was captured, destroying them was in fact environmentally friendly.

Alongside being environmentally sustainable, contemporary proponents argue that luxury production is also socially and culturally sustainable. For example, in their article considering the relationship between luxury and sustainability, Hennigs et al. argue that luxury production is sustainable because high quality, limited production has a higher profit margin that can be invested toward socially valuable ends: ‘a luxury brand’s premium price strategy ... leads ... to high margins that may in turn be used to finance more environmentally and socially responsible manufacturing’ (Hennigs et al., 2013, p. 29). Essentially, it is argued that high profit margin of luxury production makes it possible for brands to pursue sustainable or socially valuable practices, if they should choose to. From an environmental perspective, a high profit margin can afford more costly, sustainable raw materials and processes, and can be invested in innovation that ensures sustainable commodity production in the future. But furthermore, it has been argued that this higher profit margin can also ensure that luxury production is socially sustainable. As illustrated by Thomas’ critique of Zara above, the minimal profit margin of mass-production has meant that operations are often moved to developing economies where the production costs are lower. As the global supply chain becomes more complex and opaque, such commodity production can result in the neglect and exploitation of the workforce in developing economies in the pursuit of profit. In contrast, it has been argued that a higher profit margin can afford a short and transparent local supply chain, in which the well-being of the workforce is easily overseen and prioritised. For example, Amatulli et al. argue that luxury production is sustainable as ‘luxury companies try to establish partnerships with local providers in order to protect and reinforce the local supply chain and the savoir-faire of local skilled artisans’ (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 60). Furthermore, they state that the high profit of luxury production ‘produces more resources with which the luxury company can reinvest in the community, provide better salaries for skilled employees, develop better working conditions, or make community investments’ (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 62). Similarly, in a comparative study of the sustainability of fast-fashion and luxury producers, Joy states that ‘far from exploiting unskilled labour, luxury corporations promote specialised skills and train employees, thus ensuring that such skills are enhanced

and sustained’ (Joy, 2013). In short, the high profit margin of luxury production means that additional resources can be committed to ensuring fair pay, high quality employment, and additional benefits for the workforce, thus making such activity socially sustainable. However, this argument is again dependent upon the assumption that luxury producers are inclined to invest their profit margin in sustainable and therefore socially valuable ways.

Related to the previous point, the use of handicraft production is claimed to be another reason that luxury production is sustainable. Lauren Bravo summarises this argument in an editorial piece for *Positive Luxury*. Bravo draws insight from Alberto Cavalli, the executive director of the Michelangelo Foundation, a non-profit dedicated to preserving handicraft technique. Cavalli argues that concern for human well-being, both collectively and in respect to the well-being of individual producers, is a natural concern of artisanal activity. Firstly, handicraft production is argued to limit environmental damage, being less carbon intensive than mechanised production, but also creating high quality and therefore long-lasting commodities. But furthermore, Cavalli also believes that handicraft production is socially sustainable as it ‘can offer meaningful employment opportunities’, alleviating what they term both ‘material’ and ‘human’ poverty to improve the well-being of artisans and their communities (Bravo, 2020). Here, Cavalli argues that handicraft production not only facilitates employment opportunities that improve material well-being, but favourable employment opportunities due to the quality of the labour. In this way, the process of handicraft production is alleged to improve ‘human’, or mental, well-being. Similarly, in their case study of the luxury personal accessories industry, Barbara Cimatti and Giampaolo Campana argue that luxury production is socially sustainable because it utilises handicraft production that improves the ‘quality of work and life of the skilled employees’ (Cimatti & Campana, 2017, p. 400). However, this argument does not explore what qualities of handicraft improve the ‘quality of work’.

Furthermore, in their exploration into the handicraft production of the Vicuña Poncho produced in the Catamarca province of Argentina, Roxana Amarilla, Miguel Ángel Gardetti, and Marisa Gabriel argue that luxury production is culturally sustainable in that it ‘acts as a bridge between remote communities—with their truly forgotten or unknown wisdom—and the global market to revalue the craft

production of these communities’ (Amarilla, Gardetti, & Gabriel, 2020, p. 26). In this instance, it is claimed that luxury production not only sustains the livelihood of a remote craft community, but also preserves their cultural heritage and knowledge, particularly at a time when such indigenous practices are being replaced ‘by automated practices dictated by an economic mode that pursues development based on capital increase at any cost while marginalising and dividing society’ (Amarilla et al., 2020, p. 40). Drawing on this example, Amarilla et al. argue that luxury production is socially sustainable as it ‘protect[s] the rights’ and ‘expand[s] the frontiers’ of this community. (Amarilla et al., 2020, p. 40). But furthermore, they argue that such luxury production is culturally sustainable as it ‘offers an opportunity to rescue and expand the cultural heritage of communities, enhancing their history to share it with the world’ (Amarilla et al., 2020, p. 25). In utilising handicraft technique, it is claimed that luxury production protects ‘methods and approaches that have been passed down for generations, that are connected to the cultural identity of a place and/or people, and that represents the livelihoods of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of workers’ (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 72).

In arguing that luxury is environmentally, socially, and culturally sustainable, the literature above implies that luxury production and commodities have certain qualities that are socially value. However, it is important to acknowledge, firstly, that these arguments made tend to rely upon insight from the marketing claims and testimony of businesses that are likely to profit from being perceived as sustainable; there is insufficient empirical evidence into the actual sustainability of contemporary luxury production. Furthermore, in being concerned with the sustainability of luxury, this literature only offers a limited insight into the relationship between luxury production and social value. Crucially, in suggesting that certain qualities of luxury production and luxury commodities are inherently sustainable, this literature neglects to consider the role of social enterprise (and other purpose-driven enterprises) in the luxury sector in ensuring sustainable and therefore socially valuable practices. In consideration of this, the central contributions of this thesis are, firstly, to approach the lack of academic exploration into the role of social enterprise in the luxury sector and, secondly, to approach the lack of empirical investigation into the qualities of luxury production that might create social value. In order to do so, I hone in on one

particular quality of luxury production that, as aforementioned above, is perceived as being sustainable and therefore socially value: the use of handicraft production.

3.2 Handicraft Production and Social Value

There is an enduring historical association between handicraft production and luxury commodities, particularly in developed, Western economies. With the expansion of mass-manufacture during the industrial revolution, the vast majority of handicraft processes were mechanised to be more labour-, and therefore cost-, efficient. Within this context handicraft production came to be associated with luxury production due to the fact that handicraft labour is more expensive, resulting in the relatively high economic value of the finished product (Adamson, 2013, p. 14). In this sense, handicraft production is luxurious as a result of its relative expense and subsequent exclusivity. As aforementioned, the fact that luxury production often utilises handicraft technique has been argued to be socially sustainable, improving the well-being of producers as a source of ‘meaningful’ employment that improves both material and mental well-being (Bravo, 2020). On the one hand, this line of argument draws on the premise of those moral economists during the industrial revolution (such as Bernard Mandeville and David Hume), who argued that to produce and consume luxury commodities was socially imperative in order to drive economic growth that supported material well-being. As we have seen in the previous section, luxury production involving handicraft technique has been argued to create social value in supporting employment opportunities. But furthermore, the claim that, in utilising handicraft technique, luxury production improves the mental well-being of the producer (essentially nurturing positive feelings) draws upon the premise that the process of handicraft production is fulfilling and enjoyable. In this section, I review literature concerned to highlight the potential for handicraft production to create social value in this way.

The Arts and Crafts Movement

This argument, that handicraft production nurtures meaningful employment that improves the mental well-being of producers, was perhaps first made by the Arts and Crafts movement in the nineteenth century. This movement emerged during the

industrial revolution, primarily in the United Kingdom and United States of America, in reaction to the perceived decline of the quality of employment involved in capitalist industrial manufacture. With the expansion of capitalism, goods had to be produced faster, cheaper, and in greater quantity, leading to the mass-industrialisation and mechanisation of many handicraft processes, to the point that skilled manual labour was often rendered redundant (Adamson, 2013). Furthermore, where skilled manual labour was still necessary, industrial manufacture was increasingly dependent upon the division of labour in a factory setting. The degeneration of skilled manual labour was criticised, particularly in socialist discourse, as having a negative impact on the well-being of the working class. Handicraft production formed the basis of a socialist critique which Paul Greenhalgh has called the 'politics of work', which argues that 'the way that people work, the conditions they work under and the way they make things, is fundamental to the well-being of society. It is not possible to have a proper society if its inhabitants are not humanely and creatively employed' (Greenhalgh, 1997, p. 33). As such, the poor quality of labour involved in capitalist industrial manufacture is deemed to be anti-social in that it negatively impacts the well-being of workers. The Arts and Crafts movement valorises handicraft production as an antidote to the negative social impacts of capitalist industrial manufacture, in order to increase the well-being of the working class.

Proponents of the Arts and Crafts movement argue that handicraft production is essential to ensuring 'humane' and 'creative' employment. For example, William Morris, a key voice of this movement, positions handicraft production as a source of 'decent labour' that prioritises the well-being of the worker over capitalist profit. They argue that 'it is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious' (Morris, 2001, p. 6). Subsequently, the Arts and Crafts movement acknowledges the importance of employment conditions in ensuring 'humane' employment that doesn't disregard the well-being of the labouring class, thus challenging 'the system of exploiting on which modern manufacture rests' (Morris, 2008). But furthermore, this movement argues that the well-being of the working class is reduced as a result

of unskilled manual labour that diminishes the skillset, intelligence and autonomy of the worker. As Morris argues:

‘To compel a man to do day after day the same task, without any hope of escape or change, means nothing short of turning his life into a prison-torment... obtaining variety and pleasure in the work by the workman [is] a matter of more importance... for it stamped all labour with the impress of pleasure’ (Morris, 2008).

In this way, Morris argues that handicraft production prioritises and improves the well-being of the worker as an enjoyable and fulfilling process, stating: ‘a man at work, making something which he feels will exist because he is working at it and wills it, is exercising the energies of his mind and soul as well as of his body’ (Morris, 2008). In summation, the Arts and Crafts Movement valorises handicraft production as pre-industrial and pre-capitalist labour in which the well-being of the labouring classes are prioritised over the capitalist drive for profit, apparent in improved quality of both work and life. This is because handicraft production is perceived as a pleasurable process, particularly in contrast to repetitive and mindless unskilled manual labour.

Creating Social Value as an Enjoyable Process

Reflecting this premise of the Arts and Crafts movement, contemporary commentators have sought to convey that handicraft production has inherent qualities that make the process fulfilling or enjoyable, subsequently improving the well-being of the producer. It is these qualities of handicraft that facilitate ‘meaningful employment opportunities’ which, as argued above, make luxury production sustainable or socially valuable (Bravo, 2020). This belief is reflected in the testimony of contemporary craftspeople and theorists seeking to convey how their practice positively impacts their well-being. For example, Ellen Dissanayake believes that:

‘there is an inherent pleasure in making... there is something important, even urgent, to be said about the sheer enjoyment of making something exist that didn't exist before, of using one's own agency, dexterity, feelings and judgment to mold, form, touch, hold and craft physical materials, apart from anticipating the fact of its eventual beauty, uniqueness or usefulness’ (Dissanayake, 1995, pp. 40-41).

In suggesting that this pleasure is ‘inherent’, Dissanayake does not differentiate between contexts of handicraft production. It is important to acknowledge that some of the literature arguing that handicraft production improves the well-being of the maker (and is therefore socially valuable) considers handicraft as a leisure activity rather than a form of employment. For example, empirical research has been undertaken to explore the impact of handicraft production upon the physical and psychological health and well-being of makers. However, in these studies handicraft production is undertaken as a leisure activity, rather than employment. Within a study into the impact of knitting upon well-being, Betsan Corkhill et al. conclude that handicraft production has a variety of positive psychological benefits for makers, such as ‘[the] refocusing of attention, and enabling feelings of control to providing rewarding occupation and enabling relaxation’ (Corkhill, Hemmings, Maddock, & Riley, 2015, p. 39). Similarly, in Gail Kenning’s study into the impact of textile craft activities on the well-being of makers, the research participants state that handicraft production has a variety of attributes that have a positive impact on their well-being, being a comfort, relaxing, pleasurable and enjoyable (Kenning, 2015, p. 56). Here I highlight three particular qualities of handicraft production that are argued to make the process enjoyable: first, that it is skilful, second, that it is mentally engaging and third, that it is satisfying.

Firstly, proponents of handicraft have argued that the process of such activity is enjoyable because it is skilful and requires intellectual involvement. Successful handicraft production demands a skillset and knowledge that are purposefully attained and maintained. As Richard Sennett states in their philosophical exploration of craftwork, ‘there is nothing inevitable about becoming skilled, just as there is nothing mindlessly mechanical about technique itself’ (Sennett, 2008, p. 9). Sennett recognizes that not only does handicraft production require knowledge and a skillset

that can only be acquired intentionally through dedicated practice, it also requires intellectual involvement with the task at hand. This resonates with Kenning's study, which concludes that such activity 'provide[s] personal, cognitive, and physical challenges that promote self-esteem, contribute to self-identity, and are self-actualising activities' (Kenning, 2015, p. 62). Self-actualisation is achieved when individuals are motivated to make 'the full use of talents, capacities, potentialities etc... fulfilling themselves and doing the best that they are capable of doing' (Maslow, 1970, p. 150). Handicraft production is deemed to be intrinsically enjoyable in offering opportunities for self-actualisation as a skilful process that requires concentration and dedicated commitment to the task in which one is engaged.

The fact that handicraft production is skilful provides the basis for two further qualities that are argued to make the process enjoyable, the first of which being that skilful handicraft production is enjoyable because it is mentally engaging. In *Shop Class as Soulcraft: An Inquiry into the Value of Work* (2009), Matthew Crawford argues that skilled manual labour such as handicraft production is enjoyable as it is 'totally absorbing' (Crawford, 2009, p. 52). This premise draws upon Csikszentmihalyi's theory of 'flow': 'the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it' (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002, Introduction). Reflecting Crawford's sentiment above, Csikszentmihalyi argues that the point of flow exists between states of apathy and anxiety within autotelic experiences of absorption, such as handicraft production. Considering this, the most enjoyable or rewarding processes are not mindless but require thought and concentration. In the context of handicraft production, flow refers to a state of complete absorption in the task at hand that is argued to ensure such activity is enjoyable for makers. For example, scholar and practitioner Yeseung Lee argues that engaging in the laborious process of 'seaming', in which the seams of garments are interwoven to become seamless, 'is a transitional experience - a state of temporary separation from the world, investing time, effort and attention that goes far beyond the bare necessities of making' (Lee, 2015, pp. 64-65). Here Lee describes a process of complete absorption within handicraft production as a result of the skilful and purposefully laborious nature of the work. They go on to argue that

engagement in handicraft production ‘becomes a method of displacement, creating a space for contemplation and self-reflection’ (Lee, 2015, pp. 61-62). In this sense, increased engagement with skilful handicraft production is enjoyable because it is meditative and reflective. Similarly, Corkhill et al. assert that makers enjoy the process of knitting because it is absorbing, facilitating ‘a meditative-like state’, being soothing, hypnotic, and calming (Corkhill et al., 2015, p. 40). In this way, and despite the intellectual engagement required, the process of skilful handicraft production is beneficial for these makers as it nurtures a sense of calm and relaxation.

Furthermore, as a ‘fully integrated application of one’s capacities’, it is also argued that the process of skilled labour such as handicraft production improves the well-being of makers as a source of satisfaction (Korn, 2015, Chapter Five). David Gauntlett states that the social value of handicraft production lies in ‘the inherent satisfaction of making; the sense of being alive within the process; and the engagement with ideas, learning, and knowledge’ (Gauntlett, 2011, p. 57). For Gauntlett, this ‘inherent satisfaction’ is derived from the successful application of capabilities that are purposefully developed. Similarly, when commenting upon their work as an electrician (which they regard as a craft as skilled manual labour), Crawford states: ‘I never ceased to take pleasure in the moment, at the end of a job, when I would flip the switch. ‘And there was light.’ It was an experience of agency and competence’ (Crawford, 2009, p. 14). This premise implies that we experience positive feelings or satisfaction that contribute to our well-being when we fulfil our potential and succeed at the task at hand. This is also apparent in Corkhill et al.’s study, which argues that knitting positively impacts well-being as it allows makers to both feel and ‘be’ successful (Corkhill et al., 2015, p. 39). This sense of satisfaction is heightened by the physicality of the process and product, as ‘when his work is concluded, the fruit of his labor stands there, unambiguously’ (Korn, 2015, Chapter Five). Furthermore, it has been argued that the potential for handicraft production to nurture satisfaction is greater in societies where opportunities to partake in skilled manual labour are less prevalent. For example, Crawford argues that: ‘we have come to live in a world that precisely does not elicit our instrumentality, the embodied kind that is original to us’ (Crawford, 2009, p. 69). Here, and reflecting the sentiment of the Arts and Crafts movement, Crawford implies that the types of labour prevalent in

industrial societies do not nurture opportunities for satisfaction. Similarly, Sennett positions craftsmanship as a possible antidote to the widespread feeling of ‘uselessness’ which they argue is prevalent in a knowledge economy, as ‘all human beings want the satisfaction of doing something well and want to believe in what they do’ (Sennett, 2006, p. 194). Sennett argues that handicraft production can offer not only a source of satisfaction but also a sense of purpose.

Creating Social Value as Employment in Developing Economies

Crawford and Sennett claim that handicraft production offers opportunities for high quality, enjoyable employment particularly in the context of developed, industrial economies. The insight above, arguing that the process of handicraft production is enjoyable, is derived from the experience of makers in such developed economies. Yet, the vast majority of contemporary handicraft production occurs in developing economies, where such activity is an important employment sector. The Artisan Alliance estimates that, after agriculture, handicraft production is the second-largest employment sector in the developing world, worth over \$32bn (Artisan Alliance, 2019). A variety of studies have demonstrated that, in the context of a developing economy, handicraft production offers an accessible and convenient source of employment, particularly for rural communities and women. In localities where employment opportunities are scarce, handicraft production can improve material well-being as a source of employment that facilitates economic security. In contrast to the previous section, which demonstrates the lack of literature concerning social enterprise (and other organisations in the broader social economy) in the luxury sector, these studies specifically consider the social impact of purpose-driven handicraft enterprise in developing economies. As such, they offer a useful insight into how handicraft production is utilised in the social economy in order to create social value.

For example, in a study into the social impact of Fair Trade knitting production in Bolivia, Tamara Stenn establishes that handicraft production ‘created an earning option for [marginalised people] that otherwise did not exist’ (Stenn, 2013, p. 398). Similarly, in a study of two separate Fair Trade handicraft projects in Peru, Leonardo Becchetti, Stefano Castriota and Nazaria Solferino argue that such

employment 'has positive effects in absolute terms especially when it helps to exit from poverty', which improves 'life satisfaction via its impact on the food consumption share (a proxy of poverty) and the perceived relative standard of living' (Becchetti et al., 2011, p. 130). This study argues that, in this context, handicraft provides a crucial tool of poverty alleviation that has a positive impact upon the 'material and psychological' well-being of producers through ensuring a fair and reliable income (Becchetti et al., 2011, p. 135).

Furthermore, in their study of three handicraft enterprises in India, Susan Strawn and Mary Littrell draw upon Sen's aforementioned well-being theory of capabilities to argue that 'resources from economic growth are of value only if they contribute to human functionings... and subsequent capabilities' (Strawn & Littrell, 2006, p. 208). Their study demonstrates that, in this context, handicraft employment increases capabilities (and subsequent well-being) not only as a result of the income earned but also the skills and knowledge gained (Strawn & Littrell, 2006, p. 212). In particular, this study demonstrates that when an organisation 'assign[s] high priority to the development of management and technical skills as catalysts for increased opportunity and independence', employment in handicraft enterprise nurtures autonomy, with producers being equipped with the knowledge and skills necessary to create new business organisations (Strawn & Littrell, 2006, p. 208). Similarly, in their study of a socially responsible business undertaking handicraft production, Mary Littrell and Marsha Dickson argue that 'psychological, social, health, and communication capabilities' derived from employment in handicraft enterprise, support 'improved quality of life in the form of better education, health, and interpersonal relationships' (Littrell & Dickson, 2006, p. 204). Stenn's aforementioned study also concludes that the capabilities garnered from employment in handicraft enterprise increase the well-being of employees as a source of 'freedom'. 'Freedom was equated to quality of life in that through greater freedom, employees were able to realise the type of life they wanted for themselves, including economic and personal growth' (Stenn, 2013, p. 400). As such, we see that in the context of a developing economy where economic security is difficult to obtain, handicraft production is an important employment sector that improves the well-being of producers not only in manifold ways.

The studies above frequently refer to the potential of employment in handicraft enterprise to create social value for women in particular, who are understood as being further marginalised within patriarchal societies where women face greater barriers to their social freedom. Employment in handicraft enterprise is considered a viable employment opportunity for women in this context. For example, Rosemary Willey-Al'Sanah explores the potential for the Lakiya weaving project to create social value for Bedouin women, noting that handicraft production 'improve[s] the status of women by developing an income-earning opportunity and by reestablishing the value of their skills' (Willey-Al'Sanah, 2013, p. 169). Furthermore, this study points out that the weaving project was the only acceptable income opportunity accessible to this community of women, being culturally significant but also flexible enough to attend to domestic duties they were expected to perform (Willey-Al'Sanah, 2013, pp. 169-170).

Willey-Al'Sanah's study demonstrates how, in facilitating accessible employment opportunities, handicraft enterprise can increase the well-being of women in increasing empowerment. In this context, female empowerment refers to 'improvements in absolute and relative welfare, having meaningful choices and the ability (agency) to make choices' (Le Mare, 2012, p. 105). In their study of Fair Trade handicraft enterprise in Bangladesh, Ann Le Mare argues that 'many (but not all) women involved in Fair Trade handicraft production have made significant gains in their absolute welfare, with some change to their relative position to men and other powerful groups' (Le Mare, 2012, p. 105). Having an independent income is crucial to female empowerment, offering greater control over and access to resources and opportunities. Furthermore, this study argues that the potential to increase female status from employment in handicraft enterprise was greater than with other accessible employment opportunities, such as domestic labour or factory work (Le Mare, 2012, p. 101). Similarly, Littrell and Dickson conclude that employment in handicraft enterprise empowers women, who 'have begun to conceptualize their lives as encompassing both duties and choices' (Littrell & Dickson, 2006, p. 203). Furthermore, this study argues that the women employed in handicraft enterprise felt more confident, particularly in expressing their opinions, taking 'a first step toward an identity independent from their husbands or in-laws' (Littrell & Dickson, 2006, p. 202). These studies illustrate how handicraft enterprise in developing economies can

create greater social value for women in particular as a source of increased status and confidence.

In this section, I have reviewed a variety of literature exploring how handicraft production creates social value, as the basis of the argument that luxury production involving handicraft technique improves the well-being of producers. This argument depends on the claim that employment involving handicraft production improves the ‘quality of work and life of... employees’, as a result of certain qualities of handicraft production that are inherently enjoyable (Cimatti & Campana, 2017, p. 400). Firstly, I considered the philosophy of the Arts and Crafts movement, which argues for the role of handicraft production in ensuring ‘humane’ and ‘creative’ employment (Greenhalgh, 1997, p. 33). However, as a socialist movement the Arts and Crafts movement also recognises the importance of employment conditions in improving the well-being of the producer, and thus does not imply that handicraft employment is inherently socially valuable. Secondly, I considered contemporary proponents of handicraft production who argue that such activity has inherent qualities that make the process enjoyable and subsequently enjoyable, particularly in the context of a developed economy where opportunities for ‘rewarding’ employment are scarce. However, this literature does not consider how the context of handicraft production, and particularly the differentiation between such activity as employment or a leisure activity, might impact the potential to derive social value from the process. Finally, I explored a variety of studies exploring how purpose-driven handicraft enterprise in developing economies facilitate accessible employment opportunities that improve the well-being of employees in supporting economic security, developing capabilities and increasing autonomy. However, these studies do not consider whether the employees of such purpose-driven handicraft enterprise derive social value from the process of handicraft production. This lack is significant because the aforementioned argument that luxury production creates social value in utilising handicraft production depends upon the assertion that such activity improves the quality of labour as an enjoyable process. Pieced together, this literature offers some insight into how luxury production that involves handicraft production might create social value.

The chapter has conducted a review of literature offering an insight into how luxury production involving handicraft production might create social value. It has identified the limitations of this literature, and outlined how this thesis intends to contribute to this existing insight. Ultimately, this thesis is informed by the lack of academic and empirical investigation into the role and impacts of social enterprise in the luxury sector, and the ways in which luxury production could be undertaken with the primary purpose of creating social value. To do this, I hone in on one particular quality of luxury production that has been argued to ensure that it is socially valuable: the use of handicraft technique. As such, the aim of this thesis is to undertake empirical investigation into how luxury production involving handicraft technique creates social value in order to answer the following broad research questions:

- 1) Does luxury production create social value in improving the well-being of producers?
- 2) Does handicraft production contribute to the potential for luxury production to create social value?

In order to approach these research questions, this study was concerned to undertake empirical investigation into the potential for both luxury and handicraft production to create social value in improving the well-being of producers.

Chapter Four - Luxury and Social Value in Contemporary Sri Lanka

Having explored and defined the key concepts of this thesis in Chapters One and Two, in Chapter Three I undertook a literature review to establish two central research questions. As we have seen, in this thesis I am concerned to explore whether luxury production involving handicraft technique has the potential to create social value in improving the well-being of producers. I do so through a case study of Barefoot, a luxury producer that proports to create social value in this way. In this chapter I introduce the wider context of this case study and its operations in Sri Lanka, a small island nation in South Asia. This context is crucial to the analysis of the data set, in illustrating how Barefoot might create social value. But furthermore, this context is important when considering that the literature surveyed in the prior chapters is predominantly Western. As pointed out, the definitions of luxury, social enterprise and social value used in this study may have limited applicability to a non-Western cultural context such as Sri Lanka. In consideration of this, I also offer context into these terms as understood and utilised in Sri Lanka in comparison to how they are defined through a Western lens in this thesis.

In the first section of this chapter I broadly introduce Sri Lanka. To do so, I firstly outline some poignant moments and influences in Sri Lanka's cultural history. Furthermore, I outline some key demographics of contemporary Sri Lankan society, and offer an overview of the economic situation. In the second section I explore the contemporary luxury sector in Sri Lanka. In doing so I also outline how the term luxury is utilised and understood in this context. This leads me to an overview of the Sri Lankan handicraft sector in the third section. In the fourth section, I consider the growth and occurrence of social enterprise in Sri Lanka. In doing so I also examine how the term social enterprise is utilised in this context. Finally, I conclude the chapter with an initial introduction to the case study of this thesis: Barefoot. As previously noted, there is a lack of English language resources and research into the topics of luxury production, handicraft production, and social enterprise in Sri Lanka. As a result, some of the insight in this chapter was garnered on preliminary research trips, including interviews undertaken with a variety of people who are involved in both luxury production utilising handicraft technique and social

enterprise in Sri Lanka, alongside broader insight from English speaking Sri Lankan consumers.

4.1 Introducing Sri Lanka

In this section I introduce Sri Lanka as the context for the case study of Barefoot. I begin by illustrating poignant moments throughout Sri Lanka's cultural history. This overview is primarily intended to offer an insight into significant socio-cultural and -economic influences that have shaped Sri Lankan society that offer context for this study. But furthermore, in this section I consider how these aspects of Sri Lankan culture might have shaped popular attitudes toward luxury. Again, it is important to acknowledge that this analysis is dependent upon a Western conception of luxury (as outlined in Chapter Two). As aforementioned, in order to consider the relevance of this Western conception of luxury in this context, I discuss how the term luxury is used in both English language academic research and popular discourse in Sri Lanka later in this chapter. Subsequently, in this section I also outline demographic context of contemporary Sri Lankan society and offer an overview of its economy.

A Cultural History of Sri Lanka

In this section I first offer an insight into significant historical cultural influences that have shaped Sri Lankan society. It is important to note from the outset that Sri Lankan society is diverse and plural. Throughout its history Sri Lanka was home to a variety of different cultural Kingdoms and ethnicities. These different factions were united under the single state of *Ceylon* during the British Colonisation in 1815 (De Silva, 1981, p. 229). The insight in this section primarily draws from the cultural history of Sinhalese society, being the largest and dominant ethnicity. However, it is not my intention to overlook the many other cultures present throughout Sri Lanka's history that have shaped its cultural identity.

The introduction and growth of Theravāda Buddhism, the oldest existing school of Buddhism, had a significant impact upon Sinhalese societal norms. The Pāli canon chronicles the political history of Sinhalese society throughout history. Ancient texts in the Pāli canon, such as the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Mahāvaṃsa*, and *Cūḷavaṃsa*, were likely compiled by successive generations of Sinhalese Bhikkus, or Buddhist

monks. First translated into English in 1912 by Wilhelm Geiger, although these texts offer a wealth of historical insight, as religious texts their reliability is contested (Geiger, 1930, p. 208).

It is recorded in this canon that Theravāda Buddhism was introduced to Sri Lanka in the third century BCE, when the emperor Ashoka of the Maurya Dynasty in India sent their son Mahinda to Sri Lanka in order to establish Buddhism and convert the King, Devanampiya Tissa (250 to 210 BCE), and their population (Māhanāma, 1960, pp. 88-91). Theravāda Buddhism was rapidly adopted into ancient Sinhalese society, and has been the state religion from this point in time until today.

The historical influence of Theravāda Buddhism upon Sinhalese culture is likely to have informed indigenous understandings of and moral approaches to luxury. In Theravāda Buddhist teaching luxury is deemed to be spiritually fruitless, as encapsulated in the teachings of the Buddha Siddhārtha Gautama (or the Enlightened One). In their first sermon, called the ‘Turning of the Wheel of Law’, the Buddha Siddhārtha Gautama describes the Four Noble Truths, the nucleus of Theravāda Buddhist teaching: suffering, the cause of suffering, cessation of the cause, and the path leading to cessation. Enlightenment is achieved through reaching Nirvana, or freedom from the wheel of rebirth, encapsulated in this quote taken from the Khuddakapāṭha, a collection of short passages in the Pāli canon:

With virtue and vision of the ultimate,
And having overcome all sensual desire,
Never in a womb is one born again.
(Buddharakkhita, 1996)

In this teaching the cause of suffering is human desire, and the path to Enlightenment is to renounce desire (Gombrich, 2006, p. 63). Theravāda Buddhism encourages a life unencumbered by the desire for material possessions and sensual pleasures (though, equally, does not advocate for a life of harsh asceticism) (Gombrich, 2006). In doing so, and considering the definition of luxury outlined in Chapter Two, as that which is unnecessary or unnecessarily refined, there is little place for luxury in a Theravāda Buddhist lifestyle; a good Theravāda Buddhist lifestyle would limit desire to what are perceived as the universal necessities of life, as a means to avoid

suffering and find personal enlightenment. As such, to indulge in luxury is not necessarily understood as being socially pernicious but spiritually troubling for the individual.⁵

However, the importance of Theravāda Buddhism did not mean that ancient Sinhalese society was devoid of luxury. Indeed, historical insight from the Pāli Canon also demonstrates that the Sinhalese royal dynasty and the Sangha, despite their commitment to Theravāda Buddhism as the state religion, certainly experienced luxury. Pre-modern Sinhalese society was despotic, meaning ‘the state [did] not exist for itself but for the king’ (Geiger, 1929, p. XV). A system of occupational caste created a hierarchical social structure somewhat similar to European feudalism (Coomaraswamy, 2003, p. v). As such, one was born into their place in the social hierarchy (De Silva, 1981, pp. 41-42). In this context, luxury was only accessible to those of higher caste. For example, Sinhalese historian Ananda Coomaraswamy outlines instances of caste-defined sumptuary laws as recorded in the Pāli Canon, which prescribed the dress and clothing of the varying levels of society. In general, those of a higher caste owned and wore more and finer cloth, and therefore had more of their body covered (Coomaraswamy, 2003, p. 34). Within the context of a despotic society utilising a system of caste, luxury was reserved for those of an appropriately high caste and subsequent social standing.

For example, the archaeological site of the Sigiriya rock palace offers insight into a royal life of luxury (Ponnamperuma, 2013). The Cūḷavaṃsa briefly mentions the story of King Kassapa who built Sigiriya, ‘a fine palace, worthy to behold, like another Alakamanda’, in the fifth century ‘and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera’ (5th cent. Māhanāma 1929, 43-44).⁶ Sigiriya was the Sinhalese royal capital for a brief period of sixteen years. It is hypothesised that Sigiriya was a pleasure palace, home to the King and his five hundred concubines living a life of sensual luxury. At the entrance of the ascension to Sigiriya are the remains of a thirty-five metre tall lion sculpture carved into the rock (Ponnamperuma, 2013, loc.481). There also

⁵ This is not to suggest that Theravāda Buddhist teaching neglects the importance of civic good. Indeed, like many other world religions, these teachings outline a concept of morality that places civic good at its heart. This moral code is underlined by the doctrine of ‘kamma’, where one’s experience is a result of their actions (Crosby, 2014, p. 113).

⁶ Within Theravāda Buddhist mythology, Alakamanda was a prosperous and mighty city of the gods and home to Kuvera, one of the Four Heavenly Kings. Consequently, in the Pāli Canon it has been used as a simile of great wealth.

remains a large area of secular frescoes of the aforementioned concubines, a ‘mirror wall’ of polished stone so smooth it would have gleamed, and a vast area of landscaped gardens. The remains of Sigiriya offer a vivid insight into the ostentation and power of King Kassapa in order to command such a lavish home and life of luxury. However, it is important to acknowledge that Sigiriya was a secular endeavor. Indeed, it has been speculated that the fleeting reference to Sigiriya in the Pāli cannon is due to the secular nature and self-indulgence of its undertaking (Ponnamperuma, 2013, loc.394).

The modern period of Sri Lankan history is characterised by European colonisation. The colonisation of Sri Lanka lasted over 400 years, with the Portuguese establishing themselves first (1505-1658), followed by the Dutch (1658 to 1796), and finally the British (1796 to 1948). The colonisation of Sri Lanka, and the forced introduction and adoption of Western social- and cultural-norms, had a significant impact on all aspects of Sinhalese and wider Sri Lankan society (including understandings of and approaches to luxury). A European moral code, upheld through Western ideals of democracy, was introduced, and the caste system diminished as social hierarchy became contingent upon ethnicity, wealth and level of Westernisation (Jayawardena, 2000). The historical practice of land tenure, that enabled society to operate without the use of money, was replaced by a culture of land ownership (and the inheritance of property) and the introduction of monetisation (De Silva, 2005, loc.3347). British colonisation in particular spelt the end of an independent Sinhalese state, and united the other cultural factions in Sri Lanka under a single Western governance. A British political system was introduced, alongside a wealth of elite schools that taught solely in English.

The colonisation of Sri Lanka was predominantly economically motivated, as European states sought to commercialise and plunder the diverse natural resources. The commodities that could be grown in Sri Lanka, such as spices and tea, were relative luxuries in Europe at the time.⁷ European colonisation, and particularly British rule, resulted in a huge increase in industry, developing a capitalist export

⁷ Within their book, *Dangerous Tastes*, Andrew Dalby charts the use and trade of cinnamon, amongst other spices, throughout history. They comment that the rarity of cinnamon before the discovery of its abundance in Sri Lanka and other areas meant that it was a luxury within the West. As plantation agriculture was introduced and competition became fiercer, cinnamon was less of a rarity but still would have been a luxury to those of lower classes within Europe (Dalby, 2002).

economy that was dependent on the reflexes and fluctuations of world economic conditions. The increase of plantation agriculture, supported by the new policy of land sales, encouraged a new generation of capitalists (both indigenous and foreign) to buy up wastelands for plantation (De Silva, 2005, pp. loc.5761). In this way, the period of European colonisation implanted a capitalist development model into Sri Lanka that resulted in the livelihood and well-being of the population being dependent upon industry and trade. As we have seen in Chapter Two, Western political economists around this time endorsed industrial activity (foregrounded by the desire for luxury commodities) in driving economic growth and subsequently improving the material well-being of the population. Despite the purported intentions of colonisation, arguably the economic growth derived from increased industry in Sri Lanka at this time primarily economically benefited the coloniser state rather than the indigenous population (Wickramasinghe, 2014).

Like many other countries, in the latter half of the twentieth century, and post-independence in 1948, Sri Lanka experienced the impacts of industrialisation and globalisation, particularly as a result of trade liberalisation introduced in 1977 that opened Sri Lanka to the processes of neoliberal capitalism (Wickramasinghe, 2014, p. 259). However, economic development in Sri Lanka was severely impacted by civil war between 1983 and 2009. Although it is not the place of this thesis to offer analysis into the causes, realities and impacts of this civil war, it would be also be problematic to discuss the contemporary socio-cultural and -economic context of contemporary Sri Lanka without first acknowledging this conflict. The Sri Lanka civil war was a largely ethnic conflict between the government, being representative of the Sinhalese majority population, and the LTTE (The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) separatist group, which sought to establish the North-eastern province of Sri Lanka as a separate Tamil state (Morris Grobar & Gnanaselvam, 1993). The civil war was foregrounded by ‘ethnocentric practices’ in post-colonial Sri Lanka that ‘empowered the majority Sinhalese’ and ‘marginalized the minority Tamils’ (DeVotta, 2011, p. 131). After almost three decades of conflict, and despite numerous attempts at reconciliation and international mediation, the war came to an abrupt and violent end in 2009, when Mahinda Rajapaksa’s government took decisive action to leave negotiations and defeat the LTTE militarily

(Wickramasinghe, 2014, pp. 361-364). In 2021, and after numerous attempts by Rajapaksa's political dynasty to block the inquiry, the Human Rights Council in Geneva voted to support and fund an investigation into war crimes committed by both the Government forces and the LTTE during the civil war, with the intention to develop strategies for pursuing prosecution (Cumming-Bruce 2021). Despite unresolved political tensions, claims of political corruption, and instances of ethnic violence, contemporary Sri Lanka has retained peace since the end of the civil war in 2009.

Contemporary Sri Lanka

This section will outline demographic context of contemporary Sri Lankan society and offer an overview of its economy, taking statistics from a report compiled by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka entitled *Economic and Social Statistics of Sri Lanka 2020* (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2020). This information offers important context to subsequently consider the contemporary luxury market and social economy in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka is a small island state in South Asia, just south of India, with a land mass of 65,610 square kilometres. In 2019, the population was reported to be 21.8 million. 77.4% of the population lived in rural locations. Of the remaining, 18.2% of the population lived in urban locations and 4.4% lived on estates (mainly of tea plantations). Sri Lankan society is diverse and plural, home to different ethnic groups. According to a census of population and housing undertaken in 2012, 74.9% of the population identified as Sinhalese; 11.2% as Sri Lankan Tamil; 9.3% as Sri Lankan Moor; 4.1% as Indian Tamil; and 0.5% as another ethnicity. The Tamil population is concentrated in the Northern and Eastern provinces, whilst the population of the Western and Southern provinces is largely Sinhalese. Related to this, there are also multiple religions practiced in Sri Lanka. In the same census, 70.1% of the population identified as Buddhist, and are most likely to be Sinhalese. 12.6% identified as Hindu, and are most likely to be Tamil. 9.7% of the population identified as Muslim, and 7.6% as Christian and Roman Catholic. In 2019 Sri Lanka had a Human Development Index score of 0.78 (of a minimum of 0.0 and maximum of 1.0), ranking 72 out of 189 countries. The life expectancy in 2019 was 76.8. In 2017, there were 9.5 physicians and 35 hospital beds per 10,000 persons. In 2018 an

average of 92.5% of the population were literate, 93.4% of men and 91.6% of women respectively. In 2018, the percentage of the male population participating in the labour force was 73%, compared to 34.5% of women. Furthermore, in 2018, 4.8% of the population were unemployed. In 2017 there were 1,499 mobile phones per 1,000 persons, and 34 internet subscriptions per 100 persons (as the majority of the population accesses the internet through the national 4g network).

The Sri Lankan economy has largely experienced a period of economic growth since the end of the civil war. A report entitled *Jobs Diagnostics in Sri Lanka* (2020), a World Bank publication, offers insight into the recent growth of the Sri Lankan economy and the current economic situation. The report states that 'Sri Lanka's economy experienced robust and sustained growth over the past several decades', as 'GDP per capita more than tripled in the last 25 years alone, surpassing the threshold of upper-middle income country status in 2019'. This GDP growth was thus accompanied by 'important reductions in poverty and improved living conditions' (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 9). The figures published by the Central Bank of Sri Lanka confirm that GDP grew an average of 6.2% per annum between 2002 to 2011, and an average of 4.5% between 2011 and 2019. Considering this, the Sri Lankan economy made significant progress across socio-economic and human development indicators during this period, as the national poverty headcount ratio declined from 15.3% in 2006-7 to 4.1% in 2016.

Despite these positive trends, it is important to acknowledge the significant foreign debts that Sri Lanka has accrued, particularly to the Chinese government, which has been termed the 'neo-colonialism' of Sri Lanka (Bandarage, 2020). For example, the Chinese government issued significant loans to Rajapaksa's government to fund the Hambantota port project, despite multiple feasibility studies concluding that this project was not economically viable (Abi-Habib, 2018). The Chinese government's Export-Import Bank issued an initial loan of \$307m in 2010, and a further \$757m in 2012, on the provision that the contract to build the port be awarded to China Harbour, a Chinese engineering company (Abi-Habib, 2018). When Rajapaksa lost the election in 2015 (despite purported political donations from China Harbour), the new government inherited insurmountable debt, and ultimately had no choice but to issue ownership of the port and 15,000 acres of land around it to

the Chinese government for a term of 99 years (reportedly writing off \$1bn of debt in the process) (Abi-Habib, 2018). Furthermore, according to the provisional national accounts estimates of the Department of Census and Statistics, the Sri Lankan economy contracted by 3.6% in 2020 (in comparison to 2.3% growth in 2019) as a result of the global economic recession caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, the deepest recession Sri Lanka has experienced since independence in 1948. Like many other countries around the world, restrictions on movement and other measures taken to contain the virus, both on a local and international level, negatively impacted economic activity across all sectors, but particularly tourism, construction, transport and the textile industry. As a result, the unemployment rate in 2020 was over 5% for the first time since the end of the civil war (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2020). The World Bank reports that these income losses ‘disrupted private consumption and uncertainty impeded investment’ at this time (The World Bank, 2021). All of this is to say that despite growth, the Sri Lankan economy remains vulnerable to ‘income shocks’, particularly considering that ‘a large share of non-poor households have income levels very close to the poverty line’ (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 9).

The economy has shifted in the past two decades, transitioning from a primarily agricultural economy toward greater industry and services. In 2020, agriculture, forest and fishing accounted for 7% of GDP; industries (including mining and quarrying, manufacturing, and construction) accounted for 25.5%; and services (including wholesale and retail trade, transportation and storage, accommodation and food services, and financial insurance and real estate activities) accounted for 58.7% (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2020, p. 36). Manufacturing accounted for 15.5% of GDP in 2020. 40% of manufacturing output is of textiles and apparel, mostly low-value products for export. 21% of manufacturing output is of food and beverages primarily for domestic consumption (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, pp. 9-10). Greater sectoral diversity has increased employment opportunities ‘especially wage jobs in and around the Sri Lanka capital of Colombo, helping to raise household incomes and reduce poverty’ (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 2). There has been a population shift toward urban centres for these jobs. That being said, over 70% of employment in Sri Lanka is informal. Informal employees ‘earn significantly less than formal workers, lack pension coverage, may be exposed to greater

workplace risk, and face job insecurity’ (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 2). Furthermore, new employment opportunities are hindered in the private sector as a small number of large firms tend to dominate industry sectors so that new and micro firms ‘face impediments to compete and grow’ (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 1).

Despite high levels of education and human development, women are underutilised in the Sri Lankan labour force (Chien, Kolb, & Shivakumaran, 2020). This is partly because there are less employment options for women, as a result of both employer and employee bias influenced by the social norms of traditional gender roles. Many of the employment opportunities available to women are low-productivity, such as textile or food and beverage manufacturing, which results in ‘occupational segregation, enabling implicit gender pay discrimination’ (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, pp. 4-5). Furthermore, domestic and care responsibilities imposed by traditional gender roles limit women’s access to employment, particularly if such employment requires domestic or international migration. For these reasons women are more likely to be self-employed, undertaking unpaid labour for family, or otherwise remaining outside of the workforce entirely. Another World Bank study into the role of women in the Sri Lankan economy argues that, as fertility rates decrease, and the population over 60 increases whilst the working-age population decreases, ‘female participation in the economy is critical to catalyze economic growth in Sri Lanka’ (Chien et al., 2020).

4.2 The Luxury Sector in Sri Lanka

This insight into the Sri Lanka economy is of relevance to this study not only in depicting the financial status of the population, but also in offering context for the contemporary luxury sector in Sri Lanka. The recent economic growth and the expansion of the middle class means that a greater proportion of the population are able to spend above and beyond necessity, expanding the potential of the luxury sector. As aforementioned, in this study I define luxury as unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities that command a relatively high economic value (regardless of the qualities that may justify a high price) in comparison to commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose. However, this definition is informed by popular ideas of and attitudes toward luxury through Western history and is therefore shaped through a Western lens. As such, it is important to consider

the relevance of a Western conception of luxury in a non-Western context such as Sri Lanka. I subsequently begin this section with a discussion into how the term luxury is used and understood in Sri Lanka and India (as a result of its geographical and cultural proximity to Sri Lanka), and how this is in line with and disparate from the definition of luxury established in Chapter Two. There is a lack of English language literature exploring luxury in contemporary Sri Lanka. As a result of this, I undertook preliminary research into how the term is understood and applied in English vernacular in Sri Lanka. I also consider how the term is used in English language Sri Lankan academic research and popular discourse.

As preliminary research for this project, I discussed with a variety of different English speakers in Sri Lanka how they understand and use the term luxury. This initial research established that the term is frequently associated with globally-marketed Western luxury brands and lifestyles. Indeed, the relative lack of Western luxury brands in Sri Lanka was often subsequently equated to a lack of luxury overall. I discuss this indigenous perception of luxury as characterised by Western brands in an article about the market for luxury fashion in Sri Lanka (Hitchcock, 2016). As outlined in Chapter Two, the prevalence of Western luxury brands around the globe has come to characterise contemporary understandings of luxury (Roberts & Armitage, 2016). Indeed, my own definition is influenced by these brands, which are primarily identified as being more economically valorous in comparison to commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose. As these brands have been marketed and sold around the world, the Western conception of luxury that their status is founded upon has been globalised, gaining relevance in non-Western contexts. For example, in their article outlining cultural and psychological insights into the consumption of what they term Western luxury brands in India, Teck-Yong Eng and Julie Bogaert state that understandings of luxury in India are influenced by ‘global consumer culture through [the] emergence of global brands’ (Eng & Bogaert, 2010, p. 57). They also note that ‘consumer behaviour and psychology of luxury consumption is relatively similar in different cultures’ so that the ‘predilection for luxury [in India] may correspond with Western-style materialist values’ (Eng & Bogaert, 2010, p. 57). Similarly, in their study into the motivators of young luxury consumers in India, Nikita Sharda and Anil Kumar Bhat argue that the ‘desire to spend and consume in order to match the international

standards' among young Indian consumers is reflective of a growing Western culture of consumption in India where 'consumers acquire and possess luxury brands primarily because they confer high social and symbolic value' (Sharda & Bhat, 2018, pp. 225, 231).⁸ These studies subsequently argue that globally-marketed, Western luxury brands encapsulate luxury in India as a result of their ability to convey wealth and high social status.⁹ However, Eng and Bogaert also draw upon primary data to argue that Western luxury brands are only perceived as luxurious if they 'fit Indian cultural identity', so that 'Indian perceptions of luxury have been better captured by the interaction between traditional values of national culture and perceived social prestige of global consumer culture' (Eng & Bogaert, 2010, p. 68). As such, Western luxury brands must also have relevance in the unique cultural context of India.

This insight resonates with the preliminary research I undertook, suggesting that the knowledge of and desire for globally-marketed, Western luxury brands (and the Western consumer lifestyles these brands encapsulate) in Sri Lanka informs an understanding of luxury that is characterised by them. In being informed by the activity and characteristics of global luxury brands, it would appear that indigenous understandings of luxury in Sri Lanka resonate with the definition used in this thesis. Indeed, the English language Sri Lankan academic research and other resources utilised in this section use the term luxury in ways that largely reflect the definition of this study. As will be seen, this insight ascribes the term luxury to a variety of both imported and domestic commodities sold in the Sri Lankan market to signify their relatively high economic value in this context. That being said, this initial insight (from both preliminary interviews and English language resources) also demonstrates the importance of context in recognising luxury in the Sri Lankan

⁸ Sharda and Bhat discuss the growth of Western consumer practices amongst young Indians in contrast to the Gandhian philosophy of *Aparigraha*, which discourages materialism, and *Swadeshi*, which encourages the consumption of local goods. They argue that the growth of materialism amongst these consumers is a marked departure from such Gandhian philosophy, which disregards 'excessive luxury and comfort' (Sharda & Bhat, 2018, pp. 224-225)

⁹ It is important to note that this insight is not necessarily applicable to other cultures, including other South and South-East Asian countries. For example, in their comparative study into consumers' value perceptions on luxury brands in India, China, and Indonesia, Paurav Shukla, Jaywant Singh, and Madhumita Banerjee consider the different motivators of luxury consumption in these locations. For example, in contrast to India, where luxury consumers are motivated by 'other-directed symbolism', Indonesian consumers are motivated by 'self-directed symbolism' (Shukla, Singh, & Banerjee, 2015, p. 275). The insight from India is primarily highlighted as a result of its cultural proximity to Sri Lanka.

market. Many of the brand names and commodities that are identified as luxurious in Sri Lanka in this literature, in that they are only economically accessible to a small proportion of the population and are more costly than alternative commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose, may not be widely perceived as such in other contexts. In particular, certain Western brand names are widely perceived as luxurious in Sri Lanka, but less so in the West, as a result of their relatively high cost and limited availability. This insight again reflects my discussion in Chapter Two, construing that what is luxurious is ultimately dependent upon socio-economic and - cultural context.

The luxury sector in Sri Lanka has grown in recent history alongside economic development and the expansion of the middle classes. In their recent study of consumer attitudes in Sri Lanka (2020), Sumith De Silva et al. argue that increasing disposable income, higher levels of education, and a growing consumer culture have increased the desire for luxury, particularly as the population ‘become[s] more familiar with how other consumers live across rich Western countries’, so that ‘they want many of the luxury brands enjoyed in developed countries’ (De Silva, Seeley, Ongsakul, & Ahmed, 2020, p. 101). Similarly, in their study of luxury fashion purchase intention in Sri Lanka (2020), A. D. S. Lakmali and K. Kajendra state that Sri Lankan consumers ‘try to raise their living standards by changing their spending patterns and preferences towards more quality branded products and services’. They argue that Sri Lankan consumers are increasingly purchasing both ‘international luxury brands and Sri Lankan branded products’ (Lakmali & Kajendra, 2017, p. 294). De Silva et al. subsequently demonstrate that Sri Lankan consumers, particular wealthy consumers whom primarily reside in the capital of Colombo, are ‘focused on the fulfillment of self-esteem and self-actualization’, achieved ‘through the possession of luxury brands as part of their daily life’ (De Silva et al., 2020, p. 109). These studies therefore reflect the insight into the luxury market in India above, where the expansion of Western materialistic consumer practices has informed the growth of luxury consumption.

The abundance of luxury condominiums built and sold in recent history illustrates the increased demand for luxury lifestyles in the Sri Lankan market. In their conference paper exploring the purchasing determinants of luxury

condominiums in Sri Lanka, K. H. A. Madushani and R. U. K. Piyadasa state that ‘vertical living has become increasingly popular in Sri Lanka’, and that ‘Colombo has become increasingly popular for luxury property’ (Madushani & Piyadasa, 2019, p. 125). A Financial Times article from 2020 states that 7,600 luxury condominium apartments have been built in and around Colombo in the past ten years (by domestic and international developers alike), and a further 14,300 are in either development or planning (Cox, 2020). This article also reports that 75% of new apartments built during this period were only affordable to households with the highest 10% of incomes (Cox, 2020). For example, the Cinnamon Life complex currently being developed by domestic corporation John Keells, taglined as a ‘futuristic investment’, will contain 427 residential units with a starting price of \$400,000 (see Figure 4.1 for a rendering of the complex). However, the Financial Times article (2020) also reports a decrease in property and rental value of these apartments as a result of an oversupply on the market.



Figure 4.1 – Rendering of the Cinnamon Life Complex

Increased consumer demand for luxury has also increased and diversified the availability of both imported and domestic luxury brands and commodities. A

plethora of new luxury retail spaces have been developed, particularly in Colombo, catering to the growing consumer culture in Sri Lanka. Colonial heritage buildings, such as the Dutch Hospital and Arcade Independence Square have been converted into retail, hospitality and entertainment centres and contain a range of both international and domestic brands that would be sensibly identified as luxurious in this context. One Galle Face, ‘an integrated lifestyle destination’ developed and managed by the Shangri-La Group (best known for their 5+ star hotels around the world), opened in November 2019 and contains the largest international mall in Sri Lanka at present, with more than 200 tenants over seven floors (Shangri-La Group, 2019). A variety of international brands, such as Rolex, Montblanc, Diesel, Armani Exchange, Furla, and Love Moschino have retail spaces in One Galle Face. There are also a variety of well-known domestic brands, such as Odel, a longstanding and aspirational department store which stocks a variety of domestic and imported branded commodities, and Spa Ceylon, a high-end Sri Lankan brand retailing spa treatment, toiletries and cosmetics derived from Ayurveda.

The international brand names in One Galle Face demonstrates that the importation of luxury commodities has increased, with many multinational corporations considering the potential of entering the Sri Lankan market (De Silva et al., 2020, p. 109). This is apparent across a variety of industry sectors, including fashion, jewellery and watches, cosmetics, and food and beverages (particularly alcoholic beverages). A good example of the growing demand for imported luxury commodities in Sri Lanka is the market for luxury cars. The first Jaguar Land Rover showroom in Colombo was opened in 2015, offering its customers up to 70% credit on their vehicles (Lanka Business Online, 2015). Furthermore, independent import businesses such as Exotic Cars PVT Ltd import brands such as Maserati, Ferrari, Range Rover, Audi, Mercedes, and BMW (see Figure 4.2 for an image of the Exotic Cars PVT showroom in Colombo). There was controversy in 2020 when 300 luxury cars, worth more than 2bn Sri Lankan rupees (roughly \$10.1m) were held in customs due to an import ban that had been imposed in the midst of the Covid-19 pandemic (Nizam, 2020).¹⁰ Recent studies into this growing market conclude that the popularity of imported luxury vehicles is as a result of their potential for conspicuous

¹⁰ Converted on the 7th June 2021 at a rate of 1 Sri Lankan Rupee = 0.00506373 US Dollars, provided by xe conversion (xe.com).

consumption, again reflecting the literature exploring the luxury market in India above (De Silva, Khatibi, & Azam, 2020; Karunanayake, 2020). In their study into the socio-demographic determinants of such conspicuous consumption, Chathurga Karunanayake points out that many of the consumers of imported luxury cars do not appear to have an adequate income to support their consumption. This might suggest that these consumers are taking out loans from unauthorised lenders, which risks ‘conspicuous consumers, particularly [from] low income segments, running into debt for wanting to acquire tax-pushed expensive consumables’ (Karunanayake, 2020, p. 105).



Figure 4.2 – Image of the Exotic Cars PVT showroom in Colombo

However, the market for imported luxury commodities is necessarily limited by customs charges and political policy (such as the aforementioned import ban on luxury cars in 2020). Considering this, domestic companies and brand names also cater to the growing demand for luxury commodities in a variety of industry sectors, including fashion and accessories, jewellery, homeware, spa and beauty products, hospitality (catering to the domestic and tourist market), and real estate (as we have seen with the aforementioned example of the Cinnamon Life development). For example, the domestic luxury fashion industry in Sri Lanka has developed substantially in recent history, catering to the economic elite primarily in Colombo. Aspirational brands such as Cotton Collection, Dilly and Carlo, and Tropics of Linen sell a combination of traditional and Western garments only affordable for the Sri

Lankan economic elite. But furthermore, a wealth of new Sri Lankan fashion designers and brand names have emerged since the late 1970s, many of which have ‘innovated on traditional handmade fabrics and design such as batik and handloom, using the rich technical expertise available domestically and availability of labour for manual work’ (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020, p. 40). For example, Sonali Dharmawardena is a fashion designer utilizing the ‘heritage art of batik’ to create unique garments, sold through selected partners and in their flagship store at a prestigious Colombo address (see Figure 4.3 for an image of Sonali Dharmawardena designs) (Sonali Dharmawardena, 2021). Designer Kasuni Rathnasuriya ‘incorporated artisanal handmade lace to contemporary fashion’, working with a community of beeralu lace makers in the Southern province to create their label Kúr Collection, which is also shown and sold abroad (see Figure 4.4 for an image of Kúr Collection designs) (Kúr Collection, 2021a). Both of these designers are sold in exclusive Colombo boutiques, such as PR Concept Store and the Design Collective, and are unaffordable to the vast majority of Sri Lankan consumers (see Figure 4.5 for an image of the interior of the PR Concept Store). For example, it was reported that in 2016 the average household income in Sri Lanka was 62,237 Sri Lankan rupees per month, or approximately \$315 (Department of Census and Statistics, 2017, p. 2).¹¹ At the time of writing, Kúr Collection garments being sold on the brand’s website ranged from \$80 for a t shirt, to \$1,200 for a lace kaftan (Kúr Collection, 2021b). The growth in the Sri Lankan luxury fashion industry is supported by Colombo Fashion Week, which was established in 2003 with the intention to ‘establish, develop and maintain an efficient fashion eco-system that incubates the best of Sri Lankan fashion design before it is presented to the world’ (Colombo Fashion Week, 2021). Such indigenous high-end fashion exists in stark contrast to the significant textile and apparel sector in Sri Lanka which is characterised by the mass-manufacture of garments, using imported materials, primarily for export.

¹¹ Converted on the 7th June 2021 at a rate of 1 Sri Lankan Rupee = 0.00506373 US Dollars, provided by xe conversion (xe.com).



Figure 4.3 – Image of Sonali Dharmawardena designs from their Spring Summer 2020 Collection, presented at the HSBC Colombo Fashion Week 2019



Figure 4.4 – Image of Kúr Collection designs from their Spring Summer 2018 Collection, presented at the New York Fashion Week Spring Summer 2018



Figure 4.5 – Image of the interior of PR Concept Store in Colombo

4.3 The Handicraft Sector in Sri Lanka

Of relevance to this study, many of these luxury fashion designers and brands (such as Sonali Dharmawardena and Kúr Collection) work with indigenous textile handicraft techniques, including handloom weaving, batik, and beeralu lace making, in order to create one-of-a-kind, high-end garments. Sri Lanka offered an appropriate location for this study as a result of such instances of handicraft technique being used to produce luxury commodities. In this section I first offer an overview of the contemporary handicraft sector in Sri Lanka, its certification, and its role in developing rural employment opportunities. Subsequently, I focus on the handloom weaving industry in particular (as the primary handicraft technique utilised by Barefoot). Sri Lanka has a long history of a variety of different handicraft techniques. Coomaraswamy's text *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* (2003) offers an in-depth account of handicraft technique in medieval Sinhalese society, detailing historic practice of architecture, woodwork, stonework, sculpture, painting, ivory-, bone-, horn-, and shell-work, metal-work, lacquer-work, earthenware, weaving, embroidery, and mat weaving and dyeing (Coomaraswamy, 2003).

In post-colonial Sri Lanka the state has sought to provide support and protect indigenous handicraft production, as outlined by Annemari de Silva in their report entitled *Craft Artisans and State Institutions in Sri Lanka* (2019). There are three state-institutions ‘responsible for the promotion and protection of handicrafts in Sri Lanka’, the National Crafts Council, the National Design Centre, and the Sri Lanka Handicrafts Board (known by its brand name Laksala), established in response to the handicraft sector struggling in the open market (de Silva, 2019, p. 12). The National Crafts Council, for example, proclaims to support the handicraft sector in registering and providing a database of craftspeople, organising exhibitions and awards, offering foreign exposure, providing raw materials and equipment, and implementing a variety of different programs such as the Shilpa Saviya annual design competition and the Shilpa Navodya program to improve awareness of craft practice amongst children. This report argues that these institutions were foregrounded by ‘the significance of crafts and general cultural revival in decolonial struggles’ as a means of ‘establishing visual markers of a cultural heritage that reifies the idea of a “nation” under suppression and in need of independence from adulterating, colonial powers’ (de Silva, 2019, p. 5). In this way, protecting the handicraft sector was an act of preserving indigenous culture and a facet of nationalism. This assertion reflects a wider tradition of state protection and certification of handicraft practices in other South and South-East Asian countries. For example, the Agency of Cultural Affairs in Japan implements a historical program for the protection of what is termed ‘cultural properties’. This term encompasses a variety of different cultural assets that ‘have been passed down from one generation to another’ so that ‘they are now precious assets of the Japanese people’ (Agency for Cultural Affairs Japan, 2019, p. 2). The Law of Cultural Properties certifies ‘tangible cultural properties’ including objects of ‘high historical or artistic value’, such as buildings, artworks, handicrafts, books and ancient documents, and ‘intangible cultural properties’ such as performance arts and craft techniques, monuments, cultural landscapes, and facets of folk culture (Agency for Cultural Affairs Japan, 2019, p. 2). Through this law the Japanese government ‘designates, selects, and registers’ cultural properties and identifies particularly significant examples as what are termed ‘National Treasure’ (conveying their cultural importance). Furthermore, according to Japanese nationalist newspaper the Sankei Shimbun, in 2022 the Agency of Cultural Affairs

intends to launch the “Takumi Project for Cultural Properties” (takumi meaning craftsman or artisan), to ‘ensure the nation’s cultural treasures will be available for future generations’ in preserving artisan skill necessary to the restoration of cultural properties. Crucially, the initiative aims to ‘increase the number of craftsmen’, nurturing the next generation of artisans trained in indigenous craft techniques through training and subsidies, and to support sources of tools and raw materials vital to these techniques (The Sankei Shimbun, 2021). Similar laws have been established in other Asian countries, such as the Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics. Such laws and subsequent programs implemented to preserve and maintain cultural assets reflect the nationalist importance of handicraft as a facet of cultural identity (as expressed in regards to Sri Lanka above), and the potential role of the state in establishing the value of indigenous handicraft skills and commodities.

Statistical information into the breadth and reality of contemporary handicraft production in Sri Lanka is limited (de Silva, 2019). One insight is offered by an Industry Capability Report compiled by the Export Development Board in 2017. This report considers a variety of handicraft techniques, including: textiles, such as handloom, beeralu lacemaking, and batik; woodwork, such as mask making and crafts using coconut shell; lacquer-work; rattan weaving; ceramics; paper making; metalwork; and palmyrah weaving (commodities made from dried palmyrah leaves such as baskets and bags) (Sri Lanka Export Development Board, 2017, pp. 4-5). This report states that ‘the highly diverse nature of the sector’ makes it difficult to determine the scale of its operations, but estimates that there are approximately 200,000 handicraft producers in Sri Lanka, mostly residing in rural areas (Sri Lanka Export Development Board, 2017, p. 6). Similarly, a recent report commissioned by the British Council (a Royal Charter charity specialising in international cultural and educational opportunities) in association with the Institute of Policy Studies of Sri Lanka into the creative and cultural industries in Sri Lanka states that the craft sector is the largest sector within the Sri Lankan creative and cultural industries, employing nearly 150,000 people, of which 54% are women (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020, p. 38). Both reports state that the handicraft sector mainly supplies the high-end domestic market and export, targeting ‘the quality conscious and discerning

buyers', due to 'the exclusivity and uniqueness of the product where mass production is not required but design, brand, manufacturing compliance and differentiation of product plays a major role' (Sri Lanka Export Development Board, 2017, pp. 3, 4). Indeed, the Industry Capability Report correlates growth in the handicraft industry in the last five years with the increased demand for luxury commodities in the local market (reflecting the insight into the Sri Lankan luxury sector above), the expanding tourism market, and the growing interest in 'unique, sustainable, [and] ecofriendly products' in certain export markets such as Europe and the United States of America (Sri Lanka Export Development Board, 2017, p. 8). Furthermore, the British Council report into the creative and cultural industries in Sri Lanka highlights that enterprise in the handicraft industry is frequently 'high-fashion-orientated', in particular working with textile crafts (such as the aforementioned examples of Sonali Dharmawardena and Kúr Collection) (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020, p. 38).

Despite the market potential for the handicraft sector in producing luxury commodities and the ongoing significance of handicraft as a 'cultural-political signifier for our own [Sri Lankan] postcolonial context', de Silva's report suggests that independent craftspeople widely face welfare issues and experience poverty (de Silva, 2019, p. 10). Indeed, this report draws upon qualitative interviews with independent craftspeople to argue that the state institutions intended to support independent craftspeople are failing as a result of mandates not being regularly updated to reflect the reality of contemporary handicraft production, inconsistency of political policy (in the context of 'personality politics'), financial mismanagement and sometimes even corruption (de Silva, 2019, p. 71). Alongside this 'decaying ecosystem of support for the sector', independent craftspeople also face 'diverse sectoral challenges', such as issues in obtaining raw materials, a culture of consignment payment, city-centred vending, the lack of loan availability, exploitative middlemen, and dependence on the tourist sector (de Silva, 2019). These challenges frequently make handicraft production financially untenable, resulting in the low economic- and social-standing of artisans. This further results in the reluctance of young people to pursue handicraft employment and the breaking of inter-generational craft practice, putting the viability of this sector in the future at risk (de Silva, 2019, pp. 64-65).

However, and despite the reality of independent craftspeople, the above reports into the Sri Lankan handicraft sector seek to portray its potential to create social value, particularly in approaching social issues such as poverty in rural localities. For example, the Industry Capability Report highlights the importance of the Sri Lankan handicraft sector in ‘absorbing the talents & capabilities of the rural sector... and thereby creating employment generation’ (Sri Lanka Export Development Board, 2017, p. 4). This report reflects the sentiment of the literature surveyed in the previous chapter establishing that handicraft is a crucial employment sector in much of the developing world, subsequently creating social value in supporting economic security. Similarly, the British Council report into the creative and cultural industries in Sri Lanka considers the role of private enterprise in ensuring a stable market for handicraft commodities, stating that ‘designer’ and ‘higher-end’ brand names and companies facilitate ‘technical and design innovation’ and design intervention that enables handicraft producers in Sri Lanka to ‘respond to changing markets’ and ‘appeal to international audiences’ (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020, p. 38). Furthermore, such private enterprise in the handicraft sector subsequently creates social value in ‘paying satisfactory prices for the craftspeople and sometimes looking after their welfare’ whilst ‘elevating Sri Lanka’s status in fashion and traditional crafts’ (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020, p. 39). This report therefore demonstrates how the handicraft production of luxury commodities in Sri Lanka is deemed to be socially important, in that it can: ‘generate livelihoods for many; drive social and cultural as well as economic innovation; [and] bring new energy and pride to communities and countries’ (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020, p. vii).

These reports reflect a wider practice of valorising (and subsequently supporting) handicraft production due to its potential to create social value, not only as an act of culture preservation but also as a means of approaching social issues. For example, the British Council seeks to facilitate ‘a future for craft by understanding its value in our history, culture and world today’ through their *Crafting Futures* initiative (The British Council, 2022b). This initiative purports that the decline in handicraft production (in post-industrial societies) leaves ‘livelihoods, culture, heritage, environments and societies... at stake’, and subsequently valorises such activity as a result of its ‘unique potential to create prosperity and tackle global

challenges’ (The British Council, 2022c). For example, Crafting Futures funded a collaboration between Scottish Pakistani designer Adil Iqbal and grassroot artisan communities in Chitral, Pakistan, that sought to examine ‘how you can sustain embroidery in a community where matters around social isolation and mental health are not being addressed’. In organising workshops, this project sought to address ‘the declining youth engagement with hand embroidery’, ‘the growing intergenerational divide’, and the social issue of high suicide rates and mental health issues amongst young women as a result socio-cultural norms that restrict autonomy and access to employment. Rejuvenating handicraft as an economic activity is positioned as a potential solution to these issues (The British Council, 2022a). Reflecting the purpose of this initiative (and the aforementioned reports above), private enterprise in the Sri Lankan handicraft sector is frequently valorised as creating social value, as is well illustrated by the handloom weaving industry.

Handloom Weaving in Sri Lanka

Handloom weaving is a historical craft technique that is often utilised by high-end Sri Lankan brands and designers supplying commodities to the domestic market and for export. It is also of relevance to this study because, as will be detailed below, it is often promoted for its potential to create social value in generating employment opportunities and supporting economic security for rural communities in Sri Lanka (indeed, this is the premise of Barefoot’s social enterprise, as will be examined in Chapter Six). It is speculated that handloom weaving has an ancient history in Sri Lanka, particularly as a result of strong cultural ties with India (Pararajasingham, 2006, p. 2). Coomaraswamy draws upon the Pāli Canon for historical evidence of handloom weaving. For example, it is noted in this Canon that in 288 BCE when Sanghamitta arrived in Sri Lanka from India with the sacred Bo tree sapling, within their company were a variety of handicraft producers including weavers (Coomaraswamy, 2003, p. 2). Furthermore, there is evidence of a caste of weavers, called the Pesakarayo, in mediaeval Kandyan Sinhala society (Coomaraswamy, 2003, pp. 21-22). However, it is suggested that the practice of handloom weaving decreased dramatically during European colonisation (and poignantly with the dissolution of an independent Sinhalese state), which Coomaraswamy argues diluted many aspects of indigenous culture, including handicraft practice (Coomaraswamy,

2003, p. 15). Similarly, in their study of handloom weaving in Sri Lanka (2006), E. Pararajasingham notes that in the first half of the twentieth century, on the brink of independence, commercial handloom practice was scarce in Sri Lanka, particularly as the British colonisation focussed upon the development of the plantation economy (Pararajasingham, 2006, p. 94). Pararajasingham also speculates that the British colonial rule purposefully neglected the indigenous handloom industry in order to protect the domestic textile industry in the United Kingdom (Pararajasingham, 2006, p. 13).

Post-independence, the revival of the handloom industry in Sri Lanka was inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's Khaddar movement in India, which prompted sympathisers and admirers to re-energise the industry as a source of economic development in the aftermath of colonialism (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 20). A series of government supported cooperative workshops were established, alongside increased activity in the private sector. Pararajasingham notes that in 1948, on the cusp of independence, there were 20 handloom weavers' societies. By 1953, this number had increased to 160 (Pararajasingham, 2006, pp. 95-96). Crucially, the handloom industry flourished after the government instated the Industrial Products Act (IP Act) in October 1952, effectively offering the industry protection from imported textile goods. Much like the Khaddar movement in India (and reflecting the nationalist importance of handicraft production in general in Sri Lanka, as outlined above), the handloom weaving industry developed nationalist importance in Sri Lanka, both as a means of economic development but also an act of preserving indigenous culture. Indeed, Pararajasingham notes that, in a speech given in 1966, the standing Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake stated: 'It is a sign of national independence for the public to show a keen interest in local textiles; self-sufficiency in food and clothing spells prosperity to a country. It is an act of patriotism to wear local textiles' (Pararajasingham, 2006, p. 102).

Despite political patronage, the Sri Lankan handloom industry has faced many challenges in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century. However, it is still perceived as an important industry to nurture economic growth in Sri Lanka, particularly for rural communities where employment opportunities are scarce. For example, in 2012 the Textile Industry Development Division of the Sri Lankan

Governmental Ministry of Industry and Commerce commissioned a task force to examine Sri Lanka's domestic handloom industry. The subsequent report states that:

‘[The] Sri Lankan handloom industry is known as a highly labour intensive export oriented and a rural based industry. Even though the sector has declined over the years, it has a significant employment generating potential and export earning opportunities if a paradigm shift takes place from low price commodity manufacturer to market oriented high end product manufacturer’ (Textile Industry Development Division, 2012, p. 4).

This report concludes that the handloom sector ‘could be developed to provide livelihood to a considerable number of people in rural areas’ (Textile Industry Development Division, 2012, p. 1). However, it argues that to ensure success the handloom industry should produce high value commodities. Similarly, an Industry Capability Report compiled in 2013 argues that the handloom industry should be further developed to create work for the rural unemployed, particularly as the industry requires low capital investment, could be easily developed in many areas of Sri Lanka, and has the potential to be ecologically friendly (Samanthi, 2013, p. 5).

Independent studies also argue that the handloom weaving industry should be developed in order to support economic growth for rural communities. For example, in their study exploring the potential of Fair Trade handloom production in Sri Lanka (2017), D. G. K. Dissanayake et al. state that the wider handicraft industries are ‘one of the main income generator[s] for rural communities and differently able people’. Furthermore, considering the economic challenges in particular areas of Sri Lanka after the civil war, they argue that handloom weaving and the wider handicraft industry is ‘one of the most important industries for poverty alleviation, employment generation, enhancement of rural entrepreneurship and the development of new business opportunities’ (Dissanayake, Perera, & Wanniarachchi, 2017, p. 2). Their study subsequently looks to Fair Trade activity in the handloom weaving industry, which they argue increases employment opportunities to ‘empower individuals’, thus ‘improving the quality of life and strengthening the social cohesion within a community’ (Dissanayake et al., 2017, p. 6). This study further argues that the handloom weaving industry in Sri Lanka is particularly important for women in rural

communities, who benefit from the ability to work flexibly around domestic commitments (Dissanayake et al., 2017, p. 8). Similarly, in their study exploring the potential of CBE (community based enterprise) in the local handloom industry (2018), T. Wanniarachchi et al. highlight that in facilitating economic growth, the development of the handloom industry ‘offers social gains such as overall wellbeing of local handloom communities, individual self-esteem, quality of life and community cohesion’ (Wanniarachchi, Dissanayake, & Downs, 2018, p. 2). Thus, both state-sanctioned and private studies demonstrate the importance of the handloom industry toward the economic development and subsequent well-being of rural communities in Sri Lanka, highlighting its potential to create social value.

The aforementioned Industry Capability Report from 2013 also offers an insight into the demographics of the Sri Lankan handloom weaving industry, ‘where skilled hands create value added products’ (Samanthi, 2013, p. 3). This industry is made up of mainly small- and medium-scale producers, and a handful of larger producers. There are three categories of producers, including government-owned production centres, usually managed by Provincial Councils, cooperative societies, and private companies, including exporters (Samanthi, 2013, p. 2). Activity is most prevalent in the Western province, followed by the Eastern and Central province, largely in rural areas (Samanthi, 2013, p. 3). Taken as a whole, this report estimates that, in 2013, the handloom weaving industry employed around 15,000 people, including a substantial number of women (Samanthi, 2013, p. 5). It is reported that there were 962 private handloom weaving producers, and 771 productions centres owned and run by Provincial Councils in 2013 (Samanthi, 2013, p. 4). Of these, there are a limited number of significant companies, including Selyn Exporters Pvt Ltd, Barbara Sansoni Exports Pvt Ltd (the export division of Barefoot), and Kandygs Handlooms Exports Ltd. (Samanthi, 2013, pp. 2-4). Only four large companies undertake export, the value of which was estimated to be \$1.6m in 2016. The biggest export markets are the Maldives, Germany, the United Kingdom, Norway, Sweden, Thailand, The Netherlands, Spain, and the United States of America (Samanthi, 2013, pp. 3-4). Reflecting the insight about the wider handicraft industry above, Pararajasingham argues that the success of these large private companies, in the context of a largely struggling industry, is a result of catering to the ‘upper income social segment, tourist industry and export markets’ (Pararajasingham, 2006, p. 112).

Similarly, in a study into the livelihoods of handloom weaving communities in Sri Lanka, Anupama Nawalage argues that these companies have endured by offering high value, or luxury, products to a discerning, elite consumer group (Nawalage, 2016, p. 48). The fact that these handloom producers are primarily creating high-value commodities for both the domestic market and for export alludes to the potential for luxury production to create social value in this context.

4.4 Social Enterprise in Sri Lanka

The handloom weaving industry in Sri Lanka (and, indeed, the wider handicraft sector) demonstrates the potential for commercial activity to create social value in improving the well-being of handicraft producers. Alongside the expansion of the luxury sector, initial insight from English-language resources demonstrates the increased occurrence of social enterprise in Sri Lanka in recent history. In this section I offer an insight into the occurrence of social enterprise (and the wider social economy in Sri Lanka) and the aims and outcomes of such activity.

In Chapter One I draw upon Western academic literature to delineate an appropriate definition of social enterprise and social value for this study. I define social enterprise broadly and in contrast to profit-driven enterprise through its primary and explicit purpose of generating social value. This broad definition is reflective of the lack of universal policy defining the boundaries of social enterprise and its key characteristics, particularly in contrast to other purpose-driven entrepreneurial forms in the wider social economy. This lack of clarity is further complicated by the ambiguity and diverse possibilities of social value, understood as ‘the creation of benefits or reductions of costs for society [or a specific community]’, ‘through efforts to address societal needs and problems’ (Phills et al., 2008, p. 39). As such, it is important to consider how social enterprise is defined and understood in practice in Sri Lanka, and to consider the unique possibilities of social value creation in this particular socio-economic and -cultural context. For greater clarity, I also draw comparison to how social enterprise and social value are defined and understood in Europe, highlighting similarities and discrepancy.

There is a lack of research and resources exploring the realities of social enterprise and social value in Sri Lanka, particularly considering that the adoption of

these terms is relatively recent (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 17). In this section I subsequently draw heavily from a recent report entitled *The State of Social Enterprises in Sri Lanka* (2018) commissioned by the British Council and undertaken by Lanka Social Ventures (an organisation dedicated to ‘support entrepreneurial and innovative individuals, groups, community organisations and SMEs [small and medium enterprises] to develop and transform into successful and financially sustainable social enterprises’) (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. vii). Indeed, this report conveys the lack of research and insight into the actuality of social enterprise in Sri Lanka (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 17). However, it also argues that these terms are being applied to business practices that existed long before such terminology was adopted in Sri Lanka. In the foreword, Gill Caldicot, Country Director of the British Council in Sri Lanka, states that ‘the practice of employing business approaches and leveraging market mechanisms to address social problems has a long and distinguished history [in Sri Lanka] in the form of co-operatives, thrift societies, and welfare and development societies’, and that the last decade has seen ‘a surge in... new social enterprises established to tackle a myriad of social and environmental problems and foster social inclusion, economic integration and sustainable development’ (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. iii). Similarly, in their conference paper examining the factors effecting growth of Social Enterprise in the Western Province of Sri Lanka, L. H. T. K. Gunawardena and D. M. Mudalige argue that the concept of entrepreneurial activity intended to create social value is ‘deeply rooted in Sri Lankan business practice’ (Gunawardena & Mudalige, 2019, p. 134). That being said, the report by Lanka Social Ventures also states that the term ‘social enterprise’ often lacks understanding in Sri Lanka, in that many of the companies that met the criteria of a social enterprise established in this report did not identify as such or use the term. That the term social enterprise is being applied to historic business practices is significant, as it demonstrates how the term is being adapted to suit the actuality of purpose-driven entrepreneurial activity in Sri Lanka.

There is currently no state-sanctioned legal framework with which to certify social enterprise in Sri Lanka. Social enterprise is defined in the report by Lanka Social Ventures by two key criteria: ‘a mission to generate social and community

benefit, and the adoption of trading activities to fulfil that mission’ (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 15). The report further recognises four defining features of social enterprise, both in Sri Lanka and around the world: ‘a central mission to address a particular social and/or environmental problem; the use of commercial strategies; an emphasis on maximising [social] impact over profit; a focus on finding solutions within communities’ (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 19). The non-profit organisation Good Market also offers a useful insight into how social enterprise is defined and understood in Sri Lanka (both in popular discourse and in policy framework). Established in Sri Lanka in 2012, Good Market provides a curated online platform of certified social enterprises (and other organisational forms in the social economy) which are seeking to facilitate a new economy ‘that is good for people and good for the planet’ (Good Market, 2021b). It operates on the premise that the ‘current social norms and rules prioritize extraction, growth, accumulation of money, and short-term profit maximization over human wellbeing and the survival of living systems on our planet’ (Good Market, 2021d). As such, the overarching purpose of the Good Market platform is to ‘make it easier to find and connect with social enterprises, cooperatives, responsible businesses, voluntary organizations, and changemakers who are creating a better world’, and thus ‘catalyze the transition to [such] a new economy’ (Good Market, 2021a). In order to become a certified Good Market vendor, organisations are subject to minimum standards criteria that are specific to each sector (Good Market, 2021c). However, social enterprise in every sector is recognised as ‘prioritiz[ing] people and the planet over short-term profit maximization’, being purpose driven by ‘social and environmental goals’, and having a ‘sustainable strategy that goes beyond a one-time project of event’ (Good Market, 2021).

Both the Good Market and the report by Lanka Social Ventures broadly define social enterprise in ways that resonate with the literature surveyed in Chapter One, as sustainable entrepreneurial activity with the intention to create social value, conveyed as the ‘social and community benefit’ attained from approaching ‘social and environmental goals’. This broad definition is also in line with European terminology. For example, the UK government defines social enterprise as ‘a business with primarily social objectives whose surpluses are principally reinvested for that purpose in the business or in the community, rather than being driven by the

need to maximise profit for shareholders and owners’ (Department for Business Innovation and Skills, 2011, p. 2). Social Enterprise UK, the ‘leading global authority on social enterprise’ and ‘biggest network of social enterprises in the UK’, sets slightly more detailed criteria for social enterprise, defined as businesses that: have a clear social environmental mission ‘that is set out in its governing documents’; ‘are controlled or owned in the interests of’ this central mission; reinvest or donate at least 50% of profit toward this central mission; are independent with more than half of income derived from trade; and are transparent about operations and impact (Social Enterprise UK, 2022a, 2022b). As part of a series of national studies into social enterprise around Europe, the European Commission defines social enterprise as ‘organisations that trade in order to support a primary social objective’. However, in contrast to the definition adopted by the UK government above, this definition also delineates greater regulation, stipulating that social enterprise must be ‘accountable to a community of stakeholders including employees and service users, with limits on distribution of profits to individual owners and ‘asset locks’ to safeguard social/community interests’ (Lyon, Stumbitz, & Vickers, 2019, p. 9).

This investigation into how social enterprise is broadly defined in both Sri Lanka and Europe demonstrates that the conceptual foundation, of entrepreneurial activity that creates social value in approaching a social or environmental issue rather than pursuing profit, is shared. Although the conceptual foundation of social enterprise may be universal, the insight above also demonstrates how regulated criteria (and the requirements of such criteria) of social enterprise differs depending upon context and the certifying institution. In particular, there is no clear consensus as to what organisational forms might be considered a social enterprise, and what percentage of profit or surplus must be invested into socially valuable ends. This lack of consensus is arguably a result of the diversity of social enterprise and the subsequent complexity in developing criteria that both ‘runs the risk of excluding many social enterprising initiatives’ and ‘including too many enterprises that are motivated primarily by private interest’ (Lyon et al., 2019, p. 11). The aforementioned report by Lanka Social Ventures does go some way to introduce more robust criteria of social enterprise in Sri Lanka. During the data collection for this report social enterprises were identified and certified (although admittedly not ‘strictly’) by inclusion and exclusion criteria, as organisations that prioritise their

social/environmental mission over profit or prioritise both jointly, and that receive less than 75% of their income from their grants (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 17). These criteria differ from the those set out by Social Enterprise UK and the European Commission, notably in certifying businesses with a lower percentage of income derived from trade (the minimum being 25%). Furthermore, this criteria does not necessitate certain safeguards that are arguably crucial in differentiating social enterprise from profit-driven enterprise, such as governing documents, particular forms of ownership, committed transparency, and 'asset locks' (as mentioned above).

This discussion demonstrates how, in respect of the lack of universal regulated criteria, different organisations even within the same country will apply different criteria to certify social enterprise to suit their particular aims and the scale or integrity of their impact measurement. This is perhaps even more acute in Sri Lanka as a result of the recent adoption of the term, the absence of national certification, and furthermore the relative lack of certifying organisations. The report by Lanka Social Ventures conveys the need for robust national criteria as the basis for identifying and certifying social enterprise in Sri Lanka, but furthermore to enable social enterprises to promote and differentiate their activity and to aid potential funders in identifying appropriate businesses or organisations (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 19). However, insight from this report (which is the only study of social enterprise in Sri Lanka to date) does offer some insight into the characteristics and operation of social enterprise in Sri Lanka. The social enterprise sector in Sri Lanka has developed from a history of cooperative organisations, grassroots societies and local NGOs. Furthermore, this report states that international organisations such as the British Council and Oxfam have played an important role in the recent development of the formal social enterprise sector in Sri Lanka, particularly in collaborating with local social entrepreneurs and CSOs (civil society organisations) (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 52). Although there is no state-sanctioned criteria of social enterprise, state policy has historically 'favoured and supported enterprises that generate 'triple-bottom' economic, environmental and social benefits', particularly in supporting employment opportunities and 'equitable regional distribution of wealth' (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 41). Indeed, a 2016 policy for SME states that the

gouvernement will 'support social entrepreneurship, ethical production and fair trade branding by creating awareness of the concepts, requirements and opportunities in local and international markets' (Ministry for Industry and Commerce, 2016, p. 7).

The report by Lanka Social Ventures suggests that there are around 11,000 organisations within Sri Lanka that 'could meet what are often understood to be the defining characteristics of social enterprise', including NGOs, cooperatives, and SMEs (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 27). Although the data collection undertaken as part of this report offers insight into the social enterprise sector in Sri Lanka, it is important to acknowledge that it does not certify such activity and therefore cannot offer a reliable account of its scale. 416 organisations were surveyed as part of this research, of which 368 met the criteria of social enterprise (as noted above). The majority of these organisations identified as private enterprise (46%), but others also identified as societies or associations, cooperatives, community organisations, and non-governmental or voluntary organisations, demonstrating a variety of organisational forms that are construed as social enterprise in Sri Lanka (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 56). Although there were some examples of long-standing organisations (mostly cooperatives), 38% of the surveyed social enterprises had been operating for less than 10 years, 'indicating a rapidly growing sector' (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 59). These social enterprises are most commonly operating in the manufacturing, agriculture, cultural, creative, and environmental protection sectors (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 64). 69% of these social enterprises are led by men, and 31% by women. However, in consideration of the fact that 25% of SMEs are run by women, there are a higher proportion of women in senior leadership roles in social enterprise in comparison to traditional profit-driven enterprise (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 58). The majority of the surveyed social enterprises have utilised external funding, such as loans (24%), grants (21%), and donations (21%), though according to the criteria of this study at least 25% of their income must be derived from trading activities (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 70). Furthermore, the majority of the surveyed social enterprises are associated with either local, national, or international organisations (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 65). Those associated with national and international

organisation are more likely to use external assessment systems to measure their impact, although only a third (39.3%) stated that they undertake impact measurement, which is again reflective of the lack of policy and institutions certifying social enterprise that would require likely impact measurement (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 65).

In regards to the above criteria, that social enterprise must prioritise their social/environmental mission over profit or prioritise both jointly, 41% of the respondents stated that ‘primary mission is to deliver a collective social or environmental impact’, whereas the remaining 59% stated that they give ‘equal emphasis to social impact and financial benefit’ (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 57). This report identifies a variety of ways in which social enterprise creates social value in Sri Lanka, being informed by ‘a particular social and/or environmental problem’ that hinders well-being, including ‘creating employment and income generating opportunities for young people and marginalised communities; working to support vulnerable children and adults; and empowering women and girls’ (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. iv). Indeed, 77% of the surveyed social enterprises stated that their key objective is to create employment opportunities, particularly for ‘vulnerable or marginalised populations’ (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, pp. 63, 16). This suggests that a crucial social issue that hinders well-being in Sri Lanka is the prevalence of poverty and the lack of suitable employment opportunities to enable people to leave poverty. Other key objectives of social enterprise in Sri Lanka, according to this report, include improving a particular community, providing access to quality products or services, and protecting the environment (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 63). Furthermore, 70% of surveyed social enterprises primarily intend to benefit women, above the 61% that primarily seek to benefit low-income communities. The fact that women are frequently intended to benefit from social enterprise in Sri Lanka suggests that they face barriers to well-being, such as issues around gender equality. Indeed, this report argues that gender equality is hindered in Sri Lanka as a result of social norms that ‘discourage women from aspiring to have successful careers or become entrepreneurs,’ thus limiting the earning capacity and subsequent autonomy of the female population (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 35).

In respect of the lack of research in Sri Lanka, it is useful to consider the realities of social enterprise in the UK where the term is better established, to identify similarities and difference. Social Enterprise UK's report entitled *The State of Social Enterprise Survey 2021*, demonstrates that social enterprise is also a rapidly developing sector in the UK, with 47% of the surveyed organisation being in operation for under 5 years (in contrast to 10% of SMEs) (Social Enterprise UK, 2021, p. 16). Social enterprise in the UK also operates under different legal forms, including CLGs (a company limited by guarantee), CICs (community interest company), and CLSs (a company limited by shares). An increasing amount of the surveyed social enterprises are registered as a CIC, a legal form specific to the UK, demonstrating the role of government policy in certifying social enterprise (Social Enterprise UK, 2021, p. 12). 82% of the surveyed organisations self-identified as a social enterprise (in contrast to 44% in Sri Lanka), perhaps conveying greater understanding of the term (Social Enterprise UK, 2021, p. 13). Social enterprise in the UK also derives a greater percentage of its income from trading activity, with 67% of the surveyed organisations reporting that 75-100% of their income is from trade (Social Enterprise UK, 2021, p. 25). Social enterprise in the UK also operates in different sectors in comparison to Sri Lanka, including education and skills development, retail, business support consultancy, and healthcare (Social Enterprise UK, 2021, p. 21). Furthermore, this report demonstrates that social enterprise in the UK seeks to create social value in different ways, with 36% of the surveyed organisations intending to improve mental health and well-being, 32% intending to improve a particular community, 31% supporting vulnerable people, 20% addressing the climate emergency, and 11% supporting people who experience racial discrimination (Social Enterprise UK, 2021, p. 36). In demonstrating the diversity and specificity of social enterprise in Sri Lanka in comparison to the UK, this insight also construes that the concept of social enterprise is applicable because it is contextual; the ways in which social enterprise in Sri Lanka creates social value are dependent upon the specific social or environmental issues that hinder well-being in this context. Indeed, the report by Lanka Social Ventures states that the broad definition of social enterprise (as outlined in Chapter One and adopted by this report) can 'encapsulate a spectrum of activities' which 'emerge within and from the needs of the local context' (Lanka Social Ventures & Social Enterprise UK, 2018, p. 19).

As such, the aims and outcomes of social enterprise and social value in Sri Lanka are unique. Insight into social enterprise in Sri Lanka (and how such activity intends to create social value) thus serves to further enrich understanding of social enterprise overall.

This chapter has outlined important context for the location of this study, Sri Lanka. This context is important for the case study of Barefoot, in establishing Sri Lanka as a developing economy that still faces economic barriers to material well-being, but with an expanding luxury market, social economy, and a robust handicraft sector. I conclude this chapter by briefly introducing the case study of this thesis. Barefoot is a handloom weaving enterprise in Sri Lanka, producing luxury goods for both the local market and export business. Barefoot purports to operate as a social enterprise, and thus (in line with the theory outlined in Chapter One and above) proclaims to operate with the primary purpose of creating social value, rather than pursuing profit and growth. Specifically, and reflecting the insight from the above report into the state of social enterprise in Sri Lanka, the company intends to create social value in generating employment opportunities that support economic security and material well-being. Furthermore, it proclaims to generate employment opportunities particularly for women in rural communities. As will be outlined in greater detail in Chapter Six, Barefoot has purposefully utilised and retained handicraft production for this purpose. As such, Barefoot is a Sri Lankan luxury producer that purports to utilise handicraft production with the intention of creating social value. The case study was undertaken in order to address the follow, refined research questions:

- 1) Does luxury production at Barefoot create social value in improving the well-being of producers?
- 2) If so, does handicraft production contribute to the potential for luxury production at Barefoot to create social value?

The next chapter details the research methods used with which to explore the social impact of luxury production at Barefoot.

Chapter Five – Research Methodology

In concluding the previous chapter, I outlined two research questions that this thesis and the fieldwork undertaken approach. In this chapter I outline the research methodology of this fieldwork, including the research methods utilised and justification of why the chosen approach was the most appropriate for this project. The first section of this chapter stipulates the philosophical worldview of the research project, which informed the research design. The second section outlines the research approach, employing a mixed methods case study. The third and fourth sections detail the particular research methods (both qualitative and quantitative) that were utilised. The fifth section outlines the data analysis methods employed. The sixth section considers how I approached limitations to ensure the validity of the project. Finally, the seventh section outlines the necessary ethical considerations of the research project.

5.1 Research Approach & Worldview

A philosophical worldview is a broad set of assumptions that guide the research project and its methodology. In particular, this worldview informs the choice of research methods utilised (Creswell, 2014, pp. 5-6). This study was guided by a constructivist worldview. Drawing upon seminal theory, such as Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (1967) and Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba's *Naturalistic Enquiry* (1985), the constructivist approach is characterised by an emphasis upon social understanding, the value of multiple participant interpretations, the importance of both social and historical construction of meaning, and theory generation based upon social experience (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Consequently, constructivism rejects empiricism and realism, contending that 'the basic generation of meaning is always social, for the meanings with which we are endowed arise in and out of interactive human community' (Crotty, 1998, p. 55).

The constructivist worldview was well suited to the exploratory nature of this research project, seeking to study an area, subject or phenomenon that has been

previously under-researched (Nagy Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 10).

Constructivist research garners new insight into a specific research topic rather than testing hypotheses. The constructivist researcher seeks broad insight based primarily upon the views, beliefs and understandings held by research participants (Creswell, 2014, pp. 8-9). Consequently, the aim of this project was not to seek conclusive answers to the research questions, but to inform a better and more thorough understanding of the phenomenon under examination, offering ‘speculative insights, new questions and hypotheses’ (Durrheim, 2006, p. 44). The research design was informed by the constructivist worldview of this project, employing research methods suitable both to this philosophy alongside the unique context of this project.

5.2 Mixed Methodology Case Study

As aforementioned, this study explores the potential for luxury production involving handicraft technique to create social value through a case study of Barefoot. Case studies are a preferential research method ‘for when ‘how’ or ‘why’ questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context’ (Yin, 2003, p. 1). Robert K. Yin defines a case study as an empirical investigation into a contemporary phenomenon, explored within its actual setting. A case study will rely upon multiple sources of data, and will often benefit from the prior identification of theoretical hypothesis, to guide and shape data collection and analysis (Yin, 2003, pp. 13-14). However, case studies tend to generate unwieldy amounts of data, and provide a snapshot of a unique circumstance, rather than a basis for generalisation. Similarly, it can be difficult to identify influential variables from the data collected, particularly when only a limited number of case studies are undertaken (Yin, 2003, p. 10). That being acknowledged, a case study offers in-depth insight and the potential to explore the research problem in actuality, beneficial for the explorative nature of this research project.

The case study of Barefoot was undertaken intermittently between 2016 to 2018. However, the bulk of the data collection was undertaken in July 2018. Barefoot was selected as an appropriate case study for this project because it is a commercial enterprise undertaking handicraft production to create luxury

commodities with the primary aim of creating social value by improving the well-being of certain employees. Preliminary research trips, including interviews with individuals involved in the production of luxury commodities and social enterprise in Sri Lanka, confirmed that Barefoot was an appropriate case study for this thesis. The research was undertaken at various locations owned or run by Barefoot, including retail, office, and manufacturing spaces. The tables in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 outline the research sites, and the context of the site visits undertaken. The research participants (and subsequent sample) were those directly involved with the production of Barefoot commodities at all professional levels, ranging from craftspeople to the managing director. The research participants were divided into two distinct groups. The first group of participants was comprised of Barefoot employees who facilitate Barefoot's social enterprise (hereafter group A), including the founders, managers, designers, and supervisors. The other group was comprised of Barefoot employees who stand to benefit from such social enterprise (hereafter group B), mostly handicraft employees. Dividing the research participants in this way enabled the research project to verify whether Barefoot's intention to create social value, as described by group A participants, was realised in the views and experience of group B participants. I was aided by two Sri Lankan assistants fluent in Sinhala (the first language of the majority of group B participants). As group B participants are predominantly female, existing in conservative, patriarchal communities, I purposefully worked with female assistants. Both of these assistants had undertaken academic fieldwork themselves, and one of the assistants had previously worked with handicraft producers in Sri Lanka.

Figure 5.1 – Table of Research Sites

Title	Address
Head Office	44 Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 00700
Shop, Gallery & Café	704 Galle Road, Colombo 00300
Sansoni Warehouse Office	704 Galle Road, Colombo 00300
Weaving and Dyeing Centre	Halgashena Weaving Centre, Hidakaraldeniya, Diddeniya, Hanwella
Sewing Centre	23 Perakumba Mawatha, Sri Jayawardenapura Kotte 10600

Figure 5.2 – Table of Site Visits

Site Visits undertaken in 2016

Date	Location	Purpose
10/08/16	Shop, Gallery & Café	Preliminary Meetings
22/08/16	Head Office	Interviews
24/08/16	Head Office	Interviews
25/08/16	Head Office	Interviews
29/08/16	Weaving & Dyeing Centre	Interviews and Site Visit
30/08/16	Weaving & Dyeing Centre	Interviews and Site Visit
06/09/16	Shop, Gallery & Café	Interviews

Site Visits undertaken in 2018

Date	Location	Purpose
06/07/18	Head Office	Preliminary Meetings
09/07/18	Head Office	Preliminary Meetings & Interviews
20/07/18	Head Office	Interviews
11/07/18	Head Office	Interviews
11/07/18	Sewing Centre	Survey Briefing
12/07/18	Head Office	Interviews & Focus Group
13/07/18	Shop, Gallery & Café	Interviews
17/07/18	Weaving & Dyeing Centre	Survey Briefing
18/07/18	Sewing Centre	Survey Completion
18/07/18	Head Office	Interviews
23/07/18	Shop, Gallery & Café	Interviews
24/07/18	Weaving & Dyeing Centre	Survey Completion
25/07/18	Head Office	Archival Research
25/07/18	Shop, Gallery & Café	Interviews
26/07/18	Weaving & Dyeing Centre	Survey Completion & Interviews
27/07/18	Shop, Gallery & Café	Interviews
30/07/18	Sewing Centre	Focus Groups
31/07/18	Weaving & Dyeing Centre	Focus Groups
01/08/18	Head Office	Interviews
01/08/18	Sansoni Warehouse Office	Interviews
01/08/18	Shop, Gallery & Café	Interviews

Although constructivist research typically utilises qualitative data collection methods, the case study of Barefoot required a mixed methods approach. The key premise behind mixed methodology research is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative data enables a more thorough investigation of the subject matter (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). Furthermore, combining qualitative and quantitative research can negate the weaknesses and combines the strengths of both types of data. Although mixed methodology research can be more complex and time-consuming, it also allows the researcher to gain a greater quantity and quality of data and offers

opportunity to cross-verify results. There are different approaches to mixed methodology research. This study utilised a convergent parallel mixed methods approach where the researcher combines and contrasts qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell, 2014, p. 15). The convergent parallel approach undertakes both qualitative and quantitative research to explore the same research problem. Compared to other mixed methods approaches, both types of research are undertaken concurrently. However, a greater emphasis may be placed on either qualitative or quantitative research, dependent upon the requirements of the project. Most often, the qualitative and quantitative data is analysed separately, before comparing the results for similarities and discrepancies. The guiding principle of the convergent parallel mixed methods approach is that robust insight should be confirmed by both data sources (Creswell, 2014, p. 219).

Undertaking mixed methodology research, and employing a variety of different data collection methods, was crucial to the validity of this project, ensuring robust and reliable data from both group A and B participants (as will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter). As an exploration into the potential for handicraft production utilising handicraft technique to create social value, the case study was primarily concerned to delineate how luxury production at Barefoot impacts the well-being of group B participants (as those who are intended to benefit from the company's social enterprise). This involved ascertaining from group A participants how employment at Barefoot is intended to impact upon the well-being of group B participants, alongside first-hand accounts from group B participants about how their employment actually impacts their well-being. Taking into consideration the constructivist worldview of this project, the case study primarily employed qualitative data collection methods, including interviews, focus groups, participant observation, and collection of audio-visual information, which suited the exploratory nature of the case study. However, in order to ensure an adequate quantity of reliable data from group B participants it was necessary to undertake a quantitative survey. This anonymous survey gathered initial insight into how group B participant's felt their employment impacts their well-being, and informed the direction of subsequent qualitative data collection. The benefits and drawbacks of each data collection method were carefully considered to ensure the collection of focussed and reliable data.

5.3 Qualitative Research Methods

As aforementioned, as part of a constructivist mixed methods study, a greater emphasis was placed upon the collection of qualitative research. Qualitative research is undertaken to investigate phenomena that cannot be fully understood numerically or through statistics (Berg, 2001, p. 2). As Bruce L. Berg notes, ‘objects, people, situations, and events do not in themselves possess meaning. Meaning is conferred on these elements by and through human interaction’ (Berg, 2001, p. 9). Considering this, gaining insight into a phenomena requires research into the opinions, beliefs, and behaviours of research participants, to ‘present the broad, varied perspectives or meanings that participants hold’ (Creswell, 2014, p. 140). Qualitative data is usually gathered through direct interactions with the people and situations under observation. Insight is derived from the identification of recurring concepts (Creswell, 2014, p. 110). Berg defines a concept as ‘symbolic or abstract elements representing objects, properties, or features of objects, processes, or phenomenon’. As such, ‘concepts provide a means for people to let others know what they are thinking, and allow information to be shared’ (Berg, 2001, p. 16). The recognition and comprehension of recurrent concepts is the crucial component of understanding the phenomenon at hand, and an intrinsic element of qualitative research.

It is common in qualitative research to undertake multiple different data collection methods, providing a ‘different line of sight directed toward the same point’ (Berg, 2001, p. 4). It is the combination of these different ‘lines of sight’ that produce a richer and more authentic picture of the phenomenon being explored. As part of this mixed method research project, a variety of qualitative research methods were employed.

Interviews

Interviews were a key component of the case study of Barefoot. Interviews are a particularly effective research method to ascertain the individual perceptions of research participants, alongside insight into why and how these perceptions have been formed (Bogdan & Taylor, 1998, p. 98). However, the validity of the data must be carefully considered, during both collection and analysis. Undertaking individual

interviews within a larger case study may result in conflicting testimonies and discrepancies within the data collected. Furthermore, any data derived from personal testimony can often be biased or flawed, particularly as a result of social desirability. For example, the data collected may be biased in order to convey a positive perception of Barefoot and to avoid potential professional and academic scrutiny. However, the sheer depth and breadth of information garnered from interviews was appropriate for the explorative nature of this study, which was ultimately dependent upon the views and understanding of the research participants. The ability to build rapport and gather data iteratively through interviews offered a depth of insight that would have been inaccessible through alternative research methods. Furthermore, interviews were an efficient and flexible data collection methods for this study, as I was able to strategically select participants and judge the appropriate length and depth of each interaction.

Interviews were well suited to group A participants who largely did not require or desire anonymity as a result of their seniority within the company. These interviews were intended to gather insight into Barefoot and its operations, such as the brand ethos, its status as a luxury brand, its use of handicraft production, and its potential to create social value. In particular, these interviews garnered group A participant's opinions into how employment at Barefoot, and particularly employment that involves handicraft production, is perceived as improving the well-being of group B participants. In this way, the interviews approached both of the research questions of this thesis. The interviews took a semi-structured approach, drawing upon an interview schedule developed for this study, whilst also allowing the discourse to evolve iteratively (see Appendix 1 for the interview schedule). From this interview schedule individual interview participants were only asked questions that were relevant to their role and circumstance. A combination of essential questions (which solely concern the main focus of the study) and probing questions (which draw out more complete and focussed answers, or provoke an elaboration) were posed (Berg, 2001, pp. 75-76). This semi-structured approach and the use of open-ended questions effectively attained the personal opinions and views of the participants (Creswell, 2014, p. 190).

In total, 11 interviews were undertaken as part of an initial research trip in 2016, and 22 during the case study fieldwork in 2018. Over 25 hours of interviews were

recorded. Participants were strategically selected as being relevant to the topic and aims of this study. The interviews were undertaken during the working day at Barefoot work sites in private. The majority of the interviews were in English. However, there were limited instances which required translation to ensure greater understanding. All participants were willingly interviewed, and there were no instances of requested interviewees being unwilling to take part in the study (although one participant requested anonymity). The tables in Figure 5.3 outline the context of each interview, and demographic information of each interviewee.

Figure 5.3 – Table of Interview Participants

Interviews Undertaken in 2016

Name	Job Role
Conrad, Jane	Design Coordinator
Fernando, Philomena	Weaver
Gnanaraj, Marie	Design Director
Hapuwatte, Preethi	Design Director
Kumara, P.H.P.	Water Purification Plant Manager
Rajapakse, Iris	Weaving Supervisor
Samaraweera, Mithila	Dye Manager
Sansoni, Dominic	Owner & Managing Director
Sumaranath, D.V.A.	Dye Sample Room Supervisor
Victoria, Niloufer	Previous CEO
Wijesinghe, Anusha Inoka	Weaving Manager

Interviews Undertaken in 2018

Name	Job Role
Aluwihare, Shanaugh	Clothing Designer
Anonymous Participant	N/A
Chamika Silva, Thilini	Graphic Designer
Constantine, Shianthi	Exports Manager
de Soyza, Y. Shalinda	Chief Financial Office & General Manager
Gnanaraj, Marie	Design Director
Gnanaraj, Marisa	M Fact Designer, daughter of Marie Gnanaraj
Grigson, Nicola	Retail Manager
Gunarathne, Vidurangi	Designer
Hapuwatte, Preethi	Design Director
Kaumudika, Dilmy	Retail Assistant
Kumar, Suresh	Fabric Supervisor
Mendis, Wasantha	Human Resources & Administration Manager
Navarathna, Ravindra	Dye Department Supervisor
Peiris, Samadhi	Sample Room Manager
Raseen, Gnie	Production Designer
Samaraweera, Mithila	Dye Manager
Samuels, Stephen	Head of Finance for Sansoni Warehouse & Barefoot Café
Sansoni, Dominic	Owner & Managing Director
Segarasingham, Malaka	Retail Supervisor
Thompson, Natasha	Step-daughter of Managing Director
Wijesinghe, Anusha Inoka	Weaving Manager

Interviews Undertaken in 2016

Date - Time	Location	Duration
24/08/16 – 12:14	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:51:04
30/08/16 – 12:08	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:09:42
25/08/16 – 14:05	Head Office	1:46:41
22/08/16 – 15:05	Head Office	1:03:03
29/08/16 – 13:17	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:25:21
30/08/16 – 11:50	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:14:41
29/08/16 – 11:24	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:37:14
06/09/16 – 15:27	Shop, Gallery & Café	1:23:57
29/08/16 – 14:00	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:11:20
24/08/16 – 11:11	Head Office	0:43:34
30/08/16 – 12:24	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:44:13

Interviews Undertaken in 2018

Date - Time	Location	Duration
01/08/18 – 10:39	Barefoot Head Office	1:55:49
01/08/18 – 17:13	Shop, Gallery & Café	1:08:46
12/07/18 – 12:01	Head Office	0:24:07
10/07/18 - 09:45	Head Office	0:42:10
11/07/18 - 15:50	Head Office	0:59:52
12/07/18 - 14:34	Head Office	1:00:02
27/07/18 - 16:35	Shop, Gallery & Café	1:32:26
13/07/18 - 09:31	Shop, Gallery & Café	1:13:35
12/07/18 - 08:46	Head Office	0:41:08
12/07/18 – 13:28	Head Office	0:51:20
25/07/18 - 17:52	Shop, Gallery & Café	0:15:53
25/07/18 - 17:13	Shop, Gallery & Café	0:11:02
10/07/18 - 08:37	Head Office	0:34:58
26/07/18 - 12:34	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	0:13:02
12/07/18 - 09:36	Head Office	0:15:39
12/07/18 - 10:45	Head Office	0:24:16
18/07/18 - 15:07	Head Office	0:47:13
01/08/18 – 14:57	Sansoni Warehouse Office	0:22:14
23/07/18 - 15:24	Whight & Co Café, Colombo	2:16:07
25/07/18 - 17:32	Shop, Gallery & Café	0:14:54
01/07/18 - 14:28	Cambridge	0:44:00
09/07/18 - 14:30	Head Office	0:42:10

Focus Groups

The case study of Barefoot also involved focus groups, an ‘interview style designed for small groups’ (Berg, 2001, p. 111). The premise behind focus groups is to gain insight through discussion, to understand the attitudes, behaviours and opinions of a particular group of people. Much like a semi-structured interview schedule, a moderator will ask pre-prepared questions to direct the discussion, whilst also allowing it to evolve iteratively (Berg, 2001, p. 122). Through informal discussion, focus groups encourage participants to speak openly and to share their thoughts and opinions honestly (Berg, 2001, p. 111). Frequently, guided discussion between participants will create a more considered source of data, as the viewpoint of an individual participant will be refined in light of others’ point of view. Furthermore, focus groups can also offer a more reliable source of qualitative data, as group discussion ‘provide[s] insights without disrupting normative group assumptions’ (Berg, 2001, p. 115). Focus groups also allow the researcher to observe participants’ behaviour toward and interaction with each other, and to witness how the topic would be discussed amongst them rather than between an interviewer and interviewee. With less input from the researcher, the focus can remain upon the participants’ point of view.

However, in comparison to other qualitative data collection, the detail and depth of insight collected through focus groups may be limited. Clearly, in comparison to undertaking individual interviews with each participant, a focus group will produce significantly less data (Berg, 2001, p. 116). It is also important for the researcher to acknowledge that participants may verbalise their opinions more or less strongly as a result of the perceived social pressure of collective agreement (Berg, 2001, p. 125). Furthermore, as with other qualitative data collection methods, focus groups cannot offer truly unaffected data; it is impossible for a focus group to replicate a natural discussion between participants. Despite this, in comparison to interviews, focus groups offered a more appropriate and sensitive data collection method for group B participants. Firstly, undertaking focus groups offered a time efficient means of data collection. This was important as data collection was undertaken in the work place during working hours. Furthermore, unlike interviews, focus groups were able to offer a level of anonymity for group B participants, which

was important when asking potentially sensitive questions about their work, workplace and employer. Undertaking a group discussion rather than a face-to-face interview was intended to make participants feel more comfortable and confident to offer their honest opinion about these potentially sensitive topics.

I developed a loose focus group schedule to shape the direction of these discussions (see Appendix 2). This schedule was informed by the survey data (the collection of which is outlined in the next section) to explore themes and points of interest that had emerged. The primary purpose of the focus group was to garner insight into how employment at Barefoot impacted the well-being of these group B participants. As such, some sensitive questions were posed about the quality and outcomes of their employment. Additional questions were posed for female group B participants about how their employment impacts their autonomy and social relationships. Furthermore, these focus groups explored how these participants experienced the process of handicraft production. The focus group schedule was pre-approved by the management of each production department, and no amendments were requested.

In total, 6 focus groups were undertaken with 18 participants, encompassing employees from the dyeing, weaving, and sewing departments. The table in Figure 5.4 outlines the context of these focus group, and the table in Figure 5.5 outlines some context about the participants. The focus groups were purposefully undertaken at the same production centres that the survey had been distributed. This enabled cross-verification of the data sets, and was intended to ensure that the focus group participants were already familiar and comfortable with the research project. The focus groups were undertaken in Sinhala, the first language for the majority of group B participants. This ensured that they were time efficient and created a more relaxed environment for group B participants to express their opinions. Furthermore, doing so ensured that meaning would not be lost or impacted in the process of immediate oral translation. All of the focus group participants volunteered to take part, rather than being strategically selected by management or the researcher. However, when undertaking more than one focus group within the same production centre, where possible considering the restraints of undertaking the research during working hours, I endeavoured to ensure some demographic diversity amongst participants.

Although the focus groups took place during working hours, and the management were aware of which group B participants were taking part, they were undertaken in private with no management or other employees present or nearby. Furthermore, to ensure a level of anonymity, focus group participants are referred to by a code, rather than their names, in this text and in the transcriptions. At the beginning of the focus groups, all the participants were reminded of the measures taken to ensure the anonymity of their opinions, and were encouraged to answer the questions and take part in the discussion honestly. Naturally, some participants were more responsive than others, but all participants were encouraged to offer their own insight.

Figure 5.4 – Table of Focus Groups

Title	Location	Date - Time	Duration
Sewing Sampler Focus Group	Head Office	12/07/18 – 11:12	0:23:13
Sewing Assistant Focus Group	Sewing Centre	30/07/18 – 09:22	0:25:20
Weaving Department Focus Group 1	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	31/07/18 - 12:14	0:45:02
Weaving Department Focus Group 2	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	31/07/18 - 13:13	0:52:32
Dyeing Department Focus Group 1	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	31/07/18 - 14:37	0:27:36
Dyeing Department Focus Group 2	Weaving and Dyeing Centre	31/07/18 - 15:35	0:26:45

Figure 5.5 – Table of Focus Group Participants

Focus Group Title	Code	Gender	Role	Age	Duration of Employment
Sewing Sampler Focus Group	SS/P1	Female	Sewing Sampler	58	41 years
Sewing Sampler Focus Group	SS/P2	Female	Sewing Sampler	53	22 years
Sewing Sampler Focus Group	SS/P3	Female	Sewing Sampler	62	41 years
Sewing Assistant Focus Group	SC/P1	Female	Sewing Assistant	65	Unknown
Sewing Assistant Focus Group	SC/P2	Female	Sewing Assistant	65	33 years
Sewing Assistant Focus Group	SC/P3	Female	Sewing Assistant	55	Unknown
Weaving Department Focus Group 1	WC1/P1	Female	Weaver	41	Intermittently over 25 years
Weaving Department Focus Group 1	WC1/P2	Female	Weaver	45	Intermittently over 29 years
Weaving Department Focus Group 1	WC1/P3	Female	Weaver	41	Intermittently over 25 years
Weaving Department Focus Group 2	WC2/P1	Female	Weaver	67	Unknown
Weaving Department Focus Group 2	WC2/P2	Female	Weaver	55	Intermittently over 20 years
Weaving Department Focus Group 2	WC2/P3	Female	Weaver	51	23 years
Dyeing Department Focus Group 1	DC1/P1	Female	Rinser	43	4 years
Dyeing Department Focus Group 1	DC1/P2	Female	Dyer	55	18 years
Dyeing Department Focus Group 1	DC1/P3	Male	Rinser	23	2.5 years
Dyeing Department Focus Group 2	DC2/P1	Male	Dyer	19	3 years
Dyeing Department Focus Group 2	DC2/P2	Male	Rinser	20	2 months
Dyeing Department Focus Group 2	DC2/P3	Male	Rinser	21	3 months

Participant Observation

Defined as ‘the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study’, participant observation was undertaken throughout the duration of the case study (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 79). Participant observation is typical of field-based ethnographic research, where ethnography is defined as ‘the art and science of describing a human group – its institutions, interpersonal behaviors, material productions, and beliefs’, and involves observing and interacting with research participants in their real-life environment (Angrosino, 2008, p. 14). In general, ethnographic research seeks to understand communities or societies, rather than individuals, to produce an account of such a group’s characteristic lived experience and culture. As such, it involves field-based data collection where the researcher is both ‘a subjective *participant* in the lives of those under study, as well as an objective *observer* of those lives’ (Angrosino, 2008, p. 15). Considering this, when undertaking participant observation the researcher is ‘embedded in the action and context of a social setting’ (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2013, p. 76). In undertaking participant observation, the researcher witnesses and records information only apparent to an observer. Consequently, participant observation garners nuance that may not be apparent in the transcription of an interview or focus group (Guest et al., 2013, p. 77). In particular, participant observation records insight derived from social interpretations: the social messages that are conveyed through nonverbal means, such as facial expressions and body gestures (Berg, 2001, p. 68). As such, participant observation offers a deeper understanding of the research participants and the case study as a whole.

Participant observation is by nature subjective, founded upon the researcher’s personal interpretation of the participants and setting being observed. It must be taken into consideration that the same social interaction witnessed by another researcher may be interpreted differently (Guest et al., 2013, p. 79). As a result, the data collected from participant observation may be difficult to compare with other data sources. Furthermore, much like the other qualitative research methods employed, data collected from participant observation does not offer a basis for generalisation. This is compounded by the fact that the interpretation of the data gathered is idiosyncratic to the researcher (Guest et al., 2013, p. 81). However

participant observation was employed in this study primarily to enrich insight and to reinforce the validity of the data collected from other research methods, rather than being utilised as a substantial source of data in itself. For this reason, and in contrast to ethnographic study which tends to require that the researcher embeds themselves into the social setting under observations, this study utilised an ‘observer-as-participant’ approach, where ‘the researcher is known and recognized, but relates to the ‘subjects’ of study solely as a researcher’ (Angrosino, 2008, p. 54).

Participant observation was undertaken during all site visits in the form of a research diary, by myself and the assistants present. Having multiple observers meant that the insight garnered could be cross-verified and discussed. I was not permitted by the owners of Barefoot to take photographs/videos as part of this research diary. The owners conveyed that this was to protect the company from counterfeiting and industry scrutiny, but also to enable them to protect the brand image. As aforementioned, this fieldwork was undertaken to garner insight into how employment at Barefoot and the process of undertaking handicraft labour impacts the well-being of group B participants. Considering this, participant observation was particularly important to experience first-hand the working environment and lived experience of group B employees, and observe the quality of their labour and working day. This insight was enriched by my own experience of textile handicraft production (and, indeed, handloom weaving) and industry experience of handicraft production. This experience enabled me to contextualise what I observed alongside typical employment conditions and labour processes within the handicraft sector. My own experience of handloom weaving was also useful when observing the labour processes undertaken by group B participants, to subsequently consider the validity of insight garnered into the potential for such handicraft production to improve well-being. Furthermore, observing non-verbal communication through participant observation was particularly useful when approaching sensitive topics with group B participants, where social pressure might have impacted the validity of the data.

Documents and Audio-Visual Material

The core data of the case study was also enriched and validated by the examination of documents (such as marketing materials, reports, articles, and correspondence)

and audio-visual materials (such as photographs, video, and online content). The collection of such data served to add context to the case study. For example, an examination of marketing materials offered insight into the philosophy, motivation and aims of Barefoot. The collection of such materials is an unobtrusive means of gathering data that is not usually restricted by time. Furthermore, such materials can offer a more considered and refined source of data. However, their validity must also be taken into consideration. For example, the marketing materials of a privately owned company, being designed to sell both the brand and its products, may present biased information. Similarly, these materials are often difficult to interpret, so are best utilised as context for data collected from other sources (as in this study) (Creswell, 2014, pp. 191-192). A variety of different source materials were examined, including social media posts, the company website, articles written about the company, press releases, marketing materials, and notebooks and scrapbooks from Barefoot's archives.

5.4 Quantitative Research Methods

As part of a mixed methods case study, this research project also undertook a quantitative survey. In contrast to the qualitative research methods outlined above, quantitative research methods are more frequently employed to test objective theories, typically measured on instruments in order to provide data that can be analysed numerically (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). Consequently quantitative data is used to quantify the opinions, behaviours, and attitudes of research participants. In contrast to qualitative data, quantitative data seeks to numerically encapsulate the overarching patterns and trends established by the shared views of participants. Within the context of a convergent parallel mixed methods case study, quantitative research methods were employed to gain breadth, rather than detail, of data. Furthermore, quantitative research offered an appropriate means of collecting data from group B, as will be detailed below, which was subsequently cross-verified with the corresponding qualitative data collected.

Survey

Survey research is undertaken to provide a ‘numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population’ (Creswell, 2014, p. 13). Surveys are designed to garner a wide breadth of data, reaching a large number of participants (Creswell, 2014, p. 157). However, the data collected is limited in detail; although a survey can be used to ascertain opinions about a particular subject, it is difficult to determine what informs these opinions (Park, 2006, p. 118). Whilst survey data is broad and non-descriptive, it was beneficial to this study to identify initial themes and points of interest that could subsequently be explored with qualitative methods (Park, 2006, p. 119). In particular, the survey data offered useful insight that informed the purpose and direction of the focus groups undertaken thereafter (Berg, 2001, pp. 124-145).

A survey was utilised as an efficient and appropriate way to gather data from group B participants. First and foremost, employing a survey offered a broad data set whilst ensuring the anonymity of group B participants. As stipulated above, this was beneficial to ensure honest responses to sensitive questions. A survey was also appropriate for group B participants as it could be translated into Sinhala. This mitigated the potential risk of conceptual misunderstanding if group B participants were utilising their second or third language. Furthermore, as the research was undertaken at Barefoot sites during the working day, a survey was an appropriate data collection method being time efficient (Creswell, 2014, p. 157).

When gathering survey data the researcher may use a survey instrument that has been previously developed or modify a previously developed survey instruments to suit the specifics of their research project (Creswell, 2014, p. 159). However, a unique survey instrument can also be developed to explore the specified research problem, thus gathering new data and insight (Park, 2006, p. 122). For this project, a unique survey instrument was developed (first in English) to garner demographic information about group B participants, insight into how they perceive of Barefoot as a company, their experience of working at Barefoot, and their experience of utilising handicraft technique (see Appendix 3 for the English survey instrument). However a section of the survey instrument, intended to establish how group B participants evaluate their well-being, was influenced by a previously designed well-being measurement tools called the Composite Global Well-Being Index (as discussed in

Chapter One). The survey instrument was translated into Sinhala (see Appendix 4 for the Sinhala version). The Sinhala version underwent a process of revision and piloting to ensure correct translation and interpretation of the survey questions. In particular, the Sinhala survey instrument was reviewed by the managers of the handicraft departments, who work closely with group B employees. Upon final revision, the survey instrument was art worked by a Sinhala speaking graphic designer.

Before the survey was conducted, initial site visits were undertaken in order to explain the process of the survey to group B employees. Participant information forms (in Sinhala) were distributed during these initial visits, giving group B employees time to familiarise themselves with the purpose of the research and their role within it (see Appendix 10 for the English version, and Appendix 11 for the Sinhala version of this form). The survey was distributed in larger and more accessible Barefoot production centres, to gain access to a greater number of potential participants with relative ease, and to ensure that group B employees from all of the different handicraft departments were included in the survey sample. Before the survey was distributed, group B employees were assured that their participation was anonymous, and that they should answer the questions honestly with their own opinion. The overall structure of survey, and particularly the format of the questions, was also explained. Group B participants were also reminded to ask for help or further explanation if needed. It was decided that it would be best for the participants to undertake the survey on site during the working day. Doing so ensured a higher response rate and provided the ability to offer assistance to participants during completion. However, as a result some group B employees were unable or unwilling to interrupt their work to complete the survey. Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration that the data set may have been impacted by the participant's ability to discuss their responses amongst themselves, alongside potential time restrictions within the work place. The management were on site but not present during data collection. However, in some instances supervisors were present. All of the group B employees on site at the time of data collection were asked to take part in the survey. In total, 183 group B employees were present for the data collection, and 116 completed the surveys. There were three questions included in the survey that required a written response. In general, the response rate to these

questions was low, largely as a result of time constraints rather than reluctance to approach the subject of the questions. There were two instances where participants asked for assistance filling in their survey as they did not feel confident reading the questions. In these instances the surveys were marked and this circumstance was taken into consideration when analysing the data.

5.5 Data Analysis

After data collection, the organisation and analysis of the data set is crucial to extract valid insights. During the process of mixed methods research, it is likely that an array of data of varying importance and quality will be collected. This is particularly important within the context of a case study, which can produce unwieldy amounts of data. Therefore, an important part of the research process involves the reduction and organisation of data, to create understanding and accessibility (Berg, 2001, p. 35). The process of data reduction is crucial to the overarching cohesion of a research project that involves large quantities of data from many different sources, and establishes the basis for analysis. However, data reduction and subsequent analysis is a complex process. Within this study the process varied depending upon the data collection method. The analysis of qualitative and quantitative data was undertaken concurrently in order to draw out recurrent themes and concepts, which were subsequently used to organise data and form a basis for new insight. However, as a result of the distinct data sets, the coding process of qualitative and quantitative data differed.

Coding of Qualitative Data

Firstly, all interview and focus group audio recordings were transcribed. Where necessary, these transcriptions were also translated from Sinhala to English. Field notes and observations were typed up, and audio and visual materials were catalogued. Before beginning the process of coding I undertook a process of general reflection, reading and absorbing the qualitative data materials and considering their depth and credibility. Each transcription was carefully read several times to develop an initial understanding of the broad themes and ideas emerging from the data. After

this process the texts were coded in order to identify recurrent concepts, extracting the shared attitudes, behaviours, and opinions of the research participants, alongside interesting anomalies within the data set. The coding of qualitative research depends upon the recognition and measurement of ‘significant statements, the generation of meaning units, and the development of... an essence description’ (Creswell, 2014, p. 196). Content analysis utilises a coding scheme, in which ‘measurement consists of counting the occurrence of meaning units such as specific words, phrases, content categories or themes’ (Weber, 1990, p. 70). As such, content analysis creates numerical indicators of significant themes within the data set. Within this project this involved the manual segmentation of data into categories that were encapsulated by a particular term, theme, or concept (Rallis & Rossman, 2011, p. 282). Although preliminary research gave some insight into the themes that would emerge from the data set, the codes were not pre-determined but derived from the data set.

As with the collection of qualitative data, content analysis has limited generalisability, particularly as the analysis is clearly dependent upon the interpretation of the researcher. However, content analysis offers an appropriate tool when analysing a diverse data set, enabling the researcher to identify the key recurrent themes, alongside insightful anomalies. Furthermore, content analysis is an unobtrusive process, undertaken after data collection and at the convenience of the researcher. As a result, ‘neither the sender nor the receiver of the message is aware that it is being analyzed’ (Weber, 1990, p. 10). Therefore, the insight garnered through content analysis is less likely to be impacted by the act of data collection in itself, offering greater accuracy.

Coding of Quantitative Data

In contrast, the coding of quantitative data involves the organisation of information that is already numerical. Coding the data set obtained from the survey involved the consolidation of each individual response into a master data set, before analysing the trends and patterns that were apparent. All completed surveys were given a participant ID number (as they were anonymous) to ensure that individual responses could be verified at a later date. The data from the completed surveys was input into Microsoft Excel. After this process was complete, appropriate formulas were applied

to demonstrate the result of each individual question. Subsequently, it was possible to recognise trends and patterns within the data set as a whole. Appendix 5 offers an overview of the coded survey data.

Triangulation and Cross-Validation

The final stage of content analysis involved the cross-verification of themes and findings across the different data sets. Triangulation involves the examination of data from different sources, combining this information in order to justify the recognition of themes derived and the wider findings. Validity is derived through the occurrence of coherent evidence from various sources. The process of triangulation is particularly relevant to a convergent parallel mixed methods approach such as this study, where insight from qualitative and quantitative data was combined. This process was crucial to the validity of the findings of this research project, identifying and verifying robust insight alongside anomalies within the data sets. The process of triangulation was also important to compare and contrast insight derived from qualitative and quantitative data.

5.6 Validity & Limitations

Appropriate measures were taken during data collection and analysis to ensure the validity of the project. Validity means that the findings of the research project are accurate from the viewpoint of the researcher, the participants, and the reader (Creswell, 2014, p. 201). A valid case study must develop a thorough protocol to ensure that if the study were to be replicated by another researcher, they would draw the same conclusions (Yin, 2009). The process of research collection and analysis, as outlined in this chapter and in the appendices, offers such a protocol for this project. This protocol demonstrates that the research design of this project was developed with the validity of data constantly in mind.

Selecting an appropriate case study was key for the validity of the project. The case study needed to be a company undertaking luxury production with the primary purpose of creating social value. Furthermore, such luxury production needed to employ handicraft processes. Preliminary research in Sri Lanka identified

a variety of different companies, including brands and designers, that might have fit this brief. I undertook initial interviews with several of these companies to further assess their validity. Some were reluctant to offer the level of transparency that this project required, so declined to take part. Others were discounted as being too limited in size, and therefore not offering adequate depth of research. Furthermore, many of these companies work with freelance handicraft producers with no centralised production site(s), which posed logistical issues for this project. The handloom weaving industry (in contrast to other handicraft processes employed in luxury production), was identified as being particularly apt for this project as a result of its relative scale and the existence of larger companies with centralised production centres. Again, several handloom companies were approached, but the majority were unwilling to take part in a research project alongside their market competitors. Considering this, Barefoot was selected as an appropriate case study as the most premium handloom company purportedly committed to create social value in its production process. But furthermore, on a logistic level, the owners and management were willing to offer transparency into their operations, the company employs a relatively large workforce (ensuring a broad research sample), and there are centralised production centres, albeit often in rural locations, where the data collection could take place. It is important to note that there were no vested interests in the selected case study, and that any familiarity with the management at Barefoot is a result of this research project. The validity of qualitative research is also dependent on the selection of an appropriate sample. In this case, considering that Barefoot intends to create social value through improving the well-being of employees undertaking handicraft production, it was crucial to gain first-hand insight from group B employees to verify what impact employment at Barefoot actually has upon their well-being. Data from group A participants offered additional insight into how Barefoot intends to improve the well-being of group B participants. For the validity of this project, it is also important to note that participation of group A and B participants was not incentivised; the research sample engaged with the research on their own free will with no impetus from either myself or their employer.

The limitations of a research project refer to potential weaknesses outside of the researcher's control, which may impact the validity of the data set.

Acknowledging and, where possible, addressing these limitations is therefore crucial

to the validity of the study overall. For example, there is an inherent limitation in undertaking a case study of a private commercial enterprise. The validity of the data set may have been impacted by the fact that, as a private commercial enterprise, it is important for the owners and management of Barefoot to present a particular image of the company; complete transparency is not always desirable or possible.

Particularly for group A participants, or those that have a substantial vested interest in the output and reputation of Barefoot, it is important to remember that the data collected may be biased to reflect a positive view of the company. Furthermore, as a result of Barefoot's status as a social enterprise, the data collected may be biased to exaggerate the positive social impact of the business. To approach these limitations, myself and the assistants signed a non-disclosure agreement to nurture openness and honesty throughout the research process (see Appendix 6). This agreement was also intended to protect Barefoot from potential industry scrutiny within Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, steps were taken to ensure that group B participants weren't strategically selected by the management to participate in the study in order to convey biased opinions. For example, all group B participants on site during the distribution of the survey were invited to participate. Similarly, for the focus groups group B participants were asked to volunteer to take part rather than being selected.

Furthermore, the vulnerability of group B participants posed a limitation to this study, as the validity of this project was ultimately dependent upon gaining their honest insight. As aforementioned, group B participants were subjected to potentially sensitive questions about their work, workplace and employer, their opinion on which might have impacted their employment. These questions were necessary to get to the heart of how group B participants experience and value their employment at Barefoot. The validity of the data set was therefore contingent upon group B participants being willing and able to express their honest opinion without risking their employment. To approach this limitation it was crucial to employ research methods that ensured a level of anonymity, such as the survey and focus groups. Furthermore, it was important to create a research environment in which group B participants would feel at ease. For this reason, group B participants were able to use their first language (Sinhala) during the data collection, which was further intended to ensure descriptive detail and conceptual understanding. Furthermore, interacting with Sinhalese assistants from a less disparate socio-

cultural and -economic background, in comparison to myself, was intended to help group B participants feel more at ease and able to offer their honest opinions during data collection. However, for the sake of validity it is also important to acknowledge that the socio-cultural and -economic circumstance of these assistants still differed to the average group B participant.

In general, my role as the researcher also posed a limitation to this study. As we have seen in this chapter, qualitative research is often criticised as it is unable to produce entirely unaffected or unbiased data. The role of the researcher is often discussed in terms of *reactivity*, or *biasing effects*, as ‘personal background, culture, and experiences hold potential for shaping their [the researcher’s] interpretations, such as the themes they advance and the meanings they ascribe to the data’ (Creswell, 2014, p. 186). Therefore, it was important to consider how the findings could be impacted by my background and situation, including my gender, history, culture, and socio-economic status (Creswell, 2014, p. 202). Despite a personal history with Sri Lanka, I am a white Western woman whose socio-economic status and cultural worldview is significantly different to the majority of the research participants, particularly group B participants. Consequently, it was important to consider possible linguistic and cultural barriers between myself and the research participants. Furthermore, the data from group B participants in particular could have been impacted by my working relationship with the owners and management at Barefoot. This relationship may have led participants to perceive me in a position of power. Alongside practicing crucial self-awareness throughout the process of data collection and analysis, working with Sinhalese assistants was intended to counteract these limitations. Doing so enabled me to examine and cross-verify my interpretations of the data being collected. Furthermore, as I undertook the process of coding the data set alone, there is a potential limitation that the insight derived is not shared. For the sake of validity, the coded data set was reviewed and verified by the assistants. This limitation was also approached by the triangulation of the data set, ensuring that insight was mirrored in the different data sources.

It is also important to acknowledge the limitations of potential bias during the translation process of cross-cultural research. In their investigation into the impact of translation in qualitative research, Bogusia Temple and Alysand Young argue that, from a constructivist viewpoint where knowledge is unavoidably impacted by

personal interpretation, ‘then translators must also form part of the process of knowledge production’ (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 164). When translation is not undertaken by the researcher themselves, decisions regarding who undertakes the translation, and whether the translator contributes toward the analysis of the text, will unavoidably impact the research. Temple and Young subsequently argue that it is important for the researcher to discuss the texts with the translator, ‘to allow for differences in understandings of worlds, concepts, and worldviews across languages’ (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 171). In respect of this, the translation work was undertaken by an assistant who had witnessed the data collection and had a good understanding of the research project, its aims, and its key limitations. On first reading the transcripts, I highlighted any insight that could be interpreted multiple ways (as a result of socio-cultural circumstance), and discussed their meaning with the translator to ensure appropriate interpretation. Consequently, the translator also reviewed my analysis of the transcripts in case of misinterpretation. These measures assured accurate interpretation of the translated texts, accounting for cross-cultural understanding.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

During the process of data collection it was crucial to consider any ethical issues that may impact the participants. These considerations were important primarily for the well-being of the participants, but also as a means of ensuring good quality data through building an environment in which the participants can feel safe and at ease. Overall, the integrity of a research project is dependent upon ethical considerations being undertaken and acted upon (Creswell, 2014, p. 92). The case study and the individual research participants must be protected and a relationship of trust must be established. This was particularly important when working with group B participants. As previously mentioned, it was deemed that group B participants, as those who Barefoot’s social enterprise intends to benefit, are in some way vulnerable in that they face social issues that impact their well-being. From an ethical standpoint, as group B participants were being asked questions about the quality of their employment, and what impact their employment has upon their well-being, it was important to ensure that taking part in the research project would not in any way

jeopardise their employment and subsequent income. Furthermore, ensuring that the research project would not jeopardise the employment of group B participants was critical to enable them to offer their views honestly and without fear of retribution.

Before undertaking this research project, it was presented to University of Southampton's ethical approval process (ERGO), to ensure any potential ethical issues had been addressed, considered, and acted upon when necessary (please see Appendices 18 and 19 for the Ergo application and risk assessment forms). The focus group schedule and the survey were presented to the ethics board for approval before field-testing. All research participants were fully informed of the purpose of the data, including how the data will be utilised, and the role that they would play within it beforehand. At the beginning of any research activity, all research participants were given a participant information form that they could refer to during and after the process of data collection, which included my contact details in the event of any problems (see Appendices 7-11). For group B participants this form was translated into Sinhala. Furthermore, undertaking initial site visits to thoroughly explain the purpose and process of the data collection ensured that group B participants were familiar with the purpose of the research and their role within it before data collection. Group B participants were always briefed in Sinhala to ensure full understanding. All participants also signed a corresponding consent form (see Appendices 12-16). In this form participants acknowledged that they were fully informed about the purpose of the study, why their participation would be valuable, what the study hoped to achieve, and any potential uses or outcomes of the data collected. Again, this form was translated into Sinhala. When it was necessary to ensure anonymity for group B participants, for example during the survey, these consent forms were collected separately from the data set. Finally, all data collected was and is stored safely (physically and digitally), only accessible to the researcher.

In this chapter I have detailed the research methodologies of this study, in particular demonstrating why the chosen data collection methods were appropriate for the aims and research sample of the case study of Barefoot. The next chapter introduces the case study of Barefoot, offering further evidence of its suitability for this research project, and outlining key context for the research findings.

Chapter Six – Introducing Barefoot

In this chapter I introduce the case study of this thesis, Barefoot, drawing upon a variety of different research sources. The first section outlines the history and development of Barefoot. This is important as it demonstrates that the historic purpose of the company was to approach a social issue and thus create social value. The second section offers an insight into Barefoot today. As a family-run business, quantified information regarding the operations, scale, and aims of Barefoot is not necessarily collected. As such, the majority of the insight in this section is derived from secondary sources and from the personal testimony of the research participants. In particular, this section considers Barefoot's commitment to the principles of social entrepreneurship as a Good Market certified vendor. Barefoot's Good Market mission statement offers useful insight into some of the ways that the company alleges to create social value. For the clarity of the reader, this section also offers a brief outline of the handicraft process at Barefoot. The third section draws upon the data set and explores Barefoot's placement in the Sri Lankan textile handicraft industry to demonstrate that it is perceived as a luxury brand. Establishing this is crucial to the validity of this project, exploring the potential for luxury production to create social value.

6.1 A History of Barefoot

Barefoot was founded in 1964 when Barbara Sansoni, a well-known Sri Lankan artist, designer, illustrator, and author was commissioned by the Sri Lankan chapter of the Roman Catholic Order of the Good Shepherd to create designs for the hand-woven cloth already produced by the women seeking refuge with the order (Boyle, 2013, p. 38). These women and girls were deemed to be marginalised, having been 'maltreated or neglected, even abandoned', and often illiterate (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 21). A weaving centre had been established by the order to generate employment opportunities and nurture greater economic autonomy for them. The products being woven, however, had not sold successfully enough to sustain secure employment and nurture economic security for this marginalised group (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 20). Sansoni recognised that in order to build a good market for these products a new

design aesthetic would need to be developed (Daniel, 2014). They created a unique visual identity for Barefoot through their use and proportion of colour, which has become synonymous with the Barefoot brand. This style was created by ‘signature rectilinear designs that ordered colour into simple geometric forms, sans motif or decoration’, inspired by the landscapes, flora, fauna, and people of Sri Lanka (see Figure 6.1 for an image of Barefoot’s signature handwoven cloth and linens) (Boyle, 2013, p. 38). Sansoni’s design intervention increased the popularity of the goods being produced and, as a consequence of this, the Barefoot brand grew. In *Sri Lankan Style*, Channa Daswatte discusses Sansoni and the Barefoot brand as part of a wider design movement catering to the domestic market in post-colonial Sri Lanka, characterised by ‘the resurgence in traditional crafts with a modern design twist’ (Daswatte, 2006, p. 119). This movement was necessitated by ‘government policies of self-reliance promoted by the left-of-center politics’ that led to restricted imports and international travel in the 1960s and 70s. These policies ‘brought about a creative blossoming in the architecture and design of the island’, and ‘prompted designers to re-examine and work with local resources’, including historic craft communities and traditions such as handloom weaving. It is in this context that Barefoot was able to flourish, but also that Sansoni’s aesthetic would become ‘an essential part of the contemporary [Sri Lankan] design ethos’ (Daswatte, 2006, p. 120).



Figure 6.1 – Image of Barefoot’s signature handwoven cloth and linens

In the context of this study into the potential for luxury production to create social value, it is important to acknowledge that the Order’s collaboration with Sansoni was motivated by a social need: to ensure the well-being of a marginalised group of women that faced barriers to be able to live independently within their communities. Facilitating employment opportunities and subsequent economic security was deemed to be socially valuable in improving the well-being of this community, through nurturing greater independence and autonomy, essentially enabling this group of women, as a member of the Sansoni family stated, ‘to provide for themselves’. Furthermore, as many of these women had received little formal education, their employment was intended to develop a skillset with which to live by. In particular, Sansoni believed that ‘proficiency in weaving’ developed other intellectual abilities, ‘from problem solving, to basic mathematics, manual dexterity and a discipline that would serve them well in all aspects of their lives’, as will be explored in more depth in Chapter Eight (Daniel, 2014). The practice of weaving was not only intended to improve the well-being of this community through the economic security facilitated, but also as a process that developed abilities.

Many group A participants (employees who seek to facilitate social enterprise at Barefoot) confirmed that Barefoot's historic purpose was to create social value in improving the well-being of these marginalised women, rather than creating profit and economic rewards for the owners of the business. For example, the ex-CEO expressed that, at its founding, Barefoot 'was more a social work than a business. And she [Sansoni] hates the word business, because that's not where she came from, ever'. This participant conveyed that Sansoni never intended to build a business in the pursuit of economic reward, but instead (alongside the Catholic Order) sought to create social value. Developing a business was an approach and consequence of this aim. Similarly, a senior designer who has worked for the company since 1975 stated that Barefoot 'was never started as a [traditional] business' with the intention of financially rewarding owners or shareholders. Instead, Barefoot started 'so naturally, with a good purpose'. As argued by another member of the Sansoni family, in being primarily motivated to 'help people and maybe make really beautiful things', at the beginning at least, Barefoot operated 'like a social enterprise'. However, it is important to question the validity of such claims made by group A participants, considering that many have a substantial vested interest in Barefoot.

It is also important to acknowledge that Barefoot's activity is entrepreneurial, rather than charitable, despite its historic relationship with the Sri Lankan Catholic Order. Barefoot was founded upon the need to find a sustainable economic solution to the social issue of a group of marginalised women in rural Sri Lanka being unable to live independently. The decision made by the Order of the Good Shepherd and Barbara Sansoni (and, later, the wider Sansoni family) to actively approach this social issue may well have been influenced by Catholic morals and beliefs, although I believe it would be reductive to solely attribute the desire to create social value to one's religious affiliation. However, in order to achieve its aim of creating social value, Barefoot needed to be run as a self-sustaining business, creating a desirable product, increasing sales, and thus developing the Barefoot brand. In this way, as Dissanayake states, Barefoot has been transformed from 'a religious, charitable initiative into a successful, privately-owned commercial enterprise' (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 24). This is encapsulated in early marketing materials (available in the company's private archive) written by Barbara Sansoni, in which they state: 'We are

not a do-gooding, be-kind-to-the-poor-where-can-we-find-foreign-aid? organisation. Profit is not the prime motivation of Barefoot, but profit is necessary for the survival of the organisation'. Furthermore, Sansoni states within these materials: 'The cloth they [handicraft workers] make is not bought as a donation to charity, but because it is in demand for its utility and appearance'. Here Sansoni stresses that the positive social impact Barefoot has is dependent upon the company's commercial success and the desirability of the commodities produced. Indeed, these materials also convey that Barefoot has always been design- and quality-focussed, traits that are necessary to ensure the commercial success of the business without depending upon charity: 'Our primary aims are to develop each human being without formal education, through learning skills - to retain independence from being exploited unskilled labour – and to make the best quality handwoven cloth in creative design'. Similarly, a hand-drawn illustration by Sansoni (see Figure 6.2 below), highlights the importance of design and quality, alongside its historic tradition of creating employment opportunities where they are 'needed' and of enabling people to work from home. As such, and not overlooking the significant influence of the Catholic Order in the company's founding and historic operation, it is important to recognise Barefoot as an independent creative enterprise, rather than a religious or charitable endeavour.

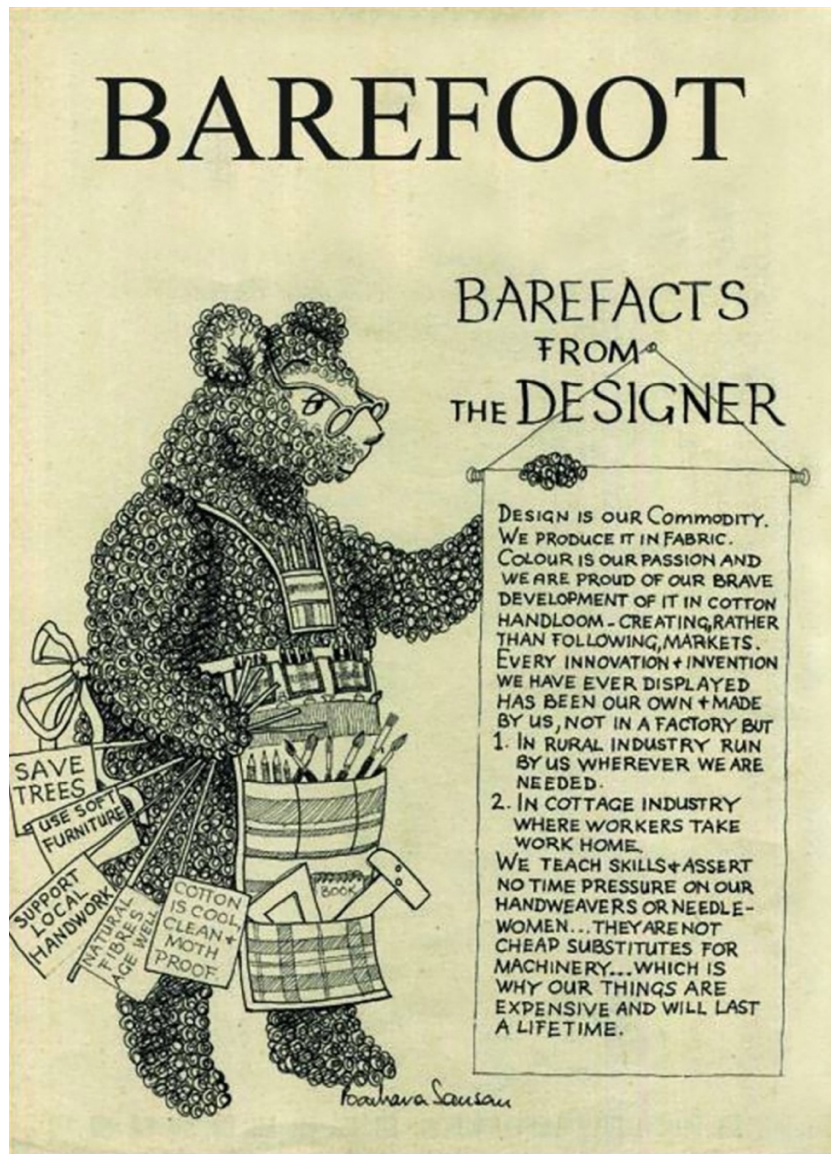


Figure 6.2 – A hand-drawn illustration by Barbara Sansoni marketing Barefoot

The company has gradually grown since the 1960s. Further production centres were financed and established by Sansoni and their husband, initially producing furnishing fabrics sold by the yard and household linens, on land rented from the Order of the Good Shepherd and supervised by the nuns (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 20). These centres were purposefully established in rural locations, as it was deemed to be of social importance ‘to bring work to villages where it was scarce’ (Daniel, 2014). The first retail outlet of what were then called ‘Barbara Sansoni’ products was established in Sansoni’s home in Colombo, but operations soon outgrew the space and the first store, called ‘House’, was opened in 1972. This retail outlet also sold other homewares sourced from craft communities around the island, including glassware

and ceramics. The handloom weaving arm of the business was later renamed 'Barefoot', to reflect 'what is spontaneous and in touch with the earth' (Barefoot, 2021b). During this time the product line has expanded to offer an array of different products, including unfinished fabrics; linens (such as table mats, cushion covers, and bed spreads); clothing (including traditional dress such as sarongs and sarees, but also Western garments); bags (including small accessories); and other miscellaneous items (such as keyrings, hanging decorations, picture frames, and notebooks). Additional production centres were subsequently opened, including a dye centre, which became necessary when the quality of available pre-dyed yarn declined, and sewing centres to assemble the derivative products. Barefoot products were increasingly sought-after and renowned around the island, and their designs were widely imitated in the domestic handloom industry (Daswatte, 2006, p. 119). The popularity of Barefoot products with a growing tourist market and the expat community prompted the company to explore the potential for an export market towards the end of the 1970s, initially supplying a hotel in the Maldives. With the success of this endeavour, the export division of Barefoot, called Barbara Sansoni Exports, has since developed trade relationships in Scandinavia, Japan, the United States of America and more (Boyle, 2013, p. 40). With the continual success and growth of the company, a store was opened on Galle Road in Colombo in the early 1980's which remains the flagship store today (see Figure 6.3 for an image of the interior of the flagship store on Galle Road) (Amarasinghe, 2018, p. 20). These premises have fortuitously grown with the acquisition of buildings and land around the original 1920's town house to include a bookshop, gallery and café/restaurant.



Figure 6.3 – Image of the interior of the Barefoot flagship store on Galle Road

6.2 Barefoot Today

Today Barefoot is one of the most successful and enduring handloom producers in Sri Lanka. It remains a privately owned, family-run business. Barbara Sansoni retired from their role as managing director, being succeeded by their descendent Dominic Sansoni. The family run three separate but complementary businesses: Barefoot, which produces handloom cloth and derivative commodities; Barbara Sansoni Exports, the export division of Barefoot commodities; and Sansoni Warehouse, a separate business that curates and markets a variety of Sri Lankan handicraft products. Although considering the other businesses when relevant, this study primarily focuses on the activity of Barefoot. According to the company website, the purpose of Barefoot remains to produce ‘beautiful and useful textiles’, utilising Sansoni’s design aesthetic of ‘brilliant colour and simple geometry’, that give Barefoot products an ‘internationally recognizable character’ (Barefoot, 2021a). The integrity and quality of its handicraft production is a crucial ethos of the company, as encapsulated in the tagline ‘handwoven - handmade - hand dyed - pure cotton’ included on the tag of Barefoot products (see Figure 6.4 for an image of these tags).



Figure 6.4 – Image of the tags attached to Barefoot products

There are three Barefoot outlets: the remaining flagship store on Galle Road in Colombo; a smaller store in the recently refurbished Dutch Hospital shopping Precinct in the Fort area of Colombo; and a store in Galle, a cultural hub due to the Galle Literary Festival held annually and a popular destination for tourists. The stores sell both Barefoot and Sansoni Warehouse products (including Dumbara weaving, batik, woodwork and lacquerwork) and a curated selection of local brands offering spa products, spices, teas and more (Barefoot, 2021f). The Barefoot stores are committed to 'prioritizing local and small-scale service providers, and maintaining fair trade relationships with these providers' (Good Market, 2018). The stores also stock a variety of commodities made by local purpose-driven enterprises, such as Rice & Carry (a social enterprise upcycling packaging waste into a range of personal accessories such as bags and purses), and Emerge (a jewellery enterprise working with Sri Lankan girls who have been relocated as a result of abuse). In this way, Barefoot seeks to support other purpose-driven enterprises, and 'do[es] not engage in anti-competitive or unethical practices' (Good Market, 2018). The flagship store also contains the Barefoot Bookshop, Garden Café and Gallery. The book shop specialises in Sri Lankan authors and books concerning Sri Lankan arts and architecture. It regularly hosts book launches, and is the official seller of the Galle Literary Festival (Barefoot, 2021c). The Barefoot Gallery, the first commercial gallery in Sri Lanka, which has made a significant contribution to the Sri Lankan arts with a constant agenda of exhibitions and events, serving 'as a platform for artists, musicians, poets, and filmmakers' (Barefoot, 2021e). These creative spaces seek to

establish Barefoot's expertise in curating local art practices. Outside, at the back of the building, is the Garden Café, an important social space hosting live jazz on Sunday afternoons, pub quiz nights, and regular cultural events (Barefoot, 2021d). The garden space also includes a working loom, to demonstrate the weaving process to consumers.

Barefoot as a Social Enterprise

Despite its commercial success, initial investigation suggests that Barefoot has maintained a commitment to creating social value, which has ultimately shaped the growth of the business. Barefoot is recognised by the Good Market platform (as introduced in Chapter Four) as a registered vendor and social enterprise. As a Good Market vendor, a mission statement detailing information about the social impact of Barefoot is published on the Good Market global platform (see Appendix 17). In order to be verified as a Good Market vendor, Barefoot is obliged to impart certain information about the business, its operation and its impact. However, it is not clear whether, and if so how, the Good Market platform verifies this information. As such, it is important to acknowledge that information gleaned from Barefoot's Good Market mission statement does not verify Barefoot's status as a social enterprise, rather offering insight into how Barefoot pledges to create social value. This mission statement asserts that Barefoot 'prioritises people and the planet over profit in its decision making'. Furthermore, it alleges that, as a commercial enterprise, Barefoot is financially sustainable and pledges that all profits are reinvested to 'expand [positive] social or environmental impact' (Good Market, 2018). This claim is important to verify Barefoot's status as a social enterprise, previously defined in this study as self-sustaining commercial activity that is purpose-driven, ultimately operating in order to create social value. As a result of restricted access to confidential information, it isn't possible to verify from the fieldwork whether all profits are actually reinvested into social means. However, as seen above, the company was historically driven to create social value, rather than profit. Furthermore, group A research participants with an insight into the purpose of the business, and particularly those whose own employment involves facilitating social value, conveyed that social value creation remains the primary purpose of the

business. The managing director construes a moral obligation to operating the business in this way, stating that prioritising social value creation over profit, is 'the only decent thing to do'. Barefoot's Good Market mission statement outlines a variety of ways in which Barefoot alleges to create social value, providing 'broader social benefits that go beyond the benefits to individual customers', including 'Cross-cultural understanding; Heritage preservation; Social inclusion; Poverty reduction; Public education; and Research' (Good Market, 2018). As seen above, initial insight suggests that the primary way in which Barefoot intends to create social value today is through facilitating lacking employment opportunities that support economic security and subsequently improve well-being.

Furthermore, Barefoot has taken active steps in more recent history to reduce its environmental impact, endeavouring to ensure that its activity isn't anti-social in causing environmental degradation. The retail manager, who has authority over the environmental impact of the stores, asserted that 'as a company, we're always looking at ways to be more sustainable and eco-friendly... looking at ways that we can reduce... harm to the environment'. The Good Market mission statement indicates that Barefoot products are made from 100% renewable, plant-based materials in order to minimize the environmental impact of production, and that steps have been taken to reduce water and energy usage during the production process (Good Market, 2018). The dye centre manager outlined a variety of measures that have been implemented to reduce the environmental impact of the dyeing process. High quality dyes are used (despite their higher cost) because they are non-toxic and environmentally friendly. Furthermore, this participant asserted that the company has developed new dye recipes in order to consume an average of 50% less dye and water during the process, and that the dye bath is often reused, creating secondary pastel tones of the original colours. Furthermore, Barefoot has developed a 'Central Environmental Authority certified water treatment plant' which ensures that the waste water from the dyeing centre is safe to release back into the environment (Barefoot, 2021a). The manager of this facility explained that the by-product of this process is transported to a facility where it is incinerated into bricks or cement, at a relatively high cost to the company. These claims were verified during the process of site visits as part of the fieldwork. However, there is no official

certification that could verify these claims, or draw comparison with industry standards.

Furthermore, insight from group A participants demonstrates a general concern to reduce waste across all departments of the company, primarily in order to reduce its environmental impact (rather than for the sake of economic efficiency). A senior designer conveyed that the wide product range has been purposefully conceived to ensure that very little raw material is wasted. As this participant states, ‘all the little pieces, even the tiniest piece’ of cloth will be used, for example in a patchwork bathmat, or for the soft toys. Even the selvage (the tightly woven side edge of the fabric that prevents fraying) cut off from the woven fabrics during the sewing process are utilised. The finance manager discussed an initiative with a local charity called Prithipura, providing a home environment for mentally- and physically-differently abled residents, where the cut selvage are supplied free of charge and woven into door mats by the residents. These mats are subsequently sold in the Barefoot store, generating a source of income for the residents alongside ensuring that as much of the woven cloth is utilised as possible (see Figure 6.5 for an image of these mats).¹² Reflecting insight from the literature in Chapter Three, Barefoot also seeks to protect the environment in the creation of long-lasting products that are not seasonal, subsequently reducing overall consumption. The retail manager stated that Barefoot offers a lifetime guarantee on products, referring to a recent example where they had repaired a twenty year old bag with a broken zip. These anecdotes reflect a sense of resourcefulness, although often less efficient or more costly for the business, that is intended to demonstrate Barefoot’s commitment to reduce its environmental impact.

¹² Information on the Prithipura charity can be found at <https://cfsprithipurahome.com/>.



Figure 6.5 – Image of a mat made by the residents of the Prithipura Foundation using the cut-off selvage of Barefoot woven fabrics

In discussing Barefoot’s contemporary commitment to operate as a social enterprise and prioritise social value creation, it is important to highlight that Barefoot’s relationship with the Order of the Good Shepherd has diminished over time. Some group A participants stated that the original purpose of Barefoot, to nurture economic security and independence for a marginalised group of women seeking refuge with the Order, has been achieved. As outlined above, today Barefoot operates with the wider aim of generating employment opportunities predominantly for women in rural areas of Sri Lanka. The majority of group B employees today live independently (that is, they are not seeking refuge with the Order of the Good Shepherd) local to the production centres. Furthermore, the survey data establishes that 81.9% of group B employees identify as Buddhist, 16.4% Catholic, and 0.9% Hindu (which is reflective of Buddhism being the majority religion in Sri Lanka). Furthermore the data set demonstrates that group A participants such as the owners and management of Barefoot, being those who are shaping and guiding the purpose and outcomes of the business, are multi-religious. Although it would be problematic to argue that Catholicism has no influence on Barefoot’s operations and over-arching

purpose today, the data set does not support the idea that the company is significantly influenced by Catholic morals or spiritual reasoning. That is to say that Catholicism (or indeed any other religion) is not a significant theme in the data set. Indeed, when considering the purpose and moral impetus of Barefoot today, and its dedication to create social value, none of the owners and management suggested that they were motivated by their religious affiliation, but instead a general moral obligation that could be informed by any number of influences (as mentioned above, in discussing Barefoot's aim to pursue social value and run the business in a way that optimises social value creation, the managing director simply stated that it is 'the only decent thing to do'). For this reason, the data set does not suggest that Catholicism has a significant influence over the overarching purpose or the day to day running of Barefoot today, despite its historic association with the Catholic church and its moral impetus to pursue social value creation.

The Handicraft Process

Handicraft production remains the foundation of Barefoot. Ultimately, having been conceived in a handloom-weaving centre, handicraft production has suited the purpose and ethos of the brand, offering accessible employment opportunities to a largely rural community. Although some parts of the manufacturing process have been streamlined, all stages of the production rely upon the skill and knowledge of human agents, from dyeing, to weaving, and stitching. Handicraft production lends itself to the sheer variety of Barefoot designs and products. Furthermore, small quantities can be made cost efficiently and bespoke orders are easily undertaken. At the time of the research, it was estimated that there were 600 handicraft employees, including a significant department of employees who work from home or in small, self-organised workshops.

There are three separate handicraft departments; dyeing, weaving, and sewing. The dyeing department was relocated to new, privately-owned premises (called Halgashena) in the rural district of Diddeniya South, approximately 40km from Colombo, in 2012.¹³ Prior to this centre opening, hand dyeing was undertaken

¹³ These rural locations do not have addresses that would be recognised on popular map platforms such as Google Maps.

over open fire. However, the Halgashena centre includes a central boiler system and temperature controlled dyeing vats, making the work both less laborious and safer. Additional technologies, such as spin dryers, have also been introduced to expedite certain processes and make the labour less physically demanding. At the time of the data collection there were 26 handicraft employees based at this centre who work in pairs of one dyer and one rinser, who will prepare the yarns for dyeing and wash and dry the bundles of yarn after they have been dyed. Cotton and silk raw yarn is imported from India, and dyes are imported from Switzerland. There are over 500 different colour recipes for the dyed yarn, the majority of which are tri-colour, blending three separate dye powders. The dyeing centre at Halgashena also contains the aforementioned water-treatment plant.

The dyed yarn is then transferred to the weaving centres. There are five weaving centres in different rural localities. The largest weaving centre is also at Halgashena. The other four weaving centres are located on land rented from the Catholic order in rural areas. In total there are 180 looms in operation within the five centres, and, at the time of the data collection, around 315 staff working in this department. There are different roles in this department, including winders, who wind the yarn onto pirns, warpers, who thread the warps onto the looms, and weavers (see Figure 6.6 for an image of a group B employee examining a warp on a loom). Employee roles are dependent upon skillset. However, the weaving manager states that, if possible, employees will be trained in all aspects of the weaving process, beginning with the simplest task such as winding pirns, before learning to weave. Experienced weavers will train new employees, a process that takes up to 6 months. The majority of the labour within the weaving centres is undertaken by hand. However, much like the dyeing centre, where appropriate some technology has been introduced to make the work less physically laborious for employees, such as machinery to aid with the winding of pirns (see Figure 6.7 for an image of a group B employee working with such machinery). Fabrics are woven in different widths and weights to suit the purpose of the final product. For example, placemats are woven on a narrow warp in a heavy weight, whereas sarees will be woven on a wide warp with lightweight cotton or silk wefts.



Figure 6.6 – Image of a group B employee examining a warp on a loom



Figure 6.7 – Image of a group B employee working with pirn winding machinery

From the weaving centre, the fabrics are transferred to the sewing department. Products that are cut straight off the loom, such as sarongs and sarees, will be finished and other products, such as soft toys, linens, apparel, bags and small accessories will be assembled from Barefoot fabrics. The fabrics are hand cut before

being stitched and assembled into final products. Employees will either use sewing machines or stitch by hand, dependent upon what is most appropriate for particular products. For example, the majority of sewing for apparel is undertaken on a sewing machine, so as to be durable enough to withstand machine-washing. In contrast, linens such as napkins and table cloths will always be finished with an Italian hem, which must be stitched by hand. Furthermore, hand-stitching is more appropriate when the stitching is visible as it is deemed to be more aesthetically pleasing. There are a variety of different sewing centres, often located in the Colombo suburbs. Much of the sewing work is also undertaken by freelance home-workers, who undertake cutting and sewing work on a piece-rate basis, either individually at home or within small, self-organised groups. These workers are supplied with materials, a cutting block, a pattern, and a sample of the finished product and will choose how many pieces they would like to produce within a week.

6.3 Barefoot as a Luxury Brand

In the context of a study into the potential for luxury production to create social value, it is clearly important to evidence that Barefoot is perceived as a luxury brand in the Sri Lankan market. I do so in this section, drawing upon insight from the data set alongside illustrating the company's position in the wider textile handicraft industry in Sri Lanka. As aforementioned in Chapter Four, there is a historic precedence of textile handicraft in Sri Lanka, including handloom weaving (with limited practice of Dumbara weaving, named after its place of origin near Kandy, which is characterised by its use of indigenous motifs), batik, beeralu lace-making, and embroidery. Such textile handicraft industry, which was largely non-existent during European colonisation, was rejuvenated in post-colonial Sri Lanka as a means of developing rural economies and preserving heritage craft technique. There are a variety of established Sri Lankan brands and designers in Sri Lanka today (both longstanding, like Barefoot, and more recent) who utilise textile handicrafts. According to the definition used in this thesis (as discussed above), the majority of these companies would be sensibly delineated as luxurious, in that they sell unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities that are economically inaccessible to the average Sri Lankan consumer.

For example, Paradise Road was established in 1987 by design entrepreneur Udayshanth Fernando with the aim of utilising indigenous handicraft production to create ‘the strongest design brand in the island with a focus on lifestyle that embodies timeless taste and style’. The company states that it was born of Fernando’s ‘passion to develop the Sri Lankan craft industry’, and to create ‘a contemporary aesthetic [for] local Sri Lankan craft thereby redefining Sri Lankan design’ (Paradise Road, 2022). They did this through identifying skilled craftspeople or small workshops, providing these artisans with ‘sophisticated’ designs, and commissioning commodities to subsequently be sold under the Paradise Road brand name (Nanayakkara, 2012). Although the company utilises a variety of different indigenous handicraft techniques, the brand began with ‘signature monochrome batik designs’ for apparel and home linen (see Figure 6.8 for an image of the brands signature ceramics and a batik sarong). The Paradise Road brand now also encompasses a restaurant and gallery space in Colombo, a boutique hotel in Colombo and a private villa on the coast.



Figure 6.8 – Image of Paradise Road’s signature monochrome ceramics (as displayed in the Colombo store) and a batik sarong

A younger company employing textile handicraft in the creation of luxury commodities is Urban Island. With its flagship store opening in 2018, Urban Island is an initiative started by the Academy of Design (AOD) with its Design For

Sustainable Development Foundation (DSDF) which intends to support artisans in the war-torn Northern province. Urban Island supports the DSDF in ‘partner[ing] with rural artisans in Sri Lanka to produce high quality hand-made homeware and textiles’ (Urban Island, 2022). As a result of its association with the AOD, Urban Island ‘holds contemporary design at its core’ in order to ‘lend the heritage crafts in the country a modern global view’ (Daily Mirror, 2018). Like Paradise Road, and in contrast to Barefoot, Urban Island supplies designs to and commissions independent or small workshops around the island, rather than directly employing craftspeople in centralised production centres. It utilises textile handicrafts, such as handloom weaving and batik, but also other craft techniques such as palmyrah weaving and canework (see Figure 6.9 for an image of a display at the Urban Island store, featuring a variety of different handicraft commodities). The company proclaims that its activity ‘provides dignified home-based employment for skilled artisans, many of whom are women’, ‘promoting design excellence; helping preserve Sri Lanka’s craft heritage; and encouraging sustainability’ (Urban Island, 2022).



Figure 6.9 – Image of a display at the Urban Island store in Colombo with a variety of different handicraft commodities

There are also other competitor handloom weaving enterprises supplying luxury commodities for the local market. Selyn is the only World Fair Trade certified handicraft enterprise in Sri Lanka. Founded in 1991 with the intention of creating employment opportunities for women in Kurunegala, Selyn proclaims ‘to craft premium products whilst empowering local artisan communities’ (Selyn, 2022a). Like Barefoot, Selyn manufactures handloom cloth and derivative commodities such as apparel, toys, home linens, and other curated craft commodities (see Figure 6.10 for an image of Selyn employees wearing the sarees woven). It has five centralised production centres but also works with independent workshops (who supply Selyn exclusively), offering no interest loans to help to establish and scale these workshops (Echelon, 2014). Additionally, the affiliated non-profit Selyn Foundation (or Selyn Socio-Economic Development Foundation) was established to further empower the company’s network of craft producers in enabling them ‘to take advantage of their financial independence’ (Selyn, 2022b). The owners of Selyn have also recently discussed the possibility of making it a community-owned business (Kadupitiyage, 2021).



Figure 6.10 – Image of Selyn employees working at a loom wearing the woven sarees

Alongside Barefoot, these examples above demonstrate the prevalence of handicraft technique in the domestic market for luxury commodities. They also illustrate a tradition of utilising handicraft technique in the production of luxury commodities with the purported aim of supporting indigenous craft communities,

preserving heritage handicraft technique, and generating employment opportunities that support economic security in rural areas of Sri Lanka. Considering this, there are a number of companies operating in Sri Lanka that would, in theory, have offered suitable case studies for this research project, in that they utilise handicraft technique in the production of luxury commodities with the purported aim of creating social value. As mentioned in Chapter Five, I undertook interviews with many of these businesses or designers during preliminary research trips. Logistically, Barefoot was selected as an appropriate case study as a result of its relatively large, centralised workforce (ensuring a broad research sample), and because the owners and management were willing to offer an adequate level of transparency. But furthermore, it was selected as an appropriate case study as a result of its market positioning as a luxury brand and the most premium handloom producer. Barefoot products command the highest price in the Sri Lankan market. At the time of writing, standard cotton sarongs are sold on the Barefoot website for 2,580 Sri Lankan rupees, and what are termed ‘designer’ cotton sarongs are sold for 3,600 Sri Lankan rupees, whereas Selyn sells a relative product for 1,950 Sri Lanka rupees. Insight from group A participants (who as a result of their managerial roles have a good insight into the company’s market positioning), also convey that Barefoot is the most premium handloom company. This is well surmised by the chief financial officer and managing director, who states:

‘I would say that [Barefoot] is the highest rung in the... handloom trade that people want to claim. So if they... want to buy something, and [then] they want something a little better... ultimately they will come and buy a 6000 rupee sarong, instead of [a] 1600 rupee sarong’.¹⁴

This quote verifies that Barefoot commodities have a high price point in contrast to those made by other handloom producers in Sri Lanka. The same interview participant went on to state that ‘the average man on the street, sorry to say, [would] not be able to afford what we sell at the prices we sell’. This quote conveys the economic inaccessibility of Barefoot commodities for the average Sri Lankan

¹⁴ Please note that Barefoot also sell silk and cotton blend sarongs (as referenced in this quote) that are substantially more expensive than the pure cotton sarongs mentioned in the price comparison above.

consumer. Furthermore, when asked whether they thought Barefoot was a luxury brand, the dye manager stated that ‘Barefoot is like... Louis Vuitton in Sri Lanka... [it] is a prestigious brand’. This participant intended to demonstrate that Barefoot occupies a similar market placement in Sri Lanka as Louis Vuitton does around the world, in that it is well-known, widely aspired to, and economically inaccessible. Similarly, the data set demonstrates that Barefoot commodities are objects of conspicuous consumption in Sri Lanka, further verifying Barefoot’s status as a luxury brand (see Figure 6.11 for an image of aspirational advertising for Barefoot clothing).



Figure 6.11 – Image of a Barefoot dress used as marketing material

Furthermore, Barefoot was selected as the most appropriate case study as a result of its long history and pioneering role in rejuvenating handloom production in Sri Lanka, which also contributes toward its status as a luxury brand. As we have seen, Barefoot was one of the first private enterprises to utilise handicraft production with the aim of creating social value (in developing rural economies in Sri Lanka and preserving heritage handicraft practice), a tradition that has subsequently been imitated by the other luxury brands in the Sri Lankan textile handicraft industry surveyed above. Indeed, the aforementioned Selyn began with the same purpose and approach to creating social value as Barefoot almost 30 years later. Considering this, Barefoot should be perceived as the originator and pioneer of such activity. Barefoot's long history has also cultivated a valuable aesthetic which has not only come to characterise the brand but has also become 'an essential part of the contemporary [Sri Lankan] design ethos' (Daswatte, 2006, p. 120). As a result of Barefoot being a privately-owned, multi-generational business, this aesthetic has been protected and developed over the company's almost 60 year history. This aesthetic identity was frequently mentioned in the data set as a crucial reason why Barefoot commodities are luxurious, elevating the brand above its competitors to create what a senior designer termed a 'design house'. For example, the weaving manager stated that they 'know some people [who] buy our sarongs and they frame [them], and they hang them' like an artwork, suggesting that the aesthetic value of a Barefoot sarong is greater than its utilitarian purpose as an item of apparel. The value of this aesthetic, and its role in positioning Barefoot as a luxury brand, is also apparent in the fact that its designs are widely counterfeited. The chief financial officer and managing director stated that 'one of the other reasons why we say... we are... the best of the best is the fact that, you put out a new toy today it'll be copied by the rest of the market tomorrow'. This participant conveyed that such mimicry verifies the valorous nature of Barefoot's aesthetic identity and the brand name overall, as competitor brands seek to emulate the company's success and market placement.

Handicraft and Luxury Production

In this section I have thus far established Barefoot's market position not only as the most luxurious handloom producer, but also as a long-established and aspirational brand name in the Sri Lankan market. The data set illustrates the importance of handicraft production in justifying the high price point and subsequent luxury status of Barefoot commodities. As a result, both group A and B participants would not describe Barefoot products as expensive, as they believe the high price point is fair as a result of their laborious and skilled handicraft manufacture. For example, a senior designer stated: 'it's expensive because... [of] the process of making it... Time and effort has gone into it'. Similarly, when asked about the relatively high price point of Barefoot products a focus group participant from the dye centre stated: 'when we consider the effort that we put into this, it should have an effect on the price'. Furthermore, the survey purposefully contrasted the perceived value of handicraft commodities to those produced by mechanised manufacture (such as the powerloom industry). 87.1% or 109 of the 116 survey participants agreed that handmade products are more valuable than machine-made equivalents. Conversely, 95.7% or 111 of the 116 survey participants also agreed that handloom production is more labour-intensive than mechanised production (56% agree; 39.7% strongly agree). In this way, the relative expense and value of handicraft production, being more physically laborious than mechanised manufacture, informs the high price point of Barefoot commodities.

Related to this, the primary data sources also convey that the high price point of Barefoot commodities is justified by their perceived high quality. 98.3% or 114 of the 116 survey participants agreed that Barefoot products are high quality (50% agree; 48.3% strongly agree). Similarly, when asked about the market placement of Barefoot commodities, the retail supervisor of the flagship store (who, it could be presumed, has a good knowledge of the Sri Lankan handloom market as a result of their position) stated: 'I think Barefoot is the number one [handloom brand]... our competitor's prices are very low but their quality... [is] also low. Our prices are high but our quality is also high'. For this participant the high quality of Barefoot products, particularly in contrast to those made by competitor brands, offers justification of the price point and subsequent market placement of Barefoot as a

luxury brand. This insight also insinuates that, although a Barefoot product is relatively expensive, the high quality will ensure greater durability and subsequent value for money.

The high quality of Barefoot products is often perceived as being a result of their handicraft production, particularly as the ‘time and effort’ that such activity necessitates ensure that the final product is long-lasting. 96.5% or 112 of the 116 survey participants agreed that handloom products are higher quality than machine-made equivalents (60.3% agree to 36.2% strongly agree). This opinion was also apparent in the focus groups. For example, the following discussion occurred when focus group participants from the sewing centre were asked whether they would prefer to work with machinery rather than by hand.

SC/P2: We will increase production if we use sewing machines. But the output will not be as pretty.

SC/P3: Not just the appearance. The quality will also reduce.

SC/P1: Since our products are more expensive, we want to make sure it is high quality for the market.

These focus group participants state that if they were to work with automated machinery, in this instance using sewing machines instead of stitching by hand, the quality and beauty of Barefoot products would be diminished. Furthermore, these participants state that the high quality of Barefoot products, guaranteed through their handicraft production, is important to justify their economic exclusivity. Again, this reflects the more general belief that the high price point of Barefoot products is fair as a result of their handicraft production, not only because of its relative expensive, but also the high quality it ensures.

The data set also suggests that Barefoot commodities are luxurious as a result of their variety and limited production. Handicraft production enables a wide array of different designs to be produced in limited, rather than mass, quantities. The sheer variety of product designs at Barefoot means that the stock is constantly changing, and the company makes a conscious effort to ensure that designs are not frequently repeated. For example, a single warp of 90 metres will produce 42 sarongs. However, each warp will have multiple corresponding weft designs, meaning that

only five or six of the same sarong design will be produced at one time. Due to the quantity of sarong designs, it is unlikely that the same design will be on the loom again within six months. Similarly, within the sewing department, products such as bags and toys will always be made in unique colour variations put together from the fabrics available at the time. Considering this, a senior designer stated that they believe Barefoot commodities are luxurious because 'it's not mass produced... that colour combination [of a Barefoot bag] I won't be able to get [again]... it's a one off'. Related to this, several group A participants expressed a belief handicraft production ensures Barefoot commodities are unique, containing the visible signs of the maker. For example, when considering why they think Barefoot products are luxurious, the dye manager stated that 'even [when] there's a discrepancy... It's unique... Even the wrongness looks nice... You don't get the same thing, it's one of its own kind'. Subsequently, in being one of a kind, handicraft production ensures that Barefoot commodities are luxurious.

In this chapter I have outlined the history and operations of Barefoot. In doing so, I have demonstrated why Barefoot offered an appropriate case study for this research, verifying its status as a luxury brand in the Sri Lankan market and exploring its alleged concern to create social value. In the next two chapters I examine the primary data sources to illustrate how and why luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in improving the well-being of group B employees.

Chapter Seven – How Luxury Production Creates Social Value at Barefoot

The following two chapters outline the key findings of the case study of Barefoot. As aforementioned, and reflecting the historical purpose of the business, Barefoot primarily seeks to create social value by improving the well-being of group B employees. In light of this, the case study was concerned to explore what impact employment at Barefoot has upon the well-being of these employees. In the first section of this chapter, I analyse the survey data to delineate how group B participants perceive of their employment as impacting their well-being. The second section draws upon the wider data set (including insight from the interviews, focus groups, and the survey) to argue that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value as a source of economic security and, in some instances, enables these employees to increase their wealth and socio-economic status. The third section outlines a variety of employment practices that have been deliberately implemented by the owners and management of Barefoot to prioritise the well-being of group B employees, particularly in contrast to alternative accessible employment opportunities. When considering the primary research data, it is important to remember that it contains some diversity of opinion. This chapter outlines prevalent trends and opinions that, although not universal, are typical. However, at times I also consider anomalies in the data set that, although not representative of the general sentiment expressed by the research participants, do offer interesting grounds for discussion. Furthermore, for the validity of this study, I seek to illustrate differences in opinion between group A and B participants.

7.1 Impact on Well-being

In this section I draw upon the results of the survey to establish that, in general, group B participants perceive of their employment at Barefoot as improving their well-being in ways that I subsequently explore in the remainder of this chapter and the next. As I have described in Chapter Five, I undertook an anonymous survey with group B employees in order to gain a broad, impartial view of the quality of employment at Barefoot and its potential for creating social value. It is important to

remain mindful of the fact that employment at Barefoot is only one potential source of a given individual's well-being. The purpose of survey was not to draw conclusions about whether group B participants possess well-being, but to assess what impact their employment has upon their well-being. Using the survey data, I generated a range of statistics that suggest group B participants perceive of their employment at Barefoot as improving their well-being. This is best exemplified, perhaps, by the fact that 97.5% or 113 of the 116 survey participants agreed that their employment at Barefoot improves their life (64.7% agree;32.8% strongly agree). Of the fifteen statements presented within this survey question, this statement had the highest rate of agreement, reflecting the strength of the sentiment conveyed. Similarly, 93.9% or 109 of the 116 of survey participants agreed that they gain happiness from their work (69.8% agree;24.1% strongly agree), a mental state that is frequently associated with well-being (as discussed in Chapter One). If their employment makes group B employees happy, it is likely that it also improves their well-being.

The final section of the survey honed in especially on the question of whether group B participants perceive of their employment as improving their well-being. This section first asked respondents to give a broad overview of their well-being by asking them to rate the quality (from very bad to very good) of certain aspects of their life, as objective components of well-being (see the table in Figure 7.1). 'Work' was the highest rating of these aspects. 93.9% or 109 of the 116 of the survey participants evaluated their employment as good or very good. Furthermore, none of the survey participants evaluated their work as bad or very bad (the remaining 7 survey participants evaluated their work as neither bad or good). This suggests that even if the survey participants would evaluate their overall well-being as being poor, their employment remains a positive factor. However, group B participants did not rate their income as positively as their work (85.3% or 99 of the 116 survey participants evaluated their income as good or very good). Although the statistic is positive overall, this discrepancy between work and income might suggest some dissatisfaction with the level of pay. In contrast, the component of well-being that received the lowest positive rating was autonomy, which 70.7% or 82 of the 116 survey participants evaluated as good or very good (59.9% good;11.2% very good). This might be reflective of the fact that 92.2% or 107 of the 116 survey participants

are women living in a patriarchal, conservative community where their autonomy is restricted as a result of societal gender norms. Further analysis of the data set demonstrates some disparity between male and female participants in regards of their autonomy. Whereas 69.2% or 74 of the 107 female participants rated their autonomy as good or very good (57% good;12.1% very good), 88.9% or 8 of the 9 male participants rated their autonomy as good (though none rated it as very good). Similarly, the participants evaluate their education fairly poorly in contrast to the other components of well-being evaluated as part of this question. 74.2% or 86 of the 116 survey participants evaluated their education as good or very good (59.5% good;14.7% very good), and a relatively high number of 19.8% or 23 of the 116 survey participants evaluated their education as neither bad or good. As will be discussed in greater depth later in the chapter, this may convey the fact that group B participants weren't able to pursue higher education (as a result of economic barriers) that might have expanded their employment opportunities.

Figure 7.1 – Table of results of Survey Question 24

Please rate the following aspects of your quality of life at present:

	Very Bad	Bad	Neither Bad nor Good	Good	Very Good	Don't Know	Un- answered
Health	0.0%	2.6%	18.1%	57.8%	18.1%	2.6%	0.9%
Income	0.0%	0.9%	11.2%	72.4%	12.9%	1.7%	0.9%
Housing	0.0%	0.9%	15.5%	68.1%	9.5%	5.2%	0.9%
Work	0.0%	0.0%	6.0%	74.1%	19.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Community	0.0%	0.9%	16.4%	59.5%	13.8%	5.2%	4.3%
Education	0.0%	1.7%	19.8%	59.5%	14.7%	1.7%	2.6%
Life Satisfaction	0.0%	0.0%	10.3%	67.2%	18.1%	2.6%	1.7%
Happiness	0.0%	1.7%	7.8%	68.1%	22.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Work/Life Balance	0.0%	2.6%	8.6%	71.6%	13.8%	2.6%	0.9%
Autonomy	0.0%	1.7%	12.1%	59.5%	11.2%	10.3%	5.2%
Security	0.0%	0.0%	5.2%	66.4%	25.9%	0.9%	1.7%

The next question asked respondents to consider what impact, ranging from very bad to very good, employment at Barefoot has upon these aspects of their well-being (see the table in Figure 7.2). This table indicates that group B participants see their employment at Barefoot as having a positive impact upon all of the surveyed aspects of their well-being. Unsurprisingly, analysis of the data demonstrates that employment at Barefoot has the most positive impact upon work and income.

However, a fairly high percentage of the survey participants evaluated that their employment at Barefoot also has a positive impact on other aspects of their well-being that are not so intrinsically implicated with their employment, such as happiness and life satisfaction. Later in this chapter I will explore how the wider data set supports the argument that employment at Barefoot also contributes to positive mental states such as happiness. In contrast, the participants suggest that their employment at Barefoot has the least positive impact upon their health. A relative minority of 56% or 65 of the 116 survey participants evaluated their employment as having a positive impact on their health. This raises questions about the physicality of certain handicraft processes, and whether these processes are in the interest of the well-being of group B employees. However, only 6% or 7 of the 116 survey participants evaluated their employment as having a bad impact on their health, whereas 32.8% or 38 of the 116 participants stated that the impact their employment has upon their health is neither bad nor good. That being acknowledged, the wider data set does demonstrate that a minority of group B participants perceive of their employment as being physically laborious (as will be explored in the next chapter). Overall, the survey data demonstrates that employment at Barefoot improves many aspects of group B employee's well-being.

Figure 7.2 – Table of results of Survey Question 25

What impact does working for Barefoot have upon these aspects of your quality of life?

	Very Bad	Bad	Neither Bad nor Good	Good	Very Good	Don't Know	Un- answered
Health	0.0%	6.0%	32.8%	45.7%	10.3%	5.2%	0.0%
Income	0.0%	1.7%	6.0%	72.4%	17.2%	2.6%	0.0%
Housing	0.9%	2.6%	17.2%	57.8%	11.2%	6.0%	4.3%
Work	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	69.8%	25.0%	0.9%	0.9%
Community	0.0%	0.9%	13.8%	65.5%	12.1%	6.0%	1.7%
Education	0.0%	0.9%	21.6%	58.6%	10.3%	6.0%	2.6%
Life Satisfaction	0.0%	0.9%	12.9%	62.9%	18.1%	3.4%	1.7%
Happiness	0.0%	0.9%	12.9%	60.3%	24.1%	1.7%	0.0%
Work/Life Balance	0.0%	1.7%	12.9%	62.9%	13.8%	7.8%	0.9%
Autonomy	0.9%	1.7%	8.6%	60.3%	10.3%	12.9%	5.2%
Security	0.0%	1.7%	4.3%	65.5%	21.6%	5.2%	1.7%

7.2 Facilitating Economic Security and Increasing Wealth

Having demonstrated that the majority of group B participants perceive that their employment, in general, improves the components of well-being surveyed above, I analysed the wider data set to explore how. As explored in Chapter Four, within the context of a developing economy such as Sri Lanka's, in which the majority of the population live below, on, or just above the poverty line, obtaining economic security can improve well-being (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 9). Considering this, generating employment opportunities that support economic security can improve the well-being of many people in Sri Lanka. In line with this, analysis of the data set illustrates that the clearest way in which luxury production at Barefoot creates social value is through enabling rural Sri Lankan communities to achieve economic security. Marketing materials and insight from group A participants conveyed that Barefoot has purposefully situated its production centres in 'areas where nobody had gone before... areas which were absolutely neglected'. Here, the chief financial officer and managing director of Barefoot highlights that economic security is scarce in these remote, economically marginalised areas, as a result of lacking employment opportunities. This was also reflected in the survey data, where only 31.9% or 37 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they could easily find another job if they did

not work at Barefoot (25% agree; 6.9% strongly agree), in contrast to the 47.4% or 55 of the 116 survey participants who disagreed with this statement (43.1% disagree; 4.3% strongly disagree). In this context, Barefoot creates social value in facilitating employment opportunities that can facilitate economic security and, in some instances, can increase the wealth of group B employees. Economic security improves well-being by enabling these employees to attain a satisfactory quality of life. What is more, economic security can also improve well-being in other ways, particularly by increasing women's autonomy (as will subsequently be extrapolated).

Barefoot's Good Market mission statement claims that the company pays a level of income that 'enables employees to live comfortably within their community', that is dependent upon employee performance rather than gender or other social categories. Furthermore, Barefoot also commits to a pay ratio of less than 5 to 1, meaning that the highest earning employee earns no more than five times that of the lowest earning employee (Good Market, 2018). It was not possible to verify these statements as part of the fieldwork. Perhaps unsurprisingly, for both group A and B participants alike, level of income (of themselves or others) was a sensitive subject. However, the data set does suggest that Barefoot pays incomes that are above minimum wage. The latest minimum wage act (no.3), instated by the Sri Lankan government in 2016, sets the national minimum wage, for all workers across all industries, at 10,000 Sri Lankan rupees per month, or approximately \$51.¹⁵ The weaving manager disclosed that senior employees in the weaving department will earn between 30,000 and 40,000 rupees per month (or \$152 to \$203), dependent upon their hours and productivity. It is important to acknowledge that this participant disclosed what is likely to be a high income in the weaving department, and not an average or entry level income. In order to respect their privacy, focus group participants were not asked about their level of income. However, although there is not complete consensus, the majority of the focus group participants expressed satisfaction with their level of income. For example, when asked why they chose to work at Barefoot, a focus group participant from the weaving centre stated that 'the salary is good'. Similarly, another focus group participant from the weaving centre (in a separate group to the one above) stated: 'we get paid well...for our effort, so we

¹⁵ Converted on the 7th June 2021 at a rate of 1 Sri Lankan Rupee = 0.00506373 US Dollars, provided by xe conversion (xe.com).

like it here'. This statement also demonstrates that, for this participant, satisfaction with the level of their income informs their satisfaction with their employment.

Despite the fact that the fieldwork did not glean the average income of group B employees, insight from the focus groups indicates that, in general, their level of income enables them to achieve economic security and what they perceive to be a satisfactory quality of life. For example, when asked why they had chosen to work at Barefoot for a long period of time, one participant from the weaving centre stated: 'we have our money problems and this is a good option'. This insight alludes to the fact that economic security is lacking in this context, as this participant states that group B employees collectively experience 'money problems'. However, this participant also conveys that the level of income is sufficient to approach such problems and subsequently achieve economic security. Similarly, also in response to the question of why they had chosen to work at Barefoot for a long period of time, a participant from the dye centre stated: 'we need money. From what we get here our day-to-day needs can easily be fulfilled... so we work happily here'. These statements not only demonstrate that employment at Barefoot facilitates the economic security of these participants, but suggests that such economic security is valued as a source of well-being, being the reason that they 'work happily'.

Furthermore, though the pay structure varies between the different departments, the data set demonstrates that the majority of group B participants are employed directly and paid a guaranteed, pre-determined monthly income that will subsequently increase dependent upon working hours and productivity. Despite somewhat limited scope for job progression for employees in group B, pay is increased according to years of service. As aforementioned in Chapter Four, there are inadequate opportunities for formal employment in Sri Lanka. Around 70% of employment in Sri Lanka is informal, and these employees tend to earn significantly less, suggesting that informal employment might not facilitate economic security, and face greater job insecurity (Ruppert Bulmer, 2020, p. 2). Considering this, it is important that group B participants are employed formally as it means that their employment and subsequent income is more secure, and more likely to facilitate economic security. This is apparent in a comparison made between Barefoot employees and self-employed handicraft producers that supply Sansoni Warehouse. The manager of Sansoni Warehouse stated that self-employed handicraft producers,

working to piece-rate without a guaranteed monthly income, often lack economic security, particularly as other retailers will only purchase products on consignment (reflecting the discussion in Chapter Four regarding the issues faced by independent craftspeople in Sri Lanka). In contrast, this manager stated that Sansoni Warehouse endeavours to support a more secure income for these craftspeople, guaranteeing upfront payment and providing a platform to sell to a wealthy, urban consumer group (although it is not possible to verify these positive claims from the data set). In contrast to the economic precarity of self-employed handicraft producers, by employing its workforce directly and guaranteeing that incomes would not drastically suffer in unexpected circumstances, such as the available workload decreasing, Barefoot facilitates greater economic security for group B employees. The focus group participants did not draw comparison between formal and informal employment. However, they did convey that their income is secure. For example, a sewing assistant stated that they are still paid when they are sick and unable to work, a security that an informal employee would not benefit from. Similarly, the survey conveys that employment security is an important benefit of their employment: when asked to select the 5 most valuable benefits of working at Barefoot, from a possible 12, 60.3% or 70 of the 116 survey participants selected greater employment security, making this the 4th most popular statement (below good income, knowledge gained, and good work environment).

Furthermore, my fieldwork suggests that, in some instances, employment at Barefoot not only facilitates economic security, but further enables group B employees to save money and acquire material assets. This is not only crucial in alleviating poverty, but can also support upward social mobility. 96.6% or 112 of the 116 survey participants agreed that their job has helped them improve their living situation (70.7% agree; 25.9% strongly agree), and 86.2% or 100 of the 116 agreed that it allows them to buy nicer things (68.1% agree; 18.1% strongly agree). Some of the focus group participants indicated that working at Barefoot has made them wealthier, enabling them to build properties, save for retirement, pay off loans, and educate their children. Focus group participants from the weaving centre, for example, were clear that their work increased their wealth:

WC1/P2: We are now in a better place economically thanks to this [employment].

WC1/P1: There is progress in that area.

WC1/P2: We can live and save with the salary we earn.

Furthermore, one focus group participant from the dye centre conveyed that their increased wealth has subsequently improved their well-being. When asked what impact their income has had on their life, they stated: 'It's a huge difference for me. I'm in a better place in life than I was before and I'm happy about that'.

The fieldwork also suggests that, in some instances, the level of income attained by group B employees can support upward social mobility. This was illustrated by the fact that, as a result of their parents' employment at Barefoot, some of the children of group B employees have been able to access further education and secure white-collar jobs. Several group A participants sought to point out this upward social mobility as demonstrating Barefoot's positive social impact, stating that group B employees' children have studied or trained to become doctors, accountants, lawyers, and army lieutenants. Some are now working in Barefoot's head offices in Colombo. Insight from group B participants confirmed that their employment supports upward social mobility. For example, 70.7% or 82 of the 116 survey participants agreed that their job provides (or has provided) a better future for their children (54.3% agree to 16.4% strongly agree), whereas only 10.3% or 12 of these participants disagreed with this statement. 14.7% or 17 of these participants responded that they didn't know, perhaps suggesting that they do not have children so were unable to respond to this statement. Similarly, insight from the focus groups demonstrates that, for some group B participants, their level of income has enabled them to afford further education for their children to support upward social mobility. For example, a focus group participant from the weaving centre stated that their employment at Barefoot made it financially possible for their daughter to go to university: 'I taught my daughter very well', they said. 'She is now a campus student [at university], so I am very happy'. Again, this participant's positivity concerning their daughter's improved prospects suggests that the measure of wealth they obtain as a Barefoot employee, facilitating upward social mobility of the next generation, has improved well-being. However, there was another instance where a focus group

participant stated that: ‘one of my children is already working here. Since this place is safe, I brought her here to work’. This statement might suggest that either this participant’s income or their overall household income is not sufficient to support upward social mobility for their children. Although this participant conveyed their dissatisfaction that their daughter had not yet experienced social mobility, they did express satisfaction that they could work in a ‘safe’ environment such as Barefoot.

Related to this, the majority of the focus group participants conveyed that a key aim of their employment was to achieve upward social mobility for their children. As a focus group participant from the weaving centre states: ‘all the effort... is for them to go for a better place’. Because of this, although acknowledging that Barefoot is a good employer, they would not want their children to be working for the company. For example, a focus group participant that works in the sewing centre stated: ‘this place is good, but I don’t want my daughter to do sewing here. That is not what we want them to be’. However, there was general consensus that these participants would be happy to see their children working in a white-collar role for Barefoot: ‘if they can work in the shop or the office, then we would prefer them to learn and do a better job like that in this company’. The data set also suggests that the younger generation are less likely to value employment in the handicraft industry. The dye department manager pointed out that it is becoming more difficult to find employees because ‘they don’t want to do this kind of job’, preferring white-collar roles. Similarly, a 41 year old focus group participant from the weaving centre stated that ‘the new generation does not prefer this kind of work’, meaning manual labour. This raises questions about whether this younger generation would perceive of employment at Barefoot as improving their well-being. Analysis of the survey data by age group does not support this assertion, as the younger participants do not distinctly convey a more negative approach to their employment. Similarly, insight from younger focus group participants presented a diversity of opinion towards their employment. For example, a 20 year old focus group participant from the dye centre, who had been working as a rinser for 2 months, stated that they wanted to study at Hightec Lanka (an international vocational and technical training institute), to subsequently find employment abroad. However, they need to save to be able to afford the course fees. In contrast, another 21 year old participant in the same focus group, who had also been working as a rinser for 3

months, stated that they are ‘planning on working here as long as [they] have the job’, and that they have been able to achieve a lot as a result of their employment, such as starting to build a house, and saving to buy a scooter. Clearly, the goals of group B participants, even of a similar demographic, and whether their employment supports them to achieve these goals, varies. However, in general the data set illustrates the importance of social mobility toward the well-being of group B employees and their children, which Barefoot ultimately aims to facilitate.

How Economic Security and Increased Wealth Improves Well-Being

There are a few different ways, the data set suggests, that economic security can improve well-being among group B employees. As I have shown, it can lift group B employees out of relative poverty and make a satisfactory quality of life possible. Although economic security does not necessarily ensure well-being, in many cases it is an essential precondition in affording essential resources. As I have outlined in Chapter One, well-being is based upon the realisation of what an individual values. Many of the things that group B participants purport to value in the data set, from building or owning property, buying a vehicle, living without debt, or the further education of their children, are material or realised through economic means. The importance of having the financial means to secure well-being came across clearly in the focus group discussions, such as this interaction between focus group participant from the weaving centre:

WC2/P3: [F]or everything, our main concern is money... for every goal. So, the biggest strength we have from here is the income. Now if we didn’t have money...

WC2/P1: If we didn’t have money... we can’t do anything. When we earn money, we can do almost anything!

This interaction indicates that employees in group B perceive their income as a crucial enabling factor when it comes to pursuing and realising what is meaningful or valuable to them. Money is necessary to achieve every goal they have. 87.9% or 102 of the 116 survey participants agreed that their job helps them to achieve their

goals (63.8% agree;24.1% strongly agree), whereas only 3.4% or 4 of the participants disagreed with this statement. This insight suggests that employment and subsequent income is a crucial precondition for group B employees to achieve their goals, and thus improve their well-being.

Insight from the data set, however, also suggests that economic security and increased wealth improves well-being among group B participants in ways that go beyond money and material goods. For example, focus group participants in the weaving centre discussed how their economic security enables them to offer financial support to others. One of these participants recalled that when their sister died, their colleagues got together to cover a significant portion of the funeral costs. Another participant in this focus group said that ‘at times like that we feel that it’s a great thing that we have this job here, so we can even help people out [in] that way. It’s very satisfying’. As a result of their economic security, Barefoot employees can experience the satisfaction of helping others in financial difficulties. But in particular, insight from group B participants suggests that economic security improves their well-being in enabling greater independence or autonomy. 75% or 87 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they are more independent as a result of their job (60.3% agree;14.7% strongly agree). As a focus group participant from the dyeing department summarised: ‘we are not submissive to anyone when we have money... we keep our head high and live’. Similarly, focus group participants from the weaving centre conveyed that their employment has improved their independence. When asked why their employment is important to them, these focus group participants conveyed that their income supports greater independence:

WC2/P2: We don’t have to ask anybody for money... there’s no need.

WC2/P3: We don’t have to tolerate other people’s attitudes.

These interactions suggest that, for group B participants, economic self-sufficiency not only makes for a greater degree of independence, but endows them with dignity, which is valued as a source of well-being. Furthermore, these focus group participants stated that they are more confident as a result of their economic security, knowing that they have their income to fall back on ‘no matter what’. This sentiment is reflected in the survey data, where 96.5% or 112 of the 116 participants agreed

that their job has helped them grow in confidence (78.4% agree; 18.1% strongly agree), whereas none disagreed.

That being said, the data set also supports the premise that, as a result of patriarchal social norms (as discussed in Chapter Four), women face greater barriers to independence than men in this context. The survey data demonstrates that less female group B participants perceive that they have gained independence from their employment in contrast to their male counterparts (73.8% or 79 of the 107 female survey participants agreed that they are more independent as a result of their job, whereas 100% of the 9 male participants agreed). This might illustrate that greater independence is more difficult for women to realise in this context. However, it is in this context that Barefoot has purposefully sought to facilitate employment opportunities for women in particular, as part of its commitment to create social value. The aforementioned Good Market mission statement proclaims that more than 80% of Barefoot employees are women, including 40-60% of leaders and technical specialists (Good Market, 2018). 92.2% of the survey participants identified as female. However, the percentage is likely higher across the entire company considering that there are an additional four weaving centres primarily employing women alongside a division of female home-workers that were not included in the data set. Insight from female focus group participants indicated that their employment at Barefoot increases their independence and autonomy. For example, when asked how they felt about their employment and income, one participant from the weaving centre stressed that working at Barefoot made it possible for her to be economically independent:

WC1/P1: The fact that we can also earn like our husbands brings us happiness... We do not have to ask for money. We do not have to wait till our husband or children give us money.... I am proud as I can do something for myself from the money I earned.

This statement indicates that employment at Barefoot enables female employees, who no longer have to depend upon their spouses or other family members, to achieve greater economic independence. Another female participant from the weaving centre emphasised that such economic independence is valuable to them

because it nurtures pride, stating that they and their co-workers ‘earn from our effort so we are very proud of ourselves’, and also ‘proud of what we have become’. These statements suggest that employment at Barefoot improves the well-being of female group B participants in increasing economic independence that subsequently nurtures happiness and pride. In summation, the fieldwork illustrates that economic security is valued by group B employees not only in a material sense, but because it makes personal and financial independence possible, generating a range of positive feelings in the process. As one group A participant remarked on this subject: ‘you work, and then you feel good because you've got a salary’.

7.3 Practices that Prioritise Employee Well-Being

Economic security is clearly an important source of well-being for group B employees, particularly those in rural areas of Sri Lanka where employment opportunities are scarce and poverty is prevalent. Furthermore, the data set demonstrates a variety of employment practices that the owners and management have purposefully implemented in order to prioritise the well-being of group B employees. These practices are understood (by group A and group B participants alike) as atypical, and make employment at Barefoot preferable to accessible alternatives. A frequent comparison is made in the data set between Barefoot’s employment practices with that of alternative accessible employers, such as the garment manufacturing industry. ‘Garment factories... like MAS [Holdings]’, the weaving manager told me, ‘are not thinking about the mentality [mental health and well-being] of the ladies, no? We are concerned, very concerned about the ladies' mentality’. Despite the fact that employment in the garment manufacturing industry may offer higher incomes, this participant sought to convey that employee well-being is often disregarded for the sake of profit and growth. For this reason, these jobs are of lower quality than those at Barefoot. Insight from the focus groups and survey alike suggest that these practices inform group B participants’ preference for employment with Barefoot, as summarised by a focus group participant from the dye centre who state that they ‘are happy to work in a place like this’. In what follows, I unpack four key areas in which the owners and management of Barefoot have

developed particular employment practices that prioritise the well-being of group B employees.

Accessibility and Flexibility of Employment

First, my fieldwork indicates that the owners and management of Barefoot seek to prioritise the well-being of group B employees in ensuring that the jobs facilitated are accessible and flexible. Certain group A participants sought to convey that Barefoot generates accessible employment opportunities through ensuring that there are no educational barriers to entry. Dyeing, weaving, and sewing, are all learnt skills with the majority of employees being trained on the job. As such, there is no educational or vocational certification required for prospective employees, and there is little possibility of being underqualified for such employment. Furthermore, the weaving manager stated that, due to the variety of different roles within the production process, a position can be found for employees with varying levels of education and capability. The survey data establishes that the participants possess varying levels of formal education. Whilst the majority of the participants have received formal education to O Level (58.6% or 68 of the 116 survey participants) or A level (12.1% or 14 of the 116 survey participants), 10.3% or 12 of the participants had only attended school for primary education (5 years of education between the ages of 5 to 10), and 8.6% or 10 of the participants had left school after secondary education (4 additional years of education between the ages of 10 to 14). In consideration of this, a senior designer stated that ‘most of them [group B employees]... don't have qualifications... and they're earning much more than a person who will have all those qualifications’. In this statement, this participant uses the term ‘qualifications’ to refer to further academic, vocational or tertiary education that might enable group B employees to access alternative employment options, particularly white-collar roles (which as we have already seen are often valorised above handicraft or other manual roles). It is not possible to verify from the data set whether group B employees do actually earn more than people with such qualifications. However, this statement highlights the importance of facilitating employment opportunities that are academically and technically accessible to the communities that Barefoot intends to benefit.

The data set also conveys that the owners and management of Barefoot have purposefully sought to ensure that employment is geographically accessible. As we have seen, Sansoni purposefully chose to situate Barefoot's production centres in rural areas so that geographically marginalised communities could easily access employment without having to relocate (either within Sri Lanka or even internationally) or undertake long commutes. Today, the company website states: 'we think that one of the contributions we make is that work is taken to where people live rather than have people travel to work' (Barefoot, 2021a). Subsequently, Barefoot seeks to prioritise the well-being of group B employees in ensuring that the employment opportunities facilitated are largely situated within rural localities, taking work to the village rather than these marginalised communities having to commute long distances to attain economic security. The exact location of the more rural production centres was not disclosed during the case study. However, site visits to the Halgashena weaving and dyeing centre (where the data collection was undertaken) confirmed that, despite being within 40km of Colombo, the area is undeveloped and therefore unlikely to offer adequate opportunities for formal employment. As we have seen, the survey data supports this assertion, as a minority of 31.9% or 37 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they could easily find another job if they did not work at Barefoot. Insight from the focus groups verified that Barefoot is the only employer in the village, and that many of the participants live in close proximity to the production centre where they are employed. The focus groups also illustrate that the geographical accessibility of employment at Barefoot makes it preferable to alternative employment opportunities. For example, a participant from the weaving centre noted that working for Barefoot is 'very convenient for us because it is in the village itself, so it's easier for us to come and go. No need to travel in buses all day'. This statement makes clear that employment at Barefoot is preferable because the company's production centres are geographically accessible to communities in rural areas, meaning that they avoid long commutes. This is further underlined by a focus group discussion with workers from the weaving centre:

Moderator: Why did you decide to work at Barefoot?

WC1/P3: It is convenient.

WC1/P1: [T]his is the only organisation [company] within our village.

WC1/P2: Convenience is the biggest benefit for us. It is easy for us to come from our homes.

This interaction further demonstrates that the convenience of Barefoot, as a result of its geographically accessibility, informed group B participants decision to undertake employment there.

The data set further indicates that geographical accessibility is especially important for female group B employees. As explored in Chapter Four, providing employment opportunities in rural locations is often imperative to women's ability to work alongside other domestic responsibilities. A focus group discussion with female group B participants in the weaving centre demonstrates that, whilst a second income is important to facilitate household economic security, women are still expected to fulfil domestic duties:

WC1/P1: Men cannot solely maintain a family when we consider the prices of goods nowadays.

WC1/P2: Men only do the job. But we not only do the job, but also the household activities, monitor children's school activities and such.

WC1/P1: Women are anyways doing more work than men.

WC1/P3: We are the ones who work the most.

WC1/P3: If we get sick, everything is done for! (*laughing*) Everyone will be hungry.

Insight from the focus group data verifies that geographical accessibility is important to enable female group B participants to undertake employment alongside these domestic commitments. For example, a female focus participant from the dye centre (which is located in a rural locality) said that they had chosen to work for Barefoot 'mainly because it's in the village... [I]t's easy to come and go, and it's easier to see to the requirements of my kids while doing the job, so I felt like this company is better... the flexibility is valued'. Female employees with children especially value

the geographical proximity of Barefoot's production centres to their communities for it means that they can fulfil domestic demands such as childcare alongside their work.

What is more, my fieldwork suggests that employment at Barefoot is purposefully flexible to ensure accessibility of employment. In regards to the weaving staff, the weaving manager claimed that 'we are, adjust[ing] to their requirements... We are not tied [to] any rules... Every day we are thinking [of] their day-to-day life first, then [their] job'. This statement indicates that the management understand how predetermined, inflexible working hours can make employment inaccessible. The flexibility of employment at Barefoot was verified by group B participants. For example, when asked to identify if there are any benefits of working for Barefoot, a focus group participant from the dye centre indicated flexibility (expressed as 'freedom'): 'above all it's the freedom. When compared to other workplaces we get more freedom here... in almost everything we do'. Insight from the focus groups demonstrates that this flexibility is manifested in a few different ways. For example, participants stated that they can take leave from their employment, often at short notice, so as to attend to other needs and commitments. Furthermore, group B employees convey that the management have a very lenient policy on staff taking leave or being unable to work, particularly in contrast to the work culture at alternative employers (as expressed by the focus group participant above). Again, this flexibility further enhances the ability of female employee to combine their work with other duties and commitments. This is summarised in a comment left by a survey participant which read: 'we are able to have our freedom, to perform our family duties, to work happily'.

Furthermore, group A participants sought to convey that Barefoot seeks to offer women in particular greater flexibility in enabling them to work from home, unrestricted by predetermined working hours. Although the weaving and dyeing departments require equipment that necessitates them working on site, the cutting, sewing and assembling of Barefoot products can often be undertaken at home. The chief financial officer and managing director claimed that Barefoot purposefully enables women to work from home to ensure that they are able to work alongside domestic commitments. Furthermore, a senior designer stated that enabling

employees to work from home is less efficient and frequently inconvenient for the business. The fact that Barefoot continues with this employment practice, despite these drawbacks, underscores the company's commitment to facilitating accessible employment opportunities in order to prioritise the well-being of group B employees, even if it comes at the expense of economic gain and growth for the business. Given the scope of this research, my fieldwork did not include these home-workers. It was difficult to access these employees as they are infrequently present on Barefoot sites. As such, it is not possible to verify how such group B employees value this flexibility and thus validate the claims made by group A participants as to how Barefoot intends to create social value in this way.

An additional source of flexibility for group B participants is the ability to work on a piece-rate basis. Working piece-rate tends to be associated with informal employment (such as the aforementioned handicraft producers supplying Sansoni Warehouse), and thus conveys a sense of economic insecurity. However, as I have mentioned earlier in this chapter, the majority of group B employees are formally employed and thus guaranteed a basic monthly income that is supplemented according to hours worked and pieces finished. With the support of a guaranteed income, working piece-rate is deemed to offer employees in group B greater flexibility as they are able to decide their own working hours, productivity, and subsequent income on a month-to-month basis. Insight from the focus groups suggests that group B employees value this flexibility:

Moderator: So, you are paid for the quantity of goods you are producing?

SC/P1: Yes, that is the biggest freedom for us.

SC/P2: It is up to us. If we stay idle, we will not earn much. If we get sick, they take care of us.

SC/P3: In that respect it is very convenient for us.

Working piece-rate, this interaction indicates, does not result in precarious employment as Barefoot's policy of formal employment ensures that its workers' basic income is guaranteed even when they are unable to work as a result of sickness, for example. Furthermore, a focus group participant from the sewing centre remarked that 'the pay is sometimes a bit less [than in other companies], but we

work when it is convenient for us’. This comment suggests that the convenience of working at Barefoot, achieved through piece-rate work, makes employment at Barefoot preferable to alternative employers that offer higher incomes but less flexible working practices. Again, the flexibility of piece-rate work is particularly valuable to female employees, many of whom are working mothers or caregivers.

Material Support and Facilities

In addition to ensuring that employment is geographically accessible and that the working hours and practices are flexible, my fieldwork illustrates that Barefoot seeks to create additional social value for its employees by offering a variety of facilities (such as transport, meals and schoolbooks for employees’ children). Group A participants sought to convey that, as a company, Barefoot purposefully seeks material ways of creating social value for workers that go beyond their income. For example, the managing director discussed an employee welfare fund that is used to offer group B employees financial support, beyond their income, when unforeseen difficulties or costs arise, ‘maybe repairing the roof, or finishing the room, or... just organising school books for a while’. Similarly, the weaving manager mentioned that the company had made arrangements for an optician to visit the production centres and donated glasses for employees that needed them. Although supplying weaving employees with glasses might also result in increased productivity, which would be in the economic interests of Barefoot, this manager claimed that this is another way in which the company ‘are going to help beyond, [in] their [group b employees] personal lives’. The existence of such an employee welfare fund was corroborated by the focus group data: as a participant from the weaving centre explained, ‘in terms of money, we all have received help of that kind’. Focus group participants also made reference to donated resources such as school books and stationery for their children.

Furthermore, the data set demonstrates that the owners and management of Barefoot organise and pay for company-wide social events, including celebrations for special occasions such as Christmas and New Year, and other recreational activities such as an annual company cricket match. During the data collection in 2018, the weaving manager was in the process of organising a celebration to recognise long-standing employees of over 25 years’ service, and stressed the

importance of such events to extend gratitude and appreciation toward group B employees. Moreover, this participant felt that such longstanding employees were testament to the high quality of employment at Barefoot. Insight from the focus groups demonstrates that such events are valued by group B participants. For example, when asked what they like the most about the company, a focus group participant from the weaving department stated that ‘they [the management] take us on trips’. Last year they went to a party in Colombo and did not return until ‘around 2:00 in the morning’. As another participant stated as part of this discussion, ‘every year there is something fun’. This discussion illustrates that such material resources outside of their income are valued by group B participants. These additional facilities make Barefoot a preferable employer among group B participants, as a focus group discussion in the dye centre also demonstrates:

Moderator: If you were given the opportunity to work for another company... would you go?

DC1/P3: I won’t... I will stay the rest of the time here.

DC1/P1: Same with me, I won’t go, because of the facilities we get here, we don’t feel like going.

This discussion suggests that these facilities are not provided by alternative employers within Sri Lanka.

Care and Advice

The fieldwork also demonstrates that Barefoot pursues more pastoral means of prioritising the well-being of group B employees, offering advice and seeking to help them with both professional and personal problems. Such care and advice is further intended to improve the well-being of group B employees, as expressed by a senior designer, in teaching them how to ‘live a good life’. The department managers in particular, who work closely with group B employees, sought to convey that the level of support they offered to group B employees extended beyond what would be expected of them in a typical commercial enterprise. For example, the dye department manager stated, ‘[the] income is there, it’s a salary job, right? But we go

beyond... we get involved with people... we are not like managers in other companies, right? We are like friends to them... we talk to them about their problems'. Similarly, the head of human resources claimed that they visit each production site weekly so as to help employees with any sources of tension and difficulty, extending beyond work to personal issues. Again, this support is often focused on empowering female employees. For example, the weaving manager stated that female workers are advised and given support in setting up their own bank accounts and registering legal ownership of their properties. Furthermore, these managers and other group A participants sought to convey the care and emotional warmth that they extend towards group B employees, nurturing familiar, rather than authoritarian, working relationships. For example, the dye department manager stated that Barefoot is like 'a second home to me... And those people [group B employees] are... almost like my relatives'.

Insight from the focus groups suggests that group B employees value the pastoral support offered by group A employees. Focus group participants from the weaving centre state that they actively approach management for assistance if they run into problems. Consider the following exchange:

Moderator: If you face any difficulty, are you supported by the company?

WC2/P2: Yeah if we tell our supervisor... of our problems, she informs [the weaving manager] and get help for us...

WC2/P3: They give us advice and are very patient. Other places they just fire you. But it's not like that here.

This interaction indicates that employees feel comfortable approaching management with their problems. What is more, it shows that they believe the level of support offered is atypical, insinuating that typical employers would usually dismiss employees rather than helping them with their problems. The approachability of the management was also verified by participant observation, where I witnessed group B participants interacting in a familiar way with managerial staff, speaking with them when they faced issues or had a question, but also conversing informally. Furthermore, the focus group discussions illustrate that group B employees and managerial staff enjoy a familiar relationship with each other, contrasting sharply

with what is perceived as normal authoritarian management practice. Although group B participants did not go so far as to suggest that they view management as family, which is surely reflective of the hierarchy of power, there was consensus that their working relationship with management is friendly, and that they valued this aspect of Barefoot's work culture:

Moderator: Why do you say it [working at Barefoot] is good?

WC2/P1: Salary is good, supervisors are really good. [T]hey don't force us but rather guide us and encourage us.

WC2/P2: They don't yell at us, unlike at other places... you know how usual supervisors are...

This exchange suggests that the familiar relationship between group B employees and the management is an important reason that these participants see Barefoot as a 'good' and therefore preferable employer. Crucially, it also underlines that the familiarity between management and group B employees is not typical of working relationships and professional hierarchies in the Sri Lankan economy.

Higher Quality Labour

The final aspect of Barefoot's commitment to prioritise the well-being of group B employees that I discuss here concerns practices that the management have put in place to safeguard employees' well-being in the process of their labour. This encompasses ensuring that labour is not overly demanding, being physically or mentally laborious, nor monotonous and unstimulating. The weaving manager observes that, at Barefoot, 'we have a limit... Because we are only [working with] humans. We... have to see [to] their mentality [mental health & well-being]'. Here, this manager implies that productivity is limited in order to protect the well-being of group B employees. Reflecting this sentiment, a member of the Sansoni family stated: 'you don't want to sacrifice a person for the product. We've [Barefoot] always operated it like that'.

Several group A participants sought to convey that the work environment does not prioritise productivity (and subsequent profit) over the well-being of group

B employees in drawing comparison between Barefoot's work environment with that of the garment manufacturing industry, where it is claimed that the work environment is high-pressure and employees often work to target. The human resources manager, who had previously worked within the garment manufacturing industry, stated what differentiates Barefoot is that it foregrounds employee well-being over efficiency and productivity. Similarly, a retail manager (who regularly visits the Barefoot production centres and interacts with group B employees) contrasted Barefoot's work environment with their own personal experience of working in the garment manufacturing industry: 'I am happy to see [Barefoot's production centres]. They are not like garment factories... We have to work but not like that pressure... there's no deadline. Garment factory[s]... they pay well... but... you have to work hard'. This statement implies that the high pressure working environments that often characterises companies in the garment manufacturing industry negatively impact well-being, despite incentives such as higher pay. This suggests that the jobs and working conditions offered at Barefoot are of particularly high quality relative to the wider employment sector. Participant observation, and particularly time spent at the production centres as part of the data collection, verified that the atmosphere and work environment appeared relaxed, and group B employees did not appear to be working under pressure. In general, the focus group data from all departments conveys that Barefoot's working environments are not overly demanding, suggesting that employee well-being is prioritised over productivity. For example, group B participants from the weaving centre stress that their employment is not overly stressful:

WC1/P1: We just do our work properly. There are no targets and such.

Moderator: There are no targets?

WC1/P1: As in, we have to do our work properly. We have freedom. If we get sick, we can get a rest. Like that we have some kind of a freedom.

This interaction illustrates that productivity is not prioritised over the mental and physical health of group B employees. Similarly, group B participants expressed negative connotations with the garment manufacturing, though whether they have first-hand experience of working in this industry is not clear. For example, a focus

group participant stated that their daughter works in what they termed a ‘bad manufacturing workshop’, referring to a garment manufacturing site.

The data set also demonstrates that certain handicraft process have been mechanised or modernised to improve the quality of labour. Such mechanisation would arguably increase productivity, and is therefore in the economic interests of Barefoot, raising questions about the professed motivations of such mechanisation. However, group A participants sought to convey that mechanisation was implemented to ensure that the process of labour was not detrimental to the physical and mental well-being of group B employees, being safer and less laborious. For example, the dye centre manager explained that, whilst the yarns were previously dyed over an open fire, the Halgashena centre that opened in 2012 included a central boiler system and temperature controlled dyeing vats, to ensure that the work was less strenuous and safer for group B employees. Similarly, the weaving manager pointed out that certain unskilled processes, such as winding the pirns, have been mechanised to ensure that employment is not overly laborious or monotonous for group B employees. Insight from the focus groups verifies that such mechanisation ensures that the process of labour is not physically arduous. This was particularly apparent in the dye centre, where the work has greater potential to be laborious and often involves unskilled processes that are easily mechanised. For example, a focus group participant from the dye centre states that ‘even though [our work] is done by hand, we use the help of a lot of machines... [So] we work easily’. Similarly, another participant in the same focus group states that such mechanisation enables them to work ‘without any hindrance of difficulty’. Although this suggests that such mechanisation has a positive impact on the well-being of group B employees in enabling them to ‘work easily’, it is again important to acknowledge that working easily would likely increase their productivity, and thus could also be perceived as in the economic interests of the company.

Alongside ensuring that the labour undertaken by group B employees is not overly strenuous (both physically and mentally), the data set also illustrates practices purposefully implemented to ensure the process of labour is stimulating for group B employees. Group A participants expressed that the division of labour is purposefully limited for the reason. Limiting the extent to which labour is divided into distinct tasks is intended to ensure more holistic and fulfilling work for group B

employees. This was a central concern of Sansoni, who sought ‘to avoid at all costs a factory-like set up’ (Daniel, 2014). As a commercial enterprise, and in contrast to independent handicraft producers who are more likely to conceive of, design, and produce commodities from start to finish, Barefoot depends upon the division of labour to some extent. However, the data set illustrates that, where possible, the division of labour is limited. For example, a senior designer states that within the sewing department ‘[e]ach individual person [employee]... will finish the whole product. It’s not streamlined like in other places’. This comment draws attention to the fact that typical capitalist commodity manufacture optimises the division of labour to yield the highest possible productivity and subsequent profit. In contrast, Barefoot operates in such a way that group B employees will learn and utilise a variety of different processes, rather than continuously repeating a single process. However, the managing director noted that home-workers, who are given the materials to cut, assemble, and stitch products from start to finish, will often organise themselves in small groups and employ division of labour to increase their productivity. This raises questions about whether the division of labour is valued by group B participants, particularly if it limits their productivity and subsequent income.

Related to this, the data set illustrates employment practices that ensure the labour is as varied as possible, and therefore more stimulating (rather than monotonous). A vast variety of different designs and products are produced for this purpose. For example, even though a weaving employee will have the same warp on the loom for around three weeks, five or six different weft designs will be produced on the same warp to ensure that the labour is not overly repetitive. Group A participants conveyed that such variety is intended to increase the pleasure that group B employees derive from their labour, making it more stimulating. As a senior designer states, such variety ensures that the labour is not ‘boring’ or ‘repetitive’ for the weavers, because ‘the weaver herself must be stimulated’. The variety of the labour undertaken was verified as part of the participant observation and site visits. Furthermore, insight from the weaving centre focus groups verifies that the designs woven vary, and that they like to work in this way: ‘we do not get the same colour repeatedly... I like when I get to work with different colours’. Similarly, in the sewing department, each product is sewn using a unique combination of cloth and

colour to ensure variety. As another senior designer notes: '[i]t's such a fun thing... [W]hen they are doing about one hundred bags for an order... [they're] all different from one another. It's wonderful to work like that. And they [group B participants] are excited to do it'. This sentiment was verified by sewing centre focus group participants in the following discussion:

Moderator: Why do you say it [working for Barefoot] is good?

SC/P2: [W]e aren't doing the same thing all the time.

SC/P1: Therefore we are also interested in the work.

SC/P3: Mrs Sansoni [Barbara Sansoni]. She always does new things. She... gives us different colours to work with. It makes our minds happy.

This interaction demonstrates the importance of the variety of labour toward the mental well-being of these group B employees, in that intellectual engagement with the process of labour ensures that their minds are 'happy'. Such variety is offered as a primary reason why they think that working at Barefoot is good. Considering this, although the data set does not verify whether group B participants value the division of labour, it does suggest that variety of work (that does not necessarily impinge upon their productivity) is valued.

The focus group interaction above also demonstrates that group B employees enjoy working with a bright and stimulating colour palette. Sansoni believed that working with such colours had a positive impact upon the psychological well-being of group B employees. They note that when Barefoot was founded Mother Provincial compelled them to develop designs that would ensure the women weaving at the convent would be engaged with and excited by their work, stating: 'I want their work to also be their pleasure and joy' (Sansoni, 2002, p. 33). Sansoni strongly advocated for the positive psychological impact of working with colour. As they note in one of their scrapbooks:

'Colours have life; they advance, retreat, calm, vitalize, hasten, slow, brighten or darken. Colours relate to each other, to glow, flicker, sway, breaken, lengthen, create moods, and all this happens to the person who is making colour happen - who is articulating colour in space'.

Sansoni subsequently developed the aesthetic of Barefoot with this premise in mind. Reflecting this, many group A participants expressed a belief that working with a bright and dynamic colour palette improves the well-being of group B employees as a result of its ability to 'lift the spirit'. For example, the weaving manager stated that: 'they [weaving employees] love the colours... they are touching these colours and... they forget every problem that they have'. This sentiment is verified, though less strongly, by focus group participants from the weaving centre, who state: 'it's exciting when you get colours you like... and when the cloth looks pretty'. Additionally, an employee from the dye department went as far as to say that working with a variety of such bright colours keeps them 'fit and young'. Related to this, the data set demonstrates a purposeful decision not to weave large quantities of plain black fabric as a result of the perceived negative impact it would have upon the physical and mental well-being of weavers, not only because it is monotonous, but also because it is arduous to weave (being difficult to see and therefore assess the quality of the weaving). Focus groups participants from the weaving centre confirmed this, stating that 'it's difficult for the eyes... weaving the same colour for a long time', particularly dark colours. The retail manager claimed that large quantities of plain black fabric are frequently requested for the hospitality sector, and that supplying this demand would generate a 'huge income' for the company. Despite this, the company chooses not to accept such orders in view of the potentially negative impact that it would have on the well-being of those undertaking the weaving. This demonstrates Barefoot's wider commitment to employee well-being, even at the cost of economic success.

This chapter has drawn upon the data set to demonstrate that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in improving the well-being of group B employees. Firstly, Barefoot's activity facilitates employment opportunities that support economic security and sometimes increases the wealth of group B employees. This positively impacts well-being in both material and immaterial ways. Furthermore, in illustrating practices that positively differentiate employment at Barefoot from alternative sources of employment, the data set demonstrates that the owners and management of Barefoot purposefully prioritise the well-being of group B

employees beyond economic security. Group B employees express a preference for their employment at Barefoot in contrast to alternative employment opportunities that would also facilitate economic security, but that might be detrimental to their well-being in other ways (for example, being less accessible or overly demanding). For this reason, this chapter demonstrates that luxury production at Barefoot is socially valuable, in facilitating employment opportunities that have a positive impact on the well-being of group B employees. The next chapter considers the impact that handicraft production in particular has upon the well-being of group B employees.

Chapter Eight – How Handicraft Production Creates Social Value at Barefoot

Having established that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value through the employment opportunities generated, in this chapter I focus upon a particular aspect of Barefoot's production process that has further potential to create social value: its use of handicraft production. I utilise the data set to explore the premise that the process of handicraft production is socially valuable as an enjoyable experience, that subsequently has a positive impact on the well-being of group B employees. Insight from group A participants demonstrates that this premise, of handicraft production being a rewarding and enjoyable experience, has informed the philosophy and growth of Barefoot as a business. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the owners and management of Barefoot have purposefully implemented a number of employment practices that intend to prioritise the well-being of group B employees. Utilising and retaining handicraft production is a further way in which Barefoot seeks to prioritise employee well-being, in enabling the process of labour in itself to be enjoyable.

This chapter subsequently explores, from the perspective of group A and B participants, the potential for handicraft production to be an enjoyable process for three reasons (mirroring insight from my literature review of this topic in Chapter Three). In the first section of this chapter I draw from the data set to demonstrate that certain handicraft processes utilised at Barefoot are skilful, as the basis for the process being enjoyable. Having determined this, in the remainder of the chapter I go on to highlight two ways in which the data set suggests that skilful handicraft production is enjoyable. In the second section, I demonstrate how the data set upholds the idea that skilful handicraft production is engaging, and thus enjoyable. Finally, the third section establishes that such activity is enjoyable because it is satisfying.

As we have seen, in the previous chapter the claims made by group A participants about how Barefoot intends to improve the well-being of group B employees as a source of employment were largely confirmed by insight from group B participants. It is important to acknowledge that there is more disparity between the insight from

group A and B participants regarding the potential for the process of handicraft production to improve the well-being as an enjoyable experience. Analysis of the data set illustrates that group B participant's opinions about handicraft production are frequently informed by its outcome of employment, rather than as a process in itself. For example, a minority of 27.6% or 32 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they would prefer to work with automated machinery (19% agree; 8.6% strongly agree), whereas 60.3% or 70 of the participants disagreed with statement. Group B employee's preference for handicraft production over the alternative of working with automated machinery might suggest that handicraft production offers a more enjoyable labour process. However, insight from the focus groups demonstrates that group B participants' general preference for handicraft over mechanised production is also informed by productivity and income rather than a preference for the process and the quality of the labour. For example, when asked how they would feel about working with sewing machines, rather than by hand, a focus group participant stated that they prefer to work by hand because 'we have been working with our hands for a long time now. So it might not be suitable for us to work with machines'. This suggests that these participants prefer handicraft production because learning to work with machinery instead would lower their productivity and subsequent income. These focus group participants further evaluated handicraft and mechanised production in relation to income, noting that handicraft production is sometimes 'disadvantageous for particular products as it takes longer'. In these instances, mechanised production would be preferable, as these participants 'prefer to have work with more pay'. As a result of this, the general preference for handicraft production in the data set does not necessarily offer a robust insight into how group B participants evaluate the process of handicraft production in itself. This does not mean that these group B participants do not enjoy the process of handicraft production. 93.1% or 108 of the 116 of the survey participants agreed that they enjoy (rather than prefer) working with their hands, whereas only 1.7% or 2 of the participants disagreed with this statement. However, it does mean that it is not always easy to glean insight about whether group B employees enjoy the process of handicraft production when they primarily evaluate its value as a source of income. In contrast, as this chapter will subsequently demonstrate, group A participants sometimes overemphasize the potential for handicraft production to be an enjoyable

process. It is crucial for the integrity of this study to acknowledge this disparity from the outset.

8.1 Handicraft as Skilful Labour

This section draws upon the data set to demonstrate that certain handicraft processes undertaken by group B participants are skilful, as the basis for such activity being enjoyable. When Barefoot was established by Sansoni and Mother Provincial, they saw it as important that the jobs they offered required skill to ensure that the process of labour was enjoyable and therefore had further potential to improve the well-being of group B employees. The women employed by Barefoot at this time were primarily undertaking handloom weaving, as the dyeing and sewing departments were introduced at a later date. Consequently, Barefoot was conceived and developed around the premise that handloom weaving in particular, rather than the other handicraft processes that Barefoot now utilises, is skilful. Sansoni's involvement in Barefoot, and ongoing belief in the social value derived from the process of handloom weaving was informed by the philosophy of Italian educationalist Maria Montessori.¹⁶ Montessori's philosophy towards education proposes that, in contrast to more traditional teaching methods dependent upon knowledge retention, manual skills (such as handicraft technique) develop cognitive ability and support more general cognitive development. Reflecting this philosophy, Sansoni held a strong belief, expressed in an interview with Ellen Dissanayake (1990), that because handloom weaving is a skilful process, it 'expands the ability to do other things well; to solve more complex problems and eventually to deal with life in all its intricacies' (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 21). This belief informed their opinion that, as handloom weaving involves a variety of different manual skills, it nurtures 'intellectual and emotional development', including problem-solving and decision-making skills, dexterity and coordination, and discipline. Furthermore, for those who lacked formal education, Sansoni felt that the process of handloom weaving teaches 'to count, to multiply and divide, to be literally true and straight' (Dissanayake, 1990, p. 21). Because of this belief, the process of handloom weaving

¹⁶ Maria Montessori was interned in South India during the Second World War and had taught Barbara Sansoni as a child (Daniel, 2014).

was intended to improve the well-being of those marginalised women living and working within the convent who purportedly lacked formal education (Sansoni, 2002, p. 33). Insight from the interview data suggests that some group A participants still uphold this philosophy, arguing that, through the process of handicraft production, group B employees are ‘being nurtured, to be sensible and practical’ as a result of developed cognitive ability, as expressed by a senior designer.

Although there is one (likely extreme) example in the data set of a particular group B employee who had learnt numeracy from their employment at Barefoot, it would be tenuous to argue that the insight from group B participants supports this premise. This is probably due to the fact that the demographic of the average group B employee has changed since 1964 when the company was founded. The premise that the process of handicraft production develops the mental capacity of the maker clearly depends upon such individuals not possessing key cognitive abilities in the first place. However, as I stated in Chapter Four, as of 2018, 93.4% of men and 91.6% of women in Sri Lanka are literate. Furthermore, although many of Barefoot’s production centres are located on land rented from the Convent, the majority of the surveyed group B participants live independently (rather than being supported by the Catholic church) and attended formal education to the equivalent of GCSE level.¹⁷ Considering this, it is likely that the majority of group B employees already possess the cognitive ability that the process of handloom weaving could nurture. Insight from the survey data on this matter is inconclusive. 50% or 58 of the 116 participants agreed that they have found out about skills they didn’t know they possessed as a result of their employment with Barefoot (40.5% agree; 9.5% strongly agree). Furthermore, when asked whether they had developed any skills from working at Barefoot, a participant from the weaving centre stated ‘it is only weaving skills’, suggesting that they do not perceive that they have obtained cognitive abilities beyond the practical knowledge necessary to weave. However, this disparity between the views of group A and B participants does not mean that handicraft production at Barefoot is not skilful, requiring the acquisition and development of

¹⁷ Although this is the case for the group B participants surveyed, it should not be presumed that it reflects the demographic of group B employees overall, particularly considering that many of the other Barefoot production centres are even further remote and therefore more marginalised communities.

specific practical knowledge and skills that can subsequently make the process of such labour enjoyable. The comment from the weaving employee above illustrates that this group B employee has obtained specific knowledge and skills necessary to successful handloom weaving practice.

It is important to acknowledge that, today, handicraft production at Barefoot involves a variety of different manual processes of varying levels of skill and complexity, from rinsing the dyed yarns to weaving with delicate silk yarn. It should not be presumed that all group B employees are undertaking skilful handicraft production. Group A participants tend to distinguish handloom weaving in particular as being enjoyable, as a result of the level of skill it requires. In respect of handloom weaving a senior designer suggests that the process is skilful as it requires a certain level of intellectual capacity, concentration, and evaluation: ‘their brain is working... their minds are like computers... It’s not like just pressing a button or getting a calculator... [Y]our brain is [the] calculator’. Similarly, another senior designer pointed out that handloom weaving requires constant intellectual engagement and attention to detail because everything can unravel with one mistake. That handloom weaving is skilful was often established in comparison to working with automated machinery, such as powerloom technology, as ‘unlike... [when] you are... a machine based worker... here you have to develop the brain’. This participant states that, unlike working with automated machinery in a factory setting, handloom weaving requires knowledge that is purposefully attained and maintained, and is thus skilful. Furthermore, the data set demonstrates that group A participants believe that handicraft production is beneficial for the well-being of group B participants because it is skilful. As the weaving department manager states: ‘it’s [a] very intelligent job... it’s complicated. But [that] it’s complicated is the plus point. They can... use their brain’.

Likewise, insight from group B participants conveys the belief that handicraft production is skilful, particularly in contrast to working with automated machinery. 83.6% or 97 of the 116 survey participants agreed that handloom production requires more skill than mechanised production (58.6% agree; 25% strongly agree). That handicraft production is skilful is also demonstrated in the fact that group B employees have developed specific skills and knowledge necessary for successful handicraft production. 94.8% or 110 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they

learn (or have learnt) from their work (67.2% agree; 27.6% strongly agree). Similarly, when asked to select the 5 most valuable benefits of working at Barefoot (from a possible 12), 75% of the survey participants selected 'knowledge gained'. Importantly, 'knowledge gained' was the second most valuable benefit, only after 'good income' (which was selected by 80.2% participants). The potential to gain knowledge and skills through handicraft production at Barefoot was also apparent in the written comments of the survey, such as 'developed abilities' and 'learning new things'. As a focus group participant from the sewing centre summarises: 'our knowledge increases when we work'. However, insight from group B participants further demonstrates that handicraft production at Barefoot involves a variety of different manual processes of varying levels of skill and complexity. As insight from the focus group data in the following two sections will demonstrate, it would appear that handicraft roles in the weaving and sewing centre are perceived as being more skilful and are therefore more likely to be enjoyable. In contrast, focus group participants from the dye centre were less likely to perceive of their employment as being skilful, and therefore expressed a preference for mechanisation and additional technology that would make their labour less physically laborious.

8.2 Handicraft as Engaging Labour

The data set subsequently demonstrates that because handicraft production is skilful it is more engaging, by which I mean group B employees are engrossed in the process of their labour in a positive way, and are therefore not disinterested or bored. Insight from both group A and B participants conveys that engagement with the process of handicraft production is enjoyable because it nurtures positive mental states, such as relaxation, meditation, and excitement. In the previous chapter I explored certain employment practices at Barefoot that are intended to ensure that the process of labour is as engaging for group B participants as possible, such as limiting the division of labour, the use of a bright and dynamic colour palette, and the variety of the designs woven/products sewn. Related to this, the data set suggests that the owners and managers of Barefoot have purposefully retained skilful handicraft production to ensure that the process of labour is more engaging and

therefore enjoyable for group B employees, particularly in contrast to unskilled labour such as working with automated machinery. Barefoot's managing director reflects on how the process of handloom weaving was felt to be particularly beneficial for the marginalised women working within the convent when the company was first established precisely because it was intellectually engaging, offering a sense of escapism from troubles they may have been facing in life: 'any thoughts you don't want to bring to the weaving centre, you can leave them at the door. And when you come in... enter a different world and... let's weave very beautiful cloth'. A senior designer reflects this premise, suggesting that the process of handloom weaving can improve the well-being of group B employees as a source of meditation and escapism: 'it's [handloom weaving] like... meditation for them... Even if they have troubles at home they forget because they are... doing this'. The process of handloom weaving is felt to be enjoyable as it fully absorbs the attention of the maker, distracting them from potential sources of anxiety.

There is a tendency for group A participants to over-emphasize the potential (and perhaps the need) for the process of handloom weaving to offer a source of escapism that subsequently makes such activity enjoyable. Especially given that the group B participants in the data set can be considered to be less marginalised than the women originally housed by and working from the convent (who, as aforementioned, were frequently seeking refuge from abuse or neglect), the need for escapism as a source of well-being seems less relevant.¹⁸ In exaggerating the potential for the process of handicraft production to be enjoyable for group B employees in this way, it is important to acknowledge the tendency of group A participants to over-romanticise the potential of handicraft production to improve the well-being of group B employees in general. Regardless of whether skilful handicraft production offers a source of escapism, and whether such escapism is relevant or required, the data set does indicate that group B participants find their work engaging. 92.2% or 107 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they find their work engaging (68.1% agree; 24.1% strongly agree). Similarly, 86.2% or 100 of the 116 survey participants also agreed that they find their work relaxing (61.2%

¹⁸ Again, it is important to acknowledge that the demographics of the group B participants included in the research sample do not necessarily accurately represent the demographic of group B employees at Barefoot overall.

agree;25% strongly agree). A weaving employee conveyed that they find their employment engaging because it involves handicraft production, stating: 'I like weaving... I [am] interest[ed]... When I started it's difficult for me... and I have to learn. Now it's like play for me... it [is] interesting'. This statement initially confirms that handloom weaving is skilful and requires intellectual ability. But furthermore, the fact that this participant finds weaving interesting suggests that it is engaging and nurtures positive mental states, being 'like play'.

That skilful handicraft production is subsequently engaging, and therefore enjoyable, is also demonstrated by that fact that research participants (in groups A and B alike) drew a contrast between the process of handicraft production and unskilled, indeed mindless, labour, such as working with automated machinery. Given that handloom weaving is skilful, it is deemed to be more engaging than the alternative of operating a powerloom machine because it requires intellectual engagement. For example, a manager expressed a belief that the unskilled labour of working with powerloom machines 'may be easier, but it must be also very boring... You don't think, you don't use your brains... I think this is much more interactive and they learn a skill'. Here it is presumed that unskilled labour would be easier precisely because it does not engage the intellect. However, such labour is also deemed to be boring for the very same reason. In contrast, the skilled labour of handloom weaving is understood as being engaging and interactive. This assumption is brought into focus by a discussion among handloom weaving employees who consider why they prefer working by hand over the unskilled labour of working with powerloom machinery:

WC2/P2: With that [working with powerloom technology], the work we have to do is minimum.

WC2/P3: We don't have anything to do there.

WC2/P2: This [handloom weaving]... we do ourselves.

This interaction again reflects the general preference expressed by group B participants for handicraft production rather than working with automated machinery such as powerloom technology (which, as aforementioned, was prevalent within the survey data). But furthermore, the participants suggest that handloom weaving is

more engaging because they undertake skilled labour themselves, giving them something 'to do', in contrast to the unskilled and potentially monotonous manual labour of operating powerloom machinery where employees work 'like robots' because 'they don't have to think' (as expressed by a manager). The same focus group participants also discussed how they would enjoy more intellectually demanding work because it would be 'exciting'. One of the participants had previously worked as a handloom weaver for a government initiative (the Micro Industrial Authority), where they had woven a greater variety of weaving structures. In the focus group, the participants discussed how they would like to work with more complex weaving structures, creating different designs and patterns within the woven cloth. Despite the fact that working with these weaving structures is more complex and subsequently more intellectually demanding, which they acknowledge, the participants agreed that 'it would be exciting if [they] could learn that'. The desire that these participants express for more intellectually demanding work reinforces the sentiment of the group A participant above that intellectually demanding labour is preferable as it is more engaging.

8.3 Handicraft as Satisfying Labour

Alongside being engaging, the data set also demonstrates that the owners and management of Barefoot have purposefully utilised and maintained handicraft production as a result of the satisfaction and pride that can be derived from the outcome of such labour. In illustrating that handicraft production is satisfying labour, I mean that group B employees experience fulfilment and contentment as a result of the successful application of their skills and knowledge. Considering this, that handicraft production is satisfying is again dependent on the fact that such activity is skilful. Insight from group A and B participants alike supports this premise. For example, Sansoni stated in an interview that using one's own capacities, rather than depending upon the capabilities of machinery, nurtures satisfaction: 'as there's no machine between them and what they make, there's a wonderful sense of achievement when they've done it' (Queen Coris, 2013). As such, handicraft production has greater potential to be satisfying than mechanised production that

depends upon automation. Some group A participants also sought to convey that such satisfaction is heightened by the fact that many group B employees see their labour come to fruition. However, it is again important to remember that this sentiment is more applicable to certain handicraft processes at the later stages of commodity production and not the many other processes that feed into the finished product. For example, the weaver may experience greater satisfaction in seeing the cloth cut off the loom as a near-finished commodity than the dyer who supplies the dyed yarn to the weaver. Reflecting this, a senior designer commented upon the sense of satisfaction derived from cutting a handwoven silk sari off the loom: ‘they see the end result of it... to see that... is such a satisfaction’. For this reason, it is claimed that active steps have been taken to ensure that, where possible, group B participants are able to see the finished product of their labour in order to nurture feelings of satisfaction. For example, a senior designer conveyed that weaving employees had been taken to see commissioned wall hangings in situ at the high-end hotels that commissioned them.

That handicraft production nurtures satisfaction was verified by insight from group B participants. 85.3% or 99 of the 116 survey participants agreed that they find their work satisfying (61.2% agree; 24.1 strongly agree). This statement alone does not necessarily demonstrate that handicraft production in particular (as opposed to other aspects or outcomes of their employment) is satisfying. However, the focus group data clarifies this point further. For example, focus group participants from the sewing centre, who are stitching together the cut pieces of Barefoot cloth into their final form, express the satisfaction derived from seeing the finished result of their labour:

Moderator: How do you feel when you... see the final product?

SC/P1: We feel happy.

SC/P3: We like when the final product comes out beautifully.

SC/P2: It is not always about the money. We want to do our job in a proper way.

SC/P1: It is not always easy. Maybe the other people might get paid more. But we are content when the final bag comes out beautifully.

This interaction illustrates the sense of satisfaction that these group B participants garner from seeing the final product of their skilled labour, without which the final product would not ‘come out beautifully’. It shows that the process of skilled handicraft labour is valued by these group B participants not only as a source of income, particularly as other employment opportunities that do not involve handicraft production might pay more, but for the sense of satisfaction derived. Such skilled labour is not easy, again suggesting that it requires skills and knowledge that is purposefully attained and maintained, but the satisfaction derived makes handicraft employment more enjoyable and therefore more desirable than alternative employment opportunities.

Another interaction with focus group participants from the weaving centre further illustrates this premise. This discussion was particularly interesting as these participants purported to find the process of handloom weaving physically laborious and therefore detrimental to their health. When asked if there are any additional benefits to handloom weaving, these stated:

WC1/P1: Well, I don’t think there are any benefits...

WC1/P2: Yes. It is difficult for our bodies. It is very tiring.

WC1/P3: Because it take a lot more effort.

As a result of being physically laborious, these participants perceive of handicraft production as being difficult, rather than beneficial, for them. As aforementioned in Chapter Seven, a relative minority of 56% or 65 of the 116 survey participants evaluated their employment as having a positive impact on their health, which might be a result of the physicality of certain handicraft processes, as expressed by these participants. However, this opinion that their employment (and subsequently handicraft production) is detrimental to the health of group B employees is not widely expressed in the data set. In complete contrast, participants from the other focus group in the weaving department stated that they actually perceive of the physicality of handloom weaving as being good for their health in keeping them fit. When asked why they preferred handicraft production in contrast to mechanised manufacture, a participant stated: ‘well it’s good for our health too’. As such, that these particular group B participants perceive of the physicality of handloom

weaving as detrimental to their health is not representative of the wider data set. That being acknowledged, despite perceiving the physicality of handloom weaving as being detrimental to their health, these participants still purported to derive a sense of satisfaction from the process of handicraft production. When subsequently asked what they think about working with their hands, a participant from this focus group stated: 'I am happy because the final output is good. The clothes are better compared to other places so I am happy. But the process is a bit difficult for us'. This suggests that these participants still derive satisfaction from the final outcome of their labour, expressed as happiness with the final product. This satisfaction is perhaps heightened by the physical effort, alongside the intellectual engagement, that such labour requires. Furthermore, these participants later conveyed that they overlook the physical difficulty of handloom weaving because of the quality of their employment overall: 'I feel like I am also working in a good place. So as long as my body can handle this work, I will continue to work'.

The two focus group interactions above also demonstrate that, as a result of handicraft production, a greater sense of pride can be derived from working skilfully, creating a 'beautiful' product by working 'in a proper way'. Reflecting this, the managing director sought to convey that the level of care taken by handicraft employees during the production process is testimony to the pride taken in such skilful labour, stating: 'I think... 99% of our quality control is done by the person doing whatever they're doing... [T]hey're in charge of what they do... I think they're very proud of what they do'. Similarly, certain group A participants perceive of the fact that group B employees aspire to buy Barefoot products as evidence of the pride they derive from their work: 'they want to buy our things... [T]hey're carrying their Barefoot bag. They're wearing... our sarongs and the blouses and everything. They're proud of them'. As before, this sense of pride is nurtured by the skilful nature of handicraft production. The data set again demonstrates that skilful labour such as handicraft production can nurture positive mental states, such as pride, that subsequently make the process of such labour enjoyable.

In summation, insight from both group A and B participants affirms that particular handicraft processes used in the production of Barefoot commodities can be, and frequently are, skilful, engaging and satisfying for the maker. As such, this chapter

demonstrates that handicraft production has certain qualities that tend to make the process of labour enjoyable for group B participants. This suggests that the process of handicraft production in itself can improve the well-being of group B employees, alongside the social value derived from handicraft production as a source of employment. In this way, handicraft production not only helps to fulfil Barefoot's primary aim of generating employment opportunities that support economic security in rural Sri Lanka, but also nurtures higher-quality employment due to the social value that is frequently derived from the process of such activity.

Chapter Nine – Discussion of Findings

The primary aim of this thesis is to analyse how luxury production might create social value. In particular, I was concerned to empirically investigate the argument that luxury production creates social value because it frequently involves handicraft technique. This argument follows that luxury production involving handicraft technique creates social value in improving the well-being of the producers, firstly, as a source of employment that improves material well-being and, secondly, as an enjoyable process that further improves well-being in nurturing positive feelings. In consideration of this, the case study of Barefoot was undertaken to address two research questions:

- 1) Does luxury production at Barefoot create social value in improving the well-being of producers?
- 2) If so, does handicraft production contribute to the potential for luxury production at Barefoot to create social value?

In this chapter, I discuss the research findings in relation to these research questions. In the first section, I address the first research question, outlining the ways in which the data set supports the premise that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in improving the well-being of group B employees (those employees who are intended to benefit from Barefoot's social enterprise). In the second section, I address the second research question, and the ways in which the data set supports and deviates from the premise that the process of handicraft production further improves the well-being of group B employees and is therefore socially valuable. In the third and final section, I consider a potential way of re-framing the type of luxury social enterprise that the data set demonstrates occurs at Barefoot, as precious, rather than luxurious, as a conceptual contribution of this thesis.

9.1 Luxury Production and Social Value

In this section, I discuss the research findings in relation to the first research question, thus considering how the data set supports the premise that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in improving the well-being of group B employees (those employees who Barefoot's activity intends to benefit). Before doing so, it is helpful to revisit the definition of social value, outlined in Chapter One. In this thesis, I define social value as the primary outcome and motivation of social enterprise. Social enterprise creates social value in approaching and alleviating a social issue that hinders well-being. In this way, social value improves the well-being of others, being the intended beneficiaries of a specific social enterprise; well-being is the conceptual foundation of social value. I subsequently understand well-being as the balance of prudential value, or the good for a person, in a life. Sources of prudential are both subjective, being informed by the preferences of the individual, and objective, being informed by the necessities of what is widely and commonly perceived as a good human life. As such, and considering the premise of social value as improved well-being, the case study of Barefoot investigated how employment at Barefoot impacted the well-being of group B employees.

Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that the data set illustrates two social issues hindering the well-being of group B employees that Barefoot's activity subsequently seeks to approach. The first issue is of relative poverty and lack of economic security in certain rural areas of Sri Lanka, foregrounded by a scarcity of suitable employment opportunities in these locations. Relative poverty hinders well-being in that people are unable to afford the necessities of a satisfactory quality of life. As we have seen, both historically and today, the owners and management claim that Barefoot primarily operates to approach this crucial social issue. The second social issue that the case study of Barefoot highlights is the lack of autonomy for women in these communities, which is exacerbated by their economic dependence on their families. This lack of female autonomy hinders women's well-being in inhibiting them from making meaningful decisions that impact their quality of life. In facilitating employment opportunities for women in particular, the owners and management of Barefoot also pertain to actively approach this social issue. Notably, and underlining Barefoot's purpose as a social enterprise, these social issues are not

currently being approached or ameliorated by either the state or traditional, profit-driven enterprise, the activity of which, as we have seen, is intended to realise collective well-being under the conditions of neoliberal capitalism.

The case study of Barefoot demonstrates that, in approaching these social issues, luxury production at Barefoot creates social value. As outlined in Chapter Seven, luxury production at Barefoot primarily improves the well-being of group B employees in supporting economic security and, in some instances, increased wealth and social mobility. As we have seen, the majority of group B participants convey that their employment and income supports economic security and, in some instances, enables them to gain material assets, improve their material quality of life, and afford further education for their children that subsequently supports social mobility for the next generation. The data set also illustrates that economic security and improvement to material quality of life further improves the well-being of group B employees in nurturing positive feelings such as happiness, satisfaction, and pride. This mirrors the insight of the literature surveyed in Section 3.2, considering how employment in handicraft enterprise improves the well-being of producers in developing economies. Reflecting the investigation by Becchetti et al. into Fair Trade handicraft production in Peru, the employment opportunities that Barefoot facilitate enable group B employees to exit poverty and subsequently improve well-being as a result of '[positive] impact on the food consumption share (a proxy of poverty) and the perceived relative standard of living' (Becchetti et al., 2011, p. 130).

Additionally, as outlined in Chapter Seven, the employment opportunities facilitated by Barefoot's activity further support the well-being of female group B employees, who attain increased independence and autonomy as a result of earning their own income (thus diminishing their economic dependence on others). This is not to suggest that female group B employees realise autonomy through their employment. Insight from female focus group participants illustrates that women's independence and autonomy is still impacted by patriarchal social norms in this context that limit their opportunities. For example, as we have seen, female focus group participants from the weaving centre stated that they are still expected to attend to domestic chores alongside their employment, suggesting that their workload is significantly higher than their male counterparts that 'only do the job'.

Despite this, these participants still conveyed that their employment increases their autonomy, particularly in enabling them ‘to do something for [themselves] with the money [they] earned’. This insight again reflects the studies surveyed in Section 3.2, exploring how handicraft enterprise in developing economies creates social value in improving the well-being of producers. Much like Willey-Al’Sanah’s study into how handicraft enterprise provides viable employment opportunities for Bedouin women who lack autonomy, employment at Barefoot ‘improve[s] the status of women by developing an income-earning opportunity and by reestablishing the value of their skills’ (Willey-Al’Sanah, 2013, p. 169).

In this way, the data set supports the premise that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in facilitating employment opportunities that improve the well-being of employees. This finding somewhat mirrors the argument put forward by proponents of luxury production during the industrial revolution, such as Mandeville, Barbon, and Hume. As outlined in Chapter Two, these figures argue that the production and consumption of luxury commodities is socially imperative in that it drives economic growth that facilitates employment opportunities which supports material well-being (Barbon, 1905; Hume, 1987; Mandeville, 1970). Particularly in the context of a developing economy, the capitalist manufacture of unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities at Barefoot nurtures economic growth and supports material well-being in these rural Sri Lankan communities. That being said, neither Barefoot nor the wider luxury sector are unique in creating social value in this way. Any capitalist enterprise that facilitates employment opportunities, providing that they pay an adequate and reliable income, creates social value in just the same way.

What distinguishes Barefoot as being more socially valuable than other employers, my fieldwork suggests, is that its management has purposefully implemented a variety of employment practices that intend to prioritise the well-being of group B employees, often at the detriment of efficiency, productivity, and subsequent profit. Although employment is ultimately undertaken with the premise of attaining economic security, these employment practices effectively ensure that the circumstances of employment at Barefoot, and the process of obtaining economic security, do not damage well-being in other ways. As outlined in Chapter Seven, these employment practices include ensuring that employment is accessible,

additional (and atypical) material and pastoral support, and endeavouring to make the process of labour as enjoyable as possible. These employment practices inform group B employees' preference for employment at Barefoot over accessible alternatives (such as the garment manufacturing industry) where, as the data set illustrates, employees would typically have to commute, work inflexible hours, work in a highly pressurised environment, interact with uncaring management, and undertake monotonous labour. In making this comparison, the data set also illustrates that group B participants perceive of employment at Barefoot as being positively atypical, thus suggesting that other employment opportunities would not improve their well-being to the same extent. Although employment in the garment manufacturing industry, for example, can create social value in that it constitutes a source of employment that supports economic security, the labour process and employment practices are often detrimental to workers' well-being in other ways. This suggests that not all employment opportunities have the same potential to create social value, even if they all facilitate economic security.

In demonstrating that the owners and management have purposefully implemented these employment practices at the detriment of productivity and subsequent profit, the data set supports Barefoot's status as a social enterprise. But furthermore, these employment practices also differentiate Barefoot as an atypical employer. Thus, Barefoot is understood as atypical as a result of its commitment to social enterprise, in prioritising the well-being of group B employees over profit and growth. That Barefoot is differentiated by its commitment to operate as a social enterprise is important, as it highlights the lack of differentiation between purpose- and profit-driven enterprise in the literature exploring the potential for luxury production to create social value, as surveyed in Section 3.1. This literature conveys that the higher profit margin of luxury production, particularly in contrast to the smaller profit margin of the mass-manufacture of low-cost commodities, can ensure that luxury production is socially valuable (Amatulli et al., 2017; Hennigs et al., 2013; Joy, 2013). For example, Amatulli et al. argue that such profit can be invested into 'better salaries for skilled employees, develop better working conditions, or make community investments' (Amatulli et al., 2017, p. 62). However, that such profit *can* be invested in socially valuable outcomes doesn't mean that it is. The case study of Barefoot highlights that social value, as the outcome of social enterprise,

needs to be purposefully and explicitly pursued by a company's owners and management, at the cost of profit. In making this argument I mean to stress that, beyond the limited social value inherent to any entrepreneurial activity that facilitates employment opportunities, luxury production is not guaranteed to create social value in improving the well-being of producers and employees. That luxury production has greater potential, in contrast to the mass-manufacture of low-cost commodities, to pursue socially valuable practices does not make it so. Enterprises in the luxury sector, I am arguing, are unlikely to generate meaningful social value without intending to do so. The data set suggests that luxury production is only socially valuable under specific circumstances, primarily the purposeful implementation of a programme of social enterprise, as at Barefoot.

The literature surveyed in Section 3.1 neglects this crucial differentiation between profit- and purpose-driven enterprise in the luxury sector, insinuating that all instances of luxury production have the same potential to create social value. This is reflective of the lack of literature exploring the purpose, motivation, and outcomes of social enterprise in the luxury sector. Subsequently, my thesis underlines the need for greater research into the social impact of the luxury sector, and comparative study of the social outcome of purpose- and profit-driven enterprise. In particular, the insight derived from such research could highlight different ways in which the luxury sector is well suited to create social value that social enterprise could be directed toward. The case of Barefoot suggests that luxury production can be – and in this company has been – purposefully used as a vehicle for the creation of social value, rather than a means of pursuing individual economic interests. As such, it offers an example of how neoliberal capitalist activity can be channelled in ways that produce significant social value. In summation, and in answer to the first research question, the data set supports the premise that luxury production can create social value in improving the well-being of producers in the context of a social enterprise where employee well-being is purposefully prioritised over the profit and growth of the business.

9.2 Handicraft Production and Social Value

As aforementioned, the purpose of this thesis was to empirically investigate the claim that luxury production creates social value because it frequently involves handicraft technique, the process of which improves the well-being of producers as an enjoyable process. In this section I discuss the data set in relation to the second research question, asking whether handicraft production contributes towards Barefoot creating social value in improving the well-being of producers. In analysing my fieldwork in light of this premise, this section advances two arguments. Initially I demonstrate that it is certainly possible to garner social value from the process of handicraft production, as an activity that can improve the well-being of the maker. However, I subsequently argue that any social value derived from the process of handicraft production is not inherent but dependent upon the context of making.

As we have seen in Chapter Eight, the data set suggests that handicraft production has certain qualities that make the process enjoyable. Firstly, in demonstrating that certain skilful handicraft processes involved in the production of luxury commodities at Barefoot have greater potential to be enjoyable for the producer than less skilful processes, the data set reflects the argument outlined in Section 3.2 that handicraft production is enjoyable because it is skilful. As we have seen in the previous chapter, focus group participants from the weaving and sewing departments more commonly derived positive feelings from the process of handicraft production in contrast to focus group participants from the dye department, whose labour requires less skill. Furthermore, insight from group B participants demonstrates that, as a result of being skilful, the process of handicraft production is enjoyable because it is mentally engaging. This reflects Csikszentmihalyi's aforementioned theory of flow, according to which total immersion in the task at hand can nurture positive feeling of relaxation and excitement (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002). Similarly, focus group participants from both the weaving and sewing departments expressed that they derive satisfaction from their handicraft labour, which as Crawford argues, is 'an experience of agency and competence' (Crawford, 2009, p. 14). Therefore, the data set somewhat supports the key premise of contemporary proponents of handicraft production, as outlined in Section 3.2, that handicraft production improves the well-being of producers, and is therefore socially

valuable, as a result of certain inherent qualities that make the process enjoyable. Furthermore, this insight enriches the studies exploring the social value of handicraft employment in developing economies (as surveyed in Section 3.2 and referred to in the previous section). These studies are primarily concerned to argue that handicraft employment creates social value in developing economies in supporting material well-being. As such, they do not consider whether the well-being of producers is improved as a result of enjoyment derived from the process. This lack of investigation might suggest that there is less scope for the 'inherent satisfaction of making' when handicraft is undertaken as a source of imperative employment in a developing economy (Gauntlett, 2011, p. 57). However, the case study of Barefoot demonstrates that even when handicraft production is undertaken as a source of imperative employment producers still perceive that the process of their labour nurtures positive feelings that make it enjoyable.

That being said, the data set also alludes to the fact that certain qualities of handicraft production may in fact be detrimental to the well-being of group B employees. A focus group participant from the weaving centre conveyed that they derive satisfaction from the process of their labour despite the fact that they find it physically laborious and therefore 'difficult for [their] body'. Furthermore, the data set demonstrates a variety of different measures that the owners and management have employed to ensure that the process of handicraft production is not dangerous, overly laborious, or overly monotonous for group B employees. For example, in Chapter Seven I outlined how the management, beginning with Sansoni, made a conscious decision not to weave plain black fabric as it was felt to be detrimental to the physical and mental well-being of the weaver, not only being monotonous but also strenuous for the eyes (this premise was subsequently confirmed by group B participants). This measure demonstrates that handicraft production has the potential to be monotonous or physically strenuous when undertaken for long periods of time (as with full-time employment), and is therefore not *inherently* enjoyable. That the owners and management of Barefoot have purposefully implemented certain employment practices that intend to ensure the process of handicraft production is not overly monotonous or physically strenuous for group B employees again demonstrates that social value is dependent upon Barefoot's commitment to social enterprise, rather than inherent qualities of handicraft production. Therefore, and in

contrast to those who argue that the process of handicraft production has certain inherent qualities that make the process enjoyable, the data set demonstrates that handicraft production does not guarantee socially valuable labour, particularly when it is undertaken as employment (rather than a leisure activity). This insight reflects the discussion in the previous section, that although handicraft production (and for that matter luxury production) can be socially valuable, this is only guaranteed in this context under the conditions of social enterprise; it is Barefoot's commitment to the principles of social enterprise, rather than its use of handicraft production, that ensures that employment improves the well-being of group B employees.

In this way, the data set also illustrates how the context of handicraft production ultimately impacts its potential to create social value. As we have seen, the literature in Section 3.2 seeking to convey that handicraft production is inherently socially valuable as a result of certain qualities that make the process enjoyable generally evaluates handicraft production in a significantly different context. Some of these studies convey the social value of handicraft production when it is undertaken as a leisure activity by economically secure individuals in developed economies (Corkhill et al., 2015; Kenning, 2015). Similarly, those commentators who seek to convey the social value of their own handicraft employment operate in developed, Western economies and presumably possess the material assets to attain a satisfactory quality of life and autonomy (Crawford, 2009; Korn, 2015; Lee, 2015). Furthermore, this literature seeks to convey that the potential for handicraft production to create social value is heightened in the context of post-industrial, developed societies, which Crawford argues 'do not elicit our instrumentality, the embodied kind that is original to us' (Crawford, 2009, p. 69). Here, Crawford argues that that opportunities to apply knowledge, fulfil potential, and to focus completely at the task at hand, are lacking in such post-industrial developed societies, particularly within the context of economic labour.

However, Crawford's experience of skilled employment is distinctive to the reality of group B employees and, indeed, the majority of people undertaking handicraft employment around the world, predominantly in developing economies where economic security is more difficult to attain. Despite the fact that the data set demonstrates that group B employees often enjoy the process of their labour, it is important to acknowledge that, in this context, handicraft employment isn't

intrinsically motivated as a result of it being an enjoyable process (as is the case for Crawford and those other commentators who champion handicraft as enjoyable and fulfilling employment). That group B employees derive enjoyment from the process of handicraft production is an additional benefit from employment primarily undertaken to improve material well-being. As outlined in Chapter Seven, this is apparent in the fact that, despite acknowledging that Barefoot is a good employer and that they enjoy the process of handicraft production, none of the focus group participants want their children to work for Barefoot, unless in the office or another white collar role. This is not a reflection on either the quality of employment at Barefoot or the potential to derive social value from handicraft production as an enjoyable process, but instead demonstrates that group B employees are primarily motivated to undertake handicraft employment to increase their material assets that subsequently support greater social mobility for their children. As outlined in Chapter Eight, it was sometimes difficult to garner opinions from group B participants about how they experience and value the process of handicraft production, as they primarily evaluate such activity as a source of employment, rather than a process in itself. In contrast, the literature in Section 3.2, such as Crawford, is primarily concerned to convey the social value of handicraft production as a process. That such activity presumably supports economic security is rarely considered in this literature. In the context of a developing economy where economic security is often lacking, group B participants motivation to attain social mobility for their children is necessarily and understandably prioritised over considerations as to whether their or their children's employment is enjoyable or fulfilling. Thus, the case study of Barefoot demonstrates that the socio-economic context of handicraft employment likely impacts the extent to which producers value the process of handicraft production. This insight illustrates that the social value of handicraft production is perhaps prone to being over-romanticised, particularly by Western practitioners and theorists, who might presume that any instance of handicraft production, regardless of context, creates meaningful social value for producers.

That being said, when utilised under the condition of Barefoot's social enterprise, the data set illustrates that handicraft production can and does provide high quality employment opportunities that improve the well-being of group B employees in this context. The social value derived from handicraft production, as an

enjoyable process, is one of many ways in which the management at Barefoot intend to prioritise the well-being of group B employees. But furthermore, analysis of the data set demonstrates that handicraft production enables some aspects of employment at Barefoot that group B participants value as improving their well-being. In this way, although the data set doesn't support the premise that the process of handicraft production is inherently socially valuable, when undertaken as imperative employment in the context of Sri Lanka (and perhaps other developing economies), it does have particular qualities that lend itself to social value creation under the conditions established by social enterprise. As explored in Section 7.3, the owners and management of Barefoot have purposefully implemented a variety of employment practices that are intended to prioritise the well-being of group B employees. For example, in this section I outlined how employment at Barefoot further improves the well-being of group B employees in being accessible and flexible. The accessibility and flexibility of employment at Barefoot ensures that it is preferable to alternative employment opportunities but, crucially, enables female group B employees to work (and subsequently attain economic security) alongside other domestic commitments such as childcare. The fact that Barefoot uses handicraft production enables employment opportunities that are geographically accessible for group B participants, located in a rural setting and employing from the near vicinity. In contrast, industrial manufacture such as the garment manufacturing industry, which both group A and B participants drew comparison with, tends to be concentrated in more urban areas and would therefore require group B employees to commute to their employment. Group B participants also noted that they value the flexibility of their employment. Again, this flexibility is frequently enabled by handicraft production. For example, the data set demonstrates that Barefoot employs a significant number of women working from home at their convenience and whilst attending to other commitments and domestic duties. Again, in contrast to working with automated machinery within a factory setting, handicraft production offers these group B employees the necessary flexibility to work from home. Furthermore, handicraft production can enable group B participants to autonomously decide on their own productivity and working hours. As the division of labour is limited, group B employees can work at their own speed and capacity. In contrast, industrial manufacture that utilises the division of labour depends upon all of the individual

components of the production process remaining in sync; individual employees must work at the same speed and capacity for the production line to function successfully. Furthermore, group B participants state that they value the variety of work. Group A participants affirm that handicraft production is purposefully retained for this reason. In contrast to the alternative model of mechanized mass-production (that often depends upon the division of labour), handicraft production certainly has greater potential to nurture variety of labour, particularly with a plethora of different designs that can be produced in small quantities, in contrast to industrial manufacture that will typically produce the same products in large quantities. Subsequently, handicraft production further underpins the potential for Barefoot to create social value as a source of high quality employment that prioritises the well-being of group B employees.

The crucial conclusion to draw here, as with the previous section, is that although handicraft production enables Barefoot to facilitate employment opportunities that prioritise the well-being of group B employees, it does so in the context of Barefoot's commitment to create social value as a social enterprise, and is therefore not inherently socially valuable. However, in a developing economy such as Sri Lanka, the data set suggests that handicraft production can offer not just employment opportunities, but high quality employment, when used in the context of social enterprise. This finding best reflects the principles of the Arts and Crafts movement, as explored in Section 3.2, who argued that the social value derived from the process of handicraft production played an important role in ensuring high quality employment that prioritised the well-being of the working class. This argument was particularly pertinent in a context of developing capitalism and increasing industrial manufacture where, the proponents of this movement argued, the capitalist's pursuit of profit actively disregarded and damaged the well-being of the working class. This discourse is of relevance to this thesis as, although valorising handicraft production as an enjoyable and fulfilling process, the Arts and Crafts movement also stressed the importance of socialist employment conditions in ensuring the well-being of the working class. As Greenhalgh states, the Arts and Crafts movement was concerned to convey that 'the way that people work, the conditions they work under and the way they make things, is fundamental to the well-being of society' (Greenhalgh, 1997, p. 33). That the Arts and Crafts Movement

and the management at Barefoot conceive of high quality employment as involving handicraft production is certainly not incidental. But the essential point is that high quality employment must be actively committed to in order to protect the well-being of the labouring class. This argument is more vivid when we consider instances of exploitative handicraft employment where the process of production is unlikely to improve, and can in fact diminish, the well-being of the labourer.

It is possible to draw a comparison between the socialist framework of the Arts and Crafts Movement and the aims and philosophy of Barefoot as a social enterprise. Although social enterprise operates in the capitalist economy, it discards the oft-repeated capitalist trope that commercial enterprises should be dedicated to the pursuit of profit, and instead ‘re-assert the notion of people’s right to live taking precedence over the flows of supply and demand’ (Fridell, 2006, p. 4). Clearly there are limitations to this comparison, particularly considering that Barefoot is a privately owned enterprise; true socialism demands the social ownership of the means of production. A lot of the rhetoric around social enterprise is about branding and cultural capitalism, rather than deeply held revolutionary commitments. But Barefoot’s commitment to the principles of social enterprise, and particularly ensuring that the workforce is not exploited in the process of building a capitalist enterprise that economically rewards owners or shareholders, mirrors the key tenet of the Arts and Crafts Movement, namely that the well-being of the labouring class could and should be protected through high quality employment. In some ways mirroring this discourse, the data set demonstrates the role that handicraft production plays in facilitating perhaps not egalitarian but high quality employment at Barefoot under the condition of social enterprise.

In summation, and in answering the second research question of this study, the data set demonstrates that handicraft production does have particular qualities that lend itself to social value creation in this specific context. Handicraft production contributes to high quality employment at Barefoot as a skilful, engaging and satisfying process, but also in enabling employment practices that are valued by group B employees (such as the accessibility, flexibility and variety of work). However, when handicraft production is undertaken as employment the process of handicraft production is not inherently socially valuable as any social value derived from such activity is dependent upon the conditions of employment. When

considering the social value of handicraft production as employment, the question is not whether the process of handicraft production is inherently socially valuable, but rather whether handicraft production enables good or valuable qualities of employment. In this way, although the data set supports the premise that handicraft production contributes to improving the well-being of group B employees, it is again Barefoot's commitment to operate as a social enterprise that ensures the employment opportunities facilitated create social value.

9.3 Preciousness: Re-framing Luxury Social Enterprise in Sri Lanka

On the basis of the data set that I have gathered and analysed, this thesis is centrally concerned to emphasise that luxury production at Barefoot creates social value in improving the well-being of group B employees. My fieldwork suggests that Barefoot purposefully utilises luxury production within the neoliberal capitalist marketplace as a means of facilitating employment opportunities that support economic security, thus improving well-being, which the state is otherwise failing to provide. From this finding, this thesis argues that luxury production is a suitable and, in this case, effective means of creating social value in this particular socio-economic and -cultural context. However, the data set further illustrates a variety of employment practices implemented with the intention of prioritising employee well-being, thus distinguishing Barefoot from alternative employment opportunities that support economic security but may be detrimental to well-being in other ways. These employment practices demonstrate Barefoot's status as a social enterprise, and subsequently highlight the importance of the motivation and purpose of entrepreneurial activity in the luxury sector towards its potential to create social value. As outlined in Chapter One, all entrepreneurial activity creates social value to some extent, and I do not disregard the role of profit-driven enterprise in the healthy functioning of neoliberal capitalist societies (Auerswald, 2009, p. 53). However, the social value created by such profit-driven enterprise is a by-product of activity that is ultimately motivated by individual economic interests. Instances of luxury production are most likely to create significant social value when it explicitly intends to do so as the outcome of social enterprise. Indeed, the crucial finding of this study

is that social value only appears to be inherent to social enterprise, and not luxury production,. Related to this, the data set also demonstrates the role of handicraft production in enabling Barefoot to provide employment opportunities that improve the well-being of group B employees, in ensuring the process of labour is enjoyable but further facilitating accessible, flexible, and varied employment. However, the role of handicraft production in facilitating Barefoot's social entrepreneurship is contextual, clarifying that social value is again not inherent to the process of handicraft but rather to the principles of social enterprise.

In light of these findings, and in concluding this chapter, I would like to consider a new term which could conceptualise Barefoot's activity, as a social enterprise utilising handicraft technique to produce luxury commodities with the overarching purpose of creating social value: 'precious'. Barefoot's activity, I suggest, could be re-framed as the production of precious, rather than luxurious, commodities, in order to distinguish such socially valuable activity within the wider luxury sector. The possibility of re-framing Barefoot as a precious enterprise constitutes a conceptual addendum to the central focus of this thesis. Having devoted the body of the thesis to empirical investigation into the potential for luxury production to create social value at Barefoot, in proposing a speculative conceptual formulation I mean to signal the theoretical implications of this thesis for ongoing research in this area. Accordingly, I do not lay out a fully-fledged theory of preciousness, but rather offer a speculation into how empirically grounded analyses might reconfigure the theoretical framings through which social enterprise in the luxury sector is perceived in Sri Lanka, and perhaps other similar contexts.

I was influenced to consider different way of conceptualising Barefoot's activity as a result of the management's disassociation with the term luxury. When I initially approached the relevant management at Barefoot about this case study, they expressed a reluctance to be categorised as a luxury brand as a result of negative connotations that they associated with the term luxury. These group A participants, who had a vested interest in Barefoot and a responsibility to protect and convey an appropriate public image of the company, primarily associated the term "luxury" with the globally-marketed Western luxury brands and companies which, as explored in Chapter Six, have informed a popular understanding of luxury in Sri Lanka (and, indeed, elsewhere around the world). They conveyed negative

connotations with the term luxury as a result of certain prevalent business practices characteristic of the luxury sector which, as explored in Chapter Two, have been argued to pursue profit at the expense of social value. In particular, these participants conveyed a belief that such luxury brands engage in unethical business practices, such as workforce exploitation, in the pursuit of profit and growth. These beliefs are not unfounded. For example, a recent sting operation carried out by the New York Times reported that luxury fashion brands such as Dior and Saint Laurent are supplied by Indian factories (involving handicraft labour nonetheless) where employees are working in unsafe and unregulated facilities, with no employment benefits and protections, for little pay (Schultz, Paton, & Jay, 2020). Some well-known examples of luxury production, this example indicates, prioritise profit over the well-being of workers in their global supply chain. These group A participants were especially concerned to distance Barefoot from precisely this production model.¹⁹ They subsequently sought to highlight the difference between Barefoot and these usually highly-profitable, globally-marketed brands and companies, primarily because of its overarching purpose and motivation to create social value. This difference poses the question as to whether luxury is an appropriate term to characterise the social enterprise that occurs at Barefoot. It also demonstrates the importance of differentiating between profit- and purpose-driven activity in the luxury sector.

The term precious was initially advanced by a particular group A participant (the design coordinator and member of the Sansoni family) who especially struggled to reconcile Barefoot's activity, impacts, and value with the term luxury. It is important to acknowledge that this participant spoke English as their first language, which is likely why they were drawing upon a Western concept to characterise Barefoot's social enterprise in a non-Western context. The term precious is derived from the Latin word *pretiosus*, 'of great value', from *pretium*, 'price' (OED Online, 2020). Economic value provides a pertinent foundation for an understanding of preciousness with many definitions utilising synonyms such as 'costly', 'expensive', and 'dear'. In this way, the term precious overlaps with the definition of luxury used

¹⁹ It was only after further explanation that the fieldwork intended to investigate the social impact of Barefoot's operation that these members of staff were willing to take part in this research project.

in this study, in that both convey the relatively high economic value of the commodities in question. However, unlike the prevailing understanding of luxury as materialised in high price and other forms of economic distinction, preciousness encapsulates more than economic value. Indeed, the OED further defines precious as ‘Of great moral, spiritual, or other non-material value; beloved, held in high esteem’ (OED Online, 2020). The term precious, then, commonly signals forms of value that are not bound to the economic. Reflecting this definition, this group A participant employed the term precious to convey more than the high economic value of Barefoot commodities. They proposed precious to encapsulate the social value that the production of Barefoot commodities facilitates (in improving the well-being of group B employees) and the value of the many lives that the company’s activity positively impacts. Other group A participants in the data set also used the term precious in a similar way, primarily to convey the perceived value of Barefoot commodities beyond their relatively high price. For example, a senior designer stated that ‘to wear a piece of Barefoot fabric is so precious to us because of the way it has been made ...we value the people who make it’. Another senior designer also used the term precious to describe the business overall, in that ‘a lot of people have benefitted’ from its activity and ‘it has made a lot of people’s lives happier’. Furthermore, the term precious is utilised in the data set to convey the high value of handicraft commodities, particularly in contrast to machine-made equivalents, as alluded to above where Barefoot cloth is perceived as precious ‘because of the way it has been made’. Indeed, a younger designer stated that Barefoot commodities are precious because people ‘are working hard to make it’, reflecting the sentiment (as detailed in Chapter Six) that handicraft production is valuable because of the skill and physical labour it requires. It is important to acknowledge that these participants are drawing upon a Western concept to describe Barefoot (as a non-Western entity in Sri Lanka), which requires further consideration not just of linguistic slippage but also of the relevance and interpretation of this concept in a non-Western context. However, these participants draw upon a Western concept of preciousness (regardless of their first language), in ways that mirror the definition above, to encapsulate both the high economic value of Barefoot’s handicraft commodities but also the social value it facilitates.

Reflecting the views of these research participants and their use of the term, the concept of preciousness might be usefully employed to distinguish Barefoot within the luxury sector as a result of its social enterprise and positive social impact. The term precious initially conveys the high economic value of Barefoot commodities. In proposing the possibility of conceptualising Barefoot as a precious enterprise, it is important to acknowledge that I still perceive of Barefoot as operating in the luxury sector. The concept of preciousness (as I and those group A participants utilise it) would offer nuance within the luxury sector rather than suggesting that instances of social enterprise producing unnecessary or unnecessarily refined commodities that command a relatively high economic value in comparison to commodities that perform the same utilitarian purpose do not operate or belong in the luxury sector. However, considering the definition above and the ways in which the term is used by group A participants, the concept of preciousness could also be utilised to convey the social value inherent to instances of social enterprise in the luxury sector. As such, re-framing social enterprise in the luxury sector as precious, rather than luxurious, could help to differentiate purpose-driven social enterprise from traditional profit-driven enterprise. Furthermore, the term precious is also commonly used to signify rarity or scarcity. As such, the term precious could also convey the relative scarcity of social enterprise in the luxury sector. Although this thesis has only served to demonstrate the occurrence of socially valuable luxury production in Sri Lanka, with further research the concept of precious enterprise could subsequently be applied to social enterprise in the luxury sector in other national contexts, being broad enough to encapsulate the diversity of social value creation in different socio-economic and -cultural contexts.

In distinguishing and unifying instances of social enterprise in the luxury sector, a theory of preciousness could also be developed into a new industry segmentation. Such industry segmentation could differentiate and certify companies and brands operating in the luxury sector on account of their primary motivation and capacity to create social value, and would distinguish instances of social enterprise in the luxury sector, such as Barefoot, as more socially valuable than traditional profit-driven luxury enterprises. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, this differentiation is becoming increasingly important in the face of heightened conscientious consumerism and growing demand for businesses to be transparent

about the social and environmental impact of their activity (Deloitte, 2020). This increasing consumer awareness has arguably motivated the increase in social enterprise in recent history but also the founding of institutions that are concerned to verify and accredit social enterprise, such as the Good Market platform mentioned in Chapter Four. In respect of this, the potential for re-framing of social enterprise in the luxury sector as precious could also provide the theoretical grounding for an industry certification that would approach the growing demand for distinction of socially valuable luxury production in differentiating instances of social enterprise. Again, although the case study of Barefoot only illustrates the occurrence of social enterprise in the Sri Lankan luxury sector, such industry certification could also be developed to apply in other national contexts where social enterprise in the luxury sector occurs (although different contexts would require linguistic investigation into indigenous interpretations of the idea of preciousness and its subsequent relevance). However, the development of such industry segmentation would require in-depth and long-term research into the social impact of the many diverse outcomes of social enterprise in the luxury sector. Crucially, a certifying body would need to be selected or established requiring further discussion over whether such a body should be public or private (and, indeed, whether a private organisation established for this purpose should be profitable or non-profit). Such industry certification would also require a theoretical framework and robust, industry-specific criteria that would delineate precious production. In being certified as a precious enterprise, instances of social enterprise in the luxury sector would not only have to demonstrate that they meet such criteria, necessitating the development and implementation of impact measurement systems, but perhaps also continually verified. Reflecting the literature in Chapter One conveying the difficulty in measuring and certifying social value creation, which is ultimately dependent upon subjective testimony, the development of industry certification of precious enterprise would clearly be a significant undertaking. This is only compounded by the sheer diversity of social value creation, and the many ways in which social enterprise in the luxury sector might create social value in approaching unique social issues. This is perhaps why existing bodies seeking to certify social enterprise (such as Good Market) do not explicitly outline how they verify and whether they re-verify their certification. Considering the diversity of social value and the complexity its measurement, it is likely that industry

certification of precious enterprise would need to be adapted to different national contexts.

The concept of preciousness could also be developed to convey the social value of handicraft production in Sri Lanka (but also, perhaps, in other relevant contexts). As explored in Chapter Four, state institutions, such as the National Crafts Council, are intended to certify and support handicraft production in Sri Lanka. These institutions were established in post-colonial Sri Lanka as a means of preserving indigenous culture, subsequently demonstrating the nationalist importance of handicraft production (de Silva, 2019, p. 5). Furthermore, recent studies (and, indeed, this thesis) demonstrate the importance of such entrepreneurial activity in facilitating accessible employment opportunities that can support economic security in economically marginalised, rural communities (de Silva & Hirimuthugodage, 2020; Sri Lanka Export Development Board, 2017). Reflecting Japan's historical system for the protection of cultural properties and National Treasure (as explored in Chapter Four) which intends to certify and maintain certain handicraft techniques and commodities as 'precious assets of the Japanese people', the concept of preciousness could be developed by state institutions (but also, perhaps, by an appropriate private organisation) into a program of certification that would convey the social value of handicraft production in Sri Lanka as a result of its nationalist importance as a facet of indigenous culture (Agency for Cultural Affairs Japan, 2019, p. 2). But furthermore, reflecting the British Council *Future Craft* program (as also outlined in Chapter Four) which valorises handicraft production around the world as a result of its 'unique potential to create prosperity and tackle global challenges', such a program could also convey the social value of handicraft enterprise in Sri Lanka as a result of its role in supporting and developing the rural economy (The British Council, 2022c).

As with the potential to develop a framework of preciousness to distinguish instances of social enterprise in the luxury sector, the possibility of valorising and certifying indigenous handicraft skills and commodities in Sri Lanka as precious (and subsequently socially valuable) would require significant theoretical and logistical development outside the bounds of this thesis, alongside the identification of an appropriate body to develop and implement such a program. Although a state

institution would perhaps be best suited for this purpose, the state institutions that are intended to certify and promote handicraft production in Sri Lanka face a range of issues that limit their capacity and impact (as outlined in Chapter Four). The governing body of such a program would subsequently need to develop and outline rigorous criteria for delineating precious handicraft production, in terms of ensuring that such activity is in fact of cultural importance and does support and develop the rural economy. This raises questions about who has the authority to denote the social value of handicraft production, and how such social value is certified. If implemented by a state institution, this certification might be enforced by policy and laws that serve not only to valorise such handicraft production but also support and protect it. Furthermore, although there needn't necessarily be a condition of social enterprise (particularly considering that such certification must be applicable to independent artisans who work for their own profit alongside enterprises such as Barefoot), certification of precious handicraft production would still necessitate some sort of impact measurement to support the argument that such activity is socially valuable and does not have other adverse effects that might otherwise undermine this argument.

Conclusion

In concluding this thesis, I first outline a concise summary of the research findings, highlighting how the research has made a unique contribution to knowledge. Secondly, I reflect on the research process and consider some of the limitations of the study. Finally, I suggest potential avenues for future research highlighted by this thesis.

Research Findings and Contribution to Knowledge

The case study of Barefoot, and the wider purpose of this thesis, was to investigate how luxury production might create social value, particularly in improving the well-being of producers and other employees. Furthermore, I was concerned to explore the premise that luxury production creates social value because it utilises handcraft technique, which further improves the well-being of producers as an enjoyable process. The case study of Barefoot demonstrates that luxury production can and does create social value in improving the well-being of group B employees. However, it further establishes that creating meaningful social value in this way is dependent upon the company's commitment to the principles of social enterprise, in which social value is purposefully facilitated and prioritised over potential profit and growth. In this way, social value derived from the improved well-being of producers is not inherent to luxury production, but dependent upon the condition of social enterprise. In consideration of the role of handcraft production in ensuring employment opportunities that improve well-being, the data set demonstrates that certain qualities of handcraft production make the process enjoyable. However, it further illustrates that in this context, where handcraft production is a facet of imperative employment and is not intrinsically motivated, the context and conditions of such employment necessarily impact upon the potential for producers to derive social value from the process of their labour. Again, the social value derived from the process of handcraft production is not inherent but dependent upon Barefoot's commitment to operate as a social enterprise. Indeed, without this commitment, the data set suggests that the process of handcraft production could in fact be detrimental to employee well-being, being physically laborious or overly

monotonous. As such, the central finding of this thesis is that the potential for luxury production to create social value is contingent upon social enterprise, and not inherent to particular qualities of either luxury or handicraft production.

The insight garnered from this thesis has contributed toward existing knowledge in several ways. Firstly, it has offered new insight into the role of social enterprise in the luxury sector. Secondly, it has enriched prior research into the potential for handicraft production to create social value. And thirdly, it has contributed toward English-language academic research in Sri Lanka in several different fields. Poignantly, it has offered new insight as a result of original empirical investigation. With unprecedented access to Barefoot, this data set offers significant new understanding into how luxury production creates social value in Sri Lanka. Firstly, this insight addresses the lack of investigation into social enterprise in the luxury sector overall. This is particularly important because existing academic research into the occurrence and outcomes of social enterprise in the luxury sector is insufficient. As outlined in Chapter Three, there is a limited body of literature arguing that luxury production has certain qualities that ensure it is sustainable (which I subsequently equate with social value as a result of the lack of literature explicitly considering how luxury production creates social value). However, whilst this study suggests that the potential for luxury production to create social value is contingent upon social enterprise, as discussed in the previous chapter, this literature does not differentiate between social enterprise and traditional, profit-driven enterprise in the luxury sector. In highlighting the importance of this differentiation, this study therefore contributes new knowledge of the role and outcomes of social enterprise in the luxury sector, and the conditions and possibilities of luxury production creating social value. Furthermore, the literature in Chapter Three outlining the ways in which luxury production is sustainable (and subsequently socially valuable) crucially lacks empirical investigation and first-hand testimony from those who have benefited from such activity. In undertaking primary data collection with the beneficiaries of Barefoot's social enterprise, this study has contributed important first-hand testimony with which to enrich discussion around the potential for luxury production to create social value.

Secondly, this thesis has also contributed new knowledge to existing literature into the potential for handicraft production to create social value. Again, in

demonstrating how handicraft production creates social value in Sri Lanka, as a source of accessible and enjoyable employment, this thesis subsequently contributes toward discussions into how handicraft production creates social value overall (as outlined in Chapter Three). In particular, it addresses the lack of research into how handicraft employees value the process, rather than the outcomes, of handicraft production when such activity is undertaken as imperative employment in developing economies. Drawing upon first-hand testimony from the beneficiaries of Barefoot's social enterprise, the primary data set demonstrates the role of handicraft production in facilitating employment opportunities that support economic security in Sri Lanka, thus enriching existing knowledge into the importance of such employment in other developing economies. Furthermore, this thesis offers new insight into how handicraft employees in a developing economy experience and value the process of their labour, alongside its outcome of economic security. The data set also enhances this body of literature in exploring how particular qualities of handicraft production facilitate socially valuable employment practices, further qualifying the argument that handicraft employment creates social value in developing economies. Furthermore, this study enhances existing literature arguing that handicraft production creates social value as an inherently enjoyable process in establishing that, when undertaken as a source of imperative employment rather than being intrinsically motivated, the potential to garner social value from such activity is dependent upon conditions of employment.

Thirdly, this thesis has enhanced the limited English-language academic resources regarding several research areas in Sri Lanka. It has provided initial insight into how the term luxury is understood and applied in Sri Lanka, alongside an overview of the luxury sector in this specific locality. Furthermore, the case study of Barefoot (which the data set establishes is perceived as a local luxury brand) offers new insight into the domestic production of luxury commodities in Sri Lanka. The case study of Barefoot also contributes toward the limited existing literature exploring social enterprise in Sri Lanka. The primary data set and testimony from Barefoot's beneficiaries enriches existing discussion into the aims, practices, and impacts of social enterprise in Sri Lanka, and the ways in which such activity might create social value. Furthermore, this thesis contributes new knowledge about the handicraft sector and the impacts of handicraft employment in Sri Lanka. In

particular, the case study of Barefoot has enhanced prior insight into the business practices, aims and outcomes of such activity.

Reflecting on the Research Process

The biggest challenge this research project posed was gaining adequate access to a relevant case study or studies, and obtaining a thorough data set that would offer a comprehensive insight into the complexity of social enterprise in the luxury sector. There is often a reluctance to offer the adequate level of transparency demanded by extensive academic research, which might subsequently lead to increased industry, public, and consumer scrutiny. This poses a potential issue for private companies such as Barefoot, the success of which, and the subsequent social impact of which, is ultimately dependent upon positive consumer perception and sales. This is perhaps heightened in the current context of increased accountability (as explored in the introduction of this thesis). Even when a company pertains to operate as a social enterprise, with the primary aim of creating social value in addressing an urgent social issue that hinders well-being, it is unlikely that every aspect (whether small or significant) of their operations is socially valuable. The challenge for any purpose-driven enterprise is that its impacts are diverse, far-reaching, and unlikely to always be wholly positive. Although the case study of Barefoot demonstrates its positive social impact in improving the well-being of group B employees, through approaching the social issues of poverty and lacking female autonomy in rural Sri Lankan communities, it is not in the scope of this study to empirically examine every consequence of Barefoot's activity that might have a social impact.

As mentioned in Chapter Five, I began this research project with the intention of undertaking more than one case study, as the basis for comparative analysis. As stated, there is a tradition of undertaking handicraft enterprise with the purported intention of creating social value in improving the well-being of producers in Sri Lanka, and there are a variety of companies and designers operating in this way who were initially approached to take part in this research project. Whilst some of these companies were unable or unwilling to offer the level of transparency this study necessitated (which, as stated above, might suggest that they were unwilling to invite scrutiny or, perhaps, that they have been creative in marketing their positive social

impact), others were unwilling to participate in research involving their direct market competitors. Furthermore, there were other logistical issues, compounded by undertaking research in a developing economy, that limited access to other case studies. For example, many of the companies I initially approached work with independent, freelance handicraft producers and therefore did not have any centralised production facilities where the research could take place. Although it would have been beneficial for the study to be able to compare the social impact of formal and informal employment within the handicraft sector in Sri Lanka, undertaking data collection with these independent producers was too time- and resource-intensive for the bounds of this research project.

However, that this study eventually only undertook one case study increased the depth and detail of the data collected, which was supported by the transparency, and, indeed, curiosity, of the owners and management at Barefoot into the social impact of the company's operations and outcomes. In terms of the depth of research, the case study was mostly limited by time and resources, rather than transparency. For example, additional insight could have been garnered if data collection was also undertaken in the further remote production centres (where the social issues that Barefoot approaches are potentially more acute), and with the sector of freelance employees who work from home. Such additional insight would have added valuable nuance to the data set and a means of comparing the social impact of formal and informal employment in the Sri Lankan handicraft sector. In general, I am confident in the integrity of the research findings, particularly as a result of the research methodologies designed and employed to ensure accurate and honest insight from group A and B participants alike. Ultimately, the data collected was verified by my own and the assistant's first-hand experience of the production centres and interactions with group B employees. However, there remain inherent limitations when undertaking a case study of a small, family-owned company such as Barefoot that require consideration. For example, the lack of information in the public domain regarding the company's operation makes it difficult to corroborate the insight from the case study. This is perhaps reflective of the wider limitation of a British, English-speaking researcher undertaking a case study in a developing economy, where the depth, organisation, and accessibility of state collected and held information in English is limited. But, furthermore, the case study would have been further enriched

by quantitative information collected and held by Barefoot. For example, it would have been beneficial to further corroborate claims regarding Barefoot's reinvestment of profit into its positive social impact, or gain greater insight into the operations and outcomes of the employee welfare fund mentioned. Partly, this insight is limited due to the fact that, as a family-owned and somewhat idiosyncratic company, Barefoot do not necessarily collect or keep record of such information. But furthermore, the owners and management of Barefoot were unable or unwilling to offer full access to such resources or information.

The limitations of undertaking a single case study into the social impact of luxury production in Sri Lanka are also heightened by limited generalisability. A crucial finding of the case study of Barefoot is that social value is unique, ultimately dependent upon socio-economic and -cultural context. Any singular example of social enterprise will seek to counteract a unique social issue in ways that are distinctive and ultimately dependent upon the context of this social issue. As such, although handicraft and luxury production create social value at Barefoot in improving the well-being of producers in this context, it cannot be presumed that this would be the case for other entrepreneurial activity either in the luxury sector or utilising handicraft production. However, this limitation also foregrounds an understanding that the ways in which luxury enterprises might create social value, being dependent upon socio-economic and -cultural context, are innumerable, opening up interesting avenues for further research (as will be discussed in the following section).

Extending the Research

There are a variety of different avenues for extending the research that would enrich existing academic insight, serving to highlight the lack of research into the social impacts of both luxury and handicraft production, and the lack of English language research into the luxury, handicraft, and social enterprise sectors in Sri Lanka. Firstly, this thesis highlights the need for continued academic research into the role and outcomes of social enterprise in the luxury sector, both in Sri Lanka and in general. As aforementioned, there is scant academic research into the ways in which luxury production might create social value. This is reflective of the lack of

academic insight into social enterprise (and, indeed, other forms of purpose-driven enterprise) in the luxury sector. This study suggests that Barefoot's commitment to social enterprise is essential to its potential to create meaningful social value, in that neither luxury or handicraft production are inherently socially valuable, but create social value as a result of Barefoot's social enterprise. As such, further investigation into the motivations, processes, and impacts of social enterprise in the luxury sector is essential toward greater understanding of the social impact of luxury production. Such investigation might offer insight into typical ways that social enterprise in the luxury sector intends to create social value, the qualities of luxury production that are apt to create social value, and how social enterprise in the luxury sector is distinct to profit-driven enterprise. That being said, the case study of Barefoot also demonstrates that specificity of social value creation; the ways in which a social enterprise creates social value are contingent upon the unique social issue being approached. Considering this, further research into social enterprise in the luxury sector would also serve to illustrate the diverse ways that luxury production can create social value. The data set and the case study of Barefoot have also demonstrated the importance of first-hand, subjective testimony from the intended beneficiaries of social enterprise (rather than an overview of how such activity intends to create social value) in validating social value creation. As such, further case studies and primary data collection exploring social enterprise in the luxury sector would offer authentic insight into the potential for luxury production to create social value.

Such ongoing research into the social impact of luxury production could also support my proposition of re-framing social enterprise in the luxury sector as precious, rather than luxurious. As outlined in the previous chapter, the possibility of utilising a concept of preciousness to provide this distinction would require substantial development founded upon academic insight and robust empirical investigation. Further academic research into social enterprise in the luxury sector could offer greater insight into the characteristics, motivations, processes, and outcomes of social enterprise in the luxury sector (in various locations) in order to develop a conceptual foundation of precious production. But academic research would also be required to identify a suitable certifying body of precious enterprise, industry-specific criteria, and appropriate and effective impact measurement

systems. In demonstrating the potential for luxury production to create social value, the development of a theory of preciousness and certification for precious enterprises might subsequently have an impact upon predominant understandings and approaches to luxury in the future.

There is also potential for further research into the ways in which handicraft production can create social value, particularly as a source of employment in developing economies (such as Sri Lanka). As aforementioned, the handicraft sector is a crucial employment sector in developing economies. Yet, research offering an insight into how such handicraft employment creates social value (outlined in Chapter Three) rarely considers how the process of such labour, rather than the outcomes, improves the well-being of producers. However, as this study has shown, even when handicraft production is undertaken as imperative employment, as at Barefoot, there is still potential to derive social value from the process of such activity when it is perceived as being enjoyable. The extent to which the process of handicraft production in itself creates social value in the context of such imperative employment, as explored in this thesis, requires further empirical investigation. Further research into the potential for handicraft employment to create social value might also explore the role of social enterprise in ensuring that the process of handicraft production is socially valuable. Comparative study could contrast the social value of handicraft employment social enterprise with traditional profit-driven enterprise. Such research would further clarify the argument made in this thesis that, when undertaken as a form of employment, social value derived from the process of handicraft production is contingent upon the conditions and impacts of such employment. It would also delineate the extent to which the process of handicraft production in itself creates social value. It would also be beneficial to undertake further comparative research into the potential for handicraft to create social value when undertaken as formal and informal employment. This study has shown that offering formal employment contributes to Barefoot's potential to create social value in supporting economic security. The data set differentiated between formal handicraft employment at Barefoot and independent handicraft producers in Sri Lanka (supplying Sansoni Warehouse) who lack employment benefits that would improve their well-being. However, this argument lacks testimony from such informal employees. Aside from considering if such informal employees would

benefit from certain aspects of formal employment, such study might also consider the extent to which both groups derive social value from the process of their labour. For example, independent handicraft producers might derive greater social value from the process of their labour, particularly considering that they will likely conceive of and produce commodities from start to finish. As such, comparative study between formal and informal handicraft employment would enrich the insight into the potential for handicraft production in particular to create social value in these different contexts, not just in Sri Lanka, but in other developing economies also.

This thesis also highlights the potential for ongoing research exploring the luxury, handicraft, and social enterprise sectors in Sri Lanka. As we have seen, there are limited English-language resources exploring indigenous understandings of luxury in Sri Lanka. Continuing this research would require consumer research, but furthermore linguistic exploration into indigenous terms and concepts that correlate with the Western idea of luxury (as outlined in this study). Such further research could also foreground comparative study between Western and non-Western understandings of luxury, in particular interrogating the extent to which globally-marketed Western luxury brands have come to characterise global understanding. This insight could also be enriched by research into understandings of luxury in other, under-researched contexts. This study also conveys the opportunity for further research into the aims, processes, and impacts of social enterprise in Sri Lanka. This research could offer greater clarity into the impacts of handicraft social enterprise in Sri Lanka (in particular considering the social impact of other handicraft techniques). But furthermore, wider research into the occurrence of social enterprise in Sri Lanka overall would be beneficial in shaping national policy in Sri Lanka which, despite the growth of entrepreneurial activity operating with the purpose of creating social value, is lacking. As we have seen in Chapter Four, national policy is crucial not only in certifying social enterprise but also in improving or clarifying popular understanding. Finally, this thesis has highlighted the possibility for further research into the handicraft ecosystem in Sri Lanka. Again, such research would approach the lack of English-language resources exploring both the historic and contemporary practice of handicraft technique, and the reality of handicraft production and

enterprise in Sri Lanka. Furthermore, this research would enrich ongoing discussions into the value of handicraft production not only in Sri Lanka but around the world.

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

Demographics:

- What is your name?
- Where do you live?
- Where were you born?
- What is your gender?
- How old are you?
- What is your religion?
- What is your level of education?

Role within the Company:

- What is your job role or description?
- How long have you been working for Barefoot?
- What did you do before working for Barefoot?
- Did you make a conscious decision to work within handicraft?
- Why did you choose to work at Barefoot?

Brand Ethos:

- How would you describe the Barefoot brand in 3 words?
- What makes Barefoot different to other handloom companies?
- How would you describe the brand ethos?
- What do you think is the core purpose of Barefoot?
- Why and how do you think Barefoot is valuable?

Luxury:

- How would you describe Barefoot products in 3 words?
- Do you think Barefoot products are aspirational?
- Do you think that Barefoot products are expensive?
- Who do you think is the intended consumer of Barefoot?
- Would you consider Barefoot to be a luxury brand?
- Please can you explain why?

Handicraft Production:

- Can you choose some words that describe the qualities of something handcrafted?
- Do you think a handicraft product has a higher or lower value than something machine-made?
- Please can you explain why?
- Why do you think that Barefoot has chosen to maintain handicraft production?

The Social Economy:

- At Barefoot, what impact do you think that handicraft production has upon the lives of those involved with its production?
- At Barefoot, what do you think are the benefits and drawbacks of handicraft production as experienced by its producers?
- At Barefoot, do you think that the process of handicraft production has an impact upon the wellbeing of its producers?
- Please can you explain why?
- Do you think that working for Barefoot offers its employees benefits beyond a fair income?
- Do you think that Barefoot is socially valuable?
- Please can you explain why?
- If so, do you think that Barefoot intentionally creates social value?
- Do you think that the creation of social value is a priority for Barefoot?
- Does working at Barefoot have any additional non-economic benefit for you?
- Do you find working for Barefoot rewarding?
- Do you know what a social enterprise is?
- Would you describe Barefoot as a social enterprise?
- How do you feel about Barefoot's potential to create social value?
- What impact has working at Barefoot had upon your life?

Preciousness:

- What does the word precious mean to you?
- Why and how do you think something is precious?
- Do you think that Barefoot products are precious?
- Please can you explain why?
- Do you think that working for Barefoot is precious?
- Please can you explain why?

Appendix 2: Focus Group Schedule

Opening Questions:

- How old are you?
- What is your job role?
- How did you come to work at Barefoot?
- Why did you choose to work at Barefoot?
- How has your job role progressed in this time?
- How has the company changed in this time?
- How have you changed in this time?

Opinion of Handwork:

- Do you enjoy working with your hands? Why?
- What are the benefits of working with your hands?
- What are the drawbacks working with your hands?
- Why do you think that handmade products, like Barefoot, are more valuable than machine made products?
- Would you rather work for a different company or in a different industry? Why?
- Would you rather work in a more modern environment or with machinery? Why?
- Do you enjoy working with colour? Why?
- How does working with the different colours impact you?

Opinion of work:

- What are your favourite things about working for Barefoot?
- What are your least favourite things about working for Barefoot?
- When you are working, do you make products from start to finish?
- Do you find the work interesting? Why?
- Do you find the work satisfying? Why?
- Do you find the work difficult? Why?
- Would you prefer it if the work was easier? Why?
- Are you proud of your work? Why?
- Do you feel that your work at Barefoot is appreciated? Why?
- Does Barefoot provide a good working environment? Why?
- Do you think that Barefoot is a good employer? Why?
- What do your friends and family think about your job at Barefoot?
- Do you think working at Barefoot is a good job for your children/the next generation? Why?
- Do you think your children, or the next generation, will want to work at Barefoot? Why?
- Do you think that working at Barefoot has impacted the quality of your life? How?

- Outside of providing an income, do you think there are any additional benefits to working at Barefoot?

Independence:

- What skills have you learnt working at Barefoot?
- Do you think it is unusual in Sri Lanka for women to have their own income?
- How important is it to you that you have your own income?
- Do you like working mostly with other women? Why?
- Do you think working at Barefoot has made you more independent? How?
- If you had a problem, would you discuss it with your colleagues?
- If you had a problem, would you discuss it with your managers?
- Do you feel supported by Barefoot? How?
- Does working at Barefoot have an impact on your happiness? How?

Broader Questions:

- What do you think is more important – being happy or being wealthy?
- What are your dreams for your children/the next generation?
- What are your goals in life?
- Do you think that working at Barefoot helps you to achieve your goals? Why?

Appendix 3: Survey Instrument English



Research Survey for Barefoot Employees

Researcher Name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO Number: 40219

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this survey. The purpose of this survey is to establish how employees at Barefoot (such as you!) feel about their work, and the value that it has in their lives.

It should take you between 20-30 minutes to complete. The format of the questions varies throughout so please make sure that you read the instructions of each question carefully before answering.

This is a voluntary but important survey. Please remember that all of the information that you provide in this survey is strictly anonymous and your identity will always be protected.

Please also include the attached consent form. The participant information form is yours to keep should you have any concerns or questions in the future.

You have the right to refuse to participate in this study. It is assumed that completion of this survey indicates that consent to participate has been given.

Thank you again for your time

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "LH", written in a cursive style.

Lucy Hitchcock

PhD Researcher
Winchester Luxury Research Group
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Section One

- 1) Where do you live?
- 2) Where were you born?
- 3) Gender: Female ☐ Male ☐ Prefer not to say ☐
- 4) Age: 18-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ 65+ ☐
- 5) Religion: Buddhist ☐ Hindu ☐ Catholic ☐ Protestant ☐ Muslim ☐
Prefer not to say ☐ Other (please specify) ☐
- 6) Education: Primary ☐ Secondary ☐ G.C.E Ordinary ☐ G.C.E Advanced ☐
Degree ☐ Vocational Training ☐ Tertiary Training ☐
Other (please specify) ☐

Section Two

- 7) Job Description:
- 8) How long have you been working for Barefoot? years
- 9) Is this your first job? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 10) Were you working within the handloom industry before this job? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 11) Do you have a family history of working within handloom? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 12) Did you make a conscious decision to work within handloom? Yes ☐ No ☐
- 13) Why did you choose to work for Barefoot?

Please select to what extent you agree with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
It is convenient for me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It offers good job progression	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It offers good training and skills	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I had/have friends or family that work for Barefoot	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It offers good wages	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to work in handloom	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The company has a good reputation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It offers a good work environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I like the products	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I align with the company's values	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Section Three

14) How would you describe the Barefoot company in three words? _____

15) How would you describe Barefoot products in three words? _____

16) How would you describe working for Barefoot in three words? _____

17) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
Barefoot products are high quality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot products are expensive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot products are unique	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot products are beautiful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot products are precious	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People aspire to buy Barefoot products	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot produces the best handloom goods	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot is a well-known company	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot is a highly respected company	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot is a valuable company	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Section Four

18) Do you think that handmade products are more or less valuable than machine-made equivalents? More Valuable ☐ Same Value ☐ Less Valuable ☐

19) In relation to Barefoot, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
Handloom products are higher quality than machine-made equivalents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom products are more rare than machine-made equivalents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom products are more special than machine-made equivalents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom production requires more skill than mechanised production	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom production is more labour-intensive than mechanised production	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
Handloom production is more beneficial to its workers than mechanised production	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom production offers a better work environment than mechanised production	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom production is more beneficial to local communities than mechanised production	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Handloom production is better for the environment than mechanised production	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20) Do you think Barefoot products are more valuable or less valuable than machine-made equivalents? More Valuable ☐ Same Value ☐ Less Valuable ☐

Section Five

21) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
I enjoy working with my hands	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I took this job because it was convenient	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find my work satisfying	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
If I didn't work at Barefoot I could easily find another job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find my work relaxing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I find my work engaging	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would prefer to work in a modern environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am proud of my work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I learn from my work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would prefer to work with automated machinery	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have made friends through my work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I get happiness from my work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy my work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My work improves my life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My work offers benefits beyond an income	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22) What are the most valuable benefits of your work for you?

Please select 5 of the benefits below that are the most valuable to you:

- Good income ☐
- Greater autonomy ☐
- Satisfaction gained ☐
- Knowledge gained ☐
- Skills gained ☐
- Community gained ☐
- Greater happiness ☐
- Greater enjoyment ☐
- Greater employment security ☐
- Good career development ☐
- Good work flexibility ☐
- Good work environment ☐

23) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Don't Know
My job has helped me grow in confidence	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My family have benefited from my job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have found out about skills I didn't know I possessed because of this job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job has given me greater independence	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have made important friendships through my job	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job has helped me improve my living situation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job allows me to buy nicer things	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job helps me to achieve my goals	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job is worth more than just the wages it pays me	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job has provided me with something beyond money	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job provides/has provided a better future for my children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Working for Barefoot has made my life better	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot has a positive impact upon my home community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot has a positive impact upon my workplace community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot has a positive impact on my life	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Section Six

24) Please rate the following aspects of your overall quality of life at present:

	Very Bad	Bad	Neither Good or Bad	Good	Very Good	Don't Know
Health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Income	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Housing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Life Satisfaction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Happiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work-Life Balance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Autonomy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Security	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25) What impact does working for Barefoot have upon these aspects of your quality of life?

	Very Bad Impact	Bad Impact	Neither Good or Bad Impact	Good Impact	Very Good Impact	Don't Know
Health	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Income	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Housing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Life Satisfaction	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Happiness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Work-Life Balance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Autonomy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Security	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix 4: Survey Instrument Sinhala



Barefoot අයතනයේ සේවකයන් සඳහා සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රශ්නාවලිය
පර්යේෂකතුමියගේ නම : ලුසි හිච්කොක් Lucy Hitchcock
ERGO අංකය : 40219

මෙම සමීක්ෂණය සඳහා කාලය වැය කරන ඔබට ස්තූතියි !

මෙහි අරමුණ වන්නේ Barefoot අයතනය තුළ සේවය කරන ඔබ වැනි වටිනා සේවකයන්
තමන්ගේ රාජකාරිය පිළිබඳ ඇති හැකිම කුමක් ද?, ඉන් තමාට අගයක් එකතු වනවා
යැයි සිතනවා ද? සහ තම වෘත්තිය පිළිබඳ දර්ශන අදහස් මොනවා ද ? යන්න දැන ගැනීමයි

මෙය සම්පූර්ණ කිරීමට ගත වන්නේ විනාඩි 20 30 ක් අතර පුළු කාලයකි. ප්‍රශ්නවල
ස්වභාවය එකිනෙකට වෙනස් බැවින් කරුණාකර පිළිතුරු සැපයීමට පෙර ප්‍රශ්න හොඳින්
කියවා බලා පැහැදිලි ව තේරුම් ගන්න. මෙය ස්වකාර්මයෙන් කරන ඉතා වැදගත්
සමීක්ෂණයකි මින් ලබා ගන්නා සියලු තොරතුරු රහස්‍යගත අතර ඔබේ අනන්‍යතාවය පුරකිනු ලැබේ

එබැවින් කරුණාකර සහභාගි වීමට කැමැත්ත පළ කරමින් සහභාගිත්වයට එකඟතාව
පළ කරන "පෙරිමය" (Consent Form) අත්සන් තබා මේ සමගම භාර දෙන්න. සහභාගිත්ව
තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකාව මතු ප්‍රයෝජනය සඳහා ඔබ සතුව තබා ගත යුතුව ඇත. මෙම සමීක්ෂණයට
සහභාගි වීම ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කිරීමේ සම්පූර්ණ අයිතිය ඔබ සතු යි මෙම ප්‍රශ්නාවලිය සම්පූර්ණ
කිරීම සමීක්ෂණයට සහභාගි වීමට කැමැත්ත පළ කිරීමක් ලෙස සලකනු ලැබේ

ඔබේ වටිනා කාලය වෙනුවෙන් තැවතත් ස්තූතියි

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1 වන ඒකකය

- 1) ඔබ දැනට ජීවත් වන්නේ කොහෙද?
- 2) උපත ලැබුවේ කොහේ ද?
- 3) සත්‍ය පුරුෂ භාවය ස්ත්‍රී ☐ පුරුෂ ☐ පිළිතුරු දීමෙන් වළකීම් ☐
- 4) වයස 18-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ 65+ ☐
- 5) ආගම බෞද්ධ ☐ හින්දු ☐ කතෝලික ☐ මුස්ලිම් ☐ වෙනත් (හඳුන්වන්න) ☐
පිළිතුරු දීමෙන් වළකීම් ☐
- 6) අවම අධ්‍යාපන ප්‍රාථමික ☐ දිවිතියික ☐ අ. පො. ස. (ස.පෙ) ☐ අ. පො. ස. (උ.පෙ) ☐
මට්ටම උපාධි ☐ වෘත්තීය පුහුණු ☐ තෘතීයික පුහුණුව ☐ වෙනත් (හඳුන්වන්න) ☐

2 වන ඒකකය

- 7) වෘත්තියේ ස්වභාවය :
- 8) Barefoot ආයතනයට ඔබ කෙතරම් කලක් සේවය කරනවා ද? ? years
- 9) මේ ඔබේ පළමු රැකියාව ද? ඔව් ☐ නැත ☐
- 10) ඔබ මෙම රැකියාවට පෙර අත්යන්ත්‍ර පේෂ කර්මාන්ත රැකියාවක නියැලී තිබේ ද? ඔව් ☐ නැත ☐
- 11) ඔබට අත්යන්ත්‍ර පේෂ කර්මාන්තයෙහි නිරත වූ පවුල් පසුබිමක් තිබේ ද? ඔව් ☐ නැත ☐
- 12) අත්යන්ත්‍ර පේෂ කර්මාන්තයේ රැකියාවක් කිරීම ඔබ දැනුවත් ව ගත් තීරණයක් ද? ඔව් ☐ නැත ☐
- 13) ඔබ Barefoot ආයතනයට සම්බන්ධ වීමට තීරණය කළේ ඇයි?

පහත වගන්තිවලට කෙතරම් දුරට එකඟ වනවා ද යන්න දී ඇති පරිදි දක්වන්න.

	කිසියෙන් එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත, එකඟ නැතේ ද	එකඟයි	තදින් එකඟය	නොදැනිමි
එය මට පහසු කර්මාන්තයයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මින් මට වෘත්තීය දියුණුවට මග සෑදේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මින් මට මනා පුහුණුවක් හා හැකියාවක් ලැබේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනයට වැඩ කළ යහළුවන් / නැයින් මට සිටියි/ සිටියේ ය.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මට හොඳ වැටුපක් ලැබේ.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර පේෂ කර්මාන්තයේ රැකියාවක් කිරීමට මට ආසාවක් විය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මෙම ආයතනයට නොදු පිළිගැනීමක් තිබේ.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මෙහි වැඩ කිරීමට ඉතා සුදුසු පරිසරයක් ඇත.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මෙහි නිෂ්පාදනවලට මම කැමතියි.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම සමාගම් විවිධාකම්වලට එකඟයි.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

3 වන ඒකකය

- 14) Barefoot වෙළෙඳනාමය ඔබ වටහා ඇති පැහැදිලි කරන්නේ කෙසේ ද? _____
- 15) Barefoot ආයතනයේ නිෂ්පාදන ඔබ වටහා ඇති පැහැදිලි කරන්නේ කෙසේ ද? _____
- 16) Barefoot ආයතනය තුළ මෙතෙක් ඔබේ අත්දැකීම් වටහා ඇති පැහැදිලි කරන්න. _____
- 17) පහත වගන්තිවලට කෙතරම් දුරට එකඟ වනවාද යන්න දී ඇති පරිදි දක්වන්න

	කිසියෙක් එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත එකිනෙක නැත	එකඟයි	තදින් එකඟය	නොදනිමි
Barefoot ආයතනය නිෂ්පාදන තත්ත්වයෙන් දුස්ස්	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනයෙහි නිෂ්පාදන මිල අධිකයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනයෙහි නිෂ්පාදන අනන්‍යයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනයෙහි නිෂ්පාදන අලංකාරයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනයෙහි නිෂ්පාදන වටිනාකමින් වැඩියි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනයෙහි නිෂ්පාදන මිල දී ගැනීමට මිත්තූන් කැමැත්තක් දක්වයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය හොඳම අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කර්මාන්ත නිෂ්පාදන නිපදවයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය ප්‍රසිද්ධ වෙළෙඳ සමාගමකි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය ගෞරවාන්විත වෙළෙඳ සමාගමකි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය වටිනා වෙළෙඳ සමාගමකි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

4 වන ඒකකය

- 18) අතින් සාදා නිම කරන ලද නිෂ්පාදනවල වටිනාකම යන්ත්‍රානුසාරයෙන් සාදන නිෂ්පාදනවලට වඩා වටිනවා යැයි
ඔබ සිතනවා ද? වටිනාකමින් ඉතා වැඩියි ☐ වටිනාකමින් සමානයි ☐ වටිනාකමින් අඩුයි ☐
- 19) Barefoot ආයතනයට අනුකූල ව පහත වගන්තිවලට කෙතරම් දුරට එකඟ වනවා ද යන්න දී ඇති පරිදි දක්වන්න.

	කිසියෙක් එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත එකිනෙක නැත	එකඟයි	තදින් එකඟය	නොදනිමි
අත්යන්ත්‍ර රෙදිපිළි ආශ්‍රිත නිෂ්පාදන, යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනවලට වඩා ගුණාත්මක භාවයෙන් යුක්තයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර රෙදිපිළි ආශ්‍රිත නිෂ්පාදන හා සමාන යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනවලට වඩා දුර්වලත වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර රෙදිපිළි ආශ්‍රිත නිෂ්පාදන ඒ හා සමාන යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනවලට වඩා විශේෂ වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කර්මාන්තය සඳහා යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනවලට වඩා කුසලතාවයක් අවශ්‍ය වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කර්මාන්තය සඳහා යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනවලට වඩා මිනිස් ශ්‍රමය භාවිත වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	කිසියෙක් එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත, එකඟ නැත ද	එකඟයි	තදින් එකඟය	නොදනිමි
අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කාර්මාන්තය යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනයට වඩා නිෂ්පාදන සේවකයාට වාසිදායක වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කාර්මාන්තය, යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනයට වඩා නොද වැඩ කිරීමේ පරිසරයක් ලබා දෙයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කාර්මාන්තය, යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනයට වඩා දේශීය ප්‍රජාවට වාසිදායක වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂ කාර්මාන්තය, යාන්ත්‍රික නිෂ්පාදනයට වඩා පරිසර හිතකාමී වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20) ඔබට අනුව Barefoot ආයතනයේ නිෂ්පාදන යන්ත්‍රානුසාරයෙන් නිපද වන භාණ්ඩවලට වඩා වටිනවා ද?

වටිනාකමින් ඉතා වැඩියි ☐ වටිනාකමින් සමානයි ☐ වටිනාකමින් අඩුයි ☐

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21) පහත වගන්තිවලට කෙතරම් දුරට එකඟ වනවාද යන්න දී ඇති පරිදි දක්වන්න

	කිසියෙක් එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත, එකඟ නැත ද	එකඟයි	තදින් එකඟය	නොදනිමි
මම දූෂණ රැකියාවක් කිරීමට ඉතා කැමතියි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මෙම රැකියාව මම තෝරා ගත්තේ එහි ඇති පහසුව නිසා ය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම මෙම රැකියාව පිළිබඳ තෘප්තිමත් ය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම Barefoot ආයතනයේ වැඩ නොකළා වුව ද මට පහසුවෙන් වෙනත් රැකියාවක් සොයා ගත හැකි ය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මෙම රැකියාව ඉතා නිදහස්	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මෙම රැකියාව තුළ මට හොඳින් යෙදිය හැකි ය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම නවීන පන්තියේ වැඩපලක වැඩ කිරීමට කැමතියි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම මෙම රැකියාව පිළිබඳ ආඩම්බරයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම මෙම රැකියාවෙන් ඉහෙත ගනිමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම යන්ත්‍රානුසාරයෙන් වැඩ කිරීමට කැමතියි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම මෙම රැකියාවෙන් යහළුවන් හඳුනා ගත්තෙමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම මෙම රැකියාවෙන් සතුටක් ලබමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මම මෙම රැකියාවෙන් වින්දනයක් ලබමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාවෙන් මගේ ජීවිතය වැඩි දියුණු වෙයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව ආදායමකට වැඩි දෙයක් ලබා දේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22) රැකියාවෙන් ඔබ ලබන වඩාත් ම වටිනා වාසි මොනවා ද ?

පහත ඒවායින් ඔබට වඩාත් ම වටිනා වාසි 5 ක් තෝරා ලකුණු කරන්න.

- නොදැන ආදායම / වැටුප ☐
- වැඩි ස්වාධීනත්වය ☐
- ලැබෙන්නා වූ තෘප්තිය ☐
- ලැබෙන්නා වූ දැනුම ☐
- ලැබෙන්නා වූ කුසලතා ☐
- ලැබෙන්නා වූ යහප්වත් ☐
- වැඩි සතුට ☐
- වැඩි වින්දනය ☐
- රැකියා සුරක්ෂිත බව ☐
- වැඩි වෘත්තීය දියුණුව ☐
- වැඩ කිරීමේ නම්ත්යශීලීත්වය ☐
- නොදැන වැඩ කිරීමේ පහසුව ☐

23) පහත වගන්තිවලට කෙතරම් දුරට එකඟ වන්නේ ද යන්න දී ඇති පරිදි දැක්වන්න

	කිසිසේත් එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත	එකඟ නැත එකින තරම් ද	එකඟයි	තදින් එකඟය	නොදැනිමි
මගේ රැකියාවෙන් මගේ ආත්මවිශ්වාසය වැඩි වේ	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාවෙන් මගේ පවුල ප්‍රතිලාභ ලබයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාවෙන් මගේ යහප්වත්, හිතමිතුරන් ප්‍රතිලාභ ලබයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව මට වැඩි නිදහසක් ලබා දේ.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියා කුලීන් මම වටිනා යහප්වත් සාදාගෙන ඇත්තෙමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව මගේ ජීවන තත්ත්වය වැඩිදියුණු කර ඇති	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව නිසා මම නොදැන බඩුබාහිරාදිය ද මිල දී ගනිමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව කුලීන් මගේ ජීවන ඉලක්ක සපුරාගන්නෙමි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව මට ලැබෙන වැටුපට වඩා වටිනාකමක් වැඩියි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මගේ රැකියාව මුදල්වලට වඩා දෙයක් මට ලබා දෙයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
මාගේ රැකියාව මාගේ දුරවත්ට වඩා නොදැනාගතයක් ලබාදී ඇත/ලබා දෙයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය ට වැඩ කිරීම නිසා මගේ ජීවිතය වඩාත් නොදැන අතට නැරි ඇති	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය මගේ පවුල් හිත මිතුරු ප්‍රජාව මත ධනාත්මක බලපෑමක් ඇති කරයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot ආයතනය මගේ රැකියා ස්ථානයේ ප්‍රජාව මත ධනාත්මක බලපෑමක් ඇති කරයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barefoot, ආයතනය මගේ ජීවිතය මත ධනාත්මක බලපෑමක් ඇති කරයි	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6 වන ඒකකය

24) පහත දැක්වා ඇති ඔබේ ජීවිතයේ පැතිකඩවල තත්ත්වය දී ඇති ආකාරයට දැක්වන්න

	ඉතා නරකය	නරකයි	නරකක්ද හොඳක්ද තැන	හොඳයි	ඉතා හොඳයි	නොදනිමි
සෞඛ්‍යය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ආදායම	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
නිවාස	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
රැකියාව	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ප්‍රජාව සහ සබඳතා	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අධ්‍යාපනය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ජීවන තෘප්තිය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
සතුට	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
රැකියාව හා ජීවිතය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ස්වයං පාලනය, ස්වාධීනත්වය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ආරක්ෂාව	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25) ආයතනයෙහි සේවය කිරීම ඔබේ ජීවිතයේ පහත පැතිකඩවලට ඇති බලපෑම දී ඇති පරිදි දැක්වන්න

	බලපෑම ඉතා නරකය	බලපෑම නරකය	බලපෑම නරකක්ද හොඳක්ද තැන	බලපෑම හොඳයි	බලපෑම ඉතා හොඳයි	නොදනිමි
සෞඛ්‍යය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ආදායම	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
නිවාස	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
රැකියාව	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ප්‍රජාව සහ සබඳතා	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
අධ්‍යාපනය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ජීවන තෘප්තිය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
සතුට	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
රැකියාව හා ජීවිතය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ස්වයං පාලනය, ස්වාධීනත්වය	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
ආරක්ෂාව	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix 5: Summary of Survey Results

Section 1 - Demographics

1) Where do you live?

Urban	20	17.2%
Rural	85	73.3%
Unanswered	11	9.5%

2) Where were you born?

3) Gender:

Female	107	92.2%
Male	9	7.8%
Prefer not to say	0	0%

4) Age:

18-25	14	12.1%
26-35	9	7.8%
36-45	19	16.4%
46-55	30	25.9%
56-65	26	22.4%
65+	15	12.9%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

5) Religion:

Buddhist	95	81.9%
Hindu	1	0.9%
Catholic	19	16.4%
Protestant	0	0
Muslim	0	0
Other	0	0
Prefer not to say	0	0
Unanswered	1	0.9%

6) Level of Education:

Primary	12	10.3%
Secondary	10	8.6%
G.C.E Ordinary	68	58.6%
G.C.E Advanced	14	12.1%
Degree	1	0.9%
Vocational Training	3	2.6%
Tertiary Training	0	0
Other	0	0
Unanswered	8	6.9%

Section 2 - Working at Barefoot

7) Job Description:

Machine Operator	6	5.2%
Sewing Assistant	5	4.3%
Cutter	4	3.4%
Designer	1	0.9%
Quality Controller	2	1.7%
Weaver	40	34.5%
Winder	10	8.6%
Warper	3	2.6%
Dyer	4	3.4%
Rinser	3	2.6%
Dyer & Rinser	1	0.9%
Assistant Supervisor	1	0.9%
Production Assistant	1	0.9%
Supervisor	2	1.7%
Unanswered	33	28.4%

Department:

Sewing	19	16.4%
Weaving	82	70.7%
Dyeing	15	12.9%

8) How long have you been working for Barefoot?

Less than 1 year	2	1.7%
1-5 years	33	28.4%
6-10 years	22	19.0%
11-15 years	13	11.2%
16-20 years	8	6.9%
21-25 years	6	5.2%
26-30 years	9	7.8%
31-35 years	1	0.9%
36-40 years	9	7.8%
41-45 years	0	0%
46+ years	1	0.9%
Unanswered	12	10.3%

9) Is this your first job?

Yes	75	64.7%
No	39	33.6%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

10) Were you working within the handloom weaving industry before this job?

Yes	29	25%
No	85	73.3%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

11) Do you have a family history of working within the handloom weaving industry?

Yes	43	37.1%
No	69	59.5%
Unanswered	4	3.4%

12) Did you make a conscious decision to work within the handloom weaving industry?

Yes	76	65.5%
No	34	29.3%
Unanswered	6	5.2%

13) Why did you choose to work for Barefoot?

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Combined
I like the products	64.7%	32.8%	97.5%
The company has a good reputation	54.3%	40.5%	94.8%
I align with the company's values	66.4%	19%	90.5%
It is convenient for me	63.8%	25%	88%
It offers good training and skills	62.1%	25.9%	88%
It offers good job progression	66.4%	20.7%	87.1%
It offers a good work environment	66.4%	19%	85.4%
It offers good wages	64.7%	17.2%	81.9%
I wanted to work in the handloom weaving industry	54.3%	17.2%	71.5%
I had/have friends or family that worked for Barefoot	48.3%	14.7%	63%

13.1) It is convenient for me

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	2	1.7%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	74	63.8%
Strongly Agree	29	25%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	0	0%

13.2) It offers good job progression

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	1	0.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	11	9.5%
Agree	77	66.4%
Strongly Agree	24	20.7%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

13.3) It offers good training and skills

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	1	0.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	11	9.5%
Agree	72	62.1%
Strongly Agree	30	25.9%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

13.4) I had/have friends or family that worked for Barefoot

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	5	4.3%
Disagree	23	19.8%
Neither Disagree or Agree	8	6.9%
Agree	56	48.3%
Strongly Agree	17	14.7%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	5	4.3%

13.5) It offers good wages

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	7	6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	10	8.6%
Agree	75	64.7%
Strongly Agree	20	17.2%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

13.6) I wanted to work in the handloom weaving industry

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	4	3.4%
Disagree	11	9.5%
Neither Disagree or Agree	13	11.2%
Agree	63	54.3%
Strongly Agree	20	17.2%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

13.7) The company has a good reputation

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	1	0.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	63	54.3%
Strongly Agree	47	40.5%
Don't Know	4	3.4%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

13.8) It offers a good work environment

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	2	1.7%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	9	7.8%
Agree	77	66.4%
Strongly Agree	22	19%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

13.9) I like the products

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	75	64.7%
Strongly Agree	38	32.8%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	0	0%

13.10) I align with the company's values

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	3	2.6%
Agree	77	66.4%
Strongly Agree	28	24.1%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

- 14) How would you describe the Barefoot company in three words?
 15) How would you describe Barefoot products in three words?
 16) How would you describe working for Barefoot in three words?

Section 3 - Valuing Barefoot

- 17) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Combined
Barefoot products are beautiful	56%	44%	100%
Barefoot products are high quality	50%	48.3%	98.3%
Barefoot is a highly respected company	49.1%	47.4%	96.5%
Barefoot produces the best handloom weaving goods	49.1%	46.6%	95.7%
People aspire to buy Barefoot products	54.3%	40.5%	94.8%
Barefoot products are precious	57.8%	36.2%	94%
Barefoot is a well-known company	46.6%	47.4%	94%
Barefoot is a valuable company	44.8%	49.1%	93.9%
Barefoot products are unique	52.6%	18.1%	70.7%
Barefoot products are expensive	36.2%	10.3%	46.5%

- 17.1) Barefoot products are high quality

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	58	50%
Strongly Agree	56	48.3%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	0	0%

17.2) Barefoot products are expensive

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	2	1.7%
Disagree	11	9.5%
Neither Disagree or Agree	13	11.2%
Agree	42	36.2%
Strongly Agree	12	10.3%
Don't Know	30	25.9%
Unanswered	6	5.2%

17.3) Barefoot products are unique

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	61	52.6%
Strongly Agree	21	18.1%
Don't Know	19	16.4%
Unanswered	10	8.6%

17.4) Barefoot products are beautiful

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	65	56%
Strongly Agree	51	44%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	0	0%

17.5) Barefoot products are precious

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	67	57.8%
Strongly Agree	42	36.2%
Don't Know	4	3.4%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

17.6) People aspire to buy Barefoot products

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	63	54.3%
Strongly Agree	47	40.5%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	0	0%

17.7) Barefoot produces the best handloom weaving goods

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	49.1	49.1%
Strongly Agree	46.6	46.6%
Don't Know	4.3	4.3%
Unanswered	0	0%

17.8) Barefoot is a well-known company

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	54	46.6%
Strongly Agree	55	47.4%
Don't Know	7	6%
Unanswered	0	0%

17.9) Barefoot is a highly respected company

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	57	49.1%
Strongly Agree	55	47.4%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

17.10) Barefoot is a valuable company

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	52	44.8%
Strongly Agree	57	49.1%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

Section 4 - Valuing Handloom Production

18) Do you think that handmade products are more or less valuable than machine-made equivalents?

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
More Valuable	101	87.1%
Same Value	8	6.9%
Less Valuable	3	2.6%
Unanswered	4	3.4%

19) In relation to Barefoot, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Combined
Handloom products are higher quality than machine-made equivalents	60.3%	36.2%	96.5%
Handloom production is more labour-intensive than mechanised production	56%	39.7%	95.7%
Handloom production offers a better work environment than mechanised production	63.8%	23.3%	87.1%
Handloom production is more beneficial to local communities than mechanised production	64.7%	19.8%	84.5%
Handloom production is better for the environment than mechanised production	61.2%	22.4%	83.6%
Handloom production requires more skill than mechanised production	58.6%	25%	83.6%
Handloom products are more special than machine-made equivalents	56%	24.1%	80.1%
Handloom production is more beneficial to its workers than mechanised production	51.7%	12.9%	64.6%
Handloom products are more rare than machine-made equivalents	37.1%	12.9%	50%

19.1) Handloom products are higher quality than machine-made equivalents

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	70	60.3%
Strongly Agree	42	36.2%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	0	0%

19.2) Handloom products are more rare than machine-made equivalents

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	4	3.4%
Disagree	28	24.1%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	43	37.1%
Strongly Agree	15	12.9%
Don't Know	20	17.2%
Unanswered	0	0%

19.3) Handloom products are more special than machine-made equivalents

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	5	4.3%
Neither Disagree or Agree	4	3.4%
Agree	65	56%
Strongly Agree	28	24.1%
Don't Know	11	9.5%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

19.4) Handloom production requires more skill than mechanised production

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	8	6.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	68	58.6%
Strongly Agree	29	25%
Don't Know	8	6.9%
Unanswered	0	0%

19.5) Handloom production is more labour-intensive than mechanised production

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	65	56%
Strongly Agree	46	39.7%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

19.6) Handloom production is more beneficial to its workers than mechanised production

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	9	7.8%
Neither Disagree or Agree	7	6%
Agree	60	51.7%
Strongly Agree	15	12.9%
Don't Know	23	19.8%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

19.7) Handloom production offers a better work environment than mechanised production

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	5	4.3%
Agree	74	63.8%
Strongly Agree	27	23.3%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

19.8) Handloom production is more beneficial to local communities than mechanised production

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	75	64.7%
Strongly Agree	23	19.8%
Don't Know	13	11.2%
Unanswered	0	0%

19.9) Handloom production is better for the environment than mechanised production

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	71	61.2%
Strongly Agree	26	22.4%
Don't Know	13	11.2%
Unanswered	0	0%

20) Do you think Barefoot products are more valuable or less valuable than machine-made equivalents?

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
More Valuable	109	94%
Same Value	4	3.4%
Less Valuable	1	0.9%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

Section 5 - Handloom Production and Wellbeing

21) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Combined
My work improves my life	64.7%	32.8%	97.5%
I am proud of my work	54.3%	40.5%	94.8%
I learn from my work	67.2%	27.6%	94.8%
I get happiness from my work	69.8%	24.1%	93.9%
I enjoy working with my hands	62.9%	30.2%	93.1%
I have made friends through my work	77.6%	15.5%	93.1%
I enjoy my work	69.8%	20.7%	90.5%
I find my work engaging	68.1%	24.1%	86.2%
I find my work relaxing	61.2%	25%	86.2%
I find my work satisfying	61.2%	24.1%	85.3%
My work offers benefits beyond an income	66.4%	16.4%	82.8%
I took this job because it was convenient	65.5%	15.5%	81%
If I didn't work at Barefoot I could easily find another job	25%	6.9%	31.9%
I would prefer to work with automated machinery	19%	8.6%	27.6%
I would prefer to work in a modern environment	20.7%	5.2%	25.6%

21.1) I enjoy working with my hands

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	73	62.9%
Strongly Agree	35	30.2%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	0	0%

21.2) I took this job because it was convenient

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	8	6.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	7	6%
Agree	76	65.5%
Strongly Agree	18	15.5%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

21.3) I find my work satisfying

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	4	3.4%
Neither Disagree or Agree	8	6.9%
Agree	71	61.2%
Strongly Agree	28	24.1%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

21.4) If I didn't work at Barefoot I could easily find another job

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	5	4.3%
Disagree	50	43.1%
Neither Disagree or Agree	14	12.1%
Agree	29	25%
Strongly Agree	8	6.9%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	4	3.4%

21.5) I find my work relaxing

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	8	6.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	71	61.2%
Strongly Agree	29	25%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	0	0%

21.6) I find my work engaging

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	2	1.7%
Disagree	1	0.9%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	79	68.1%
Strongly Agree	28	24.1%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

21.7) I would prefer to work in a modern environment

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	10	8.6%
Disagree	65	56%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	24	20.7%
Strongly Agree	6	5.2%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

21.8) I am proud of my work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	63	54.3%
Strongly Agree	47	40.5%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	0	0%

21.9) I learn from my work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	78	67.2%
Strongly Agree	32	27.6%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

21.10) I would prefer to work with automated machinery

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	16	13.8%
Disagree	54	46.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	8	6.9%
Agree	22	19%
Strongly Agree	10	8.6%
Don't Know	5	4.3%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

21.11) I have made friends through my work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	5	4.3%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	90	77.6%
Strongly Agree	18	15.5%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	0	0%

21.12) I get happiness from my work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	3	2.6%
Agree	81	69.8%
Strongly Agree	28	24.1%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

21.13) I enjoy my work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	2	1.7%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	4	3.4%
Agree	81	69.8%
Strongly Agree	24	20.7%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

21.14) My work improves my life

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	75	64.7%
Strongly Agree	38	32.8%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

21.15) My work offers benefits beyond an income

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	7	6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	7	6%
Agree	77	66.4%
Strongly Agree	19	16.4%
Don't Know	4	3.4%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

22) What are the most valuable benefits of your work for you? .

In the question participants were asked to select 5 of the following 12 statements. The percentage below demonstrates what percentage of the participants selected each statement.

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Good Income	93	80.2%
Knowledge Gained	87	75%
Good Work Environment	73	62.9%
Greater Employment Security	70	60.3%
Satisfaction Gained	48	41.4%
Greater Happiness	47	40.5%
Good Career Development	42	36.2%
Skills Gained	39	33.6%
Community Gained	32	27.6%
Greater Autonomy	22	25.5%
Good Work Flexibility	20	17.2%
Greater Enjoyment	7	6%

23) To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Agree	Strongly Agree	Combined
My job has helped me improve my living situation	70.7%	25.9%	96.6%
My job has helped me grow in confidence	78.4%	18.1%	96.5%
Working for Barefoot has made my life better	69.8%	20.7%	90.5%
My job has provided me with something beyond money	69%	19.8%	88.8%
My family have benefited from my job	65.5%	22.4%	87.9%
My job helps me to achieve my goals	63.8%	24.1%	87.9%
My job allows me to buy nicer things	68.1%	18.1%	86.2%
My job is worth more than just the wages it pays me	60.3%	21.6%	81.9%
My job has given me greater independence	60.3%	14.7%	75%
My job provides/has provided a better future for my children	54.3%	16.4%	70.7%
Barefoot has a positive impact on my life	54.3%	12.1%	66.4%
I have made important friendships through my job	53.4%	12.1%	65.5%
Barefoot has a positive impact upon my home community	46.6%	12.1%	58.7%
Barefoot has a positive impact upon my workplace community	48.3%	5.2%	53.5%
I have found out about skills I didn't know I possessed because of this job	40.5%	9.5%	50%

23.1) My job has helped me grow in confidence

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	0	0%
Neither Disagree or Agree	0	0%
Agree	91	78.4%
Strongly Agree	21	18.1%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

23.2) My family have benefited from my job

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	5	4.3%
Agree	76	65.5%
Strongly Agree	26	22.4%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	0	0%

23.3) I have found out about skills I didn't know I possessed because of this job

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	29	25%
Neither Disagree or Agree	7	6%
Agree	47	40.5%
Strongly Agree	11	9.5%
Don't Know	18	15.5%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

23.4) My job has given me greater independence

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	14	12.1%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	70	60.3%
Strongly Agree	17	14.7%
Don't Know	7	6%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

23.5) I have made important friendships through my job

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	17	14.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	8	6.9%
Agree	62	53.4%
Strongly Agree	14	12.1%
Don't Know	9	7.8%
Unanswered	5	4.3%

23.6) My job has helped me improve my living situation

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	1	0.9%
Agree	82	70.7%
Strongly Agree	30	25.9%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	0	0%

23.7) My job allows me to buy nicer things

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	11	9.5%
Agree	79	68.1%
Strongly Agree	21	18.1%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

23.8) My job helps me to achieve my goals

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	4	3.4%
Neither Disagree or Agree	8	6.9%
Agree	74	63.8%
Strongly Agree	28	24.1%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

23.9) My job is worth more than just the wages it pays me

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	5	4.3%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	70	60.3%
Strongly Agree	25	21.6%
Don't Know	10	8.6%
Unanswered	0	0%

23.10) My job has provided me with something beyond money

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	3	2.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	5	4.3%
Agree	80	69%
Strongly Agree	23	19.8%
Don't Know	4	3.4%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

23.11) My job provides/has provided a better future for my children

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	12	10.3%
Neither Disagree or Agree	2	1.7%
Agree	63	54.3%
Strongly Agree	19	16.4%
Don't Know	17	14.7%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

23.12) Working for Barefoot has made my life better

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	1	0.9%
Disagree	2	1.7%
Neither Disagree or Agree	7	6%
Agree	81	69.8%
Strongly Agree	24	20.7%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	0	0%

23.13) Barefoot has a positive impact upon my home community

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	0	0%
Disagree	12	10.3%
Neither Disagree or Agree	11	9.5%
Agree	54	46.6%
Strongly Agree	14	12.1%
Don't Know	22	19%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

23.14) Barefoot has a positive impact upon my workplace community

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	3	2.6%
Disagree	10	8.6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	4	3.4%
Agree	56	48.3%
Strongly Agree	6	5.2%
Don't Know	28	24.1%
Unanswered	9	7.8%

23.15) Barefoot has a positive impact on my life

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Strongly Disagree	3	2.6%
Disagree	7	6%
Neither Disagree or Agree	6	5.2%
Agree	63	54.3%
Strongly Agree	14	12.1%
Don't Know	17	14.7%
Unanswered	6	5.2%

Section 6 - Overall Well-Being

24) Please rate the following aspects of your quality of life at present:

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Good	Very Good	Combined
Work	74.1%	19.8%	93.9%
Security	66.4%	25.9%	92.3%
Happiness	68.1%	22.4%	90.5%
Work-Life Balance	71.6%	13.8%	85.4%
Income	72.4%	12.9%	85.3%
Life Satisfaction	67.2%	18.1%	85.3%
Housing	68.1%	9.5%	77.6%
Health	57.8%	18.1%	75.9%
Education	59.5%	14.7%	74.2%
Community	59.5%	13.8%	73.3%
Autonomy	59.5%	11.2%	70.7%

24.1) Health

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	3	2.6%
Neither Bad nor Good	21	18.1%
Good	67	57.8%
Very Good	21	18.1%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

24.2) Income

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	13	11.2%
Good	84	72.4%
Very Good	15	12.9%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

24.3) Housing

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	18	15.5%
Good	79	68.1%
Very Good	11	9.5%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

24.4) Work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	0	0%
Neither Bad nor Good	7	6%
Good	86	74.1%
Very Good	23	19.8%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	0	0%

24.5) Community

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	19	16.4%
Good	69	59.5%
Very Good	16	13.8%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	5	4.3%

24.6) Education

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	23	19.8%
Good	69	59.5%
Very Good	17	14.7%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

24.7) Life Satisfaction

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	0	0%
Neither Bad nor Good	12	10.3%
Good	78	67.2%
Very Good	21	18.1%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

24.8) Happiness

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	9	7.8%
Good	79	68.1%
Very Good	26	22.4%
Don't Know	0	0%
Unanswered	0	0%

24.9) Work-Life Balance

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	3	2.6%
Neither Bad nor Good	10	8.6%
Good	83	71.6%
Very Good	16	13.8%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

24.10) Autonomy

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	14	12.1%
Good	69	59.5%
Very Good	13	11.2%
Don't Know	12	10.3%
Unanswered	6	5.2%

24.11) Security

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	0	0%
Neither Bad nor Good	6	5.2%
Good	77	66.4%
Very Good	30	25.9%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

25) What impact does working for Barefoot have upon these aspects of your quality of life?

This question asked respondents to what extent they agreed with multiple statements. This initial table orders the statements by rate of positive agreement. The responses to each individual statement are subsequently listed below.

	Good	Very Good	Combined
Work	69.8%	25%	94.8%
Income	72.4%	17.2%	89.6%
Security	65.5%	21.6%	87.1%
Happiness	60.3%	24.1%	84.4%
Life Satisfaction	62.9%	18.1%	81%
Community	65.5%	12.1%	77.6%
Work-Life Balance	62.9%	13.8%	76.7%
Autonomy	60.3%	10.3%	70.6%
Housing	57.8%	11.2%	69%
Education	58.6%	10.3%	68.9%
Health	45.7%	10.3%	56%

25.1) Health

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	7	6%
Neither Bad nor Good	38	32.8%
Good	53	45.7%
Very Good	12	10.3%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	0	0%

25.2) Income

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	7	6%
Good	84	72.4%
Very Good	2	17.2%
Don't Know	3	2.6%
Unanswered	0	0%

25.3) Housing

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	1	0.9%
Bad	3	2.6%
Neither Bad nor Good	20	17.2%
Good	67	57.8%
Very Good	13	11.2%
Don't Know	7	6%
Unanswered	5	4.3%

25.4) Work

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	0	0%
Neither Bad nor Good	4	3.4%
Good	81	69.8%
Very Good	29	25%
Don't Know	1	0.9%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

25.5) Community

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	16	13.8%
Good	76	65.5%
Very Good	14	12.1%
Don't Know	7	6%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

25.6) Education

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	25	21.6%
Good	68	58.6%
Very Good	12	10.3%
Don't Know	7	6%
Unanswered	3	2.6%

25.7) Life Satisfaction

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	15	12.9%
Good	73	62.9%
Very Good	21	18.1%
Don't Know	4	3.4%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

25.8) Happiness

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	1	0.9%
Neither Bad nor Good	15	12.9%
Good	70	60.3%
Very Good	28	24.1%
Don't Know	2	1.7%
Unanswered	0	0%

25.9) Work-Life Balance

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	15	12.9%
Good	73	62.9%
Very Good	16	13.8%
Don't Know	9	7.8%
Unanswered	1	0.9%

25.10) Autonomy

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	1	0.9%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	10	8.6%
Good	70	60.3%
Very Good	12	10.3%
Don't Know	15	12.9%
Unanswered	6	5.2%

25.11) Security

	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
Very Bad	0	0%
Bad	2	1.7%
Neither Bad nor Good	5	4.3%
Good	76	65.5%
Very Good	25	21.6%
Don't Know	6	5.2%
Unanswered	2	1.7%

Appendix 6: Non-Disclosure Agreement Template

NON-DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

THE UNDERSIGNED:

_____ the entity / individual with an address at
_____ hereinafter referred to as “**You**”,

- (a) In consideration of being permitted to have insight in and use of business and technical information (further: “**Confidential Information**”) disclosed by BAREFOOT PVT LTD 44 Greenpath, Colombo 00300, Sri Lanka and its affiliates (further “**Company**”),
- (b) For the purpose of the PhD Thesis Research of Lucy Hitchcock (the “**Purpose**”),

HEREBY UNDERTAKES THAT IT:

1. Will not disclose Confidential Information to any person other, who are directly concerned with and who need to know the Confidential Information.
2. Shall procure that each person to whom such disclosure is made shall adhere to the terms of this statement as if he or she were party thereto.
3. For an indefinite period after receipt of the Confidential Information shall make no use of any such information or knowledge gained from meetings, documents or other, except for the Purpose.
4. Shall, on request, return forthwith to Company all papers and documents of whatever kind which are provided to us (including copies thereof).
5. Shall have no obligations hereunder in respect of any information or knowledge which.
 - (a) is or becomes public knowledge without fault on the part of us,
 - (b) is lawfully obtained from third parties or is independently acquired by us without reference whatsoever to the Confidential Information received from Company, or
 - (c) is known to us prior to the date of this statement.
6. Acknowledges that Company’s disclosure of Confidential Information shall not create or be construed to create an obligation of either party to enter into any further agreement.
7. Acknowledges that any disputes that may arise out of this Statement shall be governed in accordance with the laws of The Netherlands, and that the exclusive jurisdiction for any dispute shall be the competent court in Amsterdam. But that nothing in this clause shall (or shall be construed so as to) limit Company’s right to take proceedings against our You before the courts of any country in which our You or its affiliates has assets, or in any other court of competent jurisdiction where the harm is occurring, and such a proceeding in any one or more jurisdiction shall not preclude the taking of proceedings in any other jurisdiction (whether concurrently or not) if and to the extent permitted by applicable law. For the purposes of such proceedings the law governing this Statement and such proceedings shall in each case be deemed to be the law of the country in which the relevant proceedings have been instituted in accordance with this clause.

Appendix 7: Interview Participant Information Form



Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

Researcher Name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO Number: 40219

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Lucy and I'm a PhD researcher based at the University of Southampton in the UK. I specifically work within a luxury research group, which tries to understand how people around the world experience and engage with luxury. I have chosen to base my study in Sri Lanka as I think it offers a unique understanding of luxury. The results of this research will be presented within my PhD thesis.

My research is concerned with the relationship between handicraft – things made by hand - and social value creation. During this project I'm talking to people who work for Sri Lankan companies that utilise handloom-weaving production, to understand how they value handicraft production, and whether their work has a positive impact upon their wellbeing. I'd also like to understand why and how social value creation can contribute to the production of a high-end or luxury good. Ultimately, I want to understand what the value of handicraft social entrepreneurship in Sri Lanka is to those who produce it.

Why have I been asked to participate?

In order to gain a broad perspective, I'm looking to interview a variety of employees from across the company. This is really important to the richness and validity of the findings.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will take part in an interview with me, which will be audio-recorded. This interview will have a topic, but will be loose and conversational. I anticipate the interview taking between 30 minutes to an hour, and can take place within your work environment or elsewhere if you would prefer. If you have anything else you would like to add at a later date, or are happy to talk to me further, another interview can be arranged. After that, I will analyse the data collected during my research project, and put forward the findings within my thesis.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

This research project aims to offer a better understanding of the relationship between handicraft social entrepreneurship and high-end or luxury goods. All of the information I receive will be a huge benefit to this research project, which seeks to offer an alternative to the dominant understanding of luxury through the activity of your employer.

Are there any risks involved?

There are no risks involved. If at any point during the interview you feel uncomfortable or would like to move on to the next question, just let me know.

Will my participation be confidential?

Due to the nature of this research project, participation will not be confidential. However, a number of measures will be taken to ensure discretion. All of the data gathered will be protected in accordance with the University of Southampton Data Protection Act, and will only be accessible to me. All hardcopy data will be locked away and all digital data will be password protected. Outside of my PhD thesis and other written work based upon this research authored by myself, the data will not be used in the future.

If you would not like to be referred to by name within the research report, a method of *linked anonymity* will be employed, in which individual interview participants will not be identified by name. Instead, within the results, participants can be referred to by their interview number or by a coded identifier such as craftsperson 1, sales assistant 2 etc.

What should I do if I want to take part?

In order to give your consent to take part in this research, please initial and sign the attached consent form prior to the interview.

What happens if I change my mind?

If at any point you decide that you don't want to take part, just let me know. You can withdraw from the study at any point and if necessary the relevant data collected will be destroyed.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of the data collected will be included within my PhD thesis only, alongside any written work authored by myself that may result from my PhD thesis in the future. I will send you an overview of these findings, and would be very interested to hear your feedback.

Where can I get more information?

Please feel free to contact me personally any time, either by phone or email.

Tel SL: +94 76 487 3926

Tel UK: +44 7742 850272

Email: lac3g14@soton.ac.uk

What happens if something goes wrong?

In case of any issues, please contact me directly and I will do everything I can to offer a solution. In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, please feel free to contact the Research Integrity and Governance Manager at University of Southampton (+44 2380 595058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you.

Thank the individual for taking the time to read the information sheet and considering taking part in the research.

Appendix 8: Focus Group Participant Information Form English



Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

Researcher Name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO Number: 40219

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Lucy and I'm a PhD researcher based at the University of Southampton in the UK. I specifically work within a luxury research group, which tries to understand how people around the world experience and engage with luxury. I have chosen to base my study in Sri Lanka as I think it offers a unique understanding of luxury. The results of this research will be presented within my PhD thesis.

My research is concerned with the relationship between handloom weaving production and social value. During this project I'm talking to people who work for Sri Lankan companies that work within the handloom weaving industry, to understand how they value their work and whether it has a positive impact upon their lives. I want to understand what the value of handloom weaving in Sri Lanka is to those who produce it.

Why have I been asked to participate?

In order to gain a broad perspective, I'm looking to speak with a variety of employees from across the company. This is really important to the richness and validity of the findings.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will take part in a focus group with other employees, in which you will be asked questions about your work. It will be audio-recorded. The focus group will have a topic, but will be loose and conversational, and will allow you to discuss the questions with your colleagues. I anticipate the focus group taking between 30 minutes to an hour, and will take place within your work environment.

Please remember that your responses should be honest and reflect your own opinion. You will not be identified by name during the focus group, so your responses will be anonymous so that you can speak freely and truthfully.

After that, I will analyse the data collected during my research project, and put forward the findings within my thesis.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

This research project aims to offer a better understanding of the relationship between the handloom weaving industry and luxury goods. All of the information I receive will be a huge benefit to this research project, which seeks to offer an alternative to the dominant understanding of luxury through the activity of your employer.

Are there any risks involved?

No, there are no risks involved. If at any point during the focus group you feel uncomfortable or would like to move on to the next question, just let me know.

Will my participation be confidential?

The focus group will be confidential, and you will not be asked to give your name. When other demographic data (such as your age and location) has been supplied that could compromise your

anonymity, appropriate measure will be taken to ensure confidentiality at all times. Within the research report, a method of *linked anonymity* will be employed, in which individual focus group participants will not be identified by name. Instead, within the results, participants will be referred to by a number or by a coded identifier such as craftsperson 1, sales assistant 2 etc.

All of the data gathered will be protected in accordance with the University of Southampton Data Protection Act, and will only be accessible to me. All hardcopy data will be locked away and all digital data will be password protected. Outside of my PhD thesis and other written work based upon this research authored by myself, the data will not be used in the future.

What should I do if I want to take part?

In order to give your consent to take part in this research, please initial and sign the consent form that will be given to you prior to the focus group.

What happens if I change my mind?

If at any point you decide that you don't want to take part, just let me know. You can withdraw from the study at any point and if necessary the relevant data collected will be destroyed.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of the data collected will be included within my PhD thesis only, alongside any written work authored by myself that may result from my PhD thesis in the future. I will send you an overview of these findings, and would be very interested to hear your feedback.

Where can I get more information?

Please feel free to contact me personally any time, either by phone or email.

Tel SL: +94 76 487 3926
Tel UK: +44 7742 850272
Email: lac3g14@soton.ac.uk

What happens if something goes wrong?

In case of any issues, please contact me directly and I will do everything I can to offer a solution. In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, please feel free to contact the Research Integrity and Governance Manager at University of Southampton (+44 2380 595058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you.

Thank the individual for taking the time to read the information sheet and considering taking part in the research.

Appendix 9: Focus Group Participant Information Form Sinhala



සහභාගීත්වය සඳහා තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකාව

අධ්‍යයන මතකාව:

Producing Preciousness: Re- framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

(ශ්‍රී ලාංකික අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් කාලීන සුබෝපභෝගීත්වය (ඉතා ඉහළ ගතයේ) හැඳින්වීම)

පර්යේෂකයාගේ නම : ලුසි හිච්කොක් (Lucy Hitchcock)

ERGO අංකය : 40219

පර්යේෂණයට සහභාගී වීමට පෙර පහත තොරතුරු හොඳින් කියවා තේරුම් ගන්න. ඔබ සහභාගී වීමට කැමති නම් කරුණා කර ඒ බව තහවුරු කරමින් ලබා දෙන පෝරමය අත්සන් කරන්න. මෙම සමීක්ෂණයට සහභාගී වීම තීරණය කිරීමේ සම්පූර්ණ නිදහස ඔබ සතුව ඇත.

මෙම පර්යේෂණය කුමක් සම්බන්ධව ද?

ලුසි හිච්කොක් වන මා, එක්සත් රාජධානියේ සෞතුම්ටන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ (University of Southampton) ආචාර්ය උපාධි පර්යේෂකයෙකි. මම සාමාජිකයෙකු වන පර්යේෂක කණ්ඩායම උත්සහ කරන්නේ, ලෝකය පුරා සිටින ජනයා සුබෝපභෝගී ජීවන රටාව සමඟ කටයුතු කරන ආකාරය තේරුම් ගැනීමටයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සුබෝපභෝගීත්වය පිළිබඳ (ඉතා ඉහළ ගතයේ පිළිබඳ විශේෂ අවබෝධයක් ලබා දෙන බැවින් මම මගේ අධ්‍යයනය ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පදනම් කරගෙන කිරීමට තීරණය කළෙමි. මෙම පර්යේෂණයේ ප්‍රතිඵල මගේ ආචාර්ය උපාධි නිබන්ධනය තුළින් ඉදිරිපත් කෙරෙනු ඇත.

මගේ පර්යේෂණ බැඳී ඇත්තේ අත්කම් නිර්මාණ අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් නිම වූ භාණ්ඩ සහ සමාජීය වටිනාකම අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය වටා ය. මෙම ව්‍යාපෘතියේ දී මා කටයුතු කරන්නේ අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් නිෂ්පාදනයන් වන සමාගම් සඳහා වැඩ කරන පුද්ගලයින් සමඟ ය. එමඟින් ඔවුන් තම වෘත්තීය කෙතරම් අගයන්නේ ද, ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිත කෙරෙහි ධනාත්මක බලපෑමක් කර්මාන්ත තුළින් තිබේද යන්න වටහා ගැනීම මාගේ පරමාර්ථයයි. ලංකාවේ අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය එහි නිෂ්පාදකයන්ට කෙතරම් දුරට වටිනා වා ද යන්න වටහා ගැනීමට එතුළින් මා බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි.

මෙම පර්යේෂණයට සහභාගී වන ලෙසට ඔබෙන් ඉල්ලා ඇත්තේ ඇයි?

පුළුල් පරාසයක දත්ත ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා මම සමාගම පුරා විවිධ සේවකයන් සමඟ කතා කිරීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි. මෙම සොයා ගැනීම්වල සාරවත්භාවය සහ වලංගුභාවයට මෙය අතිශයින් වැදගත් ය.

පර්යේෂණයේ ඔබ සම්බන්ධ වන්නේ කෙසේ ද?

අනෙකුත් සේවකයින් සමඟ ඔබ විශේෂ කණ්ඩායමකට යොදවනු ඇත. එහිදී ඔබගේ රැකියාවේ කාර්යයන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් ප්‍රශ්න අසනු ලැබේ. එම සංවාදය පටිගත කරනු ලැබේ. කණ්ඩායම් සඳහා සංවාදාත්මක මාතෘකාවක් ලබාදෙනු ලැබේ. ඔබට ඔබේ කණ්ඩායමේ සාමාජිකයින් සමඟ සාකච්ඡා කිරීමට හැක. මේ සඳහා විනාඩි 30 කුත් පැයකුත් අතර කාලයක් ඔබගේ සේවා ස්ථානයෙන් ලබාගැනීමට අපේක්ෂා කරමි.

ඔබගේ පිළිතුරු අවංක සහ ඔබගේ මතය ඉදිරිපත් වන ඒවා විය යුතු බව කරුණාවෙන් සලකන්න. මෙම කන්ඩායම් ක්‍රියාවේදී ඔබව ඔබගේ නමින් හඳුන්වන්නේ නැත. එබැවින් ඔබගේ පිළිතුරු නිර්නාමික වේ. ඔබගේ අදහස් ප්‍රකාශනයේදී නිදහස් සහ සත්‍ය අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කල හැක.

සහභාගී වීමෙන් ඔබට ඇති වාසි

අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය හා සුබෝපභෝගී භාණ්ඩ අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳ වඩා හොඳ අවබෝධයක් ලබා දීමට මෙම පර්යේෂණ ව්‍යාපෘති අරමුණු කරයි. මෙම පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රියාදාමය හරහා ඔබේ සේවයෝජකයාට සුපිරි පාරිභෝගිකත්වය පිළිබඳ විකල්ප අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම සඳහා ඔබ ලබා දෙන සියළු තොරතුරු ඉතා වැදගත් වනු ඇත.

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ඔබට මෙහි දී ආපදා සිදු විය හැකි ද?
නැත. කිසිදු ආපදාවක් හෝ අවදානමක් නැත.

ඔබේ සහභාගීත්වය රහසිගත ද ?

මෙම ඉල්ලක්ක ගත කණ්ඩායම් ක්‍රියාකාරකම රහස්‍ය වේ. ඔබට කිසි විටකදී ඔබගේ නම ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට නොමැත. වයස, පදිංචිය වැනි අනෙකුත් තොරතුරු ලබාගෙනීමේදී ඒවායේ රහස්‍ය බව ආරක්ෂා කිරීමට කටයුතු කරමි. කිසිදු අවස්ථාවක ඔබේ නම බලාපොරොත්තු නොවේ. අනෙකුත් දත්ත (වයස, වාසය කරන ප්‍රදේශය ආදී) ඔබේ අනන්‍යතාවය හෙළිවීම කෙරෙහි බලපෑම් කරයි නම් එම දත්ත ඉතා ප්‍රවේශමෙන් අනන්‍යතාවය හෙළි නොවන පරිදි භාවිතා කරනු ඇත. නිබන්ධනය තුළ ඔබ නමින් නොහඳුන්වා වෙනත් අන්වර්ථ නාමයකින් (කර්මාන්තකරු 1 ; වෙළෙඳ සහයක 2 ආදී ලෙස) හෝ සමීක්ෂණ අංකය හරහා හඳුන් වන වක්‍ර අනන්‍යතා ක්‍රමයක් භාවිතා වේ.

එකතු කරන ලද සියළු දත්ත සෞඛ්‍යමය විශ්ල විද්‍යාලයේ දත්ත ආරක්ෂණ පණත යටතේ ආරක්ෂා කෙරෙන අතර එම දත්තවලට ඇතුළු විය හැකිකේ මා හට පමණි. ලියකියවිලි ආරක්ෂිත ව තැන්පත් කෙරෙන අතර පරිගණක ගත දත්ත කේත ආධාරයෙන් ආරක්ෂා කෙරේ. මාගේ ආචාරය උපාධි නිබන්ධනයට අමතරව සිදු කෙරෙන සෑම ලියවිල්ලක් ම කෙරෙන්නේ මාගේ අවසරය මත පමණි.

සහභාගී වීමට ඔබ කල යුත්තේ කුමක් ද?

මෙම සමීක්ෂණයට සහභාගී වීමට කැමැත්ත පල කිරීමට, ඉලක්කගත කණ්ඩායම් ක්‍රියාවට පෙර ඔබට ලබාදෙන "කැමැත්ත පලකිරීමේ පෙරිමය" අත්සන් කර ලබා දෙන්න

සහභාගී වීමට අකමැති නම්?

සහභාගී වීමට අකමැති නම් මා හට දැනුම් දෙන්න. ඔබට ඕනෑම මොහොතක පර්යේෂණයෙන් ඉවත විය හැක. කෙසේවෙතත්, භාර දෙන ලද නිර්ණාමික ප්‍රතිචාර ඉවත් කර ගත නොහැක.

සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිඵලවලට සිදුවන්නේ කුමක් ද?

එක් රැස් කර ගන්නා ලද තොරතුරු ඇතුළත් වන්නේ මාගේ ආචාර්යය උපාධි නිබන්ධනයේ පමණි. ඊට අමතර ව මාගේ ආචාර්යය උපාධි නිබන්ධනය ඇසුරෙන් කෙරෙන වෙනත් කෘතීන්වල මාගේ අවසරය යටතේ මෙම සමීක්ෂණයේ යම් තොරතුරු ඇතුළත් විය හැක.

තව දුරටත් තොරතුරු ලබා ගත හැක්කේ කෙසේ ද?

ඕනෑම වෙලාවක මා හා දුරකථනයෙන් හෝ විද්‍යුතු තැපෑල හරහා සම්බන්ධ වී වැඩිදුර තොරතුරු ලබා ගත හැකි ය.

දුරකථන අංක (ශ්‍රී ලංකාව)	:+94764873926
දුරකථන අංක (එක්සත් රාජධානිය)	:+447742850272
විද්‍යුත් තැපෑල	:lac3g14@soton.ac.uk

ඕනෑම ගැටලු සහගත තත්ත්වයක දී කෙලින්ම මා හට දන්වන්න. විසඳුමක් ලබා දීමට මම උපරිම ලෙස උත්සහ කරමි. පැමිණිල්ලක් ඇත්නම් එවන් අවස්ථාවක දී පර්යේෂණ පාලක කළමනාකාර (+44 2380 595058, සෞඛ්‍යමය විශ්ල විද්‍යාලය, එක්සත් රාජධානිය) හා සම්බන්ධ වන්නැයි ඉල්ලා සිටිමි.

මාගේ ස්තූතිය!

තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකා ව කිය වීමට හා එහි ඇති කරුණු පැහැදිලි කර ගැනීම සඳහා ඔබගේ වටිනා කාලය සහ මහත්සිය වෙනුවෙන් මාගේ ස්තූතිය.

01.02.2018 – Version No.5

ERGO Number: 40219

Appendix 10: Survey Participant Information Form English



Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

Researcher Name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO Number: 40219

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

My name is Lucy and I'm a PhD researcher based at the University of Southampton in the UK. I specifically work within a luxury research group, which tries to understand how people around the world experience and engage with luxury. I have chosen to base my study in Sri Lanka as I think it offers a unique understanding of luxury. The results of this research will be presented within my PhD thesis.

My research is concerned with the relationship between handloom weaving production and social value. During this project I'm talking to people who work for Sri Lankan companies that work within the handloom weaving industry, to understand how they value their work and whether it has a positive impact upon their lives. I want to understand what the value of handloom weaving in Sri Lanka is to those who produce it.

Why have I been asked to participate?

In order to gain a broad perspective, I'm looking to speak with a variety of employees from across the company. This is really important to the richness and validity of the findings.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be asked to fill in a survey. I anticipate that it will take you no longer than 30 minutes to complete. I will be visiting the weaving centre with a research assistant to give you the survey. You will be briefed beforehand to ensure that you understand how to fill in the survey correctly. The research assistant will be available to help you should you have any questions or problems whilst completing the survey.

Please remember that your survey responses should be honest and reflect your own opinion only. Your responses will be private and will not be seen by any managerial staff.

After that, I will analyse the data collected during my research project, and put forward the findings within my thesis.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

This research project aims to offer a better understanding of the relationship between the handloom weaving industry and luxury goods. All of the information I receive will be a huge benefit to this research project, which seeks to offer an alternative to the dominant understanding of luxury through the activity of your employer.

Are there any risks involved?

No, there are no risks involved.

Will my participation be confidential?

Survey participation is confidential, and you will not be asked to give your name. When other demographic data (such as your age and location) has been supplied that could compromise your anonymity, appropriate measure will be taken to ensure confidentiality at all times. Within the research report, a method of *linked anonymity* will be employed, in which individual survey

participants will not be identified by name. Instead, within the results, participants will be referred to by their survey number or by a coded identifier such as craftsperson 1, sales assistant 2 etc.

All of the data gathered will be protected in accordance with the University of Southampton Data Protection Act, and will only be accessible to me. All hardcopy data will be locked away and all digital data will be password protected. Outside of my PhD thesis, and other written work based upon this research authored by myself, the data will not be used in the future.

What should I do if I want to take part?

In order to give your consent to take part in this research, please initial and sign the consent form that will be attached to the survey.

What happens if I change my mind?

If at any point you decide that you don't want to take part, just let me know. You can withdraw from the study at any point. However, anonymous survey responses cannot be withdrawn once they have been submitted.

What will happen to the results of the research?

The results of the data collected will be included within my PhD thesis only, alongside any written work authored by myself that may result from my PhD thesis in the future.

Where can I get more information?

Please feel free to contact me personally any time, either by phone or email.

Tel SL: +94 76 487 3926
Tel UK: +44 7742 850272
Email: lac3q14@soton.ac.uk

What happens if something goes wrong?

In case of any issues, please contact me directly and I will do everything I can to offer a solution. In the unlikely case of concern or complaint, please feel free to contact the Research Integrity and Governance Manager at University of Southampton (+44 2380 595058, rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk).

Thank you.

Thank the individual for taking the time to read the information sheet and considering taking part in the research.

Appendix 11: Survey Participant Information Form Sinhala



සහභාගීත්වය සඳහා තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකාව

අධ්‍යයන මතකාව:

Producing Preciousness: Re- framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

(ශ්‍රී ලාංකික අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් කාලීන සුබෝපභෝගීත්වය (ඉතා ඉහළ ගනයේ) හැඳින්වීම)

පර්යේෂකතුමියගේ නම : ලුසි හිච්කොක් (Lucy Hitchcock)

ERGO අංකය : 40219

පර්යේෂණයට සහභාගී වීමට පෙර පහත තොරතුරු හොඳින් කියවා තේරුම් ගන්න. ඔබ සහභාගීවීමට කැමති නම් කරුණා කර ඒ බව තහවුරු කරමින් ලබා දෙන පෙරරමය අත්සන් කරන්න. මෙම සමීක්ෂණයට සහභාගී වීම තීරණය කිරීමේ සම්පූර්ණ නිදහස ඔබ සතුව ඇත.

මෙම පර්යේෂණය කුමක් සම්බන්ධව ද?

ලුසි හිච්කොක් වන මා, එක්සත් රාජධානියේ සෞතැම්ප්ටන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ (University of Southampton) ආචාර්ය උපාධි පර්යේෂකයෙක්මි. මම සාමාජිකයෙකු වන පර්යේෂක කණ්ඩායම උත්සහ කරන්නේ, ලෝකය පුරා සිටින ජනයා සුබෝපභෝගී ජීවන රටාව සමඟ කටයුතු කරන ආකාරය තේරුම් ගැනීමටයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව සුබෝපභෝගීයත්වය පිළිබඳ (ඉතා ඉහළ ගනයේ පිළිබඳ විශේෂ අවබෝධයක් ලබා දෙන බැවින් මම මගේ අධ්‍යයනය ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පදනම් කරගෙන කිරීමට තීරණය කළෙමි. මෙම පර්යේෂණයේ ප්‍රතිඵල මගේ ආචාර්ය උපාධි නිබන්ධනය තුළින් ඉදිරිපත් කෙරෙනු ඇත.

මගේ පර්යේෂණ බැඳී ඇත්තේ අත්කම් නිර්මාණ අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් නිම වූ භාණ්ඩ සහ සමාජීය වටිනාකම අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය වටා ය. මෙම ව්‍යාපෘතියේ දී මා කටයුතු කරන්නේ අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් නිෂ්පාදනයන් වන සමාගම් සඳහා වැඩ කරන පුද්ගලයින් සමඟ ය. එමඟින් ඔවුන් තම වෘත්තීය කෙතරම් අගයන්නේ ද, ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිත කෙරෙහි ධනාත්මක බලපෑමක් කර්මාන්ත තුළින් තිබේද යන්න වටහා ගැනීම මාගේ පරමාර්ථයයි. ලංකාවේ අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය එහි නිෂ්පාදකයන්ට කෙතරම් දුරට වටිනාවා ද යන්න වටහා ගැනීමට එතුළින් මා බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි.

මෙම පර්යේෂණයට සහභාගී වන ලෙසට ඔබෙන් ඉල්ලා ඇත්තේ ඇයි?

පුළුල් පරාසයක දත්ත ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා මම සමාගම් පුරා විවිධ සේවකයන් සමඟ කතා කිරීමට බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමි. මෙම සොයා ගැනීම්වල සාරවත්භාවය සහ වලංගුභාවයට මෙය අත්‍යවශ්‍ය වැදගත් ය.

පර්යේෂණයේ ඔබ සම්බන්ධ වන්නේ කෙසේ ද?

සමීක්ෂණ පත්‍රිකාව පිරවීමට ඔබට ඇරයුම් කරනු ඇත. මේ සඳහා විනාඩි 30 කට වඩා වැඩි කාලයක් ගත නොවනු ඇත. ඔබ හට සමීක්ෂණ පත්‍රිකාව ලබාදීම සඳහා පර්යේෂණ සහායකයකු සමඟ ඔබගේ වියමන් ස්ථානයට පැමිණෙමි. සමීක්ෂණ පත්‍රිකා පිරවීමට පෙර එය තේරුම් ගැනීම සඳහා ඔබට විස්තර කිරීමක් කරනු ලැබේ. සමීක්ෂණ පත්‍රිකා පුරවන විටදී ඔබට යම්කිසි ගැටළුවක් ඇතිවෙතොත් පර්යේෂණ සහායකයකුගේ සහය ඔබට ලබාගත හැක.

ඔබගේ ප්‍රතිචාර අවංක සහ ඔබගේම මතය ඉදිරිපත් වන පිළිතුරු විය යුතු බව කරුණාවෙන් සලකන්න. ඔබගේ ප්‍රතිචාර කිසිවක් කලමණාකාර කාර්ය මණ්ඩලයට ලබා නොදෙන බවද සඳහන් කරමි.

දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණයෙන් පසු මගේ සොයා ගැනීම් ආචාර්ය උපාධි නිබන්ධනයෙහි ඇතුළත් කරනු ලැබේ.

සහභාගී වීමෙන් ඔබට ඇති වාසි

අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය හා සුබෝපභෝගී භාණ්ඩ අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳ වඩා හොඳ අවබෝධයක් ලබා දීමට මෙම පර්යේෂණ ව්‍යාපෘති අරමුණු කරයි. මෙම පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රියාදාමය හරහා ඔබේ සේවයෝජකයාට සුපිරි පාරිභෝගිකත්වය පිළිබඳ විකල්ප අදහසක් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම සඳහා ඔබ ලබා දෙන සියළු තොරතුරු ඉතා වැදගත් වනු ඇත.

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ඔබට මෙහි දී ආපදා සිදු විය හැකි ද?
නැත. කිසිදු ආපදාවක් හෝ අවදානමක් නැත.

ඔබේ සහභාගීත්වය රහසිගත ද?

කිසිදු අවස්ථාවක ඔබේ නම බලාපොරොත්තු නොවේ. අනෙකුත් දත්ත (වයස, වාසය කරන ප්‍රදේශය ආදී) ඔබේ අන්‍යෝන්‍යතාවය හෙළිවීම කෙරෙහි බලපෑම් කරයි නම් එම දත්ත ඉතා ප්‍රවේශයෙන් අන්‍යෝන්‍යතාවය හෙළි නොවන පරිදි භාවිතා කරනු ඇත. නිබන්ධනය තුළ ඔබ නමින් නොහඳුන්වා වෙනත් අන්වර්ථ නාමයකින් (කර්මාන්තකරු 1 ; වෙළෙඳ සහයක 2 ආදී ලෙස) හෝ සමීක්ෂණ අංකය හරහා හඳුන් වන වක්‍ර අන්‍යෝන්‍යතා ක්‍රමයක් භාවිතා වේ.

එකතු කරන ලද සියළු දත්ත සෞභූමිටන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ දත්ත ආරක්ෂණ පණත යටතේ ආරක්ෂා කෙරෙන අතර එම දත්තවලට ඇතුළු විය හැකිනේ මා හට පමණි. ලියකියවිලි ආරක්ෂිත ව තැන්පත් කෙරෙන අතර පරිගණක ගත දත්ත කේත ආධාරයෙන් ආරක්ෂා කෙරේ. මාගේ ආචාරය උපාධි නිබන්ධනයට අමතරව සිදු කෙරෙන සෑම ලියවිල්ලක් ම කෙරෙන්නේ මාගේ අවසරය මත පමණි.

සහභාගී වීමට ඔබ කල යුත්තේ කුමක් ද?

සහභාගී වීමට කැමැත්ත පළ කරමින් ලබා දෙන පෝරමය අත්සන් තබා, ඔබ විසින් පුරවන ලද සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රශ්නාවලිය සමග අමුණා ලබා දිය යුතුවේ.

සහභාගී වීමට අකමැති නම්?

සහභාගී වීමට අකමැති නම් මා හට දැනුම් දෙන්න. ඔබට ඕනෑම මොහොතක පර්යේෂණයෙන් ඉවත් විය හැක. කෙසේවෙතත්, භාර දෙන ලද නිර්ණායක ප්‍රතිචාර ඉවත් කර ගත නොහැක.

සමීක්ෂණ ප්‍රතිචලවලට සිදුවන්නේ කුමක් ද?

එක් රැස් කර ගන්නා ලද තොරතුරු ඇතුළත් වන්නේ මාගේ ආචාර්යය උපාධි නිබන්ධනයේ පමණි. ඊට අමතර ව මාගේ ආචාර්යය උපාධි නිබන්ධනය ඇසුරෙන් කෙරෙන වෙනත් කෘතීන්වල මාගේ අවසරය යටතේ මෙම සමීක්ෂණයේ යම් තොරතුරු ඇතුළත් විය හැක.

තව දුරටත් තොරතුරු ලබා ගත හැක්කේ කෙසේ ද?

ඕනෑම වෙලාවක මා හා දුරකථනයෙන් හෝ විද්‍යුතු තැපෑල හරහා සම්බන්ධ වී වැඩිදුර තොරතුරු ලබා ගත හැකි ය.

දුරකථන අංක (ශ්‍රී ලංකාව)

:+94764873926

දුරකථන අංක (එක්සත් රාජධානිය)

:+447742850272

විද්‍යුත් තැපෑල

:lac3g14@soton.ac.uk

ඕනෑම ගැටලු සහගත තත්ත්වයක දී කෙලින්ම මා හට දන්වන්න. විසඳුමක් ලබා දීමට මම උපරිම ලෙස උත්සහ කරමි. පැමිණිල්ලක් ඇත්නම් එවන් අවස්ථාවක දී පර්යේෂණ පාලක කළමණාකාර (+44 2380 595058, සෞභූමිටන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය, එක්සත් රාජධානිය) හා සම්බන්ධ වන්නැයි ඉල්ලා සිටිමි.

මාගේ ස්තූතිය!

තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකා ව කිය වීමට හා එහි ඇති කරුණු පැහැදිලි කර ගැනීම සඳහා ඔබගේ වටිනා කාලය සහ මහත්සිය වෙනුවෙන් මාගේ ස්තූතිය.

Appendix 12: Interview Consent Form



CONSENT FORM

Study title: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

Researcher name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO number: 40219

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (01.02.18 / Version No.1) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time for any reason without my rights being affected.	
I understand that my interview will be audio recorded.	
I understand that I will be quoted directly in reports of the research and that my name will be used.	

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of ethically approved research studies.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix 13: Focus Group Consent Form English



CONSENT FORM

Study title: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

Researcher name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO number: 40219

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (01.02.18 / Version No.5) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time for any reason without my rights being affected.	
I understand that the focus group will be audio recorded.	
I understand my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research.	
I understand that I may be quoted directly in reports of the research but that my name will not be used.	

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of ethically approved research studies.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix 14: Focus Group Consent Form Sinhala



පර්යේෂණයට සහභාගි වීමට එකඟතාව පළ කිරීම

අධ්‍යයන මතකාව:

Producing Preciousness: Re- framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

(ශ්‍රී ලාංකික අත්යන්ත්‍ර පේෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් කාලීන සුබෝපගෝෂිතවය (ඉතා ඉහළ ගතයේ) හැඳින්වීම)

පර්යේෂකයාගේ නම : ලුසි හීච්කොක් (Lucy Hitchcock)

ERGO අංකය : 40219

පහත දැක්වෙන විගන්ති කියවා තේරුම් ගෙන සිටි ඒවා එකඟ නම් ඉදිරියේ ඇති කොටුව තුළ ලකුණු කරන්න.

මම තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකාව කියවා තේරුම් ගත් අතර අධ්‍යයනය (01.02.18 / Version No. 5) පිළිබඳව ගැටළු නිරාකරණය කර ගැනීමේ අවස්ථාවක් මට ලැබුණා.	
මෙම පර්යේෂණ ව්‍යාපෘතියට සහභාගි වීමට මා එකඟ වන අතර, මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ අරමුණු සඳහා මගේ දත්ත භාවිතා කිරීමට එකඟ වෙමි.	
මම ස්වකෑමැත්තෙන් සහභාගි වන බව දනිමි. සහභාගිත්වය ස්වේච්ඡාවෙන් සිදු වන අතර මගේ අයිතිවාසිකම් වලට බලපෑමක් සිදුවන ඕනෑම තේතුවක් නිසා ඕනෑම අවස්ථාවක ඉවත් විය හැකි බව දනිමි.	
සමීක්ෂණය පටිගත කිරීම මගින් සිදුවන බව මම දැනුවත් කරගැනිමි.	
පර්යේෂණයන් පිළිබඳ වාර්තාවල සෘජු ලෙස මා උපුටා දක්වන නමුත් මගේ නම භාවිතා නොකරන බව මා විවහරගෙන සිටිමි.	

දත්ත ආරක්ෂණය මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී මාගේ සහභාගිත්වය තුළින් මා ගැන රැස් කර ගත් තොරතුරු ආරක්ෂිත පරිගණකයක් තුළ ගබඩා කර ඇති අතර එම තොරතුරු අනුමත කළ පර්යේෂණාත්මක අධ්‍යයනයන් සඳහා පමණක් යොදා ගන්නා බව දනිමි.

සහභාගිවන්නාගේ නම

අත්සන.....

දිනය.....

01.02.2018 - Version No.5

ERGO Number: 40219

Appendix 15: Survey Consent Form English



CONSENT FORM

Study title: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

Researcher name: Lucy Hitchcock

ERGO number: 40219

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (01.02.18 / Version No.2) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	
I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study.	
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time for any reason without my rights being affected.	
I understand my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research.	
I understand that I may be quoted directly in reports of the research but that my name will not be used.	

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of ethically approved research studies.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Date.....

Appendix 16: Survey Consent Form Sinhala



පර්යේෂණයට සහභාගි වීමට එකඟතාව පළ කිරීම

අධ්‍යයන මතකාව:

Producing Preciousness: Re- framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handloom

(ශ්‍රී ලාංකික අත්යන්ත්‍ර ජෛෂකර්මාන්තය තුළින් කාලීන සුබෝපභෝගීත්වය (ඉතා ඉහළ ගනයේ) හැඳින්වීම)

පර්යේෂකතුමියගේ නම : ලුසි හිච්කොක් (Lucy Hitchcock)

ERGO අංකය : 40219

පහත දැක්වෙන වගන්ති කියවා තේරුම් ගෙන ඔබ ඊට එකඟ නම් ඉදිරියේ ඇති කොටුව තුළ ලකුණු කරන්න.

මම තොරතුරු පත්‍රිකාව කියවා තේරුම් ගත් අතර අධ්‍යයනය (01.02.18 / Version No. 2) පිළිබඳව ගැටළු නිරාකරණය කර ගැනීමේ අවස්ථාවක් මට ලැබුණා.	
මෙම පර්යේෂණ ව්‍යාපෘතියට සහභාගි වීමට මා එකඟ වන අතර, මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ අරමුණු සඳහා මගේ දත්ත භාවිතා කිරීමට එකඟ වෙමි.	
මම ස්වකැමැත්තෙන් සහභාගි වන බව දනිමි. සහභාගීත්වය ස්වේච්ඡාවෙන් සිදු වන අතර මගේ අයිතිවාසිකම් වලට බලපෑමක් සිදුවන ඕනෑම හේතුවක් නිසා ඕනෑම අවස්ථාවක ඉවත් විය හැකි බව දනිමි.	
මගේ ප්‍රතිචාර ඉහත සඳහන් පර්යේෂණ වාර්තාවල නිර්ණාමික ව වාර්තා වන බව දනිමි.	
පර්යේෂණයන් පිළිබඳ වාර්තාවල සෘජු ලෙස මා උපුටා දක්වන නමුත් මගේ නම භාවිතා නොකරන බව මා වටහාගෙන සිටිමි.	

දත්ත ආරක්ෂණය මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී මාගේ සහභාගීත්වය තුළින් මා ගැන රැස් කර ගත් තොරතුරු ආරක්ෂිත පරිගණකයක් තුළ ගබඩා කර ඇති අතර එම තොරතුරු අනුමත කළ පර්යේෂණාත්මක අධ්‍යයනයන් සඳහා පමණක් යොදා ගන්නා බව දනිමි.

සහභාගිවන්නාගේ නම

අත්සන.....

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01.02.2018 – Version No.2

ERGO Number: 40219

Appendix 17: Barefoot Good Market Statement

People & Planet

Organization

Basic Info

- **Brand Name:** Barefoot
- **Company Name:** Barefoot (Pvt) Ltd
- **Sector:** We participate in the following sectors under this brand
 - Personal Care
 - Apparel: Clothing
 - Apparel: Accessories: Bags & Wallets, Headwear, Eyewear, Scarves, Shawls & Ties, Gloves & Mittens, Belts, Jewelry
 - Home & Office: Furniture, Appliances & Fixtures, Stationery, School & Office Supplies
 - Home & Office: Housewares: Cookware, Tableware, Bedding, Pillows & Cushions, Towels, Rugs & Mats, Curtains, Storage & Organization
 - Games & Toys
 - Trade: Retail, Marketplace
 - Information & Communication: Media: Books

People & Planet

- **Prioritize:** We prioritize people & the planet in our decision making
- **Purpose:** Our mission statement includes social and environmental goals
- **Communicate:** We communicate about how we benefit people & the planet to customers, workers, suppliers, and the general public
- **Measure:** We measure what matters. We monitor our benefit to people & the planet and share the results at least once a year

Ownership

- We are registered as an organization
 - Private Company: We are owned by one or more private shareholders

Revenue

- **Self Sustaining:** We have a strategy for financial sustainability
- **Reinvest:** We reinvest all profits to expand social or environmental impact. We do not issue dividends



Environment

Product Impact

- **Environmental Benefit:** Our products and services were developed to directly benefit the environment.
 - Toxic or hazardous substance reduction
 - Substitute for plastic or fossil fuel based products
 - Waste reduction
 - Local focus with low carbon footprint
- **Sharing:** We provide a service that contributes to a sharing economy, prevents the purchase of new products, and reduces resource use
 - Redistribution of used second-hand products
- **Product Impact:** Our products are developed to minimize environmental impact
 - Made from 100% plant-based, renewable materials
- **Animal Testing:** We prioritize animal welfare. We do not engage in animal testing or source from any suppliers that engage in animal testing

Operations

- **Water Reduction:** We have taken steps to reduce our external water use
- **Water Monitoring:** We monitor and record our water use and have reduction targets
- **Energy Reduction:** We have taken steps to reduce our energy use
- **Energy Monitoring:** We monitor and record our energy use and have reduction targets
- **Transport Energy:** We have taken steps to reduce our use of fossil fuels for transport

Buildings & Land

- **Buildings:** We use, own, or develop buildings in a way that minimizes environmental impact
- **Land Management:** We manage land in a way that maintains or enhances ecosystem health

Customers

Purpose

- **Affordable:** We focus on providing products and services that are accessible to low-income groups
- **Purpose Oriented Customers:** We focus on serving or supplying organizations that prioritize people and the planet

Service

- **Guarantee:** We guarantee our products and services
- **Customer Relationships:** We have services that extend customer relationships beyond a single transaction

Health & Choice

- **Textiles:** We use materials that prioritize customer health and choice
 - Natural material (e.g. cotton, linen, bamboo, hemp, silk, wool)
 - Fiber-reactive dyes
 - Low impact azo-free dyes

Transparency

- **Transparent Pricing:** Our pricing is public and transparent with no hidden costs

Workers

Inclusion

- **Women:** We provide equal opportunities for women and actively remove barriers to participation
 - More than 80% of our workers or members are women
 - 40 to 60% of our leaders and technical specialists are women
- **Mothers:** We have taken special steps to accommodate and support pregnant and nursing mothers
- **Disadvantaged:** We preferentially hire or include people from disadvantaged groups
 - Rural poor
 - Minorities
 - Urban poor
 - People with disabilities
 - LGBT people
 - Homeless
- **Language:** All workers or members have access to key information in a language they understand
- **Discrimination & Harassment:** We have policies and procedures to prevent, report & respond to discrimination and harassment

Benefits

- **Pay:** We have paid workers
- **Equal Pay:** We provide equal pay for equal work. We set wages based on performance, not gender or other social categories
- **Living Wage:** We pay wages that enable all workers to live comfortably within the community
- **Pay Ratio:** We have a pay ratio of less than 5 to 1. Our highest paid worker earns no more than 5 times our lowest paid worker
- **Benefits:** We provide benefits to workers beyond what is required under labor laws
- **Training:** We offer training and personal development opportunities to workers or members
 - Job-related technical training
 - Soft skill or life skill training
 - Social or environmental awareness programs
 - Payment for external conferences or seminars
 - Payment for professional certifications

Health & Safety

- **Working Conditions:** We provide safe and healthy working conditions for all workers
 - Water: Clean drinking water
 - Sanitation: On-site toilets and washing facilities
 - Ergonomics: Tools and work stations that prevent pain and injury
 - Rest: Quiet space to lie down
 - Lighting: Adequate lighting with as much natural lighting as possible
 - Air: Fresh air and adequate ventilation
 - Recreation: Facilities for recreation and fitness
- **Safety:** We have taken steps to prevent accidents and ensure worker health and safety
 - First Aid Training: We train workers in basic first aid
 - Fire Safety Training: We train workers in fire safety and basic fire fighting equipment

Participation

- **Ideas:** Our systems enable workers or members to share ideas, feedback, and suggestions
- **Influence:** Our systems enable workers or members to influence organizational decision making
 - Own workspace
 - Special events
 - Work planning
 - Strategic planning
 - Procedures and policies
 - Hiring and compensation
 - Leadership positions
- Workers or members influence decision making in the following ways
 - Providing informal input
 - Providing input in open meetings
- **Information:** We share information with workers or members at all levels
 - Social and environmental impact reports

Suppliers

Sustainable Sourcing

- **Sustainability Criteria:** We have social and environmental criteria for suppliers and service providers
 - Local: We prioritize local suppliers and service providers
 - Small-Scale: We prioritize small-scale suppliers and service providers
- **Vendor Suppliers:** Our suppliers and service providers include the following Good Market vendors
 - [Emerge](#)
 - [Gihan's Mango Chutney](#)
 - [Monal](#)
 - [Parkville](#)
 - [Rice & Carry](#)
 - [Sari Connection](#)
- **Disadvantaged Supplier:** We preferentially select suppliers and service providers from disadvantaged groups
 - Women
 - Rural poor
 - People with disabilities
 - LGBT people
 - At-risk youth
 - Minorities
 - Indigenous people
 - Immigrants
 - Refugees
 - Veterans
 - Ex-combatants
 - Former prisoners
 - Sex workers
 - Addicts
 - Urban poor
 - Homeless

Fair Trade Relationships

- **Relationships:** We maintain fair trade relationships with all suppliers and service providers
 - Long-Term: We maintain long-term relationships with suppliers and service providers
 - On-Time Payment: We ensure that suppliers and service providers are paid at the agreed time
 - Advance Payment: We offer credit or advance payment to suppliers and service providers that require it
 - Fair Price: We pay prices that cover all costs and support socially and environmentally responsible operations
 - Capacity Building: We offer training and capacity building to suppliers and service providers
 - Contribution: We support projects by suppliers and service providers
- **Ethical Practice:** We focus on innovation, creating value and supporting other purpose-driven organizations. We do not engage in anti-competitive or unethical practices.

Community

Impact

- **Good Citizen:** We comply with all applicable laws and pay all required taxes
- **Social Benefit:** Our products and services were specifically developed to contribute to society. We provide broader social benefits that go beyond the benefits to individual customers
 - Cross-cultural understanding
 - Heritage preservation
 - Social inclusion
 - Poverty reduction
 - Public education
 - Research

Local Economy

- **Local Economy:** We focus on contributing to the local economy
 - Local Customers: We focus on serving local customers. More than half of our revenue comes from customers that are within 200 km of our headquarters or main production facilities
 - Local Ownership: We are locally owned. More than 75% of our investment comes from within 200 km of our headquarters or main production facilities
 - Local Suppliers: We prioritize local suppliers and service providers. More than 75% of our suppliers and service providers are within 200 km of our headquarters or main production facilities
 - Local Investment: We do our banking with local institutions or community development banks that reinvest in the community

Engagement

- **Community:** We engage with the local community
 - Resource Donation: We donate cash or resources to social or environmental initiatives in our local community
- **Networks:** We participate in membership organizations and networks working for social or environmental change

Approved Date: January 02, 2014

Appendix 18: Ergo Application Form



ERGO application form – Ethics form

All mandatory fields are marked (M*). Applications without mandatory fields completed are likely to be rejected by reviewers. Other fields are marked “if applicable”. Help text is provided, where appropriate, in italics after each question.

1. APPLICANT DETAILS

1.1 (M*) Applicant name:	Lucy Hitchcock
1.2 Supervisor (if applicable):	Joanne Roberts / John Armitage
1.3 Other researchers/collaborators (if applicable): <i>Name, address, email, telephone</i>	N/A

2. STUDY DETAILS

2.1 (M*) Title of study:	Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan handicraft
2.2 (M*) Type of study (<i>e.g. Undergraduate, Doctorate, Masters, Staff</i>):	Doctorate
2.3 i) (M*) Proposed data collection start date:	March 2018
2.3 ii) (M*) Proposed data collection end date:	September 2018

2.4 (M*) What are the aims and objectives of this study?

The aim of this study is to discover how the social value creation of high-end companies and brands within Sri Lanka utilising handicraft production within a framework of social entrepreneurship is understood and valued by its producers. My thesis hopes to re-frame the value of handicraft production in this context as precious, rather than luxurious, as a result of its immaterial nature.

2.5 (M*) Background to study (*a brief rationale for conducting the study. This involves providing a brief discussion of the past literature relevant to the project*):

The majority of the literature concerned with the contemporary market of luxury goods is pre-occupied with the vast industry of global luxury brands. These pervasive brands stake a claim to the concept of luxury through economic exclusivity (with other sources of value such as rarity, artistry, craftsmanship and quality now disputed in the face of mass-manufacture). As a result, a prevalent understanding of luxury has come to rely upon economic value. In contrast, handicraft social entrepreneurship within Sri Lanka, although offering a high-end and economically valorous good, does not sit comfortably with dominant ideas of contemporary luxury, as a result of its focus upon social value creation. For these brands, the aim of their activity is to create social value through the improved wellbeing of artisans and other staff, facilitated through handicraft production. Consequently, this study seeks to re-frame the value creation of a high-end product within this context as precious, rather than luxurious, as a result of its immaterial nature.

2.6 (M*) Key research question (*Specify hypothesis if applicable*):

- Does handicraft social entrepreneurship in Sri Lanka produce high-end or valorous goods?
- Does handicraft social entrepreneurship in Sri Lanka improve the wellbeing of those involved within its production?
- What type of value does the product and activity of handicraft social entrepreneurship in Sri Lanka generate?

2.7 (M*) Study design (*Give a **brief** outline of basic study design*)

Outline what approach is being used, why certain methods have been chosen.

This PhD is an explorative study, seeking to gain an understanding of the value creation of high-end handicraft social entrepreneurship within Sri Lanka. Employing a constructivist worldview, it will develop knowledge and understanding based on the views and experiences of the participants being studied.

Constructivism is characterized by the search for understanding, multiple participant meanings, the recognition of both social and historical circumstance upon meaning, and the generation of theory based upon findings. Rather than conducting research with a specific theory that needs to be proven correct, constructivist research generates or develops a theory as the research is undertaken.

Although focused upon qualitative data collection, a mixed methodology will be employed with quantitative research undertaken in order to enrich the insight gained from qualitative data. Qualitative research provides a means of exploring and explaining unquantifiable facts, usually through direct interactions with the people and situations under observation: studying behaviour and searching for personal meaning. Case studies and interviews in particular will form the core of the data. Case studies will offer in-depth insight beneficial for the explorative nature of this research project. Similarly, interviews will offer an efficient means of collecting data in order to ascertain the perceptions of the participants, alongside why and how these perceptions have been formed, crucial to constructivist research. Quantitative research will be undertaken through questionnaires written in Sinhala as a means to verify insight gained from qualitative data, but also in consideration of time constraints upon participants and taking into account potential linguistic barriers during interviews.

In general, the research approach will be emergent, dependent on the unique circumstances of each situation. Within interviews, the questions will be semi-structured and broad, to ensure that the participant's own views construct meaning, and are as true and unaffected by both the researcher and research situation as possible.

Subsequently, recurrent themes and concepts will be identified during data analysis. The triangulation method will be used in order to establish validity of the findings from multiple sources.

3. SAMPLE AND SETTING

3.1 (M*) How are participants to be *approached*? *Give details of what you will do if recruitment is insufficient. If participants will be accessed through a third party (e.g. children accessed via a school, employees accessed via a specific organisation) state if you have permission to contact them and **upload any letters of agreement to your submission in ERGO or provide the name and contact details of the person granting you permission to access the sample (to check that permission has been granted).***

I will personally approach high-level employees within the chosen companies, to

ensure that they are happy for their company to be used as a case study and that they are willing to be an interview participant. Subsequently, said high-level employees will approach interview and questionnaire participants working within the selected companies on my behalf. Due to the relatively small size of the case studies chosen, if recruitment is insufficient additional case studies will be selected.

Appropriate permission gained from high-level management (those working alongside me to help me undertake my research) of the chosen case studies will be obtained once I am in Sri Lanka.

3.2 (M*) Who are the proposed sample and where are they from (e.g. fellow students, club members)? How many participants do you intend to recruit? List inclusion/exclusion criteria if applicable. NB The University does not condone the use of 'blanket emails' for contacting potential participants (i.e. fellow staff and/or students).

It is usually advised to ensure groups of students/staff have given prior permission to be contacted in this way, or to use of a third party to pass on these requests. This is because there is a potential to take advantage of the access to 'group emails' and the relationship with colleagues and subordinates; we therefore generally do not support this method of approach.

If this is the only way to access a chosen cohort, a reasonable compromise is to obtain explicit approval from the Faculty Ethics Committee (FEC) and also from a senior member of the Faculty in case of complaint.

The primary concern of this project is to learn how the social value creation of handicraft social entrepreneurship in Sri Lanka is understood and appreciated by those involved with its production. The proposed sample will reflect both the hierarchy and variety of the case studies chosen, with the aim of gained a plethora of opinions. Therefore, a range of employees will be interviewed, including craftspeople, designers, management, and high-level employees. Furthermore, to ensure a broad sample, participants will be selected to represent both sexes, different age groups, levels of education, and different craft practices (e.g. dyers, weavers and stitchers). All participants will be employed or commissioned by the chosen case studies.

3.3 (M*) Describe the relationship between researcher and sample (Describe any relationship e.g. teacher, friend, boss, clinician, etc.)

N/A - I have only personally spoken to a handful of the participants prior.

3.4 (M*) Describe how you will ensure that fully informed consent is being given. You must specify how participants will be told what to expect by participating in your research. For example, will participants be given a participant information sheet before being asked to provide their consent? Upload copies of the participant information sheet and consent form to your submission in ERGO.

All participants will be given a participant information sheet and consent form. Additionally, at the beginning of interviews I will give a brief overview of the research project, stipulating their role within it, and will answer any questions that they may have before giving consent. Similarly, questionnaire participants will receive a briefing beforehand, to ensure that they understand the purpose of the research, that they understand their right to confidentiality, and to give the opportunity to ask questions.

3.5 (M*) Describe the plans that you have for feeding back the findings of the

study to participants. *You must specify how participants will be informed of your research questions and/or hypotheses. For example, will participants be given a debriefing form at the end of your study? Upload a copy of the debriefing form to your submission in ERGO.*

Though a debriefing form is not required, participants will be offered an overview document of the research findings. Furthermore, certain participants will be given the opportunity to offer feedback, or their take on the research findings, in order to aid validity.

4. RESEARCH PROCEDURES, INTERVENTIONS AND MEASUREMENTS

4.1 (M*) Give a brief account of the procedure as experienced by the participant *Make clear who does what, how many times and in what order. Make clear the role of all assistants and collaborators. Make clear total demands made on participants, including time and travel. You must also describe the content of your questionnaire/interview questions and EXPLICITLY state if you are using existing measures. If you are using existing measures, please provide the full academic reference as to where the measures can be found. Upload any copies of questionnaires and interview schedules to your submission in ERGO.*

All interviews will be undertaken within working hours, and usually within the work environment. Although the qualitative nature of these interviews allows for fluidity, it is expected that interviews will take between 30 minutes and an hour. Only the participant and myself will be present, though not necessarily within a private space. I will make sure that the time and place is both convenient and comfortable for the participant, and offer another time and place if not. At the beginning of the interview, I will introduce the research project and myself, ask if there are any questions and ask permission to record the interview. I will make clear that if at any point they would like to end the interview to just let me know. An interview schedule will be used; however the format of this schedule will vary depending on the level of employee participating. Furthermore, the interview schedule will only be used as a guide, as the interview will be allowed to develop iteratively.

A similar approach will be taken for the questionnaires, although these are likely to be undertaken outside of working hours and the work place. Again, a briefing will be given about the questionnaire to ensure that all participants understand the nature of the research, and that they are able to answer the questionnaires confidentially. Again, participants will be assured that if at any point they are uncomfortable or no longer wish to continue, they should stop. As the questionnaires will be translated I will work alongside the translator to ensure that questions are translated appropriately, succinctly and sensitively.

Observations will be undertaken during visits to brand locations, including shop premises, offices, and handicraft centres, to gain a better understand of how the chosen case studies operate on a day to day basis and the environment in which employees work. Subsequently, all levels of staff will be observed within different settings (management within the offices, craftspeople within the handicraft centres etc.). All employees will be made aware of my presence and the fact that I will be observing how the case studies operate as part of my research project.

5. STUDY MANAGEMENT

5.1 (M*) State any potential for psychological or physical discomfort and/or distress?

N/A

5.2 Explain how you intend to alleviate any psychological or physical discomfort

and/or distress that may arise? (if applicable)

N/A

5.3 Explain how you will care for any participants in 'special groups' (i.e. those in a dependent relationship, vulnerable or lacking in mental capacity) (if applicable)?

N/A

5.4 Please give details of any payments or incentives being used to recruit participants (if applicable)?

N/A

5.5 i) (M*) How will participant anonymity and/or data anonymity be maintained (if applicable)?

Two definitions of anonymity exist:

i) Unlinked anonymity - Complete anonymity can only be promised if questionnaires or other requests for information are not targeted to, or received from, individuals using their name or address or any other identifiable characteristics. For example if questionnaires are sent out with no possible identifiers when returned, or if they are picked up by respondents in a public place, then anonymity can be claimed. Research methods using interviews cannot usually claim anonymity – unless using telephone interviews when participants dial in.

ii) Linked anonymity - Using this method, complete anonymity cannot be promised because participants can be identified; their data may be coded so that participants are not identified by researchers, but the information provided to participants should indicate that they could be linked to their data.

The study will employ linked anonymity, as complete anonymity cannot be ensured. Participant's names will not be used within the research findings. Participants will be identifiable through either an interview number, or a description of their place within the workplace hierarchy, such as Shop Floor Worker 1, Craftsperson 2 etc. For particularly employees working at a high level, such as the Managing Director, clearly anonymity cannot be ensured. However, they will not be referred to by name unless with permission granted. This will be made clear before interviews are undertaken. Within the questionnaires participants will not be asked for their name, however their age and job role will be included which could lead to identification. Appropriate steps will be taken to assure participants of their confidentiality, specific data will not be used within the text. Again, for high level employees, confidentiality cannot be ensured but names will not be used within the text without their permission.

5.5 ii) (M*) How will participant confidentiality be maintained (if applicable)?

Confidentiality is defined as the non-disclosure of research information except to another authorised person. Confidential information can be shared with those who are already party to it, and may also be disclosed where the person providing the information provides explicit consent.

N/A

5.6 (M*) How will personal data and study results be stored securely during and after the study? Researchers should be aware of, and compliant with, the Data Protection policy of the University (for more information see www.southampton.ac.uk/inf/dppolicy.pdf). You must be able to demonstrate this in respect of handling, storage and retention of data (e.g. you must specify that personal identifiable data, such as consent forms, will be separate from other data and that the data will either be stored as an encrypted file and/or stored in a locked filing cabinet).

Physical personal identifiable data, such consent forms, will be locked away only accessible to myself. Digital personal identifiable data, such as interview audio files and interview transcriptions, will be stored as encrypted files and will only be accessible to myself.
--

5.7 (M*) Who will have access to these data?

Myself only.

N.B. – Before you upload this document to your ERGO submission remember to:

1. Complete ALL mandatory sections in this form
2. Upload any letters of agreement referred to in question 3.1 to your ERGO submission
3. Upload copies of your participant information sheet, consent form and debriefing form referred to in questions 3.4 and 3.5 to your ERGO submission
4. Upload any interview schedules and copies of questionnaires referred to in question 4.1

Appendix 19: Ergo Risk Assessment Form

University of Southampton Management School Risk Review

Please Tick (☐) one:

Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate (Taught) ☐ MPhil/PhD ☒ Staff ☐

Degree programme/Certificate (if applicable):

Your Name:	Lucy Hitchcock	Univ of Soton Email:	lac3g14@soton.ac.uk
Supervisor (if applicable)	Joanne Roberts John Armitage		
Other researchers/ collaborators (if applicable):			

Title of Study: Producing Preciousness: Re-framing contemporary luxury through Sri Lankan Handicraft

Expected start date (and duration) of data collection:

Part 1: Who does your research involve?

Does your research involve any of the following?	YES (Please tick below)	NO
1. Interviews/ Focus Groups	X	
2. Questionnaires/Surveys	X	
3. Physical Observation/ Factory Visits	X	

If you have answered 'NO' to all of the above then your research does not need any further risk assessment.

If you answered 'YES' to any question then please continue on the next page

Part 2: Description of the intended empirical research:

Population to be targeted (e.g. list the organisation(s) where you will solicit participation from employees and specify the number of people you intend to recruit):	Employees of Sri Lankan handicraft brands, both management and artisans. Companies involved: Barefoot, Seyln, Buddhi Batiks, fashionmarket.lk, House of Lonali. Anticipated participants 100.			
Nature of survey method (e.g. questionnaire, interview, etc.):	Face to face interviews, paper questionnaires, participant observation			
Method of data collection (please tick all relevant boxes)	Face-to-face X	Telephone <input type="checkbox"/>	Email/Web <input type="checkbox"/>	Post <input type="checkbox"/>
Location, including full postal address(es) and telephone numbers. (List on a separate sheet if necessary)	Barefoot, 704 Galle Road, Colombo 03 (+94 11 2589305) Seyln, No. 195, Colombo Rd, Wanduragala, Kurunegala (+94 37 2231456) Buddhi Batiks, 32 Ward Place, Colombo 07 (+94 11 2689488) fashionmarket.lk, AOD Design Campus, Lauries Rd, Colombo 04 (+94 76 7771353) House of Lonali, Gandhara, 40 Stratford Ave, Colombo 06 (+94 77 8562858)			
Time of day that research will be taking place:	During working hours			

Part 3a: Risk Assessment: Travel

Risk/Hazard (Please add any further risks/hazards to which you might be exposed through travel in the spare rows below)	(Tick one box in each row below)		Assessment of Risk (tick one box below in each row)			If Medium or high, what can you do to reduce the risks? (append details on a separate sheet as necessary)
			Low	Medium	High	
Travelling within the UK	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No X				
Travelling outside the UK but to home country	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No X				
Travelling outside the UK but not to home country	Yes X	No <input type="checkbox"/>	X			
Mode of Travel to reach address(es) listed above:	Flight and taxi.					

You must notify either a colleague, friend, housemate or your supervisor of your actual date and time of travel. Ensure that you let them know the exact address where you have gone to and let them know when you have returned.

Part 3b: Risk assessment: Empirical Research

Risk/Hazard (Please add any further risks/hazards to which you might be exposed in the spare rows below)		Assessment of Risk (tick one box below)			If Medium or high, what can you do to reduce the risks?
		Low	Medium	High	
The location of your research:	(Tick one box below)				Ensure to follow health and safety protocol established by the company within factory sites.
Street	<input type="checkbox"/>	X			
Office	X				
Factory	X		X		
Other (please describe)	<input type="checkbox"/>				
If you have ticked 'Factory', give details of what is manufactured there:	Handloom weaving, batik textiles, lace				
Time of research if outside standard office hours:	Start time: ----- End time: -----				

(Continue on separate sheet if necessary)

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