

**Crafting the 21st Century UK Artisan-Silversmith:
Exploring the Elements of a
Silversmith Development Framework**



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Declaration

I confirm that this thesis presented for the degree of PhD has been composed entirely by myself. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work, both written and creative, presented is entirely my own.

Signed:

Gordon Hamme (s1467757)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Gordon Hamme', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Date: 30th April 2019

Front cover: 'Animus' Sterling Silver by Kevin Grey

Dedicated to

Angela

Bobby (1932-1991), David (1923-2016), Kathryn & Richard

Michael, Emma, Lauren & Alex

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Abstract

This thesis makes a contribution to our understanding of how artisan-silversmiths in the United Kingdom develop and become commercially and personally successful by asking the question:

Which elements of artisan-silversmiths' education, craft, business and motivational experiences contribute to their personal success in terms of life satisfaction, creativity, status and success in terms of cultural, economic and skills capital?

This understanding is developed through the careful analysis of a body of original research into the motivations and experiences of modern artisan-silversmiths at different stages of their careers. The thesis then draws upon the understanding thus gained to make recommendations as to how the professional development of artisan-silversmiths could be radically improved.

The unique findings of this research are the analysis of the distinct, mainly humanist, motivational characteristics of artisan-silversmiths being: skills acquisition, community (friendship), self-direction, achievement, self-respect, public & peer recognition, legacy, craft-mastery and profitability, often with the acquisition of money being a facilitator not an end goal.

Through this nuanced understanding the research highlights the elements of an industry ecosystem, within which all stakeholders might consider their position and roles for the development of a holistic development framework, bringing together the three identified pillars of the industry being craft, motivations and enterprise. Combining an inward and outward facing approach the thesis outlines a Silversmith Development Framework managed through the setting up of an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council, which following on from the findings of the thesis may well recommend the need for a different approach to training, business and enterprise teaching indicated by the unique findings of the thesis.

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List of abbreviations:

APPG	All-Party Parliamentary Group
ASDC	Artisan-Silversmith Development Council
ASES	Assessing students' entrepreneurial skills development in live projects (Chang & Rieple, 2013)
CBS	Contemporary British Silversmiths
DCE	Delivering the Circular Economy (Ellen MacArthur Foundation (EMF))
FTAM	The Finnish Team Academy model (Tosey et al, 2013)
HCA	Heritage Craft Association
NAJ	National Association of Jewellers
I&E	Innovation and Education Strand Project Report (2016)
RCA	Royal College of Art
SDF	Silversmith Development Framework
VRDF	Vitae, Researcher Development Framework (Bray & Boon, 2011)

The thesis contains 93,000 words (approx.) not including footnotes, contents and bibliography.

1. Introduction to the Thesis

This thesis makes a contribution to our understanding of how artisan-silversmiths in the United Kingdom develop and become commercially and personally successful. This understanding is developed through the careful analysis of a body of original research into the motivations and experiences of modern artisan-silversmiths. The thesis then draws upon the understanding thus gained to make recommendations as to how the professional development of artisan-silversmiths could be improved.

This introductory chapter serves the following purposes. First, it clarifies one dimension of the study by providing a definition of the term ‘artisan-silversmith’ (Section 1.1). Second, it places the study in context by exploring in outline (a) the historical development of the silversmithing industry, (b) the current image and standing of the industry, (c) the current structure of provision for entrants into the industry and early-career silversmiths and (d) the problems and limitations which industry stakeholders and other interested parties have identified in relation to silversmith training and development (section 1.2). Third, it introduces in outline the methodology, content and structure of the thesis by describing the contents of the following chapters (section 1.3). Finally, it briefly describes the original contribution and significance of the thesis (section 1.4).

1.1. Defining the Artisan-Silversmith

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word *artisan* as: “A worker in a skilled trade, especially one that involves making things by hand”.¹

For the purposes of this dissertation the researcher has adopted the term “artisan-silversmith” for the study group: other names used by the industry for this group include silversmith, designer silversmith and studio silversmith. The term artisan-silversmith emphasises the current need to recognise the ability of the practitioner to master business skills as the manager of an enterprise as well as technical craft skills, whereas in the classical definition documented by the OED (2018) ‘artisan’ merely refers to making skills. All the interviewees in the study relied on silversmithing for a significant part of their income thus strongly differentiating them from amateurs/hobbyists.

The term artisan-silversmith can embrace a wide range of work styles: they are craftsmen and women who at different times might work alone in their own

¹ Mid-16th century: from French, from Italian *artigiano*, based on Latin *artitus* (OED, 2018).

workshop, in a small shared atelier, function as out-workers, in factories, design and make, and substitute their skills into other industries, often the jewellery trade.

The designation of artisan-silversmith maker might, at one end of the spectrum, be applied to the artisan master-craftsman who, as part of their own craft philosophy, make or fashion many of their own tools and every component of the finished piece. He or she may work from the raw material in the simplest form of silver grain or scrap, sheet or wire to make complex, artful objects, creating pieces to their own or client designs. At the other end of the spectrum we might find the artisan-silversmith who produces a design on computer and emails the design file to the fabricator, thus creating an object they have never actually touched, which strongly contradicts the definition of the recent Heritage Craft Association (HCA) report to parliament as:

A practice which employs manual dexterity and skill and an understanding of traditional materials, design and techniques.

(Bertram, 2017: 3)

Either of these makers might legitimately define themselves as artisan-silversmith, designer silversmith or studio silversmith. The scale of production cannot be the arbiter of limiting the title of the maker to artisan-silversmith, as every product starts with an individual idea, prototype or design: the intellectual process is the same whether the piece is for individual or mass manufacture.

Ransome Wallis (2015) defines the studio silversmith as:

An artist silversmith [who] has personal control of every aspect of the creative process, combining concept, design and most of the execution in a single pair of hands.

(Ransome Wallis, 2015: 13)

While this definition was articulated very recently, it might reasonably be considered outdated as some modern silversmiths never handle a piece of metal, instead using modern production methods of CAD and out-sourcing production and finishing. Secondly, the definition does not recognise the importance of business skills.

For the purposes of this thesis, the definition of the artisan-silversmith is an up-dating of the Ransome Wallis concept:

An artisan-silversmith controls the creative *and* business processes of combining concept, design and execution of modern silverware making.

1.2. The Context of the Thesis and Research Problem

The context of the study is the analysis of the artisan-silversmith interviews undertaken by the researcher. Through this unique body of research the study will present an in-depth exploration of their world and motivations executed by listening to the “voices of the silversmiths themselves”.

I think the challenge for us today is to start to understand how do we get the right people doing the right things at the right time? And how do we capture the skills and abilities that we have in our industry today that potentially will not be there in the future?

Peter Taylor (Goldsmiths' Centre director, 2016)

1.2.1. Historical Development

The historic origins of the modern silverware industry date back as far as the medieval period. We may note the piety, pomp and circumstance of church usage of silverware documented by Schroder (2008), and its ubiquity amongst the aristocracy of the second millennia as a store of wealth, as a vehicle for the display of fashion and for its anti-bacterial benefits in food consumption as articulated by Brand (1980). An explosion of demand for silverware in the upper and middle classes of the 17th and 18th centuries, as noted by Delieb & Roberts (1971), led to over-use, design confusion and, ultimately, the demise of the industry following the advent of electroformed silverware-substitution in the 19th century. Although favoured by the Arts & Crafts movement as an expression of honesty of craftsmanship (Ransome Wallis, 2000), in the late 19th century the market for silverware fell into decline, while the 20th century saw socio-economic challenges and excessive taxation following the Second World War pushing the industry further into crisis. In the latter part of the 20th century, and moving into the 21st, the silversmithing industry attempted, with the encouragement of the Goldsmiths' Company, to re-establish itself as an art form (Andrew & Styles, 2014). Though the 1970s saw the creation of a little-heralded but significant export market for high quality British-made silverware, delivered by a handful of companies, the industry has failed to inspire the general public, and thus failed to find a mass market. As noted in the Goldsmiths' Company survey of 2016, this craft industry continues primarily as a specialist market for enthusiasts and hobbyists.

1.2.2. Current Attitudes towards the Silversmithing Industry

The British public in general is seen to harbour antipathy towards craft in general, an attitude which can in many ways be connected with the term's overuse and degradation (Sennett, 2009; Neal, 2015). Both of these trends are perhaps the result of a general lack of understanding of what craft actually is (Pye, 1995). These assertions go some way towards explaining the lack of interest in modern silversmithing as it is a labour-intensive craft under the cloud of being 'out-of-fashion' for domestic usage, being replaced by easier to use and less expensive ceramics and stainless steel. While Harrod (1999: 70) notes a continuing demand for cups, trophies and ceremonial plate, what has remained largely unreported is the high value export market for personalised commissions from the top British makers.

1.2.3. The Limitations of Silversmith Training

The entrepreneurial and enterprise problems which the thesis seeks to explore are summarised by the Innovation and Education Strand Project Report (I&E, 2016) being that: "Many makers entering the craft sector are not trained in business management and innovation, and so are challenged when developing their own business" (I&E, 2016: 4). They suggest that there is a gap in higher education with regards to preparing students for self-employment, business and industry. The need for HE institutions to bring in enterprise education at an earlier stage, for students to be exposed to innovation, and for them to have a greater understanding of and support for innovation across business as a whole. The I&E report argues that:

More targeted support for makers is needed to help them understand their business better, as well as to understand the nature and value of innovation and entrepreneurship.

(I&E, 2016: 4)

Some see the future as positive, such as conference speaker Brett Payne (2016):

Artisan-silversmithing as far as I'm concerned is alive and kicking in 2016. There are plenty of opportunities out there for artisan-silversmiths and although the market is small, as a group of artisan-silversmiths we are small too.

Payne (2016)²

² All interviews have been anonymised numerically whilst conference speakers are notated as C1-C5. All interviews are fully transcribed in the appendix as well as silversmith survey notes from the Goldsmiths' Company and the

Other industry practitioners are more pessimistic, seeing the market for domestic silverware reducing in size, training opportunities reducing as courses close due to cost restraints, and retail options reducing as galleries and exhibitions close. Organisations such as the Goldsmiths' Centre and Contemporary British Silversmiths (CBS) recognize the urgency of skills transfer as an issue of high importance.

The Goldsmiths' Centre skills training organization director Peter Taylor sees their main problem as trying to get the "right people doing the right things at the right time", noting that:

We try to foresee, [...] the creation of artisan silversmiths. We're trying to imagine that people can be marketeers, they can be sales people, they can be PR experts they can be accountants. They can be all of these things and they can be silversmiths and actually, if you look at our trade each one of our parts of our trade are individual skill-sets. And we're asking people to be all of those things plus a business manager, when we don't teach business management on degree courses because if we did we wouldn't actually teach any design at all.

Taylor (2016)

1.2.4. The Education and Training of Silversmiths

There are several ways for an individual to enter the world of silversmithing, including apprenticeship, the creative universities or being self-taught, and the major variable for the makers interviewed is the quality and format of that learning experience. By documenting the histories of the makers we can begin to understand their personal circumstances whilst analysing the gaps in their knowledge and skills. Their individual narratives document their training chronology as well as their motivations and aspirations.

The I&E report asserts: "That there is a need to centrally manage business advice for craft practitioners" (I&E, 2016 : 4). In addition, the report alludes to the need for a centrally managed resource which coordinates all the disparate strands of information which a practitioner would need to manage the complexities of a craft business: an industry overview organisation. To this end the study explores the

Hamme 2018 survey. The responses to the validation survey can be found in the appendix. Any names used in the thesis are already in the public domain.

context and ecosystem within which silversmiths find themselves to be able to suggest the elements of such an organisation.

Having left university or qualifying as an apprentice, makers benefit from an ecosystem comprising a network of supportive stakeholders, award systems, incubators, supporting trade associations such as the Contemporary British Silversmiths, the National Association of Jewellers, the Goldsmiths' Company and Centre, as well as selling-opportunity providers including galleries, dealers and craft fairs. There is also a larger stakeholder ecosystem including the Crafts Council and organisations such as Craft Scotland who seek to influence government policy and promote craft.

1.2.5. The Study's Topicality

Highlighting the study's topicality is highlighted by the recent formation of an All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) for craft which held its first meeting in October 2018. The new cross-party committee aims to "enhance the understanding and promotion of craft in the UK" (APPG, 2018: 1). The group is supported by organisations such as the Crafts Council, The Goldsmiths' Company, the creative universities and a number of craft-based organisations which relate to individual crafts such as textiles and ceramics.

Central to raising the profile of the crafts the Heritage Crafts Association (HCA) has supplied a list of crafts to the APPG, placing them in the following categories: Extinct; Critically Endangered; Endangered, and Currently Viable. Silversmithing, classified as Currently Viable, was seen as being "in a healthy state and have sufficient craftspeople to transmit the craft skills to the next generation" (Bertram, 2017: 6). In addition to direct research to the committee much of the background thinking to the HCA is articulated in a series of essays published in *Craft Economies* (Luckman & Thomas, 2018)

The HCA report defined heritage craft in its own terms, being;

A practice which employs manual dexterity and skill and an understanding of traditional materials, design and techniques, and which has been practised for two or more successive generations.

(Bertram, 2017: 3)

The HCA (2017) report highlights a number of concerns without creating detail: the lack of training opportunities; quality and lack of standards; qualifications and accreditation; the prohibitive cost of training for those looking to take on trainees, and a loss of heritage skills due to an ageing workforce. Market issues and

concerns were listed as: overseas competition; a lack of awareness of British craft; an unwillingness to pay higher prices for British craft goods, and the inability of crafts people to earn a living from craft alone. There are difficulties with supply of materials in some craft trades of relevance to silversmithing, namely the high cost of the precious-metal raw material. A number of small business issues were highlighted including: bureaucratic burden; workshop costs; the need for business skills as well as craft skills; and the challenges of passing on a craft business (Bertram, 2017: 4).

The APPG meeting highlighted the relevance of learning craft at an early stage, noting that benefits from early learning accrued in many disciplines, for instance in medicine where haptic (dexterity, a sense of touch) skills for surgery are essential. From this discussion the forum concluded a number of issues to be addressed: the parity of craft education importance to academic subjects; early years education in craft; and better governmental support for the costs of apprenticeship training i.e., tax breaks. Professor Roger Kneebone summed up the relevance of the committee's work and institutional support: "Craft skills are not just desirable but essential because of their wide and relevant application, not just for craft" (APPG, 2018: 2).

One of the purposes of this thesis is to highlight a general lack of knowledge or awareness of the nature of silversmithing, a problem I have noticed while carrying out promotional and committee work within the industry. Silversmithing is most often conflated with the jewellery trade, a separate but allied industry. There is little awareness of the high level of technical skills achieved by the makers or the value of their training. These two factors alone demonstrate the need for an overarching and academically rigorous investigation which lays out the issues facing silversmiths and stakeholders by understanding the motivational, craft and business problems they face in order to further support the UK industry using this research as a reference. The I&E 2016 report also acknowledges the need to bring together knowledge and data into a central organisation for referencing by institutions and practitioners.

The gaining of a fuller understanding of the issues surrounding the artisan-silversmithing industry shows how both silversmiths and key stakeholders are placing their emphasis largely on technique and the fear of its loss as previously noted by the HCA. The analysis from the industry's feedback and thesis validation in chapter 6 suggests that it is necessary to also consider the other problems of creating new markets, good quality market research, business technique and

training relevant specifically to the industry, delivered in a way that artisan-silversmiths can relate to meaningfully, which currently is not always the case.

1.3. Content and Structure of the Thesis

The main content of this research is the analysis of the artisan-silversmith interviews undertaken. Through this unique body of work the thesis will present an in-depth exploration of their world and motivations executed by listening to the “voices of the silversmiths themselves”.

The research question can be summed up as:

Which elements of artisan-silversmiths’ education and experiences contribute to their success?

The study explores the question through:

- The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to craft and business skills
- The motivations for being an artisan-silversmith – creativity, life satisfaction
- The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to enterprise and entrepreneurship
- Their success in terms of personal skills, cultural and economic capital.

This thesis also suggests the need to understand the panoply of motivations of artisan-silversmiths as an adjunct to the issues of business enterprise, and to this end utilises the theories of Bourdieu (1977; 1986), which explain the need for acknowledgment of status, skills capital and the position of economic capital to artisan-silversmiths and those of Csikszentmihalyi (2002), which theorise the motivations and role of making in relation to the pursuit of happiness categorised by him as ‘flow’.

The core of this thesis rests on the axial analysis explored in chapter 3 which theorises the pillars, or axes, of the study as craft, motivations and enterprise.

1.3.1. The Seven Chapters of the Thesis

The first chapter includes the introduction documenting an overview of the thesis. The research question is stated, personal interest in the industry, original contribution, scope, objectives, research method and approach, interview questions, and value of the research are documented.

Chapter Two places the thesis firmly in context, providing an overview of the industry on several levels, and exploring in much more detail the themes which were briefly summarised in section 1.3 above. As the first section of the literature review it

documents the historical background of the industry. Second it provides an overview of the economics and the demographics of the industry. Third it notes the central importance of a craft mentality within the industry. Fourth it identifies the central role of Higher Education and describes the post-university industry ecosystem. A detailed study of the industry post-1970 documents the two parallel arms of the artisan-silversmithing industry, these being the trade and studio silversmith arms. The influences of export sales, and of the Design and Craft departments of universities, are documented, and key players are identified who influence current artisan-silversmiths concerning their attitudes towards craft, motivations and business. The role of attitudes toward craft by the public and practitioners is explored through theorists such as Sennett (2009), Frayling (2011) and Harrod (2009) in order to understand the ambivalence towards craft of the general public.

Chapter Three, the next literature review chapter, sets out the theoretical underpinnings of the study, and does so by reference to the key domains concerning craft, success (motivational theories) and business which have been set out above and which structure the research findings. The centrality of experiential learning is explored, as are the difficulties of documenting the stages of the development of practitioners. The motivations of artisan-silversmiths are unpacked in terms of personal and commercial success through the theories of Maslow (1954), Bourdieu (1977; 1984) and Csikszentmihalyi (2002). This involves consideration of the relationship of artisan-silversmiths to questions of personal growth and capital accrual, and an exploration of the concept of 'flow' and the relationship of the maker to the made object. A study of the relationship between enterprise and entrepreneurship explores and unpacks the dimensions and the practicalities of running a business from simple business enterprise through to developing an entrepreneurial venture.

Chapter Four considers the methodology of the study, and documents the research methods of the thesis. The chapter summarises what the research objectives are and, from that, identifies how they will be achieved. Qualitative research and analysis, being the gold standard for social science practitioners (Barbour, 2014: 111-132), in conjunction with grounded theory techniques, are documented to explain how these theories will be used to explore the data from the empirical research.

The use and relevance of interview techniques including audio diaries are documented as well as the necessity for sensitivity in interviewing. Proper note is also taken of the epistemological considerations for this interpretivist study, explained in detail in the chapter. The chapter documents the interview guidelines

created by the researcher for data gathering from artisan-silversmiths and also industry stakeholders. The process of codification of the themes of interviews is considered, paving the way for axial analysis through which the meta-themes of the study can be established these being the axes of the study around which further analysis can be made to unpack the contextual and empirical data of the study.

The fifth chapter presents the research findings based on the three meta-domains of the thesis: craft, success (motivations) and business. The research findings then allow for the elements of a Silversmith Development Framework to be theorised in subsequent chapters.

The centrality of craft to the industry is explored, followed by the analysis of the complex and nuanced motivations of the practitioners in relation to Bourdieusian theories of skills capital, cultural capital, economic capital, business skills capital, status and legacy. These issues will influence the design of the suggested development framework which is the concern of later Chapters.

Chapter Six, the final literature review chapter, explores literature on professionalisation frameworks in the fields of academic research and environmental sustainability, it describes two skills training courses for bespoke furniture makers, another skills based industry, and it considers a business-training model and a training self-assessment model. By unpacking the structures of these development frameworks, it becomes possible to suggest the elements and structure of a unique Silversmith Development Framework which can bring together the training needs of skills accrual in craft and business, set within the framework of the motivations which drive practitioners. In addition to suggesting the elements of an SDF, the study explores the measurement of skills by practitioners themselves to guide them towards plans of action for development, be they coaching, mentoring or skills courses.

Bringing together the theoretical work and the empirical research results, Chapter Seven draws conclusions from the research and suggests the elements of a Silversmith Development Framework and an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council, a new training model, and how they might be used. The chapter then documents the dissertation's verification, limitations, potential impact and dissemination. Following from this the final section considers what further research, stemming from the limitations of the current study, might assist the development of the concept of a Silversmith Development Framework in practical terms.

1.4. The Original Contribution of the Study

The study is unique through its contribution to knowledge in the following areas:

1.4.1. Empirical Contribution

Artisan-Silversmithing is an under-researched industry, and while a great deal has been written about the history and techniques of silversmithing there is little concerning the business of modern artisan-silversmiths. This study is the first to explore in great detail the life experiences and motivations of novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths including some of the UK's most eminent practitioners, and it does so through the voices of the artisan-silversmiths themselves before unpacking those voices and motivations.

The study creates context, being the first empirical research of the recent history (1970-2017) of the contemporary artisan-silversmith trade with references to the UK export markets of the Middle and Far East. This research forms the cornerstone of the thesis through use of qualitative analysis and grounded theory techniques. Through this academic rigour the validity of the research can be verified.

The study is conducted by an industry participant of some 30 years through the lens of journalistic experience and the insight of an industry supplier, collector and enthusiast. The researcher has unique background knowledge and access to all the key participants including industry stakeholders. Despite this background of experience and research, a deeper understanding of the issues surrounding the industry, and an academic understanding of the social motivations, which have bearing on the industry, was deemed necessary to give the study depth.

The 36 interviews with artisan-silversmiths and 22 stakeholder institution interviews and recordings are an empirical contribution to the knowledge base of artisan-silversmithing in the UK, and comprise a detailed exploration of the educational, motivational and business journeys which these individuals have undertaken.

1.4.2. Conceptual Contribution

For the first time the elements of a Silversmith Development Framework (SDF) for artisan-silversmiths are being suggested, to be delivered through a new industry body, the Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC), bringing together all the elements needed to create industry development. The thesis sets the SDF elements within the theorised industry domains of craft, success (motivations) and business. From this analysis a new skills and business training model can be suggested which

creates a framework for aiding entrants and practitioners who want to understand the context of the industry in educational and commercial terms.

The study challenges the way in which 'success' is viewed and evaluated in the context of artisan-silversmiths. It rejects the simplistic explanation of success, equated by only financial success, and unpacks and explores a more comprehensive set of knowledge, skills and competencies that contribute to success, defined, often very personally, by the artisan-silversmiths themselves.

The unique body of data presented by this study allows not only for the documenting of the journey undertaken by the practitioners, including craft, business skills accrual, motivations and personal development, it also allows for detailed comparison to be made with current business and motivational theories in order that a distinct set of motivational criteria might be theorised for artisan-silversmiths.

The documentation of motivations sheds light on the sometimes seemingly contradictory actions of artisan-silversmiths as craftspeople who value factors such as creativity, peer group recognition, lifestyle balance and cultural and skills capital accrual over those of financial success and business recognition. Understanding these sometimes conflicting motivations alters the framework within which stakeholder organisations might usefully design projects which are aimed at industry development. The study takes the opportunity to serve this group as an important sector of the business world deserving of specialist analysis.

1.4.3. Value of the Research and its Significance

The value of the research is the creation of a body of data which is an exploration of the lived experiences of novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths so as to suggest the elements of a new training model and a new system of research which can be referred to and added to in the light of new data. The historic and current data are information rich and can be revisited to gain insights for future research.

The study demonstrates that traditional business analysis whereby success is assessed in terms of profit and loss is inappropriate for this individualistic group or micro-industry, which does not always measure or perceive success through monetary profit, money being a facilitator rather than an economic goal. This concurs with the findings of the I&E 2016 report. Through understanding the concepts of success held by this group, stakeholders, including the HE Design & Craft departments, institutions such as the Goldsmiths' Company and representative trade institutions such as the Contemporary British Silversmiths organisation, might be able to design award and development systems which are then relevant to future industry development.

1.4.4. The Researcher's Background

With a background in the jewellery and silversmithing industries as a supplier of precious metals, components, tools and machinery I became acquainted with the vicissitudes of the silversmithing industry through visiting workshops and fairs as well as sitting on industry committees. I became aware of the need to have a commonly held document which mapped in detail what it means to be a silversmith and their particular motivations.

In addition I organised promotional events culminating in the 10 year programme called British Silver Week started in 2008. This set of exhibitions delivered 95 events in the UK, Germany and Malaysia.

2. The Context of the Study

2.1. Introduction

Chapter One offered a definition of the artisan-silversmith and outlined, in a very summary fashion, the context in which contemporary artisan-silversmiths work. This chapter takes up that task in much more detail. It charts the historical development of the silversmithing industry, explores a range of ideological considerations which influence the understanding of craft industries, and describes the current facilities for the provision of training and development to silversmiths. In these ways it articulates the ecosystem within which novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths find themselves. The chapter develops a nuanced understanding of the context in which contemporary artisan-silversmiths operate, and thus lays the foundation for a full and insightful analysis of the data captured in the interviews.

The literature review has been undertaken from the unusual position of there being very little published concerning the 'business of modern artisan-silversmithing'. In considering the normal function of a literature review (Murray, 2008), which is to document the literature of knowledge on the subject being studied, a full-catalogue search of the British Library (BL) and the Edinburgh University Library using search terms including 'The Business of Silversmithing' and 'Silversmithing', resulted in the following references:

- Audio interviews with the makers, Alex Styles and Grant Macdonald and designer and educationalists Penelope and Oliver Makower
- Earning a living in 18th century Boston: Silversmith Zachariah Brigden
- Silversmithing by R. Gooden (a practical makers guide)
- Silversmithing and Jewellery at the Glasgow School of Art (2014) Glasgow, Glasgow School of Art.
- Summerton (1990) attempts to identify patterns of successful independent practice among contemporary visual arts practitioners with a view to drawing conclusions on how practice can be facilitated and supported. Using the gallery-based fine arts model Summerton concludes that this is a dubious based from which to encourage a healthy base of independent practice. Summerton concludes that micro-businesses are a pattern of business not conducted for profit or with goals of expansion but with the motivation of maintaining self-determination.

In addition a number of jewellery-related references were found such as Boothroyd (2015) and Branagan (2011), both reviewed later in reference to enterprise.

None of the above titles relate to the business of silversmithing *per se* although all the people recorded in the BL audio interviews were and are in the silversmithing industry as makers, designers and educators, their histories and ideas have been noted.

An internet search using Google Scholar of 'Silversmithing' produced 4860 results covering silversmithing techniques and histories of cultures using silversmithing techniques, for instance Mexican, American Indian and Australian, whereas a refined search using 'UK Silversmithing' produced 1030 results, again mainly covering literature on the techniques of manufacture and design.

2.2. Ownership of Silverware in Historical Context

The history of buying silverware is rich and varied in Britain and around the world, with royal and aristocratic connections encompassing the finest craftsmanship with associations of wealth and treasure.

Several specific themes – social, psychological, and economic – have been identified as involved in the historic ownership of silverware:

- As a store and display of wealth (Schroder, 2008)
- As a display of high fashion and good taste in dining (Shen, 2017: 16)
- Recognition of the evidence of anti-bacterial qualities of silverware (Shen, 2017: 16)
- A demonstration of a willingness and ability to maintain silverware (Gooden & Popham, 1971: 7-10).

2.2.1. Church Use and Patronage

Throughout the Middle Ages, silver was of great importance to the Church, and ecclesiastical silverware serves as a demonstration of England's extraordinary craft heritage in quantity, historical reach and artistic breadth, sadly much of which has not survived (Schroder, 2008: 8-9). There were periodic changes in style, form and repertoire, some of which were the result of political upheaval, most notably during the Reformation of the mid-16th century which resulted in an iconoclastic fury which led to many devotional images and plate [silverware] being melted down in favour of coinage. Under the Laudian revival of church ceremonial which gained momentum in the 17th century the altar was, in many places, restored as the centre and focus

of worship, leading to a resurgence in demand for ecclesiastical silverware (Schroder, 2008: 8-9).

In parallel to the demand created by the church for liturgical silverware was the demand for domestic silver. The domestic market was driven by the desire of the purchaser to raise themselves above the common man (Schroder, 1988). The same social mobility was available to the makers, one such example being Matthew Boulton, who started out as a mere buckle maker, but who rose to become one of the largest manufacturers of 18th century silverware, often chosen to supply the upper classes with any item in silver they might desire (Delieb & Roberts, 1971).

Hill & Putland (2014: 9-22) begin their history of modern silversmithing in the 18th century with four examples of the finest quality craftsmanship: the Monteith bowl by Edmund Pearce (1709), a chocolate pot by Joseph Ward (1719), a magnificent water fountain by Peter Archambo (c.1728) and an outstanding sideboard-dish by Paul de Lamerie (1740-41). The authors explain that the work needs to be placed in the context of skills specialisation, the tools and equipment available against the poor lifestyle and working conditions of the craftsman, which in their opinion can only increase the critical admiration for the very high standards achieved. In particular, they comment on the high levels of chasing work and refined hammer work - the chasing work being crafted separately and then applied, whilst items such as the handles would be carved in wood and then sand cast in two sections or cast by lost-wax casting (Hill & Putland, 2014: 22).

The expansion of the silversmithing industry in the 18th century continued with the advent of the growing middle classes of the industrial revolution who were now in a position to purchase domestic silverware. Farsighted entrepreneurs, such as Boulton, employed hundreds of workers and skilled craftsmen to fulfil demand through the division of labour. With the arrival of the great Huguenot silversmiths (1680-1760) such as Paul de Lamerie (1688-1751) and the great English silversmith Paul Storr (1770-1844) British silversmithing came to the fore using techniques such as large castings finished off with superb cast embellishments (Delieb & Roberts, 1971: 14-15).

2.2.2. The Regency Period: The Height of Demand

Classically designed silverwork stood at the very height of fashion during the Regency period. Hartop quotes Winterbottom who describes the acme of the industry:

When Rundell's invoiced the Prince Regent £61,340.1s 2d on 4 June 1811 for the supply of a service of four thousand pieces of plate it was the largest single bill for plate ever to be issued by the company.

(Hartop, 2005: 85-88)

The styles of the Grand Service covered Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and Dutch floral designs. Many of the designs were not unique to the Grand Service, with the manufacturer, Rundell's, using many designs from other clients' work. It is ironic that the Prince probably did not get to use the finally accumulated Grand Service, this honour being left to Queen Victoria and her heirs, who use it for State banquets to the present day (Hartop, 2005: 85-88).

Schroder highlights the demise of George IV as a key moment in the decline of high-quality commissioning of silverware. As he was the most influential patron of Rundell, his passing contributed to condemning it to lose its position as the leading silversmithing sales company and the rise of electroplated substitution wares.

The Victorian period brought confusion and decline. The fashion for domestic silver continued unabated, but an excess of low quality makers inflated a bubble which eventually burst. Schroder (1988) puts the Victorian era of silver making into contemporary perspective by examining the fashions of the times through the lens of modern design aesthetics. In the first half of the 19th century there was no consensus over style, and so the range of decorative embellishments grew and confused the buying public. The large factories started making large sculptural pieces reflecting Greek, Roman and Egyptian styles as well as rococo, gothic and naturalistic styles which dominated silverware (Schroder, 1988: 258-60).

The period after 1850 was typified by ornate, monumental, heavy centrepieces, mainly for the boardroom, celebrations of corporate success, and similar trophies for sporting achievement. Mechanisation, mainly in Birmingham and Sheffield, allowed for the production of plate, tea and coffee services, and items such as spoons giving greater access to lower class families and therefore reducing the status associated with silver. However, Schroder (1988) also notes a decline in the quality of many items in design and manufacture. At the same time substitution was taking place in the form of electroplate with men such as George Elkington recognising the advantages of the process, patenting the system in partnership with John Wright, and further flooding the market with reproduction wares (Schroder,

1988: 266-70). Thus by the 1880s the industry had declined in a confusion of styles, poor quality design, and low quality industrial reproductions.

2.3. The Great Exhibition and The New Arts & Crafts Thinkers: Ruskin, Morris, Dresser & C. R. Ashbee

In 1835 a government select committee concerned about poor design set about recommending solutions resulting in the first government School of Design to promote the decorative arts and good design. Through the efforts of the pedagogue and civil servant Sir Henry Cole, who founded the *Journal of Design and Manufacture*, the Great Exhibition of 1851 was realised with the later establishment of the South Kensington Museum, latterly the Victoria & Albert Museum. Cole drew inspiration from the French Expositions Industrielles in 1844 and 1849, coining the expression “art manufacturer”. The exhibition attracted 6 million visitors and 14,000 exhibitors, with commentators heralding a “new global economy”. However it was noted amidst the optimism that standards of design, particularly amongst the British exhibits, were terrible. The new industrial processes were not, it seems, being exploited with any imagination (Whiteway, 2001: 10).

20th century thinking concerning design and craft can be traced back to the ideas of men such as Ruskin, Morris, Dresser and Ashbee who sought simpler design that reflected the honesty of craftsmanship harking back to the middle ages (Schroder, 1988: 273-80).

It is against this background that we can understand the context of thinkers such as Ruskin and the influence his ideas had on designers, makers and manufacturers such as Pugin, Morris, Dresser and C R Ashbee. In 1853 Ruskin concerned himself with the relationship of labour and machines romanticising an earlier, better time of medieval craftsmanship in architecture when,

Men were not intended to work with the accuracy of tools [...] perfect in all their actions [...] like compasses you must unhumanise them.

(Ruskin, 2004: 14)

He intellectualised the basis of craft thinking for the next 100 years by comparing modern manufacturing with machines to a type of slavery, “perfectnesses are signs of a slavery in our England a thousand times more bitter and more degrading than that of the scourge African or helot Greek” (Ruskin, 2004: 15).

Ruskin's writing on craft led William Morris and C R Ashbee to base their business models on the dignity of labour which in turn led to the founding of the international Arts & Crafts movement.

New design realisation in the form of C R Ashbee's Guild of Handicrafts, set up in London's East End in 1888, and the design and production company of William Morris, were based on the ideas and ideals of Ruskin and the design ideas of Augustus Pugin and Christopher Dresser (Schroder, 1988: 273-80).

Christopher Dresser was 17 years old at the time of the Great Exhibition. Whiteaway considers this an ideal moment for Dresser to start considering the successive cycle of "extraordinary social transition to industrial design" (Whiteaway, 2001: 23). The intellectually precocious Dresser entered the newly formed Government Schools of Design two years early at the age of 13 in 1847. He studied art and botany publishing three books on botany during the 1850s. In 1862 he published his first two books on the theory of design, *The Art of Decorative Design* and *Development of Ornamental Art at the International Exhibition*. His tour of Japan in 1876 is considered the most important of his career. Japanese design was the inspiration for his 1878 series of 'original and startling' designs in silver and electroplate for Hukin and Heath (Whiteaway, 2001: 26). His approach of pared down form with little ornamentation has led to him being called 'the world's first modern industrial designer' (Whiteaway, 2001: 23).

The Arts and Crafts period is best represented by the marketing of new designs by Archibald Knox at the retailer Liberty & Co (Schroder, 1988: 258-87). As Stern has pointed out, at the period's height in America at the turn of the 20th century, 'anything that could be made in silver, was' (Stern, 2006: 15).

2.4. The Origins of 20th Century Silverware

The ideas of the late 19th century came to fruition at the turn of the 20th through influential teachers such as John D. Sedding, a founding member of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. His connections to Charles Rennie Mackintosh, who in turn influenced John Paul Cooper and H. G. Murphy, thus influenced future silversmiths.

Following the accession of Edward VII in 1901 there was a consolidation of the 19th century developments in the decorative arts, a consolidation enforced by two diverse attitudes. One was conservative, emphasising revivalism, and the other avant-garde, looking towards simplicity of design and the 'honesty' of craftsmanship (Ransome Wallis, 2000: 14) The arts & crafts movement also led to art schools

being established to promote and develop the skills needed to create a full human being, working with their head, hands and heart.

Silversmithing did not, of course, exist in isolation but was influenced by exhibitions such as the 1916 Arts and Crafts Exhibition, the Orientalism of the Ballets Russes, Art Deco furniture and architecture. There was also a certain interplay between the silversmithing trade, artists, and intellectual, financially privileged, students from the art schools of Central School of Arts and Crafts in London, the Vittoria Street School of Jewellery and Silversmithing in Birmingham and the Sheffield School of Art, all of which trained silversmiths (Harrod, 1999: 70-78).

Between 1901 and 1906 Cooper taught at Birmingham Municipal School of Art, where he was known for making students create their own designs, rather than borrowing them, and also insisted on them being able to execute their designs themselves. Murphy, meanwhile, taught at the Royal College of Art and at the Central School of Arts and Crafts, where he became Principal in 1935.

At the same time, Omar Ramsden who had studied at Sheffield School of Art, embraced the industrial traditions of his home city as well as insisting on good design and a high level of craftsmanship, and was regarded as being one of the few silversmiths to have successfully bridged the gap between design and manufacturing who experimented with the styles of the Arts and Crafts movement whilst publicly denouncing the fashion for antique silver.

Other critics have placed the Arts and Crafts movement in relation to silversmithing. Harrod, for example, begins her modern history of silversmithing and jewellery making with the Arts and Crafts Movement in 1902. She notes the silversmithing industry's decline as the result of a reduction in use of domestic silverware, though does assert that a market remains for cups, trophies and ceremonial plate (1999: 70-78).

While manufacturing of silverware in the mid-late 19th century had reached a depressingly low standard, Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles started to become more popular through designers such as Archibald Knox. English Revivalism, the longing for the decorative vernacular harking back to medieval and Tudor roots (Ransome Wallis, 2000: 15), coincided with the general decline in silver buying and commissioning, while in the period following the Great War and the Great Depression the large-scale silver production industry floundered. The golden age of the Grand Service would never return – it was both ruinously expensive and culturally outdated. George Hughes, of the Goldsmiths' Company, sums up the general problem of the time:

The retail buyers have allowed cost per oz. to dominate the situation. The factories have not found it worthwhile to employ a designer [...] One of the objects of the Company's movement has been to get the trade outlook to realise that the craft of the silversmith is potentially as much as an artistic craft as that of the sculptor or painter.

(Ransome Wallis, 2000: 43)

The general decline in demand also coincided with the philosophical insistence on goods being handcrafted espoused by Ruskin and Morris. This led to an industry populated with small workshops dealing with one-off commissions and small-batch production runs.

The economic difficulties of the 1930s reduced the industry yet further, while during the Second World War the silversmithing trade struggled to survive in the face of a punitive 110% purchase tax. A small nucleus of silversmiths was kept in employment to preserve the skills of an industry adapting to wartime precision work. However, the young were called to active service (Ransome Wallis, 2000: 59). Eric Turner explained: "Neither any longer wholly craft nor yet exclusively industrial, the work of the [British] silversmith occupied an uneasy position between two extremes" (Rabinovich and Holland, 2000: 18).

Craft manufacture had become obsolete, an antiquated production method, while the post-war optimism of the 1950s brought together aesthetic ideas from art, sculpture, surface and the decorative arts into contemporary silver (Veronika Schwarzinger, 1993: 20). Rabinovich and Holland (2000) assert:

The last fifty years have witnessed the re-emergence and re-definition of the crafts. The revival of silversmithing has involved a re-awakening of patronage from corporate clients and new educational institutions.

(Rabinovich and Holland, 2000: 18)

2.4.1. Craft Silversmithing: Training, Influences & Catalysts

A further influence at this time was the Goldsmiths' Company Clerk, George Hughes, who from around 1925 instigated competitions, debates and participation in exhibitions. Hughes saw the Company's role as that of a medieval guild, a function that included debates over aesthetics. Under Hughes's influence craftsmen started

to consider the lack of an inter-war English style. Herbert Read's *Art and Industry* (1934) was particularly influential, illustrating as it did the pure forms of earlier English silver which compared favourably to the Bauhaus aesthetic of simplicity of form and the abandonment of decoration. The British designer Christopher Dresser had similar ideas, but it was not until after the Second World War that sculptural influences took hold of men such as Gerald Benney, an influential silversmith and friend of the artist Henry Moore.

Although Harrod, alongside many modern authors, pays relatively little attention to out of fashion silversmithing per se, perceiving it low in the artistic hierarchy of architecture, sculpture and painting, she does acknowledge the role of the Goldsmiths' Company in the establishment of the Council of Industrial Design. The Council later featured David Mellor's low-cost stainless steel flatware and tea-set, borne of his silversmithing and prototyping skills, at the Council's Haymarket Centre in London in 1965 (Harrod, 1999: 216, 219).

The Royal College of Art played no small role in producing fine designer-makers such as Welch, Mellor and Benney, all of whom went on to straddle the worlds of silversmithing, jewellery and industrial design as well as becoming patrons of contemporary architecture. These men incorporated ideas from modern art and architecture into their own designs, following the fine craftsmanship taught them by Leslie Durbin at the RCA. Aware of the poor market in silverware, these entrepreneurial silversmiths widened their horizons to embrace industrial design. Harrod suggests that these men, along with Louis Osman, the architect and silversmithing impresario and Stuart Devlin, the designer, established themselves as suppliers to 'the Establishment', burnishing their images with architecturally significant offices, homes and ateliers (Harrod, 1999: 280-89).

The Goldsmiths' Company continued to play its role from the 1950s onwards, with Graham Hughes encouraging what amounted to a 'silversmithing renaissance'. Osman in particular benefited from his close relationship to Hughes who acted as advisor to commissioning bodies, though this was to lead to Osman's downfall: Osman's work on the UK's gift to the US for the latter's bicentenary celebrations in 1976, 'Magna Carta's Golden Box' ran massively over budget and led to his bankruptcy (Moore, 2006: 139). Hughes was particularly supportive of Benney, writing of his "exuberant fantasy" in contrast to the "cold clinical atmosphere of modern functional design", but the overall effect of patronage by the Goldsmiths' Company and Establishment was simply the creation of an elitist atmosphere. As Benney put it, "you went to your silversmith just as you went to your tailor" (Harrod, 1999: 289).

Silversmithing, it seems, has been viewed for some time as an elitist craft taught to the middle-classes. It receives little attention from the craft popular press who feel that ceramics and other media are more important, and that the digital world has a particular influence over the future of craft. This view, sadly, is largely vindicated by a lack of public interest in either buying or maintaining silverware.

The new aesthetic ideas were honed in the academic atmosphere of the Royal College of Art (RCA), influencing the modern designers Robert Welch, David Mellor, Louis Osman, Stuart Devlin and Gerald Benney who, although primarily silversmith-designers, did not see themselves as restricted to silver but also designed many items specifically for mass-production (Ransome Wallis, 2000: 63-71).

Welch (1986) sums up his pre-1950 period by firstly setting the scene at his parent's house, being replete with drawings and paintings by his mother and old copies of STUDIO magazine influencing his own artistic tastes and career hopes, whilst being imbued with the romance of Art School. When he entered Malvern School of Art the study centred on Life Class and Anatomy, which in his opinion was: "the most excellent training, if not the most perfect introduction to design" (Welch, 1986: 13-15).

Welch began his silversmithing career at Birmingham College of Art, where the emphasis was on craft, history and design. He notes that it was impossible to conceive of being able to earn a living as a silversmith in the early 1950s, with England in a post-war depression. The only route for him seemed to be teaching, but he began to contemplate a career in design following his move to the RCA (Welch, 1986: 16).

Scandinavian design influenced Welch during that period, "simple, everyday objects that were functional and beautiful, which most people could afford" (Welch, 1986: 17). He remained faithful to this ideal but acknowledged the dichotomy of making unique pieces in silver, which often became heirlooms as against mass-produced objects such as cutlery. For Welch, one could enrich the other and, with high capital investment in tooling, objects of great beauty could be made at modest prices. Welch considered the silver workshop as the laboratory of design and research for industrial forms, where two methods worked, "hand and machine to the mutual advantage of each other" (Welch, 1986: 17).

Thus the business model of 'Studio Silversmith' was reborn in the 1950s, with the advent of a new group of artisan, designer-silversmiths; Welch, Benney, Devlin and Mellor personified a new breed of maker. Their emergence coincided with a burst of exhibitions and institutional orders in the 1950s (Rabinovich and

Holland, 2000: 18). Welch embodied the concept of Designer Silversmith, naming his Chipping Campden shop the *Studio Shop* in 1969, taking inspiration from the influential pre-war magazine *Studio* which covered all the crafts (Welch, 1986: 21). These men took a wider view of their design and making skills and rather than simply producing bespoke pieces, they branched off into mass-produced cutlery design: Benney for Viners, and Welch and Mellor on their own accounts in kitchenware. Devlin designed national coinage and one-off pieces whilst Welch also designed street furniture, such as traffic lights and bus stops.

Looking at UK domestic demand creative silversmiths pursued one of two strategies. Production workshops managed by men such as Devlin acknowledged the vitality of how man-made machines shape the modern technical world, whilst artist-craftsmen revered the creatures and landscape of the natural world. At the RCA, Professor Gerald Benney (1973-82) ensured that talented silversmiths became professional design practitioners using traditional skills as well as the latest technology. He felt that nothing was contradictory, it was merely a case of translating the creative idea (Ransome Wallis, 2000: 93).

To fully understand the current UK and global market position in which artisan-silversmiths find themselves, some understanding of the sector's more recent history must be gained. This study considers both of the distinct markets for silversmithing work, that is, the 'trade' side of the industry and that of the Studio Silversmith emanating from university training. The trade side executing client orders using out-dated designs whilst the Studio Silversmithing side made speculative work for exhibitions but also made individual UK based commissions for clients in their own style or 'voice'. These sectors have, over time, influenced one another.

Interviewee 39, a trade silversmith asserts:

I was exceptionally fortunate that I started my apprenticeship in seventy-six, which coincided with the oil boom, so for years we made work for the Middle East; massive [dinner] services.

(Int. 39)

One example of this type of trade commission was that of a huge dinner service comprising over 600 pieces that was manufactured in collaboration by Padgett & Braham and Wakely & Wheeler, hollowware manufacturers, box makers, box case makers and flatware [cutlery] makers. The commission, which was given by the Sultan of Oman, included soup tureens 'big enough to bathe a baby in' and a central

rice basin the size of a standard bath which was hand raised, made to a standard, according to interviewee 39, that was 'absolutely phenomenal'. None of these items were seen in the UK, they were just silently exported:

We also made some quite remarkable sports trophies for the USA, for big golf tournaments and other events. Some of them were modern designs, acutely difficult to make, highly scored and folded items, tremendous work, but in terms of the UK market, demand was pretty dire.

(Int. 39)

The years following 1970 were key to the development of both trade and contemporary studio silversmithing. High export demand created a complex and layered relationship between craftspeople, silversmithing companies and clients. The oil boom created unprecedented wealth in many countries, and many of the leaders of these countries became both collectors and commissioners of UK silverware. Their gift-exchanges became ever more extravagant, including scale models and objet d'art in both silver and gold, often set with diamonds and precious gemstones. As these gifts became ever more extravagant, they became ever more sophisticated, and demanded the exceptionally high silversmithing skills found in the UK.

The UK became a leading manufacturer of these gifts, an example of which, an intricately crafted model of a Chinook helicopter can be seen below (Image 1). The apogee of this market was reached in 1995, when the Sultan of Brunei and his brother Prince Jeffrey purchased London's foremost luxury goods stores Asprey and Garrard. This purchase was to lead to the disastrous crash in the UK trade market in 1998, which resulted in serious problems for many craftsmen and women, discussed below.

British domestic trade silversmithing was characterised by companies who relied on a high level of hand-skills for commissions and a large number of traditional patterns and styles for mass-manufacture. These patterns were similar to those sold by Rundell, Bridge & Rundell in the 19th century being easily interchangeable, often extremely old and ultimately out-of-fashion.

By the 1970s these trade companies had coalesced into four primary conglomerates: the Wakely Group, including Edward Barnard (one of the oldest silversmithing companies in London dating back to the seventeenth century); the Padgett Group; Naylor Brothers, and Comyns. These companies had shrunk on account of the decline in the UK domestic market, but they still had a good supply

of skilled workers. Both the major London West End retailers, such as Asprey and Garrard who serviced the booming Middle and Far East personal and royal-gift market, and the few County Jewellers around the UK who still stocked silverware, provided them with a constant stream of outsourcing work (Int. 39).

British companies which benefited directly from oil-boom spending included McCabe McCarty, Barnard's, Hector Miller, Stuart Devlin, Grant McDonald, Naylor Brothers, Jack Perry, Asprey, Garrard, as well as independent artisans such as the enameller Fred Rich. The huge quantity of work commissioned during this boom period was directly responsible for developing the skills of the hundreds of makers in every category of the silversmithing ecosystem to the world-class levels achieved by the end of the 20th century.

Many of the companies listed had developed from small silversmithing concerns into workshops employing many artisan-silversmiths, both as in-house workers and as outworkers, but disaster hit the industry, causing nearly all of these workshops to break up in 1999.

The disaster was a court case that proved embarrassing to the Sultan of Brunei and his brother. It concerned the opulence of the objects manufactured by these companies, and resulted in a calamitous cut in the number of commissions awarded, and a concomitant collapse in the viability of the workshops that made these gifts. Those silversmith-artisans employed by these workshops afterwards either developed their own businesses or found alternative employment outside the industry (Int. 3,5,2,14,39).



**Image 1: Sterling Silver and Enamel Chinook helicopter model by McCabe McCarty
- one metre wide by 60cm tall by 50cm deep photography by David McCarty**

It is interesting to note that at this time there was a clear divide between trade and art school trained silversmiths:

Traditionally in the UK, there has been a division between the art school trained and the trade, with each eyeing each other with suspicion or some combination of snobbery and reverse snobbery, which is becoming increasingly irrelevant, and thank goodness I think because we have much more in common than not, so the division is not necessarily helpful shall we say nowadays.

(6.4)³

2.5. 1980s - 2000s: The Influence of the Art Schools

Through the 1980s and onwards there was greater stylistic plurality in silversmithing with no single style dominant, in addition there was a great deal of experimentation in structure, form, texture and technology. Individual designer craftsmen and women were free to explore their own oeuvre and techniques, whether they were silversmithing, enamelling or more generally artistic.

In parallel to the trade companies highlighted earlier many fine artist craftsmen and women were trained in the universities and colleges. The largest and most influential of these institutions is the Royal College of Art (RCA) in London, which teaches product and conceptual design. The current lineage of influential people at the RCA can be traced back to Professor Robert Goodden (1948-1974) followed by Professor Gerald Benney (1974-1983), Professor David Watkins (1983-2007) and Professor Michael Rowe (1978–2016).

John Andrew (2014) asserts the philosophy of these men as being to:

challenge design concepts and inspire experimentation which forms today's artisan industry (Andrew & Styles, 2014: 19).

Although for men like Benney the Scandinavian aesthetic was the height of good design, he realised that he and others needed to create a British design aesthetic, a voice which would stand up in its own right. The ethos of the RCA is reflected in its impressive list of alumni, men and women who have gone on to dominate the philosophy of design, practice and teaching throughout the contemporary artisan silver world (Andrew & Styles, 2014: 19).

³ See appendix for the name of the interviewee or respondent.

Ransome Wallis sees silversmiths as “artists mapping the known universe of mankind, animals and plants, science and culture. They use the vessel to explore mathematics and aesthetics whilst demonstrating traditional and new techniques” (Ransome Wallis, 2000: 103-17).

A particularly fine example of the plurality of designs that came out of this period is to be found in a collection of 60 contemporary fish slices. Each slice was commissioned by Professor Rabinovitch from the 80s onwards in a, “modest effort to support independent silversmiths and their craft and to provide a comparative study of contemporary styles in metalsmithing relating to the broad-bladed server” (Rabinovitch and Clifford, 2000: 9) of which Rabinovitch also had a large antique collection. Rabinovitch commissioned silversmiths across the USA and Britain with the simplest of design briefs: “to supply a server” (Rabinovitch and Clifford, 2000: 24). The collection demonstrates the malleability of silver and its versatility in finish, which include etched, oxidized, reflective or dull finishes. Silver was used to express ideas, being moulded to the will of the makers. The Rabinovitch design brief inspired experimentation, challenging makers to see how far they could go which resulted in virtuoso demonstrations of traditional techniques such as chasing, engraving, enamelling and casting as well as new techniques of three dimensional tessellation and paper embossing. Rabinovitch and Clifford comment that:

Far from being a memorial to a dying craft, the collection is a testimony to its renewed energy and relevance to modern life.

(Rabinovitch and Clifford, 2000: 24)

The parallel worlds of the silversmithing trade and art school trained silversmiths is summarised neatly by silversmith Rod Kelly:

Today it is possible to become a silversmith in quite an academic way, studying design and craft, contrary to the traditional training as an apprentice. Depending on the individual’s skill, the apprentice could hope to progress through the ranks of the trade [...] At the art colleges today it is very difficult to learn technique in this way. Silversmithing is split between those who have a trade background and employ draughtsmen to design and those who have a background in design.

(Rabinovich and Holland, 2000: 19)

This analysis by Kelly summarises the parallel worlds of the silversmithing trade and art school trained silversmiths.

London Craft & Design departments benefited from the demand for silversmiths with forward-looking managements recognising that design would be a key element in the future success of the industry in combination with the traditional skills of London craftsmen willing to teach on their courses. The London universities received investment from the Goldsmiths' Company, in particular the Sir John Cass School of Art in Whitechapel, which delivered the influential pre-apprenticeship course, being the model for the new Goldsmiths' Centre pre-apprenticeship course currently training extremely fine craftspeople.

2.5.1. Spheres of Influence: Simone ten Hompel, Michael Rowe, David Clarke and Malcolm Appleby

There are four makers who are particularly influential as a result of their work as teachers as well as artists, namely ten Hompel, Rowe, Clarke and Appleby their influence being conceptual, artistic and as role models on makers and students who pass through their orbit. Each has a concept which has been successfully communicated to the next generation of contemporary silversmiths. They each, however, have a particular 'way' which they successfully communicate to students, pushing them in directions which they would not have otherwise gone.

Ten Hompel uses her skills as a blacksmith and silversmith to communicate her ideas in metal. Highly dyslexic, ten Hompel has worked within academia since graduating from the RCA in 1989 and is currently a reader at London Metropolitan University. She professes to be a Reader who does not write, but rather communicates eloquently through the medium of metal. At her Confluence exhibition in Glasgow (2017), curated by Amanda Game, the visitors were asked to consider the ideas of neuroscientist Antonio Damasio:

Visual artists and designers often have an intense, almost synaesthetic perception of the material world, which allows them to draw 'the circle of influence between existence, consciousness and creativity'.

(Confluence, 2017)

Ten Hompel uses the objects she creates to capture stories, memory, feelings, relationships and emotions. She uses objects to change the way we interact with a room, a space and the object itself. Well known as a teacher and mentor she explains:

I tell my students, as makers, you have to find your good problem and then work through your life to solve it eloquently.

(Greenhalgh, 2016)

Michael Rowe influenced a generation of silversmiths at the RCA through the intellectual rigour he employed in his search for a contemporary decorative language. Rowe explored extreme geometric severity, spatial qualities and context, as well as investigating the geometry of the cube, the sphere, the cylinder, the cone and the ellipse in terms of their own values and contextuality (Turner, 2008).

David Clarke is an anarchic silversmith and sculptor. He tours, speaks and exhibits at galleries and universities spreading his concept of silversmithing and anti-silversmithing. He challenges received wisdom surrounding the preciousness of metals by mixing, corroding and destroying silver with salt and lead. His 2017 project was to pour pewter into the innards of ceramic sculptures smashing off the outsides to just leave the misshapen forms within. His collections are highly sought after, and his production runs strictly limited by the point “when he gets bored” (Farnham, 2017).

Finally, the Scottish-based silversmith, engraver and jeweller Malcolm Appleby influences young silversmiths not only through his designs but also his anarchic business ideas. He regularly teaches engraving at the Bishopsland Educational Trust, which he considers to be the most likely source of the next generation of silversmiths. He also hosts an annual one-week symposium at his workshop/home for making and discussions. A guests’ day introduces his protégés to his network of buyers. At these events he can promulgate his design and business ideas to the next generation, being:

- It’s good to poke fun at the client
- An artist should be paid for their time, artistry and expertise
- It’s fine to make money
- The right price is the wrong price (if it’s the price the client wants to pay, it’s too low)
- Be the designer at the centre of a making network.

(Int. 22)

2.6. Literature on Silversmithing Skills and Techniques

There is a long tradition of step-by-step guides to making silverware, but they all suffer from the same problem: they are static representations of a dynamic craft. It is extremely difficult to convey the rhythms, actions and workflows of an active atelier in prose or pictures and the difficulty of conveying silversmithing as a way of life.

Works such as *The Colouring, Bronzing and Patination of Metals* (1991) by Richard Hughes and Michael Rowe cover the technicalities and chemistry of their subjects well. When it comes to process, however, it is a very different story. While a process such as raising can be broken down into steps, nothing can substitute for observing a master craftsman working on a piece of silverware. The knowledge gained through observation includes the subtleties of strength applied to hammering, standing or sitting posture, rhythm, speed of work and the nuances of how a tool is held in the hand. Many young silversmiths have problems with repetitive strain injuries that are ultimately caused by poor hammering technique and posture. The principle behind observation over verbal comprehension is tackled in George Sturt's essay, 'The Wheelwright's Shop', in which he writes that:

My own eyes know because my hands have felt, but I cannot teach an outsider.

(Sturt, 1923: 22)

The implication is that while theoretical learning in a classroom environment has its place, and when supported by videos and books, may even be inspirational, a practitioner must ultimately learn by doing under the supervision of an expert. There is no viable replacement for experiential learning.

Despite these known shortcomings both educationalists and students desire skills teaching books, and to that end the directors of the Goldsmiths' Centre encouraged Brian Hill and Andrew Putland to update the knowledge base of making. The result of this was *Silversmithing* (2014). The book presents a short history of silversmithing, with emphasis on the legacies of two master craftsmen often considered as unsurpassed in skill, Paul de Lamerie (Image 2) and Paul Storr, who operated in the 18th and 19th centuries respectively.



Image 2: Figure Sideboard dish by Paul De Lamerie 1740/41

Diameter 85cm Weight 11,960gms

Photography – Richard Valencia c/o The Goldsmiths' Company Library

The book continues with an inter-war history and finishes with a chapter on current makers. The book serves multiple purposes, from acting as a guide for modern makers on health and safety issues, to communicating the latest thinking on traditional techniques such as raising a bowl and beaker, forging and forming flatware, scoring, soldering, spinning, modelmaking, carving, polishing and finishing.

Using examples by double Cartier award winner Samantha Marsden and award-winning enamellers Jane Short, Phil Barnes and Fred Rich (Image 3), Hill & Putland also cover engraving and enamelling, an area in which British craftsmen and women truly excel. Through emphasising the chasing and repoussé work of these individuals, they hope to inspire the next generation of British makers.



Image 3: Fred Rich - Street Tweets Beaker. Silver, ruthenium plate, and enamel with 22ct gold cloissons. Diameter 40mm height 65mm photography by Adrian Butcher

Hill & Putland do not merely concentrate on traditional skills, however, as they also explore cutting-edge technologies such as computer-aided design (CAD), rapid-prototyping (RP) and computer-aided machining. These technologies allow craftsmen such as Grant McDonald to produce designs which could not be made by any other system. Another featured craftsman is Kevin Grey, who uses laser welding to create revolutionary new designs. In finishing with a review of current makers using both traditional techniques and the latest technology, the authors assert that the craft is in good health.

In addition to comprehensive books such as *Silversmithing*, there is a wealth of training videos produced by professional organizations and individuals on silversmithing techniques available both commercially and on the internet.⁴

⁴ **Videos of silversmithing techniques on the internet:**

Colonial Silversmithing (2018)

Silversmithing (2018)

Silversmith of Williamsburg (2018)

Georg Jensen silversmith Jesper Nordø reveals his secrets (2018)

Silversmith- Patricia Freeman (2018)

Career advice on becoming a Silversmith (2018)

Tools and Getting Started Silversmithing (2018)

Making an 18th Century Sterling Silver Jefferson Cup (2018)

Silversmith and MacArthur Genius Award-winner Ubaldo Vitali (2018)

Silversmith of Dehong Tai, Yunnan (2018)

These resources have the great advantage of showing the maker in action, thus demonstrating rhythms, posture and style. The Goldsmiths' Centre for one has made records of different skills, techniques and approaches, capturing master-craftsmen and women at work in their workshops (Goldsmiths' Centre, March 2015). The British Library complements this with audio-interviews with craft practitioners.

While no maker feels that such resources can ever replace the experience of working with a master of the craft, as classes increase in size, and as students display a burgeoning appetite for internet research, the use of books and, more importantly, video can only play an increasing role in the education of artisan-silversmiths.

2.7. The Modern Role of the Goldsmiths' Company: Opportunities, Training and Apprenticeships

There are institutions other than British University Craft & Design departments that contribute to the ecosystem in which contemporary artisan-silversmiths operate. The Goldsmiths' Company is one such institution, and seeks to nurture and encourage silversmiths in several ways, not least by acting as a conduit of work and intelligence for other institutions, such as local government councils, so that they might gain knowledge and commission pieces from silversmiths who are often one-man bands. Woolmer's comment that despite the "elegant, timeless and highly desirable qualities of the objects which the makers produce" (Woolmer, 2005: 78), and the great support of the Goldsmiths' Company, British silversmithing is not better known, is apposite. The Company itself feels that the artisan-silversmithing industry is 'part of its DNA', and currently acts as a focal point for apprenticeships,

El Yapımı (Handmade) - Gümüş Kakma (Silver Repousse Work) (2018)
Davide Bigazzi- The Art of Chasing & Repousse (2018)
Theresa Nguyen - Artist Silversmith Workshop Studio (2018)
Theresa Nguyen - Commission for a silver table piece for the Surveyors' Club (2018)
Master Silversmith John Marshall in "Here and Now" at Seattle Art Museum (2018)
Vogt Silversmiths - A Look Inside the Vogt Shop (2018)
Brett Payne portfolio of videos: Raising Carafe, Hot Silver, Crown, Dancing, Acorn, Spoons (2018)
Adrian Hope videos (2018)

DVDs available at the Goldsmiths' Centre for sale:

The Theory & Practice of Hand Forging with Richard Cook
The Theory & Practice of Hand Raising with Christopher Lawrence
Polishing & Finishing Silverware with Elliot & Fitzpatrick
An Introduction to Flat Hammering.

This small sample of videos, mainly available through YouTube, reflect videos which feature silversmithing on the internet. The majority act as marketing for the company or individual concerned with a high number showing techniques of manufacturing thus demonstrating the authenticity of the company or individual. The Goldsmiths' Centre advertise four DVDs which demonstrate silversmithing techniques.

technical knowledge, industry standards, exhibitions and education through its numerous projects (Macdonald, 2015: 1).

The Goldsmiths' Company became a wealthy organisation by protecting the properties of its members through a system called mortmain. In this system, the company held the properties of its members in perpetuity, such that the Crown was unable to confiscate a member's property, as it did not technically belong to them. As all property was held in trust for its members, should one die without an heir, the property would revert to the company. One such member, Agas Harding, died a childless widow in the 16th century. This particular bequest enabled the building of the new Goldsmiths' Centre in Clerkenwell in 2012: a project that cost £17.5 million. The Centre is the single largest investment the Goldsmiths' Company has made in the industry. The mission of the Centre is to "advance, maintain and develop art, craft, design, and artisan skills including (but not exclusively) those related to goldsmithing" (Goldsmiths' Centre, 2015). It is with projects such as this that the Goldsmiths' Company has been and continues to be central to the evolution of the modern artisan-silversmithing industry:

When the Company launched its new policy in 1925 for encouraging better design and craftsmanship in silver, George Hughes, the Company Clerk, assumed responsibility for the programme with the title Art Secretary. Later Hughes, as part of the coordination of the Festival of Britain by the Company, staged two large exhibitions, Festival of Britain: the Historic Plate of the City of London, and the Modern Silver Exhibition. Hughes realising that the most essential need of any craft is patronage, used his energy and enthusiasm to convince many of the big companies in the City and County Councils, such as Reading to commission modern silver, designed and made to furnish their new head offices and boardrooms (Andrew & Styles, 2014: 25).

This level of enthusiasm continued with the creation of the selling exhibition, *Loot* (Est.1982) which was soon transformed into the annual Fair at Goldsmiths' Hall. Some makers, such as int. 42, rarely attend other exhibitions, and for many it forms the spine of their marketing and sales strategy. Being accepted as an exhibitor at the Fair confers credibility and kudos onto the maker: they are given the Hall's seal of approval in the eye of the buyer.

As well as acting as patron to experienced makers, The Goldsmiths' Company also plays an active role in indentured apprenticeship training in the

industry. Under this scheme, an apprentice is indentured (contracted) to become a craftsman silversmith either directly, by the Goldsmiths' Company Assay Office, or by a company under a Master who is part of the Goldsmiths' Company's wider membership. The apprentice is salaried and contracted.

These programmes are often highly skewed towards the needs of the provider (the master craftsman), and concentrate on the accrual of skills capital, making the apprentice a worthwhile investment for the master. Teaching of design tends to be left to day-release courses, which the apprentice may attend during their apprenticeship, or more often leave until after their apprenticeship is finished. For the master-craftsman the apprentice is a considerable expense as their need for instruction takes the craftsman away from his own works.

During the training the apprentice work alongside the master in their workshop for up to five years, depending on their specialism, and London-based apprentices receive practical day release training, often undertaken at the Goldsmiths' Centre. The apprentice thus develops vocational skills. In the final year the apprentice must produce a masterpiece showcasing their learning and which may qualify for a Level 4 City & Guilds Professional Recognition Award. Completion of a Goldsmiths' Company Apprenticeship is accompanied by the Freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company and, depending on age, the Freedom of the City of London.

2.8. Contemporary British Silversmiths (CBS)

The other significant voice in the artisan-silversmith industry is the Contemporary British Silversmiths organisation.

Established in 1996 the Contemporary British Silversmiths (CBS) organisation is the largest community for contemporary silversmiths in the United Kingdom with over 140 members including undergraduates (as of May 2018). It is a membership organisation set up to inspire creativity and promote excellence in design and craftsmanship to new audiences nationally and internationally.

Their mission statement is to:

- Maintain and advance the historic craft of silversmithing within the context of contemporary design. We represent a valuable forum for silversmiths throughout the country and an important point of contact for anyone interested in modern silverware
- Encourage innovative thinking and excellence in design and craftsmanship

- Support the work of members to raise the profile of the craft and grow businesses
- Provide educational support through a graduate mentor programme and silversmithing community
- Work with industry partners in organisational goals and create opportunities for skills transfer and outreach.

With strong support from the Goldsmiths' Company, the CBS has become the most dynamic organisation within the UK industry for the promotion of silversmithing. In 2017 the *Silver Speaks* programme, curated by Corinne Julius at the Victoria and Albert Museum, was launched, raising the profile of the organisation and UK contemporary silversmiths significantly.

Membership of a specialist trade association accords many benefits to a silversmith, as interviewee 17 suggests:

Better silver prices - it's important. There is a sense of community there; I probably haven't used it as much as I could have done, for a whole range of reasons, but I think what they're doing is important I think what they do in terms of visibility is very important and I think placing and contextualising contemporary `smithing is also important because it's not a visible craft and object work is not visible unless it's ceramic.

(Int. 17)

Interviewee 20 explained about the feeling of community:

Just a connection that everybody, you know like, maybe I could ask questions or I could ask what people think of making and just having a connection into the craft. It's a different perspective on it, you know you are working anyway doing all your little exhibitions, but, like people who are working in enamel, people working in materials that you don't think of.

(Int. 20)

2.9. The 'Craft' Title Polemic

The word craft has, according to Frayling, been debased by the advertising, packaging and popular culture industries (Frayling, 2011: 23-49). Everything from

cars and processed food to housing developments and building societies are promoted with the word 'crafted'. With the word used to sell nostalgia, it becomes increasingly difficult to promote genuine craft as, in a manner similar to the nostalgia of the Arts & Crafts romantics, who invoke the world of 'retrospective regret', a platform for criticising the present (Frayling, 2011: 64). As with all bucolic romanticism, the truth is more complex.

The furniture maker Gareth Neal (2015) traces his own journey of understanding, from seeing craft as a dirty word when a graduate in 1996, through to its becoming hugely fashionable, being appropriated by every maker and industry imaginable. For him, craft became achingly trendy, and thus on the road to becoming meaningless:

when Max Lamb published a short film of himself casting a pewter stool on a Cornish beach in 2008, it seemed to mark a paradigm shift towards making.

(Neal, 2015: 1)

He suggests that as the internet spread the word of craft making, demonstrating processes and educating the public to ascribe true value into the work that was done, it ensured that consumers began once more to equate skill and time with fair prices. He also welcomes the inspirational benefits of extolling the benefits of craft for students and hobbyists (Neal, 2015). Things have changed, however, and he warns that:

everywhere you turn now you're sold a craft utopia. Artisan bread? Craft beer? Craft crisps? What, or who, is the consumer supposed to believe? This is important, because eventually people will simply stop believing in the word. Our collusion in spreading the 'craft' ethos beyond its rightful place can ultimately be self-defeating for our sector.

(Neal, 2015: 1-2)

In a similar struggle against popular misuse, Frayling attempts to disassemble the word skill. He starts by defining 'the craftsman' and the 'machine worker' as happy artisan and unhappy machine worker. He admits that there is no general agreement about the word skill: does it refer to manual dexterity; craft experience; conceptual activity or general know-how? It could be a combination of all four. His assertion is

that it relates to the value placed on each element by the recipient of the skills at stake. This, he suggests, may explain the discounting or downgrading of skills by the consumer. The advent of the machine age has seen a degradation of work in general, or a de-skilling (Frayling, 2011: 75). He suggests that the artisan's relationship to the machine has shifted. Where once the machine was a tool considered useful by the artisan, now the relationship is inverted, with labourer becoming a mere tool for use in the factory. It was this idea of the labourer being dehumanised which exercised the intellect of men like Ruskin. And so, in true Ruskinian fashion, the answer was seen: the re-establishment of craft [skills] was the antidote to the machine age. Frayling concludes that a skilled craftsman is one who retains control at the point of production (Frayling, 2011: 80).

2.9.1. The Ideology of Modern Craft: A Short Review of Craft Thinking

As the secondary literature concerning the profession and business of silversmithing is at best sparse, it is appropriate to analyse literature that concentrates on other crafts that are largely analogous to silversmithing such as jewellery, pottery, glass-making and ceramics, as they involve similar levels of learned technique, personal and business motivations.

These sections will consider certain abstract questions relating to the status and organisation of craft; what is the relationship between craft and the modern consumer? Do the crafts require vocational or academic training? What is the value of craftsmanship and work by hand in an age of advanced manufactures?

Sennett, author and critic, acknowledges his own relationship to craft through a spur of the moment response to a colleague: "Making is thinking" (Sennett, 2009: ix). He asserts that craft has been recognized as a subject worthy of study since ancient Greece. Sennett paints the picture of craftsmen as troubled characters testing, resolving and formulating skill-sets, also noting that craftsmanship is poorly understood and often equated with manual labour. Craftsmanship brings together "the head and the hand" whereby if the technique and science of art and craft are not in unison both expression and understanding are impaired (Sennett, 2009: 20). Sennett explains the widely accepted measure of more than 10,000 hours of experience being needed to produce a master craftsman, a generalisation disputed by Ericsson as being much higher (Ericsson et al, 2006: 480). And despite this, and although Plato regarded craftsmen as "poets" but they are not called poets, not honoured for their practical skills, then as now (Sennett, 2009: 22-24).

Those objects, which are created for use or decoration alone, are considered by some inferior, as Harrod suggests when citing Sir Claude from T S Eliot's *The Confidential Clerk* (1953) who eulogizes the role of objects as art in his life:

Most people think of china or porcelain
As merely for use, or for decoration –
In either case, an inferior art.
For me, they are neither 'use' nor 'decoration' -
That is, decoration as a background for living:
For me they are life itself.

(Eliot, 1953, cited in Harrod 1990: 70)

For Harrod, the play reflects the position of pottery at the time of the author's writing which had moved from merely being [utilitarian] domestic ware towards the status of art, something hoped for with silverware (Harrod, 1990: 70).

Sir Christopher Frayling, formerly Rector at the Royal College of Art and Chairman of the Arts Council, creates his own manifesto in 'On Craftsmanship, towards a new Bauhaus' (2011). Explicitly avoiding high theory he presents a 'commonsense' guide to what craft is and the political framework within which craft currently works. Frayling asserts the standard imperative of focus on the crafts by modern politicians during a recession, shifting *this time* [Frayling's italics] away from design towards craft. He comments on 'policy buffs' discussing *parity of esteem* [Frayling's italics] between intellectual and practical pursuits and the ministerial emphasis on crafts being vocational and the need for crafts to get away from an academic veneer which, in his opinion, has done it no favours, the crafts needing a very different system of 'learning by doing' rather than an academic framework (Frayling, 2011: 7).

Plato said:

If craft is making, it must be taught by making", dissecting the vocational and the academic: "writing about a table is merely representing it.

(Plato, *Republic*, trans. Lee, 1987: 360-64)

Despite this Platonic clarity of thinking modern educationalists and politicians are still unable to agree whether craft teaching is vocational or academic, even though it has been subsumed and entrenched into HE education since 1992.

Frayling defines craft as: “an activity which involves skill in making things by hand” but then comments that modern usage has stretched the meaning to breaking point, such as Sennett’s 2009 example of Linux software writers. In his introduction, Frayling introduces his definition of “skilled manual labour” or the “aristocracy of labour” alongside *Homo faber* [Frayling’s italics] – Man the maker of things (Frayling, 2011: 10). The modern political framework, he suggests, sees craft as a stimulus to local and regional economies and as distinct from art, which is intellectual and conceptual. It is thus that the potter Grayson Perry found himself concluding that:

the art world had more trouble coming to terms with me being a potter than with my choice of frocks.

(Jones, 2007)

Perry here neatly encompasses the impossibility of defining modern Craft in terms of philosophical input, manual skills or artistic pretension (Frayling, 2011: 11). In the same vein as Perry, Greenhalgh asserts that the crafts are a loose consortium of genres placed together for artistic, economic and institutional reasons (Greenhalgh, 2002: 1). Greenhalgh points out that crafts come together and drift apart with no intrinsic cohesion. Craft, he says, is a messy word not previously used for creative artistic practice, questioning the use of the word as signifier of art, indicator of technophobia, anthropological signifier, protector of traditions, ethnic iconographer or political statement.

Frayling characterizes educationalists as teaching craft by doing – experiential learning – rather than from books, but even this is open to discussion. He comments on his time at the RCA as tutor and Rector that craftsmanship is “merely vocational”: done with the hands *rather than* [author’s italics] the head (Frayling, 2011: 17). He then moves into a polemic designed to demolish the argument made by the playwright Tom Stoppard:

Skill without imagination is craftsmanship and gives us many useful objects such as wickerwork picnic baskets. Imagination without skill gives us modern art!

(Stoppard, 1972)

Looking to other authors for commentary on craft, Harrod (1999) has created a wide-ranging review of the crafts which, similar to Adamson (2010), brings together

old and new essays thematically to trace the history and philosophies of craft and its makers. Both writers highlight the importance of the 19th century craft thinkers John Ruskin and William Morris. Even though critics such as Pye (1995) have largely discounted their ideas as utopian, romantic, idealistic and generally impractical (Adamson, 1999: 231), the ideas of these men still reverberate today, with the underlying theme being that there must be a better way for men and machines to work together.

Wendy Kaplan based an in-depth study of the Arts & Crafts movement on her Los Angeles exhibition, *Design for the Modern World* (1982). This includes an essay by the collector, Max Palevsky, around whose collection the exhibition was based. Palevsky explains that he was attracted to the movement not just through the aesthetic of the work but by the ideological foundations and its “ambivalence towards the modern world of mechanization”, adding that both he and William Morris were not against machines per se but “the great intangible machine of commercial tyranny” (Kaplan, 2004: 9). Palevsky highlights the Arts & Crafts Movement’s attempts to return to traditional craft and produce a new art (Kaplan, 2004: 9).

For Kaplan, the Arts & Crafts movement was a response to a century of unprecedented social and economic upheaval. The name was coined in 1887 from the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society. Providing alternative methods of production and consumption the cornerstones of the Society were:

“Joy in labour”, “the simple life”, “truth to materials”, “unity in design”, “honesty in construction”, “democratic design” and “fidelity to place”.

Kaplan asserts that the Society was neither anti-industrial nor anti-modern (Kaplan, 2004: 11).

2.9.2. The Craft Ideas that Influence Contemporary Artisan-Silversmiths

While the mid-19th century thought of Ruskin and Morris has had a profound influence on the teaching of craft to student silversmiths in the 21st century, the history of art and craft is rarely taught as a stand-alone module in UK creative universities. The modern student, therefore, is only likely to come across these ideas in fully articulated form through their own personal studies or projects which look at art or craft history and historic role models.

One of the foremost influences that has been passed down from the Arts and Crafts movement to the present day is a concern for nature and the

environment in general. This often leads to designs based on flora, and ample evidence can be found in work produced by final year students and in the artist statements produced for exhibition catalogues, both areas in which I have experience.

A similar connection can be drawn to contemporary university Craft and Design departments, especially the idea that 'Art is Unity', the motto of the English Art Workers' Guild. These ideas were reified in C.R. Ashbee's Guild of Handicraft, which was founded in London's East End in 1888 before moving to the Cotswolds in 1902, and which produced hand-made luxury goods as an alternative to factory production.

The ideals of the Arts & Craft movement were promoted by, amongst others, Richard Redgrave and Sir Henry Cole, who created the *Journal of Design and Manufactures*, as well as working through the governmental Department of Practical Art and its successor the Department of Science and Art which controlled British Art Education as well as the collections of decorative art at the South Kensington Museum (Kaplan, 2004: 23). Alongside the aesthetic concerns there was a measure of high idealism and socialist principles, but ultimately lack of sales killed off the Ashbee experiment, followed by the Chipping Campden Guild going into liquidation in 1908, and the Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society in 1912 (Kaplan, 2004: 64). While a commercial failure, the ideals of the Arts & Crafts movement continued to be promoted, albeit quietly, in workshops and art schools of the 1920s and '30s, while Central School lecturer Irene Wellington recalls teaching the precepts of the movement in the 1950s. In this way the movement survived to form the foundations of modern ideas (Kaplan, 2004: 66).

2.9.3. The Influence of the Bauhaus Movement on Craft

One of the most significant movements of influence that flourished alongside the ideals of the Arts & Crafts movement in the early 20th century derived from the German school of art called Bauhaus which looked toward influencing arts & crafts ideals in industry and craft. The Bauhaus aesthetic, with its lack of adornment and simple lines, forms the stylistic ethos of the majority of modern silversmiths.

Founded by Walter Gropius, the school's first manifesto, 'Staatliches Bauhaus' (1919) included the clarion call:

Artists, architects, sculptors, we must all return to the crafts.

(Bauhaus, 1919)

Frayling points out that this is a mistranslation, and ought to read “we must all *turn* to the crafts”, arguing that Gropius later accentuated the word 'turn' over 'return' to suggest that the crafts act as research for industrial production and speculative experiments (Frayling, 2011: 88).

Furthermore, the first proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus asserted that:

Art is not a ‘profession’. There is no essential difference between the artist and the craftsman.

(Bauhaus, 1919)

The word ‘Bauhaus’ itself, with its echoes of Bauhutte or Mason's Lodge, is a compound noun made from bau/build and haus/place, and the school's curriculum, which included the very first Foundation Course, was designed to take account of the machine age with its new design aesthetic, ethics and mysticism (Frayling, 2011: 130). The school's internal debates centred on the new status of art, craft and industry, and took place in the forlorn hope that industry might be listening.

Alfred Barr contextualises Bauhaus through the 1938 Bauhaus Exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art in New York. Although the Bauhaus building itself had by that time been closed for ten years, Barr asserts that the movement was far from dead, as the designs, books, methods, principles and philosophies of art and education lived on in the ideals of the movement's lecturers and students (MOMA, 1938: 5).

Before this, however, the 1923 Bauhaus saw expressionist painters such as Kandinsky combining forces with craftsmen and industrial designers to create an experimental house, which led to American artists considering a new type of art school.

The MOMA (1938) catalogue written in conjunction with Gropius lays out the Bauhaus principles:

- A student's future should primarily involve industry and mass production rather than individual craftsmanship
- Teachers in schools of design should be men who are in advance of their profession
- The school of design should bring together the various arts of painting, architecture, theatre, photography, weaving, typography etc., into a modern synthesis disregarding the conventions of ‘fine’ and ‘applied’ arts
- That a school of design should have on its faculty a creative and disinterested artist as a spiritual counterpoint to the practical technician

- That thorough manual experience of materials is essential to the student of design
- That the study of rational design in terms of technics and materials should only be the first step in the development of a new and modern sense of beauty
- The student architect or designer should have no refuge in the past but should be equipped for the modern world in its various aspects, artistic, technical, social, economic and spiritual so that he may function in society not as a decorator but as a vital participant.

(MOMA, 1938: 6)

Gropius himself asserted that: “We perceive every form as the embodiment of an idea, every piece of work as a manifestation of our innermost selves.” (Bauhausverlog, 1923). The Bauhaus was seen by Gropius as part of the protest against the devitalising influence of the academies seeking to discover the basis of the reunion between creative artists and the industrial world (Bauhausverlog, 1923).

2.9.4. Design, Art, Utility, and Craftsmanship

When considering the most modern thinking concerning the teaching of craft, Frayling (2011) concerns himself with the uncomfortable relationship between the crafts and fine arts. He quotes Pye on the “flock of duck-billed platitudes” surrounding thinking on craftsmanship, and the aspirations of some crafts to be seen as fine art. Pye comments that categories of fine art, craft and manufacture are in themselves fairly meaningless, while asserting that the definition of fine art is that “it is absolutely useless”. He brings great clarity to the problem of defining workmanship, splitting it into “the workmanship of risk” and “the workmanship of certainty”, where the former is craftsmanship liable to encounter serendipitous mistakes which add to the design and final result or ruin through accident, inattention or inexperience, the latter predetermined through machinery and beyond the control of the operator (Pye, 1995: 9).

Using writing with a pen as an example of the workmanship of risk, as opposed to printing, which is the workmanship of certainty, The value Pye finds in craftsmanship is in diversity - the crafts may be in direct competition with the producers of ordinary quality (machine-made) products, but are in no way comparable to the fine arts (Adamson, 2010: 349). However, he does concede that haute couture flourishes in a very few crafts nevertheless.

One of the results of this viewpoint, and of advances in machining technology, is that the public has become unable to distinguish between products made by hand and those made by machine: they can, however, distinguish improvements in design. The intensification of interest in design has not been accompanied by a corresponding interest in workmanship (Pye, 1995: 17). While Pye accepts that the greatest admiration is still reserved for the workmanship of risk, he considers public recognition of craftsmanship as backward looking, a minor pastime for hobbyists (Pye, 1995: 20-21). Despite his gloomy prognosis Pye does speak of the value of the workmanship of risk but where he differs from commentators of the past, such as Ruskin and Morris, is that he wants to remove the humanist, political, and emotional issues from his analysis. Pye comments that workmanship of risk will rarely be used for goods in quantity, as distinct from the tools for producing those goods. While individuality will always be in demand, he points out that individual production no longer guarantees quality, while conversely, mass-produced items are no longer of low quality, as has long been the case (Pye, 1995: 23). The terms 'hand' and 'machine-made' are now meaningless, and have historical rather than technical significance (Pye, 1995: 26).

For Gooden & Popham, silver objects are above the ordinary, there is nothing in them that is trivial, nothing ill-considered. They deserve a respect for themselves, the occasions for which they are made, the ideas that realised them and the skill with which they were created. This respect is a result of, amongst other things, the anti-bacteriological properties of the metal that made it ideal for use in wealthy households for storage of food, drink and utensils. They recognise the relationship between the past creative maker's skill and imagination and the patronage of the wealthy buyer who through commissioning ensured practical purpose, a store of wealth and status with the use of silver to embellish the household and furnish the needs of his table (Gooden & Popham, 1971: 7).

Although these attributes have become less important in the present day, the legacy of silver's cultural capital remains. What remains to be seen is whether the industry can rebuild this cultural capital again? According to Gooden & Popham:

It is in the design, even more than in the execution that the silversmith has the chance nowadays to deserve a place in the records of his subject.

(Gooden & Popham, 1971: 8)

The silversmith must assert a concern for form and character worthy of the material, recognising the history of the material. Each piece can be treated as an experiment in design as well as craftsmanship, with the ability to explore the limitless permutations of shape and surface. Furthermore, as high quality workmanship dates back thousands of years, Gooden & Popham have a point when they suggest that:

It seems unlikely that the silversmith of the present day will be honoured by posterity for technical innovation or skill in workmanship alone. It is in the design of what he makes that he has the opportunity to earn distinction for his maker's mark; and that is a constant opportunity from which the achievements of others, now or in the past, take nothing away.

(Gooden & Popham, 1971: 8).

Each generation tries to establish a design aesthetic - a look which if it chimes with the zeitgeist creates success. It is this problem with which modern silversmiths are struggling, and they appear to have been defeated, and to have lost the attention of the public. A new design 'voice' is needed to rise above the noise of the modern design crowd and to champion the relevance of working in silver as against the use of less expensive materials.

2.9.5. Theorising on the Future of Craft

Both Sennett and Frayling look to the future of Craft with the trepidation of amateur futurologists. Sennett's opening paragraph presents one of his more controversial opinions, namely that "nearly anyone can be a good craftsman" (Sennett, 2009: 268). He relates craft to the play of children and champions its beneficial socialising effects, invoking the Enlightenment to propose craft as a method for teaching people how to govern themselves. Sennett does appear to view craft with a backwards-looking heritage romanticism reminiscent of Pye, and he even regards "Ability" with the same Enlightenment philosophy that craft abilities are innate (2009: 274). This is refuted by Ericsson who explains that abilities are often dependent on motivational factors and not just innate inherited skills (Ericsson et al, 2006: 480).

Sennett works from the standpoint of theories such as Operational Intelligence and the Stanford-Binet test that measures the five mental domains covering visual-spatial processing (2009: 280). He does not discuss the possibility that we all have these intelligences to some degree but that what we may lack is the

will and dedication it requires to exercise them to the extent of becoming a good craftsman.

In *The New Bauhaus* Frayling cites Walter Crane, an RCA predecessor, who wanted to demonstrate the general shoddiness of mass-produced goods in the high street to the industry that manufactured them by producing beautiful one-off pieces of craftwork (Frayling, 2011: 127).

Frayling's vision, however, is of a place where art, craft and design engages the post-industrial world. He moves the Bauhaus argument on by not looking to criticize through example as did Crane but by engaging with designers and industry. He suggests that both staff and students of the new Bauhaus will have a strong belief in the future by referencing the philosophy of William Morris, for whom the point of the arts is to produce hope.

Frayling's new institution will be a radical academy, a research institute, "an agency of professional education" encompassing every involved professional: less a think tank than a "think and do" tank. Much of what Frayling says stretches the boundaries of idealism for a single organisation wanting to encompass art and craft next to design (2011: 137). Frayling borrows the mantra "think global, act local" from Geddes (1854-1932) whilst explaining that the agency of professional education must also be a research institute, a place of learning through art echoing being the wishes of Herbert Read in 1944 (2011: 139). The final element of the recipe for future success for Frayling is an holistic education encompassing head, heart, and hand. Finally, Frayling borrows from Ruskin's 1859 lecture in Manchester: "Art must always be produced by the subtlest of all machines, which is the human hand."

2.10. The Demographics of Craftspeople and Craft Education

In this section of the review an overview of the landscape of craft, within which artisan-silversmiths operate, is taken of the macro-economy, lifestyles and demography of craft makers, as each one affects the others, through surveys carried out by the Crafts Council 2012, McAuley and Fillis (2005) and in the 1971 government sponsored Bolton Committee report and on the view of government on small businesses which still persist today.

Both Frayling in 2011 and McAuley and Fillis in 2005 both note that especially during a period of austerity:

There are periodic upsurges of interest in the creative industries from both a cultural and an economic perspective. Governments

have realised the importance of the micro and small business sector to create employment. Positioning the craft sector within this grouping allows it to benefit from increased public and policy exposure.

(McAuley & Fillis, 2005: 140)

The importance of the micro and SME sectors are documented by McAuley and Fillis, with the majority of craft businesses employing fewer than 10 people. They note that in the UK the crafts sector is vibrant and innovative, and that it should not be viewed as the 'sleepy hollow' of the economy (McAuley & Fillis, 2005: 151-52).

The 1971 Bolton Committee asserts that:

When we come to look at the human and social factors affecting (small firms), we can see that firms are in fact as varied and individual as the men [and women] who founded them.

(Bolton, 1971: 22).

This does concur with the research of this thesis and precludes making sweeping generalisations about the study group.

The Bolton report singles out the *craftsman* as a special category:

There is a small and highly specialised segment of the small firm population: the independent craftsman, who may be defined as self-employed, small-scale producers of high quality in [...] usually traditional media. (Bolton, 1971: 146)

2.10.1. The Demographics of Craft

With particular reference to silversmiths the 2012 Crafts Council survey documents:

- 69 makers in the survey (7.1% of the total number of craftspeople in the 2012 survey)
- 54% sold through a gallery or exhibitions
- 40.6% sold through craft fairs
- 42.5% sold through commissions by the general public
- 11.0% sold from studio/workshop or home.

Artisan-silversmiths, it seems, rely primarily on galleries, exhibitions and craft fairs for their sales. Many, however, find it difficult to deal with them as galleries and

exhibitions demand high commissions whilst the best craft fairs are often difficult to get into as well as commanding high rents with little guarantee of sales, as interviewee 17 suggests.

The Craft in an Age of Change survey (Burns et al, 2012) analysis shows that women were more likely to want additional skills training than men, while the younger makers were much keener to acquire skills than older makers (Burns et al, 2012: 24-25). 88.9% of general business tasks (such as bookkeeping, website design and marketing) are undertaken by the maker themselves. 42.7% of those makers had received training in administration.

The specific business skills that makers felt they needed were:

- Marketing 24.7%
- IT skills 5.9%
- General business skills 6.2%
- Craft technology skills 1.1%
- Bookkeeping/accounting 5.6%

(Burns et al, 2012: 52-76)

The fact that nearly 90% of makers undertake their own core business administration, primarily in order to save costs, demonstrates the need for basic business training prior to business launch as this is a central part of controlling their business.

The micro and SME businesses covered by the McAuley & Fillis study shows that 87.2 per cent of the sample were sole traders with a further 9 per cent involved in partnerships (McAuley & Fillis, 2005: 144).

The Labour Force Survey (2012) comments:

Makers are a highly qualified group: just over 60% have a first or second degree in craft, art or design. Only one in six (15.5%) had no formal craft qualifications or training.

(Burns et al, 2012: 23-24)

The (2012) survey notes that craft has become 'professionalised' with first and second degrees becoming a key pathway into the profession. Furthermore, it suggests that teaching in higher education institutions is also an important source of income for many craft professionals (Burns et al, 2012: 23-24)

Beaver (2002) considers business through the prism of governmental collaboration and his own academic interest in analysing proto-entrepreneurs whilst acknowledging crafts people as those founding businesses “to pursue personal objectives, such as independence, control and a good standard of living” (Beaver, 2002: 16), noting that:

it is still a fallacy [...] that small firms are merely large ones in miniature. Small businesses differ from their large counterparts in the motivations, success requirements, management style and philosophy, resource base, scope of operations and expectations.

(Beaver, 2002: ix)

He places emphasis on the requirement often insisted upon by finance providers to prepare a business plan, but quotes the conclusion of Nayak and Greenfield, in their 1994 study, that planning in the micro-business sector is “almost wholly absent” (Beaver, 2002: 17):

Many such firms indeed appear to keep few financial records of their business and so would not be in a position to monitor plans even if they had them.

(Nayak and Greenfield, 1994: 182-231)

Evidence from the interviews concerning administration and bookkeeping shows that the silversmithing community and especially cost control of individual commissioned pieces is generally of a reasonable order. However, where Nayak and Greenfield (1994) are correct is that the extrapolation of financial information into cash-flow and business plans, which many feel is not time well-spent due to the uncertainty of predicting sales, is not undertaken.

2.11. Innovation, Life Long Learning and New Technology

Higher Education establishments provide an opportunity for students to be exposed to technology that has significant capital costs, technology that is not often available in a normal workshop environment. The Crafts Council survey comments:

Higher education also provides a key site for innovation in the craft sector, which is valuable given the predominance of sole traders lacking the necessary capital to invest heavily in R&D.

(Burns et al, 2012: 15)

Yair's (2011) research highlighting craft-makers' engagement with the digital and environmental sustainability agendas makes clear that practice-based academic research is an important source of craft-based innovation (Yair, 2010).

Tertiary education is now the primary route to becoming a modern silversmith. The content and quality of Higher Education and Further Education are central to creating future generations of silversmiths. The greatest percentage rises in types of course are in glass, jewellery, silversmithing and textiles. Women outnumber men in crafts courses (making up around 80% of first degree students) and male participation is declining at a higher rate among first-degree students, widening the gender gap (Pooley, 2016: 9).

Postgraduate participation in crafts subjects rose steadily from 2007/08 to 2012/13. The majority of postgraduate students are studying for Masters degrees (91%) with around 6% studying for Doctorates. Pooley asserts:

Higher education is part of a mix of lifelong learning opportunities. However, unusually high levels of education to first-degree level – compared with both the general population and the rest of the creative industries – have remained a key sector characteristic. Especially for women, who outnumber male graduates but are less likely to enter the sector through informal apprenticeships or self-directed learning.

(Pooley, 2016: 9)

2.12. Bishopsland Educational Trust

Bishopsland Educational Trust Founded more than twenty-five years ago is the most established of the uncertified non-governmental institution in the UK which specialises in teaching silversmithing skills to a high level, more recently Vanilla Ink the Smiddy opened in Banff. Bishopland's success is reflected in the number of entrants from the Trust in the 2014 Goldsmiths' Fair who went on to achieve a good level of sales.

Based in Reading, Berkshire, the Trust is an example of an academy institution fully focused on delivering technical and business training in jewellery and silversmithing. The one-year full-time residential course is designed to provide a bridge between a university degree and the ability to forge a career as a self-employed silversmith or jeweller. There is strong focus on core silversmithing and

jewellery skills, honed via one-to-one tutorials and coaching, with master-classes given currently by Appleby, Kelly, Arnold, McDonald and other distinguished master craftsmen (2017).

The Trust concentrates on craftsmanship, innovation, and helping makers to be sustainable. A 46-week, intensive training course in design, technical and business skills is offered to up to 12 students each year. Design, technical skills, and individual creativity are developed through personal projects, alongside business skills for designer-makers. Business viability is firmly allied to the pursuit of excellence. Successful past alumni include: Ndidi Ekubia MA (RCA), Theresa Nguyen (BCU), and Miriam Hanid.).

The Trust's success is based on an absolute focus on the concerns of building a business at a stage in the practitioner's life when it is their main aim. They build a jewellery or silverware collection and test it in the marketplace before, sometimes, a full launch the following year. However, the only market research which is offered to the participants is the experience and hearsay of the role models who visit the institution. High quality market research could create commercial focus for the students.

2.12.1. New Designers Exhibition and Beyond

The annual *New Designers* exhibition at the Islington Business Design Centre is specifically designed to launch graduates into the commercial world since 1985. Following their degree show many graduates are undecided as to which route to take: employment or self-employment. This exhibition is the first available test of their commercial potential. Exhibitors receive advice on marketing, brand and product development, pricing, selling and display, as well as the fundamentals of starting a small business. This exhibition is often their first real step into the commercial world. The exhibition also acts to reinforce the launch of the graduate makers with their 'One Year On' exhibition, held at the same time.

2.13. Business Training Courses

This section documents the courses and programmes which artisan-silversmiths can expect to attend. The courses are constructed on Porterian (1980) principles of competitive analysis which as we have seen are not always applicable to artisan-silversmiths who do not see the relevance of business planning and do not see their world in Porterian terms of a competitive marketplace.

Although there is no formal research published in the field there is ongoing research through the SGSAH Creative Economy Studentship Cohort of 2017 through the AHRC CDA scheme which sheds light on the creative industries in Scotland including Lauren Baker (Impact of Craft Scotland on maker's careers) and Morag Illies (Impact of residencies on artistic practice).

While interviewees commented on the paucity of business training received at university, university lecturers would argue that there is not enough time allocated to learning design and hand skills, and that they consider business skills, which are often not actually specified within the curriculum, a low priority as a result.

There is a significant body of research and literature, covered in this section, on starting and running a small business. Training for small businesses is provided by local authorities, government organisations, specialist charities, practitioners in allied industries, business schools and universities. Despite this quantity of helpful literature, graduates and craftspeople often feel overwhelmed after leaving university and are uncertain as to how to go about successfully starting a business.

In this section we look at two business courses and two mentoring schemes through which several of the interviewees passed. The first is the one-week, intensive course called *Getting Started*, which is delivered through industry stakeholder experts and practitioners who are put up as role models. It involves little theory, with learning being achieved by example. Considering both the course information pack (the Goldsmiths' Company's 2016 *Getting Started* 5 day programme), and a conversation with interviewee 21, an overview can be constructed. The course covers:

- An overview of Goldsmiths' Hall organization: library and hallmarking facilities
- A career as a designer
- A career as a jeweller
- A career as a silversmith
- Project planning
- Small company administration, electronic portfolios, costing a job, branding, online marketing, social media, dealing with the press, approaching a retailer, approaching a gallery, exhibitions, batch manufacturing, networking and career planning.

As can be seen from this list all the subjects relate to the detail of being a maker with little reference to industry context or to market research with a view to what products to sell.

2.13.1. The Crafts Council Hothouse Programme

The Crafts Council Hothouse programme, set up in 2010, seeks to develop talented craft makers by creating a sense of peer-group solidarity on both a local and national basis. The 6-month programme aims to equip the participants with all the tools to develop their business by creating a business plan, articulating a vision and identifying their strengths and weaknesses.

Cohort meetings and seminars are structured so that the individuals can voice aims and ambitions, and space is provided for questions and learning. The participants utilise visualisation in their practice planning through solo and peer exercises, and by examining the career routes of mid-career makers. By analysing mid-career speakers at seminars the participants are asked to identify the qualities possessed by an admired role model.

The attendees are introduced to tools for business modelling, planning and financial management, documenting their own profile within a craft context whilst being encouraged to use business language. From this base the course envisions that their aspirations and visualisations can be translated into business planning.

The programme aims to enable participants to:

- Understand the importance and practice of developing networks
- Understand the significance of good Press & PR communications
- Assess their current body of work, and be critical and creative in assessing their own development
- Be able to create ideas to progress their own body of work
- Cost and price in relation to the marketplace
- Act upon a strategy for market development and marketing
- Work with curators, buyers and commissioners
- Build customer profiles and understand how organisations and networks can offer a framework for customer profiling (e.g. exhibitions, collections and education, trade, retail, direct selling, commissioning, collaborating with industry.)

Over the 6-month course period the programme puts the practitioners' businesses into context based on Porterian (1980) SWOT theories (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats).

The course attendees create a business plan including a value proposition, mission statement, unique selling proposition (defining what you sell, your creative voice), key activities, market position, customer profile, route to market and relationship building. Once these elements are in place the attendees can consider revenues and costs including necessary investment and whether the time taken for their work fits the marketplace.

By the end of the programme the participants will have:

- Looked at the legacy of the programme and reflected on their next steps. Developed aims, new goals and ambitions
- Developed confidence in accepting uncertainty within their practice. Understood areas they have felt challenged in and questioned by as a positive part of their development
- Developed an understanding of their own goals and professional development needs
- Consolidated as a peer group.

The participants in the Hothouse 2017 survey said that Hothouse enabled them to think differently about their career direction, understand the sector better, identify new skills/abilities learnt during the programme and their next developmental steps, that they had benefited positively from being part of a peer group, and had created a vision for practice/business and a knowledge of business planning. They felt their business judgement had improved when assessing opportunities, as had their creative analysis skills, and their ability to be entrepreneurial (Crafts Council, 2017).

As with the *Getting Started* programme the Hothouse creates the ability to document where the practitioner is and where they might like to be through SWOT analysis and the noting of role models' paths to success. However, these programmes do not offer market research in the practitioner's discipline, nor oblige participants to analyze why they do what they do in commercial terms by taking an overview of their sector.

2.13.2. The Walpole Group: Luxury Brand Mentoring

As an adjunct to the business development courses noted previously there was felt to be a need by the organisers of the Walpole Group to take the best of the start-up practitioners to accelerate their progress through the use of personalised mentoring.

Founded in 1992 the Walpole Group was set up to promote British luxury goods and part of its remit is the instigation of a mentoring programme for ambitious, young, established businesses with a turnover greater than £50,000 (2017) which are looking to trade at a higher, often international, level. Following a rigorous selection programme a luxury goods expert is found to advise and encourage each participant. The expectation is that the participants will have competent business skills and need guidance on higher-level marketing and sales techniques as well as advice on trading outside of the UK. The mentee gains tutelage from a luxury brand industry leader who works with him or her to create a bespoke one-year programme of meetings, guidance and workshops (Walpole, 2018).

The silversmith interviewees 25 and 37 were beneficiaries of the Walpole one-year programme, in 2015 and 2017 respectively. The programme laid out below illustrates a series of master-classes in luxury brand management with diary gaps for one-one mentoring. As with the Hothouse programme the Walpole programme aims to create cohorts and informal support groups as well as networking with the organisers, sponsors and alumni:

Workshop 1: Introductions and networking

Crafted Alumni

Brands of Tomorrow / Crafted joint workshop

Tour of Harrods and Retail Landscape Distribution, Franchising and e-commerce

Workshop 2: Price Point Surgery. Developing Your Brand. Brand Vision & Marketing

Workshop 3: Data Protection. IP & Brand Protection. Employment. Pensions.

Workshop 4: Marketing, PR/Social Media & Meet the Media.

Workshop 5: Website online. Crafted Mentees Website Critique. Digital Marketing Overview & Effective Social Media. Getting the Best out of Email Marketing. Briefing an Agency (Website)

Workshop 6: Raising Finance - a Case Study. How to Sell yourself and your business. Employment.

Workshop 7: How to Sell yourself and your business. Gallery view. Retail View - in conversation. How to Sell yourself and your business. Angel Investing (Walpole, 2018).

This system of learning is based on the Lewinian (1951) experiential learning model whereby the coach establishes the initial state of the practitioner's business, works with the practitioner to form abstract concepts and generalisations for the improvement of business and creates a virtuous loop of concept, test, real world experience, observe and reflect and then again create further concepts and generalisations based on the new knowledge. The intensity of working with a highly respected industry expert is a life-affirming experience for many practitioners. However, much depends on the chemistry between the two people. For the two silversmiths on the programme (Ints. 25 and 37) there was a marked improvement in branding and marketing focused on the luxury sector rather than just the narrow silversmithing market.

2.13.3. Mentoring - National Association of Jewellers

As with the Walpole Group's philosophy of accelerating ambitious makers, mentoring of start-up businesses has been an accepted practice for some time. Research by the Prince's Trust, a mentoring organisation which has been in existence for over 30 years, indicates that providing a business loan in combination with a mentor greatly improves the probability of the loan being repaid to the charity.

The National Association of Jewellers (NAJ) (NAJ, 2016) has developed a mentoring programme for silversmiths and jewellers. The NAJ system is based on a simple confidential agreement lasting one year, to meet and discuss issues pertinent to the mentee. The regularity of meetings is set by mutual agreement. Inevitably the subjects covered are very wide ranging and so the programme is not prescriptive regarding discussion topics. It has been found that the relationships built between mentor and mentee can become very intense and highly personalised hence the need to give the opportunity to restrict the agreement to just one year, though the programme can be extended by mutual agreement.

The National Association of Jewellers has drawn up a set of guidelines based on the UKTI (United Kingdom Trade & Industry) mentoring programme:

- A mentor does not give advice, rather helps the mentee to weigh up situations, and offers challenge and feedback allowing the mentee on how to come to a decision themselves
- The mentor's role is to respond to the mentee's needs and agenda with help often through their existing trade network

- Mentors will agree with the mentee how they wish the relationship to work and the appropriate number of meetings in a year. The relationship is completely confidential
- Mentors and mentees will respect each other's time and other responsibilities, ensuring they do not demand more than is reasonable
- Mentors agree to be placed on the NAJ Mentoring Register for a period of a year.

Despite a high level of promotion the NAJ's programme has not attracted any applications from silversmiths as at December 2017. This could well be a function of the NAJ having little to offer silversmiths with their marketing aimed at jewellers. This is a recent change of emphasis for the NAJ who formerly embraced silversmithing and allied trades as their constituent market (NAJ, 2016).

2.14. Conclusions Drawn from the Literature Review, Business and Craft

Following on from Chapter One, in this chapter, consideration is given to the definition of the studio silversmith offered by Ransome Wallis: "An artist silversmith who has personal control of every aspect of the creative process, combining concept, design and most of the execution in a single pair of hands" (Ransome Wallis, 2015: 13). This is the most accurate definition of an artisan-silversmith in secondary literature, and has been revised for the purposes of this thesis as "An artisan-silversmith controls the creative *and* business processes of combining concept, design and execution of modern silverware making".

The history of the artisan-silversmith and the craftspeople previously known as goldsmiths, silversmiths, studio silversmiths or designer silversmiths has been explored, and by further exploring the term craftsmen and craftswomen in the literature, a picture of the relationship of these people to society can be articulated.

In documenting the techniques of the modern artisan-silversmith and their connections to the past, it has been noted that the basic skills needed are much the same as those used over the previous centuries. In addition to these traditional skills, and with improvements in some modern techniques of manufacture such as casting, soldering and finishing, there are totally new procedures such as computer aided design and prototyping. Largely, however, the industry remains much as it has been for the last several centuries.

There is an historical view of silverware that influences the public's judgement concerning contemporary artisan-silversmithing. These historical views includes the ideas that silverware ownership is a:

- Store and display of wealth
- Display of silverware as the measure of fashion and good taste in formal dining
- Demonstration of a willingness and ability to maintain silverware.

These concepts have long since fallen out of fashion, but the in 21st century media still promotes this view, partially in concert with antique dealers and media commentators.

The origins of silverware as items used in biblical times, by royalty and the church add to the mystique of the industry but inhibit its finding a place with consumers in modern society. A confused mix of designs ranging from simple medieval to gothic, renaissance, rococo, baroque, Victorian, Art Nouveau, Arts & Crafts, the simplicity of Bauhaus and latterly Scandinavian designs has left the modern era with no strong design voice which the UK public can now relate to as 'of the 21st century'.

The Heritage Crafts Red List notes that Silversmithing is a viable craft but does not acknowledge that the industry's output was previously ubiquitous in every household and many organisations as an icon of prestige with silverware, and silver plate derivatives, being a cultural item often in daily use which has now become a rarely purchased reflecting the industry's decline.

The role of the Goldsmiths' Company is noted as originally the epicentre of the goldsmith's guild, a defender of trade standards in apprenticeships, metal fineness and also trading territory. Latterly the Goldsmiths' Centre, as an arm of the Company, has become the focal point for training and awards and an organiser of bursaries and grants. The Goldsmiths' Centre aims to become a hub of industry excellence, influencing teaching standards of technical skills and design throughout the UK.

The Crafts Council (2012) asserts that over 60% of craft workers have a first or second degree in craft, art or design with only 15% having no formal craft qualifications. The 2012 report notes the professionalisation of craft business people through the pathway of the creative universities. The Crafts Council's report highlights the central importance of the creative universities to the craft industries while acknowledging their role in developing innovation through technology which would otherwise be unavailable to practitioners.

Entering the artisan-silversmithing trade through the Goldsmiths' Company's controlled indentured apprenticeship system is now less common. This system, however, sets high standards reinforced by the UK's most prestigious technical and

design awards giver, the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council. Through these organisations and the closeness of the Goldsmiths' Company to the creative universities jewellery and silversmithing departments, the Company ensures its centrality to the artisan-silversmithing industry.

2.14.1. Summary of The Key Elements of Business for Artisan-Silversmiths

The key challenges of being in business can be summarised as the following for artisan-silversmiths:

- Limited demand for contemporary silversmithing
- Trading in a fragmented marketplace
- Working alone or in a very small group
- A limited personal business skillset
- Concentration on craft technique as a selling tool by makers
- Limited finances
- Limited sales outlets
- Being pulled in different directions concerning time management
- Reliance on others for specialist skills
- Administration of the business is often a weakness
- Sales and marketing is not a core skill
- Lack of industry market research
- The need to create a network of clients.

The Crafts Council 2012 survey highlighted that the majority of makers had a second and sometimes third form of income.

Incubators play an important role in artisan-silversmithing businesses creating industry clusters and business support training and mentoring. Similarly there is a good range of industry relevant training programmes such as *Getting Started* and *Hothouse* to help aspiring and established businesses. In addition good mentoring programmes are available through the Crafts Council, the Walpole Group and Goldsmiths' Centre for mid-career practitioners. Skills exchange programmes are gaining in importance and funding through the Goldsmiths' Centre. The CBS is gaining stature organising exhibitions, marketing the artisan-silversmithing industry and facilitating skills exchanges.

All this analysis is positive and so one can ask why is the industry in decline? An important element missing from the courses and industry organisations is an industry overview with market research which is industry specific to draw upon. This would indicate the need for an ASDC to perform this role.

2.14.2. The Centrality of Craft to Artisan Silversmiths

The key concepts documented in the opening Craft section of the literature review are the lack of value placed in craftsmanship by society in general (Sennett, 2009); the conflict and confusion between art and craft in the perception of the public (Harrod, 1990); confused thinking as to whether craft should be taught as an academic discipline or a vocation (Frayling, 2011) and the Romantic 19th century hangover of Ruskin's view of craftsmanship, which Pye (1995) now considers should be swept away.

The chapter documents the trajectory of the Arts & Crafts movement leading into the Bauhaus movement and its effect on contemporary design thinking and later the concept of the "the workmanship of risk" (Pye, 1995).

The act of learning and skills acquisition is fundamental to becoming a master silversmith, and also to the culture of the community. The intensity, longevity and pleasure of the learning process are articulated through the theories of *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 21), which are a central motivator in being a life-long silversmith.

The public is, in general, confused by the designation 'craft' as a result of its application to every industry from brewing to baking, to the point where it is distrusted as an overused branding and marketing term: the term is almost incidentally associated with craftsmanship (Neal, 2015; Frayling, 2011). A confusion of techniques and the blurring of methods of manufacture, the conflation of the hand-made with the machine-made and the accompanying lack of transparency has caused the public to turn its back on the designation 'Craft'. A lack of understanding of the skills required to make objects in silver, and the difficulty of obtaining them has caused the perceived worth of craftsmanship to dip: many appear to consider these skills as actually innate rather than hard-won (Sennett, 2009: 274).

Considering craft training, analysing career classifications and the developmental stages of craftspeople create key intervention points which can be identified to influence and train silversmiths (Burns et al, 2012). A review of the centrality of HE to the teaching of craft highlights the role of HE as a driver of innovation in the craft world, especially for artisan-silversmiths who have an even

higher level of specialization than other crafts, as well as the need for access to university innovation centres and specialist equipment.

The ideas of Sennett (2009) and Frayling (2011) paint their vision of the future of craft teaching: a new institution, “an agency of professional education” encompassing every involved professional, a radical academy preceding concepts in some areas, a research institute less a think tank more a “think and do” tank.

This summary articulates the positive position of the artisan-silversmith industry at the beginning of the 21st century, with strong institutions controlling skills training and high standards. In the next four chapters these attributes will be built upon in order to create a framework of industry cooperation and the elements needed for it to re-invent itself to regain its relevance to the 21st century luxury goods buyer as other commercial niches fall into decline. The next chapter starts this process of analysis by articulating the theoretical basis of craft learning, the motivations of artisan-silversmiths and their attitudes to enterprise and entrepreneurship which are the critical elements of future success.

3. Theoretical Underpinnings of the Study

3.1. Chapter introduction

At the heart of this thesis is the body of original research which is presented in Chapter Five. The purpose of the present Chapter is to lay out the theoretical frameworks through which the research findings can be interpreted and understood.

Before the research data can be interpreted, it has to be collected, organised and codified. The processes by which that has been done are explained in Chapter Four. For present purposes, it is sufficient to say that the key themes or domains, which emerged from this process of codification were as follows:

- Personal Development: Craft and & Business Training
- Education
- Business Skills
- Success, Attitudes, Work-Life Balance
- Commerciality
- Craft Skills.

Aggregating these six key themes indicated the need for the study to concentrate on three broad areas of research, namely craft, success and enterprise. This chapter analyses only these meta-themes, bringing to bear social theories and business theories to disassemble the elements of craft, success and business, which are pertinent to the study. Central to the industry is the concept of 'learning by doing' as articulated by Plato, Sennett (2009) and Frayling (2011), a concept that feeds into modern theories of experiential and purposive learning as espoused by Kolb (1984), Amirault & Bransom (2006), Ericsson (1991; 1996; 2002; 2004), Lewin (1951) and Dewey (1938). These ideas have been of particular relevance to the conceptualisation of the learning of craft and enterprise skills. In order to classify the stages of development for the purposes of phased training, the study analyses the theories of Dormer (1994) and the 2012 Crafts Council survey (Burns et al, 2012). This material is considered in sections 3.2 and 3.3.

The motivations of any particular group, especially one made up of individualists, as silversmiths tend to be, are complex and difficult to analyse, each person having their own distinctive set of motivations. In order that a distinct set of motivational values might be articulated for this group, a number of theoretical constructs have been brought to bear, including the humanist theories of Maslow (1954), Schwarz and Bardi (2005) and Bourdieu (1977; 1984; 1986; 1994; 2005; 2006;

Bourdieu and Waquant, 1992). When taken in conjunction with the motivational theories of being in business, as theorised by Georgievski et al (2011), and humanist motivational theories of Csikszentmihalyi (2002), Duckworth (2017), Ericsson (1991), Needleman (1993) and Nasser and Wilson (2017) on what it means to be a craftsperson, the complex and sometimes conflicting mindsets of artist-craftspeople may be disentangled, clarified and understood. This work occupies sections 3.4 to 3.6.

The theories of Bridge & O'Neill (1998), Neck & Greene (2010), Beaver (2012), Venkataraman (1997), and Chang & Rieple (2013), allows for an analysis of the differences between entrepreneurship and enterprise. The literature of Granet (2017), Jacobsen (2013), Osterwalder & Pigneur (2017), and Airey (2013) bring together the theories of entrepreneurship and enterprise from the point of view of practitioners, whilst the writings of Boothroyd (2011) and Branaghan (2011) categorise and systematise the act of being in business. A summary of the findings of the 2016 Innovation and Education Strand Conference highlight a number of recommendations for craft makers and the overarching industry. This material occupies sections 3.7 and 3.8.

3.2. Experiential Learning – “Learning by Doing”

Experiential learning is central to this thesis and its ideas permeate the learning of both craft and enterprise. As with any system of education, experiential learning - “learning by doing” - has both advantages and disadvantages. Pedagogy, the study of teaching methods, is derived from the Greek word meaning 'to lead a child'. Since the times of Plato, who in large part taught philosophy through the 'Socratic method' in which a dialogue was entered into in order that underlying issues might be drawn out and understanding enhanced, there has been much debate regarding methodology. Francis Bacon (1564-1626) noted two fundamental methods of learning, the 'magistral' and the 'initiative' methods. He suggested that the former method involved knowledge being handed down from teacher to pupil in order to be believed, while the latter involved exploration of the subject matter so that it might be understood, and taken further.

But knowledge that is delivered to others “as a thread to be spun on” ought to be insinuated (if it were possible) in the same method wherein it was originally invented (Bacon, 1605). The assumption was still that the teacher would be an expert at their subject, and the attainment of expertise in multiple disciplines was considered to be an ultimate goal. (Amirault & Bransom, 2006: 69-72). This attitude is evident in Bacon's writing, too, that “I have taken all knowledge to be my province” (Bacon, 1592).

In many ways, the training of craftsmen has, historically, both vindicated and contradicted Bacon's stance. The formalised training undertaken in the medieval craft guilds was based around serving a period of apprenticeship of 7-10 years under a master craftsman. The master "must know how to do [the craft] in all points, by himself, without advice or aid from another", and the only way in which this could be ascertained was if he were "examined by wards of the craft" (Amirault & Bransom, 2006: 74). This system of training and approval has remained unchanged in principle, as the modern master and indentured apprentice present a Masterpiece for inspection by the Wardens of the given craft guild. The master and apprentice have not passed any type of formal examination other than peer group acknowledgement of the quality of work, an achievement Ericsson & Smith categorise as 'expert performance' (Ericsson & Smith, 1991; Ericsson, Chapter 38).

It is perhaps a commonplace to suggest that once an apprentice has been suitably instructed, however, the real work is yet to be done. Ericsson and others have posited the idea that "it takes at least a decade of intensive practice to achieve excellence", noting (in the field of writing, but the principle is analogous) that "the earlier the writer starts the better" (Ericsson et al, 2006: 399). There are significant caveats to the Ten-Year rule, however, one of which is intensive practice. They note that:

...many characteristics once believed to reflect innate talent are actually... the result of intense practise extended over at least 10 years

(Ericsson et al, 2006: 480)

In addition, they point out that, "the role of heritability in attainment of high levels of skill might be limited to motivational factors." The authors note that the ten-year rule is not a magical number and differs across domains with many high-level performers peaking at the ages of 30-40 years old, using sport and music as examples.

Ericsson et al (2006) summarise the stages of expert skills acquisition as:

- i. A focus on understanding the task Behaviour which adapts to the demands of performance
- ii. Behaviour which becomes increasingly automatised
- iii. A loss of conscious control over the production of actions
- iv. Expert performers continue to improve skills as long as they continue deliberate practise
- v. A way to avoid arrested development associated with automacity

- vi. A support of continued learning
- vii. A way to identify specific goals. Use feedback and opportunities for deliberate practise
- viii. A way to acquire mechanisms that increase control, self-monitor and evaluate performance.

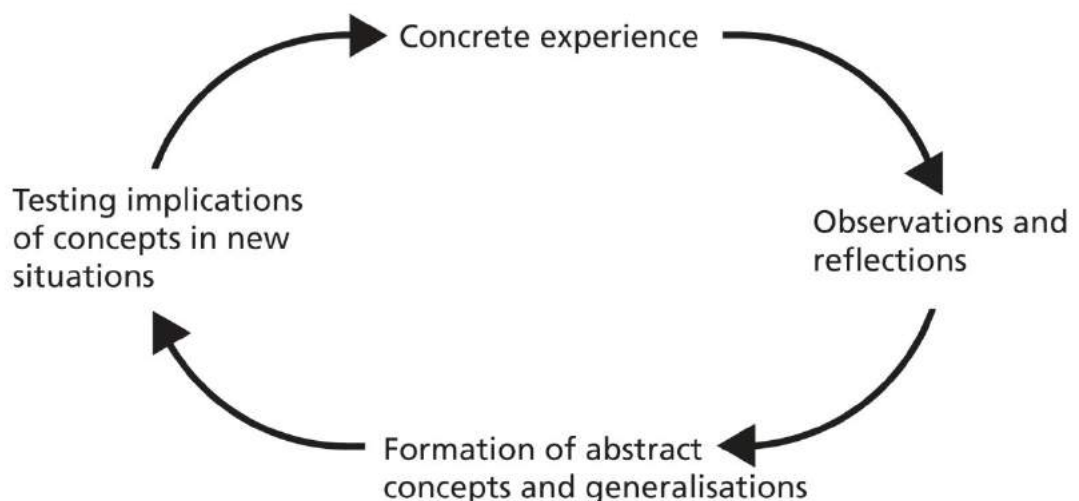
(Ericsson et al, 2006: 694)

Ericsson et al view expert-performance as a series of steady states:

An extended series of gradual changes of physiological and cognitive mechanisms, that allow observable performance to show associated improvements.

(ibid)

How, exactly, are these skills learned in practice? We may consider both Lewin's experiential learning model and Dewey's learning model, which, as Kolb (1984: 20) notes, have many similarities. These experiential models emphasise the role of experience as being central to the learning process. In Lewin's model, learning is a four-stage process of observation and reflection in which "observations are assimilated into a 'theory' from which new implications for action can be deduced" (Kolb, 1984: 21). The importance of feedback is central to improved performance, which in Kolb's opinion should be "a continuous process of goal directed action and evaluation" (Kolb, 1984: 22) more commonly understood as coaching.

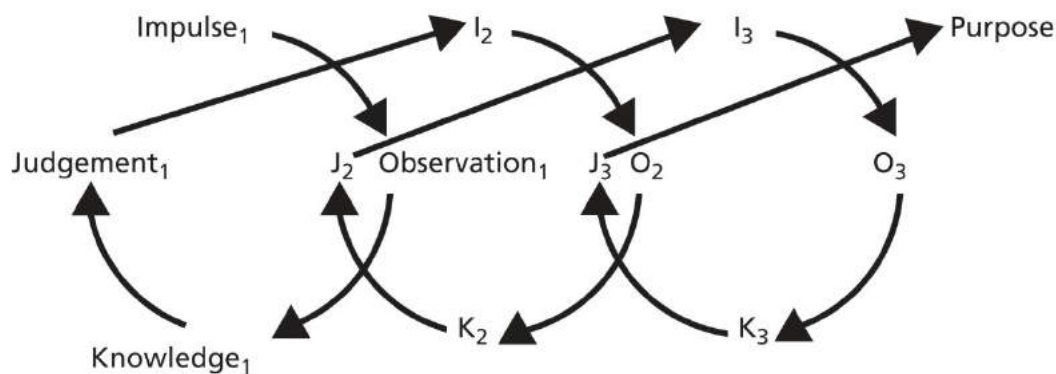


Graphic 1: Lewin's Experiential Learning Model (1951)

In examining the Dewey model, Kolb notes a “higher order purposeful action” (Kolb, 1984: 22). This involves:

- Observation of the surrounding conditions
- Knowledge of what has happened in similar situations in the past

Judgement



Graphic 2: Dewey's Model of Experiential Learning (1938)

The two theories bring together learning as an experiential and reflective activity, combining learning by doing with the consideration of and reflection upon learned actions in order to improve skills. The role of purposive learning is emphasized by Ericsson (2006) to focus the learning activity on the matters which matter most to the practitioner. Lewin's model (1951) is visualised in graphic 1, and Dewey's (1938) is visualised in Graphic 2.

Learning craft skills by doing is at the heart of the artisan-silversmithing industry. The development of technical skills, and the accumulation of what Bourdieu terms 'skills capital', becomes a motivating factor in itself. The conquest of technical challenges provides stimulation and a sense of achievement, which in turn generate a sense of personal fulfilment and gratification. Often this appears to operate to the detriment of learning other skills, in particular skills related to business and enterprise.

3.3. Classifications of Craft Skills: Dormer & the Crafts Council

A limitation of this study is the complexity of any potential classification of each maker through skills analysis. The disparate skill sets of craft and business cannot

be combined into an objective categorisation system, and so the classification of each maker has been based on a more pragmatic set of criteria combining, amongst other qualities, length of time spent in the industry and the subjective view of the researcher on their level of craft as evidenced in output.

Dormer (1994) takes a practical stance on craft skills and the teaching of the plastic arts (painting, sculpture, studio craft). He asserts that practical skill – handicraft – is undervalued in comparison with the fine arts where “Inspiration is the only factor that cannot be copied” (Dormer, 1994: 7) and is highly valued.

Dormer considers practical, craft knowledge as tacit knowledge, which is gained through experience and is not easily described as it is:

- Difficult to translate into theory
- Not thought about once being exercised
- Difficult to acquire through books and therefore better acquired face to face with a skilled practitioner.

(Dormer, 1994: 14)

Dormer lists the stages through which craftsmen must pass as follows:

- Novice
- Advanced beginner
- Competence
- Proficiency
- Expertise.

(Dormer, 1994: 62)

Dormer further explains that, despite these classifications, the acquisition of practical knowledge is an open-ended activity (Dormer, 1994: 70).

The Crafts Council 2012 Survey demonstrates the difficulty of classifying craft makers, using profiling that fails to capture subtle differences between types of maker. The analysis it then undertook was informative in terms of business structure and demographic, but with statistical averages masking wide variations in individual experiences. From the Survey of all makers, there are two particular characteristics that appear to go a long way towards explaining differences between them. The levels of qualifications and whether or not craft-making was their first career. From this the makers were assigned to one of four distinct groups, or profiles:

- The first, and largest, group has been called the ‘craft careerists’. People in this group are committed to the idea of craft as a career, and move to start their businesses shortly after finishing their first (or second) degrees in craft-related subjects.
- The second group is labelled ‘artisans’. Members of this group also made craft their first career but did not pursue academic degrees in the subject. This is the smallest group overall, accounting for just under 12% of the sample.
- The third group surveyed was of makers who began their working lives in other careers before taking up craft as a profession, often in mid-life. These have been called ‘career changers’. They represent more than a quarter of those surveyed.
- The final group is called ‘returners’. These are makers who trained in art, craft or design, but who did not pursue craft as a first career. They followed another path after university or college before ‘returning’ to craft later on. They make up 22% of the sample (Burns et al, 2012: 35).

Dormer (1994), therefore, allots makers to categories based on the stages he considers inherent in the acquisition of technical skills knowledge, whereas the Crafts Council (2012) allot them via the style of work-life categorised by education and work history. Neither system is workable for this study, as they do not individually act as a reliable predictor of success. When taken in context, however, in a categorisation of the study’s participants made via a hybrid of achieved craft skills and level of business competence, a useable categorisation may be produced. To this end I have created a categorisation based on education, skills attainment and business longevity, using qualitative analysis and subjective judgement. The threefold categorisation is as follows:

- Novice: Student working within academia or artist-in-residence establishing relationships with galleries and exhibitions. A recent tertiary education leaver with up to 3 years experience in business.
- Mid-Career: In business as an artisan-silversmith for more than 3 years and up to 10 years, demonstrating enterprise skills.
- Senior: In business as an artisan-silversmith for more than 10 years, demonstrating enterprise skills and a unique style, or voice.

Although the two final categories may seem crude, the act of being in business for the respective periods of time necessarily indicate progressive levels of technical and business skills being acquired by the individual artisan-silversmith. Classifying practitioners using subjective criteria is not necessarily relevant if the practitioner perceives them self as lacking a particular skill, hence the need for self-assessment of skills - this is discussed later in chapter 6.

3.4. Success: The Panoply of Motivations of Artisan-Silversmiths

In this section the many concepts of motivation and many different success criteria are analysed.

The previous section on craft explores the career progression by which artisan-silversmiths become expert in their field, establishing their status as a maker over a long period of training. For the artisan-silversmith, the primary measure of personal success is found in creativity and the mastery of craft skills. With few employment opportunities in the small number of UK silversmithing workshops, young makers envision a career progression often starting with a portfolio-life of menial part-time jobs progressing to full employment as a self-employed artisan-silversmith. The interviews with the novice makers indicate that they are motivated by the vision of a life of self-employment allowing them personal freedom and the ability to be in control of time-scheduling and work patterns. This career route may result in the 'self-actualisation' of being recognised not merely as a craftsperson, but also as an artist (Ints. 7,9,11,12,15,16,17).

This section reviews the 'humanist' theories of motivation propounded by Maslow (1954), Schwarz and Bardi (2005), and Bourdieu (1977; 1984), through which an analysis can be made of motivations towards 'self-actualisation', recognition and status. Second, it considers the theories of Georgievski et al (2011) which offer a different set of motivational factors related to being in business. It then sifts these different understandings of motivation through Bourdieu's (1977) sociological theories of habitus, field and practice, to gain an appreciation of the complex, nuanced and sometimes conflicting motivations of business and personal needs that silversmiths display, thus opening the way to a deeper understanding of the artisan-silversmith industry's practices.

The theories of motivation mentioned thus far are universal in scope and were not developed specifically with craft activities in mind. However, the act of learning and skills acquisition is fundamental to becoming a master silversmith and - as discovered through the domains analysis - is central to the culture of the

community. The intensity, longevity and pleasure of this learning process can be studied in relation to the theories of *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002), whilst the writings of Duckworth (2017), and Ericsson (1991) help to explain the required tenacity to complete a process of such length. The writings of Needleman (1993), and Nasser and Wilson (2017) shed profound light on the often intense personal relationship between the created object and the maker. These writers are considered in the final part of this section.

3.4.1. Review of the Theories of Motivation

The various motivating factors that drive artist-craftspeople and how they understand success are too complex to be successfully described by one single theory, but through the application of several theories a nuanced and layered understanding of these factors can be built up.

Bringing together the individual success criteria of the theories of Maslow (1954), Georgievski et al (2011), Schwarz and Bardi (2005), and Bourdieu (1977), it is possible to suggest a values hierarchy for the artisan-silversmith and demonstrate which are *not* highlighted in these motivational theories using the analysis of the study, and those needing to be considered in addition to Maslow's classifications. This is achieved by considering Bourdieu's more nuanced theories of habitus and field (Bourdieu, 1977) whereby a complete picture can be made of the motivations, culture and environment within which artisan-silversmiths operate, resulting in his theorised term 'practice'. He asserts that the accrual of 'capital' is the measure of a person, with his two major categorisations being cultural capital, which comes in various forms, and economic capital. Through theorising which forms of capital accrual are most relevant to artisan-silversmiths, practitioners can be placed within the Bourdieusian theoretical framework.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs postulates a theoretical basis for motivation. The subject's needs range from the very basic needs of safety, hunger and warmth up to the higher needs of, for example, physiological safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation. The lower needs of the subject must be met in order for them to proceed to the higher. The appearance of one rests on the prior satisfaction of another (Maslow, 1954: 56-9). Maslow initially considered that self-actualisation was the highest need attainable, theorising on creativity as a special case, but in general, those higher needs included traits of status, respect, recognition, reputation, appreciation, esteem, achievement, mastery, independence, freedom

and dignity, all of which may, to a greater or lesser extent, be fundamental to self-actualisation for artisan-silversmiths.

Maslow's theory has a simplicity and intuitive appeal, but there is an ambiguity in the terms he chooses that makes its general application problematic. (Beri et al, 1984: 35). Alderfer tries a different approach with his ERG motivational theory, compressing Maslow's Hierarchy into three categories: Existence, Relatedness and Growth (Beri et al, 1984: 38). This theory naturally suffers from a similar problem as we might consider, for example, that Relatedness and Growth overlap, leading to possible category errors. The hierarchy of needs is still useful, but it is in need of a certain measure of intellectual qualification. In other words, a specialised hierarchy must be produced for artisan-silversmiths if their needs are to be understood and analysed in any meaningful sense.

Some theorists, such as Georgievski (2011) et al, posit that there may be a difference between the external and the internal measures of success, noting that while "the acquisition of wealth, recognition and growth has been considered the normative criteria by which the success of business owners is judged", these criteria may not be the true motivators for the owners themselves (Georgievski et al, 2011: 207). In this study, Georgievski analyses personal values as potential predictors of success as measured by societal impact and personal satisfaction, alternative measures proposed by Georgievski. This idea is supported by the work of Bardi and Schwarz, who conclude that, "living in accordance to one's values predicts long-term personal well-being and satisfaction" (Schwarz and Bardi, 2005). Georgievski notes the importance of understanding the motivations of the group in need of advice:

Business owners' objective and subjective success criteria and the way they align [...] can be used to develop more valid methods to advise business owners.

(Georgievski et al, 2011: 208)

Georgievski et al summarise entrepreneurial success criteria in the following ways:

- Profitability: high yields and good profit margin
- Growth: growing number of employees, sales, market share
- Personal satisfaction: innovation, survival/continuity, contributing back to society
- Autonomy, challenge, security, power and creativity

- Satisfied stakeholders: employees, customers, good work-life balance
- Public recognition: reputation and utility and usefulness in society.

Georgievski suggests that businesses may be ranked through these criteria, but there are problems they fail to solve. As Van Praag and Versloot observe:

Research suggests that the satisfaction business owners derive from their jobs is more important to them than financial success.

(Van Praag and Versloot, 2007)

That is to say, some businesses will rank poorly due to a lack of interest in company growth, growing numbers of employees, expanding sales and market share.

The work of Schwartz & Bardi on value hierarchies points to a way in which a list of value-theory orientations may be assembled that sheds light on the humanist values of individuals not encompassed by the profit motive. This international study articulates a values hierarchy across cultures documenting that benevolence, self-direction and universalism, meaning in terms of the study concern for other's educational welfare, are consistently the most important humanist values with security, conformity, achievement and hedonism of less importance and power, tradition and stimulation of the least importance. The ten value theory orientations and success criteria they theorise are: benevolence, self-direction, universalism, security, conformity, achievement, hedonism, power, stimulation and tradition (Schwartz & Bardi, 2005). The 2005 study notes different values and priorities for individuals in different societies – the effect of heritage, personal experiences, social locations and enculturation, but it also notes strong similarities when values of honesty and other pro-social values are measured.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) created a set of sociological-analytical tools with which the structure, motivations, environment and culture of a system may be understood, providing a nuanced system of seeing a social environment as a whole, with each field interacting with the others. When the individual success criteria of Maslow (1954), Georgievski et al (2011), and Schwarz and Bardi (2005), are considered in the light of Bourdieu's theories, it allows for the articulation of a cultural and economic ecosystem through which we may come to a nuanced understanding of the practices of artisan-silversmiths.

For Bourdieu, the problem of social behaviour began with the question “how can behaviour be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?” (Bourdieu, 1994: 65). His thinking revolves around the interconnections between three separate areas: *habitus*, *capital*, and *field*.

'Habitus' is, in effect, one's disposition - an organising action, a way of being, a habitual state, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination (Bourdieu, 1977: 214). 'Capital' is the word he uses to describe non-economic assets, which can be transformed and exchanged within complex networks and across different fields, (a process he terms *transubstantiation*). Bourdieu identifies several different forms of capital, including economic capital, 'cultural' capital (a measure of status), and skills capital (Bourdieu, 2006: 105-06). 'Field' is "the *social space* in which interactions, transactions and events occurred" (Bourdieu, 2005: 148), taken from the French translation of *champ*, a rich agricultural term meaning complete environment.

The intertwining accumulation of habitus traits he refers to as capital, is structured by the field within which the individual or group exist. The actions of habitus and field are inseparable:

[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1986: 101).

Bourdieu uses the analogy of knowing the rules and acquiring a mastery of the skills of the game of football as habitus. The players gain a "feel for the game", as it becomes second nature (Bourdieu, 1994: 63). Again he uses football as his analogy for visualising the field: wet, dry, potholed, level, or a battlefield. He considers that social spaces are competitive, with some players starting with more or less capital than others – affiliations, networks, money, and cultural heritage. He posits that there is no level playing field. Those with particular forms of capital are advantaged or disadvantaged. The social world is a Gordian knot which can only be understood through case-by-case study (Grenfell, 2012: 67).

Bourdieu et al (1991) are rigorous in their approach to research and the analysis of empirical data. Their methodology requires three levels of research emphasising:

- Waiting for the unexpected
- Spelling out one's methodology
- Distinct epistemological inquiry.

(Bourdieu et al. 1991: 87)

To research a given field Bourdieu prescribes three steps to investigation:

- Analyse practitioner positions vis-à-vis the field of power

- Map out the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions
- Analyse the habitus of agents, the different systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalising a determinant type of social and economic condition.

(Bourdieu and Waquant, 1992: 104-05)

When considering his formula with practice serving as a theoretical concept, Bourdieu asserts that the researcher must move to a methodological objectivism. It is not sufficient to observe the actions of the industry players, as the researcher must understand their deeper rationale for their actions (Bourdieu, 1977: 72).

Bourdieu asserts that practice “always implies a cognitive operation, a practical operation of construction” (Bourdieu, 1977: 72). If a change of behaviour is sought we must first observe practice and theorise the underlying taxonomies which organise perception, or habitus, to effect the structure of practice (Bourdieu, 1977: 97). In the case of artisan-silversmiths, there is great relevance in all of the varied forms of Bourdieusian capital – economic, business, cultural, skills – but this thesis identifies a strong concentration on the accrual of skills capital without market context, and this is what the thesis seeks to challenge.

With regards the subject of this thesis, the concept of *cultural capital* is taken in the narrower context of *distinction and status*. Grenfell (2012) points out that “cultural capital is to all intents and purposes a synonym for status [...] In the field of the arts cultural capital is presented as reflecting the intrinsic value of art works in themselves” (Grenfell, 2012: 99-100).

For Bourdieu, cultural capital becomes objectified through institutions such as universities, galleries, museums, libraries and publications amongst many others listed in other fields. The accumulation of cultural capital “presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which insofar as it implies a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (Bourdieu, 2006: 107). The investor will recognise that their chosen cultural field contains potentialities, a probable future (Bourdieu, 2006: 60). This goes some way to explaining the persistence of artisan-silversmiths to attain cultural mastery.

In summary of the accumulation of cultural capital, Grenfell (2012) posits two dimensions - *accomplishment* and *transposability* giving an agent “distinction”. He theorises that in its highest form cultural capital can be optimized in terms of transposability (profit). Cultural capital exhibits the following features:

- It is objectified or embodied
- It is acquired over time
- It is acquired through a systematic process of inculcation
- It expresses the (outer) habitus of the inculcating agency and its field
- It brings value to the agent.

For artisan-silversmiths the accomplishment of distinction, for the most senior practitioners, results in sought-after status and by inference the ability to profit from their work to a greater degree than less prestigious makers.

Through understanding these elements we can start to articulate the positions of artisan-silversmiths in their career paths in relation to the accrual of cultural, economic, business and skills capital, the effects of the agency players operating within industry fields and the behaviours of silversmiths themselves which affect their actions, or in Bourdieusian terms their 'practice'.

3.4.2. Summary of Motivational Factors Relevant to Artisan-Silversmiths

Maslow Higher moti- vational needs	Georgievski et al Entrepreneurial Success Criteria	Schwarz & Bardi Societal value hierar- chies	Bourdieu Theories of Distinction	Csikszentmihalyi Theory of Flow
Respect	Profitability	Benevolence	Cultural capital	Pleasure of learn- ing
Recognition	Growth	Self-direction	Economic capi- tal	The act of making
Reputation	Innovation	Universalism	Skills capital	
Appreciation	Survival	Security	Business capital	
Esteem	Contribution to Society	Conformity		
Achievement	Personal satis- faction	Achievement		

Maslow Higher moti- vational needs	Georgievski et al Entrepreneur- ial Success Criteria	Schwarz & Bardi Societal value hierar- chies	Bourdieu Theories of Distinction	Csikszentmihalyi Theory of Flow
Mastery	Good work-life balance	Hedonism		
Independence	Public recogni- tion	Tradition		
Freedom	Utility to society	Stimulation		
Dignity				

Table 1: Summary of Motivational Factors Relevant to Artisan-Silversmiths

All of the theoretical systems of motivation considered so far, together with those of Csikszentmihalyi discussed in the next section, are summarised in Table 1, which these research interviews highlight. Analysing the humanist and business motivational factors listed in Table 1 demonstrates that not all the value orientations are pertinent to artisan-silversmiths. In particular there is little resonance with the Schwarz & Bardi (2005) success criteria of power, hedonism, tradition or conformity, however the criteria of achievement, stimulation, benevolence and security also theorised by Schwarz & Bardi are relevant. Through understanding these classifications the industry can design courses and awards, which motivate practitioners.

3.5. Craftwork and the Maker

This section reviews theories and literature on motivation. Particularly the relationships between the work of making craft, learning, mindset, actions and processes of being a maker, the act of creativity, stimulation and the relationship between the maker, the object being created, and the wider environment. Through this analysis it is possible to understand some of the strongest motivations of artisan-silversmiths, being creativity and the pursuit of happiness.

Csikszentmihalyi asserts the fundamental need of men and women to be happy. Happiness, as with self-actualisation (Maslow, 1954), is sought for its own sake. All other goals; health, beauty, money or power are valued because they will make us happy. He asserts that:

People who learn to control inner experience will be able to determine the quality of their lives, which is as close as any of us can come to being happy.

(Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 2)

In his review of seeking happiness Csikszentmihalyi notes people stretching themselves, to an *optimal experience*; trying to accomplish something difficult and worthwhile whilst being in control of their actions, masters of their own fate. From the concept of optimal experience he developed the concept of *flow*, which he describes as follows:

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 sake of doing it. He notes that the learning of complex forms of expertise requires commitment of emotions and will, it is not enough to know how to do it; one must do it consistently.

(Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 21)

Researching the concept of optimal experience Csikszentmihalyi notes that the action becomes an end in itself. People will seek the experience even if it is not necessary to normal life. This he terms an *autolectic experience*, a self-contained activity, one that is done not with the expectation of some future benefit, but simply because the doing itself is the reward (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 67).

As with Csikszentmihalyi, Nasser & Wilson reflect on craft as a process that stimulates self-development and the pursuit of fulfilment or happiness, they assert:

Central to this approach is the perception of craft, not as a means of production, but as an exercise of relating to the world. Through the dialogue between the mind, body and environment craft practitioners experience a particular form of connection with the

world that reshapes their perceptual and conceptual understanding of it.

(Nasseri & Wilson, 2017: 194)

Rather than following an ego-driven tendency to control, a craftsperson is exposed to modes of 'knowing' and 'being' that embrace the inherent uncertainty of a complex world.

As craftspeople Nasseri & Wilson explore the liminal space that is created for the dialogue between the self and the non-self. This personal narrative is woven together with the experience of craft masters within different social contexts and value systems (from traditional to modern to post-modern) and their views on the process of being and becoming a craftsperson (Nasseri & Wilson, 2017).

Nasseri and Wilson (2017) explain the importance of seeking a liminal space, or "a transformative state in the process of learning in which there is a reformulation of the learner's meaning frame and an accompanying shift in the learner's ontology or subjectivity" (Land et al, 2014: 199), and so finding an inner composure:

In the silence of the ego and openness to listening to the other, a space for mutual understandings and shared meanings [which] emerge and grow. In this space the boundaries between the self and object dissolve. In this liminal space, we argue, self-discovery happens as deep listening to the other invokes self-questioning in order to evaluate, compare and associate the newly encountered meanings to already existing ones. The liminal space accommodates mutuality and integration. It allows exchange of information that belongs to both and yet neither of the self or non-self. In this space of in-between-ness, dialogues are born.

(Nasseri & Wilson, 2017: 201)

Exploring her relationship with her own craft of pottery-making Needleman (1993) documents a highly personal point of view where she asserts craft as 'transactional', as there is a need to "give over part of our substance in exchange for necessary connections with the outside world". She comments on the act of discovery, "not mentally but organically" to engage with separateness, relationship and individuality through active study (Needleman, 1993: xii, xiii).

Comparing art with craft, Needleman argues that “art is the revelation of the universal in the specific. Great art may or may not concern itself with the mundane details of life. Craft always does”, asserting that it is for this reason that it [craft] is easier to receive (Needleman, 1993: xiv).

Needleman contemplates her interest and persistence in learning. Her learning of craft technique is, as appears to be the case with many makers in this study, more or less habitual: “what we do moderately well we enjoy doing again and again for the pleasure of the skill, for the pleasure of competence” (Needleman, 1993: 19).

Needleman pushes the question of her craft into the questioning of herself; “Who am I?”. She looks to craft for discovery, “moments at which I experience that I don’t know [...] an experience not a thought” (Needleman, 1993: 19). Throughout her essay, Needleman confronts her ‘disharmonious self’ (Needleman, 1993: 34) and her need to create physical and intellectual harmony. She comments on novice potters who try to leave out thought, “to work mindlessly with the body alone” (Needleman, 1993: 34). She calls this reaching ‘down’ into the body, the *animal* body, not ‘up’ toward the *intelligent* body. She comments that of course for her ‘the thought’ [intelligence] has not gone away when making but “that I can just shut off all discrimination and ‘allow’ pure creation to take place” (Needleman, 1993: 34).

Needleman seeks to become a better person through craft, but her arguments vacillate, and she rarely comes to any conclusions regarding her inner turmoil. She concludes: “It isn’t really that I have to learn to put up with others but that I need to learn to put up with myself, my reactions to other people” (Needleman, 1993: 44).

David Kleinberg-Levin considers personal growth in terms of the ego, or, in the words of Jung:

The ego is a complex that does not compromise the total human being; it has forgotten infinitely more than it knows.

(Kleinberg-Levin, 1989: 76)

3.6. Tenacity and staying power

This section explores the theories of ‘Grit’ (Duckworth, 2017) which articulate ideas as to the personality traits needed to finish a long and difficult course of training. It would be very helpful to be able to predict which students are most

likely to complete the extremely long process of becoming a master artisan-silversmith. While skill alone is not necessarily indicative of success in the silversmithing industry, there is a correlation between longevity and success: Ericsson's ten-year measure.

In her study of West Point Military Academy cadets, Duckworth found that “aptitude did not guarantee achievement” (Duckworth, 2017: 17). It may seem a world away from the artisan-silversmith, but both career tracks require determination, staying-power, and what Duckworth encapsulated in her ‘grit measure’. Grit, defined as “trait-level perseverance and passion for long-term goals” (Duckworth, 2017: 17), was the most indicative measure of whether a cadet would complete the course. This trait coincides with the central trait needed to become an elite silversmith, which demands purposive training and practice over a very long timeframe.

Christensen & Knezek (2014) in their study measuring internal consistency, reliability for performance calculation using *consistency of interests* and *perseverance of effort* questions to calculate grit based on the theories of Duckworth and Quinn (2009). They created a questionnaire (see footnote).⁵

⁵ **Grit Survey Items**

Part 1. Consistency of Interests

1. I often set a goal but later choose to pursue a different one.
2. New ideas and new projects sometimes distract me from previous ones.
3. I become interested in new pursuits every few months.
4. My interests change from year to year.
5. I have been obsessed with a certain idea or project for a short time but later lost interest.
6. I have difficulty maintaining my focus on projects that take more than a few months to complete.

Part 2. Perseverance of Effort

1. I have achieved a goal that took years of work.
2. I have overcome setbacks to conquer an important challenge. I finish whatever I begin.
3. Setbacks don't discourage me.
4. I finish whatever I begin.
5. I am a hard worker.
6. I am diligent.

The Motivation/Persistence and Study Habits questionnaire measures reliability:

1. I study by myself without anyone forcing me to study.
2. If I do not understand something, I will not stop thinking about it.
3. When I don't understand a problem, I keep working until I find the answer.
4. I review my lessons every day.
5. I try to finish whatever I begin.
6. Sometimes, I change my way of studying.
7. I enjoy working on a difficult problem.
8. I think about many ways to solve a difficult problem.
9. I never forget to do my homework.
10. I like to work out problems which I can use in my life every day.
11. If I do not understand my teacher, I ask him/her questions.
12. I listen to my teacher carefully.
13. If I fail, I try to find out why.
14. I study hard.
15. When I do a job, I do it well.

These measures, which the student ranks from 1-5 to create a final metric, of perseverance and tenacity may well be better indicators of the ability to complete the vocational training needed to become a silversmith. Gladwell

In considering the implications for vocational training based on the theoretical concepts of *Grit*, McMurry (2014) has come up with practical suggestions:

1. Allow students to fail because of the choices they make.
2. Do not be a snowplow (sic), clearing all obstacles.
3. Encourage a growth mindset.
4. Teach how to set goals and identify necessary steps to achieve them.
5. Be a role model of grit yourself.

Duckworth (2017) acknowledges the core trait of talent but then argues that without effort it is of little use. The differentiating factor of effort in creating success in the opinion of Duckworth counts double. She summarises her findings as follows (Duckworth, 2017: 35):

talent x effort = skill

skill x effort = achievement (Duckworth, 2017: 44).

Particularly relevant to this study is Duckworth's observation of the long-term view relevant to craftspeople which is the degree to which distant objects [goals] are in view, in preparation for later life. And the tendency not to abandon tasks from mere changeability, not seeking something fresh because of novelty and not "looking for change" (Duckworth, 2017: 77).

Looking at the act of deliberate practise Duckworth posits that it can be extremely positive, not just in the long term but in the moment. Makers should not just "be going through the motions" (Duckworth, 2017: 135). She concludes that deliberate (purposive) practise should:

1. Have a clearly defined goal
2. Take concentration and effort
3. Have immediate and informative feedback.

(Duckworth, 2017: 137)

Duckworth concludes that "repetition with reflection creates refinement." In similar fashion, while noting the stages through which world-class athletes, artists or academics progress, Duckworth quotes Bloom's 1985 study which documents three distinct periods:

(2008) points out: 'Quite possibly it is grit rather than some external motivation that would cause someone to spend 10,000 hours perfecting their craft'.

1. Early years – interest
2. Middle years – practice
3. Later years – purpose and meaning.

(Duckworth, 2017: 144)

Duckworth's ideas are applicable to a framework detailing the training of artist craftspeople, and can be used to predict who are best suited to benefiting from the long programme of development needed.

3.7. Enterprise and Entrepreneurship Motivations in relation to the Practicalities of Craft Making

3.7.1. Introduction to the Business section of the Review

This section of the review includes an analysis of the entrepreneurial and enterprise traits of craftspeople and how they become business people. It encompasses the concepts of running a business and self-employment, and draws conclusions regarding the motivations of silversmiths, and whether these are 'entrepreneurial factors' of profit maximization and growth, or 'enterprise factors' of running a life-style business with sufficient resources to achieve an envisioned way of life. The next question will be whether it is possible to differentiate between entrepreneurial management and enterprise management, theorising on those factors which make a difference.

A summary of the Innovation and Education (I&E) conference (2016) maps the activities of running a craft business and outlines the gaps in training and potential organisational interventions, which could improve the professionalisation of artisan-silversmiths.

With little written about the business of silversmithing per se, it is only by researching the creative industries and the industry's closest ally, the jewellery trade, it is possible to analyse relevant proxy literature through a summary of successful business strategies by international makers highlighting key ideas for consideration.

The relevant business literature is at three levels these being:

- Enterprise or entrepreneurship? – the motivational drivers of an artisan-silversmithing business
- Managing a creative business

- The practicalities of running a creative business and how to earn a living within the sector.

3.8. Enterprise, Entrepreneurship, and the Artisan-Silversmith

It is not sufficient to assert that silversmiths need to acquire business skills, and that these skills should be systematically taught. Two questions immediately arise, namely what business skills, and how should they be taught?

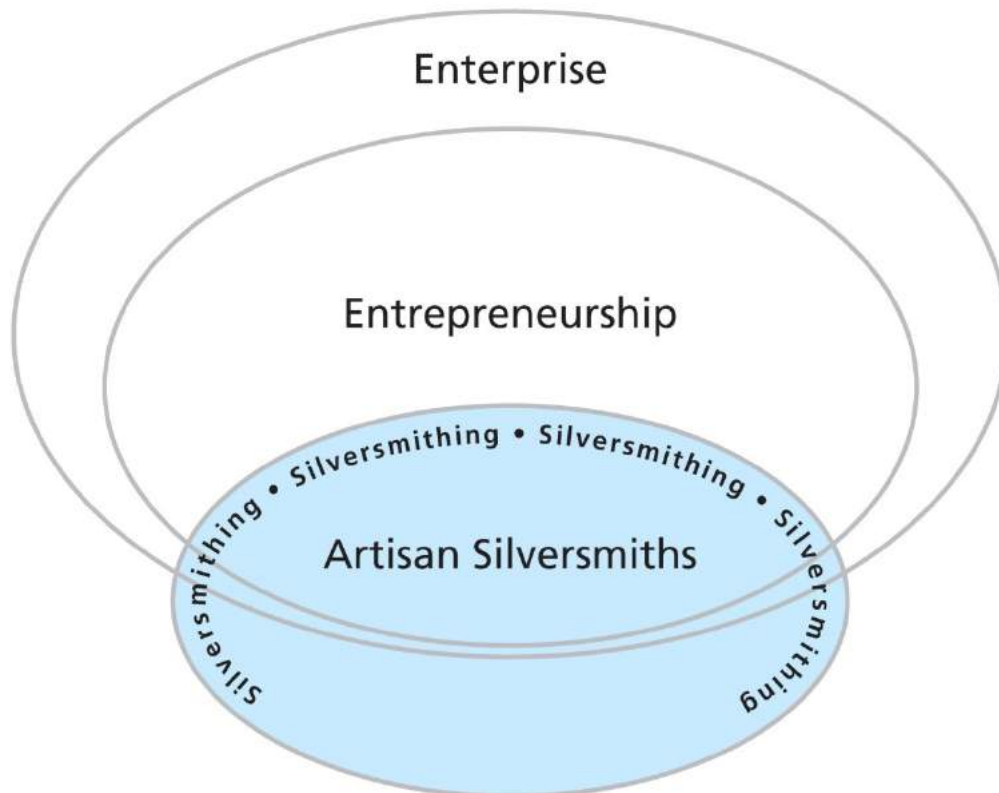
Many of the subjects taught at a traditional business school such as organisational behaviour, human resources, corporate finance, corporate strategy and international business are of little relevance to a micro-business, and most artisan-silversmiths are classed as micro-businesses. Artisan-silversmiths have come to business and business education via a completely different route to that of the business school graduate. This route often encompasses a 7-year Arts degree that includes little business education or experience, and whatever business education they do receive is bolted on to their course and is often difficult to relate to in a meaningful way.

As will be seen from the interviews reported in Chapter Five, the majority of artisan-silversmiths often feel uncomfortable dealing with the concepts of business. They hope to deal with business matters in a mechanistic or formulaic way prescribed by other people notably through professional practice systems or business books and attending courses which lay out tried and tested systems; classified as business enterprise. It would seem from the evidence of the interviews, that it rarely crosses the mind of artisan-silversmiths to approach the problem of being an artisan-silversmith in an innovative or entrepreneurial way, and they tend to work by imitating admired role models.

In attempting to map out a different model for the business education of artisan-silversmiths, we must first characterise the kind of business they are likely to run and then identify the skills they are likely to need or want. We begin by drawing a distinction between 'enterprise' and 'entrepreneurship'.

Defining the difference between enterprise and entrepreneurial management is a difficult task, as the terms have become so ubiquitous and conflated that it is often hard to see any gap between them. Bridge and O'Neill appear at first to offer a useful approach, defining 'enterprise' as, "any goal-directed, non-routine action carried out in a dynamic and adventurous manner" and 'entrepreneurship' as "the process of starting/running a business" (Bridge & O'Neill, 1998: 3). However, they then assert that that the two terms are almost entirely interchangeable.

The graphic below (Graphic 3) demonstrates the fluidity of the artisan-silversmithing world ranging between an enterprise, an entrepreneurial venture and also a vocation or hobby. For Bridge & O'Neill, 'enterprise' is the more 'all-embracing' term, and 'entrepreneurship' constitutes a sub-set of enterprise.



Graphic 3: The Bridge & O'Neill (1998) model of Enterprise, Entrepreneurship and Small Business demonstrates the position of the Artisan-Silversmith Industry

If we can take the classification of entrepreneur in its broadest sense, namely as encompassing those who are 'in business' (Venkataraman, 1997), we may posit the difference between business school classified entrepreneurs and artisan-silversmiths in that the latter are classified as 'craftspeople – being in business'.

When we apply Venkataraman's thinking to the silversmithing industry, we can see immediately that most artisan-silversmiths who run their own business will fall into the category of enterprise manager rather than entrepreneur. Perhaps one of the greatest differences between business styles is that an entrepreneur hopes to discover a new market or develop and grow an important business, whereas the artisan-craftsperson has spent their whole educational career learning and refining technical skills and prototyping products for future use in a craft environment, or developing work which is unique to them. Unlike the proto-entrepreneur, the proto

craftsperson-in-enterprise is not seeking to develop a new market but instead to become unique within the established arts and crafts market. It is the exploitation of their craft skills within the craft market, which the craftsperson seeks to understand, being a very different proposition to seeking, building and marketing an entrepreneurial business.

Of much greater interest is the work of Venkataraman (1997), with whose assistance we can see 'enterprise' as one type of business, relatively simple and unambitious, and 'entrepreneurship' as another type of business, of greater sophistication and more ambition. Venkataraman talks of entrepreneurship as, "understanding how in the absence of current markets for future goods and services, these goods and services manage to come into existence" (1997: 120). This helps to crystallise the difference between 'entrepreneurs' and 'enterprise managers', with the latter being those who undertake the management of a business, but without attempting to re-imagine or reorder their competitive environment.

Venkataraman's *Central Premise* (Venkataraman, 1997: 119) is his adherence to Schumpeter's 'process of creative destruction' (Schumpeter, 1976), this being his central tenet of capitalism and entrepreneurship. Although no specific question was asked the researcher surmised that artist craftspeople 'would not normally recognise the Schumpeterian concept of creative destruction as a tool for considering new work, or new products, or the conceptualisation of ideas. It is not the destruction of old ideas, which drive the craftsperson forward, but the visualisation of a market for their unique work'. One person's success does not rely on Schumpeter's idea that the destruction of another's market is the way to create opportunity. The concept of visualising a market for the unique work fits well with two other ideas of the individual and the nexus of opportunity, the presence of opportunity and enterprise (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000). For the individual craftsperson this is predicated on networking and marketing themselves in terms of demonstrable accrued skills, authenticity, cultural capital and accreditation (Bourdieu, 1986).

The greatest divergence from 'enterprise', according to Venkataraman, comes with the question of "where do future opportunities for entrepreneurship come from?" (Venkataraman, 1997: 120). In his review Venkataraman (1997) summarises the three classes of entrepreneurial opportunities identified by Drucker (1985); "market inefficiencies, the emergence of social, political or demographic changes and new inventions." Venkataraman (1997) asserts the concept of 'knowledge corridors' arguing that, "the ability to make the connection between

specific [market] knowledge and a commercial opportunity requires a set of skills, aptitudes, insight and circumstances that is not either uniformly or widely distributed” (Venkataraman, 1997: 124). The energy that entrepreneurs expend is on learning about and understanding the market within which they hope to create opportunities – an outward looking exercise.

Venkataraman asserts that, “the calculation of entrepreneurial risk-taking varies with each individual, accounting for perception of downside risk and the acknowledgement of systematic biases and heuristics for dealing with uncertainty” (Venkataraman, 1997: 125). The professional entrepreneur will often spend time calculating rates of return, profitability and stress-testing economic scenarios. For Venkataraman, therefore, the entrepreneurial business and the entrepreneur are subsets of the totality of businesses and business managers. They are characterised by an innovative, outward-looking, creative/destructive restlessness, and probably by a relatively sophisticated approach to risk.

For the craftsperson, their accrued ‘skills capital’ resides in learned techniques and design concepts which are deeply embedded, whether they are commercial or not. The current journey the craftsperson undertakes, generally through higher education, pays little attention to markets, customer needs or wants, marketing or sales.

As for Drucker’s concept of seeking market inefficiencies, this is rarely a concept that can be applied to artisan-silversmiths as they are the makers of their own market for their unique products, although they will seek out technical inefficiencies. Artwork and craft often reflect social or political change and so the market is for the work itself, which for artisan-silversmiths often remains constant in its techniques and methods of production and over time with subtle incremental changes in production techniques, often unknown to the buyers.

Far from spending energy, like the entrepreneur, in looking outwards to the market for new opportunities, the craftsperson does the opposite, expending their energy on looking inward to gain insight into their own artistic inspiration, skills and creativity. It is they who are the fount of new ideas. The skill set needed to reify these artistic ideas is why they have often spent a significant amount of time learning, practising and seeking technical skills.

Addressing the problem of when business skills should be taught, I consider that these skills need to be taught at points when the student/business person find them relevant and can be taught in a meaningful which they can relate to in their business career.

3.8.1. Causation & Effectuation: Process & Method

From this analysis we can differentiate the two systems of teaching relevant to enterprise and entrepreneurship, and here it is useful to note the differences between causation and effectuation.

The concept of 'effectuation' asserted by Fisher (2012: 1030) and Chandler et al. (2011) theorises the position of artisan-silversmiths as being:

- Starting with means [of production] as opposed to end goals
- Applying affordable loss instead of expected return when evaluating options
- Leveraging relationships instead of competitive analysis.

Sarasvathy & Dew (2005) demonstrate the mode of thinking of many artist-craftspeople. The first questions are 'Who am I?', 'What do I know?', and 'Whom do I know?', which lead to the final question, 'What can I do?', thus forming a converging cycle of constraints which impacts on the artefact(s) the maker can manufacture.

This contrasts with the 'causation' approach to entrepreneurship (Shah & Tripas, 2007) which posits opportunity recognition, evaluation, establishing goals, a plan to achieve goals, raise resources, solutions to a perceived problem and entry into a marketplace.

These two approaches crystallise the very different approaches and mindsets of the groups who use causation, which can be classified as *Process*, as against those who use effectuation (the artisan-silversmith), which can be classified as *Method*. Therefore, the teaching methods relevant to artisan-silversmiths should be based on Method theories and techniques.

3.8.2. Key Entrepreneurial Skills

Having considered in the previous section the nature of artisan-silversmithing businesses, this section considers the type of business skills which will be required to run those businesses. This section reviews several models which seek to articulate the skill set required for business success in general, or for the management of particular types of business.

Believing that entrepreneurial skills can and should be taught, Chang and Rieple have asserted that "learning by doing" is the best method for teaching these skills (Chang and Rieple, 2013: 226).

Chang and Rieple identify four meta-categories of necessary business skills, these being:

- Technical
- Management
- Entrepreneurship
- Personal Maturity.

(Chang and Rieple, 2013: 227)

They subdivide these categories into seventeen factors which make up managing a business. Theorising on their list, it is possible to split these into enterprise management factors and entrepreneurial factors.

Enterprise Management factors: operational, supplies/raw material, office or production space, equipment/plant/technology, management, financial, legal and administrative.

Entrepreneurial Management factors: Higher-order learning, problem solving, business concept, environmental scanning, advisory board and networking, self-awareness, accountability, emotional coping, creativity and marketing/sales.

These factors make up the cornerstones of a well-run business. Chang and Rieple make these assertions for proto-entrepreneurs. From this it is possible to build these factors into a development framework for artisan-silversmiths as enterprise managers. However, it should be noted that the 'enterprise management' factors will not be sufficient in themselves: several of the higher-order entrepreneurial factors are a necessity for running an artisan-silversmith business, such as problem solving, networking, self-awareness, emotional coping, creativity and marketing & sales.

3.8.3. Enterprise and the Motivational Drivers of an Artisan-Silversmith Business

Beaver offers an alternative definition of entrepreneurship (though not inconsistent with that of Venkataraman) within a three-part typology of businesses, which can be applied to the artisan-silversmithing industry. The first, an 'entrepreneurial venture' is a business "motivated by growth and seizing opportunities when they emerge" (Beaver, 2002: 63). This type fits least well with the attributes of artisan-silversmith businesses, a point which is supported by Morrison et al (1998), who argue that only a minority of small firms actually act in this way.

Beaver's second business type is a 'lifestyle business'. This is summarised as providing an owner-manager with the ability to achieve economic survival within a desired style of living (Beaver, 2002: 63). He asserts that "The key motive for running the enterprise is to create sufficient resources to live within the manner and setting desired by the owners" (Beaver, 2002: 63). The key concept of 'sufficient resources' normally precludes the necessity for an entrepreneurial growth strategy in this business type. This description fits very well with the style of the majority of artisan silversmith businesses. In fact, Beaver himself asserts that craftspeople can be summarised as "those who are primarily concerned with personal satisfaction." (Beaver, 2002: 41)

The third business type classified by Beaver (2002) is the 'female enterprise', which encompasses the attributes of a lifestyle business. He notes the growth of the female enterprise, which benefits from self-employment, being an owner-manager, the ability to manage one's own time, and flexibility of time scheduling.

Many artisan-silversmiths start in business through necessity rather than passion. They often create survival strategies entailing a portfolio business life of multiple employment. Beaver notes, "The key motive for running the enterprise is to create sufficient resources to live within the manner and setting desired by the owners" (Beaver, 2002: 63), whilst Barclays Bank notes the simple concept of 'being self-employed'. Stanford and Gray (1991) explain the reasons why craftspeople are motivated to "spend their time working with their hands making things of beauty".

Finally, with reference to risk, in contrast to the entrepreneur, artisan-silversmiths view risk with an extreme form of conservatism and risk aversion. There is some reluctance to invest in stock with a preference for examples of techniques from which commissions can be taken. Artisan-silversmiths do not see themselves as risk takers, which is the de facto definition of being an entrepreneur.

3.8.4. Being the Driver of a Creative Business

The work of Granet, and of Osterwalder and Pigneur, will be of interest primarily to larger and more established businesses.

Granet's 2017 polemic concerns the issues of managing a medium-sized design company. He takes the opportunity to explain how to delegate the responsibilities he sees as non-essential to the growing of a creative enterprise. These roles include; finance director; contracts negotiator, and marketer. For the maker, who is about to set themselves up as a business, it does give a thumbnail sketch of people, whose roles they will have to perform themselves. He also takes

the opportunity to explain his views on building the right team; dealing with people 'you don't need in your life', who can be both staff and clients. He outlines the tasks which he feels only the owner can do: dealing with ambiguity; leadership, showing people the way; creating the firm's culture; project conception and vision; project execution; client contact and follow-up; financial oversight; mentoring; hiring and firing and being the face of the firm (Granet, 2017: 169-81). For the mid-career and senior maker Granet creates a guide to deciding which roles to delegate and which are essential for the owner or CEO.

On a more academic level Osterwalder and Pigneur (2010) aim at entrepreneurs, consultants and executives who need to consider business models. They use major corporations as examples of innovation and disruptive strategies. Their business model breaks down the key building blocks of business strategy as:

- Customer segments
- Value propositions
- Channels
- Customer relationships
- Revenue streams
- Key resources
- Key activities
- Key partnerships
- Cost structure.

(Osterwalder and Pigneur 2017: 17-19)

Through this check list a company or entrepreneur can map their own position. This book should be of interest to senior practitioners of silversmithing who are considering experimenting with their making and marketing strategies.

3.8.5. Running a Creative Business: Earning a Living

Of particular interest to those starting a new business, Jacobsen (2013) and Airey (2013) explain in detail the logistics of setting up a business, which for Jacobsen includes:

- Having the right ingredients
- A sound footing

- A vision, mission and values
- Administration
- Research
- A business structure
- A business plan
- Marketing.

(Jacobsen, 2013: 4-35)

Jacobsen sees business through the prism of the entertainment business, pointing out that “Business and creativity will always be an uneasy marriage, but it is a marriage of convenience and also a marriage of necessity” (Jacobsen, 2013: xi). He is experienced in managing large businesses, which come together and disband after each project, often theatre productions. He adds to his core list of setting up business:

- Engage with a mentor
- Know your customer
- Know your USP (Unique selling proposition)
- The 4 Ps: Product, price, place and promotion.

(Jacobsen, 2013: 5)

He asserts that for many in the creative sector money, cash and profit are dirty words, which is why the creative sector is not taken seriously in the commercial world (Jacobsen, 2013: xvi). As with Airey he uses short case studies of business success as inspiration and as aspirational for those considering becoming self-employed. Jacobsen has the benefit of using medium and large company overviews of structuring and running companies including their buying and selling, whereas Airey considers the benefits of staying as a small organisation and outsourcing specialist tasks and working in collaborative projects.

Jacobsen articulates an entrepreneurial position with the excitement of running large projects and seeing an overview of his industry to his business advantage whereas Airey explains the benefits of remaining a one-man band offering high quality personalised service and control of a small business and his personal time.

Airey (2013) articulates his early mistakes in business and subsequent marketing strategy for running and growing his business. He uses his blogging platform to comment on other businesses and fellow creatives. His own speciality is

designing brand identity, establishing his own credentials through his blog leading people to his website which explains his business philosophy and services. His strategy has gained him clients around the globe all from his at-home office in Northern Ireland. Airey admits his own mistakes, writes about and learns from other's mistakes too.

3.8.6. The Practicalities of Running a Creative Business

Practical guides by Boothroyd (2011) and Branagan (2011) differ from Jacobsen's, Airey's and Granet's writings by listing the enterprise practicalities of running a craft business. Boothroyd (2011) a jeweller, graphic designer and musician who gained her Master's degree at the RCA, documents the starting and running of a craft business. She covers the core elements of setting up and running a small, hand-made and small batch, low-production run business combined with advice on how to administer the whole enterprise as an individual. Boothroyd (2011) explains the alternative legal structures - sole trader, partnership or limited company: banking, hallmarking, running a workshop, craft fairs, pricing, websites, branding the business and time management (Boothroyd, 2011: 11-49).

Boothroyd does not write about the motivational aspects of running a small business, which are more fully covered by Branagan (2011) who documents all the aspects of running a small creative business. She creates vignettes of makers and highlights quotes which make important points on subjects such as making creativity pay, funding and sponsorship, intellectual property rights and planning the future (Branagan, 2011: 27-56)

Branagan's book aims at a broad readership of artists and designers. It is peppered with anecdotes of successes, failures and warnings of do's and don'ts. The book aims to inspire the reader to get started in business, without suffering from the naivety that held back Branagan after she left art college.

NESTA (National Endowment for Science, Technology and the Arts) promotes practical development programmes and research amongst other objectives. Of relevance to this thesis is the NESTA training programme and the 'Creative Enterprise Toolkit' which creates a framework for exploring ideas and business models.

The toolkit sets out what kind of company the practitioner should set up and the organisations, which enable progression to the next stages of development. By

the end of the toolkit exercise the practitioner should be able to answer the following questions:

- What should I do to make my business work?
- Why should my customers care and how will they benefit?
- How can I make money to allow my business to be sustainable?

(Rutter et al, 2017: 2)

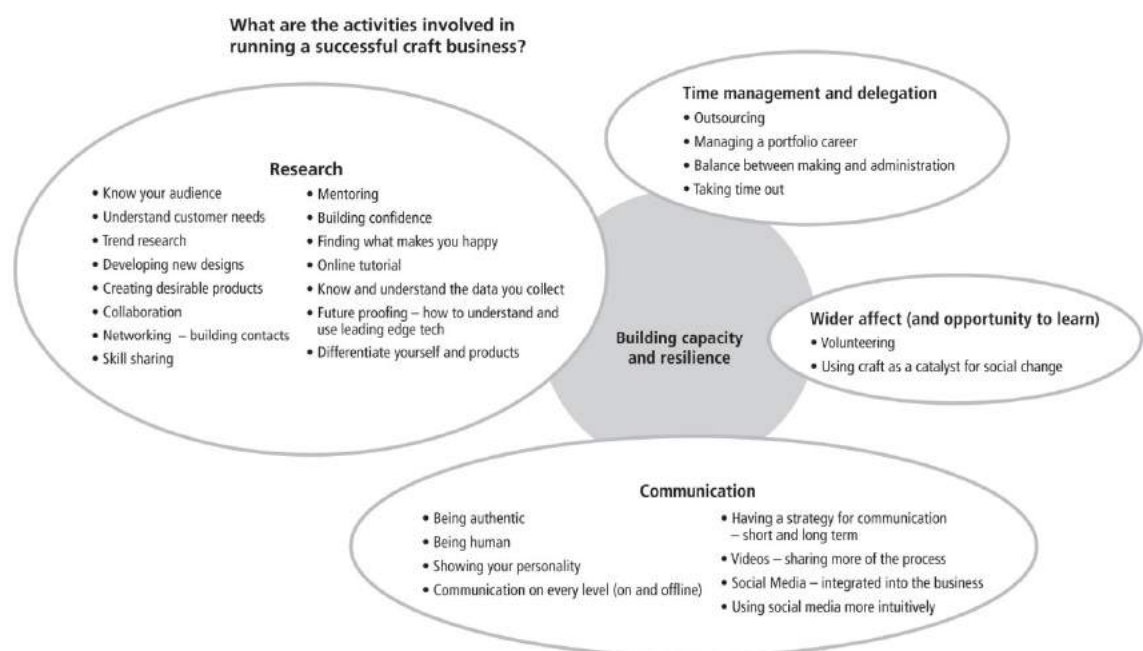
The programme uses expert written handbooks, worksheets and case studies.

The handbooks explain:

- Setting Up a Creative Business
- Making Your Business Work
- Engaging with Customers and Staying in Business.

(Rutter et al, 2017: 3)

3.9. Craft Curators' Network Innovation and Education Strand Conference (July 2016) summary



Graphic 4: I&E Conference 2016: Activities of Running a Successful Craft Business

The I&E Conference report (2016) outlines the results of a short project undertaken by members of the Innovation and Education (I&E) strand of the Craft Curators' Network (CCN) detailing the key elements of running a successful craft business. This is shown in Graphic 4 research, time management and delegation, communication, and creating the opportunity to learn, whilst building a business which can cope with demand.

The report asserts:

- That there is a need to centrally manage business advice for craft practitioners
- That there is a need to increase knowledge and awareness of where to direct makers for expert, up-to-date advice about enterprise-related issues: a 'Craft Starter' and-or 'Craft Accelerator' package/service that all Art Schools and professionals can refer to
- That advice should be signposted across different platforms and brought together into one resource
- That there should be a review of best practice and a prototype of a new service/resource, with insights and next steps suggested for future collaborative research (I&E, 2016: 4).

The report highlights the need for an overarching body to collate, consider and disseminate information for the development of craft makers. These ideas coincide with many of the ideas articulated in the conclusion of this study for the artisan-silversmith industry.

3.10. The Flourish Conference

In regard to the most recent business schemes and conferences the Craft Scotland Compass business scheme, has replaced Hothouse in Scotland, and the Crafts Council conference 'Flourish' focused on professional development conference for early stage practitioners: <https://www.craftscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/flourish/>.

The Flourish Conference (17-18th June 2019) aimed at those who had been in practice for at least 4 years to provide business skills, toolkits, practical sessions, inspiration, case studies and networking for makers. The key concerns of the Flourish conference centred on: strategic ways to generate income, outsourcing, engaging with collectors, cross-border relationships, working with corporations, social media, using 'craft language', collaborations, commissions, growing your brand, generating sustainable ideas, growing a team, business growth and market opportunities, intellectual property protection and legal issues.

3.11. Conclusions of the Review

3.11.1. The Value of the Literature Review

The literature reviews of chapters 2 & 3 build on the definition and purpose of the thesis as articulated in chapter 1 by documenting the development of the industry's historic and business context in order to illuminate the ecosystem within which novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths find themselves. An understanding of this ecosystem is vital to developing a nuanced understanding of the context in which contemporary artisan-silversmiths operate through a full analysis of the data captured in the interviews. Chapter 2 documents the historic ownership of silverware and its embedding in the culture of society in both domestic and religious terms. The history traces the rise of silverware to being the epitome of fashion and as a store of wealth and its subsequent fall from grace and the accompanying slump in demand as designs became confused in the eyes of the public and poorly replicated towards the end of the 19th century. Silverware production played an important part in the communication of Arts & Crafts ideals through craftsmanship techniques and design ethics which can be seen in the designs of manufactured goods by men such as Christopher Dresser.

The literature review traces the origins of 20th & 21st century silverware including the influential ideas of the Bauhaus movement, the role of the Goldsmiths' Company and in particular the Goldsmiths' Centre, trade stakeholder organisations, as well as the universities with particular note of the Royal College of Art. The parallel paths of trade silversmiths and studio silversmiths are noted in the thesis setting the scene for the current structure of the industry as comprising separate but connected markets. Key influencers are noted who shape the modern world of artisan-silversmiths through their designs, techniques and business models.

The literature review documents the attitudes of society to craft, its position in society, and presents an overview of the ideology of modern craft and its future in education. As there is a paucity of literature directly concerning the silversmithing industry, the review uses closely related industries such as ceramics as a proxy. The review documents the demographics of the crafts industries as an overview as well as the detail of the industry including the central role of education in innovation, lifetime learning and new technology. In this chapter examples of business training and courses are documented.

3.11.2. Applying the Theories of Motivation

Chapter 3 documents the theoretical underpinnings of the study as concern craft, success and its underlying motivations and business in the light of enterprise and entrepreneurial theories. The chapter attempts to classify the different stages of professional progress through the theories of Dormer (1994). The many facets of success are defined concerning artisan-silversmithing practitioners in the light of Bourdieusian theories (1977 & 1984) often relating to status and other theorists such as Maslow (1954), Georgievski et al (2011), Bardi and Schwarz (2005) and Csikszentmihalyi (2002) which allow for a nuanced analysis of humanist and business motivational analysis. The theories of Duckworth (2017) and Chang & Rieple (2013) highlight the need to document and measure tenacity and the ability to overcome problems. An analysis of enterprise and entrepreneurial theory including the motivational aspects of being an artisan-silversmith highlight the need for specialist teaching methods of 'learning by doing' using theories developed by Fisher (2012). The practicalities and methods of enterprise are documented through the literature of Boothroyd (2011) and Branagan (2011) and the recommendations of the Craft Curators' Network Innovation and Education Strand Conference in 2016.

Through applying the motivational theories of Maslow (1954), Schwarz and Bardi (2005) and Georgievski et al (2011) we can map the artisan-silversmithing industry using Bourdieu's (1977) theories of habitus, field and practice.

Bourdieu's technique of habitus visualisation gives us the tools to envision the capital elements, which make up the factors influencing the artisan-silversmithing industry. Of relevance to the industry are:

- Craft skills capital
- Success (motivational) capital
- Business capital
- Economic capital.

Through analysing these factors in detail, which need to be understood in the context of the economic and cultural environment of the industry - what is effectively the Bourdieusian field - we can understand the practices of the industry.

Analysing the writing of Needleman (1993) and Nasserri & Wilson (2017) we can draw Csikszentmihalyi's conclusion "People who learn to control inner experience will be able to determine the quality of their lives, which is as close as any of us can come to being happy" (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002: 2).

In the business section of the chapter an analysis of the relationship of industry practitioners to entrepreneurship and enterprise highlights the position of

artisan-silversmiths. Through analysing whether practitioners pursue entrepreneurial business growth strategies or the strategies of enterprise to achieve a particular life-style, it is possible to theorise on the learning systems and training of artisan-silversmiths and motivational levers to test whether these can be applied to achieve greater success. The chapter has researched:

- Enterprise or entrepreneurship? – the motivational drivers of an artisan-silversmith business
- Managing a creative business
- The practicalities of running a creative business and how to earn a living within the sector.

Through researching these three elements of being an artisan-silversmith we begin to gather the information necessary to begin to suggest the elements of a Silversmith Development Framework.

The literature on enterprise by Boothroyd (2011) documents the practicalities of running a micro-business whilst Branagan (2011) goes further into entrepreneurship with case studies that are documented and analysed.

Granet (2017) highlights the problems of running a medium sized business in comparison to the exigencies of a one-man business. He worries about which roles to concentrate on and even which customers to interact with, a luxury no artisan-silversmith can afford, whilst Airey (2013) extols the virtues of remaining a one-man band.

By bringing together the concepts of craft, success, and enterprise it is possible to highlight the complex motivations, which make up the practice of being an artisan-silversmith. The contemporary silversmithing industry battles with an out-of-date image of their craft as being one devoted to baroque Victoriana and emphasized in the media as being of the highest order and of great commercial value. Contemporary silversmithing is rarely featured in the media and if so, it is invariably as an out-of-date craft anomaly. Overlaying the industry's problems is the view held by Sennett (2009) that craftspeople are not honoured for their practical skills, they are not widely considered as "poets" (Sennett, 2009: 22-24) as he and others consider that they should be. Despite this there is often an admiration for hard-won skills and recognition by the luxury sector of the combination of design skills and technical brilliance by the most senior makers.

The review highlights the problems of the juxtaposition of demands placed upon the artisan-silversmith, namely to be primarily a gifted craftsman, a skill that takes an inordinate length of time to achieve, a person at ease and happy enough

with themselves and with enough time and space to be creative whilst simultaneously being in business and running their individual enterprise.

The silversmiths themselves take the long-term view of accruing craft skills as their central motivation whilst accepting their 'lifestyle' status of employment as the industry norm. As Beaver suggests, business is a means to an end. Success is rarely measured in monetary terms but for the artisan-silversmith it is viewed through the Bourdieusian prism of peer and public recognition, and the achievement of self-employment, or a portfolio life.

4. Research Methodology

4.1. Introduction

Chapter Five will present the research findings, which lie at the heart of this study. The present chapter completes the preparatory work necessary to place these research findings in context and to explain the methodologies which have informed the research. Chapter Two provided an essential framework for understanding the craft industries, by exploring the history of the silversmithing industry, describing its current structure, and considering relevant ideological factors. Chapter Three provided the intellectual foundations to enable key findings of the research to be interpreted and understood. The present chapter focuses largely on objectives and process: what were the objectives of the research, how was it carried out, and how was the resulting data analysed?

Six phases of fieldwork were undertaken to address these aims: (i) key informant interviews; (ii) stakeholder industry interviews; (iii) audio interviews; (iv) a conference 'Crafting the UK Artisan Silversmith'; (v) a short survey to fill in gaps in the qualitative research, and (vi) validation of data using an executive summary to industry stakeholders.

In section 4.2, the objectives and scope of the research are defined, and the various components of the research undertaken are described. The largest and most important component of the research consists of 36 face-to-face interviews with practitioner silversmiths, and the make-up of this research group will be described. The principal research questions are identified, and the methods used for conducting the interviews are set out in the light of theories of good practice. The section also reviews ethical considerations relating to the research and the requirement of confidentiality. Finally, the section identifies possible pitfalls, which may affect the validity of the research findings, explaining the possibility of bias on the part of the researcher and the possibility of imperfect candour on the part of the interviewees which are either defended or mitigated against.

Sections 4.1 and 4.2 describe the methods used to analyse the research data. It includes a discussion of the techniques of 'grounded theory', axial analysis and the Development Research Sequence method, together with an account of the use of Nvivo software to break down the raw data from the research.

A short concluding section will consider the value and significance of the research and identify some possible limitations.

4.2. The Study's Theoretical Framework

4.2.1. The Adoption of Grounded Theory Techniques

Of prime importance to the study are the theories of Glaser and Strauss (1967), which move qualitative enquiry beyond the merely descriptive towards abstract and conceptual understandings. The thesis has used the data collected to create a new understanding of the motivations of artisan-silversmiths using these methods. Awareness of these theories encouraged the researcher to use observation and enabled intuitive ideas to be tested against the data of the study.

The rationale for adopting Grounded Theory techniques for this study, as set out by Charmaz, is that it systemises a methodology of collecting and analyzing qualitative data so that it might be used to construct theories. For Charmaz, inductive data “invokes iterative strategies of going back and forth between data and analysis, uses comparative methods, and keeps the researcher interacting and involved with the data and emerging analysis” (Charmaz, 2014: 1).

Charmaz exhorts the grounded theorist to study early data and begin to separate, sort and synthesise the data through qualitative coding. This coding allows for the raising of analytical questions. The coding distils data, creating an analytical handle that lets the researcher make valid comparisons with other segments of data. This emphasises the need to analyse what is happening in the immediate environment when data is codified, adding to the richness of the study (Charmaz, 2014: 4). Charmaz's concept of grounded theory is that it is a constellation of methods which when taken together formulate a system of working - it is not merely an array of randomly chosen methods. By beginning with inductive logic, the data is subject to rigorous comparative analysis aiming to develop a theoretical analysis.⁶ However, Charmaz does also introduce flexibility into her approach: “You can adopt and adapt the steps of the research process to solve the varied problems and conduct diverse studies” (Charmaz, 2014: 15-16). Of relevance to this study was the creation of new categories, drawn from the data, such as ‘educational efficacy’ and ‘legacy’, once a number of interviews had been completed

⁶ - Conduct data collection and analysis simultaneously in an iterative process
- Use comparative methods
- Draw on data in service of developing new conceptual categories
- Develop inductive abstract analytic categories through systematic data analysis
- Emphasise theory construction rather than description or application of current theories
- Engage in theoretical sampling
- Search for variation in the studied categories or process
- Pursue developing a category rather than covering a specific empirical topic (Charmaz, 2014: 15-16).

(Ints. 32, 35) and the pursuing of meta-categories once the empirical data had been analysed.

This study has taken the ideas of grounded theory and qualitative analysis using data collection and analysis simultaneously in an iterative process. The use of Nvivo software allows for line-by-line categorisation and aggregating of the themes, clusters the data which can then be aggregated into domains. Axial analysis, discussed later in this chapter, developed inductive abstract analytic categories, called domains, through systematic data analysis shown in Table 3. The end result is an individual theory construction rather than description or application of current theories, through the development of a unique motivations profile of artisan-silversmiths.

Charmaz suggests that as we are part of the world we study, we are also part of the theories we construct through our past and present involvements, interactions, perspectives and research practices (Charmaz, 2014: 17). Because of this, she recommends a continual comparing of the codes already deduced with the arrival of new data, in order that we might determine the adequacy and conceptual strength of both the initial and revised codes (Charmaz, 2014: 140). Consideration of Charmaz's ideas helped to keep the researcher from viewing the data solely through the prism of industry experience and preconceived ideas: constructing grounded theory is not a linear process, but instead requires the researcher to consider insights that may emerge at any time (Charmaz, 2014: 18). This concurs with the theories of Bourdieu et al, who exhort the researcher to be open to data emerging unexpectedly (Bourdieu et al., 1991: 87).

4.2.2. Gathering Rich Data

Grounded theory practitioners work on the principle that “All is data”, though they understand that researchers construct data in many forms, through interviews, field-notes, secondary documents, historical documents, private and public discussions. They also understand that the data is filtered through the prism of the ideas and perhaps the prejudices of the researcher (Glaser, 2002).

Charmaz (2014) distils the salient points required to attain high quality in data gathering.⁷ The researcher does consider that on the most important subjects

⁷ - Has enough data been collected on the background of the people or processes to fully portray the range of contexts of the study?

- Is there a range of participants' views?
- Does the data reveal what lies beneath the surface?
- Does the data reveal change over time?
- Is there a range of participants' actions?

of craft, success, and business, saturation of data, whereby data is recorded several times, was largely achieved, when the same data repeated itself in different interviews, while still providing a range of views and the perspectives of novice, mid-career and senior makers. This allowed for the demonstration of change over time with the ability to articulate the changing needs of artisan-silversmiths through their career journey.

Charmaz challenges the researcher to discover what is actually happening in any given situation or event. She asks, “What are the basic social and psychological processes?” For the purposes of the dissertation a third element was overlaid, being, “What are the business imperatives?” (Charmaz, 2014: 34). A further set of questions are answered through documenting and articulating the thoughts of novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths throughout the thesis and then visualising their accrual of capital in Bourdieusian terms: “From whose point of view is a given process fundamental? From whose is it marginal? What meanings do the different participants attribute to a process? What do they emphasise or leave out? How and when do meanings and actions change? On which information or experiences do participants define their processes (experiences)? Do they provide an idealised picture wrapped in public relations rhetoric?” (Charmaz, 2014: 35).

Charmaz asserts the need to attend to actions and processes as well as words, delineating the context, scenes and situations of action carefully. She points out the necessity of recording who did what, when and why, of identifying the conditions of the actions, intentions and processes and, having collected this data, ways in which to interpret it may be found. She recommends the researcher focus on specific words and phrases to which participants attribute particular meaning, whilst researching taken-for-granted assumptions. (Charmaz, 2014: 35)

These analytical points are addressed through the rigorous process of interviewing analysis and interpretation of the data. The researcher has been able to come close to understanding the world of artisan-silversmithing through cultural immersion. If Charmaz is correct, and meanings and processes change over time and when contexts change, then the researcher ought to find such changes apparent in the different contexts of the artisan-silversmith: novice, mid-career and

- Is the data sufficient to develop analytical categories?

What kinds of comparisons can be made between data and how do these generate comparisons and inform ideas? (Charmaz, 2014: 29-33).

senior. The data from each interview has been interpreted in the light of the practitioners' experiences and their stage in the career journey.

4.2.3. Qualitative Analysis as the Primary Research Methodology

This section is a summary of how and why the primary method of research chosen has been qualitative.

Social science practitioners have identified qualitative research using one-to-one interviews as the gold standard tool of primary research (Barbour, 2014: 111-32). This is the primary research method of this study. Face-to-face interviews however, do not always capture the richness of data that can be achieved by an ethnographic study that combines full cultural immersion, observation (Barbour, 2014: 62-63) and participant ethnographic analysis (Kirkup, 2014). For this reason, qualitative research techniques of detailed observation have been adopted, based on conversations with artisan-silversmiths, visits to workshops, craft fairs and exhibitions over many years, collecting and organising exhibitions. Barbour (2014) asserts that qualitative analysis attempts to explain the micro, everyday practices, understandings and interactions that guide behaviour, thus providing a detailed picture of the target groups (Barbour, 2014: 11-18). The interviews themselves, while being at heart relatively fluid affairs, designed to allow the interviewee as much freedom to address their own concerns as possible, were nevertheless couched in formal terms. These terms, such as fixed appointments and the explanation of their purpose, created a certain expectation in the mind of the participant which may in turn have lent a certain formality and rigidity to their answers: this potential for bias is acknowledged by the researcher. These formal aspects to the process do, on the other hand, create a sense of gravitas that makes for thoughtful, intelligent and worthy responses. All the participants undertook the interview process seriously and with enthusiasm.

There is a responsibility on the part of the interviewer when undertaking such qualitative research to use clear, unambiguous language and not confuse the participant with academic jargon (Barbour, 2014: 129). Use of such language can make the interviewee feel at something of a disadvantage, as if the interview is more akin to an interrogation. A similar effect may be felt when, the interviewer is known to the interviewee, and in this case the fact that the interviewer was an industry figure, collector, academic researcher and exhibition organiser was a potential source of bias that needed to be addressed. The researcher's industry

visibility may, for example, have placed psychological pressure on some of the participants, who may have perceived themselves to have been at a disadvantage, or that it was important for them to 'answer correctly', and thus make the 'correct impression'. Aware of this possibility, the researcher sought to put the participants at their ease, initially with relaxed and convivial conversation, and by discussing them and their work in order to set them at centre stage so that any potential feelings of being a supplicant might be avoided. Often a reciprocal interplay of information drew out greater detail from the participant and served simultaneously to raise the knowledge base, importance and tone of the discourse.

Crang & Cook have noted that “research is always bound up in issues of power/knowledge” (Crang & Cook, 2007: 26), a perception shared by some of the interviewees who report that they occasionally felt as if they were being judged, and not always in a favourable light. By ensuring that the thesis’s findings would be anonymised this fear was, in most cases, allayed. A more potent possible bias is that of the researcher pronouncing on the behaviour of ‘Others’, such as artisan-silversmiths, when they are not themselves a maker. A particular concern related to the discussion of conceptions of 'business', especially those regarding women in business, the researcher being a white male businessman. There is also the possibility noted by Crang & Cook that the researcher might, at heart, be “indulging in a heroic mission to ‘make the world a better place for ‘them’” (Crang & Cook, 2007: 27-28).

This heuristic study highlights the individuality, randomness and complexity of the participants. The study method aims to capture data and is not attempting to predict outcomes. Immersion (Barbour, 2014: 295-96) in the subject group through visiting ateliers, exhibitions, collecting, socialising, mentoring and writing on the subject of silversmithing creates a breadth and richness of data from which meaningful conclusions can be drawn (Kirkup, 2014).

4.2.4. Axial Analysis and the Developmental Research Sequence Method

Charmaz suggests that categories be placed on an ‘axis’ around which the researcher delineates relationships and the dimensions of a category (Charmaz, 2014: 341), what is known as 'axial analysis'. Axial analysis is designed to bring together data into a coherent whole following its fracturing into line-by-line coding as seen in Table 3. Following the development of major categories, axial coding builds “a dense texture of relationships around the axis of a category”

(Strauss, 1987: 4). Axial analysis of the data followed through from the qualitative interviewing technique of asking open questions such as ‘when, where, who, why and with what consequences’, eliciting rich data for the study (Charmaz, 2014: 147).

Axial analysis has been used as the preferred analytical tool as it works by clustering and developing the themes of the research such as education, business skills and commerciality outlined in Table 3. It has been chosen over the alternative, comparative analysis, which compares incident with incident, using open coding which breaks data apart, delineates concepts in terms of their data and undertakes theoretical sampling based on concepts that appear to be relevant (Charmaz, 2014: 195): it is not an appropriate technique for this study as a dynamic incident-based sociological analysis tool whereas grounded theory codifying is a theme-based analytical tool which is appropriate to this study.

Glaser and Strauss explain the generation of theory based initially on “using preselected categories based on the logic of verification” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 135). These preselected categories are listed in the silversmiths’ questions section, which documents the initial research enquiry, namely educational chronology, business, aspirations and motivations and from these the themes of the study became evident forming the basis of the emergent domains.

Corbin & Strauss refer to the generation of theory as ‘integration’, “searching for the missing piece[s] ... pull all the threads together to construct a plausible explanatory framework” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: 264). They point out that the final step of integration is the most difficult part of the analysis, sifting and sorting through the data and categories to see how it all fits together. Within the confines of the data they suggest that data analysis is an art as well as a science, asserting that the researcher must recognise if the original categories are not working and be willing to take the scheme apart and rebuild it until the analytic story “feels right” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: 274). The early-stage interviewing necessarily relied on the use of preselected categories as the basis of the questions to be asked. These categories were deliberately kept open in context eliciting wide and varied responses. Only when this initial data had been recorded were more specific, reflexive questions asked, all of which were based on the initial open question sets. The validation of the study does indicate that this technique was used correctly, as data saturation became evident in each category. However, it might also indicate a certain confirmation bias - the confirmation of already held positions and prejudices. The

categorisations may therefore 'feel' right in the language of Corbin and Strauss, but still be incorrect.

The Developmental Research Sequence method consists, similarly, of the creation of research themes to disassemble the data, but these are deduced primarily through ethnographic methods - here collected in the study of artisan-silversmiths as well as the educational and stakeholder community (Spradley, 1979: 94, 190-202). Traditional ethnographic study requires complete immersion in the study field, 'living and breathing' the subject and directly engaging with the people involved (O'Reilly, 2012: 94). The background knowledge acquired over the researcher's 30 years of activity within the trade does, in this sense, help create the foundation for high-quality research complying with the theories of Spradley (1979) and O'Reilly (2012).

Atkinson et al have noted that grounded theory should not become a set of formulaic procedures but should remain a process during which the researcher constantly thinks *with* the data in order to interrogate it and generate working ideas (Atkinson et al, 2003: 150). This has been incorporated into the study through the challenging of the ideas and theories, which were formulated through discussion with senior silversmiths, and the validation exercise of the study.

4.3. Epistemological Considerations of this Interpretivist Study

According to Ritchie and Lewis, "face-to-face interviews provide the researcher with free exchange of ideas with interviewees and it allows for discussion of more complex questions and detailed responses" (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Within the confines of this study, this free exchange of knowledge often prompted a greater depth of response within the interviews, as can plainly be observed in interview 24, where the interviewee responded to researcher comments on art by elucidating further on personal motivations.

Epistemological considerations and analysis are key to the study. O'Reilly asserts that the absolute truth and the telling of life stories is relativist so as to "understand individual human action either in terms of their daily interactions and common-sense ideas or in the context of their wider culture" (O'Reilly, 2012: 56-59). It is the setting and contextualising of the lives and culture of artisan-silversmiths that is the real value of the study, which notes the changing views of the participants over time as novice, mid-career and senior makers.

The research has been carried out so as to encompass an interpretivist approach, meaning that the researcher has attempted to set aside any pre-conceptions and avoided any attempt to analyse the data as it is gathered, and thus accepting, in the majority of cases, interviewee responses at face value, at this stage. The core of the study is an interpretivist analysis (O'Reilly, 2012: 20, 29-30, 49-52) with the researcher testing data against experience and observed evidence such as known motivations and lifestyle. The researcher acknowledges the tendency of commentators and writers to romanticise, both craft, and craftsmanship, a tendency that the participants are often happy to reinforce. Within the confines of an interpretivist study, interviewees can be viewed as "actors in the social (and economic) world rather than simply *re-acting* as objects in the natural world" (O'Reilly, 2012: 52). For O'Reilly, the researcher ought to concentrate their study on "meaningful rational action" (O'Reilly, 2012: 53). In the case of this study, this has meant setting artisan-silversmiths in a holistic framework of economic, social and motivational actions.

As practised interviewees whose life stories are told and re-told, many of the participants in this study rely on a set of honed responses, and their own story, which thickens over time, becomes the 'official narrative' of their histories and beliefs, as demonstrated by interviewees 22 and 24 whose narratives are repeated in other publications. Thomas & Thomas suggest that as truth is relative, "if people believe things to be real then they are real in their consequences" (Thomas & Thomas, 1929, cited in Barbour, 2012: 21). Some interviewees have found that clever responses make good copy, with a believable story acceptable to the given audience, while some plainly do not allow 'the truth' to get in the way of a good story as with one senior maker who was 'expelled' from the RCA having been told that his learning time there had now finished. As with any large group of interviewees there is a spectrum of those whose responses can be taken as completely truthful, in their own terms, and those who colour the truth to their own benefit. It is because of this behaviour that the responses must be validated, and the data interpreted alongside real-world observations.

The artisan-silversmiths themselves can be seen in several instances, notably interviewees 22, 33 and 41, to be particularly enthusiastic participants in the research project. The researcher has at times acted as reviewer of individuals who appreciate being part of the study, as well as their being recipients of its conclusions. There is a definite sense of altruism in some of the interviewees,

making them keen to add to the knowledge of the industry and influence future decisions on education, training and stakeholder support.

The study in itself quickly became reciprocal in nature, with participants keen to have feedback from the researcher in order that they might implement change and consider strategies for improvement: the researcher found himself working 'with' rather than 'on' the participant as recommended by Crang and Crook (Crang and Cook, 2007: 28). Many of the participants found the time spent useful, treating it in part as a career review with an industry specialist, and taking the opportunity to discuss developments in the industry - galleries, fairs, shows and competitions - and to generally gain an overview of the industry as a whole.

It was important to ensure the reliability of the data using the techniques of qualitative research whilst being interpretivist of the analysis taking a step back and asking what the data actually means. The great majority of interviewees gave truthful, verifiable answers to the questions asked, verified either through other evidence or interview saturation of data from numerous sources. Whilst it may appear that there was little to be gained by an interviewee either lying or perhaps elaborating on the truth, there is always the possibility that they might want to give the answers they feel the researcher wants to hear. I believe that with the majority of interviewees this was not the case thereby minimising the risk of false data.

4.3.1. Ethical Considerations

Following the ethical considerations theorised by Crang & Crook, interview participants were invited to become part of the study by email and interviewed at a mutually agreed and convenient venue. All the interviewees were previously known to the researcher. The purpose of the interview was made clear in the email and participants were assured that the data would be confidential and anonymised. The participants were free to stop at any time and were also given the option of amending their data or having it deleted after reviewing the transcription, or at any time after the interview. In the opinion of the researcher there were no conflicts of interest (Crang & Crook, 2007: 29).

The act of interviewing/being interviewed can be an extremely emotional, stressful experience. Conversely, it can be life affirming, exciting, challenging and thought-provoking. Interviewing can explore the core beliefs of a person who may not be certain of their position in society or business. In this circumstance, it may bring up long forgotten emotions or issues that the participant has buried. In

the interview the participant could face competencies (or incompetencies), which he or she would prefer not to be interviewed about. In the light of these considerations the researcher asked fully considered and reflexive questions deemed not to create a stressful interview (O'Reilly, 2012: 133-37).

Consent being a prerequisite of this thesis, ECA consent forms have been signed by each participant and permission will be sought for the publication and dissemination of data after the thesis is approved by examiners. Two interviewees did not sign the permission form and their data has not been used. The ethics documentation informed the interviewees that the data would be anonymised. The full names of interviewees have been reduced to anonymised numbers with all relevant documentation available in the appendix. UoE ethical approval was not necessary as all interviews were with professionals in the public domain and did not involve interviews with vulnerable adults or children.

4.4. Establishing Domains and Themes

In this section we look at the theoretical basis of the first stage of analysis of the empirical data collected from 2014-2019. Qualitative research leads on to the analysis of the data through a structured methodology. For this Spradley asserts the merits of the Developmental Research Sequence method (Spradley, 1979: 228-34). In this the researcher asks descriptive and structural questions (Spradley, 1979: 60, 67, 133), and the answers elicited are then broken down into a taxonomy of themes, and domain analysis (Spradley, 1979: 107-12): thus the study deconstructs all the elements of the data. Spradley argues that initial, surface, analysis will set out domains and that the researcher must then unpack the meaning in each domain through reflection and deduction. Table 3 shows the results of such reflection carried out with the help of Nvivo software firstly creating themes followed up by grouping the themes listed into overarching domains.

The use of contrasting questions moves the researcher from broad surface analysis to an in-depth analysis of cultural understanding in the project, "beyond constructing taxonomies of cultural domains" (Spradley, 1979: 60, 65, 121). Spradley points out that "much of our cultural knowledge is tacit", and it is through the use of contrasting questions that this tacit knowledge may be turned into explicit knowledge by the researcher (Spradley, 1979: 8-9, 156). Hence the adoption by the researcher of grounded theory techniques created by Glaser and Strauss designed to ensure that theory flowed from qualitative empirical data (Glaser and Strauss, 1999: 3).

The researcher identified themes within the professional and personal lives of the silversmiths that formed the basis of the data with emergent themes of education, business skills, success, attitudes, work-life balance, commerciality and craft skills. Interpreting the responses of interviewees is central to the study: the researcher is aware that the thickening of information in a formal interview is normal, as a form of shorthand. Thus validating the truth of the responses has often been subjective and interpretivist (Barbour, 2012: 21-22, 40-41; Kirkup, 2014; O'Reilly, 2012: 98).

4.5. Research Objectives

The research objective is to understand the processes and journey by which students, apprentices, novices, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths become successful practitioners, or what has prevented them from achieving this end, viewing them in the light of motivational and business theories. The thesis aims to document the motivations of the study group in order to gain a clear understanding of how they may differ from purely profit-driven industries while identifying what counts as success in their terms. The research will document the strengths and weaknesses of the industry, and in doing so will identify the skill sets of craft and business needed to achieve success. These observations will in turn suggest the elements required to make a successful Silversmith Development Framework (SDF). The SDF itself will be produced independently, and will be designed to create an educative system that is best placed to supply the tools with which artisan-silversmiths may be equipped to flourish in their chosen profession. By comparing and contrasting the theoretical and the practical the thesis will highlight the areas in which the stakeholders can influence training.

4.6. Research Method

The study explores the journey of the practitioners through qualitative analysis of the interviews, documenting craft and business skills accrual, motivations and personal development. Through documenting and understanding their learning regimes and quality of the skills acquired we can begin to consider their readiness at each stage of professionalisation to become an artisan-silversmith.

To achieve the research objective of a detailed understanding of the artisan-silversmith industry, the research will:

- Document and analyse the historic and current nature of the UK artisan-silversmith industry through interviewing 36 artisan-silversmiths and 22 industry stakeholders
- Analyse the 2016 industry conference themed 'Crafting the UK artisan-silversmith'
- Organise and analyse data participant audio-recordings enabling data gathering which creates the opportunity for greater self-reflection and considered responses to seeded questions
- Through a short survey fill gaps in the data which had not been achieved through qualitative research of the empirical data gathered
- Create verification and validation.

4.6.1. The Research Group

The majority of the 36 artisan-silversmith interviewees were trained in programmes delivered by the Design & Craft departments of universities in Britain. When differentiated in terms of their career stage - novice, mid-career and senior - at the time of the study in 2014, the interview cohort comprised 1 novice, 20 mid-career and 15 senior makers. 30 of the interviewees gained a first degree, 12 of whom went on to gain a Master's degree, of which 8 were taken at the Royal College of Art. For non-graduates there is a significant apprenticeship system as well as the possibility of being self-taught. Of the 36 artisan-silversmiths interviewed 6 makers served apprenticeships three of whom later gained a degree. Only one maker interviewed is completely self-taught. Of the 36 practitioners interviewed 9 attended Bishopsland Education Trust, often as one-year skills refining exercise after gaining a degree either as preparation for applying to the RCA or entering the world of employment.

The research was undertaken over a 5-year period allowing for a purposive approach as theorised by Blaikie (2000) with related follow-up research questions conducted after axial analysis (Charmaz, 2014: 341) of answers by interviewees, thus providing an opportunity to fill gaps in the data.

The objectives mentioned above required fieldwork involving:

- Primary research to understand the current state of the industry; this took the form of interviews with 36 artisan-silversmiths as well as 22 interviews with (or recorded speeches at conferences by) industry stakeholder representatives and executives. This develops an in-depth understanding of

the perspectives held by decision-makers on commercialisation, skills accrual and motivational factors

- The first group of artisan-silversmiths interviewed were drawn from those invited by the Goldsmiths' Fair selection committee to exhibit in 2014. Having been asked by the Fair's director to give a talk on the participating silversmiths this gave me the opportunity to interview exhibitors concerning the Fair and the study's research, which they all agreed to. The Fair's selection committee was given the short brief of "Elite", by the Fair director, as the exhibitor criteria. The invitees were those considered to represent the best of UK contemporary silversmithing at post-graduate (novice), mid-career and senior level as judged by the Fair's committee, which was made up of industry experts
- The second group selected for study were senior silversmiths, makers known to me who do not apply to take part in Goldsmiths' Fairs and whose business methods rely on self-promotion, gallery selling, word-of-mouth recommendation, or commissions from existing customers gained over their many years in business. This group, all categorised as senior, tend to have both high levels of craft skills and well-established businesses and thus rarely have need of strenuous or speculative promotional methods. In fact, they tend to have order books stretching years ahead and a willing buying public for any speculative pieces they may happen to make
- The third group selected were recently qualified in tertiary education and were seeking to establish themselves through craft fairs, galleries, art fairs and the building up of a personalised database of clients. Only one of this group had not started their commercial career, preferring to remain at university as an artist-in-residence as of 2014, whilst the others refined their making techniques and established themselves through galleries and exhibitions.
- Secondary research of senior silversmiths encompassing cultural and historic data of the industry available in books and through the internet.

The development of research objectives was the result of analysing relevant theories and considering evidence from the literature, from observation, and discussion. Miles and Huberman (1994) assert that research objectives may be refined and reformulated in the course of the fieldwork, which in this case resulted in the 2018 Silversmith Market Survey (Hamme, 2018). The short survey was

undertaken to gather the information considered necessary following the refining and reformulation of the research objectives. This took place in early 2018 to fill data gaps such as length of time in business, product sales analysis, customer demographic, the importance of craftsmanship and design to clients and marketing by artisan-silversmiths not covered in the interviews. It should be noted that this informal survey, the 2018 Silversmith Market Survey (Hamme, 2018) cannot be used as representative of the industry due to its small size but has been used in conjunction with another survey by the Goldsmiths' Company as an indicator for further research. At this stage it has not been the intention of the study to create a quantitative analysis of the industry.

4.6.2. Questions to the Study's Interviewees

Each interview lasted approximately one hour. The interviews had no detailed pre-set questions, only areas of interest that the researcher sought to cover. The researcher was trying to achieve an open, informal discussion in which areas of interest could be explored and developed leading from general questions covering the three areas of interest to reflexive questions arising from the opening questions (Charmaz, 2014: 34-5). This methodology is considered in more detail later.

1. Silversmiths

Prior to the interview a short document had been emailed to the interviewee which outlined the purpose of the interview, its aims and objectives, and thanking the interviewee in advance for their cooperation. This document is now being held by the researcher as a printed copy.

All the interviewees were previously known to the researcher and often with a great deal of background information usefully available on their business website and other websites as well as in secondary literature. The researcher gathered as much of this data as possible prior to each interview.

The interviews were typically carried out as follows:

First subject of discussion: Their educational chronology and how they become an artisan-silversmith. What they considered to be the advantages and disadvantages of that particular system of learning.

Second subject: Their business, and reflexive questions from that discussion.

Third subject: Their motivations for being in the world of silversmithing. Their attitude toward being an artisan-silversmith and their relationship in financial terms to their peer group of non-makers. Followed by reflexive questions from these discussions.

Fourth subject: Their aspirations and reflexive questions leading from that discussion.

Fifth subject: Where relevant, a discussion on industry stakeholders, interaction, competencies and problems in dealing with those agencies.

2. Industry stakeholders

Prior to the interview a document was emailed to the industry stakeholder which outlined the purpose of the interview, its aims and objectives, and thanking the interviewee in advance for their cooperation in agreeing to attend the interview.

First subject: An overview outline of their involvement with the artisan-silversmithing industry and reflexive questions leading from that discussion.

Second subject: Their historical role and interaction with artisan-silversmiths and reflexive questions leading from that discussion.

Third subject: Further reflexive questions leading from the above.

An assurance was given to all interviewees, both silversmiths and industry stakeholders, that answers would be anonymised and that the results of the research would be made available to them in a summary of the research. All the participants were thanked at the time and received a follow-up email thanking them for their time and thoughtful answers.

The researcher found that each interview followed a different path, as the emphasis of the questions was largely dependent on the knowledge and experience of the interviewee: i.e., their status as novice, mid-career or senior practitioner. The researcher concentrated on the reflexive questions, which drew out the interests, motivations, and individuality of the silversmith being interviewed, in order to explore their more deeply-set motivations.

4.6.3. Summary of Industry Stakeholder Participants Interviewed and Speeches at Conferences

In 2016, the researcher organised an industry-specific conference, sponsored by the Goldsmiths' Centre. Entitled 'Crafting the UK Artisan-Silversmith', it was

attended by industry figures whose opinions were sought and recorded. The speakers were all asked to consider 'the future of contemporary artisan-silversmithing', and their own role within it. The speeches are fully transcribed in the appendix and are available online (www.festivalofsilver.co.uk). These speeches provided a rich resource of highly valuable data, as they were given by a highly specialised group of subject-specific speakers who had been given the time to consider the subject at hand. Of the data gathered at the conference these speeches were the most insightful, addressing both perceptions of and problems within the industry from a number of different standpoints.

To add further to the pool of available data, the researcher attended the following events: The Guild of St. George symposium in July 2017 where the keynote speakers, Annie Warburton, creative director of the Crafts Council and Angela Cork, chair of the CBS were recorded. A speech by David Clarke at UCA Farnham was recorded, as well as a speech by Rauni Higson at the July 2018 CBS AGM.

As each speaker had a position they were either defending or promoting, and they had the opportunity to 'sell' their position, a particularly strong contextual interpretation could be made of the data gathered from their talks. Charmaz considers several questions that need to be asked, including "What are the business imperatives?", "From whose point of view is a given process fundamental?" and "Do they provide an idealised picture wrapped in public relations rhetoric?" (Charmaz, 2014: 34-35).

As an interpretivist study the data from the conference speeches are filtered through these questions. Altogether, 22 such interviews or recordings of industry experts were undertaken, providing invaluable historical background and perspective.

4.7. Methodological Framework

Research Objectives and Methods of the Study

Table 2 below summarises the research objectives and the research methods detailed in this chapter.

Research objectives	Research Methods
<p>(i) To create academic rigour</p> <p>(ii) To identify a suitable research base</p> <p>(iii) To gather insights into factors influencing the study group</p> <p>Application and testing of industry experience and knowledge</p> <p>(iv) To gather insights from industry stakeholders</p> <p>(v) To gather insights from industry stakeholders</p> <p>(vi) Validate the findings of the thesis.</p>	<p>(i) The application of theories of qualitative analysis, grounded theory, motivation, entrepreneurship and enterprise and development frameworks and the analysis of related historic and academic literature</p> <p>(ii) Selection of a relevant group of key informants</p> <p>(iii) Conducting key informant interviews combined with secondary research</p> <p>(iv) Industry stakeholder interviews</p> <p>(v) A one-day conference inviting industry stakeholders, held in May 2016 and entitled 'Crafting the UK Artisan-Silversmith'</p> <p>(vi) A study summary was sent to industry stakeholders for commentary and validation.</p>
<p>Main purpose:</p> <p>To describe the nature of the UK artisan silversmithing industry</p>	
<p>(vii) To document the context of the study and history of the artisan-silversmithing industry concerning the aspects of craft, motivations and business</p>	<p>(vii) An extensive literature review on the subjects of craft, motivations and business</p>

Research objectives	Research Methods
<p>(viii) To understand the educational chronology of the study group</p> <p>(ix) To understand the apprenticeship route to becoming a silversmith</p> <p>(x) To understand the self-taught route to becoming a silversmith</p> <p>(xi) To understand the craft, motivational and business factors of the study group</p> <p>(xii) To gather insights on the personal and contextual factors that influence the study group</p> <p>(xiii) To discover the key factors which influence the UK artisan silversmithing industry.</p> <p>Main purpose: To understand deeply the ecosystem and motivations of the craftspeople operating in the UK artisan silversmithing sector</p>	<p>(viii) Individual in-depth interviews with the study group silversmiths</p> <p>(ix) In depth interviews Secondary research and stakeholder industry interviews</p> <p>(x) Individual in-depth interviews with the study group silversmiths</p> <p>(xi) Individual in-depth interviews in conjunction with secondary research and theoretical analysis</p> <p>(xii) In-depth interviews with the study group</p> <p>(xiii) The study's interviews were analysed using Nvivo software systems and axial analysis</p>
<p>(xiv) The documenting of the day-to-day activities of a silversmith</p> <p>(xv) To create reflections on</p>	<p>(xiv) Audio self-recording</p> <p>(xv) Audio self-recording.</p>

Research objectives	Research Methods
themes such as success. Main purpose: To create the opportunity for greater self-reflection and a considered response to a seeded question	
(xvi) Fill gaps in the data.	(xvi) A short survey based on surveys by the CBS and Goldsmiths' Company.

Table 2: Research Objectives and Methods of the Study

4.7.1. Solicited Audio Diaries

Other data gathering options were considered such as audio diaries which had advantages over the semi-structured interviews which used open and reflexive questions (Barbour, 2014: 36, 120-21, 129) serving to uncover the differing aspirations, philosophies of business and work style of each artisan-silversmith, differences which often appear to be significant. The relative rigidity and formality of face-to-face interviews, however, cannot bring out the everyday reality of being an artisan-silversmith. In the light of this realisation, four of the silversmiths interviewed agreed to record daily audio-diaries in order to add to the mosaic of accounts, which this research uses to illuminate the lives and practices of the participants (Gibson et al., 2013: 384). These diaries produced surprising results, throwing up themes for research previously unconsidered, i.e. the impact of a young family, chaotic scheduling and the consequences of late and non-deliveries leading to the missing of deadlines. The data gleaned from this new source was subjected to an interpretivist analysis allowing for validation of the information (Barbour, 2012: 221-24).

The use of audio diaries resulted in greater freedom of expression for the participant, as they were no longer being formally interviewed, with no structured questions (Spradley, 1979: 60). At this stage of the interview process, they were free to express thoughts and opinions driven by the events of that particular day. The participants used their own mobile phone to record the diaries, and they did so at a time of their choice, delivering the resulting audio file by email. The diary entries tended to be made at the end of the day and to last between 5 and 10 minutes. The audio-files were transcribed by the researcher.

As the participants were not in the position of being challenged by the interviewer and had greater freedom to explore themes that were of interest to them affecting their day and performance. The act of speaking into their own hand-held recorder in a relaxed environment elicited a completely different style of data capture; being an open and unstructured flow of ideas and tangential thoughts. This audio diary technique reduces the awkwardness that can occur in a formal face-to-face interview and seems to reduce self-consciousness, placing the power dynamic back in favour of the participant. The participant knows that they retain the ultimate control and can opt to not even send the audio file at all. The researcher thus becomes invisible at the point of data gathering, often an ideal wish of researchers as theorised by Wiles et al, (2004).

While there were no structured questions per se, the participants were given general direction and themes: they were asked to record the events of the day in relation to their life as an artisan-silversmith, fully understanding that family, social life and outside agencies all impact on schedules, mood and emotions, which can affect daily outcomes of production efficiency and creativity. Seeded subjects such as 'success' and 'the future' and relationships to key organisations generated in-depth data. Because these subjects were pre-set the participants had the time to give greater thought and clarity of responses, which created thoughtful, in-depth, data.

Audio-recorded diaries have the advantage of capturing subtleties of tone not possible in a written account (Monrouxe, 2009: 81-103). This methodology resulted in participants often becoming quite animated in their recordings, feeling the freedom to express themselves openly about their achievements and disappointments.

4.7.2. Venues and Interview Format

For interviews, meeting at a neutral venue, such as a café or restaurant was considered preferable to venues with associations of power structures, whether on the side of interviewer or interviewee. These venues did, however, have disadvantages such as an awareness of being overheard and a lack of privacy as well as, sometimes, background noise. Because of this all interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and sent to the interviewee for verification. Several interviews were conducted at the maker's workshop (Ints. 6, 10, 11, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 31, 32, 33, 35, 39, 43).

Barbour recommends the interview methodology of open questions, characterised as starting with 'who', 'what', 'why', 'where', or 'when' (Barbour, 2014: 129) and listening to considered answers, leading to the reflexivity of relevant follow-up questions (O'Reilly, 2012: 11), allowing both researcher and participant to focus

on the issues most important to them. This added to the richness of the data and showed to the participant the researcher's underlying industry knowledge and empathy with their ideas and problems.

A semi-structured interview format (O'Reilly, 2012: 119-21) allowed for thematic analysis as it ensured that important subjects were covered (Spradley, 1979: 190-202). Within each area of discussion there was the possibility of exploring interesting and different avenues of research. Occasionally only one or two subjects were covered in depth, as the interviews were limited to just one hour.

4.7.3. Sensitivity in Interviewing

There is an element of 'research fatigue' amongst senior members of the profession; they can be concerned about the amount of time taken to conduct an interview and potential inaccuracy of the reporting of facts and opinions by journalists and researchers. O'Reilly (2012) asserts that, "You need to think about your behaviour in the field, as well as how what you publish might impede future research" (O'Reilly, 2012: 72). The technique used by the researcher, which complies with University of Edinburgh ethical standards, was of audio-recording the interviews with the data being transcribed and emailed to the interviewee for verification and approval. Using pre-approved wording from the University of Edinburgh documented research usage, and approval was agreed by the interviewee, with an acknowledgement by email that ethical considerations of anonymisation were acknowledged, and that the transcription was accurate and could be used for research purposes.

The interviewing process fully covered novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths and industry stakeholders. Younger participants, in particular, can be strongly influenced by the nature of interview questions. To try to counteract this tendency, the researcher fully considered the content and tone of the questions in order to reach the standards expected of a good qualitative researcher, namely that they are: "knowledgeable, structuring, clear, gentle, sensitive, open, steering, critical, remembering and interpreting" (Kvale, 1996: 148-49). These standards and the ethical considerations as documented in the thesis were considered to have been fully complied with by the researcher.

4.8. Using Grounded Theory Coding

Charmaz (2014) considers that after a short period of interviewing the researcher must stop and ask analytical questions of the data that has been gathered up to that point. Reflection after the interviews furthers the researcher's understanding of the data and

will thus influence further questioning. This influence can be seen affecting the later interviews, in which the researcher allowed for more complex reflexive questions to be asked as many of the core themes of motivation had, by that point, been researched to the point of saturation (Ints. 6-17). This was particularly the case in the interviews of senior makers who were interviewed at the later stages of data gathering (Ints. 41-44).

The initial stage of theme coding involves the study of words, phrases and incidents. By importing this analytical language into the interviews, the researcher may adopt the terms used by the participants themselves as codes, bringing researcher and interviewee together into an interactive analytic space (Charmaz, 2014: 109).

Charmaz posits that grounded theory is the process of defining what data means. Coding by categorising segments of data with a short name simultaneously summarises and accounts for each piece of data, this was facilitated by Nvivo software supplied by the university. This technique does involve innovative thinking, for example academic theorists will, in formal papers, use the word 'profit' even when participants rarely spoke of profit or the profit motive but of 'earning a living'. The grounded theory coding thus became 'earning a living' for that themed section and similar phrases used by the participants for the concept of creating a profit. In total over 250 themes were created through line-by-line analysis, all documented in Table 3 below.

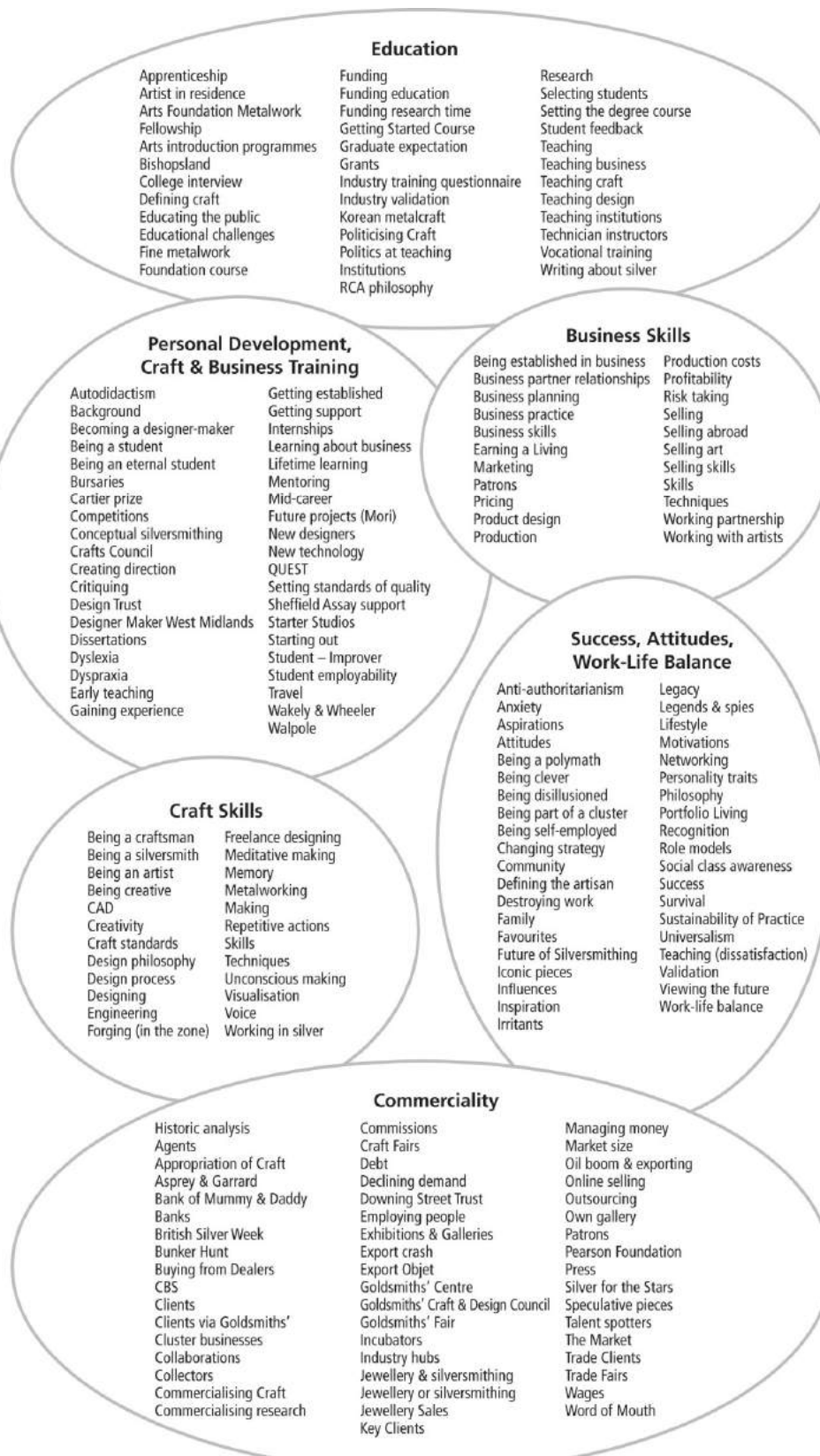


Table 3: Nvivo Coded Themes

4.9. Value of the Research and its Significance

The value of the research is the creation of a body of data which represents the lived experiences of novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths, from which, after analysis, the possible elements of a Silversmith Development Framework may be deduced. Furthermore, it presents a system of research which can both be used in its current state and augmented with new data as it becomes available. The historic and current data are information rich and can be revisited to gain insights for future research.

The study demonstrates that traditional business analysis, in which success is assessed in terms of profit and loss, is inappropriate for this individualistic group or micro-industry which does not always measure or perceive success through monetary profit, as it considers money to be a facilitator rather than an economic goal. A thorough understanding of the concepts of success held by this group might allow stakeholders in the industry (which include the HE Design & Craft departments, institutions such as the Goldsmiths' Company and representative trade institutions such as the Contemporary British Silversmiths organisation) to design award and development systems which are more relevant to future industry development.

4.10. Limitations of the Methodology

The methodology falls short of an ethnographic study as a participant silversmith. However, conversations and perceptions accrued over 30 years of working with and talking to silversmiths added to the depth and richness of those relatively short conversations. Although individual interviews were restricted to one hour it has been possible to build a complete picture of the industry by discussing different aspects of it with many interviewees thus achieving data saturation.

Silversmiths are generally right-brain dominated, creative, innovative, feeling people, rather than left-brain dominated, logical-analytical people (Torr, 2011: 142). Anecdotal evidence indicates a high percentage of dyslexics among this group, and so questionnaires and forms are not the preferred research methodology of this study. The silversmiths themselves, as with all groups or individuals, one suspects, want to be seen and recorded for posterity in the best possible light. As a result of this they are liable to avoid the communication of negative perceptions regarding skills, design and business capabilities, for example. To overcome this problem the researcher has had to take an interpretivist view of interview data which often avoids the negative, and through observation and the posing of directed questions, has

managed in many cases to reveal the underlying truth of a situation without casting it in an overly negative light.

One further limitation of the study can be seen in its scope – that is defining, or suggesting, possible elements for inclusion in a proposed Silversmith Development Framework. Chapter 7 aims to counter these limitations through suggestions of possible further research, primarily through the outlining of an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council whose role would be to define the detail of the SDF.

4.11. Validation of the Research Findings

In the final period of writing this dissertation, a short summary was made of the draft final chapter of the thesis, which was emailed to 6 industry stakeholders and makers. The purpose of the exercise was to validate the research findings and elicit commentary on the ideas of the study by asking the questions:

1. Is this a fair summary of how the artisan-silversmithing industry might be developed or supported?
2. What might be the challenges of implementing this framework?
3. Would you be supportive of the proposal of an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council?

The findings of the validation are in Chapter 7.

The following people were asked to comment on the executive summary sent to them:

The director of the Goldsmiths' Centre
A Craft & Design department leader
The 2017 chair of the Contemporary British Silversmiths
The CEO of the National Association of Jewellers
The executive secretary of the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council
The 2017 chair of the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council.

These representatives of the industry were chosen due to their leading positions as influencers and decision makers of the future of artisan-silversmithing.

4.12. Summary

The methodology of the thesis is based on qualitative research (Barbour, 2014) and the ethnographic techniques of Grounded Theory articulated by Glaser & Strauss (1967) and Charmaz (2014) combined with Spradley's (1979) Development

Research Sequence, which proved to be appropriate, efficient and effective at producing relevant empirical data for the creation of a distinct theory of motivations applicable to artisan-silversmiths.

The grounded theory technique of line-by-line analysis of the data, using Nvivo software, created individual themes and from these meta-domains. Applying axial analysis is at the centre of the methodology to then be able to theorise the thesis' domains of craft, success (motivations) and business (Charmaz, 2014).

Additional data was garnered using audio diaries for analysis using qualitative research methods as well as the transcriptions of conference speeches. Secondary desk-based research using industry and sister-industry related craft literature made for a rich historical and theoretical background. The methodology has left few gaps producing useful and verifiable data and theories with almost all subject areas researched to saturation point.

5. Research Findings and Analysis

“Human endeavours, it seems, are forever poised between catching dreams and coaxing materials”. Tim Ingold (2013: 73).

5.1. Introduction

In preparation for the concluding Chapter 7, the Research Findings Chapter documents the artisan-silversmithing world in Bourdieusian terms in section 5.2 followed by mapping the progress of artisan-silversmiths in their accrual of skills capital in section 5.3. Success and the motivations of artisan-silversmiths are explored in sections 5.4 to 5.6 in their own voices and terms.

Sections 5.7 to 5.11 explore the relationship of artisan-silversmiths to entrepreneurship and enterprise and the realities of becoming an artisan-silversmith through the stages of novice, mid-career and senior maker. Finally in 5.12, a short discussion lays out the need for a development framework to be explored in Chapter 6.

The problems that the artisan-silversmith industry face are that of a micro-industry which is trying to re-invent itself in the face of consumer indifference to craftsmanship and the over-use of the designation of 'craft' (Sennett, 2009; Neal, 2015). Individual makers grapple with the challenges of uncertain demand and a lack of consumer recognition for high-quality, labour intensive goods that many find difficult to differentiate from globalised mass-produced products.

The current industry has to battle against the long cultural history of domestic silverware usage and its current unfashionability. In terms of utility it has lost out to products such as ceramics or stainless steel which are easier to both use and maintain and in terms of style there is still the overhang of the designs of past ages.

The industry is made up of talented, enthusiastic practitioners who recognise that to acquire the technical skills necessary to operate at the highest end of the market requires an extremely long training period. The customers at the highest level - museums, institutions and the most discerning private collectors - see perfection as standard.

Although the industry does have 'industry champions' in the guise of the Goldsmiths' Company and several other related organisations, being the Sheffield, Birmingham and Edinburgh Assay Offices, this is not their primary function. The most important organisation that is directly related to the artisan-silversmith industry is the Contemporary British Silversmith organisation. This organisation is in the early

stages of professionalisation and is run by volunteers who often have little experience of running a medium-sized organisation as their own trade is carried out as micro-businesses.

In order to discern whether a system of industry cooperation can act as the foundation for development through a markets-based solution, the study will explore the central pillars of the industry, identified through initial interviews as being craft, success and business. It will consider the strengths and weaknesses of the current industry, and it will pose the following question:

Which elements of artisan-silversmiths' experiences contribute to their personal success? in terms of life satisfaction, creativity, and status and to their success in terms of cultural, economic and skills capital?

The knowledge sought through this research can be summarised as:

- The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to craft skills
- The motivations for being an artisan-silversmith
- The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to enterprise and entrepreneurship.

5.2. Themes and Domains of the Study

The researcher identified important themes, grouped in Table 3, in the professional and personal lives of the silversmiths, along with those themes that emerged as the interviews were undertaken, namely financial success, success in craft skills, peer recognition, professional recognition, lifestyle balance, personal growth, contentment and happiness. Having analysed these themes using Nvivo software and the techniques outlined in the methodology the data for this study was gathered using qualitative analysis techniques which were codified into 6 meta-themes:

- Personal Development: Craft and & Business Training
- Education
- Business Skills
- Success, Attitudes, Work-Life Balance
- Commerciality
- Craft Skills.

These 6 meta-themes indicated the need for the study to concentrate on three broad areas of research being craft, success and business.

Habitus	Field	Practice
Technical skills capital accrual	Educational institutions	Extended period of skills training (10 years)
Design skills capital accrual	Apprenticeships	Technical skills capital centric
Craft skills accrual	University Design and Craft departments	Design skills capital reliant
Cultural capital	Academies (e.g. Bishopsland)	Lifetime learning
Business capital	Industry training courses	Craft skills based
Social capital	Trade organisations (CBS, Goldsmiths' Centre, Goldsmiths' Hall,	Workshop based
Status	Incubators (Cockpit Arts, Yorkshire Artspace)	Self-employed
Legacy	Commercial opportunities	Portfolio income
	Craft Fairs	Community based
	Galleries	Commerciality
	Exhibitions	Uncertainty
	Retail outlets	Irregular demand
	Private networks	Portfolio existence
	Open Studios	(Teaching, part-time work)
	Awards systems	Commercial conservatism
	Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council, Schoonhoven	Jewellery and silversmithing mixed sales

Table 4: The Elements of Habitus, Field and Practice for Artisan-Silversmiths

5.3. Bourdieusian Analysis of the Artisan-Silversmiths World

5.3.1. Habitus

Bourdieu’s theories allow for insight to be gained into the motivations of artisan-silversmiths, motivations which need to be defined within the social aspects of the study and are not always economic considerations. The practitioner initially passes through the novice stage of learning within the cultural and technical skills framework of a university department of Design and Craft or workshop, and in doing so attains distinction, or not, through the

accrual of technical, design, craft skills and cultural capital within a narrow group of people, those being fellow students and tutors. In Bourdieusian terms this 'organising action' becomes the habitus of the practitioner, with the emphasis on skills accrual being the measure of distinction (Bourdieu, 1977: 214).

Depending on the emphasis of the teaching institution it is possible to consider how an institution's values interact with a student's own internal agenda of skills or cultural capital accrual. Institutions which value conceptual learning, for example, sometimes exist in a state of dissonance with students who want merely to learn vocational, technical skills. Success at this stage of the novice journey is measured against narrow criteria, but is important to the practitioner who seeks institutional and peer group recognition, status and distinction (Bourdieu, 1986: 101).

The next stage of the journey following graduation is the learning of the habitus of the industry itself. This is predicated on the understanding of 'the game' (Bourdieu, 1994: 63), or business capital in Bourdieusian terms, a confusing and daunting prospect for some, as students often emerge from the shelter of their previous learning institution ill-prepared for taking their next step. Some practitioners move into the semi-sheltered environment of an artist-in-residency, shared workshop or incubator where the rules of the game can be learned from their cohort, mentor, or coach or by trial and error. Several interviewees commented that at this stage they learn more about business than at almost any other (Ints. 19, 26, 33). Success, or status, identified by Grenfell (2012: 99) as cultural capital, is at this stage measured against different criteria from those that previously mattered whilst gaining a degree or finishing an apprenticeship. The emphasis now changes to the accrual of economic capital, skills capital, social capital or networking, and cultural capital, which now measure success. Bourdieu theorises the accrual of cultural capital which is dependent on the practitioner devoting significant time to the process. He asserts: "Cultural capital presupposes a process of embodiment [...] a labour of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally" (Bourdieu, 2006: 60).

Novice practitioners are assessed by senior practitioners, according to, amongst other measures, their rate of progress towards master craftsmanship. Other important factors include their use of survival strategies to allow them to remain dedicated to their craft, their juggling of menial work so as to earn a living and the time spent on their practice, all of which demonstrate grit and

tenacity. Long hours worked and skills practice are held in especially high regard by other makers. In Duckworth's (2017) terms, skill multiplied by effort equals achievement. As the novice passes through what is usually an economically difficult stage of their career, their achievement is measured in terms of recognition by senior craftspeople, that comes in the form of industry awards or personal praise.

Moving towards the mid-career stage, artisan-silversmiths measure themselves against their peer-group as well as master craftsmen and women. Success is now measured in terms of wage-earning, as well as in terms of cultural capital gained through attending and being represented at premier exhibitions, in museums, at the highest quality craft fairs and galleries, and in publications. While the artisan-silversmiths recognise that when compared with other industries they are falling behind in terms of peer-group earnings, they consider this as compensated for by the knowledge that they are gaining long-term skills and accruing cultural capital reified as distinction within their own industry circle and their wider society circle. This becomes their set of aspirations. Mid-career artisan-silversmiths gain distinction through the quality of their work and the originality of their designs. They will have come to the notice of cultural gate-keepers such as exhibition organisers, publications, galleries and award givers, providing them with increasing amounts of cultural capital, still the primary measure of success for mid-career practitioners who are often only beginning to pay off their student debt, let alone accrue financial capital or earn a living as an artisan-silversmith. The mid-career maker has accrued little distinction, but must compete in the marketplace on the quality of the product itself and price, even though, for the customer, the manufactured object often stands alone, devoid of cultural standing. While this lack of standing can be mitigated if an important venue such as a prestigious gallery, exhibition or fair is the point of sale, it is normally only expert clients who will really be able to judge the quality of a piece in either design or technical terms, these often being early-stage buyers classified as 'talent spotters'.

For senior makers Bourdieu points out that cultural capital has been acquired over time. This accrual of distinction transposes into higher prices for them but often needs to be reinforced through commentary and accreditation by the seller or venue of sales (Grenfell, 2012: 100). The senior makers in the study continue to accrue technical, design and craft capital as a matter of lifestyle choice. An important characteristic of those with accrued cultural capital is the passing on of craft skills to the next generation of makers due to a

love of the craft and intuitive acts of legacy building. Senior makers in this way become part of the establishment, sharing their wisdom with gate-keeper institutions and the community of practitioners, and thereby achieving status within the maker community.

5.3.2. Field

Bourdieu's concept of field enables the analysis of the dominant institutions which affect artisan-silversmiths. Through analysing these positions within the industry field it is possible to document the objective structures of relations between the positions occupied by the agents or institutions, and through analysing the habitus of agents, the different systems of dispositions enables the analysis of the social and economic positions of practitioners (Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992: 104-5).

The dominant institutions in the initial stages of training are the HE universities for undergraduates and the apprenticeship system controlled by the masters and accredited by the Goldsmiths' Company. In both cases the novice is in the position of supplicant, possessing almost no social capital at this stage. These trade-orientated organisations instil the ideals of the industry through educational teaching and ceremony. Within craft and design departments, lecturers often teach technical and design skills in a commercial and marketplace vacuum even though they are often practitioners themselves: in general, information about the marketplace is scarce and fragmented throughout the industry. The lecturers are often unable and sometimes unwilling to teach skills in a market context.

Bourdieu asserts that to understand any field it is necessary to examine the social space in which interactions, transactions and events occur (Bourdieu, 2005: 148). Bourdieu's theories are of particular relevance to this thesis as the practitioners measure themselves in his terms, namely those of social and skills capital acquisition and not necessarily in economic capital accrual.

The Contemporary British Silversmiths (CBS) for artisan-silversmiths is the dominant trade organisation, but while it is energetic and rapidly professionalizing it is still run by volunteers and lacks resources to research the marketplace. Their current concentration is on skills transferral from senior makers to craft teachers. The Goldsmiths' Centre in partnership with the Goldsmiths' Company acts as a training centre, incubator, course provider, fair provider and catalyst. The other

incubators tend to act as providers of subsidised craft space with some business advice provision.

Grenfell asserts that the social world can only be understood as a case-by-case study (Grenfell, 2012: 67). This being so, detailed knowledge of the industry is needed: the artisan-silversmith industry benefits from an array of mature and sophisticated commercial opportunities, the most prestigious being the Goldsmiths' Fair which does provide subsidised space for novice makers. A second tier of craft fairs are spread throughout the UK which allows for as many trading opportunities as can be required. Many of these craft fairs are expensive to attend, however, and have been termed by some interviewees as a 'craft circus'. The number of craft galleries and exhibitions providing opportunities for artisan-silversmiths is in decline though the best galleries are extremely prestigious and for some makers present a viable commercial opportunity. The majority of makers find that the most efficient commercial opportunity is the creation of a private network of buyers, and so favour the open studio format in conjunction with client building through craft fairs. Award systems such as the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council awards (Est. 1908) and the Silver Triennial Schoonhoven Museum awards (Est.2001) overlay the market, providing prestige and status for the winners.

While the Bourdieusian field within which artisan-silversmiths operate can be said to be mature and sophisticated, it lacks a coordinating body capable of bringing market information together with an industry overview. This makes it impossible for makers to learn craft skills within a market context as no one organisation has sought to gather this information in a sophisticated or rigorous way.

5.3.3. Practice

As explained in Chapter Three, Bourdieu's theories rest on three key concepts: habitus, field and capital.

[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (Bourdieu, 1986: 101).

Practice for artisan-silversmiths is defined through their work as technically trained craftspeople who design one-off, limited edition or commissioned silverware. Demand for their work is sporadic and uncertain. Although they make example masterpieces and speculative pieces there is an inbuilt conservatism with regards making pieces which may never sell.

The practitioners recognise that they trade in a market limited to collectors and enthusiastic hobbyists plus the occasional 'accidental purchaser', and they are thus unwilling to invest in large quantities of stock. Despite this they do produce enough at any given time so as to demonstrate their unique designs and technical ability. An inherent conservatism is the cornerstone of artisan-silversmith practice leading to financial self-sufficiency, which is evident in an unwillingness to take on debt, and the need to belong to a network of like-minded practitioners who can help each other with making techniques outside of normal practice or skillset. Manufacture is also shared to a degree with other industry-related artisans such as specialists in polishing or engraving. Essential to this style of working is a sense of community such that there is a constant flow of information and advice available as and when it is needed.

Bourdieu asserts that practice "always implies a cognitive operation, a practical operation of construction" (Bourdieu, 1977: 72). If a change of behaviour is sought Bourdieu theorises that we must first observe practice and theorise the underlying taxonomies, which organise perception, or habitus, to affect the structure of practice (Bourdieu, 1977: 97). It is these perceptions which the thesis seeks first to identify and then to challenge.

5.3.4. Artisan-Silversmiths and Skills Capital

The primary measure of success for artisan-silversmiths is technical and design skills accrual which in Bourdieusian terms can be defined as 'skills capital'. The accrual of skills capital is of central concern to practitioners, creating great dissatisfaction if they perceive that they are not progressing quickly enough along the path of skills capital accrual. As documented previously the largest provider of skills teaching are the HE institutions and so for practitioners anything less than efficient learning systems becomes of great concern.

British teaching at foundation, degree and masters level appears to be of high quality, but with students typically focusing on technical skills accrual, often concentrating on just a few techniques of design and manufacture respectively. Those entering the commercial world at the end of these courses tend to be able to produce a very limited range of products as they have often learnt techniques of making only superficially, not having the time to practise any in depth.

In addition to learning technical skills, current BA degree courses must also teach design skills. The graduates interviewed questioned whether it was too early in their careers to be taught design, however, as interviewee 18 said, “These [design skills] need to be taught in parallel” (Int.18). This again conspires to spread the learning experience thinly rather than gaining depth of knowledge.

Peter Taylor, the Goldsmiths’ Centre director, asserts that there are two routes to excellence, which need to be combined. He envisions a world of apprenticeship-led craft skills acquisition, which he feels produces “*virtuoso craftsmanship*” entwining at critical points with design-led universities to produce the all-round master craftsmen and women of tomorrow. He sees the converse happening for design-based graduates who would later acquire high levels of craft skills. He is in favour of the training approach of single skill–set learning, with a business model vision of designers taking their designs to highly skilled makers for manufacture (C4). Up until now modern apprentices and former apprentices mostly have not benefited from the design teaching of the creative universities.

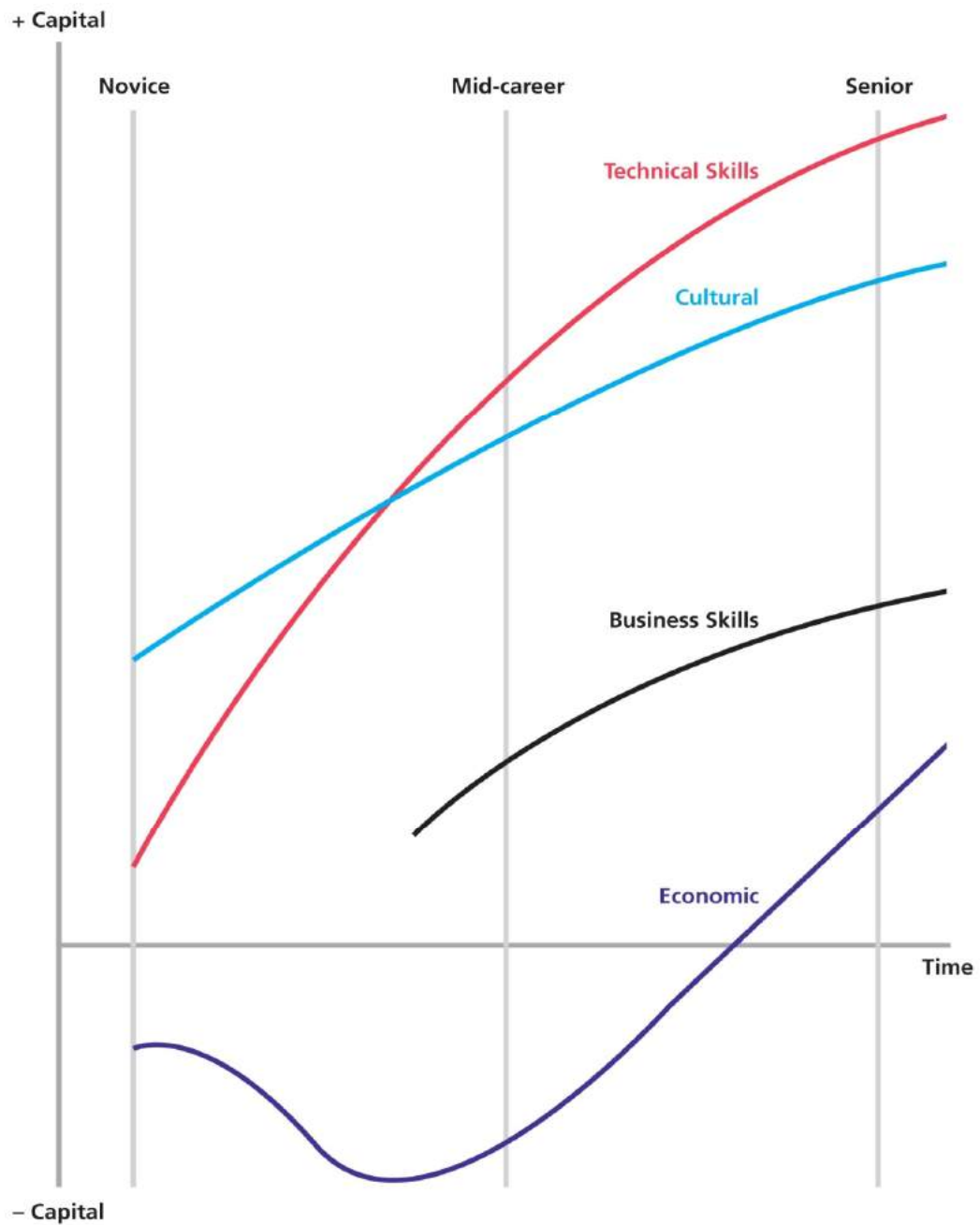
Those entering the industry as apprentices spend five years learning their craft, with design often as an incidental by-product. This is because the companies teaching apprentices rarely have to resort to sophisticated design techniques as they are merely workshops producing the silverware that clients demand. Whether these pieces are well-designed, or not, is irrelevant. The apprentice is trained to be a high-quality technician.

Exploring the relationship of artisan-silversmiths to technical skills, craft practice and learning is at the core of understanding them. From their inception into the creative universities or as an apprentice in a workshop, the learning of craft skills is at the centre of the lives of these individuals, and the novice-makers are measured by the practice and acquisition of those skills. Mid-career and senior makers are admired for and measured by their execution of craft skills and later as teachers of craft mastery.

5.3.5. Skills Capital Accrual

Although the boundaries between novice, mid-career and senior maker are anything but clear-cut, it is possible to place artisan-silversmith careers into one of three phases based on the accrual of technical skills capital, cultural capital, business capital and economic capital visualised in Graphic 5, below. This also applies to second-careerists and latecomers to the industry who still have to go through the

journey of accruing cultural, skills and enterprise capital accrual but often come with attributes from previous experience gained in other industries.



Graphic 5: The Artisan-Silversmith Career: Bourdieusian Economic, Cultural, Technical Skills and Business Skills Capital Accrual

The graph is an aggregation of the data gleaned in the interviews of the artisan-silversmiths. The accrual of technical skills often begins before the formal teaching

of silversmithing skills, as in the case of interviewees 6, and 30, who practised haptic skills as children. The graph shows a steady rise of technical skills accrual through higher education and through practice into the novice, mid and senior career periods of their careers. Even senior makers experiment, practice and look to extend their technical skills. The evidence is that technical skills accrual is a life-long attribute of artisan-silversmiths.

Commentators such as C1, and interviewee 33, note that the most recent entrants into the industry are female and normally middle class who can afford a tertiary education with also an uncertain outcome of employment upon qualification. These entrants share a higher level of initial cultural capital with the majority of art school entrants who tend to come from a bourgeois background. The interviewees who did comment on cultural education in art history or historic silversmithing (Ints. 12, 33) said that cultural context had to be self-taught and was not normally within the Craft & Design department's curriculum. Cultural education however did sometimes cover industry role-models (Int. 35).

Business capital accrual started early for those practitioners whose families run businesses (Ints. 11, 25, 27, 30, 31, 38), but for the majority of the interviewees their first experience of enterprise was a short project within their design and craft department. There are a number of short business courses such as *Getting Started* (Goldsmiths' Centre, 2016) and *Hothouse* (Crafts Council, 2016) which are extremely good at setting the stage for enterprise launch but do lack real world context. Mentoring and mid-career courses boost career knowledge, which are then context relevant.

In Chapter Three we characterised artisan-silversmith business capital accrual as 'enterprise' rather than 'entrepreneurial'. Only one of the interviewees, an exporter, (Int.14) could be described as sophisticated in their business practice. The practitioners interviewed rarely had debtors, bank borrowings of any significance, or sophisticated supply of materials from suppliers, which are available if requested but also were rarely offered. 90% of the interviewees were micro-businesses trading below the vat threshold of £87k (HMRC, 2019).

Economic capital accrual for the majority of the interviewees started with accumulated debt from their period of tertiary education. The journey to economic solvency is long and slow for the majority of novice/mid-career practitioners. It is only when artisan-silversmiths achieve senior status that they can increase prices and accumulate economic capital, this coincides with fuller order books for their work which has reached maturity in voice, style and quality.

Mapped in Graphic 5 above, the career journey of artisan-silversmiths can be viewed as the accrual of Bourdieusian capital being craft skills, cultural, business and economic capital, with each taking precedence over another depending on career stage, context, or temporal exigencies – namely whether the artisan-silversmith is starting out, building a business, building a family, earning a living, or, later, building a legacy.

The novice concentrates almost solely on technical skills accrual and in doing so often builds up debt, which can weigh them down in future years. The mid-career practitioners carry on building technical skills, balancing their working time with accruing business skills. These business skills are often acquired through observing role models and attending short courses, but the latter may be of limited usefulness as, if they are attended too early, they may bear little relevance to the maker's situation. As noted, the novice and mid-career practitioners often start with a high level of cultural capital as the difficulties of getting started in the industry mean they often hail from middle class families which can support them financially and where a high level of cultural capital is the norm.

If the maker can establish themselves in the industry, which can take ten years, they will typically have built a network of sales channels or database of clients to serve as the bedrock of their career. The uncertainty of getting into good craft shows, galleries or exhibitions and the irregularity of customer purchases makes for a conservative business disposition amongst artisan-silversmiths.

The senior role models that novices and mid-career look up to are economically successful, use technique to express themselves, and are culturally aware. The admiration accorded them by younger makers is due to the recognition that high levels of technical skills enjoy high industry status. They see the efforts needed to achieve this senior level of status - the time, energy and tenacity - as worthwhile in terms of their capital-accrual journey, namely the perfecting of technical skills, and in terms of winning the freedom to make decisions on lifestyle and work balance in an industry practitioners care about.

5.3.6. Becoming a Novice - Planting the Seeds of Craft and Creativity

For many makers the seeds of making and creativity were planted very young. Interviewee 6 asserts that for her it started in childhood, as by the age of 14 she was working for a jeweller, cleaning castings and executing general benchwork: "I was always making but also I was interested in solving problems" (Int. 6).

Interviewee 40's seminal moment was taking part in a summer programme called Gallery 37 at the age of 17. Initiated by Birmingham City Council, the five-week programme was based in the City Centre in a marquee tent, where teenagers learned different skill sets such as working with textiles, graffiti art, photography and jewellery. Interviewee 40 spent five days of the programme at the jewellery school and subsequently attended a foundation course at Stourbridge College to prepare her to study metalwork at City of Birmingham Jewellery School, where she later trained as a silversmith, gaining a first-class degree (Int. 40).

The makers often display a passion for making from an extremely early age, indicating that creativity is at the core of their psyche and by inference their wellbeing. Interviewee 30 was diagnosed as dyslexic early on and explained that as a child:

It [craft] kept me occupied, it kept me quiet and I was allowed to do what I really wanted.

(Int. 30)

Ericsson asserts the benefits of beginning skills training at an early age, though many silversmiths only start training in their specific craft skills from the time of their inception into a foundation course, or similar, at the age of 16 or over (Ericsson et al, 2006: 399).

5.3.7. Skills Accrual and the Novice Journey

As the Crafts Council notes in its 2012 survey HE organizations are central to the production of craftspeople, and tend to be organised in such a way as to try to produce rounded alumni, skilled in professional business practice and design as well as making. This makes them vulnerable to criticism from those students whose single focus or passion is to acquire technical skills, and who feel other skills to be unimportant. For tutors, technical skills make up one part of the curriculum they are required to deliver: for some students, it is the only part of the curriculum desired.

Such single-focus students articulated the extremes of opinion regarding education, training and personal development expressed at the May 2016 symposium. Two recent jewellery school graduates (Int. 12, and conference attendee Nims, 2016) asserted their regrets in studying a degree course in Silversmithing and Jewellery (BA, Hons.) suggesting that an apprenticeship, which focused on the accrual of basic skills, would have been of far greater value. Many artisan-silversmiths, such as interviewee 18, consider the practice of basic craft

skills as key to their work. For lifetime academic, interviewee 46, the more time spent at the workbench practising hand-skills, the better.

Interviewee 35 also expressed a similar dissatisfaction. Taking a foundation course at Carlisle College and subsequently a degree course at Manchester Metropolitan University, he found both unsatisfactory in terms of time he spent with tutors: "I always felt the teaching was lacking in most places" (Int. 35) Faced with the need to spend time researching and essay writing, his response was:

I'm not here to write essays. I'm here to make stuff.

(Int. 35)

He blames this problem on a lack of specialist technicians, and considers that his time would have been better spent with silversmithing specialists. He moved to Bishopsland Educational Trust in 2005, finding the experience:

completely different. Anything I needed to know how to make - this is the proper way to do it.

(Int. 35)

He later benefited from a £1500 Queen Elizabeth Scholarship Trust grant to go to Shetland and study with the chasing specialist Rod Kelly (Int. 35).

Interviewee 36 demonstrates a seemingly haphazard approach to career progression but has intuitively understood the uncertainty of the industry and has allowed her career to grow organically and risk free. She could have chosen any number of academic paths but was encouraged by a tutor to choose a course in the arts she would really enjoy "and see what happens next" rather than a more traditional course in science. Choosing the Edinburgh Art College Student Foundation course in preparation for entry to the degree course. Interviewee 36 was the only silversmith in her year, and benefited from the teaching of a very fine traditional silversmith. By the time of her degree show she had won several bursaries providing silver and gemstones and was able to put on a significant exhibition of 21 pieces, thereby gaining confidence through institutional accreditation which ties in with the findings of Schwarz et al, 2005. She had developed a particularly different and stylized technique which drew people's attention:

I remember going around with a tutor doing pricing, and I remember looking at her and thinking no, this isn't quite right. I felt like the

prices were too cheap, and then the head of department went around with me and added about a hundred to two hundred pounds to every price. I was always quite intuitive about what I thought something [the price] should be.

(Int. 36)

Interviewee 36 won a number of awards, and this early achievement allied with good sales brought early financial success, boosting her confidence and self-esteem, which naturally proved motivational (Maslow, 1954; Schwartz et al, 2005):

By the end of that week of my degree show I'd made four and a half thousand pounds. And that was just a light bulb moment ... not only can I do this because I enjoy it, I can make a living from this.

(Int. 36)

The artisan-silversmith interviewee 33, is a highly energetic, motivated person keen to establish her status within the industry, but did not enjoy university:

I didn't like the politics of the course. I didn't like that you were pushed for conceptual design. I wanted to learn how to make. That's what I was there for. For me, I wanted to learn how to use silversmithing skills, to develop them. I didn't feel that university prepared me for setting up a business as a self-employed silversmith.

(Int. 33)

Family and her working-class background, the latter unusual in a very middle-class industry, are important for interviewee 33. She is aware that this has an impact on her thinking and attitude to society. She comments:

There were certain lecturers on the course that didn't believe in me. Maybe I'd come from quite a different background from your average student on the course. I just don't think that they thought I would be able to pursue it as a career.

(Int. 33)

Gaining a place on the Yorkshire Artspace (YAS) Starter Studio, interviewee 33 worked at three part-time jobs to support herself, and the start-up business. She had the support of mentors at YAS. She felt that unlike her middle-class cohort:

I might not have had the financial support of my parents, but other people did see potential in me and backed me.

(Int. 33)

Interviewee 33 found the application and interview to enter Yorkshire Artspace to be an arduous process, especially the experience of being interviewed by a panel of highly regarded individuals:

It was particularly intimidating for me, yes. It wasn't good. I wasn't confident. I was shy. I wanted it so badly.

(Int. 33)

She also applied for the Crafts Council Development Award match-funding grant which allowed her to purchase £10,000 worth of materials to help her start her business. In addition, she received a £3,000 maintenance grant. Following this she was awarded a Graduate Stand at Goldsmiths' Fair, and two loans from the Goldsmiths' Company totalling £4,500 to spend on materials (Int. 33). Despite all this financial help she still held down three part-time jobs:

I worked at the train station at about six in the morning, making frothy coffee for people on the way to work. Then I worked for Brett [Payne] part-time. I worked as a waitress in an Italian restaurant and I was a barmaid. Then [making time] working for myself.

(Int. 33)

Interviewee 33's innovative 'packet range' was a great success at her first Goldsmiths' Fair, as she grossed over £14,000, selling ten pieces of her cream jug alone:

I never thought, "Why on earth are you buying it?" because I saw the humour in it myself. But it was hard. It was exciting. The feeling you get when you first sell a piece of silversmithing is phenomenal really. It lasted for quite a long time. I suppose it still does, deep down. When you get a big sale, it's exciting.

(Int. 33)

Interviewee 33 demonstrates several entrepreneurial traits; tenacity in creating a single vision and the determination to see that vision through; innovation in researching all the possibilities of grants and funding and then getting them; and the profit motive to design and sell goods which people will buy concurring with the theories of Georgievski et al, (2011).

Also an exhibitor at Goldsmiths' Fair in 2014, interviewee 31's family are jewellers from India and Birmingham who taught him whilst at school, before he joined the Birmingham City School of Jewellery at 16 years old:

I think what became quite positive for me was when I went to the [Birmingham City] School of Jewellery and I sat in one of the first sessions, I already knew a lot of the stuff. There I knew it, and I was helping others. I was helping them do their projects, and it put a lot of confidence in me in that subject. I could make complete pieces, fabricated rings and things.

(Int. 31)

Interviewee 38, a regular exhibitor at the Goldsmiths' Fair, learned her craft techniques at Buckingham University College and the Royal College of Art with her final RCA degree show demonstrating the techniques of photo-etching to great effect on highly decorated silverware such as bowls or champagne buckets. She seemed to move seamlessly through the system of education into the world of commerce, benefiting from the kudos of the RCA and progressing immediately into the selling system of the Goldsmiths' Fair with her highly commercial work.

Interviewee 20 expressed no dissatisfaction with her courses. After learning initial craft skills at the Kent Institute of Art and Design, she attended Bishopsland Educational Trust to gain further core skills before finishing her academic career at the RCA to experiment in silversmithing. It was at the RCA that she created her range of hand-forged and fabricated "*Exhausted Cutlery*" (Int. 20).

During the RCA Master's course she researched a number of short projects including the development of a prototype digital hammer, a haptic input tool designed to merge traditional and technology-based techniques:

I wanted a tool that really you could just use, you didn't explain, it would just work. Because I always wanted objects at the end of it, I didn't want it to be like academia.

(Int. 20)

Each of these makers had different personal agendas and needs that ranged across the categories of craft skills capital and business skills capital. Should the maker fail to satisfy their particular perceived capital needs (which may or may not accord with what they actually need to become successful in commercial terms), they experience cognitive dissonance. While tutors must try to teach all the skills they know to be necessary, some students are neither ready nor willing to learn those skills. Learning, in these situations, should be considered in terms of timing and context of perceived needs.

Institutions differ wildly in the amount of 'benchtime' they make available to students: some workshops close when technicians have finished their working day, while others may remain open, but with limits on the use of power tools or machinery. Health and safety regulations often demand the presence of an on-duty technician during the use, for example, of gas to heat or solder equipment (Bottomley, 2018). These problems can limit the workshop time available, to the frustration of tutors and students alike. Silversmith and designer C1, commentating from outside current academia, but who trained at Sheffield Hallam University in the 1980s, wondered whether more streamlined institutions will rise up to offer these services in a cut-down version, offering focused skills-based courses that dispense with 'peripheral learning' such as art history and other crafts skills such as glass-making or ceramics (C1).

After leaving Glasgow School of Art as a jewellery and silversmithing graduate, interviewee 19 tried to start her own jewellery business but ran into problems:

I realised that it was really difficult, and I didn't really like it so much, it was quite lonely. Simple jobs such as how you size a ring had not been taught. So I was very, it was quite stressful, and I wasn't confident enough, I don't think, or pushy enough. And so I decided to go work for someone else and learn.

(Int. 19)

Soon after her degree she joined a traditional jewellery company, where, alongside learning basic skills as well as master-making and stone setting, she realised that there were few engravers in Scotland who could supply basic engraving services. She followed up this realisation with a determined push to fill the gap in the market, finally joining Interviewee 22, an engraver, as his apprentice (Int. 19).

Interviewee 22 claimed that he had been looking for an apprentice for 50 years. He saw in interviewee 19 a kindred spirit, sharing as they did profound dyslexia, determination and artistic talent.

From the opposite perspective interviewee 19 found interviewee 22 to be:

One of the best [craftsmen] in the world. People find him eccentric; I don't find him eccentric because I work with him, and I spend so much time with him.

(Int. 19)

The people highlighted in this section demonstrate a single-minded purposefulness to become professionals in their chosen industry. They see skills capital accrual, design, craft or both, as the route to industry success and status (Bourdieu, 1977). Duckworth (2017) asserts that this determination and willingness to see a course of training to its conclusion can be measured (Duckworth, 2017: 17) whilst Ericsson asserts that the training programmes can be enhanced through purposive training rather than just practised repetition (Ericsson et al, 2006: 694).

5.4. Craft and Mid-Career issues

5.4.1. Being Considered as an Artist

The progression from novice to mid-career artisan-silversmith is charted primarily through mastery of the tools of their trade, but, as Hughes of the Goldsmiths' Company emphasised, the mastery of silversmithing as an art form was going to be central to its survival (Andrew & Styles, 2014: 25). Critics and theorists such as Sennett, Harrod and Adamson place craft skills below fine art (Sennett, 2009; Harrod, 1999; Adamson, 2010). This cultural view permeates the thinking of silversmiths at the highest level, creating uncertainty as to whether they may classify themselves as artists, and if so, how might they navigate the route to accreditation: through magazines, books, the cultural media, awards, museums or being in high-level collections.

Interviewee 42 is considered by many to be the most highly accomplished enameller and artist-craftsman in the industry, a view supported by his regular industry accolades, in particular by winning the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council's Jacque Cartier Memorial Award, considered the top prize for technical excellence. He is, however, reluctant to consider himself an artist.

When asked if he has made the mental leap to being an artist he equivocates:

That's a hard question. You see, the trouble is with that, is that I'm a deeply modest person and so the minute you've decided that you've decided you're a deeply important person and I don't know if I can get there.

(Int. 42)

When asked whether he needs yet more proof [on top of his being a multi-award winner] of his own importance within the industry he responds: "No, I don't need any more importance. I'm just saying that in your mind you decide, 'Oh, I'm really important', and that's not going to happen" (Int. 42).

He feels that if other people should decide that he is a maker of importance, viewed as an artist, then "That's up to them. I think it's one of those things which is on the cards" (Int. 42).

Interviewee 41 also feels that the greatest accolade is to be recognized as an artist:

My life-long ambition to 'be an artist' has transmuted into an interest in understanding as many aspects of the business of being an artist, maker, whatever you call it, as possible. This includes making, design, commissions, all processes but in a 'What if?' and 'How' attitude of mind. Two conflicting drives: to be an 'Artist' and to be a 'Decorative or working artist', which is what I am.

(Int. 41)

Commenting on the need to be creative, so as to differentiate herself from other mid-career makers also making their names in the industry, interviewee 33 asserted:

The feeling that you get when you produce a new piece of work is really quite rewarding. It's really hard to explain it, unless you actually do it. Nobody really understands what we do, unless you do it. You sell it for a lot of money as well. We're talking thousands of pounds to really quite inspiring people. Like the Duke of Devonshire is one of my customers. It's like "Wow." The first piece he bought was the Packet Bowl back in 2007, which is when I'd just graduated. I delivered it by

hand as well, and he gave me a guided tour of his home [Chatsworth]. It was just lovely (Int. 33).

Bourdieu (2006: 60) asserts that accreditation comes from outside agencies such as coverage in industry and consumer publications and museum purchases and for artisan-silversmiths this also takes the form of acknowledgment by the Goldsmiths' Company as an exhibitor at Goldsmiths' Fair as fine silversmiths. These makers believe that it is not for them to title themselves 'artist', but something asserted by others. The field in which they work has a hierarchy, moving from craftsman to decorative artist and ultimately to fine artist, and they all seek outside acknowledgement of their position. Of the three makers it is interviewee 41 who suffers the greatest dissonance in his attempts to be classified as an artist.

Other organisations within the industry, such as publications and collections (both public and private), also create accreditation and status. However, primarily it is the high-quality departments of Craft & Design universities which confer status through awarding degrees, such as the RCA. The award-giving organisations create expectation in the minds of the student, that of "being the next big thing" (Int. 19), classified by the researcher as a degree show meteor. Each year these 'meteors' are awarded for their brilliance, but when the spotlight moves onto the next as it must inevitably do, confusion can be the result: Interviewee 19 commented that she just wanted to "run away" (Int. 19).

The meteors do not always get follow-on help and advice on career development which compounds their confusion into uncertainty. It is at this moment that large numbers of graduates drop away from a career in silversmithing. They recognise the lack of demand and acknowledge their technical and designs skills deficit in comparison to mid and senior career practitioners.

5.4.2. The Role of Innovation

The progression of an artisan-silversmith from novice to mid-career is not just technical or artistic but moves forward on several fronts simultaneously. This movement is visualised in graphic 5 where all capital accrual is seen as progressive. Highly innovative artisan-silversmiths are often singled out by exhibition organisers as makers of note and are promoted more strongly than other makers, good examples being interviewees 6 and 43.

The 2016 Innovation and Education (I&E, 2016: 4) report summarizes the position of the industry as they see it:

If we want craft makers to develop sustainable businesses, then deeper innovation across the business as a whole is required. Understanding and supporting innovation is thus also required across the sector. (I&E, 2016: 4)

Innovation, achievement, stimulation, and self-direction are value-theory orientations (Schwartz and Bardi, 2001) and are demonstrated in the interviews given by interviewees 7, 35 and 20. These orientations are humanist rather than economic attributes, creating success factors in the mind of the maker. Maslow (1954) asserts that it is these factors which are essential for self-actualisation, being so important to makers seeking their own position in the industry, as it is through the differentiation of their artistry and techniques they demonstrate creativity and innovation. Interviewee 7, for example, developed a new variation on a metal embossing technique:

I started doing the paper-embossed work. And to make it go round corners. To make it make different shapes. Because I wasn't raising it or hitting it with anything. I made [...] the thing that was actually the key thing, wasn't the texture, but because of the texture I had to find a different way to join any two parts together. Joining in a way that didn't damage the texture. So I developed what I later called the explicit seam.

(Int. 7)

Interviewee 35 has demonstrated innovation with his 'Shot Tumblers', having made a cannon for firing tennis balls:

I was shooting tennis balls out of it for a laugh, and they go quite far. It probably shoots a tennis ball two hundred metres and I thought well I could put some silver in there and it might work or it might not. I did a copper [tumbler] one to start with.

(Int. 35)

He then made a silver tumbler:

Well after it's been fired out of the cannon about the bottom third of it's compacted, but when I shot it, I missed the rock so there's about a quarter of it hanging off the end and it's like the Dali melting clock with the edge coming down.

(Int. 35)

Interviewee 35 does not ascribe any deep meaning to his work, it's just fun and they sell though this unusual making-narrative:

Well nearly every time I fire it, I burn this hand where I light it because exhaust gas comes out of the hole and then it also, as it jumps up, it takes my knuckles off.

(Int. 35)

The tumblers have sold well. His other innovation, of CAD 'Fin Vases', have also sold well. He built his own 3D printer over a period of 18 months:

I wanted to do things like this [the fin vase], but I didn't know what it was at the time. I think CAD's the future.

(Int. 35)

Following his year at Bishopsland interviewee 35 undertook two artist-in-residence terms at Glasgow School of Art and City of Birmingham Jewellery School, both under Jack Cunningham. There he benefited from the use of good facilities in return for his providing a small amount of teaching (Int. 35).

Interviewee 20's journey of researching technology and craft demonstrates a single mindedness, which many would find laudable. She left the RCA with a prototype haptic input tool [the HAMMER] but without a clear idea of usage. Although claiming not to want to develop the tool for the sake of academic research, but for practical use, she immersed herself in the hardware and software problem of the technology. She could see commercial value in the tool which she pursued through the Informatics Entrepreneur programme at the University of Edinburgh, which gave her the technical support of a developer and mentoring. The programme changed her point of view:

I was very much focused on craft and silversmithing. I was just looking at hand making sculpture [...] but really if it's a tool that's not based [on that], it doesn't look like a hammer, then you start to

kind of question what it is and who it can help, and I was looking at schools and education.

(Int. 20)

Working part-time alongside running her business she is still spending time on developing the HAMMER concept as well as selling her work through galleries, craft fairs and one-off projects.

As the I&E (2016) report asserts, innovation is central to the development of the industry, though for many practitioners there is only a short window of opportunity at the end of their degree and perhaps as an artist-in-residence to use often expensive machinery purchased by universities. These technologies are either not readily available or can only be accessed at great cost in the commercial world.

The I&E (2016) report does allude to a need for greater innovation across the industry but not just in technical or artistic terms. In recent times the sole innovative movement has been down to the development of social media. This has been taken up by the novice makers, with the result that they are communicating much more to each other, but not, unfortunately, to the outside world. Research into the use of social media at the *Inspired* exhibitions (Est.2008) suggested that it gave poor results, the implication being that personal contacts still represented the best form of marketing.

5.5. Senior Makers & Craft: Communicating Beliefs

I make the pieces and that's it, they speak for me, that's why I love doing this work because I feel it's the energy.

(Int. 23)

Several of the senior makers interviewed, such as interviewees 18, 22, 24 and 41, appear to have a primary goal. This is to exhaustively, and almost obsessively, accumulate craft skills and industry techniques which, in extremis, are pursued to the exclusion of other factors such as an enhanced materialistic lifestyle.

By the time practitioners are senior makers they have realised that artisan-silversmithing is not the route to great material wealth. Interviewee 41 asserts:

I love to make something perfect. That's why I do things. I want to be respected by my peers. That's important. It's really something, to

walk into a workshop and be treated as a proper person. That's a huge thing.

(Int. 41)

For interviewee 24 using craft as a means of expression is fundamental to himself and his message to humanity. He likens his work to the great cathedral builders, probably the greatest influencers of human culture:

I think that, one of the things that interests me as a designer – and this is going back to the early cathedral builders – that you can design a space that obviously, I feel, alters the personality of the people who are in it.

(Int. 24)

For Interviewee 8 craft excellence is at the core of his life:

In terms of making the projects as best as it can be, for whoever it is, whether it's for Bulgari, whether it's Grant McDonald, for John Nix, whether it's for a Goldsmiths' Company, or if it's for a private client, it's gotta be the best we can do.

(Int. 8)

Non-artisans can find the idea of a skills-based lifestyle and philosophy of living incomprehensible. In extreme cases, the acquisition and practice of skills can seem to be to the detriment of life's other comforts or opportunities. Several of the interviewees estimated their earnings at under 50% of that of their peers working in other industries (Ints. 10, 26, 32, 35, 37).

As Sennett (2009: 19-21) asserts, the act of making is one of thinking, of communication. The makers want to communicate ideas perfectly. Technique gives them the tools to express themselves and so they seek out better and better tools and skills to express their artistic ideas.

The seeking of perfection and being reliant on the judgement of one's peers has risks, of course, especially when it comes to skills competitions. Senior makers run the risk of not winning the appropriate level of award that their peers, and sometimes their clients, might expect. Interviewee 42 explained the dilemma of entering the prestigious Goldsmiths' Craft and Design Council competition:

The big worry about it, is the last one I won, the last time, the client who owned the piece was on to Goldsmiths' Hall to find out how it had done and all sorts of things. And so, luckily it did really well but if it hadn't done well you don't want that, you don't want a client thinking, 'Oh well, it's not very good is it? There's something wrong,' or implying there was something wrong with it because it hadn't won.

(Int. 42)

Because of this dilemma many senior makers are reluctant to enter the GCDC competition.

5.5.1. The Design Process

A seemingly unresolved problem across novice, mid-career and senior makers is that of design process. Communicating beliefs, innovation and technical skills are all processes that are well understood by artisan-silversmiths: this is not true of design. The interviews showed that the teaching and learning of design processes caused the greatest consternation amongst practitioners (Ints. 35, 41, 42).

For interviewee 42 the design process is a long gestation without a formal structure:

...things are mulling over in my head and so drawings come and go. It's not as organised as the actual making. The actual making is much stricter. So the designing, sometimes things come out really easily. But they always come out easily because I think about them for such a long time. So I don't sit down with a blank piece of paper and force a design out. If you were to come to me with a commission say and we talk about it and then we formulate some sort of idea, I'll possibly do sketches but the whole idea thing just stays in my mind for a long time before I actually put pen to paper. By that time, it kind of flows out.

(Int. 42)

For interviewee 17 the design process has been much more formalised through the Master's degree programme process which will be carried forward into her own practice:

I have [developed] a form that once I've done an exercise, I've done a modelling exercise, I've done some sketches, I just jot down what I did, what worked, what didn't work, what I learnt from it and how I want to take it forward, because by forcing yourself to articulate, you say things that you probably wouldn't have said if you were just buzzing it around in your head.

(Int. 17)

For interviewee 17, the benefit of the MA process is combination of increased precision in thinking, a working through of the method of articulating her ideas and the understanding of her own practice. She has benefited from being challenged by her tutors admitting: "it's the push, and Simone [ten Hompel] is nothing if not challenging. Also, being in a protected space, and having to meet deadlines" (Int. 17).

For interviewee 35, design teaching was a more informal process, as is clearly demonstrated by her response when asked if her training saw specific periods of design teaching:

Yeah, I think so over the years. I don't know, not specifically.

Nothing comes to mind specifically, but I think yeah, I think all art and design classes there's an element of design, how to design and how to get there.

(Int. 35)

For many artisan-silversmiths the design process for clients is almost informal, a by-product of the making process to which it is necessarily central. Design and the process of design is not, in most cases, calculated in monetary terms. Even though the clients value design above technique the makers themselves often do not feel able to monetise the design process. It has become accepted as industry practice by most silversmiths, as with interviewee 42, that the chargeable element of any piece is the time spent at the bench making, not the time spent designing.

Once the makers have overcome their cultural reluctance to charge for design time, and their unwillingness to consider the time spent becoming a master-craftsman, they will be able to price their work more realistically. Ultimately, it is their discomfort with calling themselves artists, and thus asserting their level as above that of master craftsperson, which prevents them from valuing their work in such a

way as to account for their status and reputation, rather than simply materials plus time.

5.5.2. Craft Skills Awareness

As interviewee 42 suggests, there is little public understanding of just how much work goes into acquiring the skills to become a senior artisan-silversmith, just as his estimation of whether the public understand the amount of work that goes into a piece of his craftwork results in a resounding 'No':

They have to really know what's going on. And even other craftsmen don't understand what's going on.

(Int. 42)

He considers that there should be a greater effort by craftspeople and makers to inform the buying public of the skills and effort that go into the creation of a piece of work:

When it comes to people's awareness of what they're buying and how things have been designed and products have been designed, I don't think they are that savvy.

(Int. 42)

Interviewee 17 puts UK artisan-silversmithing into a European perspective:

I think it goes in two different directions; I think a lot of the work that happens in the U.K. is more craftsmanship, whereas I think if you look on the continent, if you look at what is coming out of Denmark and you look at what's coming out of Germany, it is more fine art based. It will be interesting to see the direction that that goes in the UK.

(Int. 17)

The public cannot become interested in the concept of craft skills when for the most part it is something they know little about. As Neal (2015) has shown, the word 'craft' is an overworked and overstretched term, and the public cannot readily identify whether items are machine-made, hand-made or a hybrid. This only leaves the cognoscenti, those who can recognise both the hand-made nature of the items

themselves and the difficulty of design and manufacture, as buyers, and even these customers often rely on accreditation as the final arbiter of worth.

5.5.3. The Importance of Accreditation

Bourdieu (1984) expresses the view that the accumulation and accreditation of cultural capital by cultural gatekeepers such as museums, publications and awards-givers is the measure of a craftsperson. While the data analysed here supports this view, the attitude of the makers interviewed (Ints. 7, 17, 42) is one of, “it’s nice to have awards on my CV, but I don’t publicise it that much”. Interviewee 7 explained:

By 1985 I'd also, I'd won a competition with the [Edinburgh] Incorporation here. I'd got my work into the museum [of Scotland]. They'd bought all the boxes that I'd made with all the little funny catches and mechanisms [...] It's nice to get awards.

(Int. 7)

On being questioned whether the awards had brought him more business to him, he replied that: “it got me one job. It got me two jobs, I remember the one. Working for two people I really didn't want to work with” (Int. 7). Interviewee 17 won the Goldsmiths’ Craft and Design Council Gill Packard Scholarship in 2014. The £750 went towards her MA:

It all goes into the same pot doesn't it? It's always nice, again it's another award to put on your C.V., it gives you more professional presence and all of it's about building a story, it's about building a narrative of who you are and all of these things, and that goes through the work and it goes through the way that you interact with people.

(Int. 17)

Regarding the question of whether her college and industry organizations provided a big enough support system or whether they could do better, interviewee 17 commented:

I think you get out as much as you put in. There's a lot there but if you don't engage with it, you won't engage with it and I really noticed on the course that those that were starting off had a very different attitude to; there was an expectation, a sense of entitlement and it's very easy

to say this about generations that are younger than you but there was also an expectation of being spoon-fed.

(Int. 17)

The Goldsmiths' Company and assay offices positions themselves as the arbiters of skills quality, hallmarking, and training through the apprenticeship system and sponsorship of the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council as well as minor bursary awards to graduates and post-graduates at exhibitions such as *New Designers*.

The silversmiths consider acknowledgement by magazines, books and other media as "nice" but rarely actively pursue these avenues of accreditation. More importantly, they publicise the sales of their work to important collectors, such as the Duke of Devonshire and museums such as the V&A normally through their CV and word-of-mouth.

5.6. Learning Craft Skills

We can now look at skills training from a wider perspective and start to document the challenges, which must be met before artisan-silversmiths can be trained to become fully rounded crafts and business people.

Education, training and personal development are at the core of the study and it is these subjects which cause the greatest discussion and controversy. This section of the thesis documents the educational journey of the silversmith study group who need to acquire hand (craft), technical and business skills to prosper.

Also speaking at the 'Crafting the UK Artisan-Silversmith conference the silversmith C1 considers that one of the biggest constraints to contemporary silversmithing is the lack of recognition and acknowledgement that it is a genuinely separate discipline from the allied skill of jewellery making, as was typically the case pre-1960. He/she suggests that there are three critical issues which impact on a successful attempt to craft a future for the artisan silversmith: "gender, training and expectation" (C1).

C1 suggests that these issues represent the biggest areas of difference between the contemporary artisan-silversmith and their historical counterpart. Commenting that a typical 21st Century artisan-silversmith is female, (with his particular experience that of the 64 young silversmiths he mentored through the Yorkshire Artspace silversmithing studio only 5 had been male), he questions whether there is an impact on the way in which the traditional institutions and organisations view this new generation:

There is, it seems to me, no earthly reason why the sex of a silversmith should have any relevance at all but then perhaps because our discipline has traditionally been seen as a male occupation, it does seem to. I wonder, for example, whether this gender issue has an impact on the education and training offered to young graduates?

(C1)

The question is left hanging in the air with more research and evidence yet to bring forth answers.

The Innovation and Education (I&E) 2016 report suggests that there is a potential gap in higher education, in that universities are not preparing students sufficiently for movement into self-employment, business and industry.

To fulfil the suggested remit of Craft skills, Design & Business teaching, the courses which are currently being delivered would need to be re-assessed and philosophically re-engineered to holistically embrace the concepts of business, design and making, all of which will be discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

The Innovation and Education (I&E) 2016 report asserts that there could be: a reflection upon the aims and purpose of higher education in craft, and whether there is scope to bring business training in at lower levels (I&E, 2016: 4).

If the meaning of lower levels is 'earlier in the course' then this would affect student thinking on market research and business orientation for the projects they undertake. If lower levels refers to a basic awareness of simple branding, bookkeeping, administration and social media marketing this is being done in universities under the guise of 'professional practice', but it omits the core concepts of business enterprise, the skills needed to actually earn a living as a maker: market research, commercial pricing, branding, marketing and selling.

5.6.1. The Taylor Life-time Training Model and Further Education

In conversation Taylor outlined his idealised training model. Graphic 6 is a diagram developed by the director of the Goldsmiths' Centre, Taylor, to show the four learning stages:

- The first, lowest section is where a person gains an interest in craft, often at secondary school or foundation course as part of an arts programme

- The second level demonstrates the two most common routes to skills acquisition through technical training in the right-hand trajectory, and through an art school, creative college or university in the left
- The third level of training includes learning business skills, often through trial and error, short courses, peer group imitation or discussion and further acquisition of technical skills and specialisation
- The fourth level brings together all the skills needed to be a successful craftsman: technical, design and business skills.

The Taylor training model envisages a continuous interplay between technical training organisations, design teaching organisations and skilled industry experts. Taylor sees the Goldsmiths' Centre as a catalyst and hub for the interaction of all stakeholders of the industry including nascent students, foundation course students, graduates, post graduates, novice, mid-career and senior makers.



Graphic 6: The Taylor Training Model (2017)

Regarding this model in Bourdieusian terms the majority of entrants to the field of the silversmithing industry come through university Craft and Design departments or

the Goldsmiths' Company sponsored apprenticeship system. The culture or learning systems - Bourdieu's habitus - is instilled during the period of the course, becoming the 'rules of the game'. The culture, expectations, and learning styles, are sometimes imposed on the students by teachers and lecturers. For apprentices the culture of the industry, and teaching systems, are imposed by the 'master' silversmith, often teaching as he or she was taught. The student learns the habitus and dispositions, (Bourdieu, 1984) of their individual institution and begins to absorb the culture and traits of the field within which they operate. Thus their 'practice' is learnt from their particular institution, role model or master.

The challenges of skills education are addressed by Taylor who explains his overview of training by pointing out that silversmiths and their training sit within a global marketplace. He feels that neither skills training nor the skills themselves are valued in the UK:

Our governments don't value skills and they do not value the vocational route for our young people. If they did, the universities would be offering courses that taught ten people a year in each year group. They don't, and therefore we're in the position that we are.

C4 Taylor (2017)

He was concerned that new graduates were being immediately employed at universities as interns (artists-in-residence) to teach "what they [the lecturers] don't know, rather than what they do know". Taylor perceives this as a challenge to be faced. He encourages teaching institutions to use people with greater experience, recognising that many teachers become student role models. He also commented on the problems of large classes, which have become the norm:

Teaching practical skills to forty people is very, very difficult. You cannot give someone the attention they need. So I think there's a number of different issues. I think there's an issue around the quality of people who are available to teach. Not because they're necessarily not good enough because they're not necessarily available, if they are good enough. I think there's an issue around the scale of what's going on around student numbers.

Taylor (2017)

Interviewee 47 asserts that educating student graduates can be as fundamental as monitoring the students and ensuring that they are working to capacity at a time of personal introspection and discovery (Int. 47).

The course leaders expect students to cover a panoply of techniques and materials. In relation to teaching of silversmithing there are now many other materials to explore including found objects, plastics, organic materials, wood, textiles, synthetic materials and so on.

Interviewee 47 explained:

Because other materials are readily available, things have changed slightly. It used to be that you produced your body of work maybe over a year or two. Now, our students produce their final work in their final year.

(Int. 47)

Conference speaker C3 spoke of the role of the tutor in relation to the expectations of the students themselves, having taken over his role midway through what was, for many at UCA (Medway), their degree programme. The process named QERP (Quality Enhancement Review Procedure) elicited through a questionnaire that the students had three major concerns:

- Skills (craft technique and silversmithing)
- Cost
- On-line activity.

C3 emphasises the importance and primacy of skills accrual for the students. He articulated the restrictions placed on students by the course's cost, which they felt created a barrier between them and their chances of success both on the course and in the future. This applied particularly to mature students holding down a part-time job, or those with partners and/or children. The questionnaire also revealed students using up to 90% of their time online for their basic research purposes.

Through this analysis C3 felt obliged to better understand the needs and pressures acting on his diverse group of students so that he might design a fully inclusive set of courses. As is the case in many institutions, jewellery and silversmithing skills are seen as allied, though each is taught using different techniques and materials. Silversmithing studies concentrates on using fabrication techniques for precious metals whilst contemporary jewellery uses techniques for ceramics, wood resin and plastics.

C3 pointed out that many of his UCA students come from abroad, and so English is not their first language, and there are learning implications for other students with Specific Learning Difficulties (SPLDs) including dyslexia. The practicalities of dealing with these and similar issues included the need to create information ready to be given out 24 hours before a seminar for consideration by the students and the need to consider students who need to arrange their own affairs to be in particular places at certain times.

C3 felt the need to understand and manage student expectations and aspirations in what he saw as a changing landscape, introducing a fundamental distinction between the courses his university delivered, defining silversmithing as something that is made in silver:

I remove the function of the object, which in silversmithing, it's just a domestic landscape. By removing the function what are you left with? You're left with a series of core skills and for me it is those core skills, which are important. I think we will learn more from students by teaching these skills and letting those students apply those skills in a way that they see fit.

(C3)

5.6.2. A Different Perspective on Learning

Interviewee 6, a successful mid-career silversmith who trained abroad, where she periodically now teaches, and at a UK University, draws a contrast between these two approaches to teaching:

It [the abroad system] was also about thinking hard. And it was very cruel as well. There were critiques, quite harsh critiques. It was very serious studying. People were actually talking about the way the teaching was. This is something that I don't think here [the UK] happens as much. When we were making something as students, then the reflection was not individual or one to one. We had to present work in front of sometimes 100 people, an open presentation for the university, even if it was just like an exercise, so we'd present work, the critique was open.

(Int. 6)

Interviewee 6 also noted that foreign students differ from UK students, and that this is perhaps due to the country's politics of self-reliance with the students having often

served in the armed forces before studying. She explained that there is a culture of excellence, intensity and ambition at the foreign Academy, which the students either comply with, or just leave (the course), underlined by an arrogance of being ‘the chosen people’⁸ (Int. 6).

She benefited from being taught raising and hammering techniques by an 88-year-old Czech master craftsman from whom she also had private lessons. Design teaching at the department concentrated on what it was to ‘rule out’: to understand what a piece was not. To learn was to think and reflect. A piece would be made, openly critiqued, reflected upon, learnt from and these lessons taken forward to the next piece, based on Lewin’s experiential learning model (1951). Commenting on the difference between her undergraduate and MA work, she suggested that the latter necessitated taking full responsibility. This taught her the difference between “looking at” and “seeing” something, the latter a skill she considers some people never master. In addition, she contrasted the Israeli concentration on technical drawing and the British emphasis on the sketchbook with her preference of capturing and triggering interests in students (Int. 6).

5.6.3. Conclusions: The Relationship of Artisan-Silversmiths to Craft – The Centrality of Craft

The love of skills acquisition, creativity, design and mastery are the dominant motivators for artisan-silversmiths. The 2018 Contemporary British Silversmiths AGM spent 80% of its time considering craft-skills courses and knowledge sharing. Their fear of losing the skills knowledge held by master-craftsmen was paramount. The group measures the status of others in relationship to their craft and design skills as expressed through their achievements at the Goldsmiths’ Craft & Design Competition and other competitions as well as the quality of the galleries where their work is sold. Self-esteem is gained through the recognition of that status (Maslow, 1954, Bourdieu, 1984).

For several silversmiths (e.g., Ints. 6, 30, 40) the act of making and the enthusiasm for craft started at an early age leading to a career in silversmithing. From their inception into the HE system novice silversmiths are motivated by a desire to learn as much about technique as possible which if not fully satisfied leads to dissatisfaction with the system (Int. 12; Nims (conference attendee), 2016; Int. 35). However, interviewee 18 asserts that design ought to be taught in parallel with craft making as it is in those university departments interviewed, even though students do not appear to always fully appreciate this fact.

⁸ Biblical assignation: being God’s chosen people.

Being considered as an artist is a great motivational factor for some while others treat the status with indifference. In a similar fashion, accreditation by such gatekeepers of culture as museums, award systems and publications are important for many of the silversmiths, while others feign indifference. Several concern themselves with not being judged to be of a high standard in such competitions when they feel it ought to be automatically acknowledged.

The silversmiths recognize the benefit of status in Bourdieusian terms, namely the ability to convert their status, as accorded by institutional recognition, into economic terms through greater demand and higher prices for their work.

In non-economic terms, the act of making and the motivations of making are entwined, making it impossible to consider one without the other. Nasser & Wilson (2017) assert that making and personal satisfaction develop hand-in-hand. Needleman (1993) brings together the ideas of personal growth and satisfaction in her making. Csikzentmihalyi asserts:

It is not the hope of achieving fame or making money that drives them; rather, it is the opportunity to do the work that they enjoy doing.

(Csikzentmihalyi, 1996: 107)

Once this concept is firmly in place it is the lens through which all other considerations of the thesis may be viewed.

As noted before the Innovation & Education Conference (2016) suggests, artisan-silversmiths "possibly spend too much time in making, neglecting other aspects such as finance, marketing, research or innovation" (I&E, 2016: 7). Effort is needed to persuade artisan-silversmiths themselves to re-balance their efforts towards those neglected elements of enterprise, which need to be addressed if they are to run successful businesses.

To emphasise this point, it was observed by the researcher that artisan-silversmith conferences and industry gatherings were mostly devoted to craft-skills discussions. Meetings of makers tend to concentrate on new techniques, machinery and tools which are available and their usage to the exclusion of other important subjects of business, such as selling and earning a living. Craft skills reign supreme in the world of silversmithing. For the majority of the silversmiths interviewed it is how they measure the success of their career, and this view of success can be measured or expressed in part through competitions such as the Goldsmiths' Craft and Design Council Awards which reward technical and design excellence. Many makers spend significant amounts of time preparing entries for these competitions. Certainly, winners of the Cartier prize, the most prestigious in the field, are held in

awe by their peers. C4 noted: “We find that as soon as we advertise anything to do with silversmithing skills and skills development it sells out immediately.”

5.7. Success & Motivation – The Motivations of Artisan-Silversmiths

5.7.1. Introduction

This section will explore the motivations of being an artisan-silversmith, which are analysed using the theories of a number of social scientists.

The evidence of the study group is that they are driven by a spectrum of humanist motivational values as theorised by Maslow (1954), while the entrepreneurial values of profit motive and sales asserted by Georgievski et al (2011) are shown through the interviews to be less important. Storylines critique to be inserted here.

The accrual of skills capital, cultural capital, peer group and institutional recognition is of primary importance to artisan-silversmiths (Bourdieu, 1977). The seeming relegation of the short-term profit motive is a result of the long-term view of status held within the industry, and the possibility of enhancing it through acts of benevolence and universalism as theorised by Schwarz & Bardi (2005). This view is supported by the estimation of the participants that they earn 40-50% of their peer group who work outside of the industry as previously noted.

The majority of the study group are dominated by the desire for skills acquisition, as this influences their sense of achievement in terms of recognition both within their own community of makers and also by the public. Through mastery of the craft, individuals gain a sense of self-respect, which later manifests itself as a need for a recognised legacy of cultural capital. Although profitability is very important to the makers, it can often be seen as secondary to the longer-term gain of cultural capital, which Bourdieu argues can be transubstantiated into economic capital as part of the long-term strategy of novice and mid-career makers.

It is possible to conclude from the interviews that artisan-silversmiths concentrate on technical skills, because:

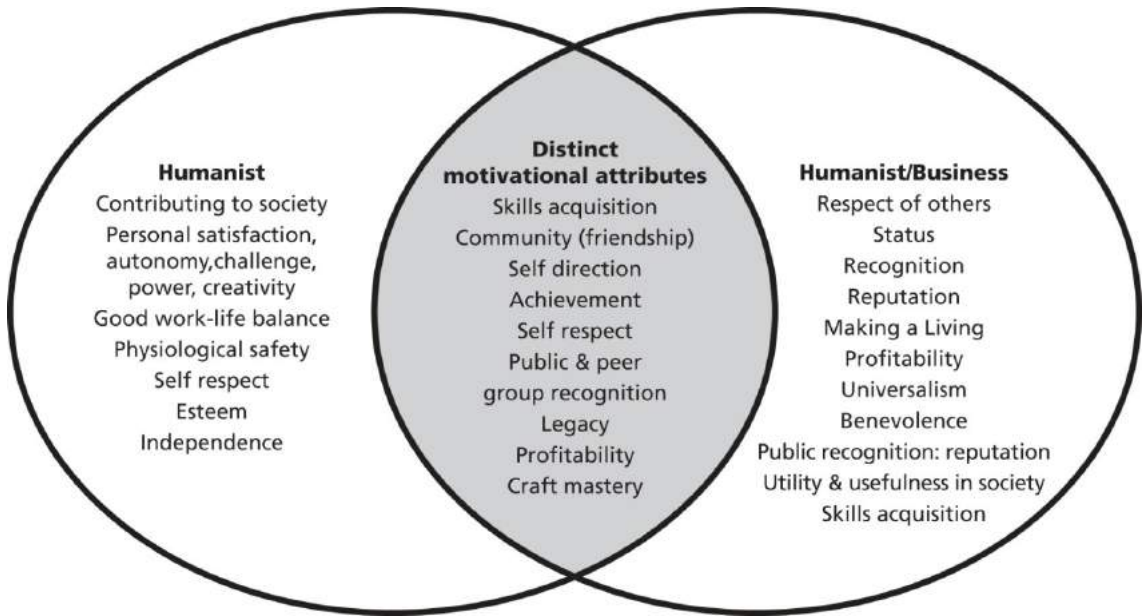
1. Their training accentuates it
2. It's how they choose to measure themselves
3. They see those at the top in possession of sublime skills as industry icons
4. They choose silversmithing because it is a challenging medium
5. It's how they express themselves
6. Respect from their peer group is of importance
7. It will translate into superior profits with seniority.

The motivational attributes of artisan-silversmiths are listed and visualised in the Venn diagram (Graphic 7) below. The motivational factors of Maslow’s (1954) hierarchy of needs and Schwartz and Bardi’s (2001) value hierarchies listed as humanist attributes are on the left of the diagram, whilst Georgievski et al’s (2011) motivations of entrepreneurial success criteria and Bourdieu’s motivational factors are listed on the right as humanist/business attributes. It is possible to theorise a set of distinct motivational attributes unique to artisan-silversmiths, differentiating them from other business groups who are not crafts based:

- Skills acquisition
- Community (friendship)
- Self-direction
- Achievement
- Self-respect
- Public & Peer recognition
- Legacy
- Profitability
- Craft Mastery.

(Graphic 7)

The Distinct Motivational Attributes of Artisan-Silversmiths



Graphic 7: The Distinct Motivational Attributes of Artisan-Silversmiths

This analysis allows for developmental decisions to be made regarding which motivational factors will be most likely to garner a response from artisan-silversmiths when stakeholders consider the community.

5.8. Novice, Mid-Career & Senior Motivations

5.8.1. Novice Motivations

For many silversmiths an arts foundation course starts the journey towards the creative joy of forming silver into beautiful artefacts (Int. 33). The act of creation can be addictive, as while it satisfies a basic creative need it also brings with it the knowledge that perfect control over the craft can only come from thousands of hours, some say 10,000 hours, of practice and diligent attention to technique. The craftsmanship attained translates the control of this precious metal into an, often unique, artistic voice for the practitioner.

Silver itself is malleable, tactile and biddable (Int. 11). Few other metals, other than gold, have the same qualities of nobility and beauty of finish. The maker is seduced into a lifetime love affair with silver, one which encompasses the aura of the industry itself: craftsmanship, wealth and prestige are considered together as leading to a life-style of envisioned contented self-employment with control over work time, leisure and self-fulfilment.

5.8.2. Why Make?

Interviewee 17 addresses the larger questions of why silversmiths make and the effects on her life. As with the studies by Needleman (1993) and Nasserri & Wilson (2017) interviewee 17 uses her craft to answer questions of meaning and the relationship between the maker and the object and the object and the user or owner:

It's centring on objects; we frame our lives; we structure our lives and we structure our identities by our relationship with objects. They hold our identities, they hold our memories, they hold our thoughts, the way that we interact with them very physically structures our world in a very direct sense; and the example that I usually give of that is that most people have a favourite cup that they will have their morning cup of tea out of, it's the one they reach for. It's just an incredibly rich canvas on which to work and they're the sort of silent

companions that we use to punctuate our lives and that's open season on exciting things for me.

(Int. 17)

As a third-careerist interviewee 17 was influenced by the conceptual thinkers Simone ten Hompel and David Clarke in her Master's degree course:

My work sits on the boundary between sculptural and functional, to start with a form and then say 'what can I use this for'.

(Int. 17)

Considering the reasons people buy from individual designers, interviewee 17 explains:

if you want to buy from a designer, you want to buy a piece of their voice, you want to buy a piece of who they are and that takes me back to listening to people's comments, because I know who I am or I'm attempting to know who I am and as a maker you've got to, and again that links back to understanding my own practice because that's who I am. It can sound desperately self-indulgent but it's also really important.

(Int. 17)

Interviewee 42 was initially drawn to colour and experimented with materials and techniques, which would allow him to express himself in this fashion:

Enamelling was one of those things where colour was involved. When I was at college, at that time, titanium and niobium were the trendiest things going and we tried all those.

(Int. 42)

The permanence, hardness and difficulty of the technique were what attracted him. He commented on the challenges enamelling presents:

It's like climbing mountains or something. Well, there's a joy in, I mean not when I've just finished a piece because, it never quite matches your expectation.

(Int. 42)

Interviewee 42 is highly critical of his own work but is often surprised by its quality when reviewing it months or years later. He also noted that "what you don't realise is what pleasure you're giving people" (Int. 42).

Similarly, with interviewee 7:

There was a showcase there [an exhibition] and it had my work, but a lady saw it there and came up to me and just said, it was the most beautiful thing she's ever seen. She explained that at a dinner with friends and their guests of which one of them worked in a Scottish museum and he said, "oh we've just done an exhibition there". Commenting on the silverware: "you didn't make that moon shaped thing? It's a fabulous piece". And that honestly, I could have wept absolutely because, it happened more than once and I'd love to make a few other things like that because people really, really love those pieces and it's happened with a few things but you can't make it happen and you just go on working until it happens again.

(Int. 7)

Both interviewees 7 and 42 are energised by other people's favourable reactions to their craftsmanship and creativity, as theorised by Georgievski et al (2011).

5.8.3. The Act of Making: Liminal Space, Flow

This section considers the act of making and the relationship between the maker and the object. The act of making can be one of deep satisfaction as documented by Nasserri & Wilson (2017) who comment on the process, which stimulates self-development (Nasserri & Wilson, 2017: 194)

As an example, interviewee 18 articulates the dialogue of liminal space, which is created between the self and the non-self (Nasserri & Wilson, 2017: 201)

The Danish silversmith, interviewee 44, creates highly stylized silversmithing objects with hundreds of repetitively created decorative indentations on the surface of the piece, entering a meditative state during the act of making. The Japanese maker, interviewee 18, explained that her work is similarly made up of hundreds of pieces welded together to form a sculpture:

...your subconscious is taking over and that you're not consciously working on the piece it's all from your subconscious or is that not correct? It is totally subconscious.

(Int. 18)

Interviewee 18 articulates the feeling of being in the artistic 'zone' of making a subconscious or meditatively-driven piece:

I'm just, distracting my thoughts completely differently. Just my body lets me weld and then maybe I'm this new lady, or sometimes music, but I'm at the moment thinking about the kids. What I'm going to feed them? Just trying to constantly break my thoughts. 'Ooh, that piece would have been better if I welded it that way'. Does that make sense? I try not to think what I'm doing, so my head is completely replaced by other things.

(Int. 18)

When asked about whether the effect of thinking about what she is doing is negative, she answered with a clear 'yes', it has to come from the sub-conscious:

Yes. It's going to be so boring and it's going to be so pretty. It's going to be regular and so like the wall hangings (small symmetrical sculptures) I showed you that's actually regular. So, I'm quite conscious about it, so that then I'm quite automatically, robotically, making and then most of them are so pretty like a flower like and stuff like that but most of the time, when I'm freer, I make extremely interesting pieces.

(Int. 18)

She calls this state of mind 'Meditation' (Int. 18).

For her and her agent Adrian Sassoon, this style of work has been exceedingly successful. From the beginning of their relationship when he purchased work from her at her first-ever craft fair at Chelsea Town Hall, interviewee 18 asserts that Sassoon has sold 98% of all the work she has made.

Csikszentmihalyi asserts that for artist craftspeople:

It is not the hope of achieving fame or making money that drives them; rather, it is the opportunity to do the work that they enjoy doing).

(Csikszentmihalyi, 1996: 107)

Csikszentmihalyi posits that it is not '*what* these people do but *how* they do it', explaining that humans are hard wired to take pleasure in 'designing or discovering

something new' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996: 107-08). This would explain the time and effort expended by several of the silversmiths interviewed, who invent new designs and techniques.

Csikszentmihalyi has theorized the optimal feeling and experience which makers have when things are going well as an almost automatic, effortless, yet highly focused state of consciousness. He likens it to the feelings achieved in sport, religion or science when people describe their most rewarding experience. This feeling, which he calls *flow*, does not vary with age, gender, or cultural background (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996: 110)

5.8.4. A Passion for Making

On making a square teapot interviewee 10 asserts:

I like the idea of purity and I think that's part of the reason why I tend towards the geometric forms. It's that kind of pure shape.

(Int. 10)

The Innovation and Education 2016 report which comments on 'passion' within which flow is a significant factor, for leading to often economically unproductive making:

They possibly spend too much time in making, neglecting other aspects such as finance, marketing, research or innovation.

(I&E, 2016: 7)

Regarding the other researched factors of cultural capital and peer group recognition (Bourdieu, 1983) we can start to understand that it is only by achieving exceptional craft skills capital, through demonstrating practised and exceptional technique, particularly as demonstrated by makers such as interviewee 22, interviewee 24 and interviewee 41, that makers can achieve their goals of cultural and skills capital accrual and thus attain their desired status.

The time and effort expended on these skills, however, can have a negative impact on the ability of the interviewed silversmiths to make money. This is confirmed by the Innovation and Education 2016 report, which highlights that:

The craft sector can be quite inward looking. Without an understanding of finance and business management, many makers

focus too much on producing work or engaged in other activity that makes little or no [financial] profit.

(I&E, 2016: 7)

This observation supports the view that the makers interviewed in this study are taking the long view of technical skills and cultural capital accumulation, which starts with the awarding of their Bachelor of Arts degree. Examples of this include interviewee 17, who is attempting the extremely difficult task of becoming known as a conceptual maker, and interviewee 11, who has realized that her craft skills can only become of the highest class through practice and personal development.

Bottomley (2017) asserts that the graduates will have aimed to conform and please the tutors who give high quality degrees for meeting learning outcomes set by their department, originality of design and mastery of craft skills. The tutors request and encourage that the students take the opportunity to be experimental, which they most often are.

The result of this and the fact that students rarely receive training in market research or commercial manufacture during their time at university is that they are often left with a collection of work, which has little commercial value. This leads to commentators outside of the university system viewing the Craft & Design departments as 'inward-looking'. The lack of market focus can also be explained by the paucity of good market research by the institutions who could be creating a market overview to feed to the tutors, students and members of the artisan-silversmithing industry.

5.8.5. Mid-Career Motivations

Mid-career silversmiths need to make strategic development decisions to push themselves to the highest level of the industry. In this section an analysis is presented of a sample group of seven makers who are still in business after 10 years.

The term mid-career is inexact. In the terms of this study it has been defined as applying to those makers who:

- In business as an artisan-silversmith for more than 3 years and up to 10 years, demonstrating enterprise skills
- Are established in business
- Have an established product range or skill set
- Exhibit room for further growth of craft, motivation and business.

By this time, the three strands of craft, motivation and business may or may not be developed, even though a maker may be well advanced in terms of the stages of craft according to Dormer, namely novice, advanced beginner, competence, proficiency and expertise (Dormer, 1994: 62).

In this section the mid-career artisan-silversmiths, interviewees 19, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38, and 40 are brought together for consideration. While still establishing their position in the Bourdieusian (1984) economic battlefield, or habitus, of commerce they are often able to compete with their more advanced competitors through original design and a lower cost of commissioned work. There is, in the minds of buyers, the pleasure of discovering 'new talent' in this emerging sector, which they support whilst prices are relatively low. The fact that the senior craftsmen often have order books and exhibition commitments stretching into the future may also assist the mid-career artisan-silversmith who are better placed to deliver commissions quickly and efficiently, often to specific deadlines.

Each of the seven has achieved good to high levels of technique, with potential for reaching the next level of excellence. Similarly, interviewees, 31, 33, 36, 37 and 40 have established their own artistic voice whilst interviewee 19 (who served as apprentice to interviewee 22) has yet to establish an individual voice distinct from that of interviewee 22, but her business model is largely predicated on her working in the style of interviewee 22 as an outworker. These ambitious silversmiths know that to be successful at the highest level they need to further conquer technique, design and their own profile (status) within the industry.

Although the interviewees 33, 36 and 38 use very different styles, techniques and approaches to their craft, their priority is earning a living, and they have demonstrated success not just by remaining in business but by shedding their portfolio of 'survival strategy' jobs.

Interviewee 36, whose high levels of technical silversmithing skills is evidenced by the prestigious commission to make a diamond-set teapot for the Chitra Collection,⁹ demonstrates good business skills as articulated by Georgievski et al's (2011) primary success factor, the profit motive. She has an intuitive understanding of pricing and both this and her motivation in terms of profit were on display alongside her degree show, when she questioned the pricing set by a tutor.

Interviewee 36 demonstrates a flexible entrepreneurial attitude to the products she sells, and is happy to sell other makers' work in her Edinburgh shop to earn a living whilst also selling her own work and making to commission. She

⁹ The Chitra Collection is a private collection of teawares collected by Nirmal Sethia, chairman of Newby Teas.

characterises herself as a businesswoman born of the hard experiences of trying, and initially not succeeding, but learning from those experiences. Interviewee 36 demonstrates several of the documented success criteria theorised by Georgievski et al (2011) and Schwartz and Bardi (2001) being: intuitive attention to profitability, innovation of design, personal satisfaction, creativity, a sense of achievement and stimulation through success.

Interviewee 38 is highly focused on her craft being a means to the end of earning a living. In contrast to other makers who use hand skills and philosophically feel that the form and style of working is central to their lifestyle, interviewee 38 sees making as how she earns a living. Her silverware objects are stamped or spun depending on size and shape, and she made decision to invest in a large hydraulic press and carries out etching using her own rather basic system of production at her workshop using acids. Her entrepreneurial acumen encompasses a fully-considered analysis of manufacturing cost-reduction as a route to maximizing profit. She works closely with a local engineering company, exploring what they are capable of making using the tools and materials they have on-site:

So it's not terribly complicated for them to do. It's the material cost and their costs as well as machining it and their overheads. They've been really good. I've got three great steel tools [formers] with the three different sized bowls that I do and I think they did me a very good deal, I think it was about five hundred pounds for the three.

(Int. 38)

Interviewee 38 pointed out that earning a living is the point of making, which explains her need to create commercially viable objects of good design and with pleasing patterns quickly and inexpensively.

Since the first interview in 2014, interviewee 38 has taken a break from silversmithing to have two children and is hoping to return to the industry once her children are of school age. She intends to start again with local fairs and shows (Int. 38).

Interviewee 33 has broken into the world of silversmithing with original ideas that have been both commercially successful and intellectually challenging. Her first 'Packaging Collection' juxtaposed ideas of the throwaway society and precious metal objects. The collection has been a success, and has been featured in magazines, books and on television. She defines herself against her upbringing from a working-class family in Yorkshire, often having to remind herself of how far

silversmithing has brought her which in Bourdieusian terms translate into social standing and status, as well as financial independence and economic capital. The study's interview notes her achievement of economic gain in excess of her family peer group and her interactions with aristocratic clients and members of the Goldsmiths' Company.

Interviewee 33 started her business in 2006 at Yorkshire Artspace, exhibiting her collection of work at a number of events and craft shows around the UK including Goldsmiths' Fair. Having had her most successful year there in 2015 she was, confusingly for her, not chosen by the selection committee each year after that until 2018. She has won a number of awards and commissions, including a large oil container in silver which was on show in the Museum of Modern Art in Kuwait and the packaging for the world's most expensive coffee, sold in London's premier department store, Harrods.

Her work has caught the attention of many journalists, being featured in the Sunday times "Home" section and Financial Times "How to spend it" supplement. The Duke of Devonshire figures amongst the many private collectors who commission work from her. A crisis of confidence, which she now attributes to bad luck, set her business back early in her career but she managed both to sustain it and her involvement with the press, which led to an invitation to take part in Channel 4's *Four Rooms* programme of makers and the public selling to dealers:

It was phenomenal really. I did expect some business from it, but the business that I got I just couldn't comprehend. I think I turned over – just off the back of the television programme – within twelve months, sixty thousand pounds. My work was shown for about thirty seconds, if that.

(Int. 33)

In assessing the elements of what has been successful for her, interviewee 33 commented that her trade networking through Goldsmiths' Fair has made a significant difference, as it led to her selling a large number of silver gift-bags to the Prime Warden's jewellery company, Boodles in 2015. She also places great importance on the building of her network through the exhibition British Silver Week, to Style's in Hungerford, the silver antique dealer, and to William & Son, the Mayfair luxury goods seller. She later commented that a number of silver antique dealers had been encouraged to experiment with contemporary silversmithing through their exposure to contemporary silverware during British Silver Week started in 2008 (Int. 33).

Interviewee 33 demonstrates grit, theorized by Duckworth (2017), as a key success factor set against a background of initial self-doubt. Interviewee 33 demonstrates many of the entrepreneurial traits of innovation, profitability, skilled manufacture, love of her work and a great tenacity in the face of adversity. Her innovative and entrepreneurial silversmithing range reflects her profit driven, innovative mindset, and conforms to Georgievski et al's 2011 theories of motivation. She is a materialist determined to survive on her own terms, another attribute of entrepreneurial success emphasised by Georgievski et al (2011).

Interviewee 31 works hard at marketing himself, also entering the television Channel 4 *Four Rooms* programme:

I did it as a marketing exercise. I went there to set the benchmark of my price for this vessel and to support silversmithing and contemporary makers. To say that, "It's handmade. I've had to hit it with a hammer. You're looking at commodity value. I'm not saying it's a commodity. Paintings aren't done by oil costs. You won't say to a painter, this is what your oils cost you". It was very intense in there [the filming]. I was saying a lot about my educational aspects, approach, how it's quite difficult for people to survive as makers today. Youngsters come out of university and say, "I've got to invest all this money in the material first. Then actually bring the product to market. It's a one-man band. I'm working in other areas to survive. Then they're [the galleries] holding on to a piece for two or three years before they can sell it sometimes. It's not a good business model, is it?"

(Int. 31)

Interviewee 31 recognises the value of third-party attribution, carefully selecting the galleries and craft fairs he shows in and the auction houses which sell his work. His curating of high-profile partners adds to his mystique as a conceptual artist while adding value to his work. He supports himself through teaching and the occasional craft fair where he markets himself as an artist. In Bourdieusian (1984) terms he is attempting a long-term strategy of public recognition and reputation, which he considers will add considerable value to his work.

Although interviewee 31 also took part in the Channel 4 programme he sold nothing and treated it as an exercise in self-promotion. His strategy to earning a

living is to teach and he justifies his position by comparing himself to artists. He was taught as a youngster the family trade of jewellery making by his father:

There were some tolerances, but it was all about perfection. It wasn't quick, slapdash. If it was a hinge, it had to be perfect. I had to make it again and again to get it perfect.

(Int. 31)

Interviewee 31 has continued to push the boundaries of what can be done with the metals he uses, and with the designs he creates, in which he was encouraged by one of his lecturers at Sheffield Hallam University where he undertook his Silversmithing degree:

Christoph Zellwegger, who is from a Swiss background, was very enthusiastic about my work. Very, everything is possible. Nothing is impossible. Go with that idea. I was an ideas person. They couldn't stop me, and it was about refining. That's where that teapot was born. That was my degree piece for Sheffield.

(Int. 31)

He produced an extremely innovative set of teapots in a limited edition of only 5 that fetched significant sums. Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery bought the first one in 2002, while the most recent one was sold by Christie's for £20,000 in 2016: "a delightful sale. I wasn't expecting that" (Int. 31).

Interviewee 40 is an extremely self-assured artist-silversmith who puts a great deal of thought into her work, life and business, and is aided by her husband who acts as her business advisor: "I can talk through my business ideas with him. He gives me the confidence and encouragement to implement my ideas" (Int. 40). Her work is exceptional for its finesse which, when combined with high levels of artistic talent, make interviewee 40 what many collectors and clients consider the perfect silversmith, giving her a steady flow of commissions that negate the need to attend many selling fairs. Currently, interviewee 40 is based in the heart of the Birmingham Jewellery Quarter sharing a workshop with established trade silversmiths who periodically advise her on technique (Int. 40).

In her first year as a student interviewee 40 won the National Young Designer Silversmith Award 2005, which enabled her to design and make her first commission, a cocktail shaker set, in the workshop of Grant Macdonald in London. Commenting on this period at the workshop:

Working with a trade person where they're not faffing around with files, sometimes they just stick it under a linisher (circular abrasive paper machine) and the linishing gets done, so it's much quicker than sitting there filing, so you learn these tricks of the trade. I learnt quite a few of those tricks, which made producing the cocktail shaker much faster than it would have been.

(Int. 40)

After completing a further year of training at Bishopsland Educational Trust she went on to establish her business in 2008:

Bishopsland was for me a stepping stone from university to actually learn, firstly, how to set up as an artist silversmith actually, to learning how to set up a workshop and begin to function as a silversmith and, secondly, learning more about my marketplace and making connections with customers and clients and, for me, one of the great benefits of being at Bishopsland was all the exhibition opportunities I got and all the contacts that I made through Bishopsland, and still continue to as well, I still show at really prestigious shows through Bishopsland and that's a really great way for me to have a showcase for my work.

(Int. 40)

Interviewee 40, an extremely talented silversmith, feels incredibly blessed to have been given the opportunity to explore and develop her creativity.

In the silversmithing industry, I have certainly come across so many kind-hearted people and to this day, even just the people who do chasing, they're absolutely willing to share their skills so willingly, so generously.

(Int. 40)

Interviewee 40 demonstrates thoughtful entrepreneurial traits of innovation, product placement and the profit motive. She networks assiduously, keeping contact with her customers at any opportunity, sending invitations and reminding clients of her business services through techniques such as sending Christmas cards.

Interviewee 37 is an accomplished silversmith who works in mixed media, often silver and wood or glass. She has exhibited at Goldsmiths' Fair on six

occasions, with her work, such as a silver carafe and glasses set in a luxury silver inlaid presentation box, selling for up to £16,000. She also undertakes design consultancy in jewellery for a prominent Hatton Garden company.

Currently she is being mentored by Robert Ettinger of the luxury leather goods brand, Ettinger & Co, through the Walpole Group programme, which has had a positive impact on her thought processes as she works to create the next generation of luxury brands:

Well, he certainly showed me what to do to ratify the issues that I had and it's a long term plan, I've got a three year plan in place that's come off the back of The Walpole Group which I then wrote a detailed business plan which I then approached Cockpit Arts for a business loan to help process and activate the whole sort of – basically I came up with a three-pronged attack so. Which is:

- New work
- Developing – so within the new work there's time, spending some time actually developing new techniques, figuring out how to make things better, going on, you know, courses, studying again and actually having time out in the workshop so actually having two or three weeks off and spending the time playing and not working.
- New avenues of revenue, so where can I go to find new clients, who are my new clients and in terms of that, what are they looking for to buy, so that then feeds into the new work side of things.

(Int. 37)

5.8.6. Dealing with Failure

Interviewee 17 has given a great deal of thought to rejection and demotivation:

I think there could be support around that [rejection] and I think that there could be, I think that there are ways, even just normalising it by saying, "there are times when you are going to feel really rejected, there are times when you're going to feel that nobody likes your work, there are times that you are going to feel all of these things".

(Int. 17)

Interviewee 35 has persisted with his vision of becoming a full-time silversmith: "I've been trying to get somewhere for eight years [...] I've struggled for eight, nine years and it's never, like this year was the glimmer of hope and then it didn't happen". He asserts that he'd not needed to have a job before "there's always been some sort of work" (Int. 35).

At the time of the interview he was designing goblets for a billionaire:

He wants a goblet, but I'm going to send him that collection because he liked, he saw one not finished. So I'm going to send him them and the goblets and hopefully he'll have them and the goblets. He wants one for himself. I'm going to do champagne flutes, because he could buy a set of twelve champagne flutes. It would be nothing to him.

(Int. 35)

Both makers demonstrate extraordinary grit (Duckworth, 2017) in keeping going through periods of low sales and the rejection of designs. They both hold a long-term vision of becoming a successful silversmith. Gorgievski et al (2011) note survival as a key attribute of being an entrepreneur and it is demonstrated by them both through working out a psychological strategy for coping.

The Innovation and Education (I&E) 2016 report suggests that "many makers entering the craft sector are not trained in business management and innovation, and so are challenged when developing their own business" (I&E, 2016: 4).

Several of the makers demonstrate their own innate basic business skills of tenacity, creativity and networking in making sales but lack the sophisticated techniques of forecasting, accurate costing and use of branding concepts to help stabilise their businesses and help them survive.

Interviewee 36 is a driven person with an instinctively business-oriented mind. The university programme created few opportunities or means to identify her as a future business person so as to give her relevant training. She ended up taking inappropriate, disappointing jobs:

It was before I went to London I got this job working in Watches of Switzerland a couple of days a week and I remember them phoning me saying I got the job and I actually was almost like crying because I was so disappointed in myself.

(Int. 36)

5.8.7. Conclusions: Mid-Career Silversmiths

The mid-career silversmiths interviewed have taken very different career routes since the initial interviews in 2014/15. For interviewee 38 it was the last Goldsmiths' Fair (2014) before having two children, as she comments in December 2017:

I would rather step back [from silversmithing] than have child-care. I can focus on the children; it's a very personal choice. I would like to come back to silversmithing once the children are at school probably into local shows. To get back into the highest level I would need to have a whole new range of products, which will be a large investment. I'm glad that I'm still making the occasional trophy.

(Int. 38)

Interviewee 31 is building his career around high-level exhibitions and an academic post at Staffordshire University as Award Leader on the BA Hons 3D Design programme. He enters exhibitions through the Contemporary British Silversmiths (CBS) organisation, extending his conceptual range of work, which relies on clients who have an appreciation of well-made aesthetically different silversmithing. These pieces are of interest to museums and collectors who value cultural attribution and academic accreditation. This portfolio style of earning a living creates financial stability with a slow accumulation of cultural capital.

Interviewee 19, the most entrepreneurial of the three, is also the most likely to break into the top flight of silversmithing. She has demonstrated great tenacity in overcoming learning problems and the acquisition of technical skills through contacting the best people in her chosen technical field for advanced training. Whilst being immersed in the culture of interviewee 22's workshop she is learning all the attributes of a successful artisan-silversmith. The next stage for her is to achieve a craft voice of her own which will be extremely difficult whilst under the influence of interviewee 22, though the benefit of this is that she continues to earn an above average living, compared to other craft makers. Through targeting an artisan-silversmithing role model with the best business and craft skills in the industry interviewee 19 can observe first-hand the practices of this business and skills of a master craftsman.

All the silversmiths need to build a large, interested network of clients which has been demonstrated as the key to a steady flow of sales and commissions by the senior makers. Building the cultural attributes of status will position these makers at the top of their profession allowing them to market themselves through word-of-

mouth recommendations supplying a steady flow of objects for special occasions by becoming each client's 'personal maker'.

5.8.8. Senior Craftsmen's Motivations

The master craftsmen and women studied have achieved their status after many years of trial and error and thousands of hours of practicing their craft. As with any virtuoso and great craftsman the autolectic act of making is itself sublimated into the making process, becoming just a tool for the higher art of creativity and expressing themselves. These makers are acknowledged as master-craftsmen in publications and through their work being held in museums, private and public collections. It is how they earn their living, but just as important to them is their cultural status and legacy as theorised by Bourdieu (1984). Through this, they are acknowledged as cultural icons by their peer group, and aspiring makers. The senior makers occupy a spectrum of motivations depending on their personal values. Of primary importance, are the business exigencies of survival and profit (Georgievski et al, 2011) interlaced with the humanist motivations of creativity, stimulation, autonomy, benevolence and universalism as theorised by Schwarz and Bardi (2005) and the desire to assist younger makers through skills transfer.

5.8.9. Senior Craftsmen's Personal Attributes: Confidence, Insecurity & Risk

This section looks at the dichotomy of personal confidence in craft skills against the lack of confidence and the insecurity of commercial life for artisan-silversmiths.

Interviewee 7 is constantly dissatisfied with himself and his work even though he is acknowledged as a good, innovative craftsman he said:

I've never been confident. I like the things I make. I destroy quite a lot of pieces. There is one piece that's in the workshop now, which I've reworked three times. And now I like it.

(Int. 7)

Interviewee 7's primary self-actualisation need is to be an artist in his own terms. His business, as with many silversmiths, is a self-contained unit with no, or very few, employees and little desire to grow beyond this.

He has considered himself as an artist from the beginning of his career with silversmithing as incidental. He commented: "It's a bit annoying because it's a bit pedestrian" (Int. 7).

Discussing whether silversmithing should be taught at art schools:
You have to give people a means to make things; actually that's it – it doesn't matter who they are, in what department - they have to have the means and all those people who are going in there and pissing around with paints that won't stay on canvasses or inks that won't endure.

(Int. 7)

Interviewees 7 and 42 display the same characteristics of being very confident as craftsmen but very insecure as people and artists. Interviewee 42 asserts:

Oh, I'm a really insecure, confident person. But yes, I think you have to be confident to even attempt half of the things that I attempt because you have a big belief in yourself. Because sometimes there's so much risk in the kiln that things happen, hours and hours at the bench. But you still do get a real joy from what you do. When I did those big vases I was having quite a few meltdowns.

(Int. 42)

Winning the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council's highest award, the Jacque Cartier Memorial Award, is an accolade for any craftsman but he takes a fairly phlegmatic view:

Well, just winning it once is great. It's nice to win three times, don't get me wrong. I think it's a fantastic thing. Again, I don't make a big deal of it.

(Int. 42).

Interviewee 42 may list his many awards on his website but does not produce bespoke marketing to emphasise his unique skills when selling: I have not heard him mention his awards at a sales exhibition. He seems more concerned with letting the work speak for itself, or allowing his business partner to do it.

He is a trained botanist, and has been questioning his own relationship to enamelling subjects, which have primarily been representations of flora and fauna. He acknowledges the advantage of being viewed as an artist from a business point of view but has not made the leap away from by-the-hour charging. He is also very worried about the number of working-years he has left in him because of problems

with his hands, and his age (62). He also is considering his work-lifestyle, the pressure to meet deadlines and the high risks of making large very expensive commissions, and the risk of collapse or melting in the kiln at very high temperatures, as a piece might be fired 30 or 40 times. We have discussed the artist/technician dichotomy many times over the years and it was brought to the fore at the interview:

I do love my work even though I moan about it a lot. But I overwork [...] when you're up all bloody night working and trying to do deadlines and things. I must be a workaholic sort of type. I can't think of any other reason why I would do it [...] It's been at the forefront of my mind for some months now, this business about being an artist. That's why, as I say, you're striking discordant chords, is because you're thinking, well, there's something that you need to do. Actually, Maggie Hambling, [English artist and sculptor], was on the radio a few weeks ago and she was really lucid about exactly this sort of point, that artists are just, not set apart like on a pedestal, but they have a different, slight mindset that's different that makes them behave erratically and weirdly. I think working like mad is part of that. Unless it's just part of the creative process?

(Int. 42)

Acknowledged by expert commentators as one of the finest enamellers and artists, he cannot make the transition to selling his work as fine art. The artisan-silversmithing industry needs to have an iconic maker such as interviewee 42 to make this breakthrough for the rest to follow his example.

5.8.10. Interviewee 24: Artist Craftsman

This section explores further the motivations of senior silversmiths by looking at interviewee 24, whom the researcher considers an exceptional man. Seemingly indifferent to financial gain he works to earn money to exist, however he is highly conscious of his position in relation to other craftsmen. An extremely confident craftsman, the risk he takes is Pye's 'workmanship of risk' (Pye, 1995).

Now approaching his 70s, his work is collected by museums, other makers, and high-end collectors, and commissioned by institutions and governments. His one-man shows normally sell out very quickly. He personifies the romantic view of the heritage of craftsmanship, personal freedom, other worldliness and the

embodiment of cultural values including musicianship and art. In Japan he would have been classified as a *National Treasure*: a master craftsman, a cultural icon.

Living on the Breamore Estate in the New Forest as a child his godfather, the Estate Manager, taught interviewee 24 the observation of nature. His work has rarely wavered from the inspiration this gives him. He disliked school but enjoyed his time on the Foundation course at Wolverhampton College of Art (Andrew & Styles, 2014: 294).

Later he was influenced by the Arts & Crafts movement, asserting:

I think studio work is about passion. It's an intimacy, a desire to celebrate making. That wish to make is of more importance to me than the object itself.

(Int. 24)

Qualifying for the Royal College of Art in 1973 he became influenced by Professors Gooden and Benney and inspired by being taught engraving by Malcolm Appleby. He discovered the technique of chasing where the decoration is achieved by using tools to push the surface of the metal to achieve ornamentation:

I love the malleability of silver, whereas with engraving that property is not being used (Andrew & Styles, 2014: 295). Going to college taught me a language where you can communicate through an object rather than communicate through words.

(Int. 24)

Interviewee 24 speaks slowly and deliberately weighing each word. He commented that the interview had omitted to cover a subject of importance to him, namely sensuality:

One of the vital things that we have from nature: all its animals are sensuous, you know. They have the smells etc, sight [...] But we have this sense of imagination; which could give us a much, much richer lifestyle. That's the difference, [it] moves us onto a different level of consciousness and spirituality.

(Int. 24)

Interviewee 24's life is a convergence of humanist philosophy, love and the communication of nature. He uses craft techniques and music as the tools and

platforms to express himself. He also takes great pleasure in teaching young students in his studio overlooking the sea, explaining to them and visitors that his and his wife's best holiday was recently taken on their bicycles at a rented cottage 8 miles up the coast (Int. 24).

He demonstrates several of the highest humanist values theorised by Schwartz and Bardi (2001): benevolence, self-direction, universalism and stimulation, but has low regard for entrepreneurial activities theorised by Georgievski et al (2011) such as the profit motive. However, he does adhere to Georgievskian traits of survival. He values a good work-life balance, public recognition and usefulness to society as an artist and a commentator on human attributes and follies, and being a committed conservationist.

5.8.11. Interviewee 41: The Journey

Life-long learning is the primary motivation for interviewee 41. He is unusual among contemporary silversmiths in being totally self-taught. He has set himself on a life-long journey of enquiry, research and curiosity. He is an award-winning silversmith specialising in chasing, but can turn his hand to embroidery, painting, printing, jewellery, large-scale sculptures and public works. Hailing from a family steeped in the applied and decorative arts, his father was a sculptor and his grandfather's workshop made the modern gates for Buckingham Palace, gaining the commission through a fellow pupil of the Birmingham School of Art whose father was the architect for Buckingham Palace:

My father and grandfather were decorative artists. The first big pieces that my grandfather made were the gates for Buckingham Palace and the cherubs on the locks were modelled on photographs of my aunt when she was a baby.

(Int. 41)

Later his father was employed by Bromsgrove City Council who wanted to improve the local artisan industries, leading to the founding of the Bromsgrove Guild that employed people from Italy and France to design and manufacture for parts of projects as diverse as ocean liners and churches, embroidery and metalwork sculpture.

Although he wanted ultimately to be a sculptor, he started off by making waxes for lost wax jewellery casting, with silver at that time being inexpensive to work with:

You could work in a bed-sit with very little equipment, less than you needed for sculpture. Then I realised that I needed to do something other than these things modelled in wax so I looked at embroidery and thought I could do that in wire. So I started weaving in wire. And then the wire was loose so I had to find a method for fusing it so I looked at granulation technique. I thought that if you could fuse with granulation beads then you could do that with wire structures and they were very light. So I started making woven and embroidered necklaces, bracelets.

(Int. 41)

Interviewee 41 has been on the life-long journey of an autodidact:

I've got two things; one is I am still conflicted, being an artist and being able to make things. I've always found things really, really difficult. And I'm never quite sure of where I belong in terms of art.

(Int. 41)

In recent years he has made his name in the silversmithing world as a 'chaser', most recently in 2017, winning the Gold prize at the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council Awards for three chased dishes of exceptional quality:

It was a natural progression [...] I was doing the wire designs, then they got heavier then I started, because the wire was pure silver, I was reading up about it.

(Int. 41)

Interviewee 41 says he finds the 'technical stuff' very difficult, but endlessly researches his subject theoretically and practically. At 70 years old (in 2014) he still lacks confidence and finds sales and commissions a constant surprise. Despite this his work can be found in churches, cathedrals, museums, public works, private collections and galleries:

Financial success was always incidental, except when I was aiming my work directly at a market and then it was a way of "keeping score". Apart from any inaptitude for business I have always been too easily distracted by the interest of different branching paths for

the focused and consistent development necessary for a successful business.

(Int. 41)

From this data we can see that he is strongly drawn to the humanist value hierarchies of self-direction, achievement and stimulation theorized by Schwartz and Bardi (2001). His idealised self-actualisation is to be acknowledged as an artist, which he feels has not been achieved and this has caused him great cognitive dissonance, creating a lack of confidence. Sales of his work, although important, are for him secondary to creativity. He practices his chasing techniques on bowls, vases and beakers, accumulating pieces in his workshop until he marks down his stock on his website, annoying the dealers who stock similar work and leading to arguments over pricing.

5.8.12. Interviewee 8: Working to Commission

The motivation for interviewee 8 is business enterprise – to earn a living for himself and his business partner. He is a pragmatic craftsman who would consider himself a ‘trade worker’ who with his business partner uses silversmithing craft skills to earn a living. By necessity they adhere to the entrepreneurial success criteria theorised by Georgievski et al (2011) of profitability, survival, security, work-life balance and reputation. Interviewee 8 does give back to his trade community through membership of the CBS, teaching novices silversmithing skills at the Goldsmiths’ Centre, and through his chairmanship of the Goldsmiths’ Craft & Design Council, which demonstrates a combination of benevolence and universalism. These actions bring him status and position as an industry expert theorised by Bourdieu (1977) and Schwarz and Bardi (2001).

Interviewee 8 and his business partner met in 1984 in their late teens on a four-year silversmithing course at Medway College of Design, now UCA Rochester. On leaving Medway College they formed their business partnership, initially by taking on outwork from the established silversmithing trade. During the 1990s there was an abundance of trade silversmithing work. The mainstay of their work was producing silverware for the Middle East via international British salesmen such as John Nix and Richard Jarvis and private commissions via the Goldsmiths’ Company.

An introduction to Nicoli Bulgari, the owner of the famous luxury brand Bulgari, by the curator Rosemary Ransome Wallis at the Goldsmiths’ Company, shaped their business profoundly. Bulgari’s global company sells bespoke

silversmithing pieces such as models of militaria (helicopters, tanks, aircraft), cars, yachts, palaces and any *objet extravagant* commissioned by his extremely wealthy clientele. In the late 1990s to be ready for the year 2000, the late Pope John Paul II instigated 'the 50 churches for 2000 project', a huge endeavour that would see 50 new churches built in Rome for the Millennium. One of these was the Dio Padre Misericordioso, designed by Richard Meier. Bulgari commissioned interviewee 8 and partner to design and make 40 pieces of plate in britannia silver for this new church, to be presented to the Vatican. Weighing more than 46 kilos, the commission took two years. When the collection was shown and formally consecrated in December 2000, interviewee 8 and partner were presented along with Mr. Bulgari, to Pope John Paul II. Among the pieces made for this collection of pieces were a stylised cross, out-sized altar candlesticks, an incense burner, chalice and paten, lectern, an aspergillum, or holy water sprinkler, and a pair of freestanding candlesticks (Int. 8).

The strength of the interviewee's company is its moderately priced, high quality trade work and their reputation for on-time delivery. Although the company did design and make a pair of chandeliers for the Mayfair Bulgari luxury hotel, they are not widely known for design work. Their marketing is restricted to word-of-mouth recommendations for trade work with attempts at marketing outside of the UK trade having generally fallen flat.

Interviewee 8 is keen to pass on silversmithing skills through teaching at the Goldsmiths' Centre. His chairmanship of the GCDC gives him a platform to network within the trade. As with many silversmiths he combines benevolence with practical business needs.

These three senior makers demonstrate the tenacity to learn their trade, which in only one instance, that of interviewee 8, has resulted in above normal earnings. They are all dedicated to the acquisition of technical skills and are generous in the giving of time to pass those skills on. For interviewee 41, his life is spent acquiring more skills and this act of accrual gives him the greatest pleasure, for interviewee 24 it is his art that defines his legacy – the communication of his ideas of peace, humanity and art, for interviewee 8 it is the act of making to perfection and earning a living.

5.9. Elements of the Collector's Motivation

This section considers the motivations of the buyer or collector. Interviewee 42 has dealt with some of the wealthiest people in the world:

I know there's this desire to have things that no one else has got, my output is so small that it will inevitably be rare. It doesn't matter how wealthy they are, they get involved in the design process, they get involved in the start of it. So they are involved. And in a way they are kind of passionate about it.

(Int. 42)

Interviewee 42's account concurs with several of the success factors identified by Georgievski (2011); profitability, personal satisfaction, reputation and satisfied clients whilst also aligning with several of Schwartz's (2005) success criteria of achievement, self-direction and stimulation. He commented:

At [Goldsmiths' Fair] because if you actually manage to do it, which is always a bit stressful, but if you actually manage to get new things done, they are out on show and you get an instant response to them from people. And usually I follow an idea and it gets picked up on and you get an instant [...] it's quite rare that you make something new and everyone ignores it. So you get an instant response to what you are doing and how well you're doing it and whether it's hitting the mark or not. And then thirdly, and probably our most important thing, is that you see clients and you see your fellow conspirators, the other collaborators, the other artists and the other craftsmen who are there, many of whom you've got very friendly with, and so it's quite a social thing. One of the real joys of this job is that people [...] from early on, people buy things off you, and then they might buy again, but they are always talking to you, but a lot of them you end up being friends with, and although they start off as clients, they end up as friends, and that's just priceless really.

(Int. 42)

Interestingly, neither Schwartz et al (2005) nor Gorgievski et al (2011) feature friendship as a success factor in their lists. Friendship and a sense of community plays an important role in the trust needed to produce the highest quality work to a deadline by fellow makers. Friendship also plays an important role in the purchasing of these often extremely expensive items. The buyer is not just buying an object but the story of the maker and the legend of rare craft excellence. The assurance of

hand-made craftwork is often central to the purchasing decision. The idea of craft being aided by technology is less welcome by buyers.

5.10. Summary of The Distinct Motivations of Being an Artisan-Silversmith

The motivations of being an artisan-silversmith can be viewed as one of the three strands of the Gordian knot previously envisioned. Success for artisan-silversmiths can be theorised in terms of cultural, skills, business and economic capital accrual and as any one or all of the minor strands of motivation listed in the 'distinct motivational attributes of artisan-silversmiths' (see Graphic 7).

From the journey of the novice seeking to acquire technical skills, through to the mid-career motivations of establishing public and peer group recognition, mastery of the craft and profitability, and finally recognition of status through legacy, the motivations of artisan-silversmiths should be seen holistically. They have to be understood in the context of the makers themselves making difficult decisions concerning the exigencies of everyday life and being in business, through to the final goal of being recognized as a master-craftsman within their community.

At any one time the motivations taken individually are on a spectrum of needs of that moment. The novices rank highly on the spectrum of the need to acquire technical skills but once acquired these are replaced by the needs of mid-career makers; profitability, self-direction, creativity, public recognition, status and the desire to be part of a community. Mid-career makers are motivated to differentiate themselves from their peer group and achieve status through innovation, technical skills and the ability to gain economic capital. The senior makers build on the attributes of being an artisan-silversmith: mastery of skills, recognition and sometimes with the status of a legacy in mind as a final goal.

The social theories of Bourdieu (1984) emphasise the accrual of cultural capital, accrual of status and economic capital; money for the majority of artisan-silversmiths is a facilitator, though there are exceptions who concentrate on economic capital accrual. But as we have seen it is the accumulation of skills capital and then cultural capital, which is often the more important motivational driver. The accrual of skills capital, and the recognition of that capital, creates recognition within the artisan-silversmith community justifying the time spent on skills for many of the makers. Skills accrual can be 'transubstantiated' in Bourdieusian terms into money or status to achieve success in other fields such as art, design or teaching. Several of the makers keep a foothold in one or several other fields to ensure personal financial safety whilst simultaneously accruing status. Artisan-silversmiths can be

mapped on a spectrum of capital accruals depending on their personal context and agenda.

5.11. Being in Business - The Relationship of Artisan-Silversmiths to Enterprise and Entrepreneurship.

5.11.1. Introduction

Following the analysis of the industry around the three axes of craft, success and business, this section focuses on the third axis, business. It analyses the relationship of artisan-silversmiths to the types of business which we have categorised as 'enterprise' and 'entrepreneurship' (see Chapter Three). Applying the motivational theories in the previous section it is possible to then look at how artisan-silversmiths approach the problem of being in business, marketing themselves and earning a living, termed as enterprise.

Personal values including creativity play a strong part in shaping the motivations of artisan-silversmiths. The decision-making motivations of artisan-silversmiths can lead to apparently counter-intuitive decisions, which cannot be explained through the too-simple prism of the profit motive. Interpreting the interviews it is possible to hypothesise that the motivations of artisan-silversmiths in business are: self-employment, self-sufficiency, time flexibility, self-direction, and profitability.

Vignettes and quotes in this section from artisan-silversmiths interviewed highlight the complexities and individuality of their business lives and the mixed motivations of business, artistic and life-style balance. To place this section in context a review of the customer marketplace for artisan-silversmithing has been undertaken. The surveys demonstrate that the market sector for artisan-silversmiths is extremely specialist and needs careful consideration, and in addition the very small size of the market for contemporary silversmithing indicates the need to expand into the mainstream giftware market.

5.11.2. Being in Business as a Studio Silversmith

Taking the more broadly used term of studio silversmith as the basis of classification, the industry has grown strongly from the creative universities since the 1950s. This industry is characterised by artist-craftspeople who are sole traders dealing with uncertain demand and thus maintaining conservative business dispositions. This researcher has chosen the epithet artisan-silversmith as a closer

classification of the current group being studied, formerly named as designer or studio silversmith.

The dominant business model of the industry can be categorised as the 'studio silversmith' (Ransom Wallis, 2000). Through understanding this model we can start to document the difficulties of running this type of business. The key elements are:

- Limited demand for contemporary silversmithing
- Trading in a fragmented marketplace
- Working alone or in a very small group
- A limited personal business skill set
- Concentration on craft technique as a selling tool by makers
- Limited finances
- Limited sales outlets
- Being pulled in different directions concerning time management
- Reliance on others for specialist skills
- Administration of the business is often a weakness
- Sales and marketing is not a core skill
- Lack of industry market research
- The importance of creating a network of clients.

Working as a sole trader is by nature a lonely affair, and it is problematic that one person rarely has all the skill sets involved in running a complex micro-business at this early stage. The makers are overwhelmed by the tasks of financing the enterprise, earning a living, creating a collection of work, administration, applying for craft fairs and exhibitions, complying with the tax authorities and being creative, all necessary whilst setting up a studio and starting a business.

Being accepted into selling shows can be a daunting and frustrating task with organisers often failing to assert specific requirements and selection criteria. Makers can be accepted for a number of years and then find themselves suddenly and inexplicably in limbo. The shows often have lead times as short as three months, making planning very difficult for the makers. Having been accepted into an exhibition or fair the buying public often take little notice of makers new to the marketplace. It normally takes three attendances to gain public acceptance and start the selling process.

The majority of the makers interviewed had a second and sometimes third form of income, often being:

- Jewellery making
- Teaching
- A supportive partner
- Design work.

For industry start-ups there are also menial jobs such as waitressing, or similar. It is extremely rare that start-up makers are immediately profitable as silversmiths. Every maker experiences pressure and uncertainty created by the fundamental problems of erratic demand combined with the self-imposed sales criteria that the work be personally designed and made by themselves.

5.12. The Marketplace for Artisan-Silversmiths: Sales Survey Summary by the Goldsmiths' Company (2016) and Hamme (2018)

Until as recently as 2012, prior to the first Goldsmiths' Company's initial research, no formal market research had been undertaken by any organisation within the silversmithing industry. Knowledge of who buys silversmithing was passed by word-of-mouth. The surveys here suffered from a small market sample however conclusions can still be drawn indicating areas for further and in-depth research.

The dominant themes of the sales surveys by the Goldsmiths' Company and the researcher, summarised here, are that buying clients are knowledgeable, often collectors, who are primarily drawn to unique design or artworks (these being the dominant purchasing attributes) with high quality craftsmanship as a necessary condition.

The Goldsmiths' Company survey based on a small number customer-attendees of the Goldsmiths' Fair suggest six audience types:

- **The Inexpert Enthusiast** – purchasing despite being inexperienced and lacking in knowledge
- **The Hobbyist Maker** – began as Inexpert Enthusiasts but 'artistic bent' has seen them take up silversmithing making as a hobby; they now have a real appreciation of the craft and skill involved
- **The Passionate Expert** – highly knowledgeable about product and designers, likely to be purchasing more frequently (including commissioning) and at higher price points

- **The Convert** – owns antique or contemporary silver through inheritance or receiving gifts, had not previously considered purchasing for themselves but exposure to silversmiths and their work face-to-face has changed their perceptions and they would now consider buying.
- **The Accidental Enthusiast** – discovered this part of the industry by chance, now see it as an enjoyable way to spend their disposable income, unlikely to consider themselves knowledgeable, and unlikely to be commissioning
- **The Collector** – likely to be the most regular purchaser and buys at higher price points; although willing to commission, they are more likely to purchase existing pieces and are always on the lookout to augment their collections, they consider themselves highly knowledgeable about product and the industry.

(Goldsmiths' Company 2017 Survey; Hamme 2018 Survey)

The most common purchase price point was low, with almost half buying at below £500. This would encompass work examples such as caddy spoons, although more than one quarter purchased at up to £4,999. A 'price point heat map' analysis showed a similar pattern to Fine Jewellery consumers, with a significant proportion also spending at price points immediately below and above their 'norm'. Further analysis also indicated that with increasing knowledge/experience came more frequent purchase, and purchasing at higher price points, though the sample size at higher price points was too small to be able to confirm this pattern entirely (Goldsmiths' Company Survey, 2017).

It takes 1-3 years for buyers to build confidence and start the buying process from a particular maker. Regular showing at high quality fairs is essential to building familiarity and credibility in a maker. One maker created a small marketing booklet, which explained her background, adding to her credibility and demonstrating her design and making skills and services, which enhanced sales. Most makers report that 20-30% of sales come after the fair or at a subsequent fair.

In the item category section of the Goldsmiths' Survey there was very little evidence of buying for 'fine dining'. Anecdotal evidence suggests that people are looking for items which can be used or displayed in the home and which demonstrate a cultured interest in good design, silversmithing skills, and individuality.

The largest purchasing demographic is between the ages of 50 and 60, with a fairly even split between couples, men and women. 20-30 year olds did not feature at all as buyers.

It is possible to draw the conclusion that buyers are looking for objects for their homes which are practical and are a talking point or reminder about the maker. Certainly, the most successful makers are those who build relationships with their buyers who purchase portfolios of objects for their homes. Silversmiths surveyed felt that clients wanted, in order of priority:

1. Unique design
2. High levels of craftsmanship
3. Very high standards of design
4. Hand-made objects using traditional techniques.

(Hamme, 2018)

5.12.1. Selling Channels for Artisan-Silversmiths

The selling channels for the contemporary silversmith are few and far between, and are reducing further. A small number of the silversmiths interviewed (Ints. 6, 13, 18), sell almost exclusively through dealers though it is more common to sell through dealers and galleries on an ad-hoc or informal basis, a practice which can cause tensions as dealer-prices and maker-prices are often not the same.

For the rest of the interviewed makers the most common route to market is selling through craft fairs, but this is often an expensive model, with high stand prices and inconsistent demand. However, exhibiting at these fairs creates familiarity for the buyers who often attend the same portfolio of fairs each year, with Goldsmiths' Fair being at the centre and the most prestigious.

Selling through galleries is often the preferred option for makers, as it negates the need to sell in person, but in doing so it replaces this with the need to have a good relationship with the gallery owner. This entails a pricing agreement and a consistent programme of exhibitions. Interviews with senior makers demonstrate that word-of-mouth recommendation and the building of a personal network of buyers is the best path to strong sales.

The Contemporary British Silversmiths group created a sales channel through the prestigious auction house Christies following the *Silver Speaks* exhibition at the Victoria & Albert Museum, curated by the journalist Corinne Julius, with some sales success.

The Crafts Council (2012) survey notes that 10% of sales for makers came through open studio days.

5.12.2. Galleries and Exhibitions

Galleries and exhibitions can make a significant contribution to sales, and thus to a maker's financial success. In order to access this route to sales, a maker must forge relationships with curators and exhibition organisers.

Interviewee 7 explained that he approached two gallery and exhibition organisers, Amanda Game of the Scottish Gallery and Ann Rew, an interior designer who hosted exhibitions of maker's work, both of whom made a significant difference to his life as a maker of speculative pieces:

I was putting the occasional pieces of work into galleries. That was the Scottish Gallery. So that was my first work with the Scottish Gallery was when Amanda Game first got there. And Amanda Game made more difference to my life than any customer. It was all speculative pieces [I supplied].

(Int. 7)

For interviewee 42 the most significant person in his early business life was meeting with Richard Jarvis the managing director of Garrard, a prestigious London, West End, luxury goods seller:

The Garrard show in '95 was my big springboard in my life. And to be able to make whatever you wanted for two years and them [Garrard] buy it off you and then put a show together for you was amazing, just amazing. I wouldn't necessarily say it was my most mature work because I was trying so many things out. In terms of what you're doing, in terms of birds and the flowers and all that sort of stuff, it's what the demand is, was, and I also love nature so I'm not fighting against myself in that.

(Int. 42)

5.12.3. The Craft Circus

Craft fairs also have their place in a maker's marketing armoury, but there are problems with the fairs that work against the maker, not least that, such fairs are often a form of public entertainment, with the exhibitors being the 'actors'.

Interviewee 17 is one maker who considers this to be a fundamental problem with the craft-selling model. The resurgence of interest in craft is a "brilliant thing" (Int. 17), but as she points out, it's now a form of entertainment, a day out with activities such as making-tents for kids, talks and demonstrations, but, as she points out, "actually nobody is there to buy, they are there to have a day out, which is fine but we're the ones paying for that" (Int. 17).

Show organisers cover their costs through stand fees and the entry fee, and there are more makers than there are show-slots, so it is difficult to be discerning when at the beginning of a career. Exhibitors often measure the success of a craft fair as the number of 'good' conversations undertaken. They must take a long view of exhibiting at such fairs by considering it to be one part of becoming established on the craft fair circuit, and this can be an expensive and demoralising process for start-up makers, as their needs differ from those of the fair organisers:

Their main motivation is bums on seats; it doesn't have to be the right bums, it just has to be bums on seats, whereas for us it's got to be the right people. (Int. 17)

5.13. The Commercial and Personal Financial Imperatives of the Artisan-Silversmith

This section of the chapter considers the commercial landscape in which graduates, mid-career and senior silversmiths find themselves, particularly the financial imperatives, market constraints and opportunities which drive decision-making at each stage of a silversmith's career. This is done with a view to forming a better understanding of how and when business skills should be taught.

Many students lack any experience of running a business, and as a result find it difficult to relate to the information and knowledge being given to them in traditional business studies classes, and this is a recurring theme of the interviews, in which many complained of:

- Lack of business training
- Lack of sales and marketing training
- The need to network with industry professionals

- The need to understand and use social media
- A desire to have a business mentor.

(Ints. 33, 37)

The Innovation and Education (I&E) 2016 report emphasizes the problem that:

Many makers entering the craft sector are often not trained in business management and innovation, and so are challenged when developing their own business

(I&E, 2016: 4)

5.13.1. Earning a Living - Enterprise

Interviewee 7 went to art college with no ideas regarding employment, but with the intention of being a designer, by which he meant product designer. He did not consider the problems of earning a living until he wanted to get married:

And my father-in-law started asking me what my prospects were to looking after his daughter. And at that point I started taking things seriously. Oh, money. Yes, we'll have to do something about that. And, we did.

(Int. 7)

Interviewee 7 does not comply with the classical entrepreneurial mould asserted by Georgievski et al (2011), but the humanist criteria which measures success through stimulation, self-direction and achievement through creativity and innovation as asserted by Schwartz and Bardi (2001). As an artist and engineer he will devote his time to resolving and creating solutions to problems seemingly regardless of a profitable monetary return on his time spent.

Interviewee 42 admits to great insecurity about money, the need to earn a living drives him to work everyday:

There's a lot of insecurity about not knowing where the next bit of money is coming from. I'm quite lucky inasmuch as I do a job, I make things, and as that lady said, you are giving people pleasure where there's this one-to-one relationship with people. So, especially where a commission is concerned there's three people involved. There's me, there's the client and then there's the piece of

work, and there's a triangle of relationships between them, and so it's very contained [...] I just want to be left alone. I'm quite good at motivating myself.

(Int. 42)

Interviewee 20 relies on teaching and jewellery sales to earn a living, despite her significant investment in time and funding on her haptic HAMMER tool (Int. 20). She estimates that her earnings are about half those of her peer group outside of the jewellery and silversmithing industries. "There is always the guilt about what you are making and like I really enjoy what I do but not getting the return on how much work you put into it" (Int. 20). Part of her rewards came from the lifestyle, as she explains:

Well I think its enjoying making and enjoying the lifestyle of being a maker, you know being in the community of making and doing and you work here which, well I am in a shared workshop which is great but you know like if you were working in a workshop in isolation and then go to Goldsmiths' [Fair] or something like that and knowing everybody is in the same boat you know.

(Int. 20)

Interviewee 20 has embarked on a high-risk journey of investing in a mechanistic technique of production, which she hopes will eventually pay off. If she is successful she will gain peer recognition for her achievements, which will bring personal satisfaction and admiration from her contemporaries (Schwartz and Bardi, 2001).

5.13.2. Teaching Enterprise - A Toe in the Water

Interviewee 47, an art school course leader, suggests that "You have got to just get on with [learning about business]" (Int. 47), and explained when business was taught at the School of Art:

Well we do, we do a sort of short business introduction pack in fourth year. We have played around with the time [of delivery] of it and we do it the first week of term three because over the years we have discovered that is probably the only time when the students fully engage with it, and even then do they fully engage? I think that's something that goes really well and could do more of. I don't think when students are students it's necessarily relevant to them.

We do a basic introduction, somebody takes them to their workshop, we talk about setting up an exhibition, speaking to galleries, taking a commission on and how to process that. So we cover the basics but it's not the right time, we just touch on it so that they know that there are things that they probably would acquaint themselves with but I think it needs to be something that then they do when it's appropriate.

(Int. 47)

As with the conversation with the furniture maker interviewee 31 it seems that for many students there is little or no interest in learning about commercial issues. The relevance, applicability and timing of learning the subject is of key importance to the recipient (Int. 31).

Both the time of first approaching the teaching of business and any individual practitioner's interest in learning seems to be context specific. Whilst at college the practitioners concentrate on technical skills accrual to the detriment of learning about enterprise, and many resist any attempt to teach enterprise skills because of this desire for technical skills. Practitioners take note of enterprise learning when they see it as necessary and important, and rely on the role models, people and institutions within their orbit to learn these skills, in the context of their current experiences.

Interviewee 19 asserts that many left university without feeling that they had general business skills:

[I just wanted] to run away, I thought it was just that they set you up as if you're going to be the next big thing, and then you come out and you don't have the skills you need, and they've not prepared you for the big, bad world and it's quite terrifying. I took a summer out and went away to Spain and just worked, ran a bar and things like that, and I think that was quite good to take a step away.

(Int. 19)

With a spotlight on newcomers at exhibitions such as *New Designers* in Islington, which features final year shows from leading universities gaining a great deal of short-lived attention, graduates are easily confused when a year later the next cohort arrives and the spotlight no longer shines on them.

Interviewee 45 responded to the question, “on a scale of one to ten, what was your business knowledge base after you left university?”, with a simple “Oh, zero” (Int. 45). Interviewee 16 responded in a similar fashion:

I didn't really get a lot of business advice. We had to produce a folder by the end of the year, where we'd priced our work and stuff. But I think it's only after Uni. that I've learnt a lot of how it all works.

(Int. 16)

When asked whether he felt confident about earning a living [after leaving university] as a studio jeweller-silversmith, interviewee 7 responded with the words “I've never been confident” (Int. 7).

Interviewee 10 used Bishopsland as a stepping-stone into enterprise to acclimatise after her time at university:

Just a chance to get over it all (after a difficult time at her previous College), I think. I finally found the courage to say “I can just make things that I like, that I want to make and try and sell it and the likelihood is there will be somebody somewhere that wants to buy it, hopefully, maybe somewhere” (Int. 10).

Bishopsland taught her the rudiments of enterprise before she moved first to Sheffield's Yorkshire Artspace in the incubator section and later to her own studio:

It gave me just a space to be and get on with it, really

(Int. 10)

Interviewee 23 commented on Bishopsland:

It was just a really good way of a stepping-stone, because so many people get lost after degree work. I know for a fact that even off my course, I think one person from that course is actually in making, and you've been somewhere that's a bit of a wilderness

(Int. 23)

5.13.3. Novices in Business: Survival Strategies

This section considers the differing strategies employed by new graduates to enable them to survive the 'starter period' and set a path towards becoming a

contemporary artisan-silversmith, how they cope with leaving university, their artist-in-residency term, how they view the commercial world and the exigencies of earning a living.

The research presented shows that the most common post-college strategies are to become an artist-in-residence, to set up at home or to rent a single inexpensive bench in a communal workshop whilst multi-tasking a range of low-level jobs and planning to exhibit at entry-level exhibitions or craft fairs (Ints. 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 26, 33). The most extreme example of multi-tasking was that of interviewee 11, who worked part-time in a restaurant, the Sheffield Assay office, and the local dog-racing track and yet still found time to make her work at Yorkshire Artspace, working by her estimation an average of 88 hours per week (Int. 11). The low level of commitment and the flexible hours that came with each job allowed her to periodically exhibit at craft fairs and exhibitions. One full time job would not have given her the flexibility necessary, as her model provided the option of dropping a part-time job during busy periods and replacing it with another if work became quieter. All the part-time jobs were based on national minimum wage. Interviewee 33 had a similar strategy, as “the more you [make your own] work, you just knock off one job one-by-one. I think the train station (serving coffee) was the first for me to go” (Int. 33).

Interviewee 33 soon progressed to making as a sub-contractor for interviewee C1, learning a great deal from him (Int. 33). Interviewee 26, as with several other of those interviewed, chose to set up a workshop with several extra benches and taught 2-3 days per week to subsidise her income (Int. 26).

All the makers who get through this period of establishing their business demonstrate tenacity and grit that works alongside the ability to take the long-term view of business-building.

5.13.4. Getting Started – Early Breaks

Interviewee 41 was influenced at an early age through the vocation of his father:

My father died when I was 14 but I picked up the idea, I didn't understand it at the time, but I picked up the idea that it was something you did as a job. I do remember, he would go and visit, it was very difficult, after the war but he would go and visit architects' offices every month and say “I'm here, have you got any work?” and he'd also did portraits, did architectural work, sculpture. He was first sculptor employed by Denby as an artist to design pottery. So I

picked up the idea that really art was a job that you do. If somebody asked you to do something, you'd do it.

(Int. 41)

Interviewee 7 recalls gradually building up his and his wife's business from 1980-84 with their first ad-hoc steps into business spreading their bets amongst theatre design, jewellery and silversmithing repairs and commissions. They set up a studio over a jewellery shop, which also helped them to become established by the owner lending them some money to buy materials and also providing work. They stayed at the premises for four years (Int. 7).

He explained that for the two of them:

It was a very easy start for us. And so we didn't have an overdraft. We didn't have anything. And I didn't actually take the money side of it very seriously, but I knew that I was providing my father-in-law's daughter with some sort of a living [a prerequisite of them getting married]. Although she was working just as hard as I was. And so there were a few silversmithing jobs came in. And he [the shop owner] brought work to us. And, very occasionally, he bribed us [to do difficult commissions]. Which was quite good.

(Int. 7)

Interviewee 42 realised that he could earn a living as an enameller soon after qualifying as a mature student from Central St. Martins School of Art. Both interviewees 7 and 42 networked with people who could provide them with work whilst initially hedging their bets as to which skill set would create the best living, demonstrating tenacity and flexibility towards running a business:

Because I made my own pieces, I made and sold stuff. I had a workshop in Portobello Road, we had a little shop there. I did some of the early Goldsmiths' Fairs. There, you have an instant response from people to what you're doing. I did some teaching but people knew that I could enamel and so got me to do their enamelling. I did so much [trade] work for people like [the jewellers] Leo De Vroomen and Stephen Webster early on.

(Int. 42)

Managing their first crisis interviewee 7 talks through the silver price spike which sent the precious metal from £3-an-ounce to £50-an ounce in just a few weeks :

[In 1980] Bunker Hunt was doing this thing with all the silver prices. I went and asked advice left, right and centre. How do I deal with this? No one had anything sensible to say. Least of all, the bank manager. And we watched the price go up and we watched it all collapse. I had no idea what to do.

(Int. 7)

Keeping control of their overheads, the couple weathered the financial storm, teaching them to be frugal for the rest of their business lives (Int. 7).

Interviewee 19 comments on her time immediately after leaving Glasgow School of Art commenting on which skills she felt she was short of:

Business skills. It's going and talking to people before, like they build it up. If you're scared to see someone you admired, someone's work, the last thing you were going to do is phone them up and say, 'Hi'. They make out as if they're shut away in this ivory tower somewhere and, they're untouchable, and I think that that's wrong. Whereas, once you start phoning people or once you start meeting a couple of people, they want to talk to you, they want to share their information. (Int. 19)

Asking about what she now knows about running a business from the influence of interviewee 22, her tutor and mentor:

Never to apologise for how much you charge. You've sacrificed all that and you have this talent, and if they want that talent, they have to pay for that talent. And don't let people make you feel lesser and, do you know like, haggle you down. If that's the price, you have to, yeah, you know, you make beautiful things, and yeah that's great and it's wonderful you can do that, but at the same time, you're as entitled to have a nice house and a car and be able to afford to live. You shouldn't have to be scraping by just because you're a silversmith. You don't expect a lawyer or a doctor or someone else to do that, so why should we?

(Int. 19)

Role models such as interviewee 22 are often the most powerful influences on young silversmiths who note his lifestyle, work practices and attitudes to enterprise and entrepreneurship, thus setting the cultural practices of the next generation in Bourdieusian terms of habitus.

5.13.5. Start-Up Sustainability

For interviewee 17 a significant concern was post-graduation support for her practice, which would still be developing. She acknowledges all the advice, which is available on practical matters but considers that sustainability of practice is not spoken about:

Nobody is talking about how you manage yourself when you have that show and you don't sell a single piece. Nobody is talking about, there's a financial implication to that, there's also an emotional implication to that. But it's also the ten grand that you've spent on silver before the show [...] Nobody talks about these things.

(Int. 17)

Interviewee 17 asserts:

Find me a maker, all right, Dave Clarke maybe not, but find me a maker that doesn't feel anxious about their work, find me a maker that doesn't feel scared before a show. It's exactly the same in music; most performers are on beta blockers, but nobody talks about how you manage your anxiety, and sustainability of your own practice is the same thing nobody can work over a long period of time working twelve hours a day, you can't do it, and it's also bad for your work. If you're not putting anything in creatively, you're going to dry up and nobody talks about these things.

(Int. 17)

5.14. Mid-Career Business Issues

5.14.1. Breaking into the Mid-Career Market

The problem for each new entrant into the industry, is how to build their own reputation and achieve status within it. There are few innovative routes to achieving

this other than the hard road of gaining press awareness, building a network of selling outlets such as galleries and craft fairs and building a personal network of willing buyers and collectors as previously analysed.

Interviewee 17 was challenged by a tutor towards the end of her Master's degree about where she wanted to position herself in the marketplace once she had finished the course:

I wanted a foot in the 'smithing market and I wanted a foot in the fine art market. What I think has been particularly interesting and fortuitous for me is that I had a lot of stuff come off the back of New Designers [exhibition] and I knew I was going into the Masters but I didn't want to disappear off the radar for two years because I wanted to capitalise on what came out of that.

(Int. 17)

Interviewee 17 gained a significant press profile especially through the Craft magazine editor Grant Gibson and latterly the Evening Standard journalist Corinne Julius. As with interviewee 31 they both see the media as the route to commercial success using the fine art business market as the role model.

After the success of her degree show interviewee 36 worked part-time in Scotland's largest silversmithing workshop gaining further experience and taking part in a very large promotional project run by the Incorporation of Edinburgh making a diamond-set silver tea set exhibition piece:

So it was made, because my piece was one of the wackiest because I had diamonds on it, I got a lot of really good press and publicity from it. I wanted something that people would remember that. Because a lot of people will see it, they'll go oh, I saw that somewhere. And whether they saw it in the V&A, whether they saw it in a newspaper, people will remember it.

(Int. 36)

Following this came her first of three selling exhibitions at Goldsmiths' Fair, which she said spoiled her:

The first exhibition show I ever did was Goldsmiths'. I think I was spoiled. I did Goldsmiths two thousand and five, six, and seven, and Goldsmiths', you know, is the show where people have money. They come, they say I'll have it, and then ask how much it is. You're

selling to Lord and Lady so-and-so, and people just have more money than sense. Yeah, my first Goldsmiths' Fair I made eleven thousand pounds in a week. More than most students dream of.

(Int. 36)

This introduction was followed by five shows in succession, which made financial losses for her in 2008. With the success of Goldsmiths' Fair she became convinced that it was not the product that was the problem but the audiences at the five shows. Despite mixed results selling both jewellery and silversmithing, interviewee 36 commented:

It was weirdly aspirational, like a woman who, she loved every show she came to and then I think a relative died and she got lots of money. She chose to buy something of mine because she'd been wanting it for that long and it was something that she was building up to. That was really nice, and in some ways I felt happier for her buying it, having seen it for years and wanting it and it making her so happy than the ones who just couldn't afford to buy it anyway? Because I understood that mentality of when you finally can afford something you've always wanted.

(Int. 36)

A crisis of confidence in 2008 was followed by a job offer in London to run a gallery, four days per week. As an inspirational role model running a high-profile London gallery interviewee 36 gave talks to students:

Up to that point, because I had done Goldsmiths' [Fair] all those years, I'd won a lot of different awards, that people did listen to my opinion and thought I knew what I was talking about.

(Int. 36)

With a great deal of business experience behind her seeing how other businesses were run she took the decision to move back to Edinburgh and open her own shop without writing a business plan:

I mean the real concern was because I'd always sold well in Edinburgh and I already have a small core of basic clients in Edinburgh, but it was still a big risk because when I went, I didn't believe, like, when you get a commercial let, a ten-year lease is a long time. You pay for everything. So much so if the roof fell in and

if I had to pay for that I'd be bankrupt and that would be the business gone.

(Int. 36)

Asked whether she had any sort of plan:

This is the thing. I don't think I ever planned anything. So far up until now I never planned anything. There's never been a plan. I didn't write a business plan to open this place. I have never written a business plan in my life. I think the thing is that if you have a plan, that what's going to happen is that it'll never go according to plan anyway. So I think it's better to just not plan and I have currently no plan. The plan is to just let nature take its course.

(Int. 36)

Interviewee 36 articulates the view of many artisan-silversmiths that written planning is not a good use of valuable time in a market of uncertain and extremely variable demand. She is an intuitive business-person who weighs the risks of business through extensive conversations, local knowledge and building a picture of the future venture in her mind but not on paper. She already had a local network of buyers in her home town of Edinburgh knowing that the new venture would grow through word-of-mouth recommendation and good customer service, which has proven to be the case.

5.14.2. Experiential Learning in the Context of Enterprise

Interviewee 7 demonstrates the difficulty of running a bespoke silversmithing business in which the majority of commissions are one-off pieces of manufacturing presenting the maker with technical difficulties to resolve and the problem of costing a job which has never been done before:

A colleague of my father's, came to us for a twenty-fifth wedding anniversary present. And he asked for a coffee pot. And I made one of the most difficult pieces of silversmithing I have ever made and it all worked. It's a cliché, but I was too stupid to know how difficult it was when I put it together. And it went together perfectly[...] after I'd finished this beautiful, sleek, polished product, for quite a lot of money in my terms, I don't know, fifteen-hundred quid, that was a lot then.

(Int. 7)

Interviewee 35 sold 6 goblets at Goldsmiths' Fair to commission which he had costed and made before selling for £18,000. Each goblet needed £3.5k of gold, which is normally supplied by the client from a bullion dealer:

Because we did it in a hurry [the caster supplied the gold], he put thirty percent mark-up on the gold. So that took my profit right down.

(Int. 35)

The costing of commissions is one aspect of the artisan-silversmithing industry which some practitioners rarely seem to get right, often underestimating the time taken to design and make a piece whilst also mis-pricing materials and out-sourced labour, invariably not in their favour. Similarly, commissioning individuals and organisations tend to underestimate labour and materials costs. This is one of the most cited reasons for a lack of profitability amongst makers.

Artisan-silversmiths use a range of selling channels and strategies to earn a living. A portfolio lifestyle allows stability of basic income to be maintained, often by combining teaching, making and exhibiting. The strategy of enterprise creates a mix of studio-time for making and exhibiting-time for selling whilst selling through a dealer or gallery creates the maximum amount of time for being creative and making, though with a lower net return. Despite the lower margin many makers prefer selling through a dealer as they do not see selling skills as a core competence, though many also balk at the idea of selling through a dealer or gallery as normally 50% of the sale price goes to the dealer whilst simultaneously creating a price cap on their work. Conversely, when makers sell work at below the agreed price with a dealer/gallery, normally because the piece had been available for a long time, the ensuing argument breaks the relationship.

5.14.3. The Role of Incubators

Leading on from the previous section an important set of players in the field of establishing makers as business people are the incubator organisations such as Cockpit Arts and Yorkshire Artspace. These are craft industry incubators that provide secure, managed workshop space, often in converted warehouses or office buildings and they play an important role in the development and education of makers. These organisations are often charity based and as part of their funding regime offer business training and mentoring. These services are an optional extra for the tenants, who do not always take up the training and mentoring available

mainly due to time constraints. The shared workshops and communal areas are often more important for makers than the formal meetings for the exchange of opinions and information.

As an example Yorkshire Artspace *Persistence Works* in Sheffield was set up in 1999 with the concept that key tenants act as role models and mentors for new makers who get two years of subsidised workshop space. Several of the interviewees (Ints. 16, 33, 10, 11) spoke of the advantages of the subsidised rent, shared workshop and equipment and most importantly, the community atmosphere and mentoring system. The new starters often upgrade after a couple of years from the shared studio to a studio of their own. *Persistence Works* also benefits from being within a wider cluster of industry workshops and expertise in Sheffield, famous for its silversmithing.

Interviewee 38 explains the reality of the first year or two of setting up a crafts business:

I think Cockpit Arts [an incubator] do have a kind of business support, at that stage when I got there, I didn't take full advantage of it. I think you get to the stage where working as much as you can and you just can't take anything else on. I was working 2/3 days at Electrum Gallery so my time in the workshop was very precious. Committing to anything else, looking at business plans and things was something I couldn't do, I just had to get jobs done.

(Int. 38)

Peter Taylor, director of the Goldsmiths' Centre starter studios, a form of incubator, commented on the high percentage of the time the studios are unoccupied. Brett Payne, at *Persistence Works*, also pointed out the 2016 intake of starters were rarely in the studio because the imperative of earning a living precluded, as the maker sees it, speculative studio-making time (C1 ; C4).

The novice makers are being pulled in several directions at once in reconciling earning a living, learning, experimenting and making. A 'learning by doing' training model involving a coach could mitigate and consolidate many of these problems, but it would mean incubators taking a more active role, not just mentoring and rent subsidy.

5.15. Senior-Maker Selling

Looking at senior maker's marketing and selling techniques there is no set formula, although it is possible to discern best practice. Whenever possible interviewee 42 sells direct to the client. This does have several benefits for him being, he asserts:

- A higher retail price
- A direct relationship with the client
- Better communication for complex commission pieces.

And the attitude of the client to me, as opposed to a salesman, is completely different, and I've noticed that over and over again, and I can get things across to that person which a salesman can't. That relationship that you have with someone, and going back to this little triangle, it's three of you. Once I've let go of my bit the relationship is then between the client and the piece, and that's a different thing. You've kind of given birth in a way, and then they're taking over its custody [...] they're the custodians of it. But that beginning thing, that commissioning thing where [...] and even when you're selling over the counter it's the same sort of thing, because although you've created it without a commission, there's still a relationship there. And it's very, very rewarding.

(Int. 42)

5.15.1. Speaker C1's Business Overview

At the symposium 'Crafting the UK artisan silversmith' in May 2016, speaker Brett Payne set the economic and commercial scene for contemporary silversmithing:

Artisan silversmithing as far as I'm concerned is alive and kicking in 2016. There are plenty of opportunities out there for artisan silversmiths and although the market is small, as a group of artisan silversmiths we are small too; the market is bigger than we need it to be and I believe it is getting bigger.

(C1)

This view does not chime with the responses of the majority of silversmiths interviewed in the study as when asked they felt that they earned approximately 40-50% of their peer group in other industries.

Payne earns his living purely through the design and manufacture of his own work, selling in the UK, Europe and around the world (C1). It is a similar situation for many senior silversmiths including interviewees 6, 22, 24, 43, David Clarke, Simone ten Hompel, Michael Rowe, all three of whom work in education full or part-time, and Kevin Coates. Although several of the most senior silversmiths also teach as well, it is more by personal choice than economic imperative. These are the role models to which young silversmiths aspire, but for them it is a long haul from graduating to international sales and recognition.

This analysis demonstrates that the current small number of buyers are very discerning, with a buying pattern of encouraging novice silversmiths through purchasing a low-cost demonstration piece of their work post-graduation, but often restricting their purchasing of higher priced works from established senior silversmiths to only one piece per year.

5.15.2. Senior Strategies: Comparing Two Senior Successful Makers: Interviewee 22 and Speaker C1

Comparing and contrasting two successful silversmiths will enable analysis of their personal and business attributes which mark them out from less successful makers.

Both senior makers have achieved, in their own terms, financial and artistic success, both being recognised by their peer group (Maslow, 1962; Booree, 2006) and by the artisan-silversmith industry and its wider community. Their work is in public collections and held by esteemed private collectors. They are both cited as role models by the younger industry entrants, such as interviewees, 16, 19, and 33.

The two men share a strong belief in community (Schwartz and Bardi, 2001), and helping fellow silversmiths, especially the teaching of technique, each giving significant amounts of time to passing on their skills, thoughts on business and philosophy of being a modern maker, both in skills courses in their own studios and in informal gatherings after exhibitions.

Both men have extremely high levels of skill. Interviewee 22 was acknowledged at the age of 23 as being a master engraver, demonstrated through his engraving work for Louis Osman, as one of the craftsmen on the Prince of Wales' investiture crown. His grounding was as an apprentice engraver to leading London gun makers, his fellow makers being financially hard-nosed craftsmen, making him commercially aware, while his 'finishing school' was the Royal College of Art where he experimented with fusing iron and gold amongst many other jewellery and silversmithing developments.

Payne took the art school route, learning the making techniques of jewellery and silversmithing before first conquering the world of contemporary jewellery, selling to high-end galleries such as Electrum, in London's West End, but later turning his back on the gallery system as too problematical citing the conflict between his own retail price and the much higher retail price of the galleries. Conversely, interviewee 22 has a strong and ongoing relationship with the Scottish Gallery in Edinburgh as well as the curatorial department at Goldsmiths' Hall which gains him high profile commissions in museums, institutions and government. Through assiduous networking he nurtures a very strong customer database, which includes some of the world's wealthiest people.

He recalls that when he was a child his father, an artist-painter, walking between the galleries of London's West End showing his work, suffering many rejections. He vowed that this indignity would not happen to him. His current business model, in conversation with him, has been considered over many years, and generally precludes dealing with galleries or dealers, though he will deal with them if he is convinced that they 'will add value'. One dealer noted him as a prickly negotiator.

The cornerstone of Payne's business is the annual Goldsmiths' Fair. A recent change of Fair management in 2015 has been the cause of much Fair experimentation, and consternation for exhibitors. The kudos and accreditation of exhibiting at Goldsmiths' Fair cannot be underestimated. A large group of clients visit a number of exhibitions, galleries and craft fairs of which Goldsmiths' Fair is the most prestigious. As a piece of silverware is a highly considered and researched purchase, a client may see a maker at one show but purchase at another. This can explain significant sales at lesser shows. Many makers at lesser exhibitions comment on being asked whether they exhibit at Goldsmiths' Fair, the customer seeking third party accreditation.

5.15.3. The Payne Sales System

As part of many informal discussions with Payne over the last several years, whilst attending craft fairs and during visits to his workshop when commissioning work, he has explained that he looks ahead 12 months, booking the exhibitions and craft fairs he would like to attend. None of the applications guarantee him being accepted and several take months to respond with a rejection or acceptance note. Goldsmiths' Fair is a particular recent concern with several of the older, more established

makers having been denied entry into the exhibition in recent years in the name of modernisation.

For those prospective clients who do not know Payne, the first step on the journey to making an, often significant, purchase is seeing him at his stand at Goldsmiths' Fair. For any given item of silverware he prepares two speeches, one of 30 seconds and the other 90 seconds, choosing which one to deliver by his perception of the interest shown by the person/people in front of him. Both speeches explain the purpose, benefits and techniques of the piece. He can also explain a little about himself and his Sheffield workshop. One part of his sales pitch is to establish whether the customer is celebrating a significant anniversary or event.

At the end of this first encounter, he will give the prospective client a 4 page, A5 booklet, which gives a short, 3rd-person-written history of his achievements, exhibitions and awards and noting that he is a Liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company. The booklet is itself a luxury object, beautifully printed with very good photography. All this information helps to create third party or objective accreditation and kudos (Bourdieu, 1984). Observing him at selling exhibitions it is interesting to note the change of attitude and body language displayed by the prospective client when, having read the booklet, they return for a second conversation: they appear considerably more relaxed. It is also interesting to note the complete and undivided attention which he gives his client. His eye contact will never waiver, as if, at that moment in time, they are the most important people in the world to him. He has become their newly discovered 'master silversmith'. Many consider him a master salesman and he is viewed with great awe by younger silversmiths who often just stand and admire his selling technique.

Payne has worked out that his website and blog, run by his media-savvy daughter, is useful at reminding people of his existence, at updating them on new designs and prompting visits to future shows. People rarely email their purchase requests. They use the website to confirm details of the prospective purchase but will either telephone an order, visit the workshop or visit a show to make the actual purchase.

Interviewee 22 has a completely different selling regime. He rarely exhibits at shows, such as Goldsmiths' Fair: his time is too valuable and he doesn't enjoy being away from his home. He may send pieces to an exhibition and arrive for the preview, as he did with the 2017 Masterpiece exhibition in Chelsea, London to promote his collaboration, in the engraving of a table, with Lord Snowden (The Linley company) a former student of his at Parnham College.

Interviewee 22's workshop and recently built selling area, design studio and home are all situated in a bucolic wooded environment with tame and wild animals in situ, and form part of an integrated sales system. "Even the chickens in the garden are our ambassadors", he says. He is selling himself as eccentric master-craftsman, conservationist, naturalist and satirist. He drops current achievements and commissions into the conversation as he makes positive attributions about himself through his customer list and sales, and then backs it up by displaying beautiful jewellery, silversmithing, drawings, engraved guns and prints. Interviewee 22 is at the centre of a matrix of artists and makers who make the pieces produced under his name. He has worked with some of these people for over 40 years: the silversmiths Peter Musgrove and interviewee 35, the enameller Jane Short, and his former apprentice interviewee 19.

Observing interviewee 22 while in discussion with him, Int. 19 and his silversmith Peter Musgrove, he sits at the centre of a business hub employing people who understand his short-hand of explanations: "like we did the XYZ candlesticks" to Musgrove; "engrave in the style of ABC" to interviewee 19. He stuck a post-it note on a recent set of beakers on which he had written an enigmatic instruction to Short concerning the enamel design, reading 'Art it up'!

Payne also sits at the centre of a web of employed people and outworkers. He personally executes the critical work of branding, design and forging. Forging can be outsourced, and has been in the past but it's rarely done as well or as quickly, or as cheaply. His assistant fettles and files in preparation for soldering, re-filing, prepping and pre-polishing. Silver spinnings (the fabricated silver elements turned on a lathe) come from a one-man-band nearby, whilst polishing is dropped off each morning to a local polishing workshop, to be collected later. Many of Sheffield's outworkers are older men near to or ready for retirement, and there is cause for concern regarding their replacement in these dirty, often badly paid jobs. Through the local silversmithing cluster almost anything can be made within walking distance of Payne's workshop at Yorkshire Artspace. Subject to previous discussions with his supplier the pre-made silver rods for forging are held at a bullion producer in Birmingham ready to be dispatched. Silver circles for spinning can be sent direct from the bullion producer to the outworker and collected within 24 hours if the necessity arises from the Sheffield-based spinner.

Both men have built relationships with dozens of suppliers of metals, tools, machinery and gemstones forging close friendships with outsource workers who can be cajoled into providing a favour when the need arises.

Interviewee 22 carries a substantial stock of jewellery and silversmithing, seeing this as superior to money in the bank or savings, a luxury which many other makers, especially novices, cannot afford. It enables him to sell opportunistically and gives him the freedom to design and make pieces under his own auspices. He does make to customer design but as the customer will know in advance the piece will be highly stylised. Payne carries far less stock than interviewee 22 and is more reluctant to commit funds to stock building. Even his most successful lines are produced in very small batches, which increases cost, despite substantial annual sales. This conservatism is common amongst silversmiths who often prefer to make to commission rather than stockhold. Unlike his fellow silversmiths, Payne prefers not to work to commission often making excuses or raising the price to one beyond which the client would wish to go. If a client accepts the high price he feels it then worth the 'hassle'.

The administration of the business in the case of interviewee 22 falls to his wife who keeps the books, orders supplies, pays the outworkers and has the task of costing work. Master patterns with mould copies at casting houses have to be logged and ordered with requisite amounts of precious metals being sent in advance of a casting order or purchased from the caster. She is also in charge of the archive of images and press cuttings stretching back 50 years. In recent times interviewee 22 has recognized the value of a well-organized and documented legacy, employing an archivist for a period of time. Similarly, Payne prefers that other people organise his company administration, show bookings and personal timetabling, hotels etc.

A lifetime of accumulated skills and experimentation underlies both these men's true gifts of original design in their own voice. A good interviewee 22 or Payne piece is instantly recognisable. Their work has an originality and authenticity, which is rarely matched by other makers.

Payne and interviewee 22 use superior technique as the tool for expressing their ideas. Their designs are highly considered as part of the sales process by considering the question 'what does the customer want, even though they don't know it yet?' Payne considers his work as being designed to fit into stylish homes where it can convey the aura of good taste and the status that brings. His larger pieces communicate, in his opinion, understated wealth, a client demographic he nurtures. From the moment of first meeting him at a Fair his stand is differentiated from its surroundings by its clean look and simple lines. He dresses almost as an Edwardian gentleman but in the modern style. Unlike interviewee 22 his work is highly polished, to mirror finish, allowing no room for faults – there is nowhere for his silversmithing mistakes to hide.

5.15.4. Price and Self-Worth

Even now in his early 60s, interviewee 42 struggles with the prices he charges clients, which often reach six figures. He says that being able to talk prices through with his business partner is key to his business success. Despite his ability to charge significant prices and the consideration that many people view his work as fine art he does not charge for design time. He comments:

I don't know how I can expect people to [allow me to] be just sitting around thinking and pay for it. I can't get my mind around that, I really can't. I'm quite respectful of, when someone buys something for a lot of money, you have to have a certain amount of respect towards them. And then it's the cost of these things, I just find, I shouldn't really but I do, I find them mind-boggling. Well, by the same token people moan about how expensive you are. I say, "Well, actually, my hourly rate is the same as a mechanic".

(Int. 42)

The evidence of a comfortable lifestyle indicates success at business for interviewee 42 and his partner and his ability to charge significant prices for his work even though it is costed on a materials plus labour-charges rate. During his time as a maker he has rarely not had commissions to fulfil, "after the show at Garrard's, about three years' worth of commissions". One of the commissions caused the Garrard team to assess his prices (Int. 42):

I made a pair of candlesticks, musicians' candlesticks. They were quite nice, but quite dumpy. I gave an invoice to them [Garrard], and they phoned me up, credit where credit's due, they phoned me up and said, "You're not charging enough. We're going to give you another three grand".

(Int. 42)

Discussing the ability to charge the difference between 'labour rates' and artist prices he considered the problem:

Well, I suppose... Well, it's your own sense of what you're worth, it's your own sense, not money worth, but your self-worth. The reason why what you're saying is resonating with me [charging artist rates] is because I'm very conscious of the fact that my hands are very

finite, very finite, and I'm having quite a few problems. So you kind of think to yourself, well, one of these pieces is going to be the last piece so, yes, I want to get paid for it if that's going to be the case.

(Int. 42)

Almost all artisan-silversmiths classify themselves as metalworking technicians using traditional techniques of manufacture. As with interviewee 42 few charge for their design time preferring to justify their final pricing based on materials plus time spent on a piece of work, unlike the master designer-craftsman Michael Rowe or silversmith-artist David Clarke. Until this community of artist-craftsmen can be persuaded otherwise this will continue to be the case.

5.16. Conclusions from the Research Findings

This chapter has explored the cultural background of the artisan-silversmith and the key industry factors of craft, success motivations and business. It is now possible to consider plotting a path for the growth of the industry into creating successful master craftsmen and women.

The silverware trade has lasted for millennia with recent 18th and 19th century booms in demand followed by Victorian design confusion, manufacturing substitution and decline. Silver is culturally set within the psyche of the public as a precious metal and investment with uses as adornment, domestic ware, art and sculptural artefacts. The most recent history of the UK artisan-silversmithing industry is also one of a little-known export trade to ultra-wealthy patrons for trophies and extravagant gifts facilitated by just a handful of companies, which often outsource their production to highly skilled technicians and companies in the South-East of England or Italy.

From the research findings it is now possible to assert that the key domains relevant to the artisan-silversmith industry are craft skills, success (motivations) and business. Summarising these three domains:

5.16.1. The Relationship of Artisan-Silversmiths to Craft Skills: The Centrality of Craft

In Bourdieusian terms craft practice is categorised as habitus + field (the environment) which in artisan-silversmith terms is the way they conduct their lives and business - this is theorised in terms of motivations such as creativity and achievement and the exigencies of being in business.

The practice of being an artisan-silversmith rests on making technique, and this is also used as the measure of a maker's status. From the moment a practitioner decides to embark on a making career skills accrual is the centre of their lives and thus to summarise again:

- Their training accentuates skills capital
- It's how they choose to measure themselves
- They see master craftsmen and women in possession of sublime skills as industry icons
- They choose silversmithing because it is a challenging medium
- It's how they express themselves
- Respect of skills capital from their peer group is of importance.

Novices are first influenced by the creative universities Craft and Design department's culture, if they are students, and the culture of the master craftsmen, if they are apprentices. The creative universities dominate the path of entry to the industry and continue to influence makers strongly by being the centres of innovation.

From the first moment of becoming a silversmith there is a great sense of achievement and creativity, which never leaves the individual, and is highly motivational (Ericsson, 2006; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996).

Csikszentmihalyi has described the optimal feeling and experience which makers have when things are going well as an almost automatic, effortless, yet highly focused state of consciousness. He likens it the feelings achieved in sport, religion or science when people describe their most rewarding experience. This feeling he calls *flow* does not vary with age gender or cultural background (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996: 110). Creativity and making are at the centre of the lives of all makers – it is their *raison d'être*. Interviewee 17, Needleman (1993), and Nasser & Wilson (2017) use craft to answer questions of meaning and the relationship between the maker and the object and the object and the user or owner.

The domains of craft, success and business cannot be taken in isolation but must be considered within the Bourdieusian field of techniques/habitus and commerce/field resulting in industry practices. For artisan-silversmiths, Bourdieu's practice is based on the centrality of technique which interestingly is *not* the most highly prized of the attributes sought by clients: they value unique design and art most highly.

5.16.2. The Motivations of Being an Artisan-Silversmith: Defining Success

Through the analysis of the research findings a number of fundamental assertions can be applied each as a spectrum of traits, dispositions or motivations. Qualitative analysis of the study asserts that the motivations of being an artisan-silversmith can be demonstrated as:

- Profitability
- Skills acquisition
- Community (friendship)
- Self-direction
- Achievement
- Self-respect
- Public & peer group recognition
- Legacy
- Skills Mastery.

This study has not created a hierarchy of motivations. The motivations identified are interweaving and are context and career-timing sensitive. Of primary importance is the ability to be, or the prospect of, earning a living as an artisan silversmith. This can now be asserted as: “An artisan-silversmith controls the creative *and* business processes of combining concept, design and execution of modern silverware making”. By inference this makes for a need for self-direction and self-respect of personal talents and abilities, with the dichotomy of insecure-confidence articulated by interviewees 7 and 42. With much of their time spent in solitary workshops there is a strong need for a sense of community and peer recognition of their work to engender feelings of self-worth. The modern artisan-silversmith industry has a strong and vibrant community based on the CBS and the Goldsmiths’ Company as an umbrella organisation creating accreditation for technically superior work through personal awards, such as becoming a freeman, and public awards of excellence such as through the Goldsmiths’ Craft & Design Council. Friendship binds together the community who help each other on technical and logistical matters to mutual benefit.

5.16.3. The Relationship of Artisan-Silversmiths to Enterprise and Entrepreneurship

Reviewing the recent history of the silverware buying environment we can understand the deep-set values which society places on craftsmanship and craft goods, ranging from admiration of hard-won skills through to confusion and

indifference as to how silverware is made, contrasting with the fascination of the practitioners themselves about the skills of their craft and their own extremely personal relationship to making.

The post-war period for silverware in the UK finds the industry in decline and lacking a new design style or 'voice', which could be signified as British with the potential for creating a popular market. The rise of the Artisan-Silversmith for bespoke silverware characterises the style of business and the client base which would buy silverware. Modern buyers are now interested in:

1. Unique design
2. Made to high levels of craftsmanship
3. Designed to a very high standard
4. Hand-made using traditional techniques.

(Hamme, 2018)

The main groups or demographics of clients have been categorised as the inexpert enthusiast, the hobbyist maker, the passionate expert, the convert, the accidental enthusiast, and the collector. The majority of buyers are looking for objects for their homes which are practical and are a talking point or reminder of the maker. The most successful makers build relationships with their buyers who purchase portfolios of objects for their homes. This narrow demographic of the British public highlights the problem of modern silversmithing as a very niche market in the world of luxury goods.

The Innovation and Education (I&E) 2016 report asserts: Many makers entering the craft sector are not trained in business management and innovation, and so are challenged when developing their own business (I&E, 2016: 4).

Although this statement is correct, due to the lack of training in business whilst at university it soon becomes a case of sink or swim with ingénue makers creating a portfolio of jobs to help them survive whilst they establish themselves.

The recurring themes of the novice and mid-career interviewees are:

- Lack of business training
- Lack of sales and marketing training
- The need to network with industry professionals
- The need to understand and use social media
- A desire to have a business mentor.

All silversmiths need to build a large, interested network of clients, which has been demonstrated as a key success factor with regards the building of a steady flow of sales and commissions by senior makers.

The majority of artisan-silversmiths are single person sole traders with over 90% trading below the VAT threshold. A notable trait of artisan-silversmiths is their conservatism in business matters which manifests itself as spending time and money on work which demonstrates skills, but not resources on marketing or advertising their businesses and a propensity not to plan for the future, which translates as an unwillingness to attempt to write business plans. This can be explained by the inability to forecast demand, which also feeds through to the trait of conservatism. Through analysing the key success factors, next, of the two senior makers C1 and interviewee 22 we can see the differences between practitioners who do not run commercially successful practices and those who do.

5.16.4. Key success attributes of C1 and Interviewee 22

C1 and interviewee 22 demonstrate a number of key success factors:

- High levels of technical skills
- Superior design
- A very strong network
- Superior salesmanship
- A good grasp of what customers want
- The ability to delegate and outsource non-critical work.

For both these men lifestyle plays a greater part in decision-making than ambition. Neither have the need or want to be the next big name, which works in tandem with their natural conservatism, and weighing the risk of becoming a 'brand' against the perceived personal and financial cost. They have both achieved peer group recognition and financial stability through the ability to make artworks which express their creativity, with C1 disputing the term artwork claiming merely to be a silversmith.

They have both achieved unique and superior design in their work, as well as a design 'voice' making their work being distinctive and recognisable. Even the pieces of work in which interviewee 22 takes no part have an anarchic feel to them which he communicates to his subordinate makers to emphasise. What sets these men apart is their networking and professional salesmanship. This differentiator with the majority of the artisan-silversmithing community is the key factor.

5.17. The Rationale for a Development Framework

Can a system of industry cooperation be the foundation for development through a markets-based solution?

The analysis of the chapter indicates that a development framework needs to be considered for the development of the industry and that a holistic view of the elements of that framework need to be clearly defined to not only account for the technical skills accrual required to become a master craftsmen and artists but also the business skills needed to compete at the highest level. Intertwined with these skills is the recognition that the practitioners themselves are not always motivated by the profit-motive but also by considerations of being recognised as a master-craftsman and artist by their peer group, and the wider public. The benefits of a development framework will be the mapping of the journey practitioners might choose to make, the milestones of technical, design and business skills and the management of expectations on this very long journey. The professionalisation framework needs to be:

- Taking a holistic overview of craft, motivations and business
- Based on high quality market research
- Autonomous of any one dominant organisation
- Expert driven – to codify the elements of an SDF.
- Adaptable to new research and information
- Flexible
- Aligned to the needs of the industry
- Managing expectations of career path
- Codifying craft and business skills
- Aware of threats and opportunities.

The creation of a Silversmith Development Framework based on these principles addresses the problems of the industry to create the data needed so that practitioners can make decisions based on high quality market research, currently lacking.

Autonomy of the new organisation will give the SDF credibility and independence from influence from any one stakeholder group. Experts from a range of stakeholders will create a balanced SDF free from any one dominant viewpoint which, as seen in the research, is the tendency of the industry. With this mindset, the SDF will have the capacity to be flexible and adaptable to new research and information meaning that the industry's needs will be aligned to the marketplace. The next chapter now analyses the frameworks, which allow for the delivery of these criteria.

6. A Review of Development Frameworks in Academic Research, Entrepreneurial Skills, Environmental Sustainability, Technical Skills Learning and Skills Assessment

Previous chapters have analysed the history and structure of the silversmithing industry, and have explored in detail, both theoretically and through original research, the motivations of silversmiths, the processes by which they acquire their skills, their attitudes towards business and their level of business skills.

In Chapter Seven, these threads will be drawn together to propose the creation of a Silversmith Development Framework (SDF), which will take a holistic view of the skills and training that silversmiths need at different stages of their careers. The present Chapter undertakes the final preparatory work, first by outlining some of the *desiderata* for an SDF and second by considering the parameters and processes, which might be applied to its design and delivery. This is done by considering comparable frameworks, which have been developed in other spheres, and by examining examples of the practical delivery of craft and business skills in combination in other craft industries.

6.1. Introduction

From the findings in Chapter 5, an answer to the problems of the industry is proposed in the form of a development framework for the professionalisation of the industry. A holistic view of the elements of that framework needs to be taken, to comprise not only the technical skills accrual required to become a master artisan-silversmith, but also the business skills needed to compete at the highest level. Such a framework will succeed only insofar as it embraces a key finding of the present study: the recognition that the practitioners themselves are not always motivated by profit but also by considerations of being recognised as a master-craftsman and artist by their peer group and the wider public. The benefits of a development framework will be the mapping of the various paths practitioners might choose to take, and the milestones of technical, design and business skills that they will need to pay attention to along the way.

The professionalisation organisation needs to be:

- Taking a holistic overview of craft, motivations and business
- Autonomous of any one dominant organisation
- Expert driven – to codify the elements of an SDF.

- The outcomes of the organisation need to be:
- Based on high quality market research
- Adaptable to new research and information
- Flexible - aligned to the needs of the industry
- Designed to manage expectations of career path
- Codifying craft and business skills
- Aware of threats and opportunities.

The creation of a Silversmith Development Framework based on these principles seeking to address the problems of the industry will create the data needed so that practitioners can make decisions based on high quality market research, which is currently lacking.

The parallel creation of an autonomous, independent organisation to oversee the industry will give the SDF credibility and avoid its domination by any one stakeholder group. This recommendation is considered in more detail in Chapter Seven. The research shows that the industry tends to be dominated in certain areas by the viewpoints of particular stakeholders, which is rarely to the benefit of individual artisan-silversmiths. With this in mind, the SDF will be formulated to have the capacity to be flexible and adaptable to new research and information in order that the industry's needs be more closely aligned to the marketplace.

This chapter investigates the practicalities of designing a *Silversmith Development Framework* (SDF) that will codify the primary elements necessary for the production of a professional career path for artisan-silversmiths

Section 6.2 will analyse two development frameworks already established in other, related industries, identifying their structures, methodologies, elements and underlying philosophies, and will consider how far they might be relevant to the design of an SDF. The two frameworks are the *Vitae, Researcher Development Framework* (Bray & Boon, 2011), and the Ellen MacArthur Foundation's *Delivering the Circular Economy* model (EMF, 2015).

Section 6.3 will consider three models for the delivery of craft and business skills to early career craftspeople in comparable industries. These are *The Finnish Team Academy Model* (Tosey et al, 2013) and the courses for developing bespoke furniture makers at *The Rowden Atelier Woodworking School* and *Parnham College*.

Section 6.4 will assess two more theoretical contributions to the study of the delivery of business skills: firstly, work on coaching by Audet & Couteret (2012); secondly, *Assessing students' entrepreneurial skills development in live projects* (Chang and Rieple, 2013), which creates a model for self-assessing entrepreneurial skills.

Together, these development frameworks and delivery systems give very different viewpoints, helping to create a comprehensive overview of the elements that need consideration in the creation of an SDF. While the industries, which use these development frameworks, cannot always be considered equivalent to the artisan-silversmithing industry, each study will highlight best practice and provide experience which is transferable to an SDF.

The Vitae, Researcher Development Framework (Bray & Boon, 2011) produced by the Careers Research and Advisory Centre (CRAC), publishes a framework structure demonstrating the input of expert knowledge and the phasing of the recipient's development and training. It seeks to provide:

a professional development framework for planning, promoting and supporting the personal, professional and career development of researchers in higher education.

(Bray & Boon, 2011: 1)

This framework demonstrates a phased approach outlined by experts in their particular research field.

The Ellen MacArthur Foundation, a charitable foundation, has developed the Delivering the Circular Economy (DCE) framework, which it describes as:

a progressive methodology for activism and sustainability, delivered through analysis, education and collaboration.

(EMF, 2015: 1)

The *DCE* framework aims to create a toolkit and accreditation system for policymakers delivering what it calls 'the Circular Economy' (EMF, 2015: 1).

The Finnish Team Academy Model (Tosey et al, 2013) creates real-time, real-world projects for entrepreneurial skills teaching. The Rowden Atelier Woodworking School and Parnham College development courses for furniture makers demonstrate the practical realities of bringing together three disparate disciplines - technique, design and business management - under the aegis of one teaching programme.

The Chang & Rieple (2013) study creates a self-assessment methodology for students and tutors to measure the progress of entrepreneurial skills-based projects. This system is used by the Finnish Team Academy Model in a real-time, real-world, environment for entrepreneurial skills teaching.

These methodologies demonstrate the complex and diverse needs of framework designers. An examination of the tools which these frameworks use, identifying best practice and methodologies, will help enable a proposed methodology, structure, phasing, elements, philosophy and framework for an SDF. Each has a unique contribution to make.

The strengths of both the VRDF and DCE framework and toolkit are their highly structured, prescribed systems of alignment and the documentation of barriers and phasing of learning for the benefit of the multitude of people needing to deal with projects and documents which record project progression.

The structured framework developed in the VRDF provides phased analysis and tested rigour, while the DCE framework offers a toolkit to aid alignment with the realities of the economy and the environment [markets]. The Rowden and Parnham courses are designed to create a step-by-step, project-based, practical and business teaching framework for developing artist-craftsmen as skilled makers, designers and business people, whilst the FTAM creates a learning by doing environment supported by entrepreneur-coaches and educationalists (Tosey et al, 2013).

Each framework requires the user to set their individual requirements, or projects, within an historic or personal context, acknowledging the constraints and barriers within which they work. This also sets the starting point and identifies the phase, skills level or environment from which the user commences.

The Rowden and Parnham courses highlight the difficulties for individual training of artist-craftsmen, which is the willingness, need for assessment and desire to document the progress of individual students by the training organisation looking to reduce bureaucracy. John Makepeace, the founder of Parnham College, points out that this was exactly what he was trying to avoid there. He comments that while one-to-one training in an intense environment, such as a technical teaching school, is unlikely to benefit from a high level of documentation, a structured framework set out at the beginning of the course is necessary and demonstrates the expected phases of skills development, and therefore influences the style and mode of training.

6.2. Clarifying Purpose - Creating a Mission Statement

The purpose and scope of each course or project should be articulated early, clearly and concisely. The SDF will benefit from such a 'Mission Statement' and it is pertinent to consider how each of the frameworks or organisations under

consideration addressed this. Through a Foreword or Mission Statement an articulation of the aims of each project was communicated by each of the organisations with greater or lesser efficiency.

The VRDF and DCE frameworks recognise the importance of articulating an overarching mission statement. Neither of the furniture makers, however, saw the need for a memorable mission statement, or a 'statement of intent'. In the opening paragraph of the Circular Economy Toolkit, the Chairman of the supervisory board, Flemming Besenbacher, envisions:

The opportunity for dialogue and collaboration between private and public entities to achieve the common goal of long-term value creation.

(EMF, 2015: 3)

The VRDF opening mission statement takes the form of a more pragmatic declaration of intent:

The Vitae Researcher Development Framework is a major new approach to researcher development, to enhance our capacity to build the UK workforce, develop world-class researchers and build our research base. It is a professional development framework for planning, promoting and supporting the personal, professional and career development of researchers in higher education, which articulates the knowledge, behaviours and attributes of successful researchers and encourages them to realise their potential.

(Bray & Boon, 2011: 1)

Rowden (2017) makes do with a short description of their services on their website, a description that does little to articulate any ethos or philosophy underpinning their work:

At Rowden Atelier we offer professional standard woodworking courses and furniture design courses at our internationally renowned woodworking school, as well as designing and making bespoke luxury furniture for our clients.

(Rowden, 2017)

While lacking a concise mission statement, Makepeace goes some way to explaining the Parnham College philosophy as he recalls the reasoning behind his creating the college:

What became apparent to me was that in the education system, the disciplines of making, design and management were poles apart – each considering their own sphere to be independent, almost superior. This was deeply ingrained in the teaching, perpetuating attitudes that were anti-entrepreneurial. Instead of being seen as separate entities, design, making and business management needed to be as related and mutually complementary.

(Makepeace, 2017: 13)

The SDF will need to articulate a clear, concise mission statement to align and specify the exact purpose of the framework to its stakeholders.

6.3. Methodologies of Framework Makers

In this section the purposes and methodologies of the VRDF and DCE frameworks are explored so as to identify the key elements, which could be useful in the development of an SDF. The two frameworks are structured differently and each has a different methodology.

The VRDF uses expert knowledge and research to identify key domains (subject areas) and receptors (subject detail) to guide the researchers through the stages of professionalization as an expert researcher. Within the VRDF system, the major domains are broken down into sub-domains and descriptors, which can then be analysed as notes and audited or accredited to the researcher in a phased programme. For example, the acquisition of Subject Knowledge is broken down into 5 phases (Table 6), which can be summarised as follows:

- Phase 1: researcher develops a basic understanding
- Phase 2: researcher develops detailed and thorough knowledge
- Phase 3: researcher develops links between their own research or knowledge and the outside world
- Phase 4: researcher stimulates new knowledge through an overall understanding of the subject
- Phase 5: researcher contributes to the further vibrancy of the discipline, influencing others.

The phased approach breaks down each domain into constituent parts, allowing for a documented assessment of the progress made by students.

In contrast to the VRDF framework, the DCE document guides the policy-maker or activist through the stages of aligning its information with the environment, assessing the research and analysing the activities which aim to create desired environmental or policy outcomes.

The DCE framework provides a methodology designed to be enacted, rather than one that provides general answers. The toolkit it provides offers a research methodology through which policymakers may identify country and sector-specific options. It covers the selection of focus sectors, the identification of sector-specific circular economy opportunities, the estimated outcomes of opportunities, the assessment of the barriers preventing opportunities, and ultimately the analysis of the policy options with which barriers might be overcome (EMF, 2015: 34).

6.3.1. Vitae Research Development Framework Methodology

The overarching methodology that underpins the VRDF framework is called 'Structure'. Through this structure the VRDF is created by the collection of empirical data from experts to identify the characteristics of excellent researchers. This data is expressed in the VRDF as 'descriptors'. The descriptors are classified into four domains:

- Knowledge and intellectual abilities
- Personal effectiveness
- Research governance and organisation
- Engagement, influence and impact.

In addition to the four primary domains there are twelve sub-domains. The VRDF identifies sixty-three descriptors, each of which contains between three and five phases, with each phase representing a distinct stage of development or level of performance within that descriptor (Bray & Boon, 2011: 2). Table 5 demonstrates how each domain is broken down into distinct phases.

Domain A: Knowledge and Intellectual abilities

This domain contains the knowledge and intellectual abilities needed to be able to carry out excellent research.

Sub-domains and descriptors	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5
A1 Knowledge base					
1. Subject knowledge	Has, at least, core knowledge and basic understanding of key concepts, issues and history of thought. Knows of recent advances within own research area and in related areas. (A3)*	Develops detailed and thorough knowledge/understanding of own and related subject areas – and becomes familiar with associated areas in other disciplines/research areas. Demonstrates link between own research and real world affairs States knowledge in international context.	Combines and justifies methods/techniques designed specifically for an investigation in a flexible and vigorous manner.	Simulates new knowledge; may make outstanding breakthroughs. Considers multiple perspectives. Has deep and holistic understanding of strategic direction and intellectual developments of discipline/research area and its inter-relatedness with other disciplines/research areas. Uses this knowledge to enrich own discipline/research area. Contributes to the integrity and future vibrancy of the discipline/research area. Exercises international influence.	
2. Research methods – theoretical knowledge	Understands relevant research methodologies and techniques and their appropriate application within own research area. (A4)* Justifies the principles and experimental techniques used in own research. (B6)*	Appreciates the value of a range of standards and methodological techniques for international data collection and analysis; assesses and demonstrates usefulness and validity of information/data in the context of a specific problem/question.	Recognises the value of alternative research paradigms and is able to work in and support others working in an interdisciplinary way.		
3. Research methods – practical application	Uses a range of research methods linked to study area; documents own activity. Shows growing competence in own subject area and is developing awareness of alternative methods and analysis techniques.	Develops research approach and applies a range of appropriate methods and techniques with confidence. Documents and evaluates research processes, using statistics where appropriate.	Educates and guides others in the appropriate selection and use of research design, information/data collection, information/data management, analysis and methods/techniques.	Creates new models and hypotheses; research designs, data collection and analysis techniques. Sets expectations for application of methods (locally, nationally) and internationally.	

Table 5: Vitae Phased Learning (Bray & Boon, 2011).



Researcher Development Framework

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Joint Statement of the UK Research Councils' Strategic Requirements for Research Staff, 2011. UK Research Councils and the Research Councils UK. www.rcuk.ac.uk/js. ISBN: 978 1 900 74 18 9. Version 2 April 2011.

Figure 5: Step-by-step methodology

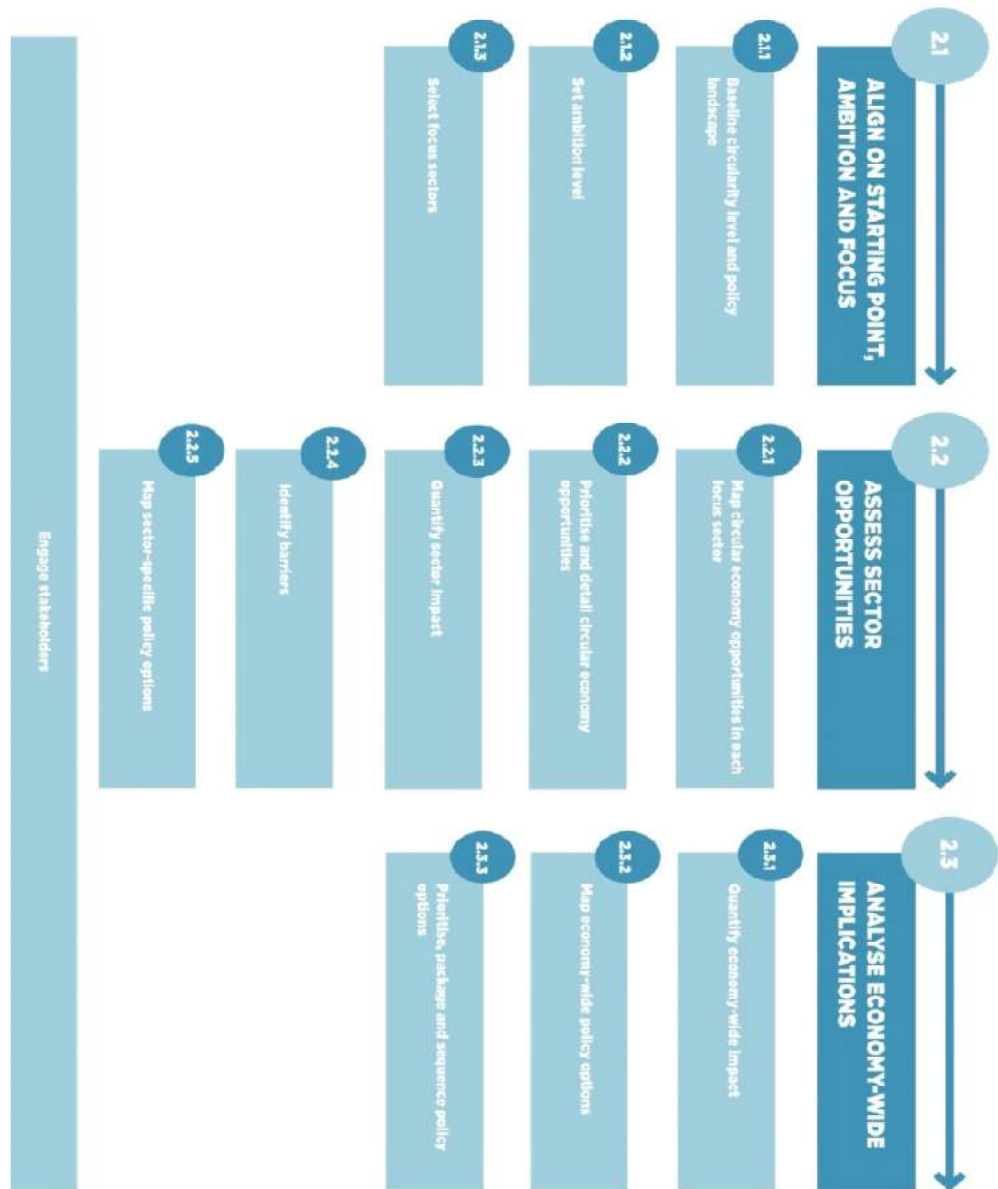


Table 6: The Circular Economy Toolkit (EMF, 2015)

6.3.2. The DCE Toolkit

The DCE toolkit creates a progressive process consisting of alignment, assessment and analysis, which guides the user through their project using 10 major milestones (Table 6). The methodology prescribes a system of building on the analysed data from the first stage to the last to create a strategy, which moves progressively towards a hoped-for project success. This differs from the phased methodology of VRDF, which builds excellence one element upon the next as a progression.

For example, some of the prescribed stages of the DCE toolkit can be summarised as:

- **Align on Starting point** - Setting an ambition level: this ‘can, for example, be a powerful lever to align project stakeholders on the overall direction. An ambition level can for example influence the sector selection, as well as the prioritisation of circular economy opportunities’ (EMF, 2015: 47)
- **Identify barriers:** once circular economy opportunities are prioritised; the toolkit provides a framework to identify and categorise barriers and analyse their severity. Analysis of barriers forms the basis for the next step of arriving at targeted policy options (EMF, 2015: 60)
- **Assess Sector Opportunities** - Map sector specifics: once the barriers have been identified for each circular economy opportunity, toolkit users map their policy options (EMF, 2015: 65)
- **Collaboration platforms:** the DCE (2015) system encourages the pursuit of circular economy opportunities by interacting with suitable collaborative partners along and across value chains (EMF, 2015: 66)
- **Regulatory frameworks:** the toolkit encourages an awareness of regulatory policy interventions and barriers (EMF, 2015: 71)
- **Analysing economy-wide implications:** once the sector-specific circular economy opportunities have been assessed, they are put together and the implications analysed (EMF, 2015: 73)
- **Setting clear directions:** the toolkit encourages the adopting of a national ambition level with appropriate targets using circular economy principles (EMF, 2015: 80)
- **Analyse Economy-wide Implications** - Realigned incentives: the circular economy toolkit argues that opportunities should have a sound underlying profitability, realigning incentives from resources to labour can potentially unlock further opportunities (EMF, 2015: 80)
- **Education and knowledge-building:** the report suggests that ‘while the circular economy can have broad appeal as a value creation opportunity, knowledge of what the circular model would mean for companies, industries, cities, and countries in the short and medium term is still

relatively limited. This knowledge might be helpful to making policy and business decisions' also (EMF, 2015: 81)

- **Institutional set-up:** the toolkit considers that the strength of institutions needs to be taken into account when considering solutions and the possibilities of success or failure (EMF, 2015: 86).

The DCE methodology of project assessment is fundamentally different to the phasing methodology of VRDF each being used to produce different, documented outcomes. The DCE system can be used to measure and assess projects in terms of difficulty and probabilities of success whereas VRDF documents the progress of an individual towards their professionalization.

6.3.3. Rowden Atelier Woodworking School and Parnham College Artisan-Furnituremaker Development Courses

The Rowden course is a documented, phased system of technical skills development within which a student may not progress to the next skill level until an agreed level of competence is achieved. Failure to reach the required level may lead to a student being recommended a course more suited to their ability. At Rowden each skill builds on previously acquired knowledge in order to build a rounded individual possessing all the expertise needed to become a self-employed artist-craftsperson. By way of contrast, the Parnham College course was a holistic, project-based system aiming to bring together the three core disciplines – technical, design and business – while envisaging the same final outcome as at Rowden.

Rowden Atelier Woodworking School and Parnham College prepare students for work in the artisan bespoke furniture-making industry. These two institutions were chosen for their well-documented success and because both the development of artisan-silversmiths, and the market conditions within which they operate, share features in common with bespoke furniture makers:

- A long or intense training period
- A period of training specialisation
- An intense interest in technique by practitioners
- A strong community and lasting personal relationships
- Role models who teach by example and osmosis
- A limited, fragmented marketplace
- Intense competition from low-cost factory or machine-made substitutes

- Limited outlets and geographically fragmented demand
- A high need for design differentiation
- A vocational outlook by the practitioners
- A perceived lack of skills training by large institutions such as colleges and universities.

6.3.4. Rowden Atelier Woodworking School (2017)

Rowden Atelier Woodworking School offers an alternative to HE teaching a 50-week craft course to its paying students, who work in small groups with a new intake every three months. Throughout the course students benefit from the interaction with the workshops, which are on the same site as the school (Rowden, 2017).

The Rowden course is highly structured, with the development of woodworking, design and business skills running in parallel. Course tutor interviewee 4.1 explained:

The course is very intensive. You're trying to do a three-year apprenticeship in a year, plus teach art, design, and business. The first six weeks are laying foundations in craftsmanship and within three months the students are making their own workbench.

(Int. 4.1)

From the first week of the course at Rowden the students are immersed in the concepts and philosophies of the school with regards to making a living within the bespoke furniture industry. The small groups that make up each three-monthly intake work and learn together, giving them an opportunity to learn from both tutors and fellow makers. The business teaching is broken down into distinct categories:

- How to develop a brand
- Ways to approach trade shows
- Basic pricing rules
- Cash flow management
- Trade shows
- Practical business management
- Financing
- Product pricing and discounting
- Product management

- Client management
- Workshops
- Suppliers
- Marketing – how to sell yourself
- Public relations
- Online presence – websites.

(Rowden, 2017)

The business course is taught by two tutors, both Rowden alumni, with one a practicing maker, and the other a qualified accountant. As alumni they are sympathetic to the difficulties inherent in the conception, design and building of a new enterprise (Rowden, 2017). Interviewee 4.1. explained the teaching style:

In terms of the technical teaching of the students, we aim to teach them pretty much one-on-one. What you'll find is students work at different paces. And we want the students to reach the [school] standard, it is an exponential curve of learning that they go through.

(Int. 4.1)

6.3.5. Parnham House the School for Craftsmen in Wood

In 1972, Makepeace was invited to become a founding member of the Crafts Council with the brief 'to promote and improve the work of artist craftsmen' (Makepeace, 2017: 30). Considering that "the disciplines of making, design and management were poles apart" (Makepeace, 2017: 30), he conceived of an institution which would take a holistic view, teaching those disciplines as a single course. He subsequently founded the School for Craftsmen in Wood, the furniture and business school at Parnham House.

Makepeace then considered the need for management skills as part of craft training:

I discovered that at its best management is creative, and creativity is not confined to the arts. I realised that business skills were absent from the education and training of professional designers and makers.

(Savage, 2011: 161)

Makepeace explained:

At Parnham we were working so directly with the students through projects, with substantial input from visiting specialists, we avoided a lot of paperwork beyond a simple framework. We were fortunate not to be responsible to any outside authority, which gave us a valuable degree of freedom to concentrate on teaching rather than administration. Unlike courses today, the tutor/student ratio was never less than 1:11.

(Makepeace, 2017:26)

Makepeace (2017) explains his reasoning, asserting that, “There are no sure paths to success. As a designer-maker you need to know how to sell the things you make” (Makepeace, 2017).

The Parnham College teaching philosophy was to integrate the three essential disciplines of creating a successful business: hand skills, design and business. The design element of the curriculum was not project based but was set ‘within’ the whole framework of becoming a bespoke maker.

6.3.6. The Finnish Team Academy Model (2013)

Reviewing the Finnish Team Academy Model (FTAM) ‘learning-by-doing’ educational model and the role of ‘coaching’ espoused by the FTAM (Tosey et al, 2013) reveals contrasts to the mentoring system documented previously in Chapter 2.

The FTAM has been developed since 1993 by the Team Academy in Finland and has encouraged partner universities in London, Spain, Hungary, France and Holland. The model differs substantially from both UK traditional business school learning methods and those of the incubators, industry courses and art school business courses documented so far in this thesis. The Team Academy project was created to resolve the problem of a marketing lecturer “who had become disillusioned with the traditional lecture-based approach to business education” (Tosey et al, 2013: 180).

The 2013 FTAM research paper summarised the success of the Enterprise Development degree of Bachelor of Business Administration (BBA) in Finland, which since 1993 has produced over 600 graduates, 91% of whom are employed within 6 months of graduation. 37% of students launched their own business within 6 months of graduation, and 47% of students are still entrepreneurs 2 years after graduation, while 150 completed projects for companies (Tosey et al, 2013: 180).

The Finnish Team Academy's teams of learners create and operate real enterprises, supported by coaches. Each team is allocated a dedicated space in a warehouse near to the Academy (Tosey et al, 2013: 175). The FTAM report discusses a different learning mindset from traditional business schools:

We argue that [the FTAM] management education programmes need to be construed as artificially created learning environments, and specifically as 'micro-cultures' – local contexts in which pedagogical and cultural practices coalesce. The concept of a micro-culture can bring together four main attributes of learning environments, namely, social embeddedness, real-worldness, identity formation, and normative (Tosey et al, 2013: 177).¹⁰

While the design of management education receives much attention, the literature is characterised by disparate themes that lack a coherent conceptual approach. For example, the term 'learning environment' appears explicitly and repeatedly in the field of management and entrepreneurship education. In particular, the FTAM report highlights the normative role of the learning environment as a place with "an ideological dimension, with norms and values. Educational methods serve both a pedagogical purpose (meeting explicit learning outcomes) and an ideological purpose (maintaining the 'culture')" (Tosey et al, 2013: 176).

The Finnish team consider that the four main attributes highlighted here are not sufficiently addressed in other learning environments, such as business schools. (Tosey et al, 2013: 177).

It is this culture of learning by doing, followed by the researching of business theory, that sets the FTAM model apart. This is seen as both a strength and weakness; a lack of attention to business theory in the abstract balanced by an emphasis on self-learning (Tosey et al, 2013: 176, 191).

The FTAM eschews formal teaching, classrooms and curricula. Its emphasis is primarily on team-learning in the terms defined by Senge (1990: 236) "the process of aligning and developing the capacity of a team to create the results its members truly desire through developing dialogue skills" (Isaacs, 1999).

The FTAM team's "explicit pedagogy is complemented by an innovative 'outsider-insider' dialogue that highlights the Academy's micro-cultural features" (Tosey et al, 2013: 177), meaning that the outsiders, the entrepreneurs and

¹⁰ A normative system defines a set of constraints on the behaviour of agents, corresponding to obligations which may or may not be observed by agents. A number of formalisms have been proposed for reasoning about normative behaviour in multi-agent systems (Meyer & Wieringa, 1993).

coaches, interact with the live projects which students develop within the FTAM environment, which is explicitly not classroom based.

6.3.7. Social Embeddedness

Regarding the first element of the Finnish model, 'social embeddedness', the FTAM team explain that: "The collective nature of learning is central to many researchers' thinking". Johnson et al. (1998) and Prince (2004) argue that collaborative and cooperative learning is fundamental to higher education (Tosey et al, 2013: 177).

This may well be the case for entrepreneurial pedagogy in traditional business schools, but has not been the case in individualistic, art school-based enterprise teaching. Art students are not culturally attuned to working in teams, as they are used to a model of behaviour in which they solve their own problems and seek to express their own individuality.

Emphasising learning theory, the report highlights the principles of socially situated and constructed practices that are designed to support collective learning. The FTAM team emphasise "a shift away from traditional teacher-led educational processes towards creating zones of proximal development" (Tosey et al, 2013: 177).

6.3.8. Real Worldness

The FTAM advocates collective learning and recommends that the experience of a live project should reflect the real world in "the extent to which business ideas tend to be developed in relationship to other people" (Tosey et al, 2013: 177-78). This insight as to the importance of the ability to work well within a team sits at odds with the learning of art school graduates who are used to working alone. The corporate world of hierarchy and teams is anathema to artist craftspeople who want to work and trade as individuals, as asserted by Bolton (1971). The Tosey et al 2013 report comments further:

the important feature is that risk is acknowledged to be attendant upon real-world learning. The creation of an uncertain and ambiguous context encourages students to step outside taken-for-granted assumptions, thereby highlighting the need for psychological safety in the learning environment.

(Tosey et al, 2013; 178)

6.3.9. Identity Formation

The third attribute of the FTAM, *Identity formation*, is one of the key differentiators for artisan-silversmiths. The creation and development of 'Voice', a recognisable style, sets individual artisan makers apart from each other. The FTAM (Tosey et al, 2013: 179) report emphasises: The development of identity as an outcome for the individual learner (Hay and Hodgkinson, 2008).

The development of personal and professional identity is key to an enhanced sense of self (Hay and Hodgkinson, 2008: 30). The training environment should encourage not just 'learning *about*' but 'learning to *be*' (Khurana and Snook, 2011: 360). The FTAM philosophy purports:

humanist and structuralist conceptualisations of identity; the former concerns the potential for autonomously developing a sense of self, while the latter highlights the way identity is seen to be imposed and regulated by external social forces.

(Warhurst, 2011: 265)

Craft business theorists such as Boothroyd characterise this creation of an identity in terms of branding and brand building. Makers are encouraged to consider the individualisation of their company, its look, packaging and style and their interaction with the public, what they say and how they say it (Boothroyd, 2015: 31). The FTAM model goes well beyond this superficial approach to identity, being far more concerned with the student's sense of self and personal development.

By way of contrast with traditional entrepreneurial learning systems of classroom learning the Team Academy staff emphasise "that its educational philosophy and pedagogy emerged through practice, and were not derived from theory" (Tosey et al, 2013: 182). The philosophy is based on a "constructive-humanistic learning concept being a good fit with practices that have been created through action" (Tosey et al, 2013: 182).

Central to the FTAM model is the fundamental belief that the best environment in which to gain management skills is the business environment. In contrast to many educational institutions' attempts to simulate workplaces in order to render the student experience more 'real', the Team Academy turns the institution into a workplace from which education is an integral output. In order to realise this, learners create and run real businesses. The fact that these are fully owned and controlled by the students themselves appears genuinely distinctive from other business learning environments (Tosey et al, 2013: 182-83).

6.3.10. Methodology of the *FTAM* (2013) course

For the FTAM staff another core belief is the emphasis on the team unit reflecting Senge's (1990: 233) learning structure, which encourages entrepreneurial activity within the team's individuals. The course has the following basic format:

- Off-site location from the university
- 3½ year course
- Teams of 20
- Team learning
- Two 4-hour training sessions per week
- Formal classes not used
- Project based - rotating projects and rotating roles
- No business plan needed to start a project – get out and talk to customers
- No seed capital.

The FTAM analysis report explains: "The main goal of the coaching process is to develop the team's capacity for dialogue as a means for accessing the intelligence and coordinated power of groups of people". It can take between one year and eighteen months to establish effective dialogue within a team.

Typically teams do not seek a single, major business idea, but may pursue multiple ideas simultaneously, with a typical second- or third-year team managing between 5 and 15 projects at any one time (Tosey et al, 2013: 184).

Comparing this with traditional business school methods the FTAM delivers live projects whereas the traditional business school aims to deliver a student grounded in business theory and a business plan which is "ready to be presented" (Tosey et al, 2013: 184).

The FTAM course creates a micro-culture of social embeddedness, real-worldness and identity formation. The normative element of the project creates a framework within which all the participants work:

- Charismatic leadership
- Educational framework
- Commonality of direction
- Team learning
- Coaching not teaching
- Emphasis on positive emotions.

(Tosey et al, 2013: 189)

With a course attrition rate of 10-15% in the first year there is evidently a significant minority who cannot cope with this artificially constructed micro-culture. The team also report that they do not feel that the micro-culture is easily transferred from the Finnish context. They see that the methods, such as dialogue, are applicable but the model may not be.

Through a strong culture set in the normative framework described, the FTAM delivers entrepreneurial learning within a live project environment using teams and the role-play of 'teampreneurship'. We need to ask whether this is applicable to an *SDF*.

The intense and on-going series of projects over a 3.5 year period would be difficult to replicate: however, looking at the Bishopsland, Rowden and Parnham immersion models of one-year programmes, it may not be impossible.

It must however be noted that an SDF is not looking to create teams but individuality and networks. An SDF target audience are individualist artist craftspeople, not competitive entrepreneurs. The lessons to be learned are:

1. 'learning by doing' is effective
2. Going out into the world and 'talking to customers' can be a pre-business plan.

6.3.11. The Need for an Enterprise Learning Approach

The Chang & Rieple research suggests that entrepreneurship should be taught rather than leaving students to their own devices or assuming them to be 'pre-programmed' by way of familial experience. The report points out that there are many diverse ways of teaching entrepreneurship including case studies, roleplays, internships, business simulations, action learning and live projects (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 226).

The approach documented by Chang & Rieple has been developed to overcome the problem of teaching entrepreneurship by those who are not entrepreneurs. They assert that this problem can be overcome by collaborating with entrepreneurs from outside the university. However, they recognise that the benefits of traditional teaching should not be underestimated in that academic frameworks and understanding can embed useful theoretical frameworks such as Lewin's experiential learning circle (Kolb, 1984) (see section 3.2). As an example Kolb suggests "observation, forming an abstract concept and testing new situations". Through the Chang & Rieple learning system students are able to test business theories in a safe environment without the turmoil and pressure created within a fully live business project (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 226).

6.3.12. Coaching the Entrepreneur

Coaching is a more aggressive set of tools compared to the mentoring programmes explored in Chapter 3, which ask the practitioner to analyse and reflect on their practice rather than actively change behaviours suggested by the coaching system.

Coaching has been identified as an important tool for the FTAM. Audet & Couteret (2012) have identified a lacuna in the analysis of coaching, pointing out that while it is strong in the areas of sport (Miller et al, 2000), education (Strong and Baron, 2004), and psychology (Laske, 1999), there is a relative dearth of studies concerning coaching in entrepreneurship (Audet & Couteret, 2012: 516). The Audet & Couteret (2012) research suggests that there are: “a set of factors or ‘winning conditions’, some of which are more important than others. The most crucial one appears to be the entrepreneur’s ‘open attitude to change” (Audet & Couteret, 2012 : 515).

The FTAM recruited entrepreneur-coach can be seen as different to the mentor as the coach seeks to guide the novice entrepreneur to ask the “right” questions, ie. developing their own representations iteratively and not just in an ad hoc fashion. In particular, they must formulate and give concrete expression to their vision (Filion, 2004) through their business ventures and resulting accomplishments by developing appropriate heuristics (Audet & Couteret, 2012: 515). Mentoring, as discussed in Chapter Two, does not seek to lead the mentee, but facilitate the mentee in creating their own answers, a different technique to coaching.

The Audet & Couteret (2012) model encourages the coach to:

play the role of facilitator and catalyst. It implies a personalized approach to coaching, focusing not on the business but on the entrepreneur as an individual. Entrepreneurial coaching thus appears to be a sufficiently customized way to help novice owner-managers develop their managerial skills.

(Audet & Couteret, 2012: 516)

The ultimate aim is to equip the novice entrepreneur with the tools to become fully independent, and so widen their entrepreneurial horizons (Thompson & Downing, 2007). Such tools include the following: decision making skills; change management skills; ability to identify of new opportunities; networking skills (Bisk, 2002; St-Jean and Audet, 2012).

Audet & Couteret (2012) assert the importance of selecting the right coach (Alstrup, 2000), which often rests on the judgement of a coaching-project manager.

A coach must be able to:

- Analyse the entrepreneur's real needs (requiring a good preliminary diagnosis of the entrepreneur's problems) (Graham and O'Neil, 1997)
- Play a role in overcoming the natural resistance of novice entrepreneurs to the idea of requesting help (Bisk, 2002)
- Overcome the entrepreneur's cynicism towards outside advice.

6.3.13. The Relationship between Coach and Protégé

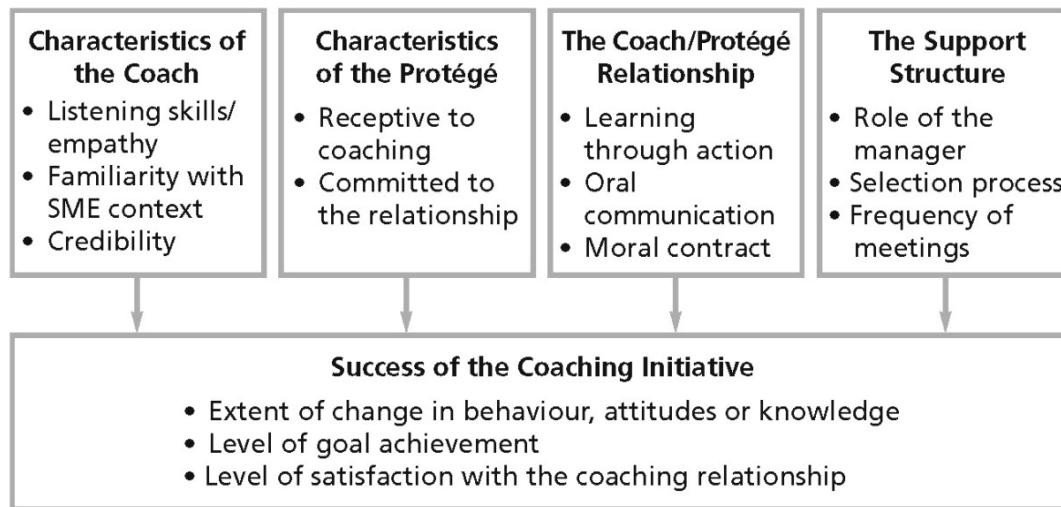
The chemistry between coach and protégé is a vital element of a project's success or failure, and a number of key factors have been identified in the Audet & Couteret (2012) study:

- A coach must place themselves on the same level as their protégés
- A coach must demonstrate empathy
- A coach must have the ability to listen (Simon and Kumar, 2001: Sullivan, 2000)
- A coach must adjust to the specific context of the entrepreneur, in terms of culture, communication method, and learning style (Dalley and Hamilton, 2000)
- A coach must be familiar with the world of small business (Gibb, 2000), and be able to think and behave like an entrepreneur (Thompson and Downing, 2007)
- A coach must move from being a 'stranger' to an 'insider'
- The entrepreneur must agree to be open with the coach
- The entrepreneur must be able to relate his experiences, emotions, beliefs, fears and failures
- The entrepreneur must be willing to change.

(Audet & Couteret, 2011: 518)

The coach needs to provide support to enable the protégé to 'develop the ability to step back and think about the learning process' (Audet & Couteret, 2013: 518).

The conceptual framework (CTE, 2013:519)



Graphic 8: The Audet & Couteret Conceptual Framework (2013)

Graphic 8 summarises the relationships between the coach and the protégé concluding with bullet points showing what is considered a successful set of outcomes.

6.4. Assessing Students' Entrepreneurial Skills Development in Live Projects

Chang & Rieple assert that periodic self-assessment by the enterprise team/student throughout their project identifies gaps which can then be addressed by the student, or team, and the coach.

The Chang & Rieple (2013) methodology emphasises the need for students to develop through live projects undertaken with real entrepreneurs where the tutors act as observers. Learning is enhanced through the process of feedback loops and critical assessment (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225). The assessment model created by Chang & Rieple asserts the manner in which entrepreneurial skills may be assessed and the place of experiential learning in its development. Their research project seeks to measure the effectiveness of their learning system using a simple three point version of the Lickert scale (1 lowest score, 3 highest score) for students to assess their own progress using a prescribed questionnaire (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225). Chang & Rieple's questionnaire was used at three points of their research project: weeks 1, 6, and 12. The Chang & Rieple study provides insights into the 'nature and practice of an experiential learning approach.' The results of the study

indicate “that the development of entrepreneurial skills can be improved by providing a learning environment in which students interact with real business people in live projects” (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225). They assert that there ought to be more timely learning interventions to cater for the specific needs of students working in live projects (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225).

6.4.1. How Skills are Developed in Live Projects

The Chang & Rieple research asserts that:

Live projects are where real-time, real-world problems are used as educational tools. A curriculum based around live projects has been shown to result in high-quality business plans and the successful launching of new ventures. The live projects bring together entrepreneurs, academics and industry experts who can assess proposals and critique ventures bringing wider perspectives to the student’s learning experiences.

(Chang & Rieple, 2013: 228)

The Chang & Rieple research explains that for the business school environment:

Such projects are a powerful tool in making learning environments meaningful inter alia: The need to work in groups to develop a business plan forces participants to recognise the need for time management, negotiation, strategic thinking, and persuasion.

(Collins et al, 2006)

The emphasis on group or team working reflects the fact that many business school students are drawn from the closed world of the university or corporation: they have experience of working in teams and other support mechanisms which will make this type of live project viable and useful. Artisan-silversmiths, however, tend to be sole-traders, individualistic makers unused to this type of workstyle and may not relate to the team-teaching system.

The Chang & Rieple research asserts that the interactive “deep approach” to learning fosters the development of higher order critical thinking, problem-solving and reflective skills (Graham, 2004) that are particularly effective in developing entrepreneurial behaviours.

The Chang & Rieple research points out the benefits of working within an enclosed, safe environment: students working on live projects have shown improvements in communication, teamwork, problem solving, leadership research and presentation skills, as well as in confidence and belief in their own efficacy. They provide a protected but challenging environment in which students can practice skills step-by-step (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 229)

6.5. The Role of Accreditation

While examining and evaluating the accreditation of the frameworks and courses it is necessary to analyse the validation and accrual of cultural and skills capital (Bourdieu, 1983) to and by the organisations and the value of accreditation by the framework managers to recipients of the awards, or the acknowledgement of success.

The VRDF (Bray & Boon, 2011) is endorsed by academic institutions:

The Researcher Development Statement (RDS) is an evolution of the Research Councils' Joint Skills Statement (JSS) The RDS together with the RDF are endorsed by Research Councils UK, Universities UK and other leading national organisations. Together the RDS and the RDF support the implementation of the Concordat to Support the Career Development of Researchers, and the QAA Code of Practice for research degree programmes.

(UCL, 2017)

The VRDF (Bray & Boon, 2011) asserts its academic credentials through the accreditation of academic institutions.

The DCE seeks accreditation through its alignment with governments and large organizations:

The Foundation works on a strategic level with influential businesses across key sectors of the economy to demonstrate circular innovation at scale. These Global Partners are pathfinders within their respective industries.

(EMF, 2017)

John Makepeace (2017) realised the importance of setting his woodworking school within the grand surroundings of a 16th century stately home. This setting gave

importance and cultural significance to the enterprise of technique teaching, as well as the benefit of running his own bespoke furniture, design and manufacturing company within impressive surroundings. The students benefited by their association with a leading designer and thinker in the fields of furniture and education.

The Rowden business benefited in turn from having a teaching school on site, especially one which can impress customers with its teaching of the three core disciplines: technique, design and business skills.

As Bourdieu (1983) theorises, the accumulation of cultural capital in the form of accreditation is a key indicator of success and is used by the organisations studied here to validate their actions and outcomes.

6.6. Conclusion: Combining the three Development Frameworks and Furniture Maker Courses

The VRDF toolkit proposes and delivers a framework based on expert research, planning, promoting and supporting. The toolkit takes the researcher through phases of development, which are expertly understood, and can be verified and assessed.

The DCE (EMF, 2015) toolkit creates analysis of the environment, aligns the researcher's assessments at the beginning and thenceforth through the milestones of the project to overcome barriers and create success strategies. Then, using education, dialogue and collaboration, it aims to produce desired change.

Each framework offers a tool kit for development and a methodology for creating successful outcomes. The salient elements for the new SDF that can be taken from the VRDF (which is an academic-expert toolkit whilst the SDF will be industry-expert driven), is the progressive framework, which documents the phased stages of the individual through the acquisition of skill sets. The salient elements from DCE for the SDF will be that the system guides the individual through analysis, assessment and alignment of the individual to the environment and market.

The Rowden and Parnham College frameworks set out to create a holistic training 'mindset', which brings together the practical elements of technique, design and business for the development of a micro-business, artist-craftsperson. These can encompass the DCE methodologies to align the student-makers with the markets they intend to enter with the VDRF methodology which monitors and measures the progress of the student-makers through the phases of acquisition of technique, design and business skills.

The SDF discussed in the next chapter will consider whether it is possible and practical to bring together these methodologies to create a framework for artisan-silversmiths.

The FTAM demonstrates the ‘learning by doing’ philosophy of allowing mistakes and reflection in a supportive, safe environment. Learning by doing is a more natural format for artist-craftspeople than classroom-based techniques of learning. The FTAM encourages entrepreneurial thinking in a real-time and (as close to) real world environment.

6.6.1. Summary of Methodologies and Key Domains

Vitae, Researcher Development Framework	Delivering the Circular Economy	Rowden & Parnham	FTAM
Research based. Planning, Promoting, Supporting	Align, Assess, Analyse, Dialogue, Collaboration, Long-term value crea- tion	Effectuation: Technique Creativity Business skills	No fixed structure Experimental & Creative Group support Mentoring & Coaching
4 Domains	6 Domains	6 Domains	5 Domains
1. Engagement, Influence & Impact	1. Educate	1. A body of skills & techniques	1. Experiential Learning
2. Knowledge and intellec- tual abilities	2. Create influence, collaborations	2. Experiential learning	2. Real time, real world
3. Personal effectiveness	3. Business support	3. Creative	3. Socially embedded
4. Research governance and organisation	4. Public procurement	4. Progressive	4. Identity formation
	5. Regulatory framework	5. Experimentation	5. Self-assessed
	6. Influence fiscal frameworks	6. Practiced	

Table 7: Summary of Methodologies and Key Domains

Table 7 summarises the salient elements of framework structures and from this it is possible to theorise the elements of an SDF. The Vitae toolkit theorises expert research, planning, promoting and supporting whilst the Delivering the Circular Economy toolkit (EMF, 2015) allows for analysis of the environment and aligns the researcher's assessments at the beginning and through the milestones of the project overcome barriers. It creates success strategies using education, dialogue and collaboration aiming to produce desired change. The Rowden and Parnham toolkits are based on experiential learning techniques both for craft training and business training.

6.6.2. Conclusions from the Chang & Rieple Model

The Chang & Rieple project questionnaire measures self-assessed perceptions of participant's skills and not actual skills. The effect is that the students measured self-assessed project work, which then creates their own criteria for future training.

The Chang & Rieple hybrid method facilitates a continuing discussion between academic staff and students as issues, which as they are addressed, are then supported by relevant theories (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 233). The research suggests that the live projects utilised do not always reflect the emotional turmoil or complexity that you can obtain in the real world. But this does allow for focus on the essential elements of an enterprise project rather than the problems, which artisan-silversmiths come across seen as 'life getting in the way', reported as turmoil by Chang & Rieple. Chang & Rieple conclude:

Live projects are not a cheap option to run. The quality of the student learning experience depends on the resources available.

(Chang & Rieple, 2013: 237).

Their study comprised two facilitators for each of the three groups of five students. Setting up and maintaining relationships with collaborative partners took a lot of time and effort and the schedule of inputs into the students' learning did not always synchronize with the normal pattern of teaching. However, they felt justified by the investment but whether it could be sustained within a normal university environment for them was a moot point (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 237). The challenge of the designers of the Silversmith Development Framework will be to create their own criteria of training and then the subject domains most relevant to the modern era.

7. Conclusions from the Study – Crafting the Future

7.1. Introduction

This final chapter brings together all the concepts and theories of the thesis based on the in-depth, privileged access of the researcher enabling the articulation of the position of the industry in historic terms, its current position (the three elements of the thesis being - craft, success and enterprise), and the proposed tools of the development of the industry, being a Silversmith Development Framework and an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council. Section 7.1 provides a summary of the empirical findings of previous chapters and by way of background answers Taylor's question from 1.3. In addition to this background information the findings from the validation process is documented in section 7.2. For this the provisional conclusions and recommendations of this thesis were submitted six industry experts for their comments. Their responses have been taken into account in formulating the final recommendations of Sections 7.3 and 7.4.

The thesis has asked important questions for the UK artisan-silversmithing industry and seeks to create an industry development framework, which can be used to address those questions through a flexible and professionalised system. The primary question that has been explored through the voices of artisan-silversmiths themselves is:

Which elements of artisan-silversmiths' education, craft, business and motivational experiences contribute to their personal success in terms of life satisfaction, creativity, and status and to their success in terms of cultural, economic and skills capital?

The empirical data resulting from this enquiry has been shaped into three main areas:

- The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to craft skills
- The motivations for being an artisan-silversmith
- The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to enterprise and entrepreneurship.

This data is now used, together with the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter Six, to suggest the domains and elements of a Silversmith Development Framework (SDF) that will present a new vision for the artisan-silversmith industry and challenge the way in which artisan-silversmiths are currently educated and developed. This is done in Section 7.3.

This Chapter also recommends the formation of an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC) to develop and oversee the SDF. To be serviceable, any developmental framework for silversmiths must be framed in the light of accurate market knowledge, and it is therefore proposed that the ASDC should also oversee the provision of essential market research and marketing services to the industry. The proposed composition and functions of the ASDC are considered in Section 7.4.

Section 7.5 brings together the conclusions of the study whilst 7.6 notes the limitations of the research undertaken, offering suggestions for further research, and considers what steps should be taken next in the light of the findings and recommendations of the thesis. Section 7.7 considers the dissemination of the study and its impact.

7.2. Summary of The Current Position of the Artisan-Silversmithing Industry

The UK artisan-silversmithing industry of the 21st century is an industry of two parts:

The first is commercial bespoke silversmithing, which is made up of a small number of salespeople and workshops who primarily make for export, corporate gifts, art objects and the trophies market. The second and larger of the two markets, as measured by number of practitioners, classified in this study as artisan-silversmiths (more often known by the title studio silversmiths), now supplies what could be termed the ‘collectors and enthusiasts’ market. The buyers in this market make irregular purchases that are often based on relationships with artisan-silversmiths and the design of individual items of silverware either made speculatively or to commission.

The British general public, however, rarely interact with the artisan-silversmith industry and see little reason to buy or commission their wares. This is partially a result of their rarely having the opportunity to see what is available and how to purchase – contemporary silverware is most often presented to the general public at craft fairs or exhibitions. When the industry is well presented, such as when artisan-silversmiths exhibit at Goldsmiths’ Fair, it thrives. Recent evidence suggests, however, that not only is the number of good quality craft fairs declining, but so is the number of galleries stocking and exhibiting contemporary silverware.

Perversely, the rich heritage of British silversmithing acts as a brake on the contemporary silversmiths’ market, with television programmes constantly reminding the public of 17th, 18th and 19th century designs which have little relevance to modern living. Currently there is no counterweight to this in the mass media, and there is little comprehension of the process of purchasing and commissioning contemporary

silverware. There is also an indifference to the purposes of modern silverware and also to those craftsmen and women producing individual silverware designs in the face of a globalised manufacturing industry in which almost any object can be mass-produced and purchased at very low prices when compared to craft production. There are, however, strong signs of interest in the highest luxury goods markets for bespoke objects such as those seen in the 2018 Venice *Homo Faber* sales exhibition and similar exhibitions in London such as *COLLECT* (2018) and *Masterpiece* (2018).

Contemporary UK silversmiths offer a unique range of products, with a rich cultural heritage. They are also a rarefied group of people unusual in today's commercial world, often motivated less by profit than by the accrual of design and craft skills. These bespoke designers can be influenced by many distinct design movements such as Arts & Crafts and Bauhaus, or sometimes not, and are now offering their own individual designs. However, unlike these earlier aesthetic movements, there is still no unique voice or signature style of post-war British contemporary silversmithing, with each maker individual in both technique and design. This is a laudable trait in itself, but is perhaps counterproductive in marketing terms for an industry that lacks a modern British design icon: Denmark, by way of contrast, has the Georg Jensen organisation as their champion of contemporary silverware.

The UK artisan-silversmith industry is arts-based and must balance the inward-looking aspect of the artist with the outward-looking necessity of the entrepreneur. Each individual has spent many years perfecting their skills, often a decade or more, and even then they may specialise in one aspect of the craft: chasing, forging or enamelling. It is rare for any one silversmith to be completely self-sufficient in terms of skill-set, and it is for this reason that the silversmithing community must be strong and diverse, covering all of the various skills necessary to allow any individual practitioner to produce any design they can conceive or are requested to make.

To reignite public interest contemporary artisan-silversmithing in the UK must not rely on skills or design technique but on the passion these people feel for their industry and for their individuality.

7.3. Summary of Conclusions from the Respondent's Views

The modern artisan-silversmithing industry can be characterised as primarily made up of individual makers who, as previously theorised, "control every aspect of the creative process combining concept and design *as well as* the business processes of selling their work".

The empirical data gathered has allowed for the qualitative analysis of this study which explains the micro, everyday practices of artisan-silversmiths so as to understand the interactions that guide their behaviour, providing a detailed picture of the industry. Over 250 themes were identified, which fell broadly into 6 domains:

- Craft Skills
- Personal Development: Craft and & Business Training
- Education
- Success, Attitudes, Work-Life Balance
- Business Skills
- Commerciality.

Axial analysis discovered the axes, or major pillars, upon which the industry functions (Charmaz, 2014: 341). Through the axial analysis of these domains the study's meta-domains of craft, success (motivations) and enterprise have been visualised as a Gordian knot (Graphic 9) below. The graphic visualises the intertwining key axial domains of the artisan-silversmith's world. The domains cannot be taken in isolation but must be considered within the industry's Bourdieusian (1977) habitus (artisan-silversmith techniques) and field (commercial environment) resulting in industry practices. In the graphic the industry sits within the untapped field of new markets.



Graphic 9: The Artisan-Silversmith Industry Visualised within New Markets

7.3.1. Summary of The Relationship of Artisan-Silversmiths to Craft Skills, Success and Enterprise

The relationship of artisan-silversmiths to craft practice and learning is at the core of the artisan-silversmithing community. From their first inception into the university's Craft & Design departments or as an apprentice into a workshop the novice-makers find that the learning of craft skills is at the centre of their lives.

How artisan-silversmiths perceive their own success is a key factor in any attempt to propose an SDF. An exploration of the motivations driving artisan-silversmiths reveals that the group cares more about humanist values of self-direction, stimulation, achievement and benevolence (Maslow, 1954: 56-9) than the entrepreneurial values of profit motive and sales (Georgievski et al, 2011). The accrual of cultural capital, skills capital, peer group and institutional recognition is of prime importance. The motivations of artisan-silversmiths should be seen holistically, with the makers themselves making difficult decisions concerning the exigencies of everyday life and being in business against the context of their final goal of being recognised as a master-craftsman.

Exploring the difficult relationship between artisan-silversmiths and the worlds of enterprise and entrepreneurship, it can be concluded that the primary goal of the makers interviewed was not to run a business but rather to become a designer-maker. For many artisan-silversmiths there is a basic dissonance in their relationship to enterprise and entrepreneurship. Despite this, they acknowledge the exigencies of being in business and the necessity of running an enterprise and being entrepreneurial. The interviewees viewed the business aspect of their work as a necessity rather than a core competence.

The study's research indicates that the most successful makers build relationships with their clients who purchase portfolios of objects for their homes. The study highlights the problems of the conflicting demands made on artisan-silversmiths, namely that they must be a gifted craftsperson, a creative maker demonstrating high levels of skill, and yet must run an individual enterprise in an uncertain business environment, invariably with insufficient resources in both time and money.

7.4. Answering Taylor's Question

We can now address Taylor's original question posed at the beginning of the study in section 1.3, which is:

I think the challenge for us today is to start to understand how do we get the right people doing the right things at the right time? And

how do we capture the skills and abilities that we have in our industry today that potentially will not be there in the future?

Taylor (2016)

Applying the concepts of the template used by the Vitae, Researcher Development Framework (Table 5) codifies the phases theorised by industry experts to take the practitioner through their development by accruing the skills needed through novice mid-career and senior phases. The Vitae authors, Bray & Boon (2011) explain that the framework should articulate “knowledge, behaviours and attributes” (Bray & Boon, 2011: 1), of successful practitioners.

In conjunction with Vitae the methodology of the Ellen MacArthur’s Foundation’s ‘Delivering the Circular Economy’ framework performs a different function; that of aligning the practitioner with the marketplace and their own project’s expectations. The Ellen MacArthur Foundation asserts that the practitioner is guided through a series of decisions to “explore and prioritise opportunities, quantify their impact, identify barriers” (EMF, 2015: 16).

The SDF will be designed by industry experts using Vitae and DCE tools and the concepts behind teaching at Parnham and Rowden . Once the process is under way the Chang & Rieple (2013) system can be used to develop live [learning] projects [...] and learn through the process of feedback loops as per the theories of Lewin and Dewey (Graphics 1 & 2). The Chang & Rieple self-assessment system enables the measuring of perceptions of participant skills thus creating a discussion between teachers, coaches or mentors as to the course(s) of action needed to improve skills thereby creating a virtuous loop.

7.4.1. Learning Craft Skills

‘Doing the right things at the right time’ (Taylor (2016)

Ericsson argues the benefits of starting to learn haptic skills at a very early age (Ericsson et al, 2006). Many interviewees identified that making was a primary interest from when they were very young (Ints. 6, 30), starting the long process of practising skills to become expert. However, the key moment for training comes when potential artisan-silversmiths enter the profession as an apprentice, vocational or university student. It is at this point that there is the greatest need to demonstrate the possibilities of the profession and also make clear to the ingénue what each course of study actually involves. The greatest dissonance is created when students who “want to make stuff” (Int. 35) are required to take a broader view of their chosen

profession encompassing art, art history and other allied topics of learning in the silversmithing or similar industries from a cultural or economic capital point of view and not merely that of the accrual of skills capital (Bourdieu, 1977: 1984), as they might prefer.

It is rare for student-practitioners to either be given the contextual perspective of opportunities and possibilities needed to make important career and life decisions, or to have their expectations regarding career progression intelligently managed. Duckworth asserts, “aptitude does not guarantee achievement” (Duckworth, 2017: 17). It would be useful to explain to trainees and for tutors to assess, that “trait-level perseverance and passion for long-term goals” (Duckworth, 2017: 17) or ‘grit measure’ is the most indicative measure of skills attainment. At this starting point in their formal training careers these ideas and information could help manage expectations and outline a training and career path offering markets based information. Such information will present options regarding the different markets they may wish to enter, employment or self-employment choices and the current market viability of their chosen skill. These options may be managed so as to form a decision-making opportunity or tool for those interested.

The evidence of the interviews indicates that role models exert the most influence on both students and apprentices at this early stage of training. Other than the occasional lecture attended by students these role models exert influence through example of their practice experienced either first hand by students, through hearsay, or through short internships. For apprentices all the habits of their masters are passed on, no matter whether good or bad.

A guiding organisation taking an overview and with the accumulated knowledge of an expert panel would give a more balanced view than the narrow experiences of role models or apprentice masters. It is this role, as an industry-wide exemplar, that the SDF and ASDC would perform, replacing narrow knowledge and hearsay with high quality markets-based information and research.

7.4.2. Learning Business Skills

‘That there is a need to centrally manage business advice for craft practitioners.’

(I&E, 2016: 4)

Beaver (2002) asserts that *craft practitioners* can be summarised as those, “who are primarily concerned with personal satisfaction” (Beaver, 2002: 41). He

acknowledges craftspeople as those founding businesses “to pursue personal objectives, such as independence, control and a good standard of living” (Beaver, 2002: 16) and it is in the light of this expectation that we as training providers and aspirants for a dynamic industry must adjust our own expectations of the industry’s practitioners.

It is against this background that a new ASDC would need to operate. However, the researcher would argue that the Beaver (2002) view of craft business is but one view of the spectrum of the artisan-silversmith’s world – from entrepreneur to hobbyist. The evidence from the interviews indicates the need to view artisan-silversmiths as running business enterprises within the theories of effectuation (Fisher, 2012: 1030) whereby the practitioner starts with the means of production, applies ideas of affordable loss whilst leveraging relationships as against the entrepreneurial concepts of causation which rely on spotting gaps in the marketplace and evaluating risk and return (Shah & Tripas, 2007).

7.4.3. Capturing Skills

‘And how do we capture the skills and abilities that we have in our industry today that potentially will not be there in the future?’

Taylor (2016)

This problem of skills capture is currently recognised as one of the most important of the challenges faced by the industry. The new organisation can assist by creating a directory of skills and courses whereby industry specialists can transfer their knowledge to the next generation. A learning by doing approach is recommended for both for craft and business skills.

The I&E report asserts:

There should be a review of best practice and a prototype of a new service/resource, with insights and next steps suggested for future collaborative research.

(I&E, 2016: 4)

Senior silversmiths are keen to preserve their hard-won skills and see them as central to the preservation of the industry. The central motivation for their involvement in this part of the project is to be acknowledged as master-craftsman: a Bourdieusian trait of high status. An important role for the new organisation is the

continued acknowledgment of these highly skilled but often undervalued craftspeople to create and nurture this collaboration.

7.5. Results of the Validation of the Study

In order that the study could be validated an executive summary was made of an earlier draft of this final chapter, which was then sent to 6 industry stakeholders and makers. The recipients were asked to read the summary and respond to the following questions.¹¹

Is this a fair summary of how the artisan-silversmithing industry might be developed or supported?

1. What might be the challenges of implementing this framework?
2. Would you be supportive of the proposal of an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council?

The summary was very well received by 5 of the 6 people asked to validate the research findings. 6.7.2's comment is representative of this positive reception: "With ultra-careful planning (and not just in the short term), great vision, sufficient resources and a long-term commitment, this has the potential to make a real difference". He felt that the set of proposals could take many artisan silversmiths into an enhanced arena for selling their individual and distinctive brand of work. He concluded that, "This is an exciting prospect and I would have thought that the CBS and Goldsmiths' Centre for example, would be most supportive of such an incentive and the positive impact it could have on many talented artisan silversmiths".

The main criticism came in the form of the introduction of another layer of bureaucracy, and that the ideas of the SDF could be amalgamated within current industry structures for example the CBS or Goldsmiths' Centre bureaucracy.

7.5.1. Summarising the responses to question 1: Is this a fair summary of how the artisan-silversmithing industry might be developed or supported?

Respondent 6.7.2, a lifetime academic, wrote positively: "[it is] a fair account of the help, support and guidance that artisan silversmiths would welcome and readily accept. This could be of high value and an excellent resource to aid their career and

¹¹ See appendix section 6 for the responses of participants 6.7.1 to 6.7.6.

particularly, business aspirations. 6.7.3, the chairman of the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council, also considered it to be, "a fair summary, it would provide invaluable help to all artisan-silversmiths, giving them an insight, and help, on many aspects of how to further their careers". However, 6.7.1, the Goldsmiths' Centre director pointed out a gap in the analysis concerning the time which novice artisan-silversmiths can afford to give to training due to their own economic constraints and therefore prioritise technical skills training over business skills training which perversely does not give them the much needed skills to earn a living.

Respondent 6.7.4, the former head of the CBS questioned the creation of yet another classification of silversmith and observed that she could not agree with the statement: "Artisan-silversmiths are fascinated by the technical skills, tools, machinery and technology of production of their industry almost to the exclusion of other factors". She remonstrated that if it were the case, artisan-silversmiths would merely be hobbyists incapable of growing sustainable businesses. Adding that the reality was the quite the reverse, "if you consider the investment necessary to equip a workshop. The set-up costs are quite high, and building a business in this niche sector involves risk, commitment, focus and re-investment". She also disagreed with the statement 'the industry organisations such as the CBS and Goldsmiths' Centre give primacy to the culture of skills transfer and accrual, according matters of earning a living such as market research, business best practice, marketing and selling of lesser importance' and on the contrary asserted that: "The large amount of work undertaken by the CBS to promote design as a core excellence and marketing was why the CBS was set up in the first place" (6.7.4).

The new CEO of the National Association of Jewellers (NAJ) commented: "This appears to be a well-structured plan of how the artisan-silversmith sector could formalise structured support - currently lacking" (6.7.5). Similarly, 6.7.6, the course leader at the Edinburgh College of Art Jewellery & Silversmithing department asserted that the industry would benefit from establishing a more outward-looking approach responding to market trends and consumer tastes, and that it would be useful for makers to understand where they might fit into the commercial world, where their skills might be needed, and how to make their work affordable/desirable to various market sectors. She considers that:

Most silversmiths find themselves forming small businesses based on their personal values/interests as Makers without fully considering their consumer audience. By supporting a Maker to develop a business plan with their own values along with

information gained through market analysis forming the root, small business will grow and become more sustainable. Silversmiths will be more informed and less reactive with decision-making and in the long run will gain more satisfaction from running a business, which is rewarding them with more than just enabling them to make.

(6.7.6)

7.5.2. Summarising the responses to question 2: What might be the challenges of implementing this framework?

- i. There was a concern that many of the organisations and entities that are operating in the industry are under-resourced, run by volunteers and by default prioritise activities which they perceive add the most value to their memberships i.e., gaining public exposure and enhancing haptic skills.
- ii. There were concerns about academic partners who prioritise core delivery of technical skills rather than what might be seen as worthwhile but potentially peripheral activities such as noting and disseminating market research and information.
- iii. It was evident that such a framework would require adequate resourcing to allow it to meaningfully engage with the practitioners and also the organisations that represent them. The value proposition would need to be clearly articulated and funds made available to support maker participation and organisation. It would take considerable amounts of time, energy and commitment to establish a framework, undertake planning and documentation for a viable course programme, dedicated market research projects etc. to launch an SDF. Sufficient resources would need to be secured and guaranteed.
- iv. It required careful consideration whether a new initiative was required or whether we should be using existing structures more effectively.
- v. In terms of marketing artisan-silversmiths: getting it right, being constantly on the ball with market trends, UK and EU movements, customer buying patterns, sustainability, funding, national recognition and perhaps validity/some form of certification through a national body/organisation.

- vi. It would need good and continued vision and implementation to ensure the help and guidance remains live, accurate, useful and constructive. It could not just be run on the good will and free time of industry and educational experts.

6.7.4 pointed out, that the suggested make-up of the ASDC is too similar to existing committees and does not include enough expertise from existing successful silversmithing businesses across the spectrum (from the 'artisan-silversmith' to bigger businesses which may operate with wider networks). She noted:

There is always a challenge in a niche industry that 'the usual suspects' govern policy, but this proposal seems to fall too readily into that trap, and could be more open to cross-pollination or collaborative approaches.

(6.7.4)

6.7.6 highlighted the danger that the potentially conflicting values and opinions of the key industry stakeholders making up the ASDC could be problematic, but if a central framework is established and agreed upon, the variety of approaches and opinions could encourage a diversity of potential directions and options for the silversmiths receiving the support.

7.5.3. Summarising the responses to question 3: Would you be supportive of the proposal for an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council?

6.7.6 responded: "Yes. An organisation that supports innovation in the silversmithing industry and ensures it kept relevant for the current market is very much needed today. As an Educator I would hope to work with the ASDC to begin to introduce the framework to students at a college level before they embark on their final year of studies. The framework might help them to consider different applications of their skills both traditional and non-traditional. Conscious decisions can be made at an early level as the students can begin to establish their own values as a designer/maker. Whilst developing final graduate collections the students can consider who is the audience they are communicating to" (6.7.6). 6.7.2 added, that the benefit of the proposal and the benefit of the new resource would help foster "a world class community and culture of designer silversmiths like no other". And that the resource and potential is significant, "it deserves to be fostered and developed in the manner outlined" (6.7.2).

6.7.4 felt uneasy about another layer of top-down structure and so would not be supportive of the proposal as many of the core values articulated already existed, but would want to discuss the business development ideas and a more appropriate structure (6.7.4). 6.7.2 pointed out that the holistic approach would be a benefit and was supportive of the proposal:

“This would greatly assist designers towards a successful connection between unique design led products and a market potential that could make such a difference to the designers and a growing population of purchasing clients who would both appreciate good design and fine craftsmanship and can purchase uniqueness and exclusivity”

(6.7.2).

6.7.1 wrote encouragingly about the summary, but predicted a cultural hurdle:

The Goldsmiths' Company would definitely be interested in exploring further if others were willing and able to engage but I do think that there are some significant cultural and operational issues that would need to be addressed if it was to get traction.

(6.7.1)

7.5.4. Summary of benefits and concerns as seen by the respondents:

The benefits of the proposal can be summed up as: a single body to create coherence across education, industry organisations and stakeholders which can consider the artisan-silversmith in the contexts of business and marketing – an outward-looking organisation. The new organisation can aid building artisan-silversmith careers and business plans through being well informed through the creation of a body which supports business and technical innovation.

Whilst the main concerns of the respondents centred on creating another layer of top-down bureaucracy not run by silversmiths, they did acknowledge the need for a multi-disciplinary organisation for the cross-pollination of the industry. The respondents warned of cultural conflict between stakeholders and silversmiths, however also being aware of the need for a collaborative approach.

The executive summary was well received by this small but influential group of industry stakeholders. They recognised the need for a body and forum to amalgamate and disseminate market information, which could then lead to market-contextual learning with projects aligned to the marketplace.

They recognised the high amount of commitment needed to make an ASDC function efficiently and effectively. The concern that much of the development outlined was already being undertaken has been noted, but that development work is rarely based on high-quality market research, which is a prerequisite of the current proposal.

7.6. The Foundations of the Silversmith Development Framework

7.6.1. Critical Factors of the New Training Model

The Innovation and Education (I&E) 2016 report asserts that there could be:

A reflection upon the aims and purpose of higher education in craft, and whether there is scope to bring business training in at lower levels?

(I&E, 2016: 4)

This fundamental question posed by the Innovation & Education 2016 report is at the centre of this thesis. When and how is the right time to introduce business ideas and training? The problems that need to be addressed are:

- Students did not enter art schools to learn business
- They have difficulty relating to business training
- It is not the primary job of the tutors to teach business concepts
- Novice and mid-career practitioners find difficulty in creating the time and resources to attend courses
- The perception that for mid-career and senior silversmiths the training may not relate to them.

The originality of the thesis is the realisation of two sets of knowledge and concepts:

1. An empirical body of data
2. A newly theorised set of distinct motivations of artisan-silversmiths

7.6.2. The Original Contribution of the Study

1. This is the first in-depth study of an under-researched industry from the aspects of commerce and motivation, which presents a unique body of empirical data documenting the experiences and motivations of artisan-silversmiths. Mapping the journey of the practitioners, documenting craft, business and technical skills accrual, motivations and personal development, has allowed for detailed comparison to be

made with current business and motivational theories of entrepreneurial management. While the study's body of empirical data has been explored extensively, however, a great deal more detailed analysis can be extracted as thus far primarily only the foundations of the industry have been theorised for this study.

2. The empirical data allowed for the theorising of the distinct motivations of the study group being:

- Skills acquisition
- Community (friendship)
- Self-direction
- Achievement
- Self-respect
- Public & Peer recognition
- Legacy
- Profitability
- Craft Mastery.

This has shed light on the sometimes seemingly-contradictory actions of artisan-silversmiths who often value factors such as peer group recognition, lifestyle balance and cultural and skills capital accrual over those of financial success and business recognition. Understanding these sometimes-conflicting motivations, based on humanist motivational factors as against the profit motive, enables the formulation of a new framework within which stakeholder organisations might design programmes which are aimed at industry development.

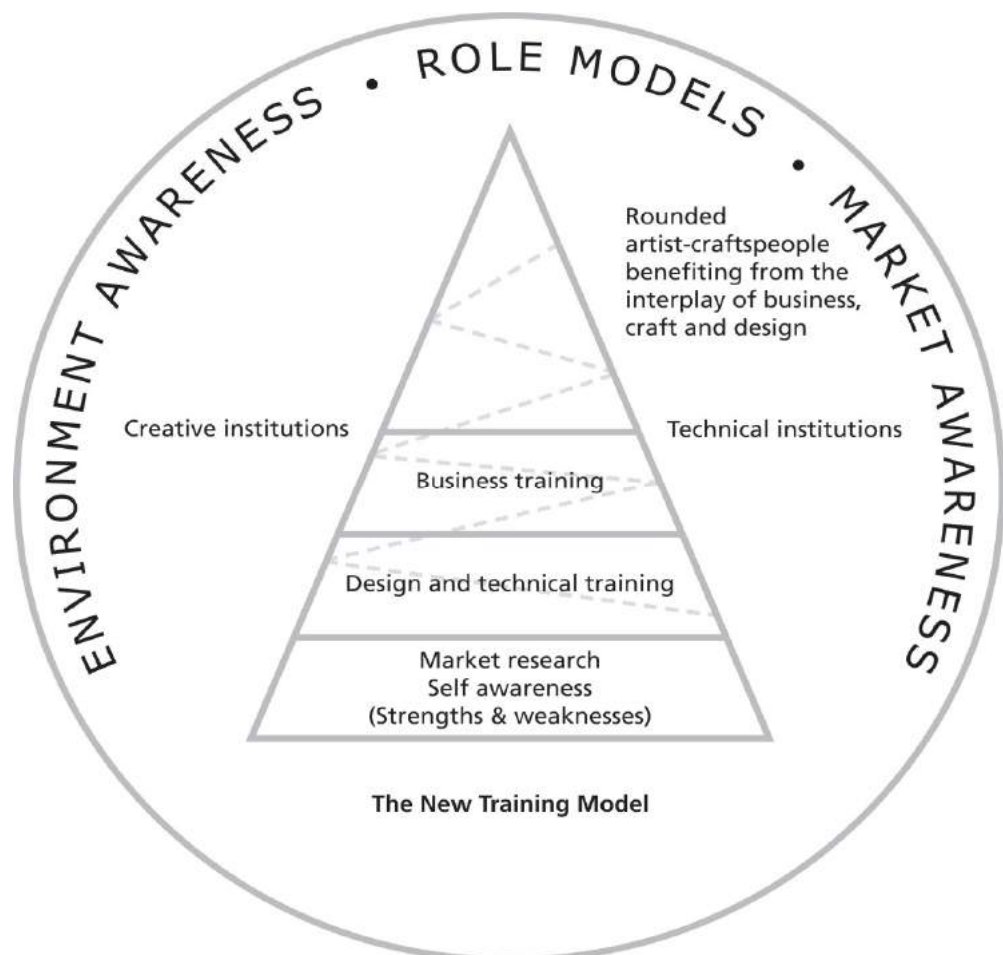
For the first time the domains of a Silversmith Development Framework (SDF) are being suggested as part of a development system involving industry stakeholders. These domains are:

- Craft skills
- Business skills
- The motivational aspects of success.

As part of this development, a new markets-based organisation is proposed which will offer expert guidance on the key subjects of training, market information and best practice through the SDF and its delivering organisation an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC). The industry-expert led training model proposed

creates a framework for aiding practitioners. The ultimate aim of an ASDC is to promote industry growth and profitability through the creation of an industry forum, the collection and dissemination of market information, agreement on best practice and the creation and identification of opportunities.

Through the analysis of Bourdieusian habitus (the disposition of artisan-silversmiths), and the economic and cultural fields, it may be possible to predict the future practices of an industry currently based on technical skills and the exigencies of enterprise. By encouraging a change in the balance of habitus traits it might be possible to affect industry practices. For example the introduction of market intelligence as a fundamental decision-making tool would affect the making practices that artisan-silversmiths learn. They will be informed of market-based choices of what to make and why in order that they might meet market expectations, if that is their desire. The role of the proposed ASDC in the provision of market intelligence is considered further in section 7.4.



Graphic 10: The New Training Model

The New Training Model above (Graphic 10) takes the Taylor Training Model one stage further with the inclusion of high quality market intelligence introduced into the training undertaken by artisan-silversmiths. The model sets the practitioner in the context of self-awareness and the marketplace through learning by doing in real world circumstances.

7.6.3. The SDF Template

Based on the research findings and validation responses the researcher recommends an industry organisation of experts be formed to create a Silversmith Development Framework designed specifically to develop the UK artisan-silversmith industry. Drawing on the understanding gained in this thesis of the panoply of silversmiths' motivations, the structure, elements, and phasing of an SDF can be suggested for novice, mid-career and senior artisan-silversmiths.

Bringing together all the theories and concepts for a Silversmith Development Framework the recommendations are:

- An expert-based, phased SDF structure of technical and business skills in the light of market information based on the Vitae model (Bray & Boon, 2011)
- An institutional and personal testing and evaluation system for project suitability based on the Ellen MacArthur Foundation's Circular Economy template (EMF, 2015)
- A Learning by Doing approach based on the theories of Lewin (1951), Kolb (1984) and Dewey (1938)
- A skills self-assessment system based on the theories of Duckworth (2017) and Chang & Rieple (2013)
- An expert overseeing body – The Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC) to theorise and deliver the SDF
- A market intelligence based development programme accredited by the expert industry ASDC.

Understanding the commercial field within which artisan-silversmiths operate is fundamental to industry success. Through analysis of the buyer demographic and reasons for purchase, informed predictions of the type of product likely to meet future consumer demands can be made: the gathering of market information will replace the current system of role-model copying, previous success and guesswork.

7.7. The Roles of an Artisan-Silversmith Council

It is proposed that an Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC), made up of expert industry managers and stakeholders, should be formed. This Council will develop the SDF, setting the initial structure and phasing of the programmes and the elements of those programmes. Improvements can then be made incrementally through trainee feedback and in light of environmental changes.

The process of becoming an artisan-silversmith is long and beset with personal, technical and financial difficulties. It would be of value to measure whether those who undertake this often 10 year journey have the tenacity and capability to complete it.

Christensen & Knezek (2014) measure internal consistency and reliability for performance calculation using *consistency of interests* and *perseverance of effort* questions to calculate 'grit' based on the theories of Duckworth and Quinn (2009). By measuring the grit, or tenacity, of the individuals embarking on this lifetime course it is possible to identify those people most likely to succeed. Previously 'meteors' (post-university silversmithing stars) have been identified who then suffer confusion as the post-degree spotlight moves to the next generation.

In consideration of Duckworth's (2017) theories of 'grit' the study notes the value of measuring the core trait of talent which as Duckworth explains is multiplied by effort creates success and that skill multiplied by effort is often the measure of achievement (Duckworth, 2017: 35). One particular aspect of note when considering the long journey of the artisan-silversmith towards career success is the degree to which distant objects [goals] are held in view (Duckworth, 2017: 77). A programme of consistent encouragement and training would help to assuage the confusion felt by early-career 'meteors', and set them on the long journey towards master-craftsmanship with a more stable base. It would be very useful to identify them to set them onto a long-term programme of development including courses, opportunities, mentors and coaches.

In addition to technical skills achievement, the assessment framework created by Chang & Rieple (2013) presents a way in which entrepreneurial skills may be assessed as well as the place of experiential learning in its development. They measure the effectiveness of their learning system using a simple three point version of the Lickert scale (1 lowest score, 3 highest score) through which students to assess their own progress using a prescribed questionnaire (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225).

The Chang & Rieple (2013) questionnaire can be used over specified time periods or as a one-off assessment. The system provides insights into the 'nature

and practice of an experiential learning approach'. The results of the study indicate "that the development of entrepreneurial skills can be improved by providing a learning environment in which students interact with real business people in live projects" (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225). They assert the need for timely learning interventions that cater for the specific needs of students working in live projects (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 225), which in terms of an SDF relates to courses and interventions by coaches and mentors.

The technical and business skills programmes should be:

- i. **Staged** – As per the Dormer stages of progression
- ii. **Self-assessed** – As per Chang & Rieple (2013) assessment system using a Lickert Scale
- iii. **Accredited** – By industry bodies such as the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council, Crafts Council and ASDC itself.

The SDF will promote industry relevant development programmes. In a similar fashion the business skills programme can be undertaken by industry participants, following a programme of self-assessment, using a needs-analysis questionnaire. Supplied by the expert panel, this would place the participant in the novice, mid-career or senior category. Category-appropriate courses could then be recommended, such as Getting Started, Hothouse and Walpole Mentoring.

The trainee participants should be encouraged to use the self-assessment questionnaire to place themselves in the relevant category of novice, mid-career or senior. Once categorised the participant can cross-reference which courses are most relevant to themselves.

7.7.1. Critical Industry Factors which Need to be Acknowledged

The problems which artisan-silversmiths face are many and varied. As with many craft-based industries the artisan-silversmith trade has particular needs and idiosyncrasies being:

- Limited demand
- Trading in a fragmented marketplace
- Working alone or in a very small group
- A limited personal business skillset
- Concentration on craft technique as a selling tool by makers
- Limited finances

- Limited sales outlets
- Being pulled in different directions concerning time management
- Reliance on others for specialist skills
- Administration of the business is often a weakness
- Sales and marketing is not a core skill
- Lack of industry market research
- The need to create a network of clients.

And it is these concerns which need to be addressed by an ASDC based on market research and within a markets prism which can be summarised as market knowledge, awareness and the creation of market opportunities for artisan-silversmiths.

This research is not merely theoretical, but is designed to be actioned. Industry stakeholders must be encouraged to test the SDF and the ASDC in the real world. Only once the Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC) is formed can the formation of the elements of a detailed development framework be tested.

The process of codification of the content of the SDF programme has been explored using the examples of *Vitae* and *DCE*, as demonstrated in Tables 5 and 6. The initial work of the ASDC must be to create its own development structure based on these ideas, and then to document the expert information to be used in training, followed by the design of the delivery system, whether it be course-based or the more complex and advanced system of learning by doing.

Technical skills education is already highly prescribed through the creative universities. Technical aspects of being an artisan-silversmith have been brought up-to-date through books such as *Silversmithing* by Hill & Putland (2014), and videos on silversmithing techniques.

The industry-relevant business theories of teaching enterprise have already been articulated through the writings of Neck & Greene (2010), also relevant business practice has been articulated by Boothroyd (2015) and Branagan (2011) to name just two business guides of the many available.

Initially the business elements of the framework can be suggested using the theories of Chang & Rieple to create the detail needed of which business elements to teach based on the seventeen key elements of running a business to be mastered by the fledgling entrepreneur (Chang & Rieple, 2013: 232).

7.7.2. The Artisan-Silversmith Development Council (ASDC) and its Work

The Structure of the ASDC

The ASDC should be made up of representatives of key industry stakeholders. At the point of writing, these ideally should be:

- i) The director of the Goldsmiths' Centre
- ii) Three creative university representatives
- iii) The chair of the Contemporary British Silversmiths
- iv) The CEO of the National Association of Jewellers
- v) The chair of the Goldsmiths' Craft & Design Council
- vi) The Head of a Business School with an interest in the creative industries
- vii) A balancing quorum of respected artisan-silversmiths
- viii) The researcher.

As asserted in the validation responses this Council needs to be weighted in favour of silversmiths and it must not be seen as made up of 'the usual suspects'. It would be logical to start the Council within the CBS.

7.7.3. The ASDC mission and Purpose

The ASDC needs to have a clear and concise remit and mission statement, for instance "The Council will formulate and manage a programme of research and development for modern Artisan-Silversmiths".

The Council will work with novice, mid-career and senior silversmiths to realise the detail of a phased development programme.

In the first year a questionnaire and booklet can be produced that presents the Council's ideas for distribution and testing in the marketplace. The booklet will ask the participants to self-assess using the Chang & Rieple model, identify skills gaps, and then identify relevant courses or training programmes.

The Council can identify and create opportunities including a survey of selling opportunities and the creation of specialist selling opportunities aimed at the people most likely to commission and purchase.

The central role of the Council should be to undertake research and disseminate accurate and relevant market analysis. This function alone will provide artisan-silversmiths with the knowledge that the study suggests is currently most necessary: the core information suggesting what they should make, for whom and why. The Council should identify and promote 'influencers', those role models who

have the greatest influence on young aspiring silversmiths and the industry in general.

As previously noted, the I&E report asserts that “there is a need to centrally manage business advice for craft practitioners” (I&E, 2016). In addition, the report alludes to the need for a centrally managed resource that coordinates all the disparate strands of information which a practitioner would need to manage the complexities of a craft business: an industry overview organisation.

The outlined systems of ‘learning by doing’ using the practices and theories of Ericsson (2006), Neck & Greene (2010) and the FTAM (2012) will create the template for the ASDC. The artisan-silversmithing industry has been working in a vacuum, isolated from either the knowledge or understanding of the demands of the marketplace. Practitioners will only adjust their learning to fit modern demands of product and quality in the light of current and relevant information. Their ideas will then need repeated testing in the marketplace throughout their business career. This information should be provided by the ASDC, which in turn must adjust its own programmes of training, awards categories and themes, taking into account feedback from participants, which can then be adapted to facilitate public education, creating a virtuous circle. I believe that there is a willingness to adopt these ideas to enable the industry to reinvent itself as a major player in the high quality bespoke gift industry, interior design industry, tableware industry and homeware industry.

The purpose of the ASDC is to create an industry overview of technical and business skills, markets and market research – a markets-based approach. Practitioners can assess their own skill-sets and identify gaps in their career progression by filling out a questionnaire. The information gathered from the questionnaires will enable the identification of the largest knowledge gaps, which will in turn indicate the courses which need to be provided and undertaken. The ASDC will provide contact details, training advice and relevant course outlines.

The new ASDC organisation could create templates of marketing materials and give advice on wording, graphics and personalisation for individual silversmiths. These materials will need to concentrate on the benefits of dealing with an individual silversmith whilst setting the benefits in its cultural setting.

The market research created will guide the individual silversmiths as to what items of manufacture are most likely to succeed. Through this system every silversmith would retain their individuality while promoting the benefits of the industry in a coherent and consistent manner. The great advantage the artisan-silversmith industry has is an already existing view of silversmithing as the ‘royalty of

craft'. The ASDC needs to take an active role in re-asserting this view into the public consciousness.

7.8. Conclusions from the Study

This section brings together all the findings of the research and suggests which elements of craft and business would benefit from development to create commercial and personal success for artisan-silversmiths. It is predicated on the following industry traits:

- High quality design capabilities
- High quality technical capabilities
- The ability to work as a community
- The ability to obtain and act upon good quality market research.

The industry can claim to have a number of world-class designer-makers who can act as exemplars of artisan-silversmithing. These role models already run successful businesses and it is through these examples that industry marketing and publicity can be channelled.

A rich heritage of making technique is almost a given attribute of the public's expectations of the industry. It is logical and possible to build on this cultural heritage by placing UK contemporary silversmithing at the pinnacle of world silversmithing.

The artisan-silversmithing industry already works together through organisations such as the CBS and Goldsmiths' Hall. Although it would take a great deal of effort to set up one more industry element, the ASDC, many will see the logic of formalising and professionalising these efforts for the greater good.

Through the professionalisation of the industry a coherent, combined marketing strategy can be made to articulate and communicate the consumer benefits of purchasing the products of contemporary silversmiths:

- Individual design
- The highest standards of making technique
- British made goods supported by the UK hallmark of quality
- Dealing with an artisan-maker
- The ability to purchase a completely bespoke item
- The opportunity to celebrate a special occasion with a personalised bespoke design.

The Goldsmiths' Company & Hamme survey results suggests that all these ideas will appeal to the demographic which already purchases the products of artisan-silversmiths. The artisan-silversmith community now needs to strengthen and extend these ideas to a much wider audience who have not considered silversmithing as way of commemorating a significant or special occasion. The industry could come together to communicate these simple, straightforward ideas as a group to expand the home market significantly, building on its greatest strengths and expanding within its already core market. Once this expansion is achieved the industry might turn its attention onto other markets such as exports, building on the current successes of the trade section of the industry who already export successfully.

In considering which aspects of the education, craft, business and motivational experiences contribute to the success of an artisan-silversmith's personal and business success, the study has highlighted that modern artisan-silversmiths have to master three core competencies: design, technique and business. Of the three, design is the more highly valued by clients in the studio/artisan-silversmith market whereas technique is more highly valued in the trade and export markets.

The creative universities deliver a mix of design and technique often to the dissatisfaction of the recipients who feel that they have not benefited from enough depth of learning in either field. This is perhaps indicative less of a problem with education per se than with the management of expectations. It may well prove wise to ensure that practitioners need to take a longer strategic view of multi-skills training. The study has identified the time taken to reach master craftsman status as being upwards of ten years. As well as the time necessary to fulfil this goal, which often leads to feelings of dissatisfaction and inadequacy in newly qualified practitioners, the feeling also remains that they do not have enough business skills by the time they leave university. This dissonance must be removed to ensure that the energy, enthusiasm and motivations, which are evident in novices can be harnessed usefully and positively.

This study suggests the teaching of artisan-silversmithing takes place in the context of a long-term learning programme of which university education and apprenticeships are just one part. By laying out what that programme is at the beginning to novices with the example of role models to demonstrate the needs for a triumvirate of craft, motivational and business skills those makers aiming to become successful artisan-silversmiths can consider their own position in relation to accruing necessary skills in a more considered timeframe.

Bringing together all the training model ideas of the study a new training model option can now be suggested - An adaptation of the Finnish Team Academy Model (FTAM) of learning by doing will allow practitioners to learn in real time by exposing them to the market place and allowing them to make mistakes without fear of actual business harm. While tutors often create selling shows, these are generally held within the confines of their department, with little input concerning market needs and conditions. The FTAM, however, advocates industry interaction, a coach and market research.

The intervention of role models for many of the interviewees was game-changing. The interaction of ideas concerning techniques and ideas on design and business normally accelerates novices towards commercialism.

The study has isolated the key success factors for the most successful artisan-silversmiths:

- High levels of technical skills
- Superior design
- A very strong network of makers and clients
- Superior salesmanship
- A good grasp of what customers want
- The ability to delegate and outsource non-critical work.

If these factors were made clear at the beginning of the long training journey, novices would be able to make considered judgements when deciding when and how they should be accruing these different skills. They should also be given the opportunity to discover, through self-analysis, whether they are willing and able to master this complex set of skills. Research also indicates the advantage of exposing future practitioners and novices to an overview of their career path and the purpose and usage of their individual training skills.

7.9. Further Research

In discussion with the examiners the works of Polanyi (1974), Risatti (2007), Ingold (2013), and Mishler (1999) can be used to cast new perspectives on the empirical data of the thesis so as to extract further rich data. In particular:

Polanyi (1974) offers a critique of logical positivism being a cognitive theory of epistemology and a discussion of the scientist's need for autonomy in pursuing knowledge. He challenges the researcher to considering his own position

“indwelling” as an observer, experimenter and arbiter of induction, deduction and hypothesis which he says are scientific methods, but also primitive theories of thinking. Further research will be cast in this light as discussed.

Risatti (2007) questions the relationship between craft and fine art defining the ‘Practical-Functional Arts’ and the ‘Uniqueness of Craft’, highlighting that “if a work is inventive, creative, it is art; if not, it must be a work of craft”. He disassembles the taxonomy of craft, compares machines, tools and craft objects whilst defining purpose and physiological necessity. Risatti discusses material and manual skill, as well as, design, workmanship and craftsmanship. Further research using Risatti’s analysis will refine the concepts of the thesis.

Ingold’s (2013) ideas consider the knowledge that making creates, building environments and transforming lives. His anthropological, archaeological, art and architectural based ideas can be applied in the further research to the thesis to create a nuanced view of the data.

Mishler (1999) studies the lives and work of craft artists from multiple angles and not just the motivational perspective taken by the researcher in this thesis. He analyses the sources and routes to craft artistry and the variability of pathways to creating craft identity. In so doing Mishler identifies the roles of contingencies, turning points and discontinuities and the tensions and contradictions in craft artists’ lives. This thesis does not have the raw data to undertake this research without extensive further work, however using Mishler’s research template of only five in-depth interviews extending the data already gathered would be straight forward and an exciting project which would create valuable richness and depth of research.

7.10. Limitations Encountered in Pursuing this Research and Future Areas of Research

Due to the industry-wide experience of the researcher and access to practitioners and industry stakeholders there were very few limitations to the study per se, these were discussed in section 4.10 of the methodology chapter.

Only one silversmith preferred not to be interviewed and only one pair of academics interviewed decided not to allow the data to be used for two reasons: the quality of the recording and therefore gaps in the transcription, and that some of the data was later considered too sensitive. They decided that it was preferable for them to not allow the data to be used in its entirety.

Subjects which might be considered at the next stage of research are:

- A wider demographic of artisan-silversmiths to be interviewed, in particular 'trade' practitioners
- A quantitative analysis of the industry
- A financial analysis of the artisan-silversmith industry so as to understand the real economics of the industry
- Artisan-silversmith industry market research, so as to more fully understand the complex marketplace within which artisan-silversmiths operate
- The impact and role of women in the future of artisan-silversmithing
- The impact of training in the context of market research combined with a purposive training programme.

The future research will be based on the practicalities of the development of an SDF and the distribution and dissemination of the theories and ideas of this study. The study thus far is theoretical with merely the validation of the study as a real-world test of its ideas. The true limitations of the study will be tested when the conclusions are presented to the industry as to whether its ideas are realistic and practical.

The study articulates the axes upon which the industry stands and the significance of the pillars of craft, motivations and business to the future prosperity of the industry. The study demonstrates the need for a coordinated professionalisation of the industry in the light of markets based information, which the study highlights as being of the greatest significance.

The original contribution of the study is to articulate and lay the foundations of theory and best practice which can be used as a guide to decision making for the new ASDC in designing a Silversmith Development Framework in the context of the marketplace.

7.11. Dissemination of the Research and Impact

The role of a professional change agent is of a great deal of interest to the researcher. The original purpose of the thesis was to create change with the backing of academic rigour. This study lays the theoretical foundation stones of fundamental change and as such is purely a beginning in holistic thinking and cooperation.

The Goldsmiths' Centre's director and others have responded positively to the executive summary with commentary that further research needs to be done on the development of an ASDC to deliver the SDF. To this end I have been offered to be the keynote speaker at a panel discussion in September 2019 at the Goldsmiths'

Centre to ask the question: “Which elements of artisan-silversmiths’ education, craft and motivational experiences contribute to their personal success?” We aim to invite industry stakeholders and of course silversmiths themselves. Further discussions will involve stakeholders within the industry, such as industry incubators, and educational establishments, encouraging their involvement and the creation of a funding proposal and bring about the reality of an ASDC.

Disseminating the ideas of a hybrid contextual ‘learning by doing’ training system I hope will elicit responses from educational establishments and could also be of interest to organisations outside of the world of silversmithing. If this is successful I will request other educational establishments to consider similar open discussions to disseminate the ideas of the thesis through perhaps a website dedicated and then look towards a publication which promulgates these ideas, as well as promoting contemporary silversmithing in this most fascinating period of its development.

Crafting the UK Artisan-Silversmith: An Exploration of the Development of a Silversmith Development Framework



Image 4: Brett Payne, Sterling Silver Lightball

"That is all well said," replied Candide,
"but we must cultivate our garden."

Voltaire, *Candide*, (1759)

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