

Beyond traditions

The adoption of circularity in French crafts

Master Thesis

June 2022

Word count: 9854

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Abstract – 389 words

This study aims at exploring the adoption of circular practices in craft in the French context. In times where circularity is increasingly promoted by the French state and the craft sector faces many challenges to source materials and innovate, one may expect the rise of circular practices in craft to warrant special attention due to their environmental and innovative values. Yet these innovative and sustainable practices remain unheralded within an environment favoring the preservation of traditional craft models. That is why, this study takes the perspective of French creative crafts makers and investigate their experiences when adopting circularity. Through thirteen qualitative semi-structured interviews, this study especially aims at understanding (1) their circular practices and the challenges they face around skills, material, and techniques (2) their intrinsic motivations to adopt circularity, and (3) their experiences in terms of societal acknowledgement and support. The results show that creative crafts makers' flexible, exploratory, and innovative approaches challenge conservative views on crafts, principally focused on preserving traditional know-how and skills. They ingeniously experiment with new skills and methods to create quality products from wastes and second-hand materials, recalling upcycling activities. Driven by their ecological and ethical values, they desire to foster more sustainable production and consumption. If these new practices seem to respond positively to traditional crafts challenges such as the lack of raw materials and innovative production models, new challenges are nevertheless arising. The issues mainly revolve around uneasy partnerships with landfills and second-hand managers, storing opportune second-hand and waste products, and time consumed to adapt to alternative and imperfect materials. Moreover, their innovative and sustainable practices seem to face a significant lack of support and legitimization from local governments, governmental organizations, and customers, mainly considering the artisanal and aesthetic value of their crafts. This denotes a larger societal problem around the openness towards ecological and out of the box practices, echoing the institutional preoccupation to protect traditions. Consequently, this study contributed to gain more in-depth knowledge on alternative types of crafts practices in France, beyond the traditional focus found in French institutions and academia, it also offers alternative solutions to protect the fragile existence of crafts through innovation rather preservation, so that craft can ultimately sustain itself. Lastly, this overview on current circular crafts practices and experiences regarding societal support and acknowledgement may help local stakeholders identify and tackle related challenges.

Key words: Crafts, circular economy, sustainable crafts, upcycling, innovation

Academic journals:

Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions

Materials & Design

Strategic Entrepreneurship Journal

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1. Introduction

This research explores the contribution of creative crafts to the circular economy and the craft sector in the French context. For more than a decade, the concept of circular economy has come to be at the center of pro-environmental laws and policies in France to achieve national ecological transition (Devaux, 2017). This new type of economic system is based on closed production and consumption loops (Stahel & MacArthur, 2019). A circular economy therefore fosters more sustainable societies, in which existing products and materials lose as little value as possible. That is why, since 2020, the law Anti-waste for a circular economy (i.e., Loi Anti-gaspillage pour une économie circulaire [AGEC]) has fixed circular objectives to decrease the amount of industrial and household waste, mostly through the acts of reusing, recycling, and repairing (Micheaux, 2020). Local environmental stakeholders are therefore considering the potential of crafts to enhance local circular processes (ADEME, 2022; PRECI, 2019). Due to skillset and tradition of repair, craft makers can indeed aid circularity and sustainability (Boutillier, Contant, & Fournier, 2008). But craft can also help due to increasingly innovative practices that combine craft skills with reuse and remanufacture of second-hand materials. The growing upcycling phenomenon is a typical example of sustainable and innovative crafts practices involved in the circular economy (Aakjær & Wegener, 2016; Cooper, Mont, Singh, Sung & West, 2019; Curteza & Paras, 2018). However, such experimental activities within the French art and craft sector may be restrained because of conservative views on craft (Institut National des Métiers d'Art [INMA], 2016a; Loup, 2003). Indeed, institutional attention is primarily placed on the preservation of traditional production models of craft, through tight organizational structures and formalized transmission of skills (Drone, 2015). The value of crafts thus rests on its traditional qualities rather than on its potential to achieve ecological purposes through experimental practices (Kroezen, Ravasi, Sasaki, Suddaby & Żebrowska, 2020). Yet, it also appears that French traditional crafts are paradoxically under threat, mostly because of growing difficulties to source materials due to environmental degradation and an important lack of innovation in production and commercial strategies (Cominelli, 2016). Therefore, one may expect the rise of circular practices in craft to warrant special attention due to their environmental and

innovative values, yet these practices remain unheralded within such a conventional context. That is why this study aims at learning more about the adoption of these innovative and sustainable practices in France.

In order to do so, this research goes to the source of these activities by taking the perspective of French creative crafts makers and investigate their experiences when adopting circularity. The research question thus reads: *How do creative crafts makers implement, justify and experience circularity in their crafts practices in France?*

Through qualitative semi-structured interviews, this study especially aims at understanding (1) their circular practices and the challenges they face around skills, material, and techniques (2) their intrinsic motivations to adopt circularity, and (3) their experiences in terms of societal acknowledgement and support.

This research is academically relevant because it combines two concepts that have not yet been studied side-by-side in France, namely '*artisanat d'art*' (i.e. French version of arts and crafts, where hand-made products combine utilitarian and aesthetic aspects) and 'circular economy'. Studies on circularity have mainly tackled crafts practices found in repair cafes and third places ('tiers lieux') in France and abroad (Charter & Keiller, 2016; Cova & Kreziak, 2017; Deroubaix & Gobert, 2021). Few studies have explored the innovative use of circularity to produce ethical and ecological crafts, principally in the UK (Cooper et al., 2019; Curteza & Paras, 2018; Menezes & Takamitsu, 2014; Moorhouse, 2017). This leaves a knowledge gap on circular actions adopted by French crafts makers in *artisanat d'art*. This study is also timely because the crafts sector is facing growing difficulties related to a lack of innovation and degradation of local environments (Cominelli, 2016). Therefore, sustainability in *artisanat d'art* in France has primarily focused on safeguarding traditional crafts know-how and skills (Cominelli, 2015). By exploring the connection between craft and circularity, this research might contribute to a better understanding of how the craft sector can become sustainable in itself and address its own challenges. Finally, an overview on current circular crafts practices and experiences regarding societal support and acknowledgement may help local stakeholders identify and tackle related challenges (PRECI, 2019).

The coming section provides definition of sustainable crafts and a review on current circular craft practices found in recent international literature. The current traditional position of arts and crafts in France will then be explained, which will open the discussion on potential motivations behind innovative craft practices. Finally, the way arts and crafts approach sustainability will be explored, opening the discussions societal considerations towards circular and creative craft in France. The research design section describes the use of the qualitative approach through semi-structured interviews and data analysis. The finding section presents the main results of this project. The findings are finally summed up and discussed in the conclusion section, with their implications for French crafts and circular economy, followed by contributions and future recommendations

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Circular practices in sustainable craft

As global mass production and consumption culture is becoming a concern, the role of crafts in fostering local and sustainable development is increasingly looked upon (Luckman & Thomas, 2018; Hoalst-Pullen, Mattord, Patterson, Vest, 2014; Ratman, 2014). As the concept of sustainable crafts has gained popularity, the definition remains discussed. On one hand, some consider that handy crafts are inherently sustainable because they are locally produced and preserving local traditions and know-how (Boutillier, Contant, & Fournier, 2008; Cominelli, 2015). The challenge traditional crafts are however facing is sourcing raw materials, which is due the degradation of local natural environments (Cominelli, 2016). On another hand, other consider that crafts are not intrinsically sustainable when they are not consciously considering the environmental and ethical impact of their practice (Pöllänen & Väänänen, 2020). In fact, raw material is often acquired unethically and responsible for the deterioration of the environment (Christiani & Lai, 2013; Kristensen, Mikkelsen & Thomsen, 2014). That is why, according to Pöllänen & Väänänen (2020) sustainable craft is the purposeful use of materials and techniques to respond more positively to these environmental and

social challenges. In fact, sustainable practices are increasingly being observed in craft work, especially revolving around circular principles. This is visible in crafts practices transforming worn out materials and extending the life cycle of products (Aakjær & Wegener, 2016; Charter & Keiller, 2016). Therefore, an approach to understanding circularity in crafts may benefit from Kristensen and Mosgaard's study (2019), taking from MacArthur foundation's original definition of circular economy with the Era of R's. This study reviews and defines all circular categories found at the level of organizations and companies' processes and may serve as a basis to identify the various circular practices found in craft.

First and foremost, to refrain from throwing away and buying new, crafts show abilities in repairing broken items. Following Kristensen and Mosgaard's review (2019), this act can be found within the category of 'Extending lifetime'. This circular action is especially salient with the growing phenomenon of repair cafes around the world, where crafts makers from all domains offer their repair services to visitors (Charter & Keiller, 2016; Leung, Micciolo, Turton, & Viens, 2016). In France, the act of repairing and restoring was always present within traditional crafts and can be taught in various secondary schools (Boutillier, Contant, & Fournier, 2008; INMA, 2016b; Loup, 2003). To Cominelli (2015) crafts are already contributing to sustainable development through the restoration and preservation of tangible and intangible heritage. That is why Pöllänen & Väänänen (2020) point out that it is the ethical and environmental ideology of sustainability that separates ordinary crafts from sustainable crafts. Following this statement, the adoption of circularity in crafts production does not only rely on the practice of repairing and restoring, but also on makers' intrinsic motivations to have a reduced and positive environmental and social impact.

Beyond repair and restoration, practices adopting circularity in craft demonstrate innovation and experimentation using new techniques and materials. The innovative act of upcycling is therefore gaining academic attention. According to Rebois & Rollot (2014), upcycling is not a new phenomenon in the crafts sectors as mosaics during antique times were usually made from broken tiles. To them, what is however new today is the urgent need to revalue what has been worn out and neglected, such as

industrial and household wastes. In a time of ecological emergency, this new method is also questioning unsustainable consumption patterns. Upcycling is the act of both 'upgrading' and 'recycling' by reassessing and transforming wastes into something valuable that can be put back into market (Aakjær & Wegener, 2016). Following Kristensen and Mosgaard's review (2019), the act of upcycling first fits within the circular category of 'Remanufacturing', which is the case of furniture upcycling through repainting, repurposing, and refurbishing (Cooper et al., 2019). This practice allows to renew the aesthetic of furniture that is out of trend, therefore stopping it to be thrown away and replaced with a new piece. This practice seems thus consistent with the principle of sustainability. Secondly, upcycling also belongs to the circular category of 'Reusing', which implies to reuse a whole product with no to minor changes or reuse components in a new product (Bridgens, Powell, Farmer, Walsh, Reed, Royapoor & Heidrich, 2018). The act of 'Recycling' content and materials after use in new or remanufactured products can also be present. Reusing and recycling are especially salient in creatively employing and transforming second-hand products and wastes such as cardboard boxes, scrap pieces of woods and textiles (Sung, 2015). There is a growing number of studies on upcycling in the textile industry and in jewelry in which upcycling propose creative and innovative solutions to environmental and ethical issues related to sourcing raw material (Curteza & Paras, 2018; Menezes & Takamitsu, 2014; Moorhouse, 2017). Another study on furniture entrepreneurs in the UK context reviews the commercial and economic challenges entrepreneurs are facing, mainly related to lack of support (Cooper et al., 2019). In France, little research can be found on the innovative act of upcycling and the related challenges and principally focuses on sustaining local crafts traditions and methods (Cominelli, 2015).

With their attention on the inherent sustainable practices found in French traditional crafts and on industrial and entrepreneurial upcycling operations abroad, past studies leave a knowledge gap on the new types of circular practices employed by French creative crafts makers. Moreover, as circular practices – remanufacturing, reusing, repairing - may fix one of the traditional crafts issues of accessing raw materials (Cominelli, 2016), it is relevant to seek out the new potential challenges encountered. Uncertainty remains on the challenges crafts people go through when implementing

circularity in their creation processes. Lastly, if the traditional act of repairing and restoring is being taught in French crafts school and during apprenticeship, the learning of new circular methods of production such as reusing or recycling does not yet appear on educational curriculums (Boutillier, Contant, & Fournier, 2008; INMA, 2016b). It is therefore essential to investigate the various ways crafts makers have learned to implement circularity in their practices.

2.2. Creative crafts within a traditional context

As new circular craft practices require to innovate and experiment with materials and techniques, they seem to diverge from more conventional craft practices set in longstanding local traditions. Recognizing that crafts have different set of values, purposes and motivations depending on cultural contexts, Kroezen et al. (2020) identifies and defines two types of crafts: traditional and creative. This differentiation between traditional and creative craft practices is especially salient in art and crafts within the French context, where traditions seem predominant.

To begin with, the domain of *Artisanat d'art*, is legally defined through Article 22 of the Law 2014-626. This law states that objects must be handmade and include both utilitarian and aesthetic, even artistic, aspects. Beyond this legal frame, crafts people must register as 'artisan' at the French Chamber of Commerce and Crafts (i.e. Chambre du Commerce et de l'Artisanat [CMA]) and can be granted the title of 'crafts masters' - 'maître d'art' – and 'artisan d'art' by the state (INMA, n.d.). This conventional approach to craft is similar to the one identified in traditional crafts described by Kroezen et al. (2020). In traditional crafts, crafts makers can only reach the honorable rank of 'master' by climbing the career ladder over several years of practice. Indeed, French crafts makers can be granted the title of 'master' when demonstrating quality of excellence and uniqueness in their work, several years of experience in their domains and successful completion of training apprentices for at least three years (Drone, 2015; INMA, n.d.). These honorary titles denote a craft production model based on hierarchy of skills and experience. This echoes the master-apprenticeship system in traditional crafts, driven by the transmission, reproduction, and preservation of local

craft traditions (Kroezen et al., 2020). This tradition-focused attitude however has limitations. In her research on the current conditions of French arts and crafts, Cominelli (2016) found that the sector is struggling to survive because of an important lack of innovation. Indeed, she observes a slow evolution of skills, techniques, and commercial strategies. In traditional craft, it is indeed known that for know-how and methods to be preserved, exploratory and alternative creative processes should be refrained (Kroezen et al., 2020). Bell, Dacin & Toraldo (2021) also explain that crafts imaginaries dominated by past experiences cannot expect to build future expectations different from those of the past. When idealizing and sticking to the past, one may argue that craft is motivated by the maintenance of current production models, thus blocking imagination and innovative processes. Fixated on past approaches to learning and producing, traditional crafts therefore may struggle to keep up to speed with the current liberal markets and constant innovation, which in turns threatens their own existence.

The French National Institute for Arts and Crafts [INMA] therefore starts acknowledging the potential of 'neo-artisans' in reinventing a new type of crafts (INMA, 2016a). In what can be assimilated to creative crafts, neo-artisans are instead valuing freedom, exploration, and innovation (Kroezen et al., 2020). Creative crafts indeed experiment with new methods of production and alternative materials, individually or within communities of like-minded creatives. These practices therefore fit into future-oriented crafts imaginaries. Bell et al. (2021) explain that with this forward-looking attitude, past craft knowledge and techniques can be creatively used and adapted to renew present and future craft. Moreover, as crafts makers are no longer tied to tradition and motivated by nostalgia, they are instead driven by their imagination and the desire to create for a better future. The motivations found within future-oriented craft imaginaries appears to align with those of creative crafts. Kroezen et al. (2020) indeed states that creative crafts makers are more likely to follow their personal values when creating, freed from expectations rooted in an idealized past. This is especially salient with the apparent revival of crafts. Ocejo (2017) indeed observes that highly educated people are increasingly going back to manual work, driven by the desire to have more meaningful work. Potentially less skilled than 'crafts masters', they nonetheless use and

adapt traditions to respond to nowadays demand, turning old crafts jobs into new trendy niche markets. Furthermore, future oriented-crafts imaginaries can also be found in the rise of craftivism where crafting becomes politically, socially, and environmentally engaged (Clarke, 2016). This is why Greer (2014) includes upcycled crafts in her book on craftivist movements. This aligns with Pöllänen & Väänänen (2020) stating that creation of sustainable crafts is guided by makers' environmental and ethical values. Crafts are here produced with a desire to foster societal change. Craftivism is also promoting participatory actions rather than reproducing traditional hierarchical structures (Gaber, 2013). Ultimately, crafting is no longer merely about creating utilitarian and aesthetic items and preserving traditions, it is also a way to break old craft conventions, align with personal values and foster societal change.

With their innovative side and their desire to align with their personal values, creative crafts makers, or neo-artisans, are therefore more likely to adopt circularity in their practices (INMA, 2016a). However, a lot of attention is given on traditional crafts and motivations to safeguard past know-how and skills within the French context (Cominelli 2015), and less on the creative and innovative sides of crafts and the motivations behind them. Within such a formalized and hierarchical system, French creative crafts makers' motivations to adopt circularity could be more diverse than mere personal values, originally fueling the creation of sustainable crafts. It is therefore questionable whether circularity may also be employed to surpass the lack of innovation in traditional crafts, to counter the limited access to materials or to break longstanding craft conventions.

2.2. Societal considerations towards sustainable crafts

To explore societal considerations towards sustainable crafts, it is first essential to understand how the concept of sustainability is addressed in the craft sector. An approach to understanding sustainability discourse and actions in craft may benefit from Power's theory (2021) on sustainability in the arts. This study provides a theoretical framework stressing the difference between 'sustainability of the arts' and sustainability *in* the arts'.

On one hand, ‘Sustainability of arts’ is about recognizing similarities between natural and cultural capital as both yielding for protection (Power, 2021). Through the over-protection of craft hierarchies and traditional know-how and skills, sustainability of crafts seems to be the dominant concern in French society. However, within a tradition-based paradigm, innovation appears limited (Cominelli, 2016). Yet, innovation is an essential component to sustainable crafts, especially to circular ones such as upcycling (Bridgens, Heidrich, Farmer, Powell, Reed, Royapoor & Walsh, 2018). That being said, the way society responds to sustainable crafts including innovative characteristics is therefore questionable. Furthermore, in cultural ecology, culture is said to adapt to local environment (Anderson, & Sutton, 2020). More specifically, cultural practices are adapted to respond to current environmental conditions. One may then argue that societies maintaining backward-looking perspectives on cultural practices may take the risk to slow down their adaptation to current environmental situations. It is thus questionable whether societies focusing on sustainability of crafts, by protecting past traditions, may fail to adapt to current environmental conditions. In today’s environmental crisis, it would imply a lack of consideration towards wider societal and ecological gains that can be achieved through crafts.

On the other hand, sustainability *in* crafts is increasingly being acknowledged and supported by environmental organizations (ADEME, 2015; ADEME 2022; CMA, 2020). ‘Sustainability *in* arts’ is about environmental responsibility and actions within arts practices and policies (Power, 2021). For instance, in their recent policy brief and initiatives, the environmental organization *Agence de l'environnement et de la maîtrise de l'énergie* [ADEME] is putting forth the important role of craft, third places such as second-hand shops, repair ateliers and makerspaces to adopt circular processes (ADEME, 2022). These bottom-up initiatives adopting circularity indeed promote sustainability in production and consumption patterns. From the principle of cultural ecology, it can be argued that cultural practices here adapt to current environmental conditions (Anderson, & Sutton, 2020). By acknowledging craft ecological responsibility and encouraging future-oriented craft imaginaries (Bell et al., 2021), environmental stakeholders seem thus to support and value innovation and

sustainability *in* crafts. However, in their study Deroubaix & Gobert (2021) have explored the role of third places (repair cafes, ateliers, fab labs) in two French regions and their legitimization by local governments. If it shows an increase in consumers and prosumers, it also demonstrates that still little support and legitimacy is given to bottom-up initiatives on a local level. Interestingly, this situation is similar in the UK while the government is also increasingly engaged in the circular economy (UK Government, 2020). Cooper & al. (2019) indeed highlighted a lack of financial contribution from the government towards upcycling businesses and difficulties dealing with complex legislation. These studies therefore expose a potential conflict between official sustainability discourses by environmental stakeholders and the actual lack of political acknowledgment and support towards sustainability *in* crafts.

In the French context where respecting and preserving crafts traditions appears predominant, the place that sustainable and innovative crafts occupy in society is thus questionable. In theory, the constant attention to sustainability *of* craft seem to overshadow their ecological potential, but also limit their adaptation to today's threatened environment (Anderson, & Sutton, 2020). The state nonetheless recognizes crafts' values to participate and reinforce sustainable practices among the public (ADEME, 2015; ADEME 2022; CMA, 2020). Yet political stakeholders seem to fail at legitimizing circular practices (Deroubaix & Gobert, 2021; Cooper et al., 2019). It appears therefore crucial to explore societal support and acknowledgement towards sustainable and innovative craft practices.

3. Research design

3.1. Data collection

To provide deep insights on circular crafts makers' practices, intrinsic motivations, and experiences around support and acknowledgement, this study takes on a qualitative approach. Thirteen semi-structured interviews with circular crafts makers from Provence in France have been collected, all lasting between one hour and one and half

hour. This data collection method has been favored because it allows to go in depth into the topics of inquiry (Bernauer & O'Dwyer, 2013). Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to express themselves plainly and conversations to flow freely (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995). As most interviews took place in participants' working environment, they gave me a tour of their ateliers, explaining production processes and showed their tools and final products. The interview guide was employed to keep a directive line and keep a research focus when the conversation was slowing down or drifting out of the areas of interest (Babbie, 2006). Interviews were therefore interactive, smooth, and natural.

The region of Provence Alpes Côte d'Azur [PACA], of which Marseille is the capital, has been selected for this study because it counts various local bottom-up and top-down initiatives around circularity. To cite a few of them, a regional platform for circular economy called Plateforme Régionale pour l'Économie Circulaire [PRECI] has been developed by national and local policymakers, craft organizations representatives, industrial company representatives in order to connect and reference all circular initiatives in the region of PACA (PRECI, 2019). Other initiatives have been launched by the local antenna of ADEME to fund and showcase circular projects involving crafts makers such as 'Eco-défi' and TPE-PME Gagnantes (ADEME, 2022). The city of Marseille has a high concentration of small to large craft enterprises, as well as bottom-up circular organizations such as collective and private repair and second-hand shops (Made in Marseille, 2021). Harbor cities, such as Marseille, Vitrolles, Toulon or Nice, appear to be on top of ecological movements, which is possibly explained by the fact that their existence is being threaten by sea-level change, increasing the local population environmental awareness (AGAM, 2017). Furthermore, the Provence region comprises a high number of crafts enterprises in artisanat d'art, keepers of know-how and traditional techniques (INMA, 2016a). CMA of Provence is actively involved in supporting local traditional and creative crafts. Through the platform Beeshary-Artyboutik in collaboration with the region, they act as a commercial platform, referencing, describing, and localizing several active crafts makers in rural and urban areas of Provence (CMA, n.d.-b). Parallelly they also develop the network of Répar'acteurs and organize events aimed at promoting craftsmanship and raising

awareness among the public about the circular act of repairing products (CMA, n.d.-c). All in all, the Provence region shows active engagement in craftsmanship and circularity which is why it is a relevant case to study in France.

3.2. Sampling methods

The participants have first been selected using a purposive sampling method (Sharma, 2017) because they have been chosen under specific criteria. The first criterium is that they must have been officially registered at the Répertoire des Métiers (RM), which means that he/she is a legally recognized as 'artisan', being self-employed or owner of a micro-enterprise. Secondly, the participant must have an activity referenced in *artisanat d'art* (INMA, 2016a). The third criterium is that crafts makers must display at least one type of circular category based on the classification of Kristensen and Mosgaard (2019) – Remanufacturing, disassembling, lifetime extension, reusing, recycling. The last criterium is that they must be living and making crafts in the region of Provence, consequently registered with a RM number at CMA of Provence. However, the region of Provence being divided between rural and urban zones, it appeared necessary to include participants from both areas. Studies on creative crafts have mainly focused on practices in urban settings (Hoalst-Pullen, 2014; Ocejo, 2017). Yet, after a first round of participant research, many circular crafts people have been localized within rural areas. That is why almost half of the participants is settled in rural areas (7 participants) and the other half lives in urban areas (i.e. Marseille and Toulon) (6 participants). The participants have been first found via the Internet, through the Répar'acteurs and Beeshary websites, both referencing craft people working in *artisanat d'art*. After visiting their personal websites and checking all above-mentioned criteria, participants have been contacted via email. Finally, respondents have also been identified through the method of snowball sampling by getting their contact via some of the first respondents (Sharma, 2017), while respecting the same criteria as above mentioned.

3.3. Operationalization

This study aims at shedding light on (1- implement) creative crafts makers' circular practices and the challenges they bring up in terms of skills, material, and techniques, (2 - justify) their intrinsic motivations to adopt circularity and (3- experience) their experiences in adopting circularity around societal acknowledgment and support. The interview guide was therefore divided in three parts. The first part of the interview was about (1) their circular practices and the challenges. It was translated with a starter question about the beginning of their involvement in crafts and circularity, followed by a request to explain in detail their circular practices and show their crafts products in their atelier. Following questions were designed to dig deeper into the acquisitions of skills, methods, and materials and the potential challenges encountered with those, again by presenting concrete examples from their atelier. Lastly, circular partnerships and collaborations beneficial to the production process were approached. This leads to the second part of the interview around (2) their motivations, asking them to share how they feel about their decision to work in circularity. The reasons they are involved in circularity – personal, professional, and societal gain – where asked. Finally, the last part was focusing on (3) their experiences around support and acknowledgement with an opening question on whether they are part of national and local circular programs and networks. The reception of their product was then approached, by asking them to explain their marketing strategies, describe their customers and share the positive or negative feedbacks they receive about their crafts. These questions open the conversation on the perceived and actual official support and legitimization they receive from the state and other governmental organizations. It appeared then essential to ask about the issues they are facing around societal support and acknowledgement. All in all, these questions allowed to draw a full picture about crafts makers' practices, motivations and experiences around circularity.

3.4. Data analysis

This study adopts a thematic analysis method to extract meaning from collected data. The thematic analysis took both a deductive and semantic approach. On one hand, the deductive approach led to analyze data through predefined theories (Braun & Clark,

2006), such as theories on craftsmanship (Cominelli, 2016; Kroezen et al., 2020), and on circular and sustainable practices (Cooper, Mont, Singh, Sung & West, 2019; Cova & Kreziak, 2017; Kristensen & Mosgaard, 2019; Pöllänen & Väänänen, 2020). Similar to the interview guide, the analysis focused on data related to circular practices, challenges, motivations, support and acknowledgement. On the other hand, the semantic approach allowed to identify and describe explicit meanings in the data (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). This study does not seek deep underlying assumptions or ideas in makers' discourses, like in latent methods. It rather takes on a realist approach, describing and summarizing crafts makers' experience through their discourse. It also trusts that *what* they said, rather than *how* they said it, already reveals a certain reality (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). The interpretation was instead done in the second phase, where the implications of the patterns found have been theorized in relation with previous theory (Braun & Clark, 2006).

The data transcripts were analyzed through the act of coding in four steps on Atlas.ti (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Once initial codes were created, and a coding book was generated. Then, the coding book was applied to all data, while taking note of prospective themes. Codes were then reviewed and classified into themes and sub-themes. After a few revisions, the final themes and sub-themes were finalized. The report of the findings encompasses all themes, but depicts only the most important, usually representing the most mentioned facts and experiences, within the themes.

4. Findings

The overview of the main findings is organized around four themes relevant to the research question. The first two themes showcase the main circular practices adopted and the rising challenges and problematics when implementing them, especially regarding the employment of new materials, skills, and techniques. The third theme reveals circular crafts makers' most common motivations. Finally, the last theme highlights both negative and positive experiences around support and

acknowledgement coming from governmental organizations and customers regarding their circular crafts practices.

4.1. Main circular practices

The vast majority of respondents' practices revolves around the act of 'reusing', either parts of old items or wastes products to create new aesthetical ones. Makers' circular practices however varies depending on their domain of craft activity. That is because the practices are adapted to the materials they work with (i.e. textile, wood, silver, ceramic). It therefore requires a different set of skills and methods, as well as aesthetic considerations to transform them. That is why it appeared necessary to analyze circular actions per domain of activity.

Both jewel creators make pendants out of wastes such as broken safety glass from bus shelters, broken tiles, or worn-out sailing fabric. When the materials cannot be found on the street, they create partnerships with companies to retrieve wastes either for free or with low fees. In pure jewelry production, the most recurrent circular practice is 'disassembling' (Kristensen & Mosgaard, 2019). They disassemble old out-of-trend and unused necklaces, bracelets, and earrings to extract and use parts of them in new creations. When the conditions or aesthetic of the jewel are too bad, they recycle the silver to make new jewels, instead of buying new silver. They create partnerships with second-hand resellers, look for old jewels by themselves in second-hand stores or get them through their personal networks. One of the respondents is highly aware of the difference between 'reusing', involving reusing a whole product with no to minor changes, or reuse components a new product, and 'recycling', implying to process content of materials in a new or remanufactured product, as explained by Kristensen & Mosgaard (2019). In the jewelry domain, she clearly explains that recycling is less sustainable than reusing because it means reprocessing materials, which consumes more energy and chemical products. Thus, she aims at reusing more, as stated:

"So it means that, when I recycle, it's when I'm going to melt down a piece of jewelery to make another one. But the jewel that I will have melted, I will have wasted gray energy and gray energy is the energy deployed to manufacture an object. So, when

I'm going to melt this object, in fact, I'm going to waste the gray energy that someone deployed to make it. Whereas when I, when I reuse stitches I'm going to recut them and reassemble them. I'm just going to divert them. I'm not going to melt them down and rework them. And so, in the end, it's even better.»

In the textile domain, the respondents are also reusing by employing waste such as scraps of fabrics, old sheets, and clothes to make hats, aprons, cushions, pouches or tote bags, and industrial wastes such as used inner tubes of tires or tarpaulin from trucks to make highly resistant yet aesthetical bags as one of them states:

« But here it's the same, it's only scraps, it's only trash. So. I'll say that, it's garbage. So, what do I do? Bags, pouches, lampshades. So far, that's where I am at. »

In the furniture domain, the act of reusing is also present. One crafts maker makes lamps out of wooden pieces of old furniture that clients do not want to throw away, but do not want to keep in their house either. Another one makes furniture accessories with unused industrial wooden pallets that would be otherwise thrown away. Circular practices in furniture mostly involves the act of 'remanufacturing' old furniture to refresh their style (Kristensen & Mosgaard, 2019). All workers in this domain work on commission to repaint and refurbish furniture, so that customers do not throw it away to buy new, as this respondent explained:

“It's really reworking the aesthetics of furniture, so I work almost exclusively on the paint and varnish aspect, so paint and finish. I'm not a carpenter, so I don't make any furniture and the basic idea of my work was always to use what already exists. I really started on this basis too, to raise awareness, to tell people 'stop throwing away' because in fact, all it takes is a bit of paint and your furniture is good again for many years to come”

The circular activities identified in these three domains echoes the upcycling phenomenon implying the 'upgrade' of recycled materials. As Cooper et al. (2019) already noted, out of trend furniture is repainted and refurbished to give them a second

life. While, in the textile and jewelry domains, worn out materials and waste are transformed and revalorized to create new trendy products (Bridgens et al., 2018; Curteza & Paras, 2018).

In the ceramic domain, her circular practices are different than upcycling. They instead correspond to the circular act of ‘waste management’ identified by Kristensen & Mosgaard (2019). She employs a zero-waste strategy by reprocessing hard scraps of clay falling out during the creation process. This was done through a long reconditioning procedure in her garden after which the clay can be reused. She also filters used water in containers. All elements that would be otherwise lost in the creation process are reprocessed and reused.

Interestingly, ten out of the thirteen participants also work on side projects involving reusing activities, such as making artworks or display units. They also organize workshops involving the use of industrial and domestic wastes, which echoes craftivist participatory and environmentally engaged actions (Gaber, 2013; Greer, 2014).

Lastly, only five of the respondents propose repair services. Three jewel workers offer to repair broken jewels, with one respondent only repairing her own creation as she finds the act of repairing rather boring. Only one textile worker offers to repair clothes on a volunteer basis in local repair cafes, but she also finds it unchallenging because she only sews hems of trousers. These findings surprisingly contrast with prominent longstanding French traditions of repair in crafts (INMA, 2016b; Loup, 2003), revealing the fact that creative crafts are instead more interested in experimenting around other less traditional circular activities.

4.2. Challenges around circular production

One of the main challenges for circular crafts makers is how to find good materials to work with. Six of respondents’ practices mentioned that people around them are voluntarily donating textiles, furniture and jewels that would have been otherwise thrown away. Other makers use their own domestic wastes or wastes they find on the street. Six respondents also created partnerships with companies from the industrial

sector to retrieve pieces of woods, plastic, and glass. If industrial partnerships seem to be prolific, four respondents however recurrently shared the difficulty to work with second-hand stores and landfills. Participants explained that second-hand stores are not collaborative, even in giving away damaged material. Moreover, Deroubaix & Gobert (2019) already pointed out a difficult cooperation between third places and landfills. Because of storage and safety reasons, access to landfill is only granted on specific days to third places' managers who have a legal authorization. The dissatisfaction expressed by third places towards this tightly regulated system once again manifests in participants' stories. One participant even talks about bribing landfill managers:

“There used to be a time when you could easily collect things from the dump but now it becomes more and more complicated. [...] they have restricted the access, suddenly, it becomes more and more complicated to go and collect things from the landfills. [...]. You give a little money to the guys at the entrance, so that they turn the camera away, so that they can give you something. But when you see how much there is on the landfill site, it's utter nonsense. Because everyone advocates everywhere ecology, blabla, stop wasting, no more throwing away and everything. And you, when you want to retrieve things, it's forbidden. »

Furthermore, two subsequent disadvantages result from working with reused materials. On one hand, a few respondents explained that searching reusable materials takes more time than buying new in a shop or online. On the other hand, five respondents brought up their struggles around storage space. Indeed, materials cannot be ordered when needed, instead it is found progressively and opportunistically which requires to stock, as one respondent illustrated:

“[...] with old materials or materials, it [the difficulty] is that it is necessary to store. Yes, that's a real problem. It means that you have an inactive inventory to keep stored. When I buy materials, I don't transform them right away because they might not fit within my current creation. But these materials are good opportunities, so it requires storing them, sorting them. »

This is also one of the main reasons why respondents working with furniture started working on commission rather than storing and selling refurbished furniture, therefore dictating their approach to circularity.

Sometimes, used materials cannot be found and must be bought new. Moreover, chemical products must be used to treat or modify materials, especially in jewel and furniture domains. However, respondents recurrently explained that they try to use the least toxic products for the environment, two of them even use organic paint, preferably ethically and locally produced. This ethical and environmental sensitivity is typical of sustainable crafts, in which production methods are adapted to be as sustainable as possible (Pöllänen & Väänänen, 2020). All the makers using bottles and pots of chemical products, also practice the circular act of 'end of life management' (Kristensen & Mosgaard, 2019), by collecting and bringing them to specialized recycling locations.

"I pay attention to the paints I use, I recycle in recycling centers and landfills."

"And I also use more traditional paints made with flour or cottage cheese, which are no longer used nowadays, but which I find very interesting in their rendering"

Another challenge that crafts makers are dealing with is about the quality of materials. If half of the respondents are satisfied with the quality of the second-hand material they use, they also reveal that it also contains a lot of imperfections. Interestingly, most of them believe that imperfections are what makes their products unique and strong (such as apparent tire patch on bags, apparent welding in jewels, holes in the wood), as one respondent said:

"I had clients who called me back saying "there are holes", "yes, there are holes, there are imperfections, I warned you in all descriptions, I say it, it's recycled wood". [...] Me, I like it, I don't like everything that is very smooth. [...] if it's to do something perfect, I'm

going to buy pine wood, I raise the price and then that's it. But, I'm not interested in doing this. »

However, two textile workers find it challenging to work with old textiles, which often contain holes. They must find a way to work around them, changing the design they originally had in mind.

This raises the challenge around the development of new skills and techniques involving circularity, rethinking the creative and making practices. In fact, more than half of the participants revealed that one must constantly adapt to new types of materials, especially textiles, which also requires more time than working with new known material. One of the respondents clearly explained:

"It's very strange to be in the creation process and to be imposed by the material itself. Whereas usually in creation, we tend to draw first, do things, then go look for the material and do what we thought about. And here it's, here it's the opposite. »

It is through experiments and self-teaching that almost all respondents have been learning to work with reused materials. If half of the participants have had a prior crafts training, yet not always related to their current domain of practices, the other half qualify themselves as auto-didact, although two of them also learned some techniques from peers during their time in makers labs. Only one respondent had a proper training in his field of activity. Specific to creative crafts defined by Kroezen et al. (2020), almost all participants have been experimenting on their own to make proper creations out of second-hand materials and wastes, which was not originally taught at school where traditional methods are favored (INMA, 2016b). Creating in this way requires to innovate through creativity and ingenuity, especially when materials are diverted from their primary utility, as one participant explained:

"And then, it is about racking your brains, and then really going deep into the material. So it is about testing, checking what the properties are, the properties of these technical fabrics that are originally made for outdoor purposes, etc. So, how to maintain

colors, lightness, durability. And I thought 'how can I transpose that into my craft domain?' which is the domain of jewelry. »

If new challenges therefore arise from these newly developed circular practices, they nonetheless seem to respond positively to one of main traditional crafts challenge which is the limited access to raw materials (Cominelli, 2016). By reusing materials and waste, it allows makers to employ less raw materials, therefore limit the degradation of local environments.

4.3. Motivations

All the respondents are driven by the will to raise awareness among the population on sustainable and ethical consumption and change consumers' habits. They hope their circular practices inspire people to throw away less, buy less new, and instead give a second life to items and waste through the act of reusing and recycling, as these two quotes exemplify:

"According to me, the idea is to do, it's to make people aware, on a small scale really, that recycled things can be pretty."

"Yes, but here it is, the challenge is to change people's habits, so that they come and see me rather than leaving their stuff in their closet or buying jewelry at H&M or at hmm, Histoire d'Or. »

In phase with the ideology behind sustainable craft, they all share common values around the protection of the environment and social justice when creating (Pöllänen & Väänänen, 2020). Working independently allows them to be as sustainable as possible in their practices. Their work and their personal values are therefore in symbiosis, which makes some of them feel at peace and useful to society.

"I said to myself 'that's exactly what I want to do; it's to mix the social side, the ecological side and the creation side'. »

“There are two things: the idea of making a useful object, but also artistically working with something that already exists. If I am able to do that, it’s amazing. Well, to me, it fulfills me. But also, that’s what I was saying again yesterday, it does calms me down a lot, because to be honest, I am so angry with policy makers’ environmental inaction. »

Most of the respondents have also raised critics towards backward-looking crafts imaginaries in France, where craft models are too conservative and traditional (Bell et al., 2021). In their opinions, perspectives on crafts methods should be reconsidered and renewed to adapt to current environmental and ethical challenges. Instead, they the sustainable and creative aspects of their products may refresh crafts customs and change conventional and outdated views on crafts. One of the respondents shared a typical example of a conflict between traditional and new views on crafts:

“there is also something that struck me once, it was when I was at a trade show. A lady who comes to me “I am the daughter of a cabinetmaker, so according to me, we don’t paint over wood”, I say “it’s true, wood is very beautiful, the veins.”, she goes on “See, I have an old piece of furniture that belonged to my grandmother, but it’s in the garage. And it’s been eaten up by worms because I don’t want it in my house”, so I said “so why not painting it? And maybe you could take it back into your house, instead of leaving it to rot in the garage?”. But no, ‘we should not be painting wooden furniture’. Well, there are things like that, sometimes, I can’t understand”

Although they all enjoy the autonomy and freedom that comes with self-employment, and all feel fulfilled with the combination of sustainability and creativity in their practices, ten respondents revealed hardly making a living out of their crafts. To avoid financial distress, half of the respondents have second jobs. Only one respondent could earn a full and decent living out of remanufacturing furniture on commission. All respondents nevertheless put their values and passion above economic gains.

“And so, I feel, I feel fulfilled and really in phase with, with my values, and I think, surely, with the need of the planet. So, all that’s left to do is earn a living, really. And face the

realities, pay my rent, even my debt. But there they are, the realities of life, the economic realities that have yet to be fulfilled. »

“In fact, this activity that is very close to my heart, it does not manage to make me live on a daily basis, so...”

All respondents nevertheless put their passion for innovative craft practices, ecological and ethical values above economic gains, therefore challenging the French traditional crafts model with their future-oriented craft imaginaries (Bell et al., 2021). Moreover, as previously highlighted by Ocejo (2017), the vast majority of participants have had a professional reconversion. They have left their jobs to have more meaningful work, valuing ecological, ethical and manual work over profit-oriented office jobs.

4.4. Societal acknowledgement and support

The aforementioned financial difficulties also brought up the feeling to be unsupported and unacknowledged for their circular practices by national and local governments, in spite of the fact that they are contributing to important societal goals of sustainability and circularity. While circularity is now legally requested by the government with the law AGEC, some of the respondents feel nonetheless that their local government is not active nor helping, as stated:

“I really wonder what they (i.e. policy-makers) are waiting for! [...] Left-wing has been elected here in Marseille, it was a very beautiful moment for us, we thought things would change, but no, absolutely nothing is done about that.”

While sustainability *in* crafts seem to be promoted by governmental organizations (ADEME, 2022; CMA, 2020; Power, 2021), respondents nonetheless underline the lack of financial contribution towards their circular practices, just like Cooper et al. (2019) already revealed in upcycling crafts in the UK. A respondent particularly expressed her disappointment as she could not find any funding to help her buy a costly tool that would avoid using chemicals for wood treatments, and so pollute less for many years to come:

“Because of my status (i.e. self-employed), I am not allowed to ask for any help, and so this is when I found ADEME, I have looked for all available funding, also from the European Union etc., but every time, I am out of... well, simply put, it does not work out. So, I will have to buy it by myself”

One respondent expressed that it would be convenient if an organized network for circular practices was created in the region, as stated:

“I don't know, in Bretagne they have networks that connect people who have things to give and those who look for things. And there really should be a national platform like that. Ultimately, it should be done on a local level, otherwise if we must travel kilometers away, it's losing its ecological value. »

Only CMA seems to be supporting their circular practices with the launch of the platform and network Répar'acteur. Though, only less than half of the respondents were affiliated to Répar'acteur. Only one respondent participated in a zero-waste event organized by both Répar'acteurs and a zero-waste organization in the city centre of Marseille. The other affiliated respondents were not actively engaged in this network. All affiliated respondents admitted that this initiative, although highly valuable, seems inefficient and unknown to the public.

“There is the Repar'acteurs network. There's Repar'acteur, who was born 3-4 years ago. I believe I've been with them since then, but it was in a transition phase back then. Apparently now it's evolving a bit. I did a few events with them. It's not... It wasn't a big success. I think that they are, they are still working on the marketing, on a whole bunch of things, on the referencing too, because they have a website which was not, which was not brilliant. »

Concerning circular advocacy, behind Répar'acteur initiative, CMA was not mentioned further. According to the participants, CMA's support is indeed primarily axed on the artisanal and commercial side of their practices. Beyond repair practices, CMA does

not seem to take their circular activities into consideration when assisting them. Under the cover of circularity, one may suggest that Répar'acteur initiative merely highlights the fact that crafts are inherently circular through their ability to repair. By promoting circularity, the network thus aims at sustaining the fragile existence of crafts, therefore showing a focus on sustainability of crafts, rather than their sustainable qualities (Power, 2021). It can be argued that backward-looking views on crafts thus fails to consider their adaptation (i.e. through circularity) to current environmental urgency (Anderson & Sutton, 2020), as this participant explained:

"In fact, in CMA's registration system, if you recycle, they'll put you in the 'industrial recycling' category. So, right now, there isn't any recycling category for, I don't know how we could name it, but for more creative, artistic products."

This lack of acknowledgement is also visible among customers. Most of the respondents declare that the aesthetic side of their products is what appeals most to customers, especially among middle-aged women and pensioners. In the jewel and furniture sectors, respondents explained that the emotional part was also playing a key role in restoring old familial jewels and furniture. The ecological aspect of the creation was often disregarded by customers:

"There's the sentimental part, you know, because often it's furniture that comes from grandparents or parents, so there's that. On the other hand, the sustainable part of 'I don't throw away the piece of furniture to buy a new one', this part, no, it's not mentioned. At all."

"some people bought it because it's recycled, but I feel that the most important thing is the design and the fact that they love the fabric"

While most of the respondents felt it was essential to communicate about the circular facet of their products, also used by some as marketing argument as already mentioned by Pöllänen & Väänänen (2020), two respondents had different views on this. On one hand, according to one respondent, the act of recycling materials is so

natural and obvious, she does not feel the need to communicate her practice to customers. On the other hand, one respondent confessed that she preferred hiding the fact that she was using scraps and waste in her creation. In fact, this appeared to be a turn off for wealthy customers, as she states:

“At first, it's true that I was very focused on the ecological approach, etc. But suddenly, I ran into the problem of different customers' vision and budget. Because customers who can afford my products are not necessarily the people who are interested in the ecological approach, because they have a lot to lose from it. So today, I changed my marketing strategy, and I talk about it less. I no longer use words like ‘upcycling’, ‘recycling’, hardly any, no.”

This respondent is not the only one facing this issue. Four other respondents reported customers' misconceptions around products made of reused materials, especially regarding quality and price. To one respondent, it is because French people are too conservative towards craft traditions and fail to understand the value of innovative crafts. Another clear case demonstrating the difficulty to innovate within backward-looking and traditional crafts imaginaries (Bell et al., 2020; Kroezen et al., 2020). They must often explain the value of their work to customers, by exposing the previous mentioned challenges around finding and adapting methods to materials:

“She told me “it's upcycled jewelry, made with recycled materials, thus because, because it comes from the trash, it should be cheaper.” [...] And that made me so angry, I could cry at the same time, because she underestimates the entirety of my work. »

They nonetheless receive support and encouragement from young people around the sustainable aspect of their products. One may argue that they are more likely fostering future-oriented crafts imaginaries, by being less attached to past traditions and more sensitive to the adaptability of crafts to match the environmental urgency (Bell et al., 2020; Anderson & Sutton, 2020). Unfortunately, they feel that many young people who

might be supportive of their work do not necessarily have enough economic resources to buy their costly artisanal products.

5. Conclusion and discussion

As circularity is increasingly being promoted by officials, but may conflict with traditional crafts praxis, it appeared essential to explore the adoption of circularity in French crafts. In order to understand the conditions and valuation of sustainable and innovative crafts within such a formalized and hierarchical craft context, this paper therefore took the perspective of creative crafts makers. It especially seeks to answer the following research question: *How do creative crafts makers implement, justify and experience circularity in their crafts practices in France?* This research thus aimed at discovering the type of circular practices adopted and their challenges, the motivations of crafts makers to adopt circularity, and finally the experience on societal support and acknowledgement.

First it has been found that the crafts makers interviewed are mainly involved in the act of reusing and remanufacturing, which always involve the act of creatively and aesthetically transforming worn out materials and waste. These activities recall innovative upcycling practices in textile and furniture creative entrepreneurship identified in the UK, therefore challenging traditional views on crafts (Bridgens et al., 2018; Cooper et al., 2019). Their practices indeed involve more circular categories than the mere act of repairing and restoring, found in traditional crafts (INMA, 2016b; Loup, 2003). If these new practices seem to respond positively to traditional crafts challenges such as the lack of raw materials and innovative production models (Cominelli, 2016), new challenges are nevertheless arising, such as acquiring and autonomously experimenting with alternative materials (e.g. waste products). Typical of creative crafts, their predominant enjoyment and freedom to experiment and develop innovative skills and methods are well suited to achieve sustainable purposes (Kroezen et al., 2020). What is important here is that sustainability is achieved through innovation, and innovation is triggered by creative craft makers' high level of ingenuity and adaptability.

Further, aligning with their sustainable values appears to fuel their desire to create (Pöllänen & Väänänen, 2020). Condemning the traditional craft model implanted in France, they instead promote more future-oriented craft imaginaries, where crafting is motivated by the desire of a better future (Bell et al., 2021). They hope their innovative craft practices may foster positive ecological and social change in society. Ultimately, circular crafts makers promote a flexible, exploratory and innovative approach alongside societal impact.

The findings finally highlight an apparent feeling of being unsupported and unacknowledged for their circular practices, which seem to conflict with the national and local political discourse on the promotion of circularity (ADEME, 2022; PRECI, 2019). Attempts from CMA to foster circular actions with Répar'acteur echoes the institutional preoccupation to support sustainability *of* crafts, rather than sustainability *in* crafts (Power, 2021). Circular creative makers also seem to lack legitimization from customers towards their circular practices, mainly focused on the aesthetical and artisanal aspects of their products and services. Nonetheless, most of the participants find essential to promote and market the sustainable side of their crafts, even though they may take the risk to be discredited. All in all, according to the participants, it stands to say that legitimization and societal considerations towards sustainable crafts are still rather limited, which denotes a larger societal problem around openness towards ecological and out of the box practices.

When qualifying circular crafts makers, the term 'ambassador of change' comes to mind. These ones are indeed challenging the traditional conception of crafts and fostering sustainable creation and consumption. Artistic and creative practices can indeed be vectors of social and cultural change (Carter, 2009). Circular crafts making, done with an ecological and ethical mindset, can even be viewed as craftivism (Gaber, 2013; Greer, 2014). This societal disregard towards their activities should be seriously considered, as creative craft makers seem to be full of ingenious ideas to foster ecological transition. With hope, these unconventional craft practices may gain increasing public attention and legitimization in France, but also abroad.

In retrospect, this study contributed to gain more in-depth knowledge on alternative types of crafts practices in France, beyond the traditional focus found in French institutions and academia, by collecting new insights on creative crafts makers. Moreover, this paper complement research on sustainability *of* and *in* crafts (Cominelli, 2015; Pöllänen & Väänänen). It allowed to collect important information on how circularity is adopted in crafts, opening new horizons towards the understanding of circular creation processes. It also offers alternative solutions to protect the fragile existence of crafts through innovation rather preservation, so that the craft sector can ultimately sustain itself. Lastly, by describing circular crafts making and highlighting a perceived lack of support and acknowledgement, officials can employ this paper to increase their support through fundings, revised procedures (eg. Facilitating access to landfills or waste) and legitimization. This could potentially help them reach circular objectives fixed by the AGEC law.

This study has nonetheless only taken the perspective of crafts makers on circularity. To capture the wholeness and complexity of this subject, it would be valuable to add an analysis of political and media discourses, and interviews with local environmental and crafts stakeholders. Another recommendation would be to map local circular networks as it would help policymakers and circular organizations and makers identifying and developing local circular processes. Finally, this research is concentrated on the Provence region in France. A comparative analysis could be carried to find out why circular processes are more organized, supported, and legitimated in some regions, such as Bretagne, than others.

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Appendix 1

Respondent nr.	Gender	Crafts specialty according to INMA (2016b)	Work place	Circular categories according to Kristensen & Mosgaard, 2019	Materials
1	F	Lazarus Bijoux fantaisie	Home atelier	Remanufacturing Reuse – make new	Furniture Wastes: broken glass, pieces of wood
2	F	Joaillerie	Maker lab	Recycling Disassembly Reuse – make new Lifetime extension Resource efficiency	Silver Parts of necklace/bracelet Parts of necklace/bracelet, pieces of wood Jewelry Loose least material when making
3	F	Peintre sur mobilier	Maker lab	Disassembly Remanufacturing Reuse – make new	Furniture Furniture Pieces of wood from other's creations or old furniture
4	F	Bijoux précieux	Creative hub	Recycling Disassembly Reuse – make new Lifetime extension	Silver Parts of necklace/bracelet Parts of necklace/bracelet, parts of textiles Jewelry
5	F	Céramique	Home atelier	Reuse – make new Waste management Resource efficiency	Caps, boxes Zero waste, reuse her own material waste and water for new creations (closed circuit)
6	F	Bijoux fantaisie	Home atelier	Disassembly Reuse – make new Lifetime extension	Parts of necklace/bracelet Parts of necklace/bracelet, pieces of kite surf, old pearls, old textiles Jewelry
7	F	Peinture sur mobilier	Home atelier	Remanufacturing Reuse – make new Resource efficiency	Furniture Old boxes, tubes, papers, pieces of woods

					Use organic paint (yoghurt, lime)
8	F	Fabrication d'objets textiles	Home atelier	Reuse – make new Lifetime extension Waste management	Old textiles Clothes Zero waste
9	M	Peinture sur mobilier	Home atelier	Remanufacturing Waste management	Furniture Recycle paint and dispose of pots
10	F	Tapisserie d'ameublement	Own atelier/shop	Reuse – make new Resource efficiency Waste management	Old tires, old truck tarpaulin Least useless details on products as possible Zero waste
11	F	Fabrication d'objets textiles	Shared atelier	Disassembly Reuse – make new	Kyte surf webbings Old textiles, old kyte surf textile, old webbing
12	F	Peinture sur mobilier	Home atelier	Remanufacturing Waste management	Furniture Dispose of pots
13	F	Marqueteur vernissage	Home atelier	Disassembly Reuse – make new Waste management	Industrial pallets Pieces of used pallets Zero waste

Appendix 2

Interview guide

- I have asked you to participate today because of your involvement in circular practices, could you tell me about the story of how this involvement in circularity started? (In reality, I simply started by asking them to tell me about their crafts activity and how they started it, because I have noticed after the first interviews that they also answered the question about their initial involvement in circularity, as their activity revolves around it.)
- Could you tell me more about the type of circular practices (re-using, recycling, repairing) you are concretely adopting?

- How do you use your traditional skills for these new practices? How did it come to that?
- What are the new skills and knowledge you needed to develop to apply circularity?
- Where do you find the material and what are the legal implications?
- What did it change for your practice?
- Who are you working or collaborating with in the city and in the country in connection with circularity? What for?
- What are the circular programs you are currently part of? How did you get into this program?
- What type of customers are you targeting? What type of customers are you attracting?
- How do you marketize your crafts? How do you communicate about the circularity of your crafts to customers?
- How are your circular practices received by customers?
- What kind of political and media recognition do you get around your circular practices in Marseille/PACA? And in France?
- What kind of official support do you get around your circular practices in Marseille/PACA? And in France?
- What are the main challenges and issues you are facing in your daily practice?
- How do you solve these issues?
- What would you like to improve or be improved that could support your practices?
- Finally, could you tell how do you feel about this decision to include circularity in your practices?
- What do you personally gain from these practices?
- What do you professionally gain from these practices?
- What do you think society gain from your practices?

Appendix 3

◇ Challenges circular practices

37 Codes:

- CC - FIND MATERIAL - App Moom about throwing material
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - Exchange material
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - Found in the street
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - Not always possible to reuse material / must buy new
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - People bringing them waste
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - EMMAUS - barely any material in local recycling depot (Emmaus)
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - EMMAUS - difficult partnership with local recycling depots (Emmaus - ressourcerie)
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - EMMAUS - Emmaus keeps valuable material
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - EMMAUS - not good contact
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - EMMAUS - time consuming to work with Emmaus
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Find/buy material in second hand stores (no partnership)
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Industries
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Industries glad to get rid of material
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Landfill no partnership possible
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - LOCAL - Local collaboration with suppliers /partners
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - LOCAL - Local suppliers /partners reasons
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - LOCAL - To find local suppliers / partners difficulties
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - No partnership to get material
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Other crafts makers to get recycled material
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Partnership with second hand store
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - PARTNERS - Reserve des arts
- CC - FIND MATERIAL - use websites to find second hand material
- CC - MATERIAL - Views on waste
- CC - MATERIAL - Wastes are cheap
- CC - MATERIAL STORAGE - Lack of space to stock
- CC - QUALITY REUSED MATERIAL - Good quality of recycled material
- CC - QUALITY REUSED MATERIAL - Imperfection on reused material
- CC - SUSTAINABILITY PRACTICE - Lack of financial support to be more sustainable
- CC - SUSTAINABILITY PRACTICE - Lack of impact calculation about circular practice
- CC - SUSTAINABILITY PRACTICE - Mindful use of unsustainable/ unethical material
- CC - SUSTAINABILITY PRACTICE - Sustainable limitations reusing materials
- CC - SUSTAINABILITY PRACTICE - Thinking about long-term sustainability material
- CC - SUSTAINABILITY PRACTICE -Mindful use of chemicals

- CC - TIME - Lack of time for upcycling creation
- CC - TIME - More time to repair than starting from something new
- CC - TIME - Takes more time to find reused material than buying new
- CC - TIME - Takes more time to work with reused material

❖ Circular practice - CIR

11 Codes:

- CIR - Organize upcycling workshops
- CIR - reasons to work on assignment
- CIR - Recycling practices
- CIR - Repair
- CIR - side project without circularity
- CIR - side projects upcycling
- CIR - start activity with upcycling
- CIR - Transform / reuse / remanufacture second hand material - dismantle
- CIR - Transform aspect material as assignments for clients
- CIR - Transform aspect second hand material
- CIR - upcycling (reusing waste)

❖ Current business situation - CS

9 Codes:

- CS - Happy/satisfied with work
- CS - Hardly making a living
- CS - Limited economic resources
- CS - Limited online communication
- CS - Limited promotion on press/media
- CS - Second hand trendy/niche but not long term secure
- CS - Side job reasons
- CS - Stressed / uncertain
- CS - Successful enterprise / enough work

❖ Personal motivations - PM

18 Codes:

- PM - Anticapitalist views
- PM - Being ecological and loving nature
- PM - Change view on craftsmanship
- PM - Enjoy working autonomously

- PM - Good action / soothing for the mind
- PM - Grew up in family who love nature
- PM - Mix values, raise awareness and craft
- PM - Raise awareness about not throwing away but transforming
- PM - Raise awareness/ change to sustainable consumption
- PM - Reflections on upcycling
- PM - Relaxing
- PM - Social sustainability
- PM - Spread message around circularity and ethics
- PM - Values from family reusing and recycling
- PM - Views and habits around consumption must change
- PM - Wish to protect environment
- PM - Wish to work sustainably & ethically
- PM - Working in craft

❖ Sales - SA

31 Codes:

- SA - Clients attracted by aesthetic
- SA - Clients attracted by ethics and sustainability
- SA - Communication adapt to client - hide circularity
- SA - Communication around circularity limited
- SA - Communication around circularity to clients
- SA - Communication around emotional aspect of material (more than circularity)
- SA - Communication marketing argument
- SA - Communication website/social media
- SA - LIMITATIONS - Difficulty to sell
- SA - LIMITATIONS - Disinterested client in sustainability
- SA - LIMITATIONS - Lack of economic capital stops clients
- SA - LIMITATIONS - Marseille difficult to attract clients
- SA - LIMITATIONS - People don't understand price upcycling
- SA - LIMITATONS - Misconception / misjudgement upcycling practice
- SA - Sale points - Difficulty linked to locality
- SA - Sale points - Local craft organization/online platform
- SA - Sale points - Markets
- SA - Sale points - Resellers
- SA - Sale points - Sell locally
- SA - Sales points - Clients found through website/social media

- SA - Sales points - Found through word of mouth
- SA - Type of client - Close network
- SA - Type of client - More international clients
- SA - Type of client - No men
- SA - Type of client - shops
- SA - Type of client - Sustainable organization
- SA - Type of client design - men
- SA - Type of client transforming furniture - retired people
- SA - Type of client transforming furniture - women 30-60
- SA - Type of client transforming furniture - young upper class
- SA - Type of clients - Wealthy but disinterested in ecology

❖ Skills and methods around circularity

17 Codes:

- Adapt savoir faire to be more sustainable above traditions
- Adapt to material
- Craft tradition too closed and limited - need renewal
- Creativity for upcycling
- Different quality between sustainable craft practices
- Experiment on their own / learn from transform material
- KA - Always been manual
- KA - Autodidacte
- KA - Learned recycling/upcycling out of necessity
- KA - Peer learning
- KA - Prior experience in domain of activity
- KA - Prior experience with admin/communication
- KA - Prior experience with clients
- KA - Prior savoir faire with education/training
- KA - Professional retraining
- Use traditional methods to be sustainable
- Use traditional techniques/aesthetics

❖ Support - SU

26 Codes:

- SU - Clients
- SU - CMA - affiliation
- SU - CMA - Around circularity

- SU - CMA - dissatisfaction reasons
- SU - CMA - support
- SU - CMA satisfaction reasons
- SU - Co-workers
- SU - Crowdfunding recycling/upcycling
- SU - Family
- SU - Friends
- SU - Have a coach
- SU - Local government
- SU - Media recognition
- SU - No official support/recognition
- SU - Official financial support
- SU - Official recognition
- SU - ORGANIZATION - Anti-throwing / repair events disappointment
- SU - ORGANIZATION - Anti-throwing / repair organization affiliation
- SU - ORGANIZATION - Anti-throwing/ repair organization events
- SU - ORGANIZATION - Craft/entrepreneur networks
- SU - ORGANIZATION - Sustainable organization
- SU - Other craft makers
- SU - REPAR'ACTEUR - Network affiliation
- SU - REPAR'ACTEUR - No repar'acteur affiliation
- SU - REPAR'ACTEUR - Reasons not working
- SU - Young creators interested in circularity

❖ Working environment - WE

3 Codes:

- WE - Atelier first at home/parents home
- WE - Work at home
- WE - Work in makers lab / atelier