# 6 Crafting Social Memory for International Recognition

The Role of Place and Tradition in an Italian Silk-tie Maker

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# Introduction

This chapter focuses on the role of place and local history in building the brand identities of craft organizations. Recent research on craft organizations has focused on the local context as an important factor for identity recognition and distinctiveness. However, an important but understudied aspect of this relates to the organizational use of both the sense of place and history and how visions of the past are used to support and legitimate organizational operations. In this context, local history is not simply regarded as a timeline along which events come to pass, but as a symbolic and cultural artefact that organizational actors deliberately manage and construct.

Using the empirical case of an Italian high-end silk-tie maker, the chapter investigates how high prestige associated with ties draws from the past and the sense of place, which become salient components of the product brand itself. Drawing from the notion of social memory, we explore how material and cultural practices performed by the firm provide common cues for interpretation of the past. Our findings suggest the multifaceted and ambivalent ways in which the sense of place and tradition is deployed to create brand singularity, related to: 1) the specificities of the place – firmly embedded in the city of Naples, the image of the firm and that of the city become reciprocally reinforcing; 2) the family-owned tradition of the firm, particularly palpable in the sense of hospitality towards customers. We discuss the theoretical implications of our study in terms of understanding the ambivalence of the sense of place between creative context and chaotic or shabby site, and the ability of the firm to capitalize on a repository of social memories, commonly associated with local context specificities.

The renewed popularity of craft is increasingly marked by discourses that emphasize the sense of 'provenance' of handmade objects, and connection with makers and their stories (Luckman 2015). Partly in response to increasing mobile and delocalized manufacturing arrangements

as well as an alternative to mass-produced products, the contemporary consumer economy is witnessing a revival of craft and handmade practices (Luckman 2015; von Busch 2010). Mixing a sense of authenticity and community support with a broader critique of standardized products made in delocalized industries (Dormer 1997), contemporary handmade craft appeals to an unprecedented sense of connection with the place of production (Gauntlett 2011).

Scholars have examined how the sense of place gives meanings to craft production, while simultaneously creating rich opportunities for brand narratives, opportunities that are rooted in local tradition, folklore and local mythical themes. The attempt to promote the connection with the sense of place responds to what Hede and Watne (2013) describe as brand humanization, where the place may evoke feelings of admiration, pride or satisfaction related to unique local stories or personalities, folkloric or mythical traditions. As suggested by Brown (2014), to humanize the craft enterprise and commerce, companies often turn to narratives that celebrate the role of production places and history. Within the context of craft brewing, Hede and Watne (2013) argue that the sense of place provides an anchor for differentiation from mainstream beer brands. Connection with the sense of place is further strengthened through personal brand biography, where prominent historical persons - being the enterprise's founder or more generic local heroes - provide coherent plotlines to narrate the organization. As this study shows, craft organization draws opportunistically upon a sense of place and local tradition, and simultaneously creates conditions for revitalizing brand identity to carve out a specific niche in the craft sector.

Recent research on craft organizations has also focused on the local context as an important factor for identity recognition and distinctiveness (Brown 2014; Crawford 2009; Gauntlett 2011;). However, an important but understudied aspect regards how craft organizations draw from the sense of place and history to build their craft identity. Interestingly, craft organizations often rely on collective memories about the local history and the place to construct a historicized company narrative. Organizational memory, and the management of memories, has increasingly interested organizational and management scholars (Rowlinson et al. 2014 Anteby & Molnar 2012; Nissley & Casey 2002; Rowlinson et al. 2014). Researchers have explored how organizations use historical images and narratives to reach their strategic objectives (Suddaby et al. 2010), as well as to foster collective memories (Feldman & Feldman 2006; Rowlinson et al. 2010) and selectively remember or forget aspects of their history (Nissley & Casey 2002). Classical studies on organizational memory (e.g. Walsh & Ungson, 1991) recognized that organizations often rely on mastering their past to legitimate and support their operations in the present. As observed by Rowlinson et al.  $(\mathbf{\Phi})$ 

(2014), in large part this research has focused on how memory is stored, retained, retrieved and instrumentally used to improve organizational performance, privileging a functional view of memory and the processes of collective remembering. More recently, other research has focused on the social aspects of organizational memory (Bell 2012), drawing upon various traditions including sociology and history. Although there has been an increased interest in how companies use organizational memory for identity and image development (Hegele & Kieser 2001; Nissley & Casey 2002), less has been done to explore how collective memories are used to create and foster specific representations of the past by mobilizing a plurality of collective memories.

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The current chapter examines how craft organizations enable the formation of collective memory that draws from local history and tradition, and how remembering is used to evoke specific social imaginaries. We do this by focusing on an Italian craft maker specialized in silk ties. This is a small family-owned firm located in the city of Naples, a firm in which the place of origin is one of the main markers of distinction, but which nevertheless has a global reputation, as shown by its high-profile customer portfolio. The remainder of this chapter will unfold as follows. First, we will briefly discuss existing literature on social memory in organization and management literature, framing our argument so as to contribute to understanding how memory assists craft enterprises in sustaining and reproducing their craft-based identity. Second, we describe our choice of setting for the study, giving background on the tie maker's, history and present-day activities. Finally, we discuss the implications of our findings, highlighting the importance of memory as a strategic asset for company identity formation.

# Social Memory and the Politics of Remembering

A recent surge in interest in memory in management and organizational studies (Bell 2012; Nissley et al. 2002; Rowlinson et al. 2014) has focused on the social practices of remembering the past, exploring the way in which organizations actively manage memory to build their brand identity and image. Social memory studies have highlighted that the conditions for remembering are sensitive to the social context in which those conditions occur. For instance, Zerubavel (1996) shows that remembrance is experienced collectively, and that the way people reconstruct the past is socially mediated. As the author suggests, individuals' experiences take place within 'mnemonic communities' which consist of different 'remembrance environments' (such as family, workplaces, etc.) in which individuals learn the 'rules of remembrance' (Zerubavel 1996: 284). This point suggests that diverse (mnemonic) communities are likely to make sense of and recollect memories differently, but also participate in a process of commonly shared interpretation within that specific group.  $(\mathbf{\Phi})$ 

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Collective memories are more likely to occur through material culture media (Zerubavel 1996). Scholars have acknowledged the importance of material objects in recalling events via representation of the past (Bell 2012 Mistzal; 2003; Nissley et al. 2002). In her account of social remembering, Mistzal (2003) observes that cultural artefacts are essential to establishing relationships with the past; social remembering, in this view, is a social experience that takes place interactively supported by material cues that are important both as reflections of and drivers of wider representation of the past. In a similar vein, Nissley and Casey (2002) show how corporate museums exhibitions use artefacts in conjunction with oral and written narration to construct and convey the company's history and image. Drawing from the notion of the 'politics of memory' (Yanow 1998), these authors show how objects are harnessed by a politics of 'exhibition of the organizational memory' that is focused on maintaining, fostering and controlling corporate identity. In particular, it is suggested that organizations deploy a politics of remembering as well as a politics of forgetting (deliberately choosing objects that are worth displaying and not exhibiting those that are not); at the same time, organizations also engage in a 'politics of imagining', which, according to Nissley and Casey (2002), has a temporal connotation. The politics of imagining is conceived as 'situated somewhere along the future-end of the continuum' (Nissley & Casey 2002: 41), whereas politics of remembering and forgetting are anchored in the past as an attempt to foster future imagining.

Thus, while companies can strategically use memory to encourage imagining, this appears to be primarily aimed at forecasting future experiences. Similarly, Johansson and Toraldo (2015) show that imagination and the imaginary constitute key resources of contemporary consumption, particularly when directed to fostering a sense of anticipation in the consumer. By suggesting certain types of experience, discursive representations are able to evoke imaginaries associated with specific feelings, sensations and social values. Although these studies recognize the importance of the imaginary for commercialization purposes, less has been done to explore how specific memories are mobilized drawing on the sense of place and history. In the next section, we turn our attention to the relationship between place and craft, and the engagement of craft organizations with local history and traditions of local making.

## Place, History and Craft Organizations

Memories connect together experiences that refer to evocation of place and the remembering of place. Places are often used to facilitate remembering (Bell 2012) and one could argue that the formation of more perceptual memories is often embedded in place encounters and their evocation (Rodaway 1994). For instance, Rodaway (1994) shows how ( )

olfactory or visual memory often occur by means of association with specific environments, which provide – consciously or unconsciously – richer recall of the experiences. Because memory is often closely related to particular places, whether lived or imagined, and their emotional associations, we focus on how organizations are able to draw from a range of collective memories associated with place that engender interest in the artefact for the consumer.

The key role of place in stimulating memories has been acknowledged in a range of disciplines, including tourism studies (McClinchey 2016), urban and leisure studies, and marketing and management studies. Studies on craft have recognized the importance of place and sense of place but less has been done to explore how the sense of place can assist craft organizations to stimulate specific memories associated with the local context. The 'localist' spin in craft seem to be in tune with contemporary consumer culture, and the increased interest in authentic, small-scale and original objects with a local connection (Herzfeld 2015; 2004).

Craft tradition and craft makers may then be co-constituting and imprinting places. Along these lines, some recent experiments have focused on revitalizing urban and suburban settings, promoting regional craft-based traditions. 'Craft quartiers' have appeared in Manchester while 'craft towns' have been created, such as Farnham in Surrey, emphasising the local pottery tradition (Brown 2014). These initiatives show that the sense of place is increasingly used for promoting craft tourism, using authenticity and local craft skills as tools for destination management and place marketing. Furthermore, the promotion of place provides insights into the local production practices and methods and the history of materials; it is suggested that place provides site-specific inspiration (Brown 2014), influenced by the cultural and social milieu. As our case shows, designer-makers strongly root their practices in the urban pattern and are influenced by what is original, special, unique and of the place.

In parallel, local history may also be a source of influence for designers, production and commercialization. Ranisio, for example, argues that handmade craft cannot be disentangled from local history, as historical facts become prominent in the revitalization, establishment, and maintenance of craft makers and their brand identity (Ranisio 2014). Here, we explore the role of places and objects, such as cities, or family traditions – and the discourses around them – through a material focus, in which the crafted object constructs a relationship by evoking specific social memories.

#### **Empirical Background and Method**

The empirical focus of this chapter is a high-end tie producer located in the city of Naples. The firm is one the most prestigious handmade  $(\mathbf{\Phi})$ 

tie producers and tailoring brands in Italy, renowned for its use of high-quality raw materials and a hand-crafted process, as well as for its exclusive garments, which have contributed to positioning it among Italy's luxury brands. Through time, the original small boutique acquired an international reputation, especially after an Italian President, Francesco Cossiga, developed the habit of offering its ties during his official visits to (male) heads of state around the world. Founded at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is a third- generation family-owned company, currently managed by the owner, who is in charge of operations and the design process; he has also been the key person in building the brand identity in recent years. Originally, the boutique specialized in the production of nightshirts, importing exclusive products from England, at a time in which elegance for men was inspired by British fashion and style. The shop opened in Piazza Vittoria, on the elegant Riviera di Chiaia, becoming a 'small corner of England in Naples'.

Over time, the owners have cultivated a distinguished 'Neapolitan production' image with a pronounced 'British connotation'. Elegance has become the main distinguishing feature associated with this brand. Today the boutique has a precise connotation, which in the owner's words translates into the formula of '*casual elegance*'. Despite increasing growth, the production process is still carried out in workshops in the Campania region, where a small team of highly specialized seamstresses work on manufacturing.

Although there is high demand for the product from customers, the firm has not been transformed into a big brand. It is still a small boutique, producing artisanal products. However, the company has several showrooms and small shops around the world: five showrooms in Milan, Lugano, London, Tokyo and Baku, and seventeen smaller shops elsewhere in the world. The ability to sustain the tradition of making, represented by handcrafted production and a spirit firmly anchored in past values and the city of Naples, with increasing international recognition, makes this firm an interesting site of analysis.

Our methodology is therefore analysis of a single qualitative case study. Two of the authors visited the production workshops and spent time there documenting the organization's daily processes by means of observations, fieldnotes and photographs. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the owner and manager of the firm. Through these interviews, it was possible to understand the role of place in building the organizational brand, how the family tradition influences the company's identity, and how the past is remembered and recounted by the company to serve its company narrative. During the interviews, we guided conversation towards the history of the firm, with the aim of understanding the extent to which the past is used to give legitimacy to present-day company operations, and what the most recurrent memories of the firm's past  $(\mathbf{\Phi})$ 

and tradition are in that process. The interviews typically lasted about one hour and were tape-recorded.

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In addition, archive documents – in particular, personal correspondence between the owner and celebrities, politicians and key figures – were consulted. To track the history and the present-day activities of the firm, websites and published materials were also consulted. These data provided further information on the origins and history of the firm that complemented the information elicited from the interviews.

## Findings

Vachhani (2013) suggests that the global revival of craft is marked by the increasing presence of objects that evoke memories from the past. These contribute to underpinning the exceptional qualities of craft products, which act as a reservoir of historical and symbolic meanings (Crawford 2009; Dormer 1997). Our findings show that textual, material and oral memory assisted in constructing a sense of brand identity based on craft. As a response to standardized products and loss of tradition, the tie producer often promoted values of heritage and family, rooting his craft organization in local history.

The company identity was built by recalling memories of a local past, accomplished by referencing specific images or events, which elicited interest and commitment from different communities. The sense of place and tradition was deployed in ambivalent ways, using the rhetorical power of the 'past' (Zundel et al. 2016) to mobilize a plurality of social imaginaries. Our results suggested two key thematics linked to the firm's use of memories, related to:

- Historical and present-day episodes occurring in the local context
- The firm's family tradition and values

Analysis of these two themes led us to identify four primary repository of memories which are associated with historical and present-day episodes occurring in the local context:

1) the glorious past and local creativity, and 2) the local place as shabby and messy

These were anchored into the firm's family tradition and values, manifest in:

3) the practice of hospitality, warmth and openness, and 4) slow-paced selling and distribution.

Memories associated with these themes often revealed tensions. For example, memories relating to the local context revealed tensions about (�)

the city of Naples, as a place rich in history and heritage versus a context characterized by hidden powers and poor efficiency. These contrasting repositories of memories were differently mobilized and at times some emerged more strongly than the others.

#### Historical and Present-day Episodes in the Local Context

The firm tied its activities very closely to a sense of place, both conferring value on the specific qualities of the region and building its identity from that region's cultural image. The notion of place was considered both strategically important and imbued with a sense of non-economic value. The company being firmly embedded in the city of Naples, its image and that of the city seemed to be reciprocally reinforcing; the history and the glorious past of the city was often mobilized to foster representations of craft organization as built on local (historical) craft tradition.

My grandfather used to say: the sartorial tradition is Neapolitan, but textiles have to be from England... the famous Grand Tour. The British were coming here to take drops of culture. Wherever I go in London visiting antique markets, I find images of Naples....

A key aspect that emerged from analysis of the interviews concerned the role of the handmade sartorial tradition of Naples. Several craft makers started their venture in Naples at the beginning of the 20th century (e.g. Gutteridge men's clothing). The city became renowned for producing tailored artisanal products and many Neapolitan boutiques specialized in the production of nightshirts and gloves. Accordingly, the firm engaged with the local by building a narrative based on the cultural and geographical expertise in making craft products.

Here in Naples we have had this great tradition of craft since forever. Everything in Naples was tailor-made: ties, shoes, gloves, even tailored socks with the initials of the buyers' name or family emblem sewn on them... I remember when I was a child, I was eleven years old and my first job was to bring shirts to the 'cifraie'... there were several workshops where some ladies were sewing extraordinary things: little roses, crowns and every sort of personalized decoration...

A further connection with the city of Naples was made by using available historical resources from the city's past. The firm used visual images and visuality to mark a connection with that past; material objects and spatial arrangements sought to stimulate memories of a great past. In the upscale boutique, ties were not simply an item for sale exhibited in a transparent drawer, where it was possible to choose from among different types of tie. Instead, the ties acted as material cues through which to construct  $(\mathbf{\Phi})$ 



Figure 6.1 The Tie Showcase Creates a Connection with the Past

a relation with the past, in this case associated with the cultural status of some star clients, such as Luchino Visconti, Aristotle Onassis and Kennedy.

A similar sense of history was conveyed by the display spaces in the boutique. Antique furniture in wood, lamps and decorations all made the small boutique on the Riviera di Chiaia a very unique place. When the customer enters, they have the feeling of jumping right back into the past. The small boutique of twenty square meters reminds the visitor of memories of Neapolitan high society members and their peaceful stroll along the evocative waterfront. Décor and furniture date back to the beginning of the 20th century and the boutique has gone through historical events:

the two world wars, the decline of the ancient nobility and the appearance of the new middle class with the advent of the American products that bring substantial changes to fashion.

(Official website 2017)

The firm deliberately refers to the history of its setting, bringing local values and traditions alive in the present. This is further strengthened

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by use of the Bourbon emblem, which is right on the front wall of the boutique. As objectified culture, the emblem reminds one of a specific historical time during the history of Naples. With the Bourbon dynasty, the Kingdom of Naples experienced an era of grandeur. Remembered as an enlightened monarchy, the Bourbons made Naples an important capital, marked by industrial advancement (e.g. metalwork, glass and porcelain production), erecting monumental architecture such as the Capodimonte Palace or The Royal Palace of Caserta. It is telling that the firm uses the emblem in its official communication and on tie packaging.

At the same time, the firm has been able to extract value from the sense of elegance associated with its craft objects. Not far from the main shop, there is an elegant showroom where customers find shoes, shirts, bags, foulards, jackets, scarves, wallets, belts, watches, cufflinks, perfumes, coats and many other iconic objects. The showroom was very carefully designed and all products displayed to recall specific ideas or contexts. A clear connection was established with the prestigious materials from other regions, such as the silks imported from the Macclesfield area in England that were used for producing ties. This connection is also manifest in other products such as shoes.

That was of great significance. During one of our visits to the showroom, the owner explained how he broke the long-standing relationship with one of his leading English shoe suppliers when the company was acquired by an Italian group:

These shoes have lost their British associaations, replied by Italian design that gradually got the upper hand.

A further aspect that emerged from our analysis regarded how the firm sought to distance its identity from stereotypical images of the city. During our fieldwork, we noted that our respondents sometimes engaged in particular representations of the place in an effort to distance themselves from negative commonsensical attributes associated with the city (such as hidden, sometimes criminal, powers or a lack of transparent governance):

Often Naples has been associated with the 'terra dei fuochi', the rubbish problem, polluted water. We are here in Naples, we want people coming to Naples.

The firm is clearly embedded in the local context, which is intimately related to a certain conception of Naples, a conception that sought to point beyond negative stereotypes and attempted to reveal a sense of sociality and the manual ability of local artisans. The firm was proud of the values associated with the place, such as passions, emotions and hospitality:

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We are a miracle, really. Twenty years ago, we [my family] just had this boutique, in Naples, a city where doing things is difficult ... we have a high demand for ties but we don't want to produce more ... Le Monde wrote an article on us ... 'the [company] miracle'.

#### Firm Family Tradition and Values

Various observations during the company visits showed that considerable effort was devoted to eliciting memories related to the family's history. Here narratives on the origin of the enterprise enabled reconstruction of the identity of the company, anchoring the present-day activities in traditional values:

My grandfather created a workshop for shirt,s and in 1930 we had about thirty people in our workshop. In the 1970s we specialized in tie production and gave up shirts. This was a successful choice. When I was a child, I was destined to do this. At eight years old, my grandfather said: 'Now you are old enough to work in the shop with us'.

As emerges from this excerpt, the firm has a clear craft identity. Its handmade and workmanship identity is associated with the workshop where ties are produced. The small workshop in via Chiaia is staffed by twelve tie seamstresses who possess unique abilities in making a folded tie entirely by hand (and who are able to produce a tie in about ninety minutes).

The workshop also has a key role in the firm's ability to foster memories around warmth and hospitality. As observed during the visits, tiemakers work in a very family-like atmosphere. There is a fully equipped kitchen where they can relax; there is a cook who makes food once a week for all of the employees working there. It is into this context that customers are welcomed to the workshop. It is common for customers to visit the site of making, choose a textile, and receive a 'tailor-made' tie within a few hours. As the owner explained:

We are in Naples. We want people coming here. We wish to offer a coffee, a sfogliatella. We don't want to convey sales volume, budget ... We want to communicate values, emotions, passion, hospitality and a positive Neapolitanness [napoletanità]...

As a sign of the centrality of place and family tradition, the owner explained in the interview that people could only buy the firm's ties directly from Naples or in dedicated shops. Buying the tie in Naples both gives a particular sense of embeddedness within local contexts that

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Figure 6.2 Tie Workshop in Naples

emphasizes the singularity and uniqueness of the production, while also stressing the exclusivity and differentiated nature of the product:

We are happily not technological. We don't do e-commerce.

To explain what being a craft organization means, a further association is made with the local place, with reference to a particular relaxed attitude in doing business:

Once an executive from South Korea visited the shop and asked for a tie with a special silk that he saw here. He asked if we could ship it. I looked at him, asked him to sit and ordered a coffee and sfogliatella for him. Then I showed him the workshop and our steamers made the tie for him, live there. He was astonished, and I could have asked a fair amount of money for it ... he would have been happy to pay whatever price ... but we did not sell him a tie, we sold an experience!

If novel product distributions pathways such as online platforms (Luckman, 2015) are changing the way of marketing much handmade craft, our data also suggest a different story. Drawing on informality and

a sense of closeness with clients, the firm was able to capitalize on an oldfashioned way of doing business:

I've got my finger on the pulse of what people want. I don't do market research. When I look at a sample book, I know if customers want a yellow, red or blue tie. When I look at a samle book, I read it twice. First, it is my gut feeling... what I personally like. Then it is more rational. I ask myself: 'Do I like the white tie?' And at that point the customers' wishes come to mind ...

#### **Concluding Discussion**

In an era of 'peak stuff', we are witnessing a rediscovery of meanings associated with consumption. Losing the appetite for standardized goods, some consumers are directing their attention to original objects that reflect an alternative ethos of consumption, based on distinctiveness and uniqueness (Herzfeld 2015). As argued by Claude Lévi-Strauss (2010), modern society has been marked by hypercommunication, a dynamic that encourages human beings to be constantly aware of what is happening in distant parts of the globe. For centuries, cultural differences secured originality and uniqueness among groups of people living at a distance from each other with little contact. Nowadays people are instead threatened by the risk of becoming mere consumers prone to adopt habits and artefacts disjointed from their context of origin (Lévi-Strauss 2010: 33–34).

In this chapter, we have argued that in this context some craftoriented organizations emphasize the significance of the 'place' and local history in marketing their products and building their brand identity. Craft objects are increasingly praised for being evocative of place, history, and maker creativity (Vachhani 2013). We have examined how craft organizations enable the formation of collective memory drawing from local history and tradition, remembering in ways that are then used to evoke a specific set of memories. Through analysis of a well-known tie maker's working practices in the city of Naples, we examined how the sense of place and traditions are deployed to mobilize a repository of collective imaginaries.

As our findings have shown, the firm marked the connection with the city in multiple ways. The uniqueness of place is emphasized by recalling different moments of city history. First, the tie-maker dates its operation back to the artisanal local tradition prevalent at the beginning of the 20th century, a time in which small craft enterprises started to lay the ground for what would become the globally renowned label 'Made in Naples'. Evocation of a swarming city full of entrepreneurial vitality and with an unequivocal creative potential is key here. This idea of Naples transmits a deep sense of craftwork – artisanal, handmade, unique, emphasizing that

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the clothing and handmade textiles are prestigious items produced and commercialized by craft firms operating in the region.

Second, a strong link with tradition is created by establishing a connection with the provenance of materials, which in this case possess a clear British connotation. The tie-maker selects raw materials by cultivating relationships with British suppliers for silk provision, and the firm is able to mark its devotion toward tradition and sustain an association of the products with craft heritage.

However, the results of our analysis also suggest that there is an ambivalence in the collective memories associated with the city as a means of positioning its brand. On the one hand, narratives mobilize the creative potential and the long history of prestige and wealth usually associated with the city. But at the same time, its positioning is in opposition to a stereotypical image of the city: the firm brand identity was thus constructed by evoking very specific imaginaries of the place, through affirmation of a positive, as carriers of a positive *napoletanità* (Neapolitanness), and dissociation from a negative stereotypical image of a southern Mediterranean city marked by administrative problems.

The firm capitalized on its long tradition to enhance its reputation as a leading craft tie maker. As we have highlighted, the anchor of tradition was further reinforced by keeping technology at the margins. The entire tie production was hand-based, kept as traditional as possible. In the workshop scissors were the most sophisticated tools, and steamers shaped the ties as they always have. Thus, technology was not valued by the firm as such. It was, indeed, contrasted with the authenticity of social relations which were at the core of the firm's identity. The possibility of inefficiency, manifest in the absence of e-commerce was counterbalanced by the importance of human connections. Above all, the repository of memories associated with the sense of place made the organization's craft identity distinguishable by capitalizing on its history and tradition.

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