CHAPTER-1

INTRODUCTION
Change has been the maxim of invention and adaptation for people, cultures and communities all over the world. Even though there has been existent a large gap in the understanding of these changing systems of creation and production in which there is a linear continuum of the artist or craftsman and the patron of the arts. Research has concentrated for centuries in trying to understand the push and pull factors that drastically changed the fortunes and lives of people. These paradigm shifts are observable in history as one studies the total change practiced by a people when they shifted from a particular form of livelihood, lifestyle or way of life. Therefore, when a nomad settles or a well established rooted cultural entity shifts ground to become something entirely different it is considered a paradigm shift. This phenomenon gives vent to questions like under what conditions were the folk artist transformed into the craftsman and the craftsman into the factory worker. What were the forces of change that transformed the independently established artisans and cottage workers turned into guilds (if such existed in that area) and guilds into the modern day unions? What were these social and economic processes that practically forced the worker to lose control of his work?

While these are some of the larger questions, which may be attempted to answer to some extent during the course of the research work, it is the finer outline of the problems, which during the course of the history and ethnography of a people can give some useful insights. This is also the reason why this research work relies not only on primary data collection but also maintains a strong focus on secondary data collection from previous studies conducted on these systems of transformation of production and even total change over of these occupations. This piece of research entails the long-term transformations of structures and relations, which involved detailed inquiry into the agencies that controlled almost all the means of production. Therefore, these were the nature of exchange and distribution; the changed scenarios pertaining to the changed character of the sources and the markets as also the changes that governed the rewards for the work of the artisans.
1.1 The Crafts

Products crafted by hand have been defined variously and have even been known as handicrafts over the centuries. The commercial aspect of these products has been differently accounted for but has largely been a major part of the rural industrial economy. Crafts take their roots in age-old traditions, which are renewed by each generation and stand at the threshold of cultural industries. It is widely understood that the crafts people of the world do not simply conserve the cultural heritage but also enrich and adapt this heritage to the contemporary needs of societies.

According to several scholars, “the contribution of rural handicrafts is recognized for its secondary employment potential in rural areas; as a supplier of basic needs; as a factor in redistribution through assisting the landless; for its contribution to foreign exchange and for the special importance of rural handicrafts as sources of employment and sustainable livelihoods for rural women” (ILO 1984, 1995; Townson 1995 cf. Rogerson 2000). Along with the “strengthening of flexible production systems in the developing world, there has occurred a revival of certain rural handicrafts” and this too in the form of home based leisure time activity (Townson 1995). Most of the literature consulted on international aspects of the major crafts has highlighted the “major constraints and blockages to the expansion of employment and income opportunities for rural households engaged in handicraft production” (Allal and Chuta 1982; ILO 1995 cf. Rogerson 2000).

Thus, it is the traditional crafts that reflect the creativity, the culture and the heritage of the craftspersons that may be involved in this at an individual level or as a community in totality. These crafts products whether designed for utilitarian or artistic purposes, represented a very valuable form of cultural expression, a significant form of the tangible heritage of a particular socio-ecological niche. This is the rural industry capital, which is especially important in the developing countries.

The handicrafts have been defined differently by various agencies ranging from the UNESCO to the district level offices that deal with the crafts
persons on an everyday basis. In India there is the Ministry of Textiles that houses the Department of Handicrafts. The Department has a number of sub units spread over the country. There is also a district level office that looks after the commercial welfare of the artisans working at the level of the villages. This is the office of that is headed by the General Manager, District Industries.

The significant contribution of the handicrafts has been recognized at the apex levels. This is one of the reasons for re-emphasizing the value of handmade products among many of the developed countries where the quality of life is usually exposed to a number of threats at the behest of the unmitigated, widespread and unchecked excessive industrial. (UNESCO 2006)

1.1.1 Definitions of Handicrafts

India has been the hub of handicrafts production and has provided employment to many. For several rural industrial enterprises as well as crafts persons, it is their only source of earning. They have indulged in their traditional form of livelihood and have been making traditional products based on their traditional knowledge and skills handed down by word of mouth and through the ‘Guru Shishya Parampara’ (or the sacred teacher student bonding) over the centuries. Different researchers have worked on various aspects of this subject of crafts and crafts communities but their perspectives have always been different. Even the terminology seems to differ from person to person and from researcher to researcher. For some, they are craftsmen, for others they are artisans and for several they are representatives of rural or micro industries. Similarly, there is no single, universally accepted, working definition of handicrafts. Yet several agencies have attempted to define these products of human hands and creativity. Some of these definitions are as follows:

In 1989, the office of the Development Commissioner of Handicrafts (DCH) had given a workable definition as: “Items made by hand often with the
use of simple tools and generally artistic and/or traditional in nature. They include objects of utility and objects of decoration" (Govt. of India 1989).

Another attempt at defining the crafts was made by Liebl and Roy (2003) who turned around the definition of handicrafts adopted by the DCH in 1989 and talked about handicrafts in the following manner:

"Handicrafts are products produced with:

(i) Manual labour with minimal or no inputs from machine;
(ii) A substantial level of skill or expertise;
(iii) A significant level of tradition; and
(iv) History of survival on a significant scale."

While there are a number of crafts in India, which might fit into this definition but because there are several different agencies working within the ambit of the handicrafts. Thus, while any single agency includes a few occupations and excludes some others. Some of the fields of the handicrafts denote artisans include occupations printed textile are tie-dyed, textiles, embroidered textile, hand-knotted carpets, enameled and engraved metal ware, stone ware and woodcarving and handloom weaving.

The International trade centre (ITC) definition of artisans is also quite close to the definition propounded by Liebl and Roy (2003). The ITC has defined artisans as follows: “artisanal products are those produced by artisans, either completely by hand, or with the help of hand tools or even mechanical means, as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisans remains the most substantial component of the finished product. These are produced without restriction in terms of quantity and using raw materials from sustainable resources. The special nature of the artisanal products derives from their distinctive features, which can be utilitarian, aesthetics, artistic, creative, culturally attached, decorative, functional, traditional, religiously and socially symbolic and significant” (cf. Liebl and Roy 2003).
1.1.2 Basic Premise of Material Culture

Woodward (2007) in his study explained how objects have various symbolic meanings for people, as much as their physical presence is important in structuring the pragmatic aspects of social life. They are important link between the social and economic structure, and the individual actor. Both social structures and social inequality or differences can be better understood by studying culture as something created and live through objects. As objects become incorporated into wider social discourses and as they carry personal and emotional meaning, they can facilitate interpersonal interactions and assist persons to act upon themselves.

The study of material culture entails a study conducted through artifacts of the beliefs, values, attitudes, assumptions and ideas observed in any given society. Thus, the term, material culture is generally used to refer even to artifacts and the large variety of products of the work of human hands and creativity. The study of material culture relies on the fact that man-made products are absolute evidence of human intelligence at play actively for the visualization, planning, generation and finally fabrication of complicated artifacts. The underlying premise is that objects made by man tend to reflect, consciously or sub-consciously the belief systems of individuals who made them. This premise also encompasses within its broad range those people who appreciate such works of art or craftsmanship as also those who are the via media for bringing such exquisite pieces of workmanship. They are also a reflection of the sum total of the beliefs of the host society at large as well to which they belonged. The term material culture thus refers quite distinctively to subject of the current research work as also attempting to understand its significance in culture as also the meaning of its steady disappearance from any particular epoch of time and space (Prown 1982).

Material culture comprises a wide range of products that range from utility items to pieces of decoration and ornamentation. Thus, it would be advisable to arrange them on the basis of functional utilization. The following list of products comprises all the categories including the decorative (or aesthetic) as well as utilitarian items:
• Fine Arts (paintings, drawings, prints, sculpture, photography)
• Texts (books, toys, games)
• Dynamic arts (cuisine, meals, theatrical performances)
• Adornment accessories (jewelry, hairstyles, cosmetics, tattooing, other body adornments)
• Textiles (all forms of clothing)
• Modifications of the landscape (particular buildings, architecture, town planning, agriculture, mining)
• Plastic or Applied arts (furniture, furnishings, receptacles)
• Instrumentation and Devices (machines, vehicles, scientific instruments, musical instruments, implements) (Prown 1982).

Cultural anthropology envelopes the entire domain of material culture and also takes into stride the faculties of history, geography and even industry while studying the extent and range of man’s endeavors to leave his or her signature on human enterprise for eons to come.

Costin (1998) explained that few scholars have worked on material symbols and meanings, extending the discourse by explicitly pointing out the contribution the artisan not only as fabricator but also as creator- to the conscious and unconscious social messages that craft objects convey.

1.1.3 The Aesthetics of Creation

One tends to forget that in no traditional society there was any sharp cleavage between the useful and the beautiful, that is, an object which affords aesthetic joy or delight, and that this cleavage is mostly the creation of a society the socio-economic organization of which is, by and large, determined by mechanical industries. Objects fabricated/ decorated by artist at the decree of his inner prompt or desire are called objects of art. The quality of such objects depends on his/her quality of creative desire, which in turn would depend upon quality of his vision and imagination, knowledge and experience of life and nature and on his worldview of things. When objects that were once made by human hands, individually or in small groups, item by item are turned out mechanically in large numbers, with a view to meet the demands of day-
to-day needs of practical life, a dichotomy between what is joyous or even pleasurable and what is useful, tends to emerge and this dichotomy develops with the expansion of mechanization. This has resulted in the creation of an unnecessary rift in many modern societies between two different categories of human activities- the artistic and the utilitarian. So, in relation to this, it has been argued that there is no connection between the imaginative or the intellectual faculty and the practical or useful faculty of an individual personality and these two are totally different from each other. This notion has been criticized and rejected with respect to the Indian tradition for the reasons that:

- Human personality is one indivisible whole, each one of his organs and faculties depending on and contributing to the other and;
- All human activities in a given society which keep the society healthy and integrated, are equally important and significant, which are all interrelated (Ray 1974).

1.1.4 Expression of Arts and Aesthetics

Practitioners of the crafts tend to isolate themselves especially those dealing with naturally occurring materials like metal, wood, clay, etc. The trend has been towards specialization in any single craft. Researchers have critically examined the conceptualizations of community through the study of a traditional craft industry in the Tamil town of Pattamadai. Presenting a detailed ethnographic analysis both the substantialist and constructivist model of community can be characterized as ‘craft community’. Here the group of people is bound together by locality, kinship and shared occupation. They are pursuing their own individual goals, especially in response to development interventions. The focus is on three interconnected issues that are:

(i) The community is conceptualized in the context of ‘traditional craft groups;
(ii) There is cohesiveness in that particular group of craft producers;
(iii) The role of individuals is observed in the interface between ideology and practice (Venketesan 2006).
The constituency of craft is extremely wide, and has been since its usage in the current sense in 18th-century Britain. Greenhalgh (1997) discusses how opposition to the forces of industrialization was seen as an emerging nostalgia for rural communities and the simple products they made for local use. These products, characterized as craft, were grouped together with handmade luxury decorative objects, which were apparently manufactured for distant and elite markets. In the same group were to be found those objects that did not fit into the increasingly exclusive category of fine arts. The term craft therefore came to denote disparate kinds of objects which, though grouped together, had little in common.

In India there are ritual art forms which are identified as craft, grouped together with handmade objects that have been made for the local and international markets for centuries and with newer kinds of objects which have benefited from design and manufacturing interventions.

Mahon (2000) in his study “the visible evidence of cultural producers” explained that anthropologists in their studies of cultural producers have identified noticeable and distinct examples of the on-the-ground processes through which social reproduction and social transformation occur. Further, they examine the practices through which individuals or guilds produce texts and performances, assign them meanings or redefine the existing meanings, and incorporate them into their lives. One must challenge assumptions that constrain us from attending to the production of media and popular cultural forms that are so much a part of contemporary social world. By continuing to develop and refine analysis of these highly visible emergent forms, we will be able to understand the ideologies and practices of a group of cultural producers and cultural mediators in a better way, whose productions have a material and ideological impact, both on the communities in association and in the global public sphere.

According to Coomaraswamy (1909) the notion of the pan-Indian craft heritage stems virtually from the idealism of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its influence on Indian thought in the early 20th century. Reacting against urbanization and the disruption of villages following the industrial revolution,
thinkers and writers in England, notably William Morris and John Ruskin, focused on the politics of work, pleading for a return to traditional modes of production where the worker was not alienated from the products of his labour and where creativity could flourish. These influential ideas spread beyond Europe and were taken up in India, which, with its living traditions of craftsmanship, became one of the utopias of the Arts and Crafts Movement (cf. Mitter 1994).

1.2 Tangible and Intangible Heritage Represented by the Crafts

The art of crafting and the creator of objects de craft intersect across various cultural domains like the economic, social, political, and ritual. Centuries of human civilization are witnesses to the fact that craft products are social objects that tend assume an importance beyond the mundane and everyday essentialities and essential goods like household maintenance and reproduction. The products of the crafts persons have an inherent manner of signifying and legitimizing group membership and social roles, and becoming reserves of wealth, storing intrinsically valuable materials and the labour invested in their manufacture. Several of the craft producers are specialized actors involved in the creation and maintenance of social networks, wealth, and social legitimacy. Artisans and consumers must accept, create or negotiate the social legitimacy of production and the conditions of production and distribution, usually defined in terms of social identity. The nature of that process defines the organization of production and the social relations of production that characterize the relationships between producers and consumers.

The “historical development of rural handicraft production in South Africa has been traced back to the beginnings of civilization, however it was recognized as a full-fledged form of industry participating substantially in the economic outputs of the country in the beginning of the 19th century”. He emphasizes that this was with the “advent of the expansion of a mission-based education system which precipitated a growing concern among industry doyens for the teaching of ‘useful crafts’”(Da Silva 1985 cf. Rogerson and Sithole 2001).
During the 1930s, there was witnessed a worsening crisis of rural impoverishment and to ameliorate the situation several proposals were put forward for the stimulation and propagation of the collectively termed “native home industries”. This was probably the first marked focus on the rural handicrafts (Haile 1936; Grossert 1953 cf. Rogerson and Sithole 2001). Yet, despite these proposals very little else occurred in the direct promotion of the crafts and village industries for a very long period.

Research conducted during the 1980s tracked the growth of a range of self-help schemes or development projects focused on handicrafts. A remarkable array of different organizations entered into rural craft production in South Africa at this time. During the 1980s various organizations were “particularly important actors in shaping the patterns and directions of rural handicraft production” (Titlestad 1984 cf. Rogerson and Sithole 2001). “Many church-based self-help handicraft schemes were initiated by religious groups based outside South Africa, including Germany and Sweden. Often these external linkages formed important marketing chains for the export of rural craft products” (Rogerson 1986 cf. Rogerson and Sithole 2001). Most researchers reported that during the 1980s there was a “growing penetration of private sector commercial enterprises into the ‘enterprise of craft’”.

This trend has been observed to be similar in experience among other crafts being manufactured as a part of the rural industry in Punjab. For example the ivory inlay in wood was a craft unique to Hoshiarpur district of the state. Later with the ban on ivory, the craftsmen began using acrylic plastic sheets. The designs developed from the traditional to the more modern utility products as dictated by the commercial shop owners. In fact, these very shop owners began calling themselves the artisans. For long the real artisans never saw the light of day.

Recently, there has been an upsurge of interest in clustering as a possible strategy for small-scale enterprise to “stay on board in the process of industrialization and economic development. There is increasing evidence that small-scale industry clusters matter in developing countries” (Schmitz and Nadvi 1999 cf. Sandee and Rietveld 2001). This is also true for Indonesia
(Klapwijk 1997 cf. Sandee and Rietveld 2001), while using a definition of a cluster as “a group of at least five industrial enterprises belonging to the same sub-sector in a village. Most of the literature has had its attention shifting towards cluster dynamics. One of the main issues, however, remains whether there are possibilities for many of the dormant clusters to transform into more vibrant entities. Some authors have used the concept “trajectory of cluster development to address cluster dynamics” (Sandee and Rietveld 2001).

Schmitz and Nadvi (1999) argued, “Clustering allows small-scale enterprises to grow in risk able steps through collaboration. Small amounts of capital, skills and entrepreneurial talents can be made to count when producers work together”. During the course of this research, the researcher intends to contribute to the discussion on cluster dynamics by focusing on “innovation adoption, which allows enterprises to make better products that can be sold to higher income market segments. The study illustrates that cluster development may imply that the local entrepreneurs move beyond passive enjoyment of external economies of scale in clusters towards intensive inter-firm collaboration. Further, it is argued that such collaboration should be viewed as a means to an end only, and small-scale entrepreneurs view it as a strategy to share the costs and risks associated with technological change”. Concentration on the transformation of relationships within a cluster is one of the significant contributions of the innovation process.

Policy neglect and support for rural handicrafts continued into the apartheid period. Indeed, until the 1980s the handicraft sector in South Africa was relatively under-researched and little was known of its essential characteristics, workings and developmental potential. During the 1980s, however, several humanitarian agencies and NGOs began to promote the manufacture of rural handicrafts as a much-needed source of income and productive employment, particularly in former “homeland” areas (Rogerson and Sithole 2001).

The works of Preston-Whyte (1983) were significant in breaking new ground in academic understanding of rural handicrafts in South Africa. She stressed, “In South Africa the term ‘rural handicraft’ was a somewhat slippery
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concept. Sometimes the term rural handicraft encompassed a bewildering array of products, which ranged from traditional African beadwork, shields and assegais, through intricately woven woolen carpets with ethnic motifs to the making of such non-traditional products as car seat covers”. In seeking to unpack and interpret the enormous range of goods captured by the term “rural handicrafts”, the author offered a useful division between four different categories of production which were:

- “First, there is the manufacture of artifacts or curios, items produced as functional objects for indigenous use rather than actual sale. The kinds of items that fall into this category would represent only a tiny fraction of the marketed output of rural craftsmen and women.

- The second category of rural handicrafts would be the craftwork, of both the modern and traditional genre. This would include the increased production for the market of such traditional commodities like baskets, clay pots, beer strainers, beadwork or sleeping mats. Such products are viewed consciously as producers seek to reproduce indigenous items. Also included in this category would be the mass of craft goods, which represent modern art forms drawing upon imported Western as well as indigenous technologies of production. Some of the vivid examples would include the weaving of carpets and woolen tapestries on Western-style looms, pottery made on imported potters’ wheels and a variety of paintings, wood and stone carvings. Among the most lucrative spheres of modern craftwork is the production of exquisite products in the latest fashion, colors and local designs.

- The third category of rural handicrafts included products, which were a complete break from the purely ethnic craft forms. In this category would be a diverse mix of soft goods, knitted shawls, plant potholders, crocheted bedspreads and real or imitation leather goods. Sometimes this category might also encompass the production of such garments as school or nurses uniforms.

- The fourth and final category of handicraft goods would be the ethnic rooted but non-traditionally designed craft work, such as wall hangings, rugs or cushion covers, which are of high quality and are often mass

Similar divisions are possible among crafts of India and most South East Asian countries as well.

Studies of craft production continue to be consumer-focused rather than artisan focused. This is probably because of the needs of the consumers to be foremost while “determining the contexts, conditions, and social relations of production” (Costin and Hagstrum 1995; Triadan 1997 cf. Costin 1998), while implicitly treating artisans as nameless and faceless labor working under the command of elite patrons or administrators (Feinman 1980; Earle 1987 cf. Costin 1998) or “as marginalized agriculturalists “responding” to the pressures of inhospitable environments or unequally distributed resources” (Arnold 1975, 1985, 1993; Rice 1981; Halstead 1989 cf. Costin 1998). While it is undeniable that “political hierarchy and access to resources may be permitting or limiting factors in structuring the division of labour, it is also the case that many diverse aspects of social identity regulate access to material resources, knowledge, and or the social position necessary to craft successfully and appropriately. Social identity is considered as an important principle of labour recruitment. Although one cannot deny the importance of the environment or of consumers and the demand structures they establish, the author wishes to reintroduce producers as active participants who often chose craft production as an economic strategy, negotiate the organization of production, and foster the demand for their products” (LaViolette 1995 cf. Costin 1998)

Several studies on craft production questioned the very premise of how one describes the organization of production. Perhaps the greatest area of contention is the applicability of the distinction between attached and independent specialization (Earle 1981; Clark and Parry 1990; Costin 1991 cf. Costin 1998). However, Lass and Spielmann questioned the appropriateness of such a clear distinction, particularly in craft intensive societies. They did, nevertheless stipulate that the “same artisans produced in both independent and attached contexts, setting up complex sets of relations of production and
distribution and complex networks intertwining producers and consumers”. Challenge and expansion of our conceptualization of crafting and artisans is in their explicit discussion of the role of ritual in crafting in a wide variety of contexts.

1.2.1 Understanding the Paradigm Shift

In their study of bloomer iron smelting in America and Africa, Gordon and Killick (1993) underscore “the necessity of recognizing that, while technology is always practiced in accordance with the principles of physics and chemistry and the natural resources available, ‘there is usually sufficient latitude within these constraints for a given technique to be carried out in quite different ways to meet the goals of the practitioners in different cultures’. An attempt will be made to explain it with reference to metal technology in India, where the ideological underpinnings and the perceptions of metal craft and metal crafts persons respectively provide the contextual justification for its understanding (cf. Lahiri 1995).

The points that this research work proposes to emphasize are the following:

1. The persistent and numerically dominant tradition of working in metals of high purity that one finds record in the early Indian archaeological record. It may not have had any technological implication but on the contrary, it fits in with what is known about the ritual importance of pure copper in ancient Indian texts. The continuity of this tradition and the position of superiority of craftspersons in pure copper to those dealing with various alloys in the caste hierarchy are underlined even in the more recent ethnographic accounts of backgrounds of metal-related craft traditions.

2. The factoring in of variations in the elemental compositions of Indian metal artifacts is not limited to any technological dimension. This craft has to be understood in terms of a very dominant and ethnographically well-documented tradition of recycling objects and scraps of old metal, as being been done in the present research work at Jandiala Guru. As some textual and archaeological sources indicate, this tradition of recycling processes goes back to the ancient period.
3. In several cases, metal or metal-related objects have been focused around specific historical and ritual events besides folk beliefs; the stories / myths and artifacts are so inter-linked to each other in ways which suggest that in such contexts the latter can only be understood in a symbolic sense, “as signifiers of social and cultural beliefs” (Lahiri 1995).

The objective of the research being to look into the various aspects of a particular subject to ascertain the many ways in which the facts present themselves especially with regard to a specific process or a phenomenon. The present study looks at the various factors that work on the languishing crafts and determine the degree of influence various external and internal forces have on their survival and perpetuation. A detailed look at the processes involved would ensure answers to the following:

1. What is the current status of the hand beaten metal ware craft and its craftsmen? What have been the under currents that affected their survival or decline?
2. What were the traditional sources of raw materials and what is their current status? Are there any alternatives available?
3. What are the traditional markets and do they exist even today?
4. Have any new markets been added on the old list?
5. Has there been any entry of newer materials, technological inputs and/or skills, etc?
6. What are the innovations for survival and thriving of the craft?
7. What are some of the avenues open, if any, to the traditional craftsmen to keep their craft alive?
8. What is the position of the youth on this particular craft?

Thus, these and several other questions have formed the basis of the queries posed to the craftsmen, key informants and other stakeholders to ensure a thorough understanding of the craft and its current position as well as the agencies responsible for the survival and perpetuation of the craft.
1.3 Historical Perspective

History is evidence that the use of copper was introduced from the West by peasant communities of the Amri culture. They had wandered into the Indus Valley roughly about 2800 B.C. They succeeded the purely Mesolithic population, the remains of which were found at various sites namely the Jungshahi Hill, Ganjar Takar and Jherruck. The copper equipment of these people comprised artifacts in the form of just about a few pins and chisels.

Around 2600 B.C. there was the advent of a people in the Indian subcontinent who established the Harappan Culture. They probably came by sea routes, and left behind them a large range of equipment in copper and bronze. This established the fact that this could only have been possible if they already had a functionally practical knowledge of metallurgy. Further waves of prospective settlers from Asia Minor, especially Iran, followed them to northern India. The settlements of these people had a collection of weapons of copper and bronze pertaining to the Middle Bronze Age type. They were to intermingle at later stages with those who had probably been Aryans. Copper tools and weapons are found in many places in northern India but the use of this metal has not been observed to have penetrated into the Southern territories till much later in time.

The working of gold at an early period had also led several scholars to suppose that gold working had been the forerunner of the art of metallurgy, and, probably because gold might possibly have been worked at a very early period in India, it was widely considered that metallurgy may have originated in India. Neither the available archaeological evidence nor the processes of gold working give any such credence to this idea. It is not assuredly evident that the Harappans may have derived their gold through any specific process or how they may have come across the gold they were using for various purposes. In all probability it must have come from Arabia or from certain provinces of India. It has been established, however, that the Arabian bullion was being imported into North-Western India as late as the Kushan period (Warmington 1928 cf. Gordon 1950).
There is a large body of evidence that vouches for the fact that the outcrops of gold-bearing quartz in Mysore were being worked out during the ancient times as far back as the time of the megalithic people who had taken up residence in that region. These people could have come originally from South Arabia, making it possible for the researcher to account for their knowledge of extracting gold. On the other hand among the ancient sources of gold were the Dardic “Ant gold” and the alluvial gold of Bihar, which in all probability it was the oldest source of gold in India.

Therefore it is obvious from the foregoing that as far as the current territories of India and Pakistan are concerned, the period of the expansion pertaining to the use of copper and bronze as well as the introduction of the use of iron is a grey area about which there is little available knowledge (Gordon 1950).

1.3.1 Historical Perspective on Metals in Human Enterprise

The archaeo-metallurgical perspective on ancient Indian metal technology is dependent on an evolutionary paradigm. Within this paradigm the artifacts and raw materials are viewed from a single function perspective. Within this framework, the early presence of pure copper and other alloy metals is evidence of man’s working with these materials since ancient times. The interweaving of folk beliefs and memories of historical events around metal and metal-related artifacts is another part of the story. In fact from birth to death there are several rituals in which it is prescribed that copper or brass and bronze also been ignored.

Some of the leading areas where copper could be found and utilized since earliest times are the Indus region to the Konkan area, on the one hand, and from Gujarat to the Bay of Bengal, on the other. According to Johnstone (1888) “the Indus region, Jhang, Multan, Rawalpindi, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan manufactured with copper - and at some of the places like Dera Ismail Khan and Kulachi, almost the entire production was in copper (12,000 out of 12,650 rupees worth of manufactured articles in the copper metal) (cf. Lahiri 1993).
In the Indo-Gangetic divide, Delhi’s coppersmiths were especially famous. In Lahore and other copper bazaars, visitors were invariably offered “real Delhi degchis” and most of the smiths from other places admit that they are not so skillful with the hammer and stake as those at Delhi. (Kipling 1886 cf. Lahiri 1993)

In the lower Gangetic plains, copper workers and sellers could be met scattered over Burdwan, Presidency, Rajshahi, Dacca, Chittagong, Patna and Bhagalpur divisions (Mukherjee 1894 cf. Lahiri 1993). There were also several other examples of an organized, extensive production of copper articles in other regions such as the former Central provinces (Lahiri 1993).

Mukherjee (1978) explained that most of the metal craftsmen worked under royal patronage because they were probably the successors of artisans who had manufactured “copper plates on which kings and scions of ruling lineages in most parts of the subcontinent are known to have recorded different kinds of donations”. The other reason was their devotional affiliation with the temples of the region “for which they manufactured ritual vessels and idols”. Mukherjee further explained that, in the shift from the “privileged trade of pure copper crafting to the general trade of copper alloy manufacture often eroded their position of social distinction and, ironically enough, has come about mainly because of a scarcity of copper”. Thus, the communities where such scarcities triggered a total shift in the nature of metal usage included the Tamtas of the Kumaon hills of Uttar Pradesh, the Tamrakars of Bhaktapur in Nepal, the Tameras of Madhya Pradesh and several of Karmakars in the Bali-Dewanganj area of Bengal.

The bronze images of southern Indian have found mentioning a large body of literature, and several studies on the casting processes were carried on at the traditional centers of Swamimalli. Some of these workers were Reeves 1962; Krishnan 1976; Kuppuram 1989; Craddock and Hook 2007; and Levy et al. 2008 cf. Craddock 2015).

Some of the researchers studied the alloying process. They found that the “usual alloy in the past was of bronze often with some lead for the images
from southern India and Sri Lanka (Craddock and Hook 2007; Reedy and Harlacher 2007). The other view was “from the post-medieval period zinc began to appear in the alloy along with tin and lead. Given the widespread use of scrap metal in the alloys the incorporation of zinc from scrap brass was inevitable. Reeves (1962) described that the alloys which were used at Swamimalli during the mid 20th century contained 75% of copper, 15 % of brass, 5% of tin and 5% of lead”.

The northern region metal workers developed a wide range of techniques over the period of time. These are mostly hand-beaten utensil makers who use mallets and wooden hammers of varying sizes to bring in a number of designs for producing a huge variety of vessels. The metal smiths of the Himalayas have developed figures which could be made from sheet metal or could be cast by the process of ‘mud casting’ (a variant of sand casting,) or by a variety of lost wax techniques, including both direct and indirect techniques. All these finer points of technology are indigenous and apparently of considerable antiquity (Dagyab 1977; Gajurel and Vaidya 1984 cf. Craddock 2015).

Even till very recent times, copper has been given privileged position in the metals category and particularly in the religious activities. There are a number of designated vessels used in worship among different regions. This had been discussed by taking the example of Bengali Hindus where certain objects made up of copper like “Kosha, Kushi, Tamrakunda, Tat, Puspapatra, Paoli, Ghara, Sankh and Bati are used in such activities (Mukharjee 1978).

In the former North-Western provinces and Oudh, were some objects like “the ghanta (bell) were made of alloys (kaskut or phul), most of the temple vessels like the rikabi (a plate in which fruit and bhog were offered), argha (a narrow boat-shaped vessel usually for making offerings to ancestors), panchapatra (a vessel for holding water), etc., were of copper” (Dampier, 1894). Gait’s (1897) explained that in Assam, the pure copper objects like Kushi, Tami and Sarai were used in the worship (cf. Lahiri 1993).
1.3.2 The Traditions of Recycling in Ancient Texts

According to the traditional alloy workers in India, they have been adhering to a resource conserving and sustaining culture, which seeks to maintain some essential raw materials through recycled inputs. Recycling or the reuse of at least three basic raw materials - clay, wax and resin and metal has been an inherent part of the metal work process and has been extensively documented. The Vishwakarmas of Jagdalpur (Madhya Pradesh), a family of brass artisans, routinely collect the used-up mould clay and believe that ‘the used up clay is better than fresh clay, for casting purposes’ (Mukherjee 1978).

Similarly, a variety of the famed Bidri work of Hyderabad called Mehtabi, in the process of oxidization of the vessels, requires the use of six parts of lime-free earth, which is obtained from at least over 200 years old ruins around Hyderabad (since such vintage buildings did not use lime or lime wash). Quite often old cloth is mixed with clay to mould the core of cast artefacts - “in Lingampet (Andhra Pradesh), along with sticky ‘Raigadi’ clay and sandy ‘Chaukha’ clay, old cloth, torn into strips, twisted and beaten to a fluffy consistency is mixed in equal proportion for making the core mixture, while at Srikalahasti, the mould mixture is made by mixing 5 kg. of old gunny or jute with twenty baskets of clay. Wax recovery (i.e., not allowing the casting wax to be burnt away) is much more common and many workshops set apart special pits and fireplaces for this purpose. At Kotapadu, Andhra Pradesh, once the wax melted, the mould was lifted from the fire and inverted over the wax recovery pit, half filled with water, so that it could solidify quickly. The process of recovery at Permbharthi is simple, with the mould being placed on a fireplace with a grate, with the pouring end sloping downwards. As the mould heats up, wax melts and pours into a vessel which is filled with water and placed under the grating” (Lahiri 1993).

Lahiri (1993) further explained that there is hardly any limit to the number of times old metal can be worked up into new vessels, and in some places the collection of old metal for export to the chief centres of brass manufacture forms quite a trade by itself. Old and broken vessels are never
thrown away, as is the case so often in England as also in India, these are either sold to the itinerant dealers who perambulate the country collecting old metal, or in districts where there are large manufactures of brassware, as in Mirzapur, the purchaser of a new vessel gives the old vessel as part price of his new purchase. But this practice had been critically analysed by some authors. It has been argued that the custom of melting down all old vessels every two or three years has nearly destroyed all vestiges of the work of previous generations, so that one must look for examples of the fine old work not in temples nor in the houses of the rich, but among the waste metal of the brass bazaar doomed to the melting pot.

Generally, works on metallurgy in antiquity tend towards a model made up of an “evolutionary development of metal craft with a uni-functional use of artifacts and raw materials, within which cognitive archaeology has no place. All those components that cannot be subsumed within this paradigm are dismissed as unwanted products of technological advancement, resource constraints, other legislative determinants etc. The objective here is to endorse the fact that some elements of metal technology in India can, through the microcosm of ethnography and early literature, be located within historically documented cultural choices. They can be, both rich sources of cognitive information as well as the resource-conserving principles and folk traditions that the historical events of an artisanal ecosystem are based on.

Although considerable attention is given to the prospects for developing small, medium and micro-enterprises in South Africa’s tourism economy, very little relevant research has been undertaken in this regard. A study presented the outcome of over 60 detailed interviews conducted with key enterprises and entrepreneurs involved in tourism, outsourcing and small enterprise development in South Africa. The aim is to examine opportunities for outsourcing and business linkage development in South Africa’s tourism economy, and to investigate the various challenges that confront the tourism SMME economy through examining the status of business linkages between large tourism enterprises and small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) in South Africa. The South African research is located within the context of
existing works on tourism and small enterprise development in developing countries (Kirsten and Rogerson 2002).

There have been economic projections regarding the anticipated growth of the economic expansion and employment creation in the tourism sector of South and southern Africa over the next few decades. Several writers have argued the benefits of developing small businesses in tourism. Within the context of the developing world, in particular, it has been suggested that the economic objectives of increasing earnings, foreign exchange, investment and job opportunities, as well as minimizing adverse social and cultural effects, were not best promoted through inward investment and large tourism enterprises. Instead, the advantages of developing small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) tourism businesses are stressed (Wanhill 2000).

The ability of the tourism sector to contribute significantly to employment creation and entrepreneurship development is, however, crucially dependent on a number of variables. This includes: nature and location of the tourism project, size and source of investment, policy intentions accompanying the investment, appeal of the tourism project, magnitude and footfall generation potential, level of support available to entrepreneurs, short term and Long term ramifications of enterprise development, overall impact on the artisan community.

Although it has been accepted widely that tourism is successful as an industry when it is driven by the private sector, it is the initiatives of the government that have an important role to play in terms of “influencing investments to achieve certain policy objectives. As the public sector is often the investor, especially in terms of tourism infrastructure, it is essential that all decisions pertaining to this aspect be grounded on a clear understanding of the implications of different investment decisions”(Kirsten and Rogerson 2002).

Further examination of the status of business linkages between large tourism enterprises and SMMEs brings out the following points for consideration:
a. International research on tourism,

b. Entrepreneurship and

c. Small enterprise development,

d. Determine the potential for business linkages or outsourcing,

These are some of the areas where difficulties may be faced by such initiatives and linkage problem areas with SMMEs.

Lea (1988) had observed the total extent to which the tourism potential of the Third World countries can be exploited in the business sense has not been given the actual attention it deserves. Indeed, it is very possible that entrepreneurship and small business development occupies only a minor position in the large body of writings on tourism in both the developed and developing countries.

Brohman (1996) argued that the foreign domination and external dependency had “seriously reduced tourism’s potential for generating broadly based growth, as well as the net financial advantages that the industry brings to developing economies.

Britton (1983) had looked at the “existing power relationships and the domination of large enterprises severely constrain the growth of SMMEs in the tourism sector”.

Harrison (1994) asserted that from the political economy perspective, small locally owned tourism enterprises are essentially ‘left to scratch around for any crumbs’ that might fall from the ‘table’, which is dominated by large enterprise.

Since 1980, the concept of alternative tourism has received considerable attention, with the term used to mean almost anything that can be put together with conventional mass tourism. Across the developing world, it is argued that alternative tourism strategies might be promoted to foster greater community participation in tourism planning, a more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of tourism, and more culturally
appropriate and environmentally sustainable forms of tourism. Of special interest is the fact that ‘alternative tourism’ in its varying forms is often associated with high levels of SMME participation (Fennell 1999).

Hamzah (1997) have explained the alternative tourism forms, such as ecotourism developments which are stylized as small-scale and locally owned, with low import leakage and a higher proportion of profits remaining in the local economy. The main argument is that the defining characteristics of alternative tourism are in direct contrast to those of mass tourism. By promoting alternative tourism, therefore, “the growth prospects for SMME enterprises are seen as more promising than under mass tourism.

Campbell (1999) argued that in the absence of formalized planning or intervention, the possibilities for local communities to benefit from business opportunities linked to alternative tourism might be reduced. This was discussed in relation to the case of Costa Rica, where local residents were positive towards ecotourism but had limited awareness of investment opportunities. As a result, outsiders and large investors took up business opportunities. Thus, community development associated with alternative tourism can be seen as a viable means to offset conventional ownership models of the past, and to redistribute control and decision-making among individuals in the community.

1.3.3 The Shilpasastras and Other Early Literary Sources on Metal Crafts

The Vedic literature frequently specifies particular metals to be used for ritual implements, utensils and vessels. Later, detailed instructions have been recorded giving the shape, size and exact physical dimensions besides also notifying their composition and production in religious and instructional texts called the Silpasastras. In the Manasara text, which is believed to have been originally compiled during the Gupta period, certain useful formulae and procedures are described. Similar texts dealing with this process also record that there is no objection to the sthapati (or the artisan, the crafts person or the master image-maker) adopting them for his own improvement.” While it is very difficult to put an exact date on the time period when the silpasastras originate it has been acknowledged by most researchers that they originated
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during the Gupta period in the North India region around the 4th to 6th centuries AD (Craddock 2015).

Maryon (1949) in his paper on metalworking in the ancient world has reviewed the studies of slightly more skillful craftsmanship involved in the production of bowls and vases constructed from sheet metal. He explained the methods by which the craftsmen in their earlier times have heated their work; the means they employed to soften metal, which gradually became hard by hammering. He discussed the ways by which the bowls might have been made and some of the processes like sinking and raising; spinning and riveting; annealing the metal on charcoal fire; soldering and welding; decoration of metal objects by line produced with a tracer, by engraving tool, or by inlaying the metal have been discussed with reference to the earlier times.

1.3.4 The South Indian Bronzes

Ramaswamy (1994) on the basis of archaeological records, literary accounts, oral traditions and through his primary data studied and analysed the metallurgy and traditional metal crafts in Tamil Nadu within special context of bronze and bell metal crafts. The main thrust of the study was to examine the bronze casting as an ancient craft, which is now even a vibrant living tradition. Metal craft had been the traditional occupation of the artisanal caste-the Visvakarma, literally the ‘makers of the universe’ and these Visvakarma are specially known as the *Kammala-Rathakarar* (the Kammala chariot makers) in Tamil Nadu. The metal craft in Tamil Nadu show an amazing continuity in terms of the nature of craft production and in the context of craft designs. Moreover the making of temple icons or idols and metal crafts products continue to be in the hands of the traditional metal-smiths – the Kammalar. The pursuance of traditional technology in metal crafts contributes to the excellence of the products as the entire processes - cutting, chiseling and the ornamentation were done by hand only. This usage of traditional technology in their craft, however, resulted in their perennial improvement. Author has demonstrated with the help of some examples that they have started using machinery, though to a limited scale, in some of the processes
like cutting and for making bell metal lamps. The bloom in tourism and the growing market led to prosperity for more enterprising craftsmen. These days, the metal crafts of Tamil Nadu are flourishing but by commercialising these crafts as the idols are made and sent to the buyers in and out of the country to meet the demand of the time.

The technological development of copper metallurgy in the subcontinent has been documented (Agrawal 1971). The Chalcolithic people were responsible for the origin and development of this metallurgy and the evidence for it is found from the middle of the fifth century BC. It is presumed that the Khetri Copper belt of Rajasthan may have provided the required raw material to the people of the Chalcolithic and even subsequent eras. It has been acknowledged that this region is the richest source of copper available in South Asia even today. A number of tribal communities like the Gond and the Baiga of Madhya Pradesh in Central India are engaged in the mining and smelting of copper ore and manufacture of objects by using primitive techniques, which is believed to be similar to the one used during the Chalcolithic period (cf. Shinde and Deshpande 2015).

While the copper objects recovered from the site of Kayatha in central India were found to be made by the use of casting technology (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975), those copper artifacts found at all other Chalcolithic sites were made by the cold hammering technique. Some of the Chalcolithic communities close to the source of Khetri, particularly Ganeshwar-Jodhpura were fully engaged in the manufacture of various copper objects for their consumption as well as for trade purposes. In all probability, these areas must have supplied copper ingots and copper objects to the Harappans as well as to the Chalcolithic people of other traditions. The technologies developed by the Neolithic and Chalcolithic communities continued though the ages and have survived up to the present day. These traditions have been preserved in rural India and have proven to be useful sources for the reconstruction of various aspects of the Chalcolithic lifestyle, including technology (cf. Shinde and Deshpande 2015).
1.4 Traditional Production Methods

Looking back, it can be summarized that the conditions for technological change that led towards gradual progress took their time. The artisans too tempered their tools and skills on different techniques through constant experimentation. The market environment for hand beaten metals in the form of utensils and temple accessories was promising, and producers were aware that these new products would be in great demand. The economic situation of the region adopted by these craftsmen was characterized by a substantial increase of the annual income, especially in urban areas. The demand for upgrading existing dwellings and constructing new ones was particularly high, and this resulted in rapid growth of demand for better quality materials for household and temple utilization.

Innovation adoption does not come about by itself. Technological change needs actors who take initiatives leading to pioneer adoption by certain entrepreneurs. Successful innovation adoption requires that pioneer adopters are able to bridge the technical, financial, and markets gaps associated with technological change. Information on the press technology was obtained through a government assistance program. It took the present researcher several extensive trips to Jandiala Guru, the field area to understand the fact that much of the technology being used proved to be worth taking the risks associated with technological change. Yet during the period of decline this same technology proved to be the proverbial millstone around the neck of the craftsman.

During the early stages of innovation, adopters did not want to lose their access to the traditional markets. The cluster context offered innovative possibilities for the adopting and concentrating of the old time tired methods while keeping track of the changed demand. In fact the demand generation for the current craft presence was in contrast to the traditional markets and much too competitive to the regular orders (Sandee and Rietveld 2001).
1.4.1 The Tradition of Working in Pure Copper

Indian archaeological data highlights the long-standing traditions of working in copper of high purity. This element apparently runs through the entire spectrum of over 3,000 years of pure copper craft which are incorporated in the chronological spread represented by the findings of Neolithic Ganeshwar on the one end and historical Taxila at the other (Lahiri 1995).

“Among the analysed 324 Harappan objects, 184 were recorded to be of pure copper. The limited range of data on the Neolithic-chalcolithic cultures outside the Harappan orbit (only twenty-six analysed objects) does not permit specific inferences, but, as things stand, pure copper artifacts were observed to occur at Navdatoli, Chandoli and Brahmagiri. Thus, the copper traditions are more definitely present in the copper hoards of various areas; seventy-two of the analyzed 125 artifacts are of pure copper with the region-wise breakdown as follows: North-Rajasthan-Southern Haryana: 9; Upper Ganga valley: 23; Chhotanagpur: 14, and Madhya Pradesh: 72. In the later historical phases, artifacts in widely disparate early historic assemblages – Taxila in the northwest. Prakash in peninsular India, Rajghat in the Gangetic plains – as well as miscellaneous dynastic coins, were seen to have been manufactured from pure copper. Even in the medieval period, copper statues have been recorded to produce in areas such as Tibet, Nepal, Gandhara, and northeast India. Moreover, the presence of copper artifacts is evidence of the fact that the craftsmen of those times were amply conversant with the production of alloys of different kinds.

It is from the recorded notations of simple domestic rituals and sacrifices that one comes across abundant references to alloyed vessels in the Sutras (800-500 B.C.), which described in detail the technicalities of domestic rituals. However, even for these there was widespread use of knives, razors and needles of copper as, for instance, the knives to be used in the Caturmasyas or seasonal sacrifice (KatyayanaSrautasutra: 5.2.17); there is the mention of and razors in the ‘mundan’ or tonsure ceremony (AsvalayanaGrhya Sutra: 1.17.9; SankhyayanaGrhya Sutra: 1.28.7).
Cultural preferences have been suggested in several passages of the Balakanda section (3.36.17-19) of the Ramayana core sections: 3rd C. BC. They give elaborate descriptions, which give explicit details of the origins of different metals in a metaphorical vein. With the casting off by Ganga of the ‘unbearably brilliant embryo’ of Shiva, the lustrous aspect of the embryo turned into gold and silver, the acrid quality produced copper and iron, while the impure elements became tin and lead. That tin and lead were metals extensively used for alloying copper is not without significance. This propensity for regarding copper as ritually superior to its alloys is evident in the Puranas as well (date: 4th-5th centuries AD onwards) (Lahiri 1995.). It is reflected, among other things, in the traditional practice of using copper vessels in propitiating various deities, and continued well in to the nineteenth century, where such articles have been known for extensive usage in several temples. On the other hand, in some Puranas, brass came to be linked with polluting elements like excreta. Finally, the ritual significance of copper articles has been consistently suggested in the Classical sources. In the fourth century BC, Nearchus noted the practice of carrying copper vessels in festival processions, while in the early centuries AD Philostratos, the biographer of Apollonuis of Tyana, has persistently mentioned what were apparently copper tablets or sculptures which had been installed at a shrine at Taxila (McCrindle 1901 cf. Lahiri 1995).

It is a fact that the tradition had continued to flourish in the relatively more recent historical past also needs to be underlined at this point. As we look at the metal craft attainments of the nineteenth century, there is one striking aspect of the metallurgical practices of pre-industrial India. This is the existence of a flourishing copper tradition along with several alloying practices, and one is reasonably assuring that there was no scarcity of alloying metals in that period.

1.4.2 Rural Handicraft

Dhingra and Dhingra (2012) in their paper used Walton’s (1975) eight-point model in their study to assess the quality of work life of the handicraft unit workers of Moradabad. It was analysed that financially and socially
employees are standing backward in the handicraft industry. The educational level of the worker is very low, and the social security and the health care measures taken by the workers are very poor. However, it was limited to analyse the quality of work life by using the Walton’s eight-point model only.

Some of the researchers attempted to look at the overall scenario of the earnings and growth of enterprises over a longitudinal time scale. It would not be out of the context to discuss the example of Rural Handicraft production in Mpumalanga by Rogerson and Sithole (2001). Crafts persons were asked to review the progress of their handicraft enterprise over the past half a decade. The majority of producers (73 per cent) indicated that the amount or volume of their output of goods had expanded, but the volume of sales had not kept pace with this increase in production. The craft persons were also asked to indicate whether over the last five years their earnings from their enterprises had increased, decreased or remained the same. Overall 44 per cent said that their earning had remained stagnant and a significant 23 per cent reported that their earning had dwindled significantly. Some of the problems and constraints on the workings and potential success of rural handicraft production enterprises were: lack of access to basic infrastructure; lack of transportation; absence of storage facilities as a critical infrastructural deficiency. Further, the product range of most handicraft manufacturers has changed little over the last five years. The stability of the product range is a constant response by crafts persons to their “listening to the market” and palpating the consumer preferences. The majority of producers work as individuals rather than in any form of group. In the current universe of study about 80 per cent of the sample worked as individual producer units.

There is not a single activity in life that escapes the influence of design, and as conditions of life change so design changes to meet the new requirements. The word design has undergone a change in meaning, for at one time it merely indicated an idea, but today it is used in a much more comprehensive way and denotes the exploitation of all possibilities concerned with material and manufacture. It embraces all the operations of the mind in the creation of an object. Design in some form or the other has been with
mankind since the earliest ages of man. About Thirty or forty thousand years ago beasts were inscribed and painted on the walls of caves and human beings painted themselves, made necklaces of shells and carved images on bone and stone. Much the same kind of thing is done today as well. The indigenous people express their ideas and designs through all the materials available to them within their environment. In the current day and age they are referred to as handicrafts and are much sought after as by-products of the tourism industry.

Another explanation is that about thirty thousand years ago human beings were beginning to domesticate themselves and were cultivating fields, training animals and developing materials for use in daily life. This necessitated the use of materials easily available in the environment and their need. Some examples were baskets, utensils and containers of all sorts as well as fabrics. Thus, basketry, textile weaving, clay pottery as well as metal work were essential crafts that became man’s mainstay. At first they fabricated utilitarian elements and later they were to become desirable accessories of aesthetic significance. After fulfilling the essentials the creativity of the artisan explores areas of ornamentation and adornment. This is how some of the most exquisite designs of jewellery and all forms of trinkets. In fact body art or tattooing is also an ancient practice that has had the world mesmerized till date. The people who create these designs and transfer them carefully on the human body are artisans as well (Capey 1940).

1.4.3 Traditional Markets and Rural Industry

Narrasaiah and Naidu (2006) analysed the role of rural industries in the development of the society with respect to their study in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh. The area of study covered the 5 trades situated in 10 revenue mandals of Kurnool district. The study was conducted on 100 artisans involved in 5 different types of work and trade like carpentry, cobbler, blacksmith, bamboo basket makers, and goldsmiths. The socio-economic background of all these 5 groups differed to a great extent. It was found that the educational status of these artisans was very much discouraging, which in turn contributed to their socio-economic deprivation. They analysed the main
problems being faced by the artisans like their outdated designs and models, poor planning and execution of any problem, problem in procurement of raw material, marketing of their products, and lack of awareness of various schemes available for the artisans. In their study they analysed the role of financial assistance provided by the governmental agency to these artisans and it was found that this assistance helped these artisans to increase their production to some extent. It has been asserted that the timely and adequate financial assistance through government agencies, national and capital bank accelerates the development of these rural industries.

From earliest times entrepreneurs, merchants and middlemen or brokers have always played an important role in the industry. One of the most tenacious examples of trading in handicrafts is that of the South East Asian countries. From the earliest times the Chinese merchants, whether individually or in groups, used to collect fabrics in the towns and have them contracted and sail crafted to Manila, where they traded the textiles to merchants for sale in Luzon or for export to foreign markets. These traveling merchants, in turn, bought raw materials in the form of Chinese silk, Btangas cotton, as well as British cotton twist from Manila Chinese shopkeepers, for the return voyage to Iloilo (Mojares 1986).

The degree to which a primitive market economy operates varies across the market landscape of any country. In most places, and at an earlier stage, a much simpler economy existed. The potter operated outside of the market, producing pottery for household use or for personalized storage and ad hoc exchanges within a socially and geographically delimited sphere. Artistically significant items were usually commissioned or created within ritual contexts in the form of presentations and gifts exchange. These handcrafted goods moved through reciprocal horizontal or vertical (patron-client) channels through the utilization of barter, tribute payments, or social transactions cementing alliances between groups and communities (Mojares 1986).

The early potters were mostly non-specialists, who produced their earthenware for domestic use. As the pottery products went on to become an item of exchange, several specialists in the craft emerged. As a norm,
however, they were part-time specialists since the demand for their work was sporadic and seasonal. In both domestic and early trade production, the potter as the chief artisan controlled the process of production.

The autonomy of the potter can be assessed from the fact that He:

- Had free access to raw materials,
- Owned the tools,
- Presided over the making of the whole product,
- Possessed the essential valuable knowledge (which could be passed on to a son or daughter),
- Had opportunities for artistic play, and
- Exercised control over the value of his work.

Increased demand, however, led to a decrease in the quality of native earthenware itself. The expansion of the market contrastingly brought about the production of low-quality, mass-produced goods manufactured in the Asian mainland. But the native potters did not progress beyond the production of earthenware due to their failure in producing true porcelain, as it required the great technical complexity, and the lack of demand due to the availability of trade ceramics (Mojares 1986).

It has been further discussed with the help of example of native textile industry of Iloilo. The textiles were already being manufactured in Panay and elsewhere in the country before the advent of the Spanish. However, by the mid-18th century and early 19th century, Iloilo emerged as a centre for large-scale commercial weaving. The garments like the pina, sinamay and cotton shawls called lompotes were admired for their fine workmanship and aesthetic qualities. In the 1840s, Mallat had listed 52 varieties of Philippine cloth and, in Iloilo; they had found about ten different mixture variations of cotton, silk, pineapple and hemp fibers. Iloilo’s textile products found markets not only within the Philippines but were also exported to China, Java, Singapore,
Spain, England and the United States. In the 1850s, more than half the value of Iloilo’s exports was accounted for by native textiles (Mojares 1986).

Gradually with the increased prosperity it was found that the weavers were no longer in full control over the production and distribution process. They either did not have resources to enlarge their scale of production or access to such non-local raw materials as silk from China or abaca from Bicol. Weavers were plied with cash advances by patrons and middlemen and fell into a kind of debt slavery. While patterns of economic dependence strengthened, the weavers continued to enjoy a fair measure of independence because of the nature of work and the organization in cottage production and the fact that weaving was still a part-time occupation and there were alternative employments for the household (Mojares 1986).

1.4.4 Emergence of the Crafts as a Rural Industry

All over the world there are niches where the crafts have blossomed and continue to hold their own after having undergone some technological advancement. The modern inputs, however, did not in any way have any adverse effect on the indigenous nature of the crafts or the craftsmanship. It did, nevertheless, improves the working conditions and had a markedly positive impact on the productivity of the artisan or the guild as a whole. It is worthwhile taking the example of Japan as a window to village industrialization. The village Shimane has an iron smelter, which is possessed of adequate modern technology to work on four to five thousand pounds of iron at a single smelting. Even though it has been organized along traditional lines, the modern technology has also become embedded in a community that, by most sociological scales, is ranked “folk” or primitive. The more important characteristics of the factory organization are as follows:

- The persistence of a traditional method of iron smelting, the origin of which is associated with an oft-quoted myth;
- The existence of a special dependency relationship between workmen and owners;
- A hereditary occupational system;
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• A strong esprit de corps (bonding) among workmen based on collective faith. The community itself was socially closed and culturally isolated from the neighbouring farm villages but sharing a common belief in a guardian deity. Within the village, relationships were kin-like and village endogamy was approached. Industrially, the employer and worker were linked through social relationships and social usages.

In this example of a crafts village the owner – worker relation has been called the oyabun – kobun (Literally: parent – child). An oyakata was not simply a manager, still less an entrepreneur or capitalist in the current sense of these words. He was tied to his workers by personal and kin like ties, and most oyakata – worker relationships, as kin bonds should be, were passed on by genealogical descent. A smelter workman, especially if he were the eldest son, tended to inherit both his father’s occupation and position, serving the same oyakata as had his father before him.

This “folk-like” factory reflected the community. Workers lived around their oyakata’s house constituting a community known as the sannal (literally: within the smelter). The sannal group singularly worshipped a guardian deity, a goddess popularly called Kanayagosan. The goddess was believed to be responsive to prayer.

This example of Shimane is highly illustrative of the paradigm shift in the lives of a community when the traditional livelihoods are threatened by total annihilation. This Japanese village indicates that a ritual, endogamous, community organization can gradually encompass within itself industrialization, and even bend factory production into a ritual system. In Japan, a country where Western production was introduced suddenly into a feudal society, this may have been only the extreme instance of a peculiar mode of life, which has developed relatively recently. This system contains, along with impersonal work relations, institutions like the “beautiful custom” of workers loyalty to masters in Sakai, and the persistence of other ritual systems for recruiting personnel for factory labour.

China’s pattern of industrialization, differing widely from Japan’s both in historical background and in outcome, offers some important material on
village industrialization. Despite the absence of a report developed exclusively to an industrialized village, material from Fei, Shih, T’ien, Levy, and Ho makes it possible to piece together something of the nature of village industrialization. In one village where next to agriculture the main source of income was the production of silk thread and some silk cloth, a factory system of manufacturing silk was introduced. This was a deliberate attempt by experts to effect economic change. The presence of a sericulture school near the village combined with the acuteness of the world depression promoted the plan to industrialize the village. The change was made under the aegis of reformers from the nearby sericulture school. They were not motivated by “economic” considerations; rather their thinking was pervaded by the socialist ideas, which form part of the ideology of much of the present literate class in China.

Thus, the factory which ultimately came into being had simply evolved according to the needs of the artisans. It was not part of any consciously pre-planned or outlined design of the interventionists, but was an inadvertent consequence dictated by technical advancement rather than social imperatives. It was owned by a cooperative society, consisting of the people who contributed towards the craft including practically all the households of crafts persons in the village. They did not control the enterprise, which was run by the sericulture school. This set up had its drawbacks because lack of information and awareness pushed the artisans towards taking a large number of wrong and indiscriminate decisions. Right from the introduction of the ballot system which was a new and unfamiliar device the crafts community members refused to exercise their right of vote to control the factory. Consequently the factory failed. Another reason for this failure was that despite the factory making profits, no benefits accrued to the craftsmen. This was because the controllers of the factory kept building up the factory resources and shoveling in the money earned totally into the upkeep, maintenance, development and improvement of the factory itself instead of passing on any share to the crafts persons. The members in turn sold their products on the open market probably because they were able to garner a better price in comparison to the smaller returns they were able to obtain from
the factory. With the passage of time this project failed and the artisans resorted to their older means of borderline survival. This is the story of crafts persons almost everywhere in the world especially where there is no sustained handholding of the crafts persons and their best interests in a synergized format of cooperation and coordination from the government, administration, the civil society as well as the crafts persons (Nash 1955).

1.5 Gender Equations in the Crafts

The position of women in the world of crafts is indispensible though more often than not unacknowledged as an organized sector of the rural economic stability of any state. Despite facing a number of constraints, women have over the centuries worked wherever and however they could. Actually all the time they were merely helping their husbands by making things of utility and beauty from agricultural waste like grass baskets, to exquisitely woven and embroidered cloth materials and a number of other artifacts. They have received the highest praise for their craftsmanship in the closeted areas of their homes but their overall contribution to the economy as a craft enterprise has been rarely acknowledged. Their labours often were limited to their personal areas of influence which were probably their homestead, their community households, their street, their gossip networks, their kin, yet overall they remained in the background as silent support systems – unpublished and unsung, un-encouraged.

In most of the women led crafts their contributions have made a deep impression upon the overall community life. By supplementing the household income through the opening of these renew sources of income; the women were enabled to make immediate cash contributions to the household. While these contributions may not have been largely acknowledged but it did earn for the women some leverage in earning a quantum of respect in their households. The same women who had earlier been spurned by their kin groups or their marital relatives were now looked upon with a new respect. The improved status of the daughters-in-law due to their talent helping them in becoming economically independent seems to have been conducive to a reduction of the interpersonal tensions in the household. There were several
other subtle indicators of the elevation of female worth and prestige in the crafts community. Another social impact of the women’s participation in contributing to the household earnings was that it made it less necessary for them to remain dependent upon inherited land, passed on through the patrilineal extended family thus decreasing their temporal continuity. Thus, gradually the instance of the patrilineal extended family has been steadily declining in social and economic activities all over the world. These gradually changed features tended to combine the pressures of the alternate means of livelihood resulting in the changed status of women.

Krishnaraj (1992) designed the study in two villages of Maharashtra namely Adeli and Othawan, where cane-bamboo work was being carried out. In two villages selected for the study, the upper caste and the landowners serve as the patron upon whom the craftwork and the workers were dependent. In Adeli the craft was vigorously alive and where entire household was working, and the role of the family members were divided according to the their respective sex. In Othwana, its (craft’s) significance was on the downgrade. In Othwana, the major source of income is the wage labour and that too men are given preference in the case of mobility and wage labour while women do fewer days of wage labour as compare to the men. In Adeli, where bamboo work is significant, the role of men and women is nearly equal in the bamboo work but as in Othwana, here too, the women bear the brunt of craftwork whenever wage labour becomes important for their subsistence. Primarily women carry on the craft that ensures the survival but brings low returns. Even though their role is indispensable they are not free to take advantage of opportunities. Even within their work, the men tend to specialise in the commercial operations (making of loosely knitted baskets for usage on large scale by many) while women are consigned to the traditional village system of customary exchange (making of tightly knitted basket used only at village level). So in this light, its has been analysed that in these two bamboo craft village communities, customary caste relations and family kinship structures continue to shape the women’s role and their contribution in the work. Women are bounded by traditional patterns of rights and obligations.
1.5.1 Gender Dynamics in the Creation of Crafts

Sex of maker was a subtle influence in determining motivational patterns. It has been observed that about twice the number of women as men was motivated by social or cultural factors. Economically, handcrafted products have an advantage over other jobs for young mothers who needed supplementary income. They wanted to earn money while staying home with pre-school children. This was especially important for women who did not have a nearby support system to help with child-care or for those who did not want to commute long distances. In many cases, husbands pressured women to remain home and not seek outside employment. For these women, sand painting was an acceptable compromise, which provided income to operate the household without causing strife (Parezo 1982).

Unrecognized as it might be on occasions of public celebration, women’s work had, nevertheless, an important and complex role to play in the economy. Women’s production in the crafts was of two kinds: that which they did as unpaid helpers to a father, a husband, or a son; and that which they did for wages or fees paid directly to them.

1.6 Swadeshi Movement Versus Industrialization

In India the culturally rooted resistance to colonialism in the early 20th century was an embodiment of the volatile “swadeshi” or home industry movement. During the first two decades of the 20th century, Indians all over the country opposed British rule by adopting the homespun clothes and rejecting totally the mass-produced British fabrics. These were even burnt in large bonfires at various ceremonial occasions. Thus, the manufactures of homespun or ‘khadi’ products were transformed into symbols of nationalism, particularly by Mahatma Gandhi. (Venketesan 2006).

Durrans (1982) asserted that even today craft continues to retain an important position in the ideology of the nation. “Selected village industries and handicrafts are a crucial component of the nation-building project and are important in cultural diplomacy. Crafts are seen as quintessentially Indian, transcending regional variations, embodying a national aesthetic. As a
Government of India brochure on craft development would have it, ‘There is nothing so Indian as Indian Handicrafts’.

However, G.M. Birdwood (1880) had drawn a beautiful picture of “the Indian village where the villagers, including artisans, worked all day at their respective tasks, coming together in the evening for music and feasting followed by the same work routine next day. “This portrait, pleasing and harmonious, ignored both horizontal and vertical divisions in Indian village life, yet it continues to be influential well into the 21st century, especially in the context of artisans” (cf. Venketesan 2006).

According to Vijayagopalan (1993) crafts are important in contemporary India both for their income-generation potential, and for the foreign exchange earnings they bring. Craft development forms part of the agenda of the national planning mechanism. The basic tenets of ethnography do not negate individuality and individualism among craft producers; indeed it forces a critical re-examination of the concept of ‘craft community’. The notion of community tends to obscure this dynamic process of constant change. While the individual is a social actor, he or she is also a person who tries to maximize social and economic gain without sacrificing the sense of belonging that comes from being part of a group. This causes concern, especially among close families, and occasions comment outside. At the same time it opens up opportunities for others. How they then manage these opportunities depends on their skills as well as on structural factors. Access to financial and social resources, behavior, and membership in different kinds of networks all contribute to the efficaciousness of certain individuals.

It has been observed by several researchers that community-building attempts based around craft practice rarely worked. This could probably only have been the result of the breakdown of communities in the wake of colonialisation and then industrialization. This is not because craft communities are traditional or static, it is probably more because of the community and the individual’s inability to adjust to the pace of a fast changing world. A deeper understanding of the lives of craftsmen and the
choices available to them illustrates the constraints, the creativity, and their aspirations—both at individual level and as in group.

### 1.6.1 Technological Advancements and the Crafts

Anthropology, sociology, economics, cultural and urban geography, human ecology, environmental psychology, and a variety of other behavioral science disciplines have studied recent and contemporary societies. The gradual development of technology was man’s response to the immediate environment as it enabled him to cope with it. Gradually the material culture increased in quantity, sometimes in a planned and many a times in an unplanned manner. This had its side effects, which were not entirely unexpected. In fact, it seems that change often comes as a result of coping with the unanticipated consequences of planned behaviors (Kramrisch 1958; Rathje 1979; Basu 2013).

Moving southwards from India was palpated a gradual movement towards greater industrialization, however, there is very little information if any available on the various consequences and how the crafts persons adapted to them. There is a considerable body of literature available on the mechanization of the Indian industry, yet, it is concerned either with the development of western types of enterprises at the national level or with the individual attempts of the managing agency promotion of industry. The factory as a formal entity was introduced into India during the second half of the nineteenth century, and within a short span of time had totally transformed the life of its villagers by directly impacting upon their rural industrial entities. The village as the traditional economic and social functional unit is not being industrialized so much as being placed under attack by the loss of income from handicrafts and artisan labour.

The adverse impact of industrialization has drastically severed the economic roots of the micro, local handicraft industry in this province. This was possible because of three main reasons:
• It created a class of wage earning labourers who were promised steady incomes as compared to the uncertainty of the income from working on the handicrafts;
• Increased potential of operations as compared to the size and intensity of the existent handicraft production;
• It emphasized on specialization on all aspects of the crafts ranging from weaving to embroidery and others. The competition was too much. On the one hand was the factory with its well-oiled machinery like functioning and higher volumes of productivity and on the other was the struggling individual or an entire family desiring the entire process from procurement to sales all by themselves with access to very meager resources.

The deep impact of this paradigm shift in economic organization and socio-economic reorganization and in some cases total renewal on the structure and functioning of a community, a crafts oriented village, to the family, to the religious system and to other aspects of culture is still to be recorded. This calls for greater research on the subject.

One unequivocal effect of industrialization is the highly observable withering of handicraft production, and even disappearance of the crafts altogether where the manufactory and the crafts are in direct dispute. This is attributed in all probability to the economic superiority of the factory system over all other previous, indigenous systems of production. This switch from handicraft to factory production involve a loss of ancient technical skills, as is seen in the case of the Jandiala Guru Hand-beaten copper, brass and bronze ware metal crafts. Threatened by a total breakdown of production systems this community is at the brink of a paradigm shift like many of the crafts peoples gone before in time and many to come after it in time and space.

1.6.2 Advance of Technology and Emergence of the Artisan Elite

It must be acknowledged that three thousand years ago materials for fabrication were comparatively few like copper and bronze were in general use but there was little iron. Linen, cotton and wool were available. Opaque
and semi-opaque glass was made into shapes and was often beautifully colored, but there was little use of clear glass. In the 6th century B.C. Greek philosophers were beginning to think about the universe and displayed an interest in the living conditions of man and his utilization of the resources at his disposal, both natural and man-made.

The most remarkable period since the heyday of the Greek glorious times and the one that has had more effect on the lives of human beings than any other was the end of the 18th century when industry, as we know it today began to develop. Industry has been in existence for many, many centuries, and factories and factory life are old institutions.

Industry, in the 18th century, began to use the machine for the mass production of work, but industry, unlike the machine, was human and mortal. Therefore it had changed in response to the variations in the conditions of human life caused through the development of the machine. People gradually became more mechanically minded and several amazing inventions began to change the face of the world. The first practical steamboat appeared in 1802, the first practical locomotive in 1804, and later came the motorcar and the aeroplane. Through these things there developed new ways of living which in turn demanded new forms of economic and political marginalisation of the producers, in some instances craft production has resulted in self-managed economic development that strengthens local cultural institutions. Four such cases include the Otavelenos of Ecuador, the Nahua and the Zapotec of Mexico, and the Kuna of Panama. In these cases, self-management and successful entrepreneurship are linked to an internal reinforcement of local cultural identity. While these cases of commercialized craft production also reflect increasing socio-economic differentiation within producing communities indicative of incipient class formation, emerging class conflict in the relations of production is often mediated and redirected through kin-based relations of social reproduction built into local cultural institutions. The playing out of these relations of social reproduction can provide for a cohesive community identity when posed in relation to larger society and outside government and business agents seeking to gain control of indigenous craft production (Capey 1940).
Besides appropriation of indigenous cultures, whether for political or economic purposes, results in the “packaging” of indigenous identity, the content of which is largely determined by dominant external institutions and actors. Nevertheless, the creation of a marketable indigenous identity is not without consequences for the internal life of a community. In communities with a history of independent craft production for exchange at first and finally for sale that maintain non-capitalist economic and institutions. Such cases of craft production are important examples for development planners seeking to foster productive projects that are consistent with a self-defined indigenous identity and economic self-management.

Four cases of indigenous communities with successful craft-production strategies are examined here. These cases are characterized by the fact that producers have maintained a high degree of control over marketing and distribution and have used a significant part of the income to reinvest in community institutions.

An examination of the common circumstances surrounding each of these successful artisan endeavors reveals both economic factors and continued maintenance of local institutions of social reproduction. Common economic circumstances include:

(a) Maintenance of an adequate land base
(b) Production of craft products for exchange and sale; and
(c) Commercial experience in local and regional market systems.

1.7 Social Constructs and the Decline of Cultural Entities

It is important to see active, multi-dimensional participants in production-distribution systems for yet another reason. We know that consumers value crafts for their utility, their prestige value, their political significance, and their symbolic, ritual, and / or ideological associations.

Thus, the artisan has been defined as “an active and participatory agent in the “action” of symbols (Hodder 1982 cf. Costin 1998) and the “materialization” of ideology” (DeMarrais et.al. 1996 cf. Costin 1998).
Artisans have a pivotal role in the non-verbal communication realized through the display and use of craft objects. “Artisans actively create or capture social meaning and make it manifest in the objects they create. All those decorating pottery, weaving garments, or making intricate metal objects are not necessarily “speaking” for all members of a particular group. If craft objects are to be used in the interpretation of social and cultural relations, we make an effort to know who made them” (Hegmon and Trevathan 1996).

It is apparent that there is no singular social identity – distinguished by descriptors such as age, gender, marital status, and the like or by power, prestige, or wealth – which can characterize the workers within a single society or even within a single craft industry within a single society. The “category or role of “craft producer” may be far too broad to be useful analytically if applied in an uncritical fashion. Artisans are far too divergent in terms of power, prestige, status, interests, and abilities to treat them as a unified force in models of social process and social change. Craft producers have also been “face-less” in discussions of the role of craft production in social and political change, although more recently attention has been paid to this issue in both small-scale (Mills 1997) and large-scale (Brumfiel 1991; McCorriston 1997 cf. Costin 1998) societies”.

Recent ethnographic fieldwork in Kenya and Zambia and anthropological studies of societies in Sudan and Nigeria demonstrate that “culture may be used by groups to communicate within-group corporate entities with particular reference to outsiders. This further heightened the competition between groups for resources. Similarly, there was greater likelihood of the material culture playing a pivotal part in the maintenance of internal cohesion in crafts producer societies.

Most ethnographic work suggests that the material culture differences between “tribes” can only be understood if material culture is seen as a language, expressing within-group cohesion in competition over scarce resources. In some border areas, cultural differences are less clear-cut (Hodder 1979).
“The history of a cultural trait will tell us very little about its social significance within the situation in which it is found at present” (Cohen 1974 cf. Hodder 1979).

“As for the character of the work, the crafts of the weapon-maker, of the smith and the caster, which by cultural definition had a marked masculine quality about them, probably drew little on wifely aid for the technical processes. Such artisans may not have agreed with the judgment of the town lawyer Claude de rubys, who (citing Aristotle) called them “vile, sordid and dishonest,” but they may well have followed the view of a current metallurgical manual that the “fire arts” were not for those with a “gentle spirit.” Here the craftsmen had to be very strong; here they looked brutish, with their faces full of powder and half-burned; here they were plagued with worries till the work was done, “by reason of which they are called Fantasmes” (Davis 1982).

It is the objective of the current research work to study and throw light on the processes that have been set in motion to help the artisan gain back some of their lost dignity which is their due as also to ensure that the survival of their crafts. This is the reason that the current study could be the forerunner of several others that could link the passing on of certain traditions and the survival and sustenance of others. It would be an insight into the factors that bring about the survival of the crafts under the aegis of a total paradigm shift.

1.7.1 Industrialization, Capitalism and the Decline of the Crafts

Industrialization has slashed at the economic roots of the small, local handicraft industry in this province. The aggregation of workers at machines has had three main results, which are enumerated as follows:

- Created a class of wage labourers;
- Increased the operating size of existing handicraft production;
- Emphasized specialization in an aspect of the weaving craft in the factory as against a man and his family carrying out the entire process.

It is, however, certain that the process of industrialization does not inherently have to repeat the pattern of the European tradition. In all
probability, the scale and speed with which industrialization must be carried out in underdeveloped countries, if it is to be carried out at all, preclude repetition.

According to Abraham (1964) the decline of the Indian handicrafts should be viewed against the system of economic production that prevailed in India before the advent of the British. Also we should take into account the changes that were brought about in it by the alien rule. With the coming of the British, India became the arena for a constant conflict between two systems of production— which were in turn the products of two divergent types of civilization and culture; one rural and agriculture, while the other, urban and industrial. Although the new one was the stronger, it could not bring the old one to a total surrender. It could only drive the opposing system to stagnation and slow disintegration. The conflict goes on to this day, and the forces of decay and decline that had set in with it are at work everywhere in the country. As the new system could not replace the old one and could only neutralize it, it was the lot of India to go without both, general economic decline was the result. Handicrafts were thrown of their feet.

One general effect of industrialization is the shriveling of handicraft production, in those cases where handicraft and factory compete. This is imputable to the economic superiority of the factory system over all previous systems of production. The shift from handicraft to factory production may sometimes involve a loss of technical skill, as in the case of the Sholapur weavers, as well as an increase in technological efficiency. The most debatable necessary effects of industrialization are the need for “functional specificity” or the shifting of status from ascribed to achieve and the breaking up of extended kindred systems. Involved here is the question of whether the functional requirements of selecting industrial personnel on the basis of skill and knowledge to do a particular job inevitably weakens or destroys the traditional system of status typically based on familial, ritual, or age criteria and its accompanying sanctions for behavior.

Similar uncertainties on the theoretical meaning of changes in values in industrialized villages, of the necessity of secularization, of the impersonality
of social relations, and of the effects of new wealth await study and clarification. It is apparent that carefully analyzed historically controlled and theoretically informed studies on village industrialization (Nash 1955).

The expansion of the market accompanied the rise of capitalism in craft production. The capitalist mode of production came about when monetary wealth was enabled to buy labour power. For this to happen, the tie between producers and the means of production (tools, materials, land) had to be served. Denied access to these means, producers must then come to those who control them and sell their labor for wages so they can sustain themselves. This differs from the earlier stage of mercantilism, in which wealth is derived from price differentials, by skimming off the products of the primary producers and making profits by selling them. Only when wealth is used to control the means of production, buy labour power and put it to work (that is, becomes “capital”) does capitalism arise (Mojares 1986).

Factory work has far-reaching effects on the status of the craftsman. The work process is modified by breaking down the work into its essential constituents such that a worker can be harnessed to work on a part of the product instead of the whole of the product. For artisans, the shift involves a loss of status as they move from the relative self-determination of the cottage producer to the servitude of the industrial worker (Mojares 1986).

The main differences between the artisans and the workers bring out the facts that the workers have little access to raw materials, tools and market information. The typical worker works on components rather than whole products and, while he can generate designs, much of his work is imitation since the trend is for the large entrepreneurial firms to generate styles and samples through professional, salaried product designers. The worker produces for a distant market, has little control over the value of his product and is increasingly dependent on work with unstable rewards because of the lack of alternatives and fallback employment.

1.7.2 Languishing and Dwindling Crafts Presence

The onslaught of modern life with its mechanization and mass media
culture has set into decline other arts and crafts, which are today termed as “languishing crafts”. These include the skills and art forms that are known but are no longer visible among the currently visible crafts. Crafts such like the Chamba Rumal Himachal Pradesh, Bell metal work of Madhya Pradesh, Batik printing of Goa, Thanka paintings of Sikkim and Himachal Pradesh, Dhokra craft of Andhra Pradesh, Thewa art of Madhya Pradesh, Straw pictures of Kerala, etc. fall under this category of the languishing art category.

According to the special provisions of the Government of India, its Five Year Plans have been and are continuing to look-- at the preservation and revival of the languishing crafts. The scheme for identification and revival of languishing crafts through measures such as design development, training, pilot products, exhibition and publicity was first introduced during the VIII Five-Year Plan and has been fine tuned in the twelfth plan with the scheme favoring artisan clusters all over the country (Govt. of India n.d.).

Threatened by the economic and social changes the artisan experienced, throughout the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a profound dislocation in the form of control over the work process, skill dilution and task simplification, which was further eroded by older conceptions of work ethics and its devout practitioners.

When Marx “considered the first outbreaks of the French proletariat”, he focused on the embattled craftsman who created the labour movement survive. Thus, it can be said that a working class was born, not in the factory, but in the workshop. Yet, what was the contribution of the craftsman to the labour movement? Could the craftsman, and the entire strata of the working class, emerge as the dominant thrust of the new movement? The “scattered distribution of resources in tropical areas, the increase in the size and complexity of communities, and the demands of trade” occasioned the rise of rural manufacturing industries like blacksmithing, pottery, etc., all increased the craft specialization, and the presence of formal markets in the more populous settlements. A movement was observed from self-sufficient communities to networks engaged, in varying degrees, in “an inter and intra
ethnic trade of subsistence and non-subsistence goods like metal craft, pottery, textiles, gold ornaments and woodcraft" (cf. Palmer 1976).

Among the crafts communities the household functioned as an essentially self-sufficient production unit. Thus for example, the potter who was a part-time craft specialist tended to combine pottery making with agriculture or any other subsistence activities. It has been documented that by the 14th century, there were already wealthy chiefdoms in parts of the country that probably maintained them as full-time craft specialists working in central production places (Mojares 1986).

Resnick (1970) attempted to demonstrate and explain the economic and social forces that are causal for economic transformation of three South-east Asian countries- Burma, Philippines and Thailand, from agrarian society to commercial one. The model, used to explore this behaviour from 1870 to 1938 time period, focuses on two types of labour activity in an agrarian economy. First, the production and cultivation of agricultural crops and second on the home or artisan handicraft activities such as spinning and weaving of cloth, the processing and milling of rice, the manufacture of assorted implements, the provision of transportation and housing and so on. ‘F’ and ‘Z’ denoted the agricultural and non-agricultural activities respectively. When we imagine peasants before the commercial revolution, land was used intensively to supply more or less adequate food and the division of labour was relied upon, as Z activities were solely the province of women. There are images of more or less self-sufficient units where life was centered upon the family or villages upheld by traditions and customs. The Z activities and the goods produced from those activities were interwoven with the social structure or organisations, which means the effect on the one has corresponding effect on the other. As with the passage of time, the agrarian economy linked with the world markets and that in turn resulted in the dramatic reallocation of work effort for export of agricultural crops and the consumption of imported manufactures. This growth in external trade provided the basis for the replacement of traditional industry in the home and villages of the East by the production of manufactures in the factories of the West.
1.8 Crafts and Social Identity

Crafts tend to give a whole new definition to the group or community that is involved in the production and sales of any particular handicraft. While it has been acknowledged that the creation of a piece of handicraft is to create a specific form all the time keeping a particular objective, vision or goal in mind. Crafting is a quintessential human activity, provoking design-directed action. Creating a handicraft seems to be encrypted as a very basic form of human behavior. It is almost as necessary as utilizing tools for food procurement, its preparation, its transport and processing as well as its storage. It has also been used to fashion protective clothing and shelter (Costin 1998).

Some scholars have extended the fundamental premise that in many societies the creation of a craft is the manifestation of an image for social identity being a symbol of the social constructs category. Studies of craft production have focused on the importance of the “productive” activities, which have been labeled as craft production that in turn has been observed to be useful in generating social relationships (Costin 1998).

Anthropologists and other scholars have since long been interested in explaining “the division of labour” along gender lines (Brown 1970; Murdock and Provost 1973; Burton et al. 1977); and along the organization of production (Peacock 1982; Costin 1986, 1991). But the social identity of workers has rarely been an explicit factor in the explanation of the organizations of production (Zagarell 1986; Wright 1996; McCorriston 1997).

While it is absolutely clear is that it is through the processes of crafting, everything that the artisans create themselves as objects, a wide network of relationships are deeply infused with meanings of social and cultural significance. Several art historians have acknowledged the importance of an artisan’s identity and the social contexts from which they come for understanding the full intent, meaning, and social implications of their works (e.g., Williams, 1985; Gunter, 1990). Artisans can be said to have their own sets of experiences to which they give a body and form their utilizing their creativity and dynamism, a social identity, and a life context which informs
their view of the world, the form and content of their art, and the consumers for whom they produce. A formal materialization of the ideas and vision of the artisans are but a reflection of the artisans or the entire artisan community’s identity (Costin 1998)

1.8.1 Craft, Identity, and Status of the Craft Persons

The traditional view among sociologists and others like Treiman (1977); Lucie-Smith (1981); Rueschemeyer (1986) and Nielson (1990) is that determining the social status of the individual or social group which customarily performs it may or may not be ascribed to or acquired by artisans because of their work as artisans. Craft producers have been viewed as fabricators, and even as the mediators between the very goods themselves and the material resources which were to be blessed with the prestige of crafting (cf. Costin 1998).

As artisans had the power to create, the activity of craft was viewed as more than a technical act, and something that empowered them (artisans) in a perhaps immeasurable way. Reents-Budet (1994) discussed how “the action of crafting made an object proper, giving the artisans the power to make an object appropriate and functional”. This notion is “similar to the Andean concept of camayo, which is the ability of the artisan to breathe spirit into the object, to make it functional and useful” (Lechtman 1993).

Xinwu and Min (1988) amidst many different views, have clearly shown that, why China’s cotton handicrafts were able to withstand obstinately the large-scale machine textile industry for longer time. They pointed out that, in China, domestic handicrafts and the small peasant economy were so intertwined that they were able to resist the large-scale machine industry. Small peasant could fully utilize and distribute surplus household labour. They could make cloth for their domestic use without cost-benefit calculations concern and thus could carry on prolonged struggle. To arrive at the conclusion, they have used various kinds of data as annual output and consumption of raw cotton, the annual production of native cloth by handicraft households, and the consumption of different kind of cloths made up of cotton. During the time period between 1840-1936, per capita cotton
consumption grew from about 2.145 guanjin to 3.175 guanjin and the per capita consumption of cotton cloth rose from 1.50 bolts to 2 bolts, domestic production of raw cotton rose, from 8 million guandan to 13 million guandan; and imported and domestic machine made cloths increased by leaps and bounds. At the same time, the raw cotton and cotton cloth was steadily expanding beyond its traditional end products of clothing and quilting into various new spheres as: medical, hygienic, military, chemical, and many more which in turn resulted in the gradual replacement of native cotton and yarn by machine made yarn and cloth.

Kathuria (1986) explored selected price and non-price factors in international trade in handicrafts. Although the focus of the study and the data analysed was specifically to India, but this involved a more general issues as barriers to trade and world market for handicrafts. The categorization of international trade statistics needs to be worked on to get more accurate estimates of the world market for handicrafts. The pursuit for better data is not an end in itself. This will help to monitor more accurately the trade performance in this employment intensive sector and place international trade negotiations for handicrafts on a firmer footing. The main problem is the lack of agreement of what constitutes a handicraft, where some importing countries are extremely limiting. They should be influential to take broader view, and allow mechanical aid and mechanical equipment, as long as there is basic, creative, personalised skill involved in them. In developing countries, along with the removal of some of the barriers there is need to undertake substantial market promotion in target markets. It was reached to a point that as the design and development activity was crucial for the survival of handicrafts in international trade, only few had resources to undertake it. So initiative was needed by the government and public sector to diversify both domestic and international market to reduce the vulnerability of the craftsmen.

1.8.2 The Craft and the Craftsman Down the Ages

Tonnies (1974) identified “gemeinschaft, (German word of community) based on primordial bonds, as pre-modern, inexorably and inevitably to be replaced by gesellschaft (German word of society) associations made up of
atomized individuals”. The notion of ‘craft community’ exists within the group of artisans having distinctive social structures and functions, kinship ties, religious mores, practices and rituals. The frequent movement of people in and out of craft-work means that although one is always a crafts person even when out of work or having left the work altogether, they do not wish to identify themselves in any other way than seeking access to resources and opportunities from craft development initiatives.

De Neve’s (2008) study goes beyond the “static models of caste and kinship to explore the social nature and construction of kinship ties within a unpredictable, labour-intensive, and private sector industry”. While little attention has been paid to such questions in the craft industries it is because the craft, in the informal sector of the economy, is seen as fundamentally different to other industries. The “static kinship and community models continue to be applied uncritically; and indeed, the greatest challenge is seen to be the revival of the functionally integrated ties which were believed to mark traditional craft production and consumption in the pre-colonial period”. It is an established fact that there are no employees or employers in most home-based craft industries as the artisans have no direct control over the products and they are paid by the producers labour. The producers virtually own the products. The presence of middlemen invariably led to exploitative relations in the craft industries, which were conceptualized as being existent between those who sell the craft products and the craftsmen who are the producers of these artifacts. The creators are often cast as victims. However, respectability tended to reinforce the craftsman’s sense of self-worth while he exhibited the skilled workingman’s passion for political involvement and democratic social relations liberally.

How have the economic changes and socio-political upheavals of the centuries bygone affected the craftsman or artisan? What has been the impact? The history of a specific craft depends on a number of specific variables. The standardization or rationalization of craft production varies according to the uses of the product, the nature of the market demand and the relative advantages of large-scale production. In certain crafts the craftsman
exercises a significant degree of self-direction and independence. Certain transformations can be noted, however, and these are:

- A gradual degradation in the value of human skills. In earlier times, the premium on such skills was expressed in formal apprenticeships and several rituals attended the practice of the craft. A market-driven technology displaced and degraded these exquisite skills. It must be borne in mind, nevertheless that any attempt at standardization of the craftsman’s work would prove detrimental for individual expression because then art would be reduced to craft and craft would become common labour.

- Loss in the corporate identity of craftsmen, which had in earlier times been a congregation of priesthoods, mysteries and guilds. Craftsmen took pride in their calling, and identified themselves with their craft. The term “Master” referred to the master craftsman. There was no employer. Craft-based guilds could not be compared to the modern day labour unions in any way.

- Break in traditional ties between producers and users. Earlier the artisans had produced for a circle of known users (especially royal and wealthy patrons, or community leaders). In the modern day, however, they are in production for the open market. It goes without saying that the quality of the goods are tied to the vagaries of the market, the shifting fashions of the moment, the availability of raw materials, and considerations of cost-efficiency of products.

- Worker loses control over his work when a changed economic environment hits a particular craft. The craft and the craftsmen are striated for access to materials, tools, and markets – both traditional and modern and even technological inputs for skill up-gradation. As a consequence, the crafts person finds his productivity being demeaned because of its being valued according to market-dictated wages.

- There was a break in the intimate connection the crafts person had between working on his or her craft and living a particular way of life.
With increased rationalization a value-system concerning skills and crafts are also altered when they are displaced.

Economic changes have changed the very spirit in which goods or utensils were created and utilized. In earlier times the exchange of goods among men and women was a moral transaction positively animated by economic, religious, political and aesthetic notions. When the Kalinga woman potter remarks that “the pot has a spirit too,” she suggests the “rich range of moral values invested in the production, distribution and use of goods” (Mojares 1986).

The craft production as an activity is itself a part of social identity. Crafting creates and transforms the self of the artisan in the minds and eyes of his/her society members (Weiner 1994; Dobres 1995).

According to Dobres (1995) craft production is a tenacious symbol for “social identity and a potent symbol of social category because artisan identity may be idiosyncratic, culturally specific and historically contingent”. To summarize, crafting is rich in culturally specific meanings when we treat it as a social construct.

Liebl and Roy (2003) in their study have explained that the handicrafts represent a large and dynamic segment of the manufacturing sector. The crafts have gained significantly under the rule of free market. The demand for ethnic and cultural specific goods has increased with the increase of tourism, global trend for spending on home furnishing and due to the increasing homogenization of mass-produced goods. Recent export successes show that any presumption that the crafts are fated to be replaced by modern manufacturing must be discarded. They explained that despite export success, the domestic market has not done well. In domestic market, the trend has shifted from traditional consumption needs to modern consumption needs, which in turn had much impact on such handicraft products. There are many constraints and problems faced by handicrafts and the craftsmen like dispersed nature, low education and poor access to the information base. The problem these traditional industries face is not one of universal unqualified obsolescence in the age of machinery and competition from therein. The old
traditional skills and the knowledge need to be looked upon with some modifications and adaptations with respect to the present day. Many examples show the good results where such requirements have been taken care of with some degree of skill and sophistication.

Redzuan and Aref (2011) in their study have focused to identify the constraints and potentials faced by handicrafts industry in peripheral and underdeveloped regions of Malaysia. They pointed out that the promotion of industrial development in Malaysia is seen as one of the principle means whereby the government seeks to achieve the objectives of new economic policy. Despite efforts by the governmental agencies, the importance of the handicrafts industry is less significant in providing the alternative occupations. As there is problem of poverty in rural areas, the rural industry and rural industrialization have been marked as potential areas to get rid of the problem under new economic policy. But there is need of rural industries brought up with the combination of policies and approaches such as industrial policy, agricultural policy, regional planning for infrastructure and institutional arrangements in rural areas. For better rural development, rural industries should also go side by side with the considerable efforts and co-ordination among various governmental agencies.

Aubrey (1951) stressed upon the role of small industries in the overall economic development. He mentioned that, it is unquestionable that essentially in the long run, small industry can survive only if it can pay its way economically. Small industry in underdeveloped countries certainly has short-run advantages, and may even be able to pay its way over a longer period. There seems little room for doubt that when capital is less in relation to labour, low capital intensity and low level of technology are justified since they mean a saving through various sources like buildings; tools and machinery; inventories and over head expenditures. Small industries have benefit in the manufacture of products of high quality, and of products that are not standardized and are demanded in a variety. Further, small units have flexibility; they can change to meet the needs of the time. The competitive position of small enterprises may be good in industries that are not adaptable to mass production by high-speed continuous processes. Where the wage is
relatively high, small-scale manufacturing has strong chances for survival. The integration of small industries into the rural life is likely to increase total income all around which in turn create a wider market for other industrial products and help rural communities to rise above their present level.

1.8.3 Maintenance of Crafts Oriented Institutions

Undoubtedly the most tangible aspects of ethnic identity associated with the described four cases (appendix I) of craft production are the maintenance of reciprocal labour and reciprocal goods exchanges. These have been supplemented through the reinvestment in community in the form of ceremonial activities and public works. Therefore, the maintenance and reproduction of the specific community socio-cultural institutions is the underlying basis for ethnic identity observable in these communities.

In the four cases as given in the appendix-I of craft production for export the communities maintained a certain degree of control on the commercial enterprises that were built up on the local cultural institutions. The comparative analysis of the four shows a historical similarity of the economic circumstances that accompanied the maintenance of ethnic identities in tandem with the commercial aspects of the craft production. While these circumstances may be seen to be supporting ethnic solidarity in general, the demand for handmade products implicit in the market for ethnic crafts provides a special niche for ethnicity as an economic resource.

Also the communities discussed have preserved significant land bases associated with commercial production since the seventeenth or eighteenth century. They have a history of locally controlled marketing and distribution systems, which have been long established through the local and regional networks. Such a common history provided for important economic and political resources and experiences that contributed to the success attained in the tourist and export markets.

The second set of circumstances that unifies these four cases revolves around the maintenance and reproduction of non-capitalist institutions of exchange. These may be manifested as reciprocal goods and labour
exchanges; high levels of participation in the traditional systems of community, government and culturally and religiously ordained intensive ritual and ceremonial cycles.

The maintenance of such “ethnic institutions provides the basis for community self-management in cottage industries. While national governments and foreign exporters have turned the ethnic identity of the Kina, the Zapotecs, the Otavalan Quechua and the Nahuas into a commodity, these groups appropriated in part the fruits of this commoditization and harnessed them to reinforce their own ethnic identities. In three of these cases, indigenous products and entrepreneurs have also built on the efforts of outside development agencies, such as the Peace Corps and the Inter-American Foundation, to either take over the management of projects or use the marketing networks set up by such projects to support private and community production efforts”

1.8.4 Artisans and Objects de Art

The creation of crafts has been fundamentally seen as a series of material creations and transformations. Craft production transforms raw materials into functional and valuable goods. Crafts not only bring about material transformation but also infuse social meaning into inanimate materials. “Elaborated crafts convey information about social identity” (Reents-Budet 1994; Morris 1991). “The process of giving meaning to crafts is often part of a social dynamic where the creator is not the consumer, raising questions about the nature of, access to and control over esoteric knowledge and politically or ritually powerful iconographic systems” (Stone-Miller 1997 cf. Costing 1998).

There is need to look and consider the whole set of questions. Do artisans follow or lead? Do they cater to prevailing norms or create artistic traditions? Artisans do not necessarily passively or mechanistically respond to dictates of consumers. In keeping with the premise that artisans are active participants in the process of creating objects formally, stylistically, and meaningfully, they must be viewed as active creators of style. Artisans may
actively seek to enhance the aesthetic interest of the goods they produce (Feinman 1985; Schneider 1987).

According to Reynolds (1986) society grows “increasingly functionally specialized, it becomes necessary to be socially recognized as having a specialty in order to participate fully in supra-domestic economic and social networks. Individuals without recognized products or labour to contribute directly to the circulation of goods and service are not integrated directly into the larger economy and may become dependent on others for access to those networks. These economic and social dependencies can be manipulated and exploited by others to control the behavior of dependent individuals. Crafting is not a guarantee against marginality and exploitation, but it can provide economic and social security”.

There are several ways in which elites have been known to be depend on craft products and craft producers including the “acquisition of craft goods to compensate state workers; increase revenue through trade; negotiate and maintain alliances; express social status; legitimize rule through control of potent symbols of power; attract people to markets, where transaction are taxed; and enhance the ruler’s public image” (cf. Costing 1998).

1.8.5 The Artisan Persona – Its Development and Maturity

All the elements of social identity whether they are ethnicity, kinship, social rank or class, place of residence, gender, marital status, legal status, or ritual status are all based on a normative or customary division of labour. Another aspect of social identity imbued with social meaning is that the crafts too have their inherent circles of skill-based manifestation that is apparent in the form of the products. In fact they have their own significantly social and cultural meanings.

There is a fine relationship between patron and artisans, which is structured along specific lines to maintain the status quo of the creator and the appreciator. It has been argued that the master craftsman may be invested with a socially exalted appropriate status and identity due to the production of certain specific artifacts over the time (Costin 1998).
1.9 Concepts of Ethnic Identity and the Comoditization of Culture

Anthropologists have yet to agree on a concise definition of ethnicity. While some researcher have tried to bind the concept of ethnic groups to specific objective criteria like language and territory, others have opted for a more dynamic definition that focuses on the interaction between ethnic groups, following Barth’s (1969) discussion on the establishment of ethnic boundaries. Recent studies of ethnicity have focused on self-identification, ethnic consciousness, and solidarity, drawing attention to the local construction of ethnic identity and social reproduction.

This perspective draws us into the social and historical constitution of local ethnic identity and draws attention to the conditions under which ethnic solidarity emerges. Ethnic solidarity may be a survival mechanism for legitimizing a group in the political arena, or internally constructed solidarity may be a way of redefining group identity from the inside in reaction to an outside appropriation of culture. One of the key questions in contemporary anthropological studies of ethnicity concerns “the oppositional process” that Spicer (1971) refers to as the presence of a persistent ethnic identity. It was maintained and noted that persistent ethnic identities are the result of efforts to incorporate or assimilate groups into the larger whole, whether culturally, economically, socially or religiously. Spicer has used this analysis to explain the persistent ethnic identity of the Maya, Yaqui, and Navajo groups in Mexico and the U.S. southwest.

The phenomenon of both state and commercial appropriation of ethnic identity for the purposes of tourism and craft production for export makes it necessary to amend slightly Spicer’s model of opposition and also consider the notion of genuine and spurious culture by Sapir (1949). In a seminal essay, Sapir distinguishes between:

- The creation of an oppositional, internally generated culture that may exist within the confines of larger oppressive social relations and

- An external or spurious culture that does not “build itself out of the central interests and desires of its bearers.”
• Genuine culture includes the creation of new cultural forms that combine the structure and content of older forms with new social and political reality (Diamond 1951).

The four cases (Appendix-I) to be examined here provide important information about how the commoditization of a group’s ethnicity can be used by that group to foster a successful cottage industry. What makes these cases unusual is that these communities have been able to direct their successful economic endeavors not only to promote individual gains but also to support community innovations and strengthen non-capitalist institutions, such as kin and kin networks, reciprocal labour exchanges, and rituals. Strengthening local institutions and building ethnic solidarity bolsters not only community autonomy but also the persistence of institutions and networks that function with some different principles than the profit-oriented craft businesses.

1.9.1 Poverty and the Cycle of Debt, Dependence and Dissociation

The history of crafts in the Philippines shows a development in which the worker has lost control over his work. Contemporary development policies and export promotion have fueled the expansion of Philippine handicraft industry such that it now employs around two-thirds of the total industrial labour force and ranks as one of the country’s major dollar earners (Mojares 1986).

Yet, the labour sector of the industry is characterized by low wages, dependency and unstable income. The worker occupies a weak bargaining position: lack of access to raw materials, credit and financing; limited access to marketing networks and little control over prices and profits. He has to compete with other workers in a large labour supply, has few alternative employments and is often put outside the protection of labour laws (Mojares 1986).

Jena (2010) in his paper looked at the impact of globalisation on Indian handicrafts and artisans. It is not only the economies, but also the cultures and people that meet in the global market sphere. The borders between the world cultures are now eroding. There is a huge demand and likeness for
Indian handmade artifacts among the western consumers. There are enough opportunities for Indian handmade products both in local as well as in the global market. The main concern in this globalisation times is that can local really meet with the global by truly sustaining its originality? There are risk-prone terrains too. Despite the fact that there is enough opportunity and scope of Indian handicrafts products in the global market, there is serious need of intervention when we look at the unstable conditions of our artisans. Though there have been number of initiatives taken by the governmental agencies over the period of time after the independence of our country, there is lack of proper knowledge about the target group which did not yield any fruitful results for these artisans. Globalisation, along with creating social inequality and different global risks like that of ecological and health ones, promotes many other unwanted consequences. So the way rich countries manipulate and exploit the marginal is a serious matter, which needs to be seriously looked upon in the case of handicrafts and the artisans. It is the time for fuller financially and skill based support to the local yet vulnerable artisans of our great cultural heritage since once lost nothing can replace it. The government should allocate funds seriously to promote and market the crafts and to impart training to the artisans. As the production base in also poor in Indian handicrafts because of the usage of traditional tools and techniques, so the training should be given to upgrade the skill and further be supplied with the quality raw materials. Further promotion and popularizing the craft products would help to create awareness among the consumers both at local as well as at the global level and which in turn may result in the addition of their consumers list. One thing must be kept in mind that while promoting; giving training; or upgrading skills; the originality of the products has to be maintained to survive in the global market.

1.10 Re-Emergence of the Crafts Potential under the Tourism Umbrella

Culture affects action in different ways especially in the settled versus unsettled periods. It is interesting to note how culture works in the direction of creating new possibilities. In societies characterized by a minimal division of labour on the basis of sex, men and women often tend to work in partnership through the performance of similar tasks, though many situational factors play
great role in this. In this more flexible system, there is a tendency for women to produce some crafts and men to produce others, and they contribute substantially to the overall economy (Swidler 1986).

With the advent of better means of transport there had been the establishment of trends of mass movements across the globe in the name of tourism. This has given an economic boost to the traditional crafts, which are being commercialized for sale in several pockets of the world to outside groups. This is a worldwide trend as formerly small, independent societies with subsistence economies become part of the larger socio-economic units with cash flows and market economies. Production of craft objects becomes a major or a supplemental source of income, especially in situations where small groups are trying to save their marginal existence and where the traditional economic strategies are no longer feasible. Examples of these forms of heightened purchases of indigenously fabricated artifacts, which fall under the purview of handicrafts, can be observed in the following examples:

- Australian aborigines sell bark-paintings previously used for ceremonial purposes (Williams 1976) while the
- Natives of Cochas Chico in highland Peru manufacture decorated gourds (Boyer 1976).
- Almost all contemporary Papago basket-makers are women;
- Hopi kachina doll-carvers are men; and
- Ainu carrying-bag weavers are women (Low 1976 cf. Parezo 1982)

Although no one has conducted a wide study, it appears that the same sex, which produced a craft traditionally, continues to produce it even after commercialization. When there is a functional change in the use of a crafted object, the craft is more likely to be successfully commercialized if the change is accompanied by some amount of disruption to the social organization.

For example a flexible division of labour characterizes the Navajo. “There is a basic sharing of responsibility in household tasks as stipulated in
their myths and culture. The women take on the responsibilities of cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing, weaving, and primary care of the children. The men, who build and repair houses, bring water from far off reservoirs and chop up firewood complement these. Most other activities are shared and on numerous occasions one partner takes over a task usually delegated to the opposite sex while the other spouse is absent” (Lamphere 1977). These lines are not fool proof, however, as the men will cook and tend to the children if there is a requirement (Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946). In general, men are occupied almost whole time with hunting, raiding, care of horses and cattle, besides warfare, and the manufacture and repair of implements associated with these activities. Again the lines are not so strictly drawn for these activities either. There have been references to women owning and caring for horses and also in the past the women occasionally accompanied war parties. Women were engaged in the daily activities of gathering and herding sheep, and yet one common area shared by both was the involvement of both men and women in agriculture, although men carried out most of the cultivation work (Hill 1938). Today, both sexes herd sheep, while men are largely responsible for most ceremonial activities (cf. Parezo 1982).

1.11 Small Enterprises and Poverty Alleviation

Litrell and Dicksnon (2010) had a close look at the situation of handicrafts in trade and its role in development and explore the daily lives of market place artisans, their economic livelihood and well being. After agriculture and tourism, artisan works provide the next most significant source of income in many developing countries. Yet because of its image as soft or frivolous industry, some politicians and development professionals question whether the handicraft sector is worthy of investment. An opposing view holds that the creation of sustainable employment opportunities for poor people and a positive alternative to mass production outweighs the cost. Until now, the debate has been hampered by lack of industrial data. The Indian apparel group, marketplace serves as the perfect case study to provide this missing information. Like many fair trade companies, it has dual goals: to generate income in the global marketplace and foster the empowerment of the low-income workers who run and staff the business. In conducting interviews with
the marketplace’s artisans, managers and founders, they produced an in-depth socio-economic audit of the group over time. The result provides a quantitatively and qualitatively illuminating study if fair trade claims versus impacts and a methodology for assessing fair trade accountability that is sure to inform current practices in social entrepreneurship and business social responsibility.

Another category of literature relates to the development of small enterprises in tourism concerns the role of informal tourism enterprises and the associated questions of poverty alleviation. Several studies have disclosed that the sellers or suppliers of handicraft goods, street guides and the providers of petty transport services (eg rickshaws or small boats) are marginal to, but simultaneously dependent on, the dominant or larger tourism enterprises. For most informal tourism enterprises, the prospects for graduating to more established small enterprises are extremely limited (Kirsten and Rogerson 2002).

Shah and Gupta (2000) mentioned that the informal tourism enterprises can assume a critical role in improving the livelihoods of poor communities and alleviating poverty. In rural areas of the developing world, in particular, self-employment linked to formal sector tourism may be extremely important in terms of its impacts on livelihoods.

Although informal enterprises are often either neglected by governments in tourism planning, or viewed as a ‘nuisance’ and subject to official harassment, their role is given considerable attention in initiatives for developing a ‘pro-poor’ tourism agenda. Ashley et al. (2000) argued that the “informal tourism sector is where opportunities for small-scale enterprise or labour by the poor are maximized”. It is further clarified that “improving the access of local informal entrepreneurs to tourism markets is therefore an essential element of alleviating poverty”.

Grierson and Mead (1996) developed the idea that “business linkages between large, established tourism enterprises and small, local enterprises by means of outsourcing, subcontracting or other arrangements, is viewed as an important means of upgrading the SMME economy, including informal
enterprise. Business linkages enable SMMEs run by indigenous or local entrepreneurs “to participate in the dynamic segments of a growing market economy”.

Outsourcing opportunities in tourism are identified in a host of activities and sources that can be enumerated below:

- Food supply,
- Handicrafts,
- Laundry services,
- Furniture production,
- Transport services and
- Tour guides services

Kirsten and Rogerson (2002) put an emphasis in terms of “opportunities, buyers must be able to recognize profitable opportunities for engaging in linkage activities, and have ways in which to determine when it is in their interest to enter long-term contracts. Potential partners must know who the potential suppliers are and who the potential buyers of a particular good or service are. It is critical that the enterprises engaged in supplying the good or service have the capacity to fulfill their obligations and meet the client’s requirements in terms of quantity, quality and timeliness”.

Grierson and Mead (1996); Telfer and Wall (1996) argued that it is very important for financing to be mobilized to enable businesses to take advantage of the opportunities available to them.

Further, mentoring of small enterprises involved in arrangements for tourism business linkages is a further ingredient of success.

It is useful to note that there have been attempts to develop a model for illustrating the development of tourism entrepreneurship and linkages in a developing world context. Williams (1998) made a point the mechanisms by which tourism development may galvanize the development of new enterprise
or business linkages are recognized as being complex.

1.12 Cultural Policies and Regeneration of Crafts Products

A growing body of research on rural handicraft production in the developing world stresses its untapped development potential as well as importance for addressing rural poverty. The contribution of rural handicrafts is recognized for its secondary employment potential in rural areas; as a supplier of basic needs; as a factor in redistribution through assisting the landless; for its contribution to foreign exchange and for the special importance of rural handicrafts as sources of employment and sustainable livelihoods for rural women (ILO 1984, 1995; Townson 1995). Alongside the strengthening of flexible production systems in the developing world, there has occurred a revival of certain rural handicrafts, mostly in terms of homework (Townson 1995). The international literature highlights the major constraints and blockages to the expansion of employment and income opportunities for rural households engaged in handicraft production (Allal and Chuta 1982; ILO 1995 cf. Rogerson 2000).

A similar flexibility was apparent in the manufacture of utilitarian items like in the case of the women who wove cloth, made pottery and basketry and the men “knitted, tanned skins, made bows and arrows, moccasins, jewellary and cradleboards” (Franciscan 1910). Women were forbidden from manufacturing tools employed in ritual hunting, with prohibitions supernaturally enforced.

One cannot fully speak of art unless one inquires into the human values embedded in the production of art. It is well to recall the expansive yet authentic definition of the Victorian critic William Morris that art is “man’s expression of his joy in labour” (Mojares 1986).

For many scholars, the activities of rural handicraft producers represent a special category of tourism small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) (Britton 1983; Toops 1993) or more particularly, a form of informal tourism enterprise (Oppermann 1993; Harrison 1995) cf. Kirsten and Rogerson 2002).
Internationally, rural handicrafts are seen as an integral part of the travel and tourism industry. Rural handicraft activities are making a positive contribution towards goals of rural development in Africa, Asia or Latin America (ILO 1995; Townson 1995). Nevertheless, certain observers are critical that rural craft projects often fail to challenge stereotypes of ‘women’s skills’ and consequently “at best, they delay urban migration and often do little more than hone women’s skills for poorly paid, insecure work” (Rogerson 2000).

It was noted that the present South African government’s interest in developing rural handicrafts is, to some extent, “informed by global trends”. From the recent attention accorded to the craft industry by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), it is evident that the issue of rural handicraft production is now firmly on the policy agents of post-apartheid South Africa. Indeed, the promotion of rural handicrafts is increasingly viewed as an integral element of both rural development and tourism planning in South Africa. Earlier research has examined policy lessons from the international experience, which might inform future planning for the rural handicap economy (Rogerson 2000).

Many issues highlighted in the international literature on rural handicraft production are paralleled in the record of South African rural handicrafts in general and the Mpumalanga case in particular. Research during the 1980s underscored the point that the core constraint upon rural producers was markets and marketing. Indeed, the question of access to markets determined the viability of the rural handicraft sector as a whole in South Africa. In light of the often highly competitive markets for craft products, the results of several assessments of the developmental potential of rural handicraft production during the 1980s were not promising. Detailed work in KwaZulu showed that most craft producers operated at bare survival levels (Preston-Whyte 1983, 1984, 1991, McIntosh 1991; Preston-Whyte and Nene 1991). In addition, capital accumulation in the sphere of rural crafts accrued not to producers but to retailers and wholesalers (Titlestad 1984; Rogerson 1986). In other words, whilst most handicraft producers in rural South Africa
existed at bare survival on low incomes, the retailers and wholesalers of craft goods were enjoying the often-considerable benefits (Rogerson 2000).

In the post-apartheid era, the South African craft industry was re-discovered by policy makers and researchers. Efforts to implement an Integrated Conservation and Development Programme around Kruger Park included the expanded production of rural handicrafts in local communities (Venter et al. 1995).

In addition, environmental management issues became the focus of attention. The work of Shackleton (1996) draws attention to core environmental issues around resource use and depletion in relation to the local harvesting in rural communities of indigenous products such as thatch grass and carving timber.

The study by Cultural Strategy Group (1998a) for the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy, asserted the potential developmental importance of the craft sector. In these studies several advantages were identified for recognizing the significance of the crafts economy.

- Firstly, the crafts sector provides a critical source of employment for vulnerable segments of society, in particular rural women.

- Secondly, the craft economy often builds upon traditional women’s skills, for example sewing, beading and braiding and its flexibility “and often home-based nature of craft production means that women can integrate their economic activities with household duties”

- Thirdly, craft is viewed as an important entry point into the economy, more especially for people with poor levels of education and literacy skills. Indeed, “craft activity acts as a low cost training ‘school’ for skills which can be later utilized in the formal sector” (Cultural Strategy Group 1998b).

- Fourthly, the majorities of craft enterprises are small enterprises and are therefore covered by the post-1994 commitment by national
government to the promotion of small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs).

- Fifthly, the craft sector is potentially significant as a source of innovation and acts as an incubator and test marketer of manufacturing ideas, which could later be produced on a larger scale.
- Sixthly, the craft economy is integrated into and potentially enjoying spin-offs from growth taking place in other important sectors.

This is true of the South African economy, most importantly tourism. Indeed, the importance of international tourism for expanding the markets of rural handicraft producers in South Africa has been stressed (Mafisa 1998).

Memani (1999) undertook the research on rural handicrafts on the Richards Bay area of KwaZulu-Natal. It had been revealed that the majority of rural crafters “come from households where craft production and selling is the only source of income for the entire household” and that most craft activities are home-based “making it easier for crafters, especially women, to integrate their craft businesses with other household duties”. Although the majority of rural crafters are committed to remain in their enterprises for the long-term, they face a number of important constraints limiting the growth and livelihood potential of their business. The core constraints on rural crafters in the Richards Bay area include low market demand, lack of access to finance and poor infrastructure (cf. Rogerson and Sithole 2001).

Mafisa (1998) argued that one exceptional local initiative in support of handicraft development is the capacity upgrading and training of craft producers through strategic support for local initiatives, which can strengthen “capacity, integrity, authenticity and competitive performance among local cultural wokers”. In particular, it has:

- Encouraged local craft producers to cooperate with each other and to specialize in specific tasks.
- Created a decent average monthly income for the maximum number of artisans besides setting up several sales outlets along with informal distribution outlets established by cluster members.
Introduction

- Managed to impart training to members of the association to successfully manage the craft outlets including a simple but highly effective monitoring and book keeping system.

- Encouragement to tourist buses to use particular routes because handicrafts would be displayed along those ways.

- Encouraged the management of curio shops

- Retail Outlets to offer competitive products to give the tourists a variety and larger range.

Despite sowing the various seeds of potential local development initiatives, local institutional support for the handicraft economy is currently weak. But there is clearly a positive and growing awareness on the part of local and provincial government authorities, businesses and community organizations of the potential for harnessing handicraft production as one element in economic development planning. Importantly, the theme emerges of linking support for the handicraft economy to the opening and promotion of new tourism-led initiatives for local economic development (Rogerson and Sithole 2001).

1.12.1 Key Challenges, Interventions and Government Schemes

The onslaught of modern life with its rapid mechanization and mass media culture has brought about the decline of other arts and crafts, which are today termed as “languishing crafts”. These include those skills and art forms that are still known and are practiced but are fast losing their relevance and popularity amongst public. Several of them have receded into the background.

Crafts like the Chamba Rumal of Himachal Pradesh, Batik printing of Goa, Tanaka paintings of Sikkim and Himachal Pradesh, Dhokra craft of Andhra Pradesh, Thewa art of Madhya Pradesh, Straw picture of Kerala, etc., fall under the languishing art category (Govt. of India, n.d.). Special provisions have been provided by the Government in the Five-Year Plans for addressing the vital aspects of preservation and revival of the languishing crafts. There have been formulated special schemes for identification, survey and revival of
the languishing crafts. These have been done by the ingenious measures like:

- Design development,
- Capacity Building and
- Skill Enhancement training,
- Product Development and setting up of pilot products,
- Participation in exhibitions in India and abroad
- Marketing support through: publicity material, catalogues, brochures, branding, websites, bar Coding and so on.

While it was first introduced during the VIII Five-Year Plan and continued through the XI Five-Year Plan, under the Design and Technology Up gradation Scheme, a special subcomponent for Documentation, preservation and revival of rare and languishing craft was introduced. The objective of the scheme is to preserve the craft, which have cultural and economic importance. In the 11th plan period, a study on definition of languishing crafts, survey and identification of 30 languishing crafts in the country was conducted by NIFT, New Delhi. Also, languishing crafts were given special preference in exhibitions and urban haats organized throughout the country. The 25th Suraj Kund Mela gave special prominence to languishing arts and crafts (Govt. of India n.d.).

Currently the XII Five-Year Plan has elaborate ideas for the protection and regeneration of the crafts of the country. It is under this scheme that the hand-beaten metal workers can be included and given a new lease of life.

Manpower is the primary in-put in the process of production of goods and rendering of services. This is especially true among less developed countries where most of the manufacturing establishments are labor intensive. The Government of India puts a lot of emphasis on its handicraft sector for its proven capacity for enhancing entrepreneurship among the rural poor, empowering rural women, generating income and reducing poverty. It is one of the largest employment sectors in rural and semi-urban areas in the country, according to the Ministry of Textile and Handicrafts in India (Govt. of
Under the Ambedkar Hastashilp Vikas Yojana (AHVY) scheme, there was the envisioning of the Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP), which was introduced for development of sustainable clusters in an integrated manner. Also, various workshops conducted across the country under the HRD scheme included EDP as an important module and succeeded in creating general awareness amongst the artisans (Govt. of India, n.d.). The countrywide workshops brought out certain poignant issue like:

- There was total lack of awareness among artisans regarding the Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP)
- Lack of access to knowledge about available resources including credit
- Little information about quality training inputs
- Limited market access
- Absence of constructive sense of competition
- Debt, substance abuse, alcoholism and have undermined the potential and earning capacity as well as creativity of the artisans

It was also found during the discussions that one of the most significant challenges facing the Indian Handicrafts sector was its dependence on obsolete technology. Traditional technology generally proved unsuitable when goods were to be produced for an export market or organized domestic retail market, which require large volumes of items of consistent quality within a short period of time. There are several craft products that have not taken off as export items despite strong design and aesthetic appeal largely due to the lack of technology to meet requirements of standardization, uniform quality and scale.

India has tremendous enormous potential in the field of wood carving and wood based crafts but the lack of knowledge and technology available in competing Thailand and Indonesia to sculpt the basic shapes while economizing the use of expensive hard wood which has led to the lack of immense market opportunities. The scenario remains the same in the case of other craft categories like metal crafts, natural fibre based crafts and textiles.
based crafts. Most of the South East Asian countries namely Vietnam, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia and Bali have leveraged the use of technology and undertaken innovative initiatives for the automation of traditional tools to give the necessary drive and support to the growth of the handicrafts sector (Govt. of India n.d.).

The onslaught of modern life with its mechanization and mass media culture has set into decline other arts and crafts, which are today termed as languishing crafts.

1.12.2 Future Prospects of the Crafts as Revenue

Skills and the development of strong craft traditions are not spread uniformly. Fine quality output and products characterize particular regions and individual craftsmen. While new programs for handicraft development and marketing can learn from the mistakes of past and existing programs, “they can also adapt to their own needs some valuable resource management ideas that have been developed to rectify the problems” (Terry and Cunningham 1993).

According to Robinson and Picard (2006) the desire by tourists to encounter and experience different cultures as well as their materials and immaterial expressions are strong motivations behind the enormous growth of heritage tourism taking place worldwide.

According to Ratanakomut (2006) Cultural or heritage tourism as is the currently popular terminology is based on the existence of some components, which may be classified as the tangible and the intangible. These have been explained as:

A. The tangible part includes both immobile resources (like built heritage, sites and cultural landscapes) and movable elements (as artifacts, handicrafts, media and consumer goods), while

B. The intangible groups of cultural aspects are observed to be in the form of art expressions, languages, living cultures, folklore, etc.

Bak (2007) said that both the realms of the tangible and intangible components of heritage comprise the main attractions for the large multitudes
of domestic and international tourists. They satisfy the curiosity and relaxation to a learning experience and appreciation of local cultures (both tangible and intangible) (cf. Mustafa 2011).

The main heritage attraction in tourism is the touring of different cultural sites and is considered intangible cultural heritage. Many tourists stop at a store or workshop selling traditional handicraft items to savor and purchase the delightful products of the crafts persons. They represent local traditions and indigenous populations, they also symbolize the places visited by tourists, the experiences they had, and the souvenirs bought to be taken for friends and relatives (Akhal et al 2008).

Besides evoking wonderful memories by tourists when taking a good quality handicraft home, it arouses the interest of others who see it to visit that particular tourism destination. The activity of creating artifacts and manufacturing traditional artistic objects tends to generate both income and employment opportunities for the artisans due to the influx and patronage of the tourists (WTO 2008 cf. Mustafa 2011).

According to Robinson and Picard (2006) handicrafts form a vital part from the social and cultural identity transmitted through generations. Such benefits of handicrafts are to be seen in countries depending on tourism as a vital economic sector.

One of the goals of the cultural heritage conservation and propagation is to strengthen ties between culture and development through capacity building and developing markets. Crafts and designs offer tangible advantages in the areas of economic growth and social cohesion for developing in the least developed countries. It has the tremendous potential of opening up opportunities for the poor and indigenous populations, giving them the means to take action.

The state and central government schemes are many a time tailor-made to bring to the artisans maximum of the benefits. The overall objective is to provide decision makers with quantitative and qualitative information on the cultural and social impact of crafts, particularly on tourism (UNESCO 2006).

Since 2002, UNESCO has encouraged the Global Alliance for Cultural
Diversity. This Alliance provides support to cultural industries in developing countries in fields such as music, film and publishing. It fosters respect for intellectual property and encourages public-private agreements between members of the Alliance in order to ease the exchange of experiences, of know-how, and of best practices along with capacity building at the local level. The main goal of the Alliance is to bring about the universal appreciation of handicrafts and encourage the artisans to offer the cultural goods and services on the national and international markets in a standardized form, which is competitive enough to be presented with impunity in an increasingly globalized world (UNESCO 2006).

1.13 Attempts to Resurrect the Crafts

An important initiative in which the government participated in was the organization of ‘study tours’ to clusters where the hand press technology was widespread. The tours were important, because they improved access to information, gained information extensively on the interactive processes of the producers, suppliers of capital goods, and also the larger and specific markets. These highlighted the contributions of selected producers who were to later play key roles in pioneer adoption of newer methods of production, design development and even changed products. The process of pioneer adoption diffusion has been observed to occur without any training, technical assistance, or involvement in focused artisan oriented government schemes much to the regret and palpable loss of the prospective beneficiaries. In more recent years, support increased after the adopters had proved that pressed metal production was viable. An NGO proposed a scheme to the government and then onwards to the UNESCO to give a better deal to these producers. The end result was the declaration of Jandiala Guru as a heritage site-Appendix II (UNESCO 2015). This step and subsequent schemes may be what was called for in bringing about the desired paradigm shift in the life and fortune of the hand beaten metal workers of this heritage site.

The government, through its apex agencies like the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) as well as NABARD and the Director, Handicrafts, has taken the cluster approach to the resolution of this problem of languishing handicrafts. The fact that small firms are clustered improves
their overall efficiency in both as static as well as a dynamic context. The clustering scheme provides crucial advantages where innovations adoption implies the introduction of technology with large indivisibilities. Clustering made it possible to adopt new technology packages in ‘riskable’ steps through sharing costs and risks without individually exposing any of the artisans. Successful pioneer adoption in clusters was dependent upon two factors. First, traditionally leading producers got access to information on more productive technologies. They knew about pressed metal but they did not get the opportunity to ‘see and feel’ the newer technology. Intermediaries like government agencies and NGOs all played a crucial role in providing producers access to information. The artisans were able to get answers to questions that disturbed them the most like how could the costs of production be lowered, how many workers are needed to make up a profitable unit, what about their skill levels, how would the emerging consumer tastes be satiated through their renewed efforts and what kind of profits were they ultimately looking at. Would they be merely surviving or would they be able to attain levels of profitability that would make their craft a thriving and viable entity in this day and age? Small-scale producers often do not have access to such crucial information, which provides the right framework to assess innovation adoption. Second, leading producers were able to step out of their traditional networks and develop joint action together to withstand the edge their competitors had over them. The cluster approach, wherever it was custom built and tailor made to the needs of the crafts persons was observed to have managed to transcend traditional boundaries and practices in order to collaborate and render innovation adoption profitable. Technological change fostered by joint action seemed to have worked because local leaders among the artisans were able to see the obviously cumulative economic advantages. Technological change brought in by the cluster approach has shown that small producers may work together successfully ‘for specific purposes’. This process is still under experimentation and it takes a gestation period of at two and half decades for the processes to be adopted and adapted successfully with a lot of handholding at every stage of approach (Schmitz and Nadvi 1999).