Chapter -II
Review of Literature

To study a banyan tree, you must not only know its main stem in its soil, but also must trace the growth of its greatness in the further soil, for then you can know the true nature of its vitality. The civilization of India, like a banyan tree has shed its beneficent shade away from its own birthplace... (Rabindranath Tagore)

The history and tradition of almost all countries has shown that patronage of the arts and culture by the wealthy was the principal reason why these survived and flourished. The Medici patronage in Italy resulted in an explosive growth of the local arts, painting, sculpture and glassware in Murano, tapestries and weaving and cuisine, which influenced all of Europe. The famed *zari* and brocade weaves of Banaras, the *Ikkat*, *Kanjeevaram*, *Chanderi*, Chikan, to name only a few of the world famous, timeless traditions of weaving and embroidery in India, have survived to this day, because there continue to be patrons for these fabrics.

Of mangoes, the Dassehri of Malihabad, the Ratnagiri of the Konkan belt, the Zardalu of Andhra and the *Langra* of Banaras have remained popular favourites for hundreds of years, their arrival in the market as eagerly awaited today as it was 500 years ago. The reason that Indian Systems of Medicine like Ayurveda have survived for thousands of years is because they are used regularly by average Indians. Even after post-independent India adopted western style allopathic medicine as the preferred official system for health care, the patronage of millions of common Indians ensured that indigenous health care systems remained alive and important. In every branch, one of the most potent forces for keeping a skill or art alive is commercial interest in it.
The skills and knowledge base of traditional societies, which encompassed all fields of relevance to their lives, are under threat today. This is true of growing food, of healing of both men and animals, of clothing and ornamentation, constructing dwellings and establishing a code for society. This loss has acquired critical proportions in the essential sectors of food and health care and its detrimental impact is becoming increasingly visible. Genetic erosion in the field is threatening the long term sustainability of food production. Loss of indigenous knowledge about healing traditions is taking away from local communities their trusted, affordable, holistic health care system. At the same time, an exploding herbal industry, its appeal ranging from pharmaceuticals, nutraceuticals and health foods to cosmetics, toiletries and ethnic products, is exploiting the knowledge base of indigenous and local communities. The question is what share these communities get from all the profits that are made from commercialization of their skills. This is true of song and dance, of color and design, of weaving and painting and many other skills. The legendary Michael Jackson owes much of his phenomenal success to the use of African tribal music as does the Indian AR Rehman to the Adivasi music of Kerala and Tamil Nadu (Sahai, 2000).

The country of Mithila during this period (600 BCE - 1097 CE) was bounded on the north by the Himalaya, on the south the Ganga, on the east the Kosi, and on the west the Gandak. It consisted of the modern districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Saharsa, Purnea, north Monghyr, and north Bhagalpur, as well as the tarai under Nepal lying between the district and lower ranges of the Himalaya. There is no denying the fact that the contribution of ancient Mithila to Indian civilization is considerably more remarkable than that of other parts of the country. It has a glorious past of which any civilized nation and country may justly be proud. The relics of its glorious past can yet be seen in its ancient cities. It was the scene of the work of the two most venerated names in the religious history of the world - Gautama Buddha and Vardhamana Mahavira - and one of the world's great rulers, Emperor Asoka. There are remains of once splendid cities and monasteries, temples, shrines and places hallowed by the
memory of the thinkers and preachers. Its fertile plains, rippling with bouncing harvests and teeming with multi-tedious population, have witnessed the majestic and interminable drama of the movement and migration of peoples. It was the earliest Aryan settlement in Eastern India and from here the wave of Aryanism spread over other parts of the country. Being surrounded on three sides by the three great rivers, Mithila has had the geographical advantage of seclusion where learning and culture could flourish. The Ramayana immortalizes the name of Mithila. The greatness of Mithila also lies in the fact that it was an important ancient seat of learning in India which attracted students from different part of the country. King Janak was an eminent philosopher king. All the learning and philosophy of ancient India was the product of her solitary hermitages in the forests. The ideal which has inspired the men of Bihar from age to age is that of Janak, and the women of this province have kept up the glorious tradition of Sita whose love of her husband, chastity and fortitude is still unparalleled in the history of the world. During the period under review, Mithila formed the part of Vijjian republic and subsequently passed under the domination of outside powers till the rise of the Karnats in 1097 AD. Naturally, one would expect repercussions on various aspects of economic life of this region. Though, there are considerable scholarly works on economic history of ancient India, viz., Social and Rural Economy of Northern India by A.N. Bose (1961); Social organization in North East India in Budhdha's Time by Fick (1920); Economic Condition of Ancient India by Pran Nath (1929); Commerce between the Roman Empire and India by Warmington (1927); Economic Life and Progress of Ancient India, Vol.I by Bandyopadhyaya (1945); The Economic Life of Northern India by Lallanji Gopal (1966); Corporate Life in Ancient India by Majumdar (1918) and others, none of these works, however, enlightens us on the economic condition of ancient Mithila. Similarly, some good works on the political history of Mithila of this and other periods have been written but it is surprising that up to this time no work dealing exclusively with the economic history of Mithila has been written in any language.
However, within the limitations, an attempt has been made in the present work to utilize all possible sources available. In the field of literature both indigenous and foreign, religious, legal and secular have been taken into account. Among the indigenous literary sources we have utilized the Brahmanical works in order to trace the origin and development of certain economic institutions and practices. The *Grhya-sutra* and the *Dharmasutras* have been used as corroborative evidence. The *Arthasastra* of Kautilya and *Patanjali*’s Mahabhasya have been utilized, for both the works provide us with sufficient material on various economic aspects. The Buddhist and Jaina works have been utilized to the fullest. The Jatakas furnish us valuable information about some aspects of the economic condition of the period. Thus the *Mahapanada Jatak*, the *Gandhara Jatak*, the *Nimi Jatak*, the *Mahajanak Jatak*, and the *Suruci Jatak*, etc. reflect the everyday life of the common man, his art and craftsmanship, trade and commerce. Several other Buddhist texts, viz., the *Milindapanho*, the *Divyavavadana*, the *Mahavastu*, the *Mahaniddesa*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the Jaina text *Acaranga Sutra* have supplied us with considerable information, particularly about trade and industry, and hence have been utilized in this work. The Epics and Puranas are also of great value from the point of view of the economic history. The narrative parts of the Epics supply us with important material on some points in our accounts. We have also the law books and commentaries of Manu, Visnu, Narada, Brhaspati, and Katyayana, which are very important. The commentaries have been fully utilized so far as the principles and regulations of the economic institutions are concerned. The *smritis* of Brhaspati, Yajnavalkya, and Narada are also indispensable for us. The *Kamasutra* of Vatsyana, which throws some light on the everyday life of the people, is occasionally used. Among the Niti works, the Kamandakiya-Nitisara and Sukra-Nitisara have been taken into consideration. The work of Kalidasa, like *Malavikagnimitra*, *Raghuvamsa*, and *Kumarasambhav*, contain useful references to the economic life of the time. The Mudraraksasa of Visakhadatta supplements our knowledge by depicting the general condition of society. Coming to the archaeological sources, we find that very few objects of art can, with any degree of certitude, be ascribed to Mithila. A few terracotta and stone
sculptures have been discovered in the excavations conducted at Basarh and other places. The numismatic data are equally limited. In spite of its limited scope, a few hoards of coins belonging to pre-Mauryan and Mauryan period, the Kusanas, the Guptas, and the Palas etc., have been found from various parts of Mithila. The sources are thus numerous and varied, but none of these gives us a complete and comprehensive account regarding the economic structure of Mithila during the period under review (Aquique, 1974).

The Craft Museum in Delhi has several splendid Mithila paintings from the 1980s on display, and in the 1980s these culturally rich, colorful, and/or finely drawn paintings were highly sought. At that time several Mithila painters all women - were commissioned to paint a variety of public and private buildings, and numerous publications were devoted to its ritual roots, and its commercial development. At least 10 painters won numerous National and State prizes in India, were feted by politicians, and held individual and group shows at festivals, galleries, and museums across the US, Europe, and Japan. Mithila painting was a colorful and exciting phenomena and a major cultural export for India.

Today, however, interest in Mithila painting has declined dramatically. The Delhi markets are dominated by so-called Mithila Godana paintings that usually consist of small repetitive designs said to be based on tattoos. They are almost always painted on top of a light brown cow-dung wash spread over the soft white handmade paper. In general these paintings, and others of more traditional styles, seem crudely executed, and mass produced, even if by hand. Many apparently come at little or no cost from short-term government sponsored training programs. The prices for the standard 22x30 paintings asked at the Bihar Emporium are mostly Rupees 650 to 1,500. Those at the Delhi Haat are sold by dealers who purchase them in and around Madhubani for about 200 Rupees or less, and then attempt to sell them for Rupees 1,200 to 2,600. Those producing these paintings in Madhubani claim there is strong demand for these paintings, especially from Indian purchasers. In contrast, the large stacks of Godana paintings at the Delhi Emporia, Delhi Haat, and the Craft Museum, and
the dealers complaints about poor sales, suggests otherwise. In fact, the large 
supplies may simply derive from the apparently numerous government training 
programs which attract large numbers of participants thanks to their stipends of 
300 Rupees per month. In theory, these training programs may be intended to 
help rural people develop a marketable skill. In reality, they seem more of a 
commendable subsidy for the rural poor, but which unfortunately is having a side 
effect of diminishing the reputation of a major artistic tradition.

But whatever the motivation, the Godana paintings are not the kinds of paintings 
that have over the last decades attracted middle class and professional 
European, American, Japanese, or Indian buyers. None of the paintings 
currently for sale at any of the Delhi locations seem to come from any of the 
better artists i.e., those combining technical skill, care in execution, and 
imaginative or innovative imagery or design - in the villages around Madhubani. 
And indeed, several of these artists we met in Madhubani specifically indicated 
that they refused to do business with the dealers seeking their paintings. They 
claimed there is an exploitative price differential, and that the dealers often fail to 
pay them for paintings taken with promises of payment when they are sold.

Equally problematic, seemingly as a direct consequence of the poor quality work 
flooding Delhi, private gallery dealers, museum directors, and potential buyers in 
the city have completely lost interest in showing or purchasing Mithila paintings. 
The Delhi market has simply turned them away from the tradition which is now, 
at best, perceived as a low quality commercialized folk art intended for tourists. 
As a result, in recent years only one Delhi gallery (Gallerie Ganesha) has had a 
show of paintings by a Mithila painter, that of a young man, Neelkant Choudhary, 
a fine painter whose work is clearly rooted in the Mithila tradition, but whose style 
and subject matter has evolved towards a more general urban market interested 
in rural themes.

If interest in the art world of Delhi, and other urban centers and markets in India, 
is to be re-ignited, and if the tradition is to become a serious source of income for
the better painters - and among Mithila painters generally - the quality of the paintings (design, execution, innovation of subject matter, etc.) available to the more demanding and wealthier publics must be improved. This does not, however, seem impossible. Several professionals in Delhi to whom we showed a sample of the 50 paintings purchased in Madhubani in January 2002 indicated immediate interest in purchasing one or two. In addition, a leading art historian, Dr. Geeti Sen (cited in Szanton, 2002) has agreed to visit Madhubani towards the end of 2002 in order to meet the painters and get a personal sense of the situation, and to then curate a major exhibition of the best Mithila painting in Delhi sometime in 2003. Such an exhibition which might travel to other cities (and internationally) as well, might re-establish the reputation of Mithila painting in urban India and beyond. It will take some effort and imagination, but it seems possible, worthwhile, and even important to try (Szanton, 2001 and 2002).

The village has for long been viewed as a convenient entry point for understanding 'traditional' Indian society. It has been seen as a signifier of the authentic native life, a social and cultural unit uncorrupted by outside influence. For the professional sociologists and social anthropologists, village represented India in microcosm, 'an invaluable observation centre' where one could see and study the 'real' India, its social organization and cultural life. By studying a village, the pioneering Indian sociologist M N Srinivas claimed, one could generalize about the 'social processes and problems to be found occurring in great parts of India' (Srinivas, 1955).

Apart from its methodological value, it being a representative unit of the Indian society, village has also been an important ideological category in the modern Indian imagination. The village 'was not merely a place where people lived; it had a design in which were reflected the basic values of Indian civilization (Beteille, 1980). Though elsewhere also life in the countryside has been contrasted with urban/city life with the former believed to be having a purer form of the native/national culture, it was perhaps only in the case of India that the village came to acquire the status of a primary unit representing social formation.
of the entire civilization. There have also been some studies on the manner in which village was used as a primary methodological category for understanding the Indian society by sociologists and social anthropologists during the 1950s and.

Small-scale units in India have assumed significance not only for their contribution to the economy, especially in the creation of employment, but also for the special patronage they enjoy from the government (Ayyar, 1994). Despite numerous policy measures during the past four decades, Indian small-scale units have remained mostly tiny, technologically backward and lacking in competitive strength. Notwithstanding their lack of competitive strength, small-scale industrial units in India could survive due to product and geographical market segmentation and policy protection (Tendulkar and Bhavani, 1997). The business environment has been changing drastically in recent times, reducing the importance of these three factors. For instance, the economic reforms of the 1990s that have aimed at liberalization of domestic economic transactions and opening up of the economy, are slowly taking away the policy protection for the small-scale units. In this context, it is important to gauge the future scenario for these units and ways of dealing with it.

Protection is a transitory measure and can be used only to give time to industrial units to improve their competitive strength (Tendulkar and Bhavani, 1997). All industrial units, small or large, have to sustain themselves on their own competitive strength by successfully facing competition in market economies. Even to provide employment, the importance of employment generation flows from the fact that employment is the only source of income to a majority of the population. In order to raise the levels of living of the majority, the primary objective of our development strategy, it is essential to create high-wage employment. It is an argument that has been widely articulated in favour of protection to the small-scale industries in a sustainable way and at higher wages, industrial units have to be competitive and commercially viable.
Hence, we focus on the possible ways of improving the competitive strength and commercial viability of small-scale units, keeping the requirements of the changing context in mind. Apart from the general purpose analysis meant for the small-scale sector at large, we examine the implications of the changing context with reference to the small-scale units in three industries, namely, garments, electronics and auto components. Of these, garments being a reserved product till very recently, this industry has only small-scale units. Both the electronic and auto component industries have a large number of small-scale units. In addition, all three industries have developed into global commodity chains at the international level, which has significant implications for the small-scale units.

Rapid economic development has been the primary objective of independent India. It has been pursued through industrialization, especially the development of basic and heavy industries within the ideological framework of a ‘socialist pattern of society’ stressing equitable distribution (Second Five-Year Plan, pp 24-25). In order to ensure equitable distribution, the state, as the principal agency acting on behalf of society as a whole, assumed direct responsibility for the development of industry. The state's direct involvement in the development of industry resulted in the formation of a dominant public sector and heavily regulated private sector.

To enable the government to control the course of industrial development, public utilities and industries that were essential but required heavy investments were reserved for the public sector (Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956). The private sector was subjected to controls and regulation through the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act 1951 and various policy instruments were used to guide private sector industry into socially desired patterns. Some of the important policy instruments were industrial licensing, capital issues control, price controls and distribution controls.

As regards external policies, these were guided by the principle of import substitution, which in turn had been prompted to some extent by the strategy of self-reliance but to a major extent by the scarcity of foreign exchange. The
continuing and often acute shortage of foreign exchange involved the use of policy instruments like import licensing, quantitative restrictions on imports and high tariff. In addition, there were restrictions on foreign direct investment, import of technology and foreign collaborations of industrial units.

All these policies together provided complete protection to Indian industry by eliminating the scope for foreign as well as internal competition. Within this generally sheltered business environment, small-scale units have been protected further through measures such as reservation of certain products for exclusive production in the small-scale sector, reservation of some of the products produced in the sector for purchase preference by government agencies, supply of scarce materials, input price concessions like lower interest rates and numerous fiscal measures such as excise duty exemptions and other tax concessions (Tendulkar and Bhavani, 1997).

The world over, the business environment has been changing fast. Three features of this change are of critical importance to industrial units. First, there has been a shift, during the past two decades in the economic policies of nations, especially developing nations, from 'policy regulation' to 'market orientation' exposing their industrial units to greater market competition. Second, globalization in the sense of increasing integration of world economies is taking place, resulting in intensifying the market competition. Thirdly, the past few decades have experienced rapid technological developments in numerous areas. All these developments have changed the methods of doing business drastically. We elaborate on these features in the Indian context and examine their implications for small-scale units.

The remarkable shift in the economic policies of many developing nations from 'state intervention' towards 'market orientation' was apparent from the early 1980s. In India, a major reform process has been under way since July 1991 to liberalize the regulations on domestic economic transactions. Some of these reforms are the abolition of licensing requirements for investments for a majority of industries, opening of hitherto reserved areas of public sector to the private
sector, reduction in price controls, and reforms in capital markets (I. J. Ahluwalia, 1996, M. A. Ahluwalia, 1999). All these policy reforms are taking away the closed and assured markets of Indian industry, exposing it to greater market competition.

Globalization whether taken in a limited way in terms of 'multilateral trade liberalization' (Bhalla, 1996), or in the broader sense of 'increasing internationalization of production, distribution and marketing of goods and services' (Harris, 1993 cited in Bhalla, 1996), has resulted in the opening up of the markets leading to intense competition. For example, the World Trade Organization (WTO) regulates multilateral trade requiring its member countries to remove import quotas and other import restrictions, and to reduce import tariffs. In addition, countries, especially the developing countries, are asked to stop subsidies to exports as well as to domestic goods. Time limits are prescribed and strictly enforced by WTO in all these respects.

India has to bring down its tariff rates, as per the GATT agreement, to 40 per cent for finished products and 25 per cent for intermediate goods. In addition, India has been asked to remove quantitative restrictions on imports by 2001 and all export subsidies by 2003. As a result, every single individual enterprise in India, small or large, whether exporting or serving the domestic market, has to face competition. The process has already been initiated for small-scale units by placing 586 of the 812 reserved items on the open general license (OGL) list of imports. This opens up the possibility of direct competition in the domestic market with the imports of high quality goods from developed countries and cheap products from the other less developed countries.

The agreement on trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPs) takes care of intellectual property rights by enforcing patent rights, copyright and related rights, and the protection of industrial designs, trademarks, geographical indications, layout designs of integrated circuits and undisclosed information. Accordingly, the member nations are asked to modify their existing laws. Once these laws come into force, unauthorized use of the patented innovations or trademarks
becomes difficult. It is of critical significance for Indian industrial units, as a majority of these units are involved in the unauthorized duplication of products without any formal technology transfers. The agreement on TRIPs is of special importance for food and chemical industries as units in some of these industries like pharmaceuticals have been producing patented products in the country through new processes. These units could do so till now given the Indian Patent Act 1970 that mainly takes into account the process patents for seven years and the capabilities of Indian industry to devise new processes quickly. It, however, will not be possible in future because India had to change its Patent Act so as to recognize product patents with a long (20 years) period of protection as per the agreement on TRIPs. In effect, the enforcement of the TRIPs agreement makes the production of any product possible either through internal innovation or through formal transfer of technologies. This makes Indian industry dependent on multinational corporations, as these are the prime developers of a majority of products, which in turn involves costs in terms of purchase of technology as well as restrictions on the usage of purchased technology. Small-scale units are the most vulnerable as these units do not have the required resources and capabilities either for innovation or for purchase of technologies.

Then it would be summarized as, the process of globalization is intensifying market competition by allowing imports and multinational corporations relatively easily into India. This in turn is creating pressures on industrial units to pay more attention to quality, price and delivery considerations rather than to profitability. All these require substantial improvements in technology, i.e., transformation (mechanization), organization and information (Sastry, 1996).

Major changes in the past few decades, both in the basic sciences and in applied fields like technology, have altered the manufacturing processes as well as the nature of inputs and outputs. Mechanical devices have been replaced initially by electrical, later by electronic and very recently by computerized machines. Microelectronics-based technologies permit increased automation of a wide range of operations in many industries (Mody, 1992).
Simultaneously, there have been numerous organizational changes. The organization of a production process involves plant layouts, materials management, work allocation, production schedules, quality management, inventory control, and so on. Some recent developments in the area of organization include total quality management (TQM), just-in-time (JIT), new standards for scrap management, machine reliability, inventory control and so on (Mody, 1992). Also, an increasing consumer preference for variety has changed the ground rules of competition from the mass production of standardized products to flexible specialization of manufacturing customized products and thus altered the ways of organizing the production system. The plant layout is being changed from long narrow assembly lines comprising specialized machines to a cluster of all-purpose machines arranged like cells in which different families of products are manufactured. Accordingly, changes are required in production schedules and work organization such as multi-skilling and multi-tasking (Kaplinsky, 1994).

Exchange of information in business has traditionally been carried out through paper documents delivered by messengers or postal services and of late by fax. With the advent of the computer and communication technologies, more efficient alternatives are now available. These new technologies not only enable firms to acquire accurate and up to date information but also provide it faster. In addition, the new technologies can store, process and retrieve a variety of data forms ranging from simple numbers to video images.

These developments in various dimensions of technology, while enabling industrial units to supply high-quality products at cheaper prices on time by being quick, also make the existing technologies obsolete easily, necessitating upgrades. Unless Indian industrial units continuously upgrade their technologies, it will be difficult for them to withstand international competition arising from liberalization and globalization. This observation applies more particularly to the small-scale units as they lag both in terms of technology and competitiveness.
The analysis indicates that while liberalization has exposed all industrial units including small units to market competition to a greater extent, globalization intensifies market competition by allowing imports and multinational corporations into India relatively easily. In order to withstand competition, Indian industrial units especially the smaller ones need to improve their productivity and quality, to reduce costs (given the higher qualities) and to go for higher performance of products and better services. This means substantial improvement in various dimensions of technology, namely, transformation (mechanization), organization and information. Small units not only need to upgrade their technologies immediately but should also keep track of the changes in technologies.

The agreement on TRIPs, once implemented, makes the production of any product possible either through internal innovation or through formal transfer of technology by not allowing unauthorized imitation. This, in turn, makes Indian industry dependent on multinational corporations as these are the prime developers of a majority of products. This coupled with the emergence of global commodity chains due to increasing internationalization of production and distribution of goods and services makes it sensible for Indian units to be a part of these chains as they provide industrial units access to later technologies and market. However, to get into international production and trade networks, individual units have to satisfy the buyers' standards in terms of quality, price and delivery schedules. This demands, to begin with, some technological upgrades on the part of small-scale units.

The economic policy in India made it inevitable for these industries to integrate with the global industry by getting into their global commodity chains for which they have to upgrade themselves in terms of the physical technology employed, the organization as also the products. Specifically garment units have to use high-quality power-driven machinery in order to ensure quality and timely delivery of their products. Small-scale electronic units are required to get into mechanized production (which is becoming increasingly automated) with high-quality testing instruments if it is to remain in production while it should consider a shift from production to sales and servicing of the products of large-scale units.
including multinational corporations if it is to remain in the electronics arena. A shift away from manual machinery to automatic machinery and the adoption of improved organizational methods such as total quality management system (ISO9000) is essential for the small-scale auto component units to ensure the supply of quality components in time.

So far, the policies on small-scale units have been supply-driven and paternalistic in nature, leading to dependency. The individual unit-centered atomistic approach that is dominated by continuous protective and discretionary promotional measures did not provide any incentive for these units to solve common problems such as inadequate finance and lack of information through collective efforts, and to grow into medium and large-scale units. Rather, the existing policies created perverse incentives to these units to remain small and to operate in an isolated manner while being unable to provide infrastructure and to remove their basic problems such as limited access to markets and finance, and thus to technology (Tendulkar and Bhavani, 1997).

Peoples' living conditions change throughout history. Earlier, societies changed in different directions because of great variations in local resources and local conditions. Changes took place gradually. Today, however, new information technology, industrial production and world trade, migration patterns even environmental problems, transcend the borders people have previously constructed, which influence all society. Changes take place more rapidly and it is hard to find places which remain untouched by this global influence. As human beings we become more alike, we gain global offers, we consume the same, we produce for a global assembly line and we get global problems. We are exposed to a "global journey" (Vilby, 1997).

Introduction of modern technology and the hitherto unknown structures of governance by the British colonial rulers during their rule over much of the south Asian subcontinent were extremely important factors in transforming the social, cultural and political life of the region. While these structural changes introduced by the colonial rulers were indeed extremely significant factors in integrating
India into the world capitalist market, it was perhaps the nationalist movement for independence that became the defining moment of the 'modern' Indian society, a source of its new identity.

Using a broad definition of globalization, we consider meaning of integration and intermeshing of social groups living in isolation and have been doing this since ancient times. Isolated tribes meeting together for periodic palavers, mercantile communities traveling far and wide for trade, missionaries moving across continents for spreading their religious beliefs or warring tribes making their way in search of conquest are all modes of integrating dissimilar communities. Thus human groups have been involved with other human groups in all aspects of existence – be it economic, social, religious, political, legal and so on. In the distant past, when national boundaries were absent, or if present, extremely porous, involvement and interpenetration of human communities was quite common. Adjacent territories belonging to different nation states could have greater mutual involvement than regions situated within the same country but separated by long distances. This type of local-to-regional and regional-to-national integration has been taking place subject to constraints of communication and economic activity. The same integrating tendency is witnessed in the national-to-global movement today. The two extremes of social life in this context are: (a) the small communal-tribal unit 'gemeinschaft' as the sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies (1957) would have and which did not need nor aspire to achieve communion with other such groups; and (b) an integrated globalized existence or as it is often labeled living in a global village. After the emergence of nation states, and the perception of the citizens of these nation states of their collective self- interest, the process of integration took a very different turn. Some kinds of involvement with other nation states were thought to be beneficial and other kinds considered inimical to existence as a separate entity. Once the borders of nations became difficult to cross, the process of integration slowed down or assumed different characteristics. The interpenetrative process was no longer allowed to take its own natural course but sought to be regulated in terms of what was thought to be favorable to
themselves. But as human beings are endowed with a propensity to "truck, barter and exchange" as Smith said (1776) national barriers proved a nuisance though it could not prevent integration and mutual involvement. Both the emergence of manmade nation states and the innate propensity of humans to integrate have moved in tandem to produce novel developments. Like most man created phenomena that start ubiquitously and eventually take unexpected forms, both the idea of nation state and man's urge to integrate with other human beings have altered the way human beings live their lives in totally unexpected ways. The speed of change has serious consequences for the human psyche. Man finds it difficult to cope with not only the frequency of changes but also by the novelty of them. By the time the institutional support systems of human beings get adjusted to some change, further changes occur. Changes, major or minor, result in the emergence of many winners and many losers. Such churning in society creates enormous tensions that result in conflict. Both globalization and technology usher in changes that – at least immediately – benefit some and harm others. The overall impact on the entire society and in the long run cannot be assessed with any certainty. At the most, some informed guesses could be made, but beyond that only time can tell.

Hardly had the idea of nation state taken root in the psyche of man, and the institution of nation state face of earth by the beginning of the last century, there appeared problems and doubts. The aggressive pursuit by nation states of wealth and military prowess leads to tensions and conflict. While the ideology of nationalism gave an impetus to economic and social progress internally, it also gave birth to two other developments: (a) in their single-minded pursuit of prosperity and power for themselves, individual nations attempted to hegemonise others resulting in large-scale exploitation with consequent struggle by the colonized nations to become free; and (b) the realization that a purely inward looking approach has economic costs. Whereas mercantilist economic thinkers supported 'Beggar thy neighbour' policies which sought one nation's prosperity at the cost of another's misery, another approach beginning with mid 18th century thinkers like David Hume and Smith argued that such policies
benefit none, and they favoured a greater integration through trade and capital flows of the different economies to benefit all the nations. There was also the further realization that while hegemonic colonization of other nations fetches economic advantages only at considerable political cost, economic globalization by the economically strong can be advantageous with only limited adverse political consequences.

As was seen earlier, globalization defined in broad terms encompasses every aspect of human life; in recent times globalization has had its maximum impact on economic integration although that has consequences for everything else. In narrow economic terms, globalization means liberalization and the free movement of goods, services, capital and finance across national boundaries. People are buying more goods produced overseas, more firms are operating in other countries and more of local savings are being invested across borders. International trade has been rising since the early 19th century.

To use the words of Perez de Cueller (1995) "that complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations, which lie at the very heart of culture" is too valuable, and to hegemonies it, man has to be able to persuade skillfully. The development of communication skills and cultural forms arose out of this visceral need of human beings. Music, poetry, ballads, religious/ethical ideas, painting, drama, sculptures and artifacts are only some of man's cultural creations to reach and possibly control the minds of fellow human beings. We should add even sciences, linguistics, and medical and educational knowledge systems to this list. In the earlier period, the media available to transmit these were few – predominantly oral – and could cover only a limited geographical and social area.

The tremendous cultural diversity that we witness is essentially due to the fact that communities remained isolated because of lack of effective communication. Man has been trying to reach wider audiences throughout history sometimes it is a process of peaceful interaction, at other times, of violent confrontation. For
example, the way Buddhist missionaries preached their message in classical China is very different from the manner in which the two leading Semitic religions – Christianity and Islam – spread their gospel. Quite apart from the inherent human desire to persuade others for hegemonic purposes, certain historical circumstances may require such communication of novel ideas. Almost half a century ago, the distinguished historian E H Carr observed that modern post-war democracies no longer consists of “a homogeneous closed society of equal and economically secure individuals mutually recognizing one another’s rights, but of ill-coordinated, highly stratified masses of people of whom a large majority are primarily occupied with the daily struggle for existence”. And added that the leaders of the new democracy are concerned “no longer primarily with the reflection of opinion, but with the moulding and manipulation of opinion” (Carr, 1957).

As culture is the product of learning, and opportunities to learn are eagerly grabbed. Once an individual or institution in the society accepts something new, it gets diffused depending upon other conditions (Murdoch, 1960).

As Ithiel de Sola Pool (1998) has pointed out truthfully, “Each generation sees its culture as that with which it grew up. Its hallowed values and traditions are those learned in childhood. Many elements valued as native culture were controversial foreign imports a generation or two ago”.

Raymond Williams (1961) has pointed out that modern meanings of culture essentially appeared in the 18th and 19th centuries because before that it simply meant as its original Latin root word cultura meant cultivation of soil: “It came to mean, first, ‘a general state or habit of the mind’. Having close relations with the idea of human perfection. Second, it came to mean ‘the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole’. Third, it came to mean ‘the general body of the arts’. Fourth, later in the century, it came to mean ‘a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual’.” The first three belong to the humanistic approach whereas the last is anthropological.
Culture according to a long line of a diverse group of humanistic thinkers that includes Diderot, Rousseau, Herder, Kant, Coleridge, Mathew Arnold, Oswald Spengler could be either natural, organic, creative, genuine and moral or artificial, mechanical, stereotyped, superficial, servile, mindless, corrupt and alienated. This tradition clearly distinguishes between culture (as something of a superior kind of human living) and barbarism. Anything that transforms culture to barbarism is to be despised. In short, culture should be cultivated to keep barbarism at bay. Humanists have stressed this aspect by emphasizing both individual virtues (e.g., Aristotle) and social virtues (e.g., Confucius) as hallmarks of a cultured society. It is an age of democracy, industrialization, mechanization, and so on, the cultivation of culture is vital to stop society from destroying itself. He suggested that society should be infused with 'Hebraism' (Moral discipline) and 'Hellenism', (intellectual freedom and creativity) to make beauty and truth as key cultural traits.

Although the globalization processes are bringing about profound cultural change at both the micro and the macro levels that is the global and the local levels. Jeremy Rifkin (2001), a prominent critic of globalization, writes that:

"The powers that be have long believed that the world is divided into two spheres of influence: commerce and government. Now organizations representing the cultural sphere—the environment, species preservation, rural life, health, food and cuisine, religion, human rights, the family, women's issues, ethnic heritage, the arts and other quality-of-life issues—are pounding on the doors at world economic and political forums and demanding a place at the table. They represent the birth of a new "civil-society politics" and an antidote to the forces pushing for globalization."

The world culture is created through the increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures, as well as through the development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory and a pool of global knowledge. What is
increasingly tapped by people everywhere and constitutes a layer of world
culture, this layer of global culture includes a wide range of knowledge about
politics, media, and sports and there is a widespread awareness that this
knowledge is globally distributed. Brumann (1998) calls a "layer of world culture"
and the extension of "frames of reference and activity" is media penetration and
media access. The main forms of global media penetration in traditional
communities are still radio and television. Reported by Reis (1998) about
Brazilian Amazon, "new conceptualizations of space and time, in the modification
of work patterns; in a new wave of consumerism, in a general shift in
expectations towards life and towards the community, and in the displacement of
private and public activities". Accordingly Driedger and Redekop (1998) points
out that the younger Mennonites of Canada, who are more exposed to the
media, have an increased involvement in "the global village, with a decline in
local village identity". Almost everywhere, the content of media programming is
such as to expand awareness beyond traditional cultural boundaries and provide
external referents. This process is likely to continue as media in all their forms
continue to pervade the fabric of social life. Friedman (1998 and 1999) argues
that periods of globalization in world history go hand in hand with a decline in
hegemony and that this is accompanied by a general process of regional
economic decline, increasing stratification, socio-cultural fragmentation and
increasing "ethnification". In the center, as hegemony declines, there is
increasing fragmentation of identities and there is the emergence of "cultural
politics" among groups of all kinds - indigenous, regional, immigrant, and
national groups. In contrast, others such as Hobsbawmc (1998) view the rise of
identity groups as a reaction to "the sheer advance of globality". Brumann (1998)
points out "many people are more aware of what is culturally distinct about them
than formerly". So that, the globalization directing cultural boundaries and
national borders more permeable and are extending frames of awareness and
experience well beyond traditional boundaries. Major technological change has
directed cultural boundaries variously more penetrable. The speed with which
boundaries change and adapt may well be accelerating throughout the globe.
Hannerz (1990; 1992 and 1996) and more recently Friedman (1998) posit a
connection between global transformation and the emergence of new cosmopolitan elites who share a "relatively coherent identity" linked to hybridism, border-crossing, and multiculturalism.

From the core-periphery of dependency theory and semi-periphery of world-system theory, we have moved to the 'pheripherilization of the core' (Kearney, 1995). While the dependency and world system theories laid the base of the global study, the new paradigm became apparent as a corollary to the post-colonialism, post-structuralism and the rising tide of immigrants. The tremendous boost in information technology and communication revolution has led to movement of people from one place to another and across national boundaries and we have come from nation state to what Anderson (1991) terms 'imagined communities' and transnationalism. Transnationalism overlaps globalization but has a limited purview. It covers migration of nationals across the borders of one or more nations. Transnationalism led to deterritorialization. Deterritorialization is one of the central forces of the modern world and it is this fertile ground in which money, commodities and persons unendingly chase each other around the world (Appadurai, 1991). The deterritorialized population in the abiding sense of placelessness and timelessness pick up and carry with them ideas and images from the 'old home' to the 'new host' setting. Appadurai (1991) points that, they piece together housing and language, electricity and ethnicity, clothing styles and state entitlement with remarkable energy, in ways tailored to the idiosyncrasies of their new locations. Deterritorialization creates space that liberates nationals from hegemonizing influence of the host society and accounts for ethncape (Appadurai, 1991). Deterritorialized groups face the challenge to defend their interest in the global order. At the heart of 'globalization from below' lie the dynamics to protect the people and the planet by means of a solidarity that crosses the boundaries of nations, identities, and narrow interests. Therefore, it fits into the discourse of transnationalism, de-territorialisation and it also leads to the creation of Diasporas. Diaspora is different from other patterns of migration in the sense that it includes members who are dispersed to many
regions of the world, and yet retain their uniqueness and an interest of their homeland.

The globalization of production in the world economy has undoubtedly opened up the markets of Asia to global competition and exchange. All levels of producers and workers, from those in professional, white-collar occupations to those at the least-skilled level of employment, as well as socio-cultural environment have been radically affected. While some have gained employment in offshore transnational enterprises, or migrated to large urban centers for wage work, many others are becoming displaced, finding that their skills, and the things that they produce, are no longer required. As a relatively large, skilled or semi-skilled group of workers, artisans and craft workers also have not been immune to the impact of these global economic changes. Indeed, they have been particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of global economic change and re-structuring brought about by the implementation of economic liberalization policies in Asia and elsewhere in the third world. In the case of India for example, the United Nations estimates that over the last 30 years the numbers of artisans have declined by at least 30%, with many of those remaining having to seek employment as casual wage laborers or in other vulnerable jobs in the informal economy (Seth, 1995). Mass produced, standardized and cheap factory items now have replaced many of the various goods once produced by the artisans. Moreover, essential raw materials like skins and hides, certain types of wood, metals, shells and so forth have become either too expensive for the artisans to purchase, or else have been diverted for mass production. In a study of Indian leather workers, for example, Ganguly-Scrase (2001) describes the way their traditional craft in making leather sandals and bags has virtually disappeared due to the influx into the market of plastic sandals, synthetic materials for bags, and rising costs of tanned leather. Many of the artisans that manage to survive produce for a global market, and so daily confront the vagaries of that market (Anderson, 1992, Balkwell and Dickerson, 1994, Nash, 1993). While this paper is concerned largely with artisans in Asia, the issues and problems it addresses are commonly experienced by artisan communities in most third world or developing societies and so reference is also made to recent, detailed studies on artisan
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communities from Central and South America. The significance of craft production is that it crosses all sectors of the modern global economy - from pre-industrial, industrial and postindustrial (Dickie and Frank, 1996). Unlike some other forms of labor, artisan production can also enable a degree of labor autonomy for those who have limited access to the cash economy. As craft production is generally household-based, its analysis raises important questions concerning the changing nature of gender and generational relations within the household. Finally, with the coming of a globalized economy; coupled with postmodern consumer sentiments, crafts represent a traditional form of consumer goods that, for some buyers, have great appeal. In other words, the consumption of crafts allows for a reconnection back to earlier and more earthly forms and designs in a fragmented, fractured and technological world.

The anthropologist June Nash (1993) argued that crafts are the medium of communication between people who live profoundly different lives, in different countries, but who can respond to the symbols, textures and forms that express different cultural traditions. She goes on to write that there is now a reverse flow of goods from the former colonies back to the industrial centers of the world as consumers seek out the exotic and unique objects of handicraft production. Western consumers want to know more about the products and producers of the items they are buying. While the activity of buying a handicraft may imbue the purchaser with a sense of buying tradition, or of supporting a struggling community, the art of craft production - an everyday activity - may itself be a form of resistance and struggle in the face of global economic and cultural changes. Craft production, like James Scott (1985) points-out in the case of Malay peasants, may in fact be a "weapon of the weak", an activity which frequently operates at the margins of the mainstream economy and the state. Importantly, it helps maintain family, household and community relations, providing the producers a sense of symbolic power and maintaining a localized cultural identity. Despite its location at the localized or household level, artisan production nevertheless remains a highly contested form of labor production. Increasing commodification of craft production, gender segregation and
discrimination, and a generational divide are evident throughout studies of artisan communities. For example, in her paper on the embroidery (chikan) industry in Lucknow in India, Clare Wilkinson-Weber (1997) shows how this industry has changed over time to become a mass-market industry, once dominated by highly-skilled male embroilers (who are mostly now the agents or middle-men) to now being dominated by Muslim women, most of who work from home (and so keeps them veiled, or in purdah) and who produce simple, coarse and cheap work for a largely local market. This raises another important point. Unlike other industries, craft production is an important avenue for women's employment, yet the final stage of the process – the selling of the finished goods – remains an inherently masculine task. This is confirmed in several important studies of women's home-based, subsistence production in various settings in the Asia Pacific. These studies all reveal the unique ways women are exploited by both their class and gender, and even in some instances, their religion, in the craft production process. The study of chikan production described above highlights the pitfalls of an industry that is increasingly becoming commodified. As the artisan is paid per piece, and as the market is demanding more, the artisans themselves are becoming de-skilled, only bothering to learn one or two popular stitches. Even urban artisans in Lucknow were bemoaning the work of rural-based embroilers whose work was the most simplistic. Indeed, the rural embroilers were paid even less per piece, emphasizing the levels of exploitation between more organized or well-connected urban producers and the rural artisans. Ironically it is the relative success and popularity of the craft that is leading to its partial demise, at least in terms of level of skill and variety. Put another way, the increased demand and consumption for the chikan-embroidered shirts cannot be met by the more time-consuming but authentic methods and hence, in the drive to meet the large number of orders, the craft itself is becoming de-skilled and inauthentic.

The well-known grammarian, Panini, drew a distinction between artists – the rajashilpi, or craftsman employed by the court – and the gramashilpi, or village craftsman (Mookerjee R.K., 1962). Originally shilpin would seem to have been a
term generally applied to the technically trained craftsman; later, however, it came to denote the artisan (Puri, B.N. 1968). Thus the writing concerning the theory of art is referred to collectively as the *shilpashastras* (Kramrisch. S, 1946). Being for the most part of a highly schematic character, these manuals of artistic instruction could not, of course, be expected to include a description of folk art or of amateur art practiced by women at home. By and large they form part of orthodox ecclesiastical literature with art as the handmaiden of the courts of Brahmanic orthodoxy (Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1964). But that did not cause any disturbance for the women and the commoners of India to practice various forms of creativity through various mediums on the occasion of rituals, altars, and festivals and also during the leisure period. The villagers and locals always appreciated their creativity and innovation. As a result, in Sanskrit, as well as in the folk tradition, an artist is treated as a person with a magnetic ability to create a world of imagination. Metaphorically, an artist is always compared with the Gods. "In Hinduism, Vishnu has a thousand names, many of which refer to works of art. In Islam, one of the hundred names of Allah is *Musawwer*, the artist. The Sanskrit word *kala* (art) means the divine attributes which direct human acts and thoughts. Man, God and Art are inseparable. Art is not removed from everyday life; it reflects a world view (Saraswati Baidyanath, 1999). No distinction is made between fine and decorative, free or servile arts. The eighteen or more professional arts (*silpa*) and the sixty-four vocational arts (*kala*) embrace all kinds of skilled activity. There is no difference between a painter and a sculptor. Both are known as *silpi* or *karigar*. The term *silpa* designates ceremonial act in the *Asvalayana Srautasutra*, and in this sense it is close to *karu*, which in the Vedic context stands for a maker or an artist, a singer of hymns, or a poet. In a reference in the Rgveda, Visvakarma, a god of creation, is mentioned as *dhatu-karmara*, while *karmara* alone refers to artisans and artificers (Rgveda X.72.2; Atharveda III 5-6; Manu IV 215). Visvakarma is supposed to create things out of *dhatu*, "raw material"; an act known as *sanghamana* (Rgveda X 72.2).
“The songs, dance-forms, literary activities and works of art produced in the 20th century have found new expressions and have gone to prove that this century has not only been the greatest in human history but has also been a period of new discoveries and radical renewals. While all the art forms have exhibited significant achievements, several entirely new ones have been invented and popularized such as cinema, pop music, and television documentary” (Singh B. P., 2003). The folk and tribal traditions treat all material available in day-to-day life to be worthy of serving as a medium of expression. In this regard, artist-writer, Haku Shah (1982) writes, "When a tribal touches a blade of grass, gourd or bead, fiber, twig, grain, pin, plastic button, conch shell, feather, leaf of flower, he sees through it, smells it, hears it, and therein starts the ritual of being with it" (Cited in Thakur, Upendra, 1982). Each of the country with its own trees and plants, birds and animals, hills and dales has inspired Indian folk artists to have multiple metaphors, series of symbols, and innumerable images to build a rich treasure-house of art. The somewhat lesser-known traditions of Indian painting are the so-called "folk" paintings dating back to a period that may be referred to as "timeless." These are living traditions, intrinsically linked with the regional historic-cultural settings from which they arise. These paintings have an age-old heritage that can be traced back to the beginning of the civilization on this subcontinent (Source: 1). It began with cave paintings drawn with natural dyes that were so strong that even centuries later the paintings can still be seen on the walls of the caves. The folk and tribal painting came from the remote rural and tribal regions. Sometimes, the artists of these rustic works were not educated. They lacked the basic means to attend schools. The various forms of paintings originating in these regions served not just as paintings but also as a religious and social ritual performed daily. It began with painting the walls and floor of mud houses. The people believed that this purified the ambience and pleased the deities. Various religious and symbols were included in each painting.

In Mithila a woman does painting on the wall, surface, movable objects, and canvas; makes images of gods, goddesses, animals and mythological
characters from the lump of clay; prepares objects such as baskets, small containers, and play items from sikki grass; does embroidery on quilt – popularly known as kethari and sujani; sings varieties of ritual and work songs (Mishra, Kailash Kumar, 2003). These artistic activities are done by a lady as a routine work that makes her a complete creative personality: a singer, a sculptor, a painter, an embroidery design maker and what not! Without knowing these primary details one may not understand the aesthetic wonder of Mithila paintings. From generation to generation the women of Mithila have produced a vigorous distinctive painting. That this traditional art has survived the innumerable vicissitudes of history is due, first of all, to the social organization of Mithila, one based on the village community, in whose corporate life the women have clearly understood roles. Beyond their extended families, the women artists work for a rural society with whose requirements they are perfectly acquainted. It is within this framework that the women continue to reproduce age-old forms; indeed countless recapitulations have resulted in an attitude of mind in which they can produce the most abstract designs without conscious effort. The possibility of any radical assertion of individuality in the modern sense is extremely limited (Mookerjee, 1977). This communal village life is strengthened and sustained by the universal prevalence of social gatherings, traditional storytelling, dancing and singing festivities and ceremonies, processions and rituals. Aripana is an indigenous word, which means “the art of drawing embankment or wall.” The word is derived from Alimpana or Alepana (of Sanskrit origin) and, though grammatically correct, falsifies the real origin of the word.

A large extent of the credit for bringing recent and massive popularity to this art form goes to Lalit Narayan Mishra, former Minister for Indian Railways. During his tenure, reproductions of these paintings adorned the coaches of many fast and super-fast trains (Source: 3). Copies of the paintings became a hot-selling item for both native and foreign travelers. The reproductions can be found with the hawkers in the bustling street side market along the Janapath in New Delhi, India - a must for every foreign tourist! Credit is due also to Mr. Bhaskar Kulkarni, (Source, 4) erstwhile member of the Indian Handicrafts Federation. He was the
first to organize an exhibition of the Madhubani School of Paintings at New Delhi in 1967. This brought instant international recognition to this art form. "Folk in a sense carry the connotation of anonymity, collective wisdom, spontaneity and simplicity. With the development of Anthropology, a new awareness has come into understanding the primitive and folk traditions. Anthropology has proved that regionalism in art is not against internationalism" (Jaitly, 1990).

In India, images of deities are ubiquitous, with religious stickers and posters covering virtually every Hindu owned rickshaw, phone booth, and tea stall in the country. Sacred images are even common in Indian advertisements, with baby Krishna endorsing his favorite brand of Amul butter and Lakshmi promising prosperity to those who eat her own brand of rice. While one can hardly imagine a parched Jesus wandering through the desert and then gulping down a bottle of Coca-Cola in an American commercial, the Hindu equivalent is not uncommon in Indian advertising. Such ads are always done with an unquestionable reverence for the divine. In India, television has faster and greater impact on society. Indian television, today, has grown into one of the biggest television networks in the world. Terrestrial broadcasting, which has been the sole preserve of the government, provides television coverage to over 90% of India's population (Source, 5). The TV serials in India are bringing the heroes and myths of the Hindu religion to life for a mass audience. Hinduism is central to Indian culture, and many middle-aged people feel strongly that these epic TV shows are a great way of keeping these religious stories alive. The serials based on the two great Indian epics, Ramayana (Ramayana is one of the great epics of India), and Mahabharata (The Mahabharata composed between 300 BC and 300 AD), were the most popular programs on the Indian national network Doordarshan, until very recently. Rated as the most popular TV program on India's national network Doordarshan, Mahabharata had a viewership of 96 per cent - a record in the Guinness Book of World Records (Source, 5). On these shows, computer graphics are used to create images of Gods performing miracles, sailing across the skies and moving mountains. We still remember the effects used in Ramayana. It was great to watch the Gods and Goddesses fly, disappear, and
walk on water. The effects were pretty good for Indian TV standards at that time. These serials broke all previous records of programs on Indian television. Streets became deserted as Indians abandoned work and chores to watch the adventures of Lord Rama and Krishna. After the great success of these serials, other serials, namely, Sreekrishna, Om Namasivaya, Jai Hanuman, Japam Tapam Vritham, Jai Matha, and Jai Ganga Maiya were telecast. All these shows were based on Hindu mythology as depicted in the Epics and Puranas (The Puranas are the richest collection of mythology in the world). The promoters of these serials take advantage of the religious archetype of viewers, at the expense of the literary qualities of the source materials. In India, manufacturers try to affect the psyche of consumer by branding an item with the names and images of Hindu deities. They bring the premium image of a God and his virtues and associate them to their product, thus exploiting the mass recognition of well-established imagery of the God to boost product branding. The beauty of this strategy lies in the fact that the companies using God's images do not have to be concerned about any kind of intellectual property issues like copyright, thus enjoying an immense credibility just by virtue of having connected their name to a venerated name. This kind of branding shows the popularity of God/Goddess images in India and the corporate/legal freedom of their use. Manufacturers use images and names of Hindu Gods on product labels and promotion materials to attract buyer's attention. Even in America, some of the phone card companies like MCI, which target Indian consumers, print Hindu God's images on its international phone cards and sometimes even the phone card itself is named after a Hindu God. In India, the largest group of advertisers is the food marketers, followed by marketers of drugs and cosmetics, soaps, automobiles, tobacco, appliances, and oil products. All of these companies somehow associate their products' virtues with the virtues of a God and try to sell it to the consumer, who can very well relate to the image presented. For instance, Indian jewelers extensively use the image and name of Goddess Laxmi, who is considered the ruler of all material wealth.
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The commercialization has caused serious harm to this art. The women and men are learning this art from the markets in towns and metropolitan cities. The trainers themselves do not know the essence and aesthetic beauty of this folk art and they teach their students in utter ignorance. Some of them do not know the colour combination, obtaining the colour from the nature, preparing the background, relationship between rhythm, colour, songs, rituals, dance and the art of painting. The themes and designs of the paintings are, now, in most of the cases decided by the buyers. The buyer-centric approach has caused serious threat to the originality of colour, design, motif, and sensitivity of this great art form. In the name of the tantric painting, we see the women have painted something very different from the tradition of Mithila. Commercialization of this art has created the interest of several males in it. They have been now also painting without knowing the significance of women in it. For them it is an industry that can easily provide a job opportunity for them. They are willing to paint anything as per the requirement of the buyers in the name of Mithila painting.

In the last twenty years, in order to get job opportunities, a very huge population of Mithila has migrated to the cities and mega-cities of India and abroad. This is a continuous trend. Many of them have settled in those cities. They are emotionally attached with their ritual and tradition. Marriages are solemnized in these cities in the banquets and hotels. And no traditional marriage can take place without kohbara painting. These paper and cloth paintings therefore solve their purpose. Now they decorate the banquets, hotels or any other venues with the Mithila paintings and feel very much rooted in their tradition. Such development has given a new and potential group of buyers to the painters. "In the villages of Jitwarpur and Ratni the Mithila paintings have emerged as a commercial activity where children can be seen engaged in arranging the hand crafted paper or fetching the colours. In my recent visit to Jitwarpur, I saw Jamuna Devi teaching her more than 15 students ranging from the Brahmans to the Harijan girls. On my enquiry she said, "I teach them as their mother. They feel they are at their home. I do not charge any money from the trainees. If I
charge, my art will be polluted. The best reward that I get is when a Brahman girl after successful completion of her training touches my feet to get my blessings. I then bless her from the innermost core of my hearts and also issue a perfection certificate” (Kumar, 2003). If the Bharat Natyam, Manipuri, Kuchipuri, Odessy and the Satria dance forms can be retained in their originality (not of course in the water tight compartment) and get popularized day by day, why cannot this great folk painting be also retained in its originality in harmony with the nature, people and the tradition! The recent trends of consumerism, market and selling attitude have made this art a maidservant of the moneyed people. Selling art objects is not a bad practice but surrendering the entire traditional creativity and values before buyers at the cost or originality is something that disturbs a commoner or an insider where such art is done. A serious thought is urgently needed in order to retain the original favour and smells of the Mithila paintings. Researchers, NGO professionals, folk artists, and people concerned all should come together to adopt the appropriate measures to retain this art in its originality (Dr. Kailash K Mishra, 2003).

“The songs, dance-forms, literary activities and works of art produced in the 20th century have found new expressions and have gone to prove that this century has not only been the greatest in human history but has also been a period of new discoveries and radical renewals. While all the art forms have exhibited significant achievements, several entirely new ones have been invented and popularized such as cinema, pop music, and television documentary” (Singh B. P, 2003). According to Jain (1995) this latter group: ... mainly thrive on the new urban patronage which has arisen as a result of protection and patronizing developmental endeavors on the part of the government. The government encourages these with a view to keeping the artisans self-employed and to earning precious foreign exchange by exporting manufactured craft products. Once it is established that the ‘crafts’ are primarily ‘commercial’ rather than ‘cultural’ in nature, their treatment involves different strategies, one of which must be that the criteria for design and aesthetics are oriented to commerce-related development. Jain goes on to write that a schism evolves wherein tribal
and village artistic products are rarely considered part of contemporary "art". Rather, the "art" of rural artisans, or more correctly "artists", is predominantly mass-produced, commercially driven "handicrafts".

Scholar, such as Hamelink (1990), have maintained that despite the advent of our current information society, information itself and its technology have remained in the hands of the economic elite. This criticism is most commonly expressed in terms of core and periphery theory, which maintains that global imbalances exist between "core" (i.e., rich and industrialized nations of the First World) and "periphery" nations (i.e., poorer and rural countries of the Third World), in both the flow of media products and information. In this view, information and its technology are controlled by the core nations, and its flow is seen as uni-directional from the core to the periphery, with little opportunity for peripheral nations to participate in the process.

To explore the globalization phenomenon and charges of cultural imperialism, it is important to draw together specific aspects and evaluate some of the basic assumptions and areas for criticism in the cultural imperialism argument - in terms of media power, its role in society and in regard to its audience.

The catchword globalization is an invention of American Business schools. It suggests that only those companies preparing themselves in good time and without any reservations will be able to survive (Krätke, 1997). Accordingly, the sole ones having a chance of survival are those who become global players, expanding their activities on a global scale, instead of restricting themselves to safeguarding local assets. Globalization means the expansion of the neo-liberal market economy to the very last corners of our planet.

Globalization does not only refer to the economic dimension, but also to communication technologies, ecology, organization of work, culture and the civil society. There is little consent about the assessment of globalization. Most discussions and publications ignore the gender specific aspects of these global transformation processes. However, when taken into consideration, it is argued
whether women can "profit" from the economic and technological structural changes taking place due to globalization, or whether new forms of social and gender-specific inequality will arise, pushing women - and increasingly men - off into the group of the "working poor", without any social security (Young, 1998).

However, what makes sense in regard to certain aspects of the debate such as the conglomeration of ownership, routinized production, and possibly formatted content, doesn't apply in terms of new media technology, the audience and effects. While one-way flow may be evident in terms of information flows on an information theory quantitative estimate, the reality is that as media technology and economies become more intertwined, this seemingly one-way flow reverses itself into a two-way flow in which what sells abroad influences what Americans see at home (McQuail, 1994).

Straubhaar (1991) draws on the past research, that local cultural producers would eventually begin to compete with American products, and as these productions increase and become more readily available, audiences would prefer regional or national products to international products. Two trends in research are used by Straubhaar (1991) to support Pool's predictions: 1) uses and gratification research, which gives power to the audience in terms of its selectivity and 2) the active participation of the audience in interpreting media content. In arguing the active audience perspective, Straubhaar explained, "These audiences actively read television in order to produce from it meanings that connect with their social experience" (1991).

According to Ferguson (1992), "Global Cultural Homogeneity" as a myth must presume a global cultural economy that completely ignores local, regional or national influences.

Appadurai (1990) further addresses the new "non-isomorphic" path of global cultural flows and ultimately questions the former core and periphery models through his conceptualization of interacting "disjunctures" or relationships within these flows. He conceives of global cultural flow in five dimensions:
"ethnoscapes, finanscapes, technoscapes, mediascapes, and ideoscapes". 
Ethnoscapes refer to the flow of peoples (immigrants, refugees, tourists and so on) throughout the globe as we become increasingly mobile. Technoscapes include the flow of machinery, hardware and software, through the production processes of transnational corporations, national corporations and governments. Finanscapes involve the flow of money through currency markets and stock exchanges. Mediascapes consist of the flow of images and information from the various forms of media and growing interactive technologies. Lastly, Ideoscapes are similar to mediascapes in that they are image-oriented, however they are more often political in nature and deal with the flow of ideology throughout the globe.

In Appadurai's model, there is no traditional core and periphery to be designated and as such represents the "non-isomorphic" paths in which culture now flows. Building on earlier discussion of core and periphery theory, Straubhaar (1991) criticizes recent assumptions that new technology would strengthen the imbalances of media or information flows around the globe. While new technology has opened doors for the influx of American cultural products, it has also increased national production as well as the development of specific genres taken from American models and re-created into distinctly Latin American genres. Straubhaar (1991) also credits the influence of First World influences for the "decreased cost and increased flexibility in television technology." This influence has allowed for a growing number of television producers throughout Latin America. Straubhaar (1991) takes the view that even within a "dependency" or "imbalance" situation, development can occur in the "periphery" nation.

David W. Pearee, (1983) defines labour as, "Labor is considered as all human resources available to society for use in the process of production". It includes all mental and physical efforts exerted in the production of goods and services. The active participation of labor is seen in all spheres of production, in all types of
industries, modern or traditional, all over the world. In the traditional industry the powerful influence of labor is widely acknowledged.

Robert D. Leiter (1959), in *Labour Economics and Industrial Relations*, mentioned that labor economics deals with the characteristics of the labor market, with the classification and analysis of labor problems and with the development and role of trade unions.

J. S. Mill (1961) in an article named *Principles of Political Economy with some of their Applications to social Philosophy* has rightly remarked about the requisites of production, which are two, labor and appropriate natural objects.

Even now traditional industries have significant place in rural industrial scenario. Papola observes that a large part of the rural industrial structure in most of the states and regions continues to consist of Traditional Industries catering to the local consumption needs and to the small production requirements of agriculture; these are carried out in the form of craft based on artisan skills (L.C. Jain, 1991). The Traditional Industries have been making a notable contribution to tackle the problem of unemployment. The traditional industries or decentralized industries account for three fourths of the number of persons in the manufacturing sector. In 1987, the total estimated employment in manufacturing was about 25 million of which the decentralized sector contributed to about 19 million (L.C. Jain, 1991).

In the self-contained village economies of India, the craftsmen had a vital role. His opinion was based with other members of the community and his consideration was in terms of kinds and status. His labor was love and dedication to those who were a part of his total life. The craftsmanship was not an economic compulsion but a sacred duty – Dharma (M. N. Upadhyay, 1973). The study conducted by Pillai (1965) emphasized the uniqueness and quality of Handicrafts products of Kerala, he suggested the formation of Handicrafts co –
operative societies and their proper management for giving new vigour and prosperity to the industry.

The focus of attention given by Menon (1978) was on the quality decline of Handicrafts industry due to foreign rule. Menon also observed about the positive aspects of interaction of the craftsman with the different civilizations and opined that this interaction helped craftsmen to evolve exquisite designs and patterns of various handicrafts. Menon's methodological frame was mainly based on the secondary data of the pre-independence era.

Myrdal's (1968) treatment was on the adverse effect of modern mechanized industries on cottage and Handicrafts Industries. He expressed the concern regarding the unhealthy competition between modern mechanized industries and Handicrafts industries. The study recommended for a strong organizational co-operative set up ensuring healthy competition. Myrdal argued for government protection to limit the competition by the modern industries over cottage industries. The working group argued about the urgent need for developing and protecting the handicrafts industry through a cooperative base which in turn is essential for the sustainability of the craftsmen in the country.

Kamat (1986) stressed the need for eliminating the intermediary exploitation of the craftsmen and suggested a co-operative marketing system for the handicrafts products. His method of analysis was primarily based on the observation on the small handicrafts producers.

Ray (1986) analyzed matters related to the exports or import of handicraft products. He emphasized on the strong participatory role in importing necessary inputs for handicrafts industry.

Mane (1987) in his study, pointed out that the artisans are not properly organized in their various activities, which is revealed in the meager membership in the artisans co-operative society. He also pointed out that these artisans are
unaware of the need for mutual co-operation and understanding. He opined that the major problems of public and co-operative handicrafts marketing are lack of quality, lack of proper time schedule in receiving order, and more over production without taking into account the market potentiality of the products. Samuel Kutty (1992) highlighted that crafts is man's first technology, the technology of handicrafts cater to the everyday needs of people belonging to all classes for items which combined utility and beauty.

Sinha (1993) felt that almost every Indian Handicraft has a constant and boundless demand in foreign and home market. He also prescribes for the speedy identification of the real needs of the marketing society.

Rao and Rao (1995) highlighted the view that co-operative societies are highly helpful in solving many of the problems faced by the artisans and craftsmen.

Reddy (1998) emphasized the developmental objective of Handicrafts industries to absorb surplus rural labour force in non-agricultural occupations to reduce regional disparities and promote rural employment.

The study conducted by Jain (1986) regarding the progress of Handicrafts Industry during 1955-85 highlights that the incremental employment in the period was lower relative to increase in production and exports. He also pointed out that large-scale mechanization is a great threat to the development of the Handicrafts Industry. Because of its steadily losing ground, in spite of all efforts to preserve them, he also stresses that the craftsmen are hard to work sweating away for the economy and it is the time for the policy maker to lift his little finger in their favour.

Menon's (1978) study was mainly regarding the hereditary nature of Handicrafts Labour and he took note on the recent trends of the entry of various communities to this field.
Gurpur's (1991) attempt was sociological. He propounded that handicraft ensure brotherhood and co-operation in a society which also ensures social harmony. He expressed that crafty wood works create many self-employment opportunities particularly for women. It has the advantage of less investment and indefinite possibilities for the Indian rural population. Kathuria (1986) has undertaken a case study to examine the trends in the export of Indian handicrafts and opined that this industry is among the most efficient foreign exchange earners in our economy.

Mane (1987) examined that only a small percentage of handicraft products are marketed through the public agencies, private traders handle rest. Mane highlighted the lack of attention given by the governmental institutions in attending to the essential needs of artisans and craftsmen.

Sreerangi (1987) critically evaluates the policy benefits, which accrue to the craftsmen and artisans. He found that all these measures are unsuccessful in controlling the exploitation of the artisans and the craftsmen.

Parashwar (1969) stresses about the importance of marketing channels for the smooth flow of handicraft goods.

Martín Zober (1964) explained that there is no such thing as the single channel of distribution that works best for any specific product, especially handicrafts.

Douglas (1975) emphasized the length of the channel as the function of the characteristic of the product of its demand and supply and of the cost structure of the marketing firms that integrate the demand and supply.

So there are those who view contemporary globalization largely in terms of the gigantic leap in international trade that has taken place, particularly since the 1970s. Even as this assertion is made, there is the concomitant realization that there were probably phases of globalization in the past as well (Collier and
Dollar, 2002). What is, however, still distinctive about globalization today, is that it is not accompanied by military might as was very often the case in the past. Goods and gun no longer do the rounds together, regardless of how closely they may have been linked in history. But limiting globalization to international trade and capital flows, as some serious globalizers appear to do, seems somewhat constrictive (Dollar and Kraay, 2002). There is so much to society, even to economics, than just trade. Nor can it be calmly maintained that international trade forms the basis of every other kind of social relationship. Globalization must surely mean a lot more, or else how can we account for the connotative and denotative overflows that this term encourages.

Therefore globalization is the international trade backed by high-speed transaction of information, communication, and capital flow. It is this entire package that makes a difference. Not only has time collapsed, but geography too, as the cliché goes, is now history. There is a certain ring of credibility in the view that all "borders are coming down- economic, political and social" (Hutton, 2001). People are thrown into interactive nexuses across long distances without presuming any inter-personal familiarity whatsoever. The Nasdaq is an electronically wired market place and does not even exist as a space. At least, the Wall Street stock exchange is there as a tangible three-dimensional reality. When we add these factors up it is clear that globalization is just not international trade. So then if globalization is not just international trade then perhaps, it is really all about the speed with which knowledge, goods and people are transacted- a speed so great that spatial distances are of little significance.

This might sound good and reasonable to some, but certainly not to an anthropologist. If this is what globalization is about and if this trend were now sweeping the world then social relations would be of little or no consequence. Indeed, if space is no longer significant then where can anthropologists anchor themselves? We would then have a proliferation of "non-spaces" (Gupta, 2000), and the Nasdaq is a good indication of what awaits us in the not too distant future. Yet, while money moves fast, and information even faster, people tend to be much slower in comparison. The bulk of jobs are still local for workers cannot
migrate with the same degree of facility as capital and information can even in this age of globalization. But everywhere there is the urge to move, to look beyond traditional confines, and to look for alternative lifestyles that would have been unthinkable even a generation ago.

This is really the point about contemporary globalization. While there is greater speed now in terms of technology and communication, it is not as if history, even recent history, was innocent of phenomenal acceleration on these fronts. When telegraph and motorcars and later telephones and airplanes arrived these must have seemed absolutely remarkable to people living in those times. It is also true that quantity can lead to qualitative transformations, which is why it would wrong to dismiss the relevance of the sheer increase in communication and information flows from the 1980s onwards. Even so there has been a very important ideological shift that characterizes globalization today, and we cannot really ignore it. This ideological shift may have been, to a certain extent, brought upon by the fall of the Soviet Union and of grand ideologies.

The protection of the production process from external economic predators effectively shielded national and indigenous producers from competition in newly independent countries like India and Egypt. The security of farmers, workers, members of the fishing community, and even capitalists, as producers of goods and services was the main concern of the pre-globalization era (Bhattacherji, 2000, Lahiri, 1998, Shiva, 2001, Nayar, 1998). Therefore, when controls were lifted in 1991 on foreign capital participation in the Indian economy, organized unions were of course, unhappy, but so also were leading Indian business houses (Nayar, 1998).

It is this ideological shift away from the protection of producers that is clearly visible up and down the social strata, and it is this that gives globalization today its specific diacritical mark. The accent is now on consumers. The current dictum is: if the consumers want something it should be made available to them, and the producers had better adjust. That consumers are also producers is not the central concern any more. This itself indicates how serious the ideological shift
has been in these globalized times. This shift indicates the impatience with past obsessions. No longer is it attractive to hear that history is being corrected, and old injustices are being paid back in a variety of ways. In India, as in Egypt and other post colonial countries, the burden of history sat heavily.

Perhaps, at that point there was little alternative. Memories of colonialism were still fresh. Leaders could enthuse the masses by asking them to confront the British, the Americans or the French, and if it took economic sacrifices in this regard, it was well worth it (Friedman and Kaplan, 2002). It made sense then, but much less now. The cold war is over, and with it the virtues of being poor but pure that some countries held dear have fallen by the way side. In addition, generations have come and some are on their way out for whom the concerns and passions of the mid-20th century make little sense. Much of that is historical baggage, which their leaders might hark back to but which finds no response from the crowds. Indeed, if that had not been the case the European Union would have been impossible to accomplish. Germany and England would have hardly arrived at a pact on steel and coal. Neither would France have made common cause with Germany in pushing the Euro. Indeed, when the Berlin Wall fell, a large chunk of history collapsed with it too. What was true of Europe is increasingly becoming true in different ways in the developing world as well. This has resulted in an ideological configuration where the past is no longer central. It is the future that is more important. This has been signaled by the shift to consumerism, not just in terms of the desire for brand items, but more fundamentally, in terms of realizing material aspirations within one’s lifetime.

Right through the 1950s and 1960s there was an emphasis in all nation-states including the United States of America on strengthening the local economy so that it would be able to withstand forces from without. To quote Joseph Stiglitz: "Most of the advanced industrial countries-including the United States and Japan-had built up their economies by wisely and selectively protecting some of their industries until they were strong enough to compete with foreign companies" (Stiglitz, 2002). In America’s case, this matter was not so easily visible perhaps, because it was the strongest economic power, and after World
WAR II, the most powerful military nation. If this was true of America, it was even more pronounced in developing countries all over the world. The call in such parts was clearly to be self-reliant and economically sovereign (Rist, 1997, Ray, 2002), if not actually autarkic (Nayar, 1997).

Liberalization's early detractors in India drew their inspiration from the fairly prevalent fear that India would lose her economic sovereignty once she opened up to foreign investors and participated in an international system of trade. This is reflected even today in the tardiness with respect to state disinvestment from the public sector. This is notwithstanding the general acquiescence among major political parties that India's future development depends on liberalization and privatization. That disinvestments with respect to the oil industry has faced so much opposition even from within sections of the ruling coalition in recent months in India demonstrates widely held apprehensions of becoming economically subservient to foreign companies and external pressures in strategic sectors is still very real in this country. Not just oil, but the fear of capitulating to foreign economic forces is also very strong with respect to the agricultural sector. In this case it is feared that private multinational firms like Monsanto can hold vulnerable agrarian classes to ransom once these farmers buy into a tightly controlled system that would make them dependent from seeds to specific formulations of pesticides and fertilizers (Shiva, 2001).

What, however, weakens the resolve of, and support for, holding on to public sector enterprises, is the dismal record these state run organizations. Though there are a few performing public sector units, their effect becomes marginal given the general inefficiency that characterizes the public sector in India as a whole (Dialogue Seminar on Globalization, Liberalization and Development, 2002). Some of these worries are genuine, and every state must consider them even as they move towards globalization. In the case of developing countries, not only must the state act as regulators, but also as providers of infrastructures that would help the poor to free themselves from the cycle of poverty. Later in this paper we will try and substantiate some of these issues with a case study. The main point however is that globalization need not be incompatible with
equity provided that the state plays an active role as both regulator and infrastructure provider. But all of this must take place within the understanding of the great ideological shift that has taken place from protecting the producer to satisfying the consumer.

Now consumers are to be found everywhere. They do not just frequent the marketplace of high-end commodities. There are consumers, and potential consumers, in villages and small towns as well. What are common in all these cases is the marginalization of historical preferences and the old ways of life. Anthropologists are quite hard nosed about this. They have seen too much of what burdens traditional relations place on the majority of people. They also know from first hand encounters with their respondents in villages and slums that the deprived everywhere seek a better life, but find their aspirations blocked by lack of opportunities at every turn. In might be interesting to remember in this context that in India there were neither Luddites (as in England), or saboteurs (as in France), who opposed industrialization in any major city. Even if there are romantics in cities and among the members of the literati, the majority of the poor have no such illusions. They seek a better life, and will grab at any opportunity that comes their way.

Giving expression to this basic drive is, in my view, what consumerism today should be all about. After this most essential diacritic of consumerism is recognized what is new about globalization today becomes much more easily apparent. Globalization builds on this consumerist impulse and encourages a break from the past from the humblest levels up. This is what makes contemporary globalization a truly modern phenomenon. To limit the understanding of consumers to the rich set, or to patterns of consumption in western industrial societies would still be a sectional perspective, and not quite in concinnity with a dispensation that demands a global view. In addition, consumers do not just consume. Once we begin to think of a consumer society we recognize the power of the consumer. Consumer pressure, when it gets going, demands greater transparency and universalization of norms in all public dealings. This deepens democracy and accentuates the need for popular
participation, not simply in terms of periodic elections, but places pressure on the system and the state to meet “felt aspirations” as a demotic urge. In developmental terms, the targeted categories are no longer recipients of aid, but consumers of goods and services. This transformation invests them with the freedom to choose their goals and satisfy their unmet aspirations.

Development in the globalized age, must necessarily plan for meeting these unmet, but deeply felt aspirations, and not be limited by satisfying immediate and pressing unmet needs. In other words, developmental programmes must go beyond poverty alleviation and plan instead for the eradication of poverty itself. Indeed, these are the very words that have been voiced from time to time by several international development agencies and the World Bank. The point is that all too often the larger picture is lost sight of, as the great ideological shift that globalization has brought about is not fully internalized. As they are no longer recipients it is important to pay attention to their aspirations and to create social capacities that will give them the necessary independence to meet their desired goals.

Consumerism has many detractors, particularly in the developing world. This is primarily for two reasons. The first is an outcome of an aesthetic revulsion against the high consumption of the super rich in these poorer societies. The stark contrasts in lifestyles arouse deep hostility, especially among the politically sensitive members of the intelligentsia. The second reason why it is difficult to recommend consumerism is because the aspirations to consume are not commensurate with the purchasing power of the majority of the population. Together these attitudes generate a species of “developmentalism by denial". But as we mentioned earlier, this strategy was certainly attractive in countries like India as they came out of colonial domination, but over five decades have past since then and the burden of history should sit a little lightly now.

Nevertheless, the denial school of developmentalism (that protects the producers) had a point in so much as that consumerism makes no sense if a vast majority is kept out of leading lifestyles which are outcomes of aspirations
induced by media. Therefore, the challenge globalization faces today is to create enough purchasing power at lower levels so that unmet aspirations can be met (Sklair, 1991). In other words, globalization with equity should aim at creating wealth, or, at least open reasonable avenues whereby classes hitherto locked in poverty and are aid dependent can become self-generating producers of wealth. Most importantly, this should happen quickly. Democracy creates impatience, as people want aspirations to be realized in their lifetime. This demands interventions that hasten the slow grinding of structural logics.

It is also true that consumerism creates false wants, especially through advertising techniques that have been perfected to a near science. While this is undeniable at one level, there are two major reasons why this position cannot be fully accepted. The first is that this stricture does not prevent the upper classes from consuming "signs" that advertisers put out. The proscription seems to be only against those who have not had the privilege, so far, of doing the same. Secondly, very often what passes for uncritical acceptance of consumerism does not necessarily mean a supine acceptance of western values. Peter Manuel has shown how cassette culture helped preserve folk traditions of music in India that would have certainly died out otherwise (Manuel, 1993). Ogan (1988) writes a similar story but this time with reference to Video Cassette Recorders and how they helped preserve aspects of Turkish aesthetics that would certainly not have received the wide currency that they gained subsequently.

In India the change towards a consumeristic model of economic development began to slowly stir to life from as early as 1982 when colour TV tubes began to be exported to India. Bit by bit the import substitution strategy of previous governments was being replaced by export promotion. Gradually, electronic goods and motorcars, and other appliances and durable consumer products began to enter the Indian markets. There is no doubt that this process got a major fillip after 1991 when the economy was liberalized and foreign capital was allowed to function once again in India. Nevertheless, the availability of such high end consumer goods is still a very niche affair, as only a very small section of the Indian elite can afford them. According to a survey done by Tata Energy
Research Institute less than 3% of Indians own cars, 7.1 per thousand own TV (compared to America's 365 per thousand), and roughly 7.7 per thousand possess a refrigerator (in America the figure is 214 per thousand), and PC access is 5 per thousand in India (it is 770 per thousand in America). So as far as becoming a consumer society is concerned India still has a long way to go (24 November, 1997; Rai 2002, Kalra 2002).

This might induce a reaction against consumerism in general, as the goal seems so far away and unapproachable. This leads us to valorize the past and its deeply grooved traditions and agitate instead for cultural protection. In most such cases, however, the demand for cultural protection is usually flagged off by "unmet aspirations". As we shall argue later in this paper, this was also the case with members of the fishing community of Kerala. Their cry for cultural protection came up largely because they were threatened by deep sea trawlers that dredged everything up from the ocean floor, thus depriving the poor fisher folk of the region of their meager daily catch. But had the unmet aspirations of the fishing community been realized, would the demand for cultural protection still have been as strident? It is often difficult to recognize the fact that, for a number of reasons (some already hinted at earlier), a new horizon is opening up for a large number of people in diverse structural locations. The challenge that globalization faces in whether it can reach deep enough to draw in those who have hitherto been marginalized as consumers and bring them at par with the rest. This is globalization's way of dealing with the issue of equity. Anthropologists will immediately recognize that there is a broad based, secular and persistent move away from traditional ways of life. To a large extent this process has been aided by a feature originally unrelated to globalization, but which serves today as one of its structural features. According to the National Sample Survey, between 1987-88 and 1993-94 the number of rural people who were working in urban India nearly doubled. This is understandable if one keeps in mind the fact that more than 81% of rural households own less than five acres of land. Further, rural households that own less than 2.5 acres of land have increased from 39% to 63% between 1960-61 and 1991-2. This shows that as most rural holdings are in the category of small farms there are no jobs for the
landless rural poor in the villages. Further, the average annual GDP growth of agriculture in value added terms has declined from 3.5% in the 1980s to 2.8% in the 1990s. In 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 the figures stood at 1.3% and -0.2% respectively (Mujumdar, 2002). The rural share of income seems to have gone down during the last two decades creating disparities between the urban and rural people. An earlier survey done in 1975-76 showed that urban households earned on an average 1.82 times more than what rural households earned, and today the figure stands at 2.1 (Pradhan, Roy, Saluja, Venkatram, 2000). Though inequality has risen in urban India, there is also less poverty there compared to India's villages (Vaidynathan, 2001, Government of India 1993). This is what drives the exodus to the cities. In fact, over 50% of Scheduled Caste (ex-Untouchables) people live in cities compared to the all India figure of only 30%. This statistic is relevant in this context as the largest number of landless workers come from the ranks of the Scheduled Castes. So it is to the cities that the poor are looking for jobs and for upward mobility.

There is a dominant point of view voiced by a number of pro-globalizers that international trade holds the key to development. Countries that have not come forward and entered world trade have been the losers. The ones that have broken into the global manufacturing market have not only done well in aggregate terms, but have also significantly reduced inequality within (Stern 2002, Dollard and Kraay, 2002). The Chinese example is atypical, but as Dollard and Kraay argue even though income disparities may have increased in China, poverty has declined and the bottom 29% are much better off today on account of globalization and international trade. The relation between growth and inequality is too vexed to be able to say anything as categorical as that for the situation varies vastly from country to country. Collier and Dollar believe that poverty has declined in India yearly by 4.59% between 1992 –98 (Collier and Dollar, 2002), which is, in all likelihood, off by nearly a percentage point. In any case, the authors include India among the enchanted countries that have done well out of globalization along with Brazil, China, Hungary and Mexico. They do accept however that there are still two billion people in Africa and the former
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Soviet Union who have not yet been brought into the globalizing process and are losing out immensely on that account. Castells finds that emerging markets in 1998 had only 7% of global value in terms of market capitalization but accounted for 85% of the world’s population (Castells, 2001). In the Indian case it is still not very clear whether poverty has really decreased or not after liberalization was introduced in 1991 when India officially entered the globalization process. There are conflicting positions on this subject and it is thus best to argue from facts about employment, school enrolment, productivity and wage increases per worker that are by and large generally agreed upon by experts. We will dilate on this issue soon, but it is worth clarifying before we go any further that India has certainly not emerged as a strong international trader in the field of manufactured items as Collier and Dollar (2002) seems to imply. India’s export base has not grown significantly between 1992-93 and 1999-2000. Just after liberalization was introduced in India in 1992-3 exports formed 7.28% of GDP. A year later they climbed to 8.12% of India’s GDP. Six years on in 1999-2000 the figure remained basically the same (CMIE, July 2001). In terms of trade India is still largely an exporter of textiles and gems and jewelry (ICRA, 2002). India’s exports of metals and products and engineering goods are, sadly, quite low. On the import side, manufactured intermediates and consumer goods are the second highest item after petroleum products. In spite of nearly 10 years of globalization, India’s import expenditures are about Rs. 30,000 crores (Rs 50 is equal to US$ 1; one crore is equal to 10 million) more than what it earns through exports. There seems to be hope ahead though if the study released by Nasscom and Mckinsey is to be believed. According to this report India’s export of software should, at the current rate of expansion, touch $ 50 billion by 2008. This is indeed a staggering figure particularly in the context of the fact that India’s export earnings now total to approximately $ 40 billion (Basu, 2001). From these figures it is rather clear that it will take a very long time for the benefits of trade to reach down to where the majority live in India (Vaidynathan, 2001). We are still way behind in terms of producing goods that can really compete against the manufactured items produced in the west. Moreover, as trade only forms about 7%-8% of GDP, it will be necessary for us to look elsewhere if we wish to make a tangible difference to
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the lives of a large chunk of our population. In the 1990s there was a reduction in employment for all age groups, both rural and urban. This was been partly offset by a rise in school enrolment, but it has not been of the same magnitude. Thus while some of the younger members of the workforce, particularly in the age groups 5 to 24, have certainly boosted school enrolment figures, a large chunk of them are still unaccounted for (Sundaram, 2001). In general, unemployment seems to have gone up for those who have secondary and above secondary level educations, as well as for those with a graduate degree and above. At the same time, however, there has been a growth in labour productivity in terms of gross value added, with both the capital labour ratio and worker productivity showing a marked increase. Interestingly, real average daily wage earnings have risen by about 3% for casual rural workers as well. There has been an increase in non-farm employment in the countryside, which is hard to overlook. Though it is difficult to be precise on this matter, the fact that agricultural growth rate has fallen while overall growth has increased immediately asserts the effect of non-farm occupations. I would hazard the conjecture that the reason employment has declined even as agricultural wages have gone up (Vaidyanathan, 2001) is because of the growth of such non-farm occupations. This trend is not a very recent feature. Surjit Singh Bhalla (1978) noted this as early as in the 1970s and, if anything, the trend has strengthened over the years for industry too the same phenomenon seems to be present (Sundaram, 2001). While these figures might support the view that poverty has declined, but when one takes into account the levels of unemployment, one is not that certain any more. At any rate, poverty figures have not improved significantly, if at all, in India since the liberalization drive began in the 1990s. In fact, if anything, the National Sample Survey data show that the rate of decline of poverty has been somewhat arrested since the late 1980s when the figure came down to about 34 % from the high of about 50% in the 1950s and 1960s (Vaidyanathan, 2001, Ray, 2002). The fact that there has been a decrease in employment coupled with an increase in wages would at least seem to sustain the argument that inequalities have risen in India, while the actual decline in poverty figures is still being hotly debated (Deaton and Dreze, 2002). What may be added to this context is that hiring has gone down,
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particularly in the industrial sectors, since the 1980s. This fall in factory employment has been predictably accompanied by an upgradation of technology. (1) This has led to an increase in capital-labour ratios and to labour productivity too. This has severely disarticulated old style labour unions with political alignments. In their place independent unions have become more prominent in India's industrial sector. Unlike the old unions, these independent unions were not so much interested in employment growth as they are in wage increases. Thus while organized sector employment fell from 24.5% in 1972-73 to 17.4% in 1987-88, real wages of workers and other employees in this sector have shown an increase of 5.8% and 4.15% respectively. The lowest paid workers, largely unskilled, however, have suffered a real loss in wages. Very often these lowest paid workers are the ones hired in the name of labour market flexibility. They are not only paid less, but have no protection, whatsoever (Stiglitz, 2002).

What is so interesting about all this is that there are contradictory pressures on the majority of Indians today. Unemployment is going up, but for many among the working classes there is also an increase in wages and a rise in productivity. There is therefore a greater degree of visibility among the poor of what money can get them, particularly as there are people from similar backgrounds who are prospering by all accounts. From an anthropological point of view this is very significant. The visibility factor goes up further because much of this new prosperity is happening in cities and not in villages, as was mentioned earlier. As urban contexts exaggerate attributes over traditional ties (Marriot, 1968), better wages for those among the working people are also demonstrably visible not just to those who belong to a similar socio-economic background, but to others who can also feasibly aspire to such positions.

There are obviously different kinds of growth, but the growth that reduces poverty and at the same time decreases inequality is obviously, the most preferred. In the Indian case, there is no doubt that the levels of poverty are staggering, and if we take into account the contrary pulls of falling employment
and high wages, then there is also a greater feeling of deprivation than would have been the case if only the former were true. So where does one begin? What is the strategy that can be best adopted to bring development with equity? As globalization is not satisfied with just poverty reduction, growth strategies must aim at meeting felt aspirations of consumers. Moreover, poverty becomes all the more inexcusable when it is accompanied by increasing inequality. We have already shown that the levels of inequality are high not only between the employed and the unemployed, but between rural and urban earners as well. To a great extent this fits in with Kuznets’ theorem, but it would be interesting to work out alternative statistical combinations where the categories are in terms of communities and not economic classes, and then figure out if Kuznets can be extended in that realm as well. What we need to also bear in mind while undertaking this study is that either development or the quest for equity can be seen in static terms. They are moving projects that forever compel democratic societies towards higher targets. In this sense, neither can be totally accomplished. The constantly expanding nature of this task should force planners to take a long term view of development and not just think of ways of keeping the poor alive. Moreover, in a democracy, citizens want to be satisfied in the short term, in their lifetime. This also gives development towards certain urgency. The speed of progress has to be fairly rapid to meet this kind of demotic expectation. In this context I (Stiglitz, 2002) would like to raise the issue of sequencing globalization measures and, more importantly, providing channels for development which meet the felt aspirations of the people and not just their felt needs. If one were to take this position on board then this would demand a fairly radical alteration of some of our developmental efforts. We are no longer fire fighting, or keeping the poor alive, but putting in place measures that will help them to meet their aspirations as consumers. From what I have mentioned earlier, regarding the movement of rural people to urban areas, it should be clear that there is little that rural India can do to meet their aspirations. The structure of landholdings, where over 80% of farm plots are five acres and below, is itself a very powerful reason why one should look elsewhere for development. Globalization alerts us to the fact that the poor are not just recipients of good will,
but are potential consumers too. There is little doubt that if this line of development is to be pursued then the state has to play a major role. We cannot be sanguine about the realization of development by leaving it all to the market structure. This, of course, is a point of view that market fundamentalists strongly, but wrongly, oppose. While it is true that the public sector should not be allowed to become inefficient, and that a strong democracy should be ever vigilant on this issue, neither can it be denied that when countries enter the globalized world, the helping hand of the state is ineluctable. As Stiglitz argues, in the case of developing countries, governments must play a role in “creating, shaping and guiding markets, including promoting of new technologies” (Stiglitz, 2002). (2) The role of the state in building the requisite infrastructure cannot be overlooked especially in a country like India. When the state guides and promotes globalization it must also take into consideration social security measures as part of the same undertaking. Though, many pro-globalizers do not recognize the validity of this issue, this is precisely the route that developed western countries also followed before they went global. We have already mentioned how America protected its economy till the 1960s before it turned its attention to trading in a significant way with other countries. The United States did not allow private insurance companies to function till the economy was strong enough to allow private enterprise in this area. After the depression America devised a state run insurance scheme that helped tide over the economic crises of the 1930s (Stiglitz, 2002). Even as late as the 1970s European countries had banned the free flow of capital (Stiglitz, 2002). Clearly, those who are most ardent supporters of the Washington Consensus that advocates the centrality of the market principle have forgotten the initial conditions of the western experience with globalization. On the issue of social services net provided by the state there is also an unjustifiable fear, projected to a great extent by the IMF and those who take the Washington Consensus too literally, that state involvement should be minimal in all aspects of life if growth is to be our goal. But as Linda Mcquaig (1992) demonstrated, in a series of brilliant articles, unemployment is much higher in the United States than it is in countries in Europe. This is notwithstanding the fact that barring the United Kingdom, countries like Germany
and Sweden pour in a lot of money to finance unemployment insurance, health, and old age and educational services. Productivity in these countries too is no less than what is in North America. Indeed, with the exception of Norway, these countries have experienced more growth than the United States. Obviously, European countries have to tax their citizens rather heavily to finance the social service net. The tax rate in Germany is 43.8%, while in Sweden it is a huge 56.1%. But higher taxes in such cases have not meant wasteful expenditure, inefficiencies, or lower productivity, or higher unemployment (Mcquaig, 1992).

America's attitude towards social security is to view it in terms of handouts and doles to the poor. These are therefore visualized as pure costs, and wasteful ones at that. In Europe, social security expenditures are regarded more like investments in people to ensure a fuller and a more comprehensive development of society as a whole.

When the state was in control of the commanding heights of the economy number of things went wrong. Instead of introducing efficiencies in the system, the public sector was seen as a good in its own right. If this state of affairs was allowed to continue for an inordinately long time then this was largely because developing societies are chronically affected by weak public institutions. The rhetoric of democracy in India does not recognize, what Andre Beteille calls, "institutional well-being" (Beteille, 1992). In this connection, it might be a good idea to go back and revive some of Gunnar Myrdal's institutional economics, particularly his conception of the "soft state" (Myrdal, 1970). When public institutions are strong they would positively impact the progress of globalization as well. The Mexican President Mexican President Vicente Fox spoke out of experience when he said that globalization is good when you "keep your fundamentals in line on the economy, buildup high levels of education, respect for the rule of law..." (Dollar and Kraay, 2002, Friedman and Kaplan, 2002). To get the "fundamentals" in line it is important to work out the sequencing of globalization in individual countries keeping in mind their respective specifics. The eventual aim of globalized development should be that a greater number of people should benefit from an open economic system, and not just the elite, or those who have been privileged by the accidents of birth. To begin with, the
government can help raise employment, effectively realize democratic representation, and establish universal norms of citizenship. It will be impossible to discuss both democratic representation and citizenship meaningfully if employment levels and living standards remain abysmally low. It is to the question of employment and income generation that we must turn to if we want to give substance to citizens and to their aspirations as consumers of services and of opportunities. Without any progress on this critical front, globalization will continue to bypass a huge chunk of the population. The public sector has been the great employer in all countries throughout the world, especially when there has been a sudden crunch in purchasing power. The New Deal in America did just that, though very often there is a tendency to forget this. In India employment has fallen in some measure because of declining state investments in projects such as public irrigation and roads (Baru and Chaudhuri, 1998). The public sector gross fixed capital formation and gross domestic capital formation showed a steady decline through the liberalized era of the 1990s (India Profile Overview). These figures are going up in the private sector but not nearly enough in terms of volume to be able to significantly affect employment. In the long run, perhaps it will work, but, as we remarked earlier, citizens are impatient: they want things in their lifetime, which is what gives meaning to their participation in the democratic process. There is no doubt that states that have their "fundamentals" right prosper much more rapidly than those who fail on this front. This can be seen in a microcosm in India as well. Provinces such as Maharashtra, Kerala, Gujarat, and Tamilnadu, are way ahead of Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh on practically every human development index. Rajasthan, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh are notorious for their backwardness made worse by corrupt administrations and pre-capitalist social attitudes (Nair, 2002, Ray, 2002).

As long as developmental activities are based on keeping the poor from getting poorer and keeping them on a maintenance regimen of assistance, the promise and potentialities of globalization will remain largely unfulfilled. As we mentioned earlier, the most remarkable aspect of globalization is its determination to satisfy
the consumer and raise demands in this process. The consumer is an independent agent and no longer a recipient of dole and relief. Globalization has rid us of some of our naiveté, for now we realize the enormous ideological gulf between status holding beneficiaries and stake holding consumers. Status holding projects need to be re-articulated within stake holding ones that take the individual as a consumer in the broadest sense. This is how citizens also become substantive partners in the developmental process. It is as stakeholders that people of different strata can make claims on society which must accordingly increase its capacities to be able to satisfy these felt aspirations. It is this process, as we mentioned earlier, that makes the upgrading of human capabilities realizable at both the individual and social plane. As felt aspirations are met newer aspirations develop. This spurs the desire for acquiring greater levels of capabilities that the society is then pressured to provide. The term stakeholder is sufficient for it not only takes into account the long-term aspirations of people, but also implies immediately participation at very broad levels on an informed basis. As we found with the fisher folk, the increasing of social capacities aimed at bringing technology and enterprise allows for setting in motion initiatives at those very levels which were hitherto resigned to, at best, reproducing their living conditions at low levels of equilibrium. It should be quite apparent that when the state is expected to enhance structural capacities, it is not as if it should control the "commanding heights" of the economy, but rather the purpose is to enable many peaks to emerge by providing base line, or niche, feasibilities for each category of citizens as consumers. In the process of building such structured capacities there will be a considerable amount of state investment, but this is not aimed at usurping the economy, but instead intends to make it possible for the state to eventually play the part of a regulator of regulators- a super regulatory body. This itself is a very important and critical role that cannot be undermined, as even the European Union has fully recognized (Henry, Matheu and Jeunemaitre (2001). True globalization demands that this be the end state that all governments accept as legitimate. For this to happen effectively it might be necessary for states in developing societies to initially
invest in enhancing structured capacities on the basis of which then an equitable market situation can be reasonably expected to develop.

On the question of ‘impact of globalization on economy of folk’ the present researcher again recall the words of Vilby (1997) “Today, however, new information technology, industrial production and world trade, migration patterns even environmental problems, transcend the borders people have previously constructed, which influence all society. Changes take place more rapidly and it is hard to find places which remain untouched by this global influence. As human beings we become more alike, we gain global offers, we consume the same, we produce for a global assembly line and we get global problems. We are exposed to a “global journey”.”

Although the global flow of trade, politics, culture and ultimately economic exchanges within and between the surrounding and distant area sharing the micro level innovative creation of the local by the distant and the distant from the local. On taking the taste of micro creation, there arises an exchange of sharing between more than one area of near and surround or distant by other’s creation or like anything. The continuous process of this type of exchange widens the popularity of a specific type of micro area’s creative work that may be art or any culture.