Contents:

6.1 Prelude
6.2 Definitional analysis of globalisation
6.3 Globalisation, its history and the big debates
6.4 Theoretical insights into globalisation
6.5 Towards a unique and contextual definition of globalisation
6.6 Indian liberalisation and the craft industry
6.7 The historical journey of Indian handicrafts
6.8 Craft tradition of Orissa and the Chandua craft
6.9 The socio-economic assessment of the Chandua artists
6.10 The Chandua craft in modern times: Globalisation or 'Macro-Localisation'?
6.11 The new processes-'Chanduaisation' and 'Hybridisation'
6.12 Transition in the nature of profession
6.13 Who gains, who loses? An evaluation
6.14 Suggestions and policy recommendations

6.1 PRELUDE:

Globalisation, the growing integration of societies, economies and cultures around the world has been a key area of research among the academia at large and a topic for discussion among policy makers, statesmen, corporate, and politicians over the past few years. It is described as a process by which people of different societies around the world are amalgamated/integrated/unified to form a single society, a global society. The process of globalisation is multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary in nature spreading across the boundaries of disciplines like economics, finance, business, politics, technology, environment, culture, education, international relations, etc. Globalisation is simply called the homogenisation/integration of people, countries, their economies and cultures where geography has become an outdated concept and
distance a meaningless thought. Nations have become borderless and territories irrelevant - a process called deterritorialisation. Proliferation of communication technology has compressed/annihilated distance/space. Therefore Anthony Giddens rightly says that we are at the same 'space' but not necessarily in same 'local'. The fast pace of information flow, rapid advancement in science and communication technology and interconnection of the global market places have made movement of people, images, ideas and goods & services fast and real. This has facilitated an interaction and interrelation between the people, cultures and economies of the East and the West, proving Kipling wrong who had written in his famous ballad that they would never meet.

6.2 DEFINITIONAL ANALYSIS OF GLOBALISATION:

Globalisation is a process, whereby political, social, economic and cultural issues increasingly and rapidly take on a global scale and which has deep impact on the individual's day to day life and local experiences. Here geographically distant events, happening in faraway places impact in a growing degree on local day to day life. Therefore, Anthony Giddens (1990) defines globalisation as 'the intensification of world- wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa.' To Held et.al (1999), globalisation is 'the processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organisation of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents'. Thomas Friedman (1999) defines it as 'the integration of markets, finance and technologies in a way that is shrinking the world from a size medium to size small and enabling each of us to reach around the world farther, faster, and cheaper than ever before'. As to The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy [SEP] (2006), the term globalisation is understood as a little more than a synonym for processes like economic liberalisation, westernisation or Americanisation, Internet Revolution, and global integration. As it notes, most contemporary social theorists view globalisation as 'fundamental changes in the spatial and temporal contours of social existence, according to which the significance of space or territory undergoes shifts in the face of a no less dramatic acceleration in the temporal structure of crucial forms of human activity.'
It can be mentioned here that with much talk on international trade, commerce, liberalisation of national economies and market oriented policies, globalisation is widely misunderstood as a purely economic process. It's true that the economic model cannot be ignored since trade/commerce leads to the initiation of other facets of globalisation like socio-cultural. However, along with trade/commerce among nations, people to people movement, cultural contact, which results in acculturation to, assimilations and sometimes diffusion of food habits, dress patterns, living style and above all the way of life make the globalisation process a complete one. So, in this sense, globalisation is a composite term which includes not only economic but also social, cultural, political and even ecological dimensions. There are ample amount of literatures available in the academic world on the issues related to globalisation and if many won't be critical of this argument, which this researcher feels they won't, most of such literatures define globalisation in a very loose sense. There are serious limitations in using the term globalisation in a true, theoretical sense. Many use it like any other fashionable term to explain the social phenomena or process of their interest. Although few recent social theories have tried to give more precise and well-formulated conceptual understanding of globalisation, the sharp differences and disagreements still persist in globalisation literature both on its meaning and implications.

To continue with the discussion, it is worthwhile to mention that globalisation is understood differently by different people. People with different ideologies interpret the process of globalisation differently. For those who support, globalisation is a process associated with free economy, growing economic interdependence and deepening socio-economic and cultural integration among nations. For them, it opens up the geographical borders to transnational exchange of goods and services leading to global competition bringing new opportunities, possibility for human development and enhancing qualities of life in poor countries. For those who oppose the process, globalisation is meant as the domination of developed nations over the developing nations. It is also described as the imperialistic design of hegemonisation by the rich over the poor, the North over the South or the West over the East, the developed over the developing. The critics argue that, globalisation leaves the poor countries with
little capabilities to compete with developed countries and the motto of the multi-
national companies is to grab power and profit rather than the welfare of the masses.

6.3 GLOBALISATION, ITS HISTORY AND THE BIG DEBATES:

Looking at the historical dimension, it can be said that, the process of globalisation is
a much older one although the term itself may have been invented in the seventies of
the twentieth century. Many theorists view that globalisation is dated back to several
centuries, some even say few millennia emphasizing on the widespread migration in
early times of people, religion, and trade. Although cross-border processes like inter-
regional trade, migration of people, diffusion of technology, religious conversion, and
military conquest are not new phenomenon, what is new and distinctive to
contemporary global change is a new variety of integration/interdependence between
the various parts of the globe and the growing intensity with which such
integration/interdependence has occurred by adding some spatial and temporal
dimension to them, something that may have forced Harvey (1989) to invent the
phrase 'compression of time and space'. The Internet, the computers, fiber-optics and
satellite communication have helped the process grow faster.

There are two main discourses that are related to the globalisation debate. First one
suggests that globalisation creates a world that is increasingly becoming homogenous
in nature spreading the dominant culture across the globe. Second, that world cultures
are becoming more and more diverse leading to heterogeneity in its form and content.
And that there is always the interface between the global and local leading to
plurality/hybridity. With the first discourse, there are again two arguments on how the
world is gradually becoming one and homogeneous. One, that the world is really
becoming integrated socially, culturally and economically with the free flow of ideas,
values, images, etc. from one part of the world to other and vice versa. Two, that the
integration is not a two way process and is imperialistic in nature i.e. the
predominance of the developed over the underdeveloped, the occident over the orient,
the First World over the Third World. The second discourse is related to the
worldwide diversification of culture rather than unification, that there is increasing
heterogeneity in world cultures rather than homogeneity. One of the arguments that
carry forward this discourse is Robertson’s ‘glocalisation’ thesis that believes that
global culture doesn’t replace the local, rather goes with the latter hand in hand. This
work discusses how in the age of globalisation Indian hand-made goods have become highly responsive to the choices of the global consumers and even home consumers who are highly influenced by the global cultural forms and consumerist behavior. The global-local combination brings multiplicity to the local craft forms.

There can be three theoretical debates on which the discourse of globalisation stands. For the 'hyper globalizers', globalisation is a new epoch in human history. It is defined as an irreversible, inevitable and necessarily privileged process. In reference to its implications for the state, many 'hyper globalizers' believe that with economic globalisation many new forms of social organisation are displacing traditional nation states. Rejecting this view, the 'Sceptics' question the true character of the present global economy and argue that with growing regionalisation, global markets have not been sufficiently integrated. They also reject views regarding the decreasing role of the nation-states as they argue that the national governments still continue to regulate the economic activities. Taking a middle path, the 'Transformationalists' argue that globalisation has been a central force behind the change in the society not only economically but also in the realm of politics and culture. But at the same time complete transformation has not come so far and the society still holds many of its old patterns. Globalisation to them is not a one-way process but a two-way flow of images and information. Being a complex process, they argue, globalisation includes disintegration and integration and also universalisation and particularisation.

6.4 THEORETICAL INSIGHTS INTO GLOBALISATION:

Different contemporary thinkers have defined the process of globalisation in many ways and tried to understand this complex process with reasonable arguments. Anthony Giddens (1990) defines globalisation as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanciated relations that shape them. A local transformation is as much a part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space.” Joseph Stiglitz (2002) says, globalisation by increasing the interdependence among the people of the world has enhanced the need for ‘global collective action’ and the
importance for global public goods. Emmanuel Wallerstein’s approach towards
capitalist world economy in the context of his theory of the ‘Modern World System’
clearly puts his understanding of globalisation. In the capitalist world economy,
Wallerstein (1974, 1990, 2000) describes, the geographical division of labour- the
core, the periphery and the semi-periphery, where the core geographical area
dominates the world economy and exploits the rest of the system. Wallerstein argues,
the modern capitalist world economy is the current type of world system which
operates on the basis of economic exploitation through an unjust global division of
labor. So to Wallerstein, this division is not based on state borders rather on the bases
of the economic division of labour. In the modern era, capitalism provides a basis for
the growth and development of a world economy.

Roland Robertson (1992) defines globalisation as ‘the compression of the world on
the one hand and the intensification of consciousness of the whole world on the
other’. According to him, the central dynamics of globalisation involves the two fold
process of particularisation of the universal and the universalisation of the particular
where he emphasizes that both the process of unification and diversification are
underway. Again, Appadurai’s (1990) approach to global culture is developed in five­
dimensional model of global cultural flows moving in non-isomorphic paths.
According to him, the current global flows occur ‘in and through the growing
disjunctures between ethnoscape (people), technoscape (machinery), financescape
(money), mediascape (images) and idea scape (ideas). For Jan. A. Scholte (2005),
globalisation is the emergence of transplanetary relations and supraterritoriality.
Supraterritoriality he argues appears with the advancement of modern means of
communication. To him, these global connections have often the qualities of
transworld simultaneity, i.e. they extend anywhere across the planet at the same time
and transworld instantaneity i.e. they move anywhere on the planet in no time.

6.5 TOWARDS A UNIQUE AND CONTEXTUAL DEFINITION OF
GLOBALISATION:

Following the globalisation analysis given by different social theorists/scholars, this
study takes six important features of globalisation process through which it provides a
novel and unique/contextual definition and through which different arguments are
developed pertaining to the issue of handicrafts. To synthesize the arguments, the study defines globalisation as a process of cross-border relations between societies, cultures and economies, through 1) the growth in international exchange and interdependence (internationalisation), 2) removing restrictions on trade by creating a borderless global economy (liberalisation), 3) spreading different cultures to people at all corners of the globe (universalisation/homogenisation), 4) advocating a consumer centric culture (consumerism), 5) intense competition in the market place as the measure source of profit making and innovation (competition) and 6) through the amalgamation of both global and local cultures by creating a hybrid variety of cultural form (hybridisation). It is through this understanding that the process of globalisation is analyzed in relation to Indian handicrafts in general and Chandua craft of Pipili, Orissa in particular.

6.6 INDIAN LIBERALISATION AND THE CRAFT INDUSTRY:

India opened up its economy and adapted to globalisation in the early nineties. Major changes initiated as a part of the liberalisation and globalisation strategy included scrapping of the industrial licensing regime, reduction in the number of areas reserved for the public sector, beginning of the privatisation programme, reduction in tariff rates, etc. Following this India's export, import and foreign trade increased substantially. Many Indian companies have started becoming respectable players in the international market. The liberalisation of the domestic economy and the increasing integration of India with the global economy have helped step up GDP growth rates so much so that it is now the fastest growing economy in the world after China. Since the advent of globalisation in 1991, India has experienced a lot and accordingly the society and its culture have undergone many changes in different spheres. Though the forces of globalisation have several positive effects in the long-run, some of its ramifications against the poor have worried thinkers and policy makers. Nevertheless, one of the growing sector benefited, is the Handicraft industry with Indian handicrafts export reaching at commendable heights. Handicrafts constitute a significant segment of country's decentralised economy. Its importance is felt when it is assessed that it provides employment to lakhs of artisans scattered especially among the weaker sections of the society such as SCs, STs and the women. India has a history of rich and diverse cultural tradition. Among its diversity, the
Conclusion

legacy of India's craft culture always occupies a special place owing to its beauty, dignity, form, style and aesthetics. The skilled hand of the Indian craftsmen is the most important and yet most invisible asset. It is to be perceived with concern and with a precise understanding of its value because once lost nothing can replace this age old tradition.

6.7 THE HISTORICAL JOURNEY OF INDIAN HANDICRAFTS:

The history of Indian handicrafts is as old as the Indian civilisation itself. In order to trace the origin of Indian art and craft one needs to go back to almost 5000 years in history. The Indus Valley Civilisation gives the first references about the richness of the craftsmanship of the Indian artisans. Notwithstanding many foreign invasions and frantic attempt to kill the vast creative tradition of the country, these craft heritage continue to flourish till date owing to the assimilative and accommodative Indian culture showing the hallmark of unity amidst diversity. Time stands as the true testimony to the evolution of the art and craft as the Indian civilisation grew from life in the caves to the palatial buildings in the modern globalised cities.

To analyze the historical past of the Indian arts and crafts in brief, it can be said that during the medieval times, the kings and the rulers of the land had given patronage to the crafts and the artists were supported by them. Even 'Jajmani' system worked well for the artists. But the British period in India proved to be problematic for this sector. The Indian handlooms also met with a similar fate. The British authorities intentionally promoted the machine made foreign products in Indian markets. India had to supply raw materials like raw cotton and the British factories had to provide fine clothes. Handicrafts and handloom in Orissa also suffered serious blow due to exploitative colonial policies. The traditional handicrafts of India which were then famous across the world were systematically destroyed by the colonizers to create a market for British products. Then after independence the Government of India as a matter of policy wanted to revamp the craft tradition of the country and promote the small scale and cottage industries. It is an altogether different issue how much the craft sector got benefited out of the government sponsored schemes. But in the present liberalised market system, the craft industry faces vulnerabilities. As there has been the evolution of the modern market economy, the artisans have lost their hold over the
old patron-client business network and jajmani relationship. In recent times, although there is increasing demand for handicraft products in the global market, the artisans still remain dependent on the middle men and trader entrepreneurs who pay them wages on piece-rate bases. The low bargaining power of the artists in a liberalised and comparatively more competitive market has forced the artisans to depend upon the middle-men and also they are subject to many exploitative work conditions.

6.8 CRAFT TRADITION OF ORISSA AND THE CHANDUA CRAFT:

Orissa, which has distinguish crafts heritage is home to thousands of handicraft artisans. The appliqué work of Chandua in Pipili of Puri district is an internationally acclaimed craft which has its own age old history. Pipili, best known as the ‘craft village’ is situated on the way from the state capital Bhubaneswar to Puri. It is a small town surrounded by some villages famous in and outside Orissa for its dazzling appliqué craft. The appliqués are used in different festivals of Lord Jagannath of Puri, the presiding deity of Orissa. In the past the Maharaja of Puri was appointing the artists called ‘Sebaks’ to prepare the articles used for festivals in the Jagannath temple and this craft tradition is believed to have been in practice since 1054 AD. It is basically a home-scale craft or a family craft among the caste of professional tailors who are now called as ‘Darajis’.

Although different appliqué products have different names of their own, in this research, the term Chandua has been used for the same as an umbrella term and is used here alternatively for Appliqué art. Earlier, the Chandua artisans belonging to the Daraji caste were patronised by the Puri temple authorities, mathas and the Kings. However, with the merger of the Indian feudatory states and the gradual weakening in the financial condition of temples and mathas the appliqué artists have lost most of their patronage. The situation is precarious in the modern market economy days.

6.9 THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASSESSMENT OF CHANDUA ARTISTS:

In Pipili, principally four groups of respondents were interviewed through schedule and semi structured interview methods. They are 1. ‘Entrepreneurs or Artisan-cum-Entrepreneurs’ (who employ other artists in their small or big Chandua units) 2. ‘Family Artisans’ (those who make Chandua in their family as a family occupation.)
3. ‘Hired Regular Artists’ (those who work in other’s workshop as a regular Chandua employee.) and 4. ‘Home-based piece-rated Artists’ (those who work for other’s Chandua unit on contract basis.) Based on the field observation, the study found that the artisans in Pipili are living in a deplorable socio-economic condition. Apart from them, several government officials and old artists were also interviewed for the study.

While analysing the demographic composition among the Chandua artisans, it was found that, the sector is not a gender specific one. Both men (44%) and women (56%) are active workforce in this profession and women were found in majority. However, it is pertinent to mention that women play a major role in Chandua making. An investigation into the age/sex of the Pipili artisans revealed that there are more number of females working in the Chandua sector in lower age group and more number of males working in the higher age group.

As has been mentioned in the thesis, although Pipili is a small town, it is surrounded by villages and artists from different remote villages even commute to Pipili to work in Chandua workshops and earn their livelihood. The findings show that, majority of the artisans (90%) have village (rural) background. People belonging to General category (55%), SCs (11%), and OBCs (34%) were found working in the applique sector in Pipili while none from the ST category were involved in this traditional craft work. Although in the beginning the craft was made by ‘Daraji’ caste people and was restricted to Hindu religion, during contemporary times, it has spread across castes and religions where people from both Hindu (72.48%) and Muslim (27.52%) faiths are found working in the sector. This has supported the first hypothesis taken in the study which reflected the fact that, owing to the influx of different caste people, the once uni-caste profession of Chandua is becoming a multi-caste one.

Similarly, the marital status and educational qualification of the respondents were also traced during the field survey. As has been discussed in respective chapters, a majority (59%) of the artisans were married. It was found that a majority of the respondents were educated upto primary and secondary level and very few of them were educated upto higher secondary and graduation level, showing low educational status of the artisans. While analyzing the educational status of the artisans on the basis of sex, it was found that almost all the women artisans were educated only upto
primary and/or secondary level of schooling, therefore showing even lower educational status than their men counterparts. This is important to note because most of them face problems in the modern market system due to their poor educational qualification while marketing the products. This reflects the second hypothesis adopted in the study and proves to be true.

Subsequent to this, the study also found that almost equal number of households were practising both joint and nuclear types of families. The occupation pattern of the households were also analysed. It was found that, most of the households were dependent upon the applique work while very few households had jobs in government (5.50%) and private sectors (9.17%). Besides, the craft artisans studied were also engaged in agricultural activities along with the craft work. Orissa being an agriculturally dominant economy, people in the state have prime dependence on their agricultural lands.

The issue of child labour was also given importance in the study where it was found that, almost 35 percent of the households were taking help of their children in the Chandua work while an impressive 95.5 percent of the households were sending their children to schools. A relation was established between school going children and child workers in the sector and interestingly it was found that with the increase in the percentage of school going children, the possibility of them falling into the ranks of child labourers was low. This finds part of the third hypothesis to be true that says that deteriorated socio-economic status of the artisans opens up ample opportunities for child labour in the sector.

Statistical analysis on assets possessed by the artisans demonstrated the fact that a majority of them had owned land, both cultivable and homestead of only less than one acre and some owned more than one acre but less than two acres. A very few of them were found to own more than two acres of landed property. A category wise analysis revealed the fact that ‘Entrepreneurs/Artisan cum Entrepreneurs’ were comparatively having larger size of land holdings than the other three categories. The study also found that a very few respondents owned articles like car, computer, refrigerator, motor bike, etc. while an impressive nearly 72 percent of respondents had mobile phones showing the proliferation of the modern communication technology in the
days of globalisation. From the study, it was assessed that the ‘Hired-regular artists’ and ‘Home-based piece-rated artists’ possessed less number of articles among the four categories of respondents showing their unfavourable economic conditions. A majority of them (52% and 55% respectively) were below the poverty line. While observing the living condition of the artisans, the study found that most of them lived in thatched houses (67.89%) while some lived in semi-pucca houses (49.54%) and a few of them had pucca houses (27.52%). A majority of the households (81%) had electricity supply while an estimated 43 percent of respondents were found below poverty line showing deplorable socio-economic condition.

6.10 THE CHANDUA CRAFT IN MODERN TIMES: GLOBALISATION OR MACRO-LOCALISATION?

It was found in the study that, the handmade goods from India earned high foreign exchanges in the form of export. The Indian handicrafts have become famous in international markets and with increasing global demand for such goods, the sector is earning high profit. The USA, UK, Germany and France are some of the leading destinations of Indian handicrafts.

‘Internationalisation’ and ‘liberalisation’ have been described as two of the six basic features of globalisation in this study. As mentioned in the thesis, with Indian economy going global through its policies of liberalisation, handicraft goods from the country could become truly international by spreading into different foreign countries. The international trade relations across nations promoted mutual trade on different products. Growth in international exchange and interdependence has laid to internationalisation of crafts. Although before liberalisation Indian crafts were also marketed in foreign countries; those were very restricted.

In the case of Orissa, although it was difficult to get the exact export figure of Orissan handicrafts in general and Chandua craft in particular, since there were different agencies and/or individuals exporting the products, the available data suggest that the sector is making good progress. Liberalised market has facilitated export and it has helped the craft industry and Chandua sector.
Like the rapid increase in export of Indian handicrafts, export of handmade goods from Orissa has also shown an increasing trend. The data collected during the survey proved that the appliqué craft of Pipili got a global reach and have destinations in every corner of the world. The spread of such craft across the globe makes its stature significant. The above analysis accepts the fourth hypothesis taken in this study which describes that, globalisation has helped the ‘Chandua’ craft getting benefited in the global markets owing to increasing demand for it and therefore bringing opportunities to the handicrafts sector.

As it is observed, the global spread of Chandua craft has transformed itself from a ‘local’ craft to a ‘macro-local’ one, through spreading homogenization / universalisation, something that can be called as ‘Macro-localisation’. It is a novel term introduced in this study referring to a process where local/regional cultures spread to places beyond local borders, even crossing national boundaries and become macro-local through people to people contact, international trade, and expansion of modern means of transport & communication including jet planes, mobile telephony and internet. It is a process similar to that of homogenisation/universalisation, but why ‘macro-localisation’ as a different term used here is because, it is neither as intense nor as widely spread as the former processes. Although the global spread of Pipili Chandua can be theoretically termed as a process of globalisation, or homogenization /universalisation, practically it can be mentioned that it is not as wide spread or universally accepted or used as the global products like Pepsi-cola, Coca-cola or the global chain like McDonalds’. Although the consumer base has become global, the production base of the craft is still local. Therefore, the ‘local’ or say ‘micro-local’ craft like Chandua has become a ‘macro-local’ product, hence the process of ‘Macro-localisation’.

6.11 THE NEW PROCESSES-CHANDUAISATION AND HYBRIDISATION:

From the study, it was found that, many respondents gave credit to the professional craftsmanship and attractiveness of the products for such wide recognition of the craft. Many of them also emphasised on the craft’s historical linkages and its proximity to other famous tourist places for it having got both national and international attention. The interactions with the Chandua artists revealed the fact that
the craft which was earlier used for both religious and decorative purpose, proving to come out quotidian as well. Modern day artists are making daily used products like mobile covers, lady bags, purse, etc. with appliqué motifs these days looking at the demand of the variety seeking consumers both domestic and foreign all of whom have come under the influence of global consumerist taste and fashion. So, although the traditional products like Trasa, Chhatti, Alata, Adheni and Chandua, etc. still enjoy their aesthetic value and religious significance, the modern products are becoming popular and fashionable among the otherwise modern and global consumers. There was a change witnessed in the craft’s form, style and variety. The motif of Chandua is implanted in daily-use items making it usable, popular, and yet flourishing the famous craft tradition. This process of using the traditional skill/technique of Chandua making to create quotidian and popular products is defined as ‘Chanduaisation’, a novel term introduced in this study. The religious and decorative products are becoming quotidian day by day therefore, making it secular.

The study also revealed that the change in the craft form is a consumer-induced change. Most of the respondents pointed out that the reason for bringing change and innovation to the traditional craft is the demand of the modern day consumers. In market economy emphasis is given to the consumption pattern of the people. The present study has adopted consumerism as one of the basic features of the globalisation process and in Pipili cluster, the free choice of the consumers is guiding the crafts sector, as far as its style, appearance and designs are concerned. Besides, many of the respondents also emphasised upon the fact that bringing innovation and variety were the reasons for the change in Chandua craft. In the study, globalisation has been defined as promoting intense competition in the market place as the major source of profit making and innovation. During globalisation, stiff competition brings profit and efficiency. In a liberalised market, it is competition and innovation that determines existence of a particular commodity/product. In case of Pipili Chandua also, market forces have forced the artists to bring innovation and varieties in the product to compete and succeed.

Another important finding of the study showed that, most of the new varieties of crafts were made by sewing machines unlike the classical Chandua products which were principally hand-made. Different old varieties of stitches like Bakhia, Taropa,
Conclusion

Ganthi, Chikana etc. were found missing in most of the new crafts since they were all sewed with machines and the handwork was minimised which might lead to 'deskilling' in near future. However, the motif of appliqué work was sewed in some form or other, creating a hybrid variety, a variety which looked new, different, yet established some link or other with the traditional. In this study globalisation has been defined as a process of amalgamation of both global and local cultures or a process called 'hybridisation'. Here, there is no global culture as such which influences the artists to shift into such hybrid products, but certainly there are the invisible impacts of the globalised and consumerist customers, both domestic and foreign who exert an unseen pressure on the artists to change the products the way they want them. The result is a hybrid product; something can be called as 'hybridisation'. Most of such products are of low quality and pose serious threat to the originality, identity and aesthetics of the traditional craft. According to the artists, such products bring the prices down since it make use of less human labour and low quality raw materials. Intense competition requires prices to come down while reducing price leads to serious compromise on quality. So, the artisans are facing a big dilemma; whether to stick into the traditional art form, maintaining its originality & aesthetics or to introduce innovation with mechanisation having commercialisation motive.

The study found that, the number of artists in Pipili had gone up, so also the number of appliqué shops and workshops. But the Chandua artists were really worried for marketing of the products and suggested several ways to increase sale. The government initiative for finance, marketing & exhibition, through research on the craft and through registration of new designs, the artists feel that, they could have better control over their products and could increase their sale. Being affected by the modern day advertisement culture in media and to develop a consumerist mind-set among the customers, the artists revealed that the products needed better publicity in media to attract consumers. Interestingly, while many (57%) did not feel any threat for the product in the market as they were sure their creations could find a market, some (43%) had shown concerns over it. And surprisingly, in the days of market liberalisation, where the influx of goods from foreign countries are flooding to Indian local markets, the artisans in Pipili felt that, the threat for their product was not from goods coming from other countries rather products from co-artists who stole their new designs and products from other states like Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan.
which look similar to that of Chandua. So the threat is not from outside, but from within.

**6.12 TRANSITION IN THE NATURE OF PROFESSION:**

The study found that over the last 10/15 years, the Pipili artisans had improved their spending amount and with this their living condition had improved though not phenomenal. However, of all the categories, the ‘Entrepreneurs/Artisan cum Entrepreneurs’ and to some extent ‘Family Artisans’ were enjoying relatively better socio-economic status and were spending more than the other two categories. Bad socio-economic status was also reflected with the fact that most of the artisans (70%) were not in favour of bringing their children to the profession. Especially, the ‘Home-based Piece-rated Artists’ who were the most vulnerable section and were not getting much profit, rejected outright to bring their children to the Chandua profession. Although family occupation, difficulty in getting other works, etc. were cited as reasons by some for asking their children to follow the traditional weaving work, many opined that low profit, attraction towards higher education and preference for government jobs were reasons for not forcing their children to do the Chandua work.

Although many of the artisans (28.44%) had opined that their children were interested to work in the sector, still the children in many households (24.77%) were disinterested in the profession. Difficulty in getting other jobs, family occupation, feeling of independence, were the reasons why some children of the artisans were interested to work in their family occupation. On the other hand, low profit, attraction towards higher education and preference for government jobs were cited as reasons for the children not getting interested in Chandua work. This supports the fifth hypothesis adopted in this study which proposed the view that the younger generation in Pipili cluster was more inclined towards higher education and government jobs rather than sticking into their hereditary caste-family occupation. The Pipili craft which originally came out from the skillful hands of Daraji caste people are now a multi-caste and multi-religious profession. The study found that low investment, easy way in getting training and difficulty in getting other jobs were the reasons for other caste members intruding into this profession although many were not satisfied with the earnings they got in the sector.
6.13 WHO GAINS, WHO LOSES? AN EVALUATION:

While looking at the issues of the gainers and losers in the Pipili cluster, the study found that although the artisans were not getting much profit, they were still continuing in the profession. Of the four categories of respondents, 'Entrepreneurs/Artisan cum Entrepreneurs' and the 'Family Artisans' unlike the other two categories employed artists in their workshops. It was also observed that 'Hired Regular Artists' were employed only by the 'Entrepreneurs/Artisan cum Entrepreneurs' and 'Home-based Piece-rated Artists' were employed by both 'Entrepreneurs/Artisan cum Entrepreneurs' and 'Family Artisans'.

As observed during the survey, there were three kinds of payment structure in the Chandua sector in Pipili. Several artists were paid on piece-rate basis while some were paid on daily-wage basis and some others on monthly-basis. The findings say that on an average most of the artists were paid only Rs. 500/ or less as wage per month and some were paid in between Rs. 500-1,500/ and a very few were paid above that. The 'Hired Regular Artists' were getting comparatively better wage than the 'Home-based Piece-rated Artists'. The latter category of artists were the most ill-paid yet they contributed a lot to the sector. Although none of them were master artists, they actually sustained the handwork/needle work of appliqué profession. Most of the artists were avoiding the needle works to minimize cost while making the hybrid products that were much in demand. The 'Home-based Piece-rated Artists' most of whom do the hand-works actually sustain the original Chandua tradition but ironically were the most vulnerable and low paid. A comparison with past shows that, the pay structure of the artists had improved, though not drastically. The study revealed that most of the respondents were dissatisfied with their wage. But ironically the artists in Pipili cluster still continued working in the profession and were unable and constrainedly unwilling to shift to other occupations in the absence of the same. This partly rejects the third hypothesis taken in the study which proposed that deteriorating socio-economic status of the artisans is leading them to shift to other professions. In Pipili, artisans worked for an average of 8.4 hours per day in the work place ranging the actual work hours from minimum 7.00 hours to maximum of 11.3 hours while getting only 1 holiday on an average per month. Neither they were given
sickness leave nor were the women artists granted maternity leave and more than half of the respondents (55%) worked in congested conditions.

Regarding marketing of the products, the present study found that in Chandua sector in Pipili, products were marketed either directly to the customers or through middlemen/businessmen. While very few artists were selling the products directly to customers, many did it through middlemen who pocketed huge benefits. Cooperatives although existed in paper were virtually defunct in Pipili. The businessmen in Delhi, Mumbai, Goa and other places sold the appliqués in four to five times higher prices than they procured from Pipili artisans. Where the makers of craft got the basic minimum, the middlemen took away the profit. They even got much higher margins from export. Most of the artisans were of the view that neither they could export appliqués to foreign countries which would have given high return, nor they could deal well with the big businessmen who actually hijacked their business. This proves the second hypothesis to be true which says that the real profit in Chandua sector is going to the middlemen as most of the artists are illiterate and are incapable of dealing with the modern market forces.

Therefore, the study shows that among the four categories of artisans, the ‘Home-based Piece-rated Artists’ and the ‘Hired Regular Artists’ are the most vulnerable sections with low wage and poor socio-economic status. On the other hand, ‘Entrepreneurs/Artisan cum Entrepreneurs’ and the ‘Family Artisans’ are relatively better categories and have relatively better socio-economic condition. However, they too are in the losing side while compared to the middlemen. The later take the benefits and the former despite their hard work and professional skill lose to them in the market. The response of the government to the handicrafts sector is good and the central and state governments are framing different schemes for an all-round development in the sector. The government of Orissa also with financial aid, training, exhibition, etc. is promoting the rich cultural tradition of the state. This has however; rejected part of the third hypothesis taken in the study which emphasised that reduced government subsidy and involvement of the middlemen has deteriorated the socio-economic status of the artisans. Although involvement of middlemen has deteriorated the financial condition of the Chandua makers as has been discussed earlier, it is not proved that the government has reduced financial grant to the sector. However, unfortunately no major initiative was seen to have been taken by the government of
Conclusion

Orissa in Pipili cluster for Chandua artists besides the financial assistance/loan which again the artists claimed was too little for them and were disbursed unfairly.

So, to make a broad observation, the study reveals that the process of globalisation has proved beneficial for the Chandua craft for its growing global rich. However, in the process of innovation, there is every possibility that the original craft might lose its true colour and significance. A market driven hybrid product might destroy the originality of the appliqué craft. Again, the market economy phase has not proved beneficial for the Chandua artists since they fall into the trap of the middlemen who hijack the profits. Talking about the process of globalisation, it is a matter of worry who is benefiting out of this so-called interaction/interrelation and who is losing. Hardly the process of globalisation has ever been controversy-free. It is certainly not producing a society free of inequality, exploitation, poverty, conflict and violence. However, as the present study described, globalisation as such is not a bad concept/process. Integration/interrelations are not bad for people of any culture. But it becomes ugly when it turns into power domination and exploitation. Referring to the argument of Joseph Stiglitz (2002), it can be said that, there is nothing wrong with globalisation as such. The problem is not with globalisation, but how it has been managed. Globalisation has become a reality, which can’t be denied now. To safeguard its dim features however, there is a need to bring a common consensus by curtailing the monopoly of the developed nations.

6.14 SUGGESTIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:

After careful observations of the field findings, the following suggestions can be made for an integrated development of the handicrafts sector in general and Pipili cluster in particular.

1) Financial intervention: Most of the handicrafts artisans are poor and as the present study outlined, in Pipili too the applique artists are unable to invest heavily in their workshops due to want of financial aid. The government should take immediate steps to increase the financial assistance/loan to the cluster and minimize the interest rate.

2) Loan waiver: Since most of the artisans in India are rural based and as in Pipili, they also face various natural calamities. Ironically, the government implements loan
waivers for farmers when the same is not done with the artisans who equally suffer from natural devastations.

3) **Job guarantee schemes**: An MGNREGA like employment guarantee scheme can be initiated by the government in handicrafts sector as well to assure certain days of work in a month/year. This can be done by opening up of training schools or/and workshops and giving employment to artisans in them.

4) **Training**: It is one of the important thing which needs urgent attention from the government. In the globalisation and marketisation period, the consumers need variety and products should be attractive as well as cost-effective. Imparting training among the new generation and enhancing the skill level of existing artisans is an important responsibility. The government should conduct training programs in Pipili cluster as well appointing the old generation artisans who can transmit the original Chandua tradition to the new generations. As the field observation revealed, the new generations get training from the Chandua workshops only, in absence of any formal training facilities.

5) **Skill upgradation**: The craftsmen in India use traditional tools and techniques for which the production base is very weak. So, for improvement in the quality of production, it is necessary to upgrade the skill of the artists who should be supplied with quality raw material and adequate financial assistance. In Pipili, there is a need for supply of improved tools and better quality raw materials so that the rich applique tradition can be preserved.

6) **Education**: Looking at the low literacy level among the Pipili artisans, it can be suggested that, steps should be taken for imparting proper education among the artisans.

7) **Originality/aesthetics**: Due care should be taken to preserve and sustain the originality and aesthetics of Chandua craft which is on the verge of losing to new, cheap and hybrid variety of products. The need of the hour is to bring innovation and variety without losing originality.

8) **Marketing**: This has been one of the biggest concerns of artisans in general and applique artisans of Pipili in particular. The government or civil societies like NGOs working on handicrafts sectors, should take initiatives to make the handicraft items and sale it in home and international markets leaving little room for the involvement of middlemen.
9) **Export:** The present study gives an impression that most of the artisans are unable to export the products due to lack of expertise and government support. In Pipili, the government should take proper step to sell appliques in international markets which could give high returns to the artisans.

10) **Governmental intervention:** Although, the central and state governments are taking steps to develop the handicrafts sector, the efforts should be need based. The government should bring cluster-specific schemes so that their specific needs can be addressed. In Pipili, although finance is a matter of concern, what the artists need most are the channels to market the products. The government should take adequate steps to procure the products and market them in India and foreign countries.

11) **Cooperatives:** To tackle the middlemen in the sector, there should be some agency in between the producers of crafts and the consumers, especially when it is known that all the handicraft artisans can not market the products by themselves. In Pipili cluster, absence/non-functioning of cooperative societies has led to the problem of marketing and export and as a result the middlemen have taken advantage of the situation. Cooperatives can help procuring the products from the artisans and market them in exhibitions and in different cities/towns in the form of opening up outlets. The government should take steps in this regard in Pipili cluster.

12) **Self-Help-Groups:** The SHGs have proved to be successful in many sectors and in handicrafts sector too and especially in Pipili, the government and civil society organisations should promote them which can play a crucial role in the form of making the products, providing small-scale credits/loans, procuring and even marketing.

13) **Exhibitions:** Although the central and state governments organise different fairs and exhibitions in different parts of the country time to time, the same can be done in more frequent manner to make different crafts famous across the country. Similarly, the same can also be arranged in frequent manner in international trade fairs in foreign countries.

14) **MoU:** To make the craft products internationally well-known, globally acknowledged and commercially viable, steps should be taken together by the Ministry of Textiles, Commerce, Tourism and Foreign Affairs to promote its export and advertise and sell them in foreign countries. Besides, the Indian government could make different Memorandums of Understanding (MoU) for export of crafts goods to foreign countries while dealing with trade related agreements.
Conclusion

15) **Advertising:** It should not be forgotten that India itself is a big market with the biggest ever middle/consumer class. Care should be taken to market handicrafts items in Indian markets. In this respect, print and electronic media could be helpful to advertise the handicrafts of different states/regions to create awareness among the home consumers. This will multiply the demand so also the production.

16) **Research:** Focused research on different craft clusters can identify the particular problems and therefore, the same should be promoted by government by involving Universities, educational institutions and NGOs.

17) **Registration:** Although Pipili Chandua has been awarded with the GI status, looking at the concern of several artists in the cluster, it can be proposed that registration/patenting of new craft designs by individual artists can stop copying and immitating. The state government can take steps in this regard.

18) **Infrastructure:** Proper parking facilities in the vicinity of Pipili town can solve the congestions woes. This can help the tourists to move around the craft village hassle free.

19) **Involvement of Private Sector:** Private sectors can be promoted where different corporate houses can be assigned several handicrafts clusters to procure and market the products in home and international markets. They can provide financial aid and raw materials to the artisans with a guaranteed obligation from them to supply back with finished products which the corporate bodies can market at their own risk. With this the artisans will have a financial viability with a guaranteed sale of products to the corporate houses. This is an important factor since the government can't do much as far as the subsidy is concerned since such products will face WTO scrutiny in international markets as India is a signatory to the world trade body.

Rising demand for traditional handicrafts in the west, prestige value attached to antique handicrafts in the modern days and the emergence of e-commerce and Internet have been phenomenal in driving the growth of the Indian handicraft industry. However, considering the current scenario of the worldwide handicraft industries, India needs greater technological infrastructure, innovation, better distribution channels and marketing expertise along with consolidation of various big and small artisan communities across the country. This can preserve the rich cultural heritage of this vast nation.