"In the ancient books of the east it is said that when the hands of craftsmen are engaged in his craft, it is always ceremonial" (15).

Such was the glory of craftsmen and their craft in the past, but now, one is sadly aware that these very hands that created history by their ingenuity of workmanship, are engaged in making cheap prototypes, catering to superfluous and everchanging modern needs of a very fickle society. A society who has lost its rich and high cultural standards, uprooting the foundation of our lives, which was laid so firmly in order to raise intellectual, artistic and creative standards of the people. Jayakar (1980), stated that, A.K. Coomaraswamy gave the first cultural shock to an earlier generation, when he revealed that the foundation of our civilization lay in the hands of our craftsmen.

Review of literature reveals, such perfection of art in our textile tradition with every minute detail worked out, not by machines or computers but, by the human mind, body and soul. It achieved a form of spiritual endeavour and society fully cooperated, cared, respected and rewarded, those who were instrumental in creating such exquisite, elaborate and intricate art forms. There existed both the creator and appreciator in such harmony that they enhanced artistic abilities.
The trend has changed as change is inevitable. But, this change has created such deterioration of standards inspite of warnings being signalled. Mahatma Gandhiji wrote, "God forbid that India should ever take industrialization after the manner of the west. If an entire nation of 303 millions took to similar economic exploitation, it would strip the world bare like locusts". Inspite of this warning, change at the present level did occur. If this trend is allowed to continue, total extinction of our traditional woven crafts will be a natural outcome.

Economists and those concerned with traditional arts took it upon themselves to try and create an atmosphere to relive the glorious past. They laid great emphasis on the importance of encouraging rural traditions of which handlooms are an important part. They pointed out that this sector plays a vital role in mitigating the trend of labour migration from rural to urban areas, and the increasing social unrest and congestion in developing countries(3). They also explained the positive outcome of traditional crafts which are labour intensive and not capital intensive. Profits could be reinvested which are essential for growth. Pal (1978), has suggested practical measures like - documentation of crafts, state patronage to craftsmen, spot demonstration to improve traditional designs and evolving new ones, imparting regular training, improving techniques, markets and living condition, pictorial documentation of techniques and
processes thereby, preserving and encouraging a revival of the rich weaving tradition of India before they become extinct under the impact of modernisation, commercialisation and the desperate instinct for survival by man.

Though, government policies for promotion of handlooms have been framed from the first five-year plan, yet, there have been tremendous short falls in terms of implementation and insufficient remuneration from the craft to the craftsmen. Parikh et al. (1991), have rightly pointed out that it is for institutions, both government and others, to design a better future to preserve a heritage in the art of weaving which is unique to India.

It has been remarked, from time to time, that crafts are the backbone of Indian economy and reflection of its rich heritage, and it is very vital to preserve and promote them. A study like this will help to provide the necessary inputs inorder to preserve our rich textile heritage.

The main objectives of this study are, to provide a descriptive, pictorial and historically documented account of the traditional woven textiles of Gujarat. Also, to give a holistic view of the life of the weavers and their families, in order to have a clear understanding of traditional woven textiles and then be able to suggest measures for their promotion and preservation.
5.1 The Specific Objectives

The specific objectives are

1. To record the demographic details of the weavers and their families making traditional woven textiles in Gujarat.

2. To document production techniques of traditional woven textiles of Gujarat, emphasising cause and effect of change, if any.

3. To identify the traditional and present day tools and equipments used for producing traditional woven textile in Gujarat.

4. To study designs, motifs and colours of the traditional woven textiles of Gujarat.

5. To understand material management, selling and marketing practices.

6. To study the impact of the traditional weaving craft on the economic life of the weavers.

5.2 Significance of the study

1. To make an indepth study of the traditional woven textiles of Gujarat which would be useful to academicans interested in the study of traditional textiles.
2. To revive, preserve and popularise a heritage of weaving unique to India and prevent it from dying out gradually.

3. To understand weaver's working conditions and give suggestions for improvement and alternative procedures to enable them to increase production and profitability.

4. To be able to suggest to government and non-governmental agencies, policy modification and plans for an effective revival of the traditional woven textiles.

The study was limited to three traditional woven textiles - Kinkhabs, brocade sarees and mashrus of Gujarat.

5.3 Methods and Materials

The survey method was adopted to study the traditional woven fabrics. A multistage sampling procedure was followed to locate weaving centres and households in various districts and villages of Gujarat. A snowball technique was used for locating kinkhab and brocade saree weavers, whereas, for mashru weavers the final sample was drawn by purposive sampling.

For collection of data, questionnaire method was adopted by administering an interview schedule personally to the weavers. The interview schedule consisted of structured
questions. For process details of mashru fabrics, one household specialising in each process was interviewed along with one trader each at Mandvi and Patan for marketing procedures. Observation technique was also used.

Case studies were conducted for the kinkhab and brocade saree weavers as the sample was small. Statistical analysis were in frequencies and percentages. The study was descriptive in nature.

The interview schedule consisted of five main parts to get information regarding, demographic details of the weavers and their families, profile of the craft giving details of set up, processes and techniques, tools and equipments, designs, motifs and colours, economics and marketing practices of the craft, general observations and problems of and suggestions by the weavers.

Analysis of data was done as follows -

1. For yarn and fabric analysis, laboratory test were conducted.
2. To understand the demographic and socio-economic life of the weavers and their families weaving kinkhabs and brocade sarees, the case study method was used for qualitative analysis as the sample was small.
3. For process, marketing, designs and motif details a descriptive analysis with photographs and figures was followed.
4. For the mashru weavers statistical analysis was calculated in frequencies and percentages to derive at conclusions, illustrated with tables and graphs.

Kinkhabs, brocade sarees and mashrus were the fabrics selected for the study.

Locations of the study were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fabric</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Village</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinkhabs</td>
<td>Mehasana</td>
<td>Nardipore</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gojaria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brocade sarees</td>
<td>Mehasana</td>
<td>Ridrol</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Nardipore</td>
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The sample consisted of, nine kinkhabs weavers, four brocade sarees entrepreneurs and forty mashrus weavers.

Gujarat situated in the north west of India, has a very ancient lineage of textiles. Infact the Fustat textiles have been traced to be 12th to 15th century fabrics, which were Gujarat in origin. The vedas and the puranas make mention of the beauty of textile fabrics woven at that time.

Gujarat’s contribution to the Indian textile industry is quite substantial. It accounts for nine percent of industrial employment and about 2.1 lakh families are engaged in traditional crafts as weavers.
Kinkhab fabrics enjoyed state patronage and royalty wore them as exquisite 'jamas' or coats made of pure silk, gold and silver yarns and the brocade sarees with their artistic designs and motifs and richness of colours in silk, gold and/or silver, were the envy of people all over the world. Mashrus were associated with mixed fabrics made of silk and cotton with satin weave and stripe patterns, introduced into the country by Muslims who were not permitted to wear pure silk garments.

5.4 Kinkhabs

5.4.1 Demographic Details

This fabric was woven in two villages of Mehasana district, Nardipore and Gojaria.

Total number of households weaving kinkhabs were nine of which seven were in Nardipore and two in Gojaria.

In Nardipore five weavers were from the Rawal caste, two were thakores and two weavers in Gojaria were Patels. All were Hindu Gujaratis. Out of the nine weavers, four were above 51 years of age and only two were between 20 to 30 years. Three were between 31 to 40 years of age.

Joint family system was followed in seven out of the nine households and only two were nuclear families. Family size was between five and seven members in six households. Only one household had more than eight members. Two household had three to four family members.
Only one out of the nine weavers was high school educated. Four had primary education, two had middle school education and two were illiterate.

5.4.2 Craft Profile

Weaving kinkhab was a household craft. In Nardipore the women, children and elders participated in the winding activities whereas, in Gojaria only the male head of the house was involved in the craft and not the family members. They employed outside workers as weavers and helpers, since they had more than one loom.

- For all the weavers weaving was an ‘acquired craft’ i.e., it had not come down from one generation to another. Their fathers were either camel load carriers or agricultural labourers. The present weavers learnt the craft as children, helping other weavers. They had no formal training.

- Out of nine household, five had only one loom, three had two looms and one household had more than three looms.

- One weaver on one loom was able to weave about ten lots of 2.5 meters each in a month i.e., twenty five meters of fabric in one month, working about eight hours a day, and earned about Rs. 750/- a month i.e., they got Rs. 30/- to weave one meter of fabric.

- The weavers of Gojaria would not disclose their income which they supplemented from their agricultural land or by
the income brought in by their grown up children. The weaver's of Nardipore had no other source of income.

The weavers of Nardipore had a lower standard of living, hardly any assets and lived in small, neat, mud houses with looms placed in one of the rooms of their homes. In Gojaria they had large concrete houses and a separate shed for their looms.

MANUFACTURING DETAILS

WINDING

- Weavers were supplied with the yarns. Hence there was no spinning process.

- Yarns used were rayon (staple) and imitation zari yarns for the weft and extra weft figuring respectively.

- Winding of hanks on to pirns was mostly done by the women, children or elders of the family during their leisure hours. Those who had outside workers, employed them to do the winding.

- Tools used were, a wooden stand with spikes called 'darka' on which the hanks were placed. From the 'darka' the yarns were wound on to the pirns called 'nari' with the help of a 'charkha' made of a metallic wheel and handle.

WARPING

Yarns used were monofilament nylon yarns. About four people including the weaver were required to carry out this
process in the open ground. It took about two to two and a half hours to complete the process of warping the nylon yarns on the warp beam.

- The yarns were held by one person and carried to the opposite side and rolled on to the warp beam. Wooden rods were inserted between the yarns to prevent them from getting entangled. Four thousand yarns of 70 meters length were rolled on to the warp beam.

SETTING UP THE LOOM

- To set up the loom fresh yarns from the warp beam were merely joined by rolling on to the previous yarns that were threaded between the headles and reed. The weaver himself did this activity and it took about an hour.

- Weaver's of Nardipore have been making only one design i.e., the 'butti', dot design since the last two to three years.

- Any change in design was incorporated by changing the punched cards.

WEAVING

- Looms used were throw shuttle pit looms with jacquard attachment, with eight harnesses (rach) and one treadle (pavadi). A rope was attached to the jacquard mechanism and harnesses which was controlled by the treadle. This helped in
raising and lowering the harness when the treadle was pressed according to the design punched on the cards. Reed (fani) helped to batten up the yarns. Weave was extra weft twill with satin background, and width of cloth 65 cms.

COLOURS AND DESIGNS

Colours used were red, purple, green, blue, yellow and alo black. Designs were mostly 'butti' - dots in Nardipore, but other designs woven earlier were 'pavali' or 'asharfi' (circular) 'illachi' (dot) 'kalki' - (crown) 'mehendi' (a plant), 'kalash' or 'thumadi' (pot), 'keri' (mango), 'moor' (peacock).

MARKETING

- Traders who lived in the cities did the buying of raw materials and selling of finished goods. They also procured orders.
- Traders supplied the yarns and gave design specifications to the weavers.
- Getting the material polished and calendered was also the trader’s responsibility.
- His customers were either other traders who sold fabrics to the Rabari tribes of Saurashtra or to shop keepers in the cities.
- The kinkhab material was mostly used for ‘cholies’ (blouses) of the Rabari tribals.
Traders paid the weaver Rs. 30/- per meter. His cost price was Rs. 50/- per meter and he sold the material for Rs.100/- per meter.

5.5 Brocade Sarees

Brocade saree weaving was carried out in four villages - Ridrol, Mansa, Nardipore of Mehasana district and in Pethapur of Gandhinagar district. They were small commercial units, one in each village i.e., in all, there were a total number of four units.

5.5.1 Demographic Details

- Of the four entrepreneurs running these units two were Rawals and two were Patels, by caste and all four were Hindu Gujaratis.

- Only one entrepreneur was between the age of 20-30 years, the other three were above forty years of age, the youngest being the most qualified, a graduate and the other three had only primary education.

- All were living in joint families with more than five members each.

- None of the entrepreneurs who were weavers, did the actual weaving now.

- The women and other family members did not participate in the craft activities.
In two units i.e., Nardipore and Pethapur the sons of the household and other male relatives participated in craft activities, including weaving.

In Ridrol and Mansa entrepreneurs and the male family members had managerial - roles like supervising, buying, selling and procuring orders.

5.5.2 Craft Profile

The four units were slightly different from each other in their set up. In Nardipore, the unit had four looms, worked on contract basis to the unit at Ridrol, both family males and outside workers did weaving and winding. Outside workers, lived in their own homes. The unit was a part of the weaver's house.

In Pethapur, the unit was larger - had fifteen looms and was expanding further. Both, family male members and outside workers were employed. Accommodation was given to the outside workers and their families. Both the entreprenuer, his family and workers all lived in the same large premises where the unit shed was also set up. The entrepreneur did all the supervising and marketing activities.

In Ridrol and Mansa, the set up was more or less same, except the Ridrol unit had sixty looms and in Mansa there were thirteen looms. Both units were expanding further. Entrepreneur and his family lived in their own houses.
Accommodation was provided to the workers and their families in the unit premises. Male family members and the entrepreneur had managerial roles. They did not weave themselves.

For two of the entrepreneurs the craft was 'acquired' whereas for the other two it was a 'traditional craft'.

- Workers were paid about Rs. 500/- to Rs. 700/- per saree and helpers about Rs. 200/- to Rs.250/- per month. About Rs.25/- to 30/- was given to daily wage earners.

- Selling price of a saree ranged from about Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 20,000/- depending on the design and amount of zari used.

MANUFACTURING DETAILS

DEGUMMING OF YARNS

Silk yarns in the form of hanks were washed in hot water, soap and soda ash in the open on a 'chula' made of bricks. Ingredients were not weighed while using. Approximately 10 gms of soap and soda were used. Equipment used was an ordinary aluminium tub. Time take was twenty to thirty minutes.

DYEBING OF YARNS

- Dyes used were synthetic dyes from 'Ciba' company. Dyes were weighed but the amount was used according to shade required. Time taken was twenty to thirty minutes.
WINDING THE WEFT

Hanks were placed on the 'darka' a wooden stand with spikes and then wound on to a 'phirki' a cone shaped bamboo stand. From the 'phirki' the yarn was wound on to pirns or 'nari' with the help of a steel wheel called 'charkha'.

A motorised system was also used in a unit for winding which occupied less space and was very fast.

WARPING

This process was carried out in the open ground by about six workers. The wooden warp beam was fixed on the ground. It had a groove along its length in the centre. The yarns were fixed on to another rod fitted with hooks, which was inserted into the groove of the warp beam.

On the other side, the yarns were fixed on to another wooden rod with hooks which was tightly secured to a pole dug into the ground. Smooth wooden sticks were inserted at intervals between the yarns to prevent them from getting entangled. Newspaper was inserted between the yarns while rolling onto the warp beam to ensure that the yarns were tightly wrapped. Time taken was about two hours. Five thousand yarns were wrapped at one time. Five sarees of 5.5 meters length were woven when one warp beam was prepared.

WEAVING

Warp yarns from the prepared warp beam were joined by merely rolling on to the previous set of yarns already on the
loom. Change of designs was brought about by changing the punched cards.

- Weave used was the extra weft twill weave with satin or plain weave for the field of the saree.

- Looms used were throw shuttle pit looms with two jacquard attachments - one for the field and one for the borders. There were four main treadles or 'pavadi' and eight smaller treadles. These were attached by a rope which in turn was connected to the harness.

- To keep yarns moist, a helper blew water sprays with his mouth from time to time.

- Floats or any loose ends were trimmed after the saree was woven, by the weaver himself.

- About two sarees a month were woven by one weaver, working eight hours a day. For the festive seasons weavers worked for longer hours depending on the demand.

COLOURS AND DESIGNS

- There was no limit to colours and design used. Red, blue, pink, green, yellow, purple, maroon were commonly used. Double shaded effects were also popular.

- Designs were naturalistic - both fauna and flora along with human figures.
- 'Keri' (mango) paisley, 'butti' (dot) 'tara' (star), 'aurab', (diagonal lines), 'jal' - (all over designs), 'mor' (peacock), 'ashari' (circular motifs) 'vale' (creepers), 'popat' (parrot), were some of the popular motifs.

MARKETING

- Silk yarns were bought from Bangalore and zari yarn from Surat.

- Cost of silk yarns as reported by the trader was Rs. 1200/- kg and pure zari costed about Rs. 6000 to 9000 per kg and imitation zari costed about Rs.200/- to Rs. 225/- per kg.

- Orders were procured from retail shops in big cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Surat, Baroda or from individual clients.

- Cost of sarees ranged from Rs.2000/- to Rs. 20,000 or more depending on the design, and amount of zari used.

- Not one entrepreneur gave his exact income, but on the whole they all seemed to be very well off, and were in the process of expanding, except the weaver at Nardipore who worked on contract basis.

5.6 Mashrus

- Patan of Mehasana district and four villages around Mandvi of Kutch district - Salaya, Don, Rayon and Godhra were
Mashru weaving centres. In Patan thirty weavers were selected at random for the sample and all the ten weavers from the villages of Mandvi, were included in the study. A total of forty weavers were interviewed.

- In Patan, besides weaving all the pre and post weaving processes were also carried out in households specialising in each of the activities. One household for one process was also interviewed. Whereas, in Mandvi, the trader carried out most of the processes in his unit except weaving and finishing.

5.6.1 Demographic Details

The weavers were both Muslim shaikhs and Hindu Khatris in Patan, whereas, in Mandvi they were all Hindu harijans.

- Sixty percent of the weavers were above 41 years of age. Thirty percent of the weaver's were in the age group of 31 to 40 years and 10 percent between twenty to thirty years.

- Forty five percent had primary education and ten percent were illiterate.

- Seventy percent of the households were nuclear families and only thirty percent followed the joint family system.

- Large families were still prevalent - fifty five percent had five to eight family members and about thirty two and a half percent had two to four family members.
All the weavers in Mandvi were men, whereas, in Patan, seventeen out of the thirty weavers were women.

5.6.2 Craft profile

For thirty one out of the forty families weaving was a family occupation i.e., a traditional craft, coming down from generation to generation of the same family. Mashru weaving was still a household craft.

None of the weavers had any formal training from any institution.

Most of the families had only one loom. Only one family had three looms.

Weaving charges were about Rs. 5/- per meter for 'pucca' cloth (good quality fabric) and about Rs. 2/- per meter for the 'kuchha' variety (poor quality). The weavers earned between Rs. 200/- to Rs. 600/- per month depending on the quality and quantity of cloth woven.

Income from the craft was not very high. Only five percent of the families earned more than Rs. 1000/- a month and sixty percent of the families earned less than Rs. 500/- a month from the craft. But after supplementing their income by doing other jobs like working in agriculture fields, with diamond cutting units, having a shop or being in another job or children bringing in income from other sources, the weavers were able to raise their family income. 2.5 percent earned only Rs. 500/- per month, fifty percent of the
families earned between Rs. 500/- to 1000/- and forty seven and a half percent earned more than Rs. 1000/- per month.

There were no fixed hours of work.

MANUFACTURING DETAILS

MAKING THE HANKS

Yarns from the cones were converted into hanks or 'tani' by special 'tani makers'. The main equipment, consisted of the winder called 'falka' and a 'jali' which consisted of two frames through which yarns from the cones passed on to the winder. Each hank consisted of eighty yarn about sixty meters long. Four such hanks and 4.5 kilograms of cotton yarn were required for about fifty three meters of fabric. Labour charges were Rs.1/- per kg of yarn. It took half an hour to wind one kilogram of yarn. They earned around Rs. 500/- a month.

DYEING THE YARNS

This was done mostly by Muslim families specialising as dyers. Synthetic dyes and simple tools and equipments were used, consisting of aluminium drums and ordinary tubs and wooden sticks. A rotating dryer was also being used. Labour charges were Rs. 15/- per kg of yarn.

REPAIRING DAMAGED YARNS

Done mostly by women in the open ground to repair any yarn that might have broken during the dyeing process. Time
taken depended on the amount of yarn damaged. Labour charges were Rs. 5/- per hank.

SIZING THE YARN

Done by a glue of animal origin called ‘Saras’, a thick paste was made of it and cooking oil was added and applied to the yarns which were stretched out in an open area between two poles. Labour charges were Rs. 6.50 per hank and total time taken was about ninety minutes.

DENTING THE WARPS

Done by Muslim women called ‘Rach Bandhas’ wherein the warp yarns were threaded between the headles or ‘rach’ and then passed through the reed or ‘fani’ according to the design given by the trader. Only one pattern could be dented in one day and labour charges were Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- for denting one pattern.

WINDING AND WEAVING

Done by the weaver and their families using the simple ‘charkha’ and ‘nari’ or pirn. The looms were fly shuttle pit looms, called ‘phadka shall’ with no jacquard attachment. The extra warps were tied up into a huge knot and held on to the ceiling with a thick rope. The looms in Patan, had eight harnesses and eight treadles or ‘pavdi’, whereas, in Mandvi, the looms had even up to 37 harnesses and eleven treadles.
Looms were kept in the homes of weavers in Patan. In Mandvi, they were kept outside their homes. Two qualities of material were produced -

(i) 'Kachha' a poor quality fabric wherein the weft used was unbleached cotton yarn and the fabric had low thread count and colours were not fast.

(ii) 'Pucca' or good quality fabrics wherein the weft used was of dyed or bleached cotton yarn of fast colour and had higher fabric count.

In Patan, the fabric was beaten by wooden hammers to bring about lustre and softness in the fabric. Then the fabric was sized. In Mandvi, the fabric was stretched out in the open and starch was sprayed on the fabric, dried, folded and pressed by placing a huge stone for few hours. In Patan, the fabric was starched by applying the starch paste by hand on the back of cloth, dried, folded and pressed between two wooden logs. Labour charges in Patan were Rs.3.80/- for finishing five meters of cloth.

Reed or 'fani' and harness or 'rach' making were also specialised jobs. In Patan, there was only one elderly man left who was still making the reed out of wood. The harness was prepared by women who were very skilled and made the dent loops of waxed cotton yarns with a special instrument called 'kalpha'. A 'fani' costed about Rs. 120/- and a 'rach' was about Rs. 150/- to Rs. 300/- per piece.
COLOURS AND DESIGNS

Popular colours were golden yellow, green, red, black, blue and maroon, however, any colour could be used. Designs were all in stripes of various colour combinations and widths. Dots with stripes were also popular and were given names according to the placement of and number of dots. Some of the names of stripe designs were ‘khamki’, ‘mamull’, ‘ktari’, ‘kakim’, dominant green stripes; ‘soj’ - red and green stripes, ‘kali khamki’ - black and gold stripes.

Dot patterns were called ‘sat dhana’ or ‘shakar para’, others were ‘illachho’, ‘barashahi’, ‘arbi’, ‘methi’ and ‘dhana’.

MARKETING

Traders managed the marketing both in Patan and Mandvi.

In Patan, the trader bought the viscose rayon and cotton yarn from Surat and Ahmedabad at the rate of Rs. 200/- per kg and Rs. 65/- per kg respectively. In a month, raw material worth Rs. 3000 to 4000/- was used up by the trader.

In Mandvi, the trader bought the viscose rayon yarn at Rs. 125/- per kg from Ahmedabad and Bombay and Rs. 60/- per kg for cotton yarn. Cost of dyes ranged from Rs. 200 to Rs 1500 kg depending on the type of dyes used.

The trader paid the weaver Rs. 5/- and Rs. 2/- per meter for ‘pucca’ and ‘kuchha’ cloth but the selling price was Rs. 50/- per meter and Rs. 20/- per meter respectively.
In Patan, the trader had to pay each individual household for all the pre and post weaving operations, whereas in Mandvi, he paid his employed workers. The traders reported to be earning Rs. 6-7 lakhs a year.

Buyers for mashru fabric were mostly in Ahmedabad, Surat and in tribal regions of Panchmahal districts. The trader at Patan, was getting articles like bags, bolster cover, gift items, etc, made and sold them to retail shops or middlemen in the cities. The trader in Mandvi, also sold to wholesalers in Ahmedabad, Baroda and Rajasthan. The 'ahari' and 'rabari' tribals made 'khamkhas' or backless blouses from mashru material.

5.7 Conclusions

There were entire villages and communities weaving kinkhabs, brocade sarees and mashrus. Even till about forty to fifty years back in the villages of Nardipore, Gojaria and Ridrol nearly every home had a loom. Today it was difficult to locate weavers. Finally it was found that there were only nine weavers weaving kinkhabs, only four commercial units weaving brocade sarees and only ten weavers weaving mashrus in Mandvi. In Patan, though, there were still about hundred weavers weaving mashrus. Thirty percent of these mashru weavers along with all the other ten weavers of the villages of Mandvi, were taken for the sample.

Review reveals that the 'vankars' (i.e. the weavers) were considered untouchables. Now the weavers comprised of
both the lower and the upper caste i.e., there were the Rawals, the Patels, Thakores and the Harijans, but they were not treated as untouchables. Also there were both Hindu and Muslim weavers. The Muslims were mostly the Shaikhs.

Most of the weavers were above forty years of age. Only seven out of all the fifty three weavers were between twenty to thirty years of age. This showed that the younger generation was not very keen to carry out the craft of weaving and the older generation had no choice and felt it was too late to change their profession.

The family members including the women and children of both the kinkhab and mashru weavers participated in the craft activities. Infact there were equal number of women weaving mashru fabrics in Patan. The brocade saree weaver's family participation was confined only to the male members and that also as managers, rather than weavers. Infact even the entrepreneurs of the brocade saree units were not weaving themselves.

Most of the weavers had atleast primary education and one entrepreneur of the brocade weaving commercial unit was a graduate. This gave hope that the younger educated generation would not mind going into this profession, provided it was commercially profitable.

Most of the families had become nuclear amongst the mashru weavers, but many of the kinkhab weavers and all the entrepreneurs of the brocade saree units still followed the joint family system.
Kinkhab and mashru weaving were still household crafts whereas brocade saree weaving had turned into a commercial set up.

For all the kinkhab weavers the craft was acquired, but for most of the mashru weavers it was a traditional craft i.e., coming down the family through generations. For the two of the brocade saree entrepreneurs it was an 'acquired craft', while for the other two it was a 'traditional craft'.

None of the weavers of all the three fabrics had any formal training from any institution. All had learnt the craft as children from other weavers or their own families.

Majority of the kinkhab and mashru weavers had only one loom per household. The brocade saree units had greater number of looms, except one unit which had only four looms, as it was working on contract basis. Nuclear families and commercial units who had more than one loom employed outside weavers to help in the craft activities and in the weaving.

In a month, kinkhab weavers wove about twenty five meters of cloth, the mashru weavers wove about hundred to hundred and twenty meters of cloth and the brocade saree weavers wove not more than two sarees. The kinkhab weavers earned Rs. 750/- a month, the mashru weavers earned about Rs.200/- to Rs. 600/- a month and the brocade saree weavers earned about Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 1400/- a month.
A craft like weaving was at one time able to sustain large families and generate enough income for a comfortable living. Today the same craft was barely able to fulfill even the basic necessities of the weavers and their families. High cost of living, change in life style and expectations could be the main attributing factors. Though, mashru weaving still was carried out in the same old traditional way without mechanization, yet the weavers were able to weave more material than the others. This could be attributed to the fact that the designs were comparatively simple, the weave was just satin weave, and the looms were fly shuttle looms instead of throw shuttle looms, which worked faster.

The kinkhab weavers of Gojaria, the brocade saree entrepreneurs and the mashru weavers of Patan were more well off than the kinkhab weavers of Nardipore and the mashru weavers of Mandvi. They also had other sources of income from their agricultural lands and grown up children who were doing other jobs and adding to the family income. The children of the kinkhab weavers of Nardipore and mashru weavers of Mandvi were either too small or helped in the craft itself. Also, they had very little assets.

The high standard of living of the weavers could be due to the fact that, they had inherited the lands and homes from their forefathers, whom they reported as, to be earning much more than the present weavers. The commercial units of the brocade sarees were doing well, perhaps because they had
sufficient capital to buy raw materials and looms or because their product catered to the upper class of people or because they had joint families. In such families, the middleman’s role could be taken over by the family member themselves i.e., getting orders and doing the marketing in big cities. Also, as the younger generation was more educated they could handle bank and other financial and marketing procedures better and were more open to change, like introducing new or other designs or new procedures, which were commercially more viable. The mashru weavers were more resistant to change. When the investigator asked them whether they would like to weave other type of fabrics on their looms, they emphatically refused. They would prefer to give up the craft rather than weave any other fabric.

The yarns for kinkhabs had changed from pure silk and pure zari to viscose rayon, nylon and imitation zari. For brocades, though, yarns used were still pure silk and pure zari. For mashru’s too, pure silk yarns have been replaced by viscose rayon.

The most outstanding change in the looms was seen in kinkhab and brocade saree weaving. The ‘naksha’ system, wherein a third person was required to lift the yarns to make the shed with the help of a wooden fork called ‘ubbanu’, was replaced by the jacquard system. This change had in no way increased the speed or improved the quality of work. It only helped to reduce the number of workers. The rest of the loom
remained the same, i.e., they were throw shuttle pit looms. Whereas, for mashrus fabrics there was no change in the looms from the traditional one, i.e., no mechanised equipment was attached. They were fly shuttle pit looms.

For winding, instead of a wooden 'charkha' a metal wheel was used. In one unit, weaving brocade sarees, the entrepreneur had introduced a motorised winder which was very fast and occupied very little space. In Mandvi too, the trader who was doing the winding had introduced mechanised winding. Another change in the process was seen in the finishing of the mashru fabric. In Mandvi, a modern sprayer was used to spray the stiffening agent on the backside of the mashru cloth, but when it came to pressing, they used the old method of placing a heavy stone. In Patan a pressing equipment was introduced.

For dyeing the yarns, dyers had changed over to synthetic dyes. Earlier natural dyes were used. They also introduced some modern equipments like dryers, rotating drums to rinse out the extra dye. But, otherwise the same old equipment was being used. This change of dyes was inevitable because the yarns too had changed from natural to man made ones. Due to the use of synthetic dyes there was a lot more variety in colours, and their tones.

Though traditional designs were still popularly used, yet, their placement had changed and they were not so elaborately woven. The field of the saree had scattered or
less elaborate patterns. Brocade sarees earlier had very heavy zari pallus and borders. Now pallus had become smaller and use of zari had reduced. Designs were woven with more of silk yarns than zari. Sometimes even one sided borders were made. The portion of the border that was not visible when worn was made of silk or rayon yarn instead of zari. Sarees had also become lighter in weight. All these changes had been introduced to bring down the cost. To add variety, designs from other states were also used along with traditional motifs.

The kinkhab weavers were making mostly the 'buti' or the dot design in Nardipore, whereas, in Gojaria there was a little more variety like the 'asharfi' circular coin and the 'keri' mango motif. The brocade weavers were making a variety of designs, mostly floral scrolls, 'more' peacock, 'popat' parrots, all over 'butti' - dots, paiselys 'punnia' in various styles. They were making both types of sarees, i.e., with and without zari. The mashru weavers were weaving three main designs on the fabrics - stripes i.e., 'kangari' of various widths and combinations, simple single dots and their combinations like the 'barashahi' cluster of dots and the 'ikat' design i.e., using tie and dye warp yarns to give a 'V' shaped effect on the stripes.

Colours used were mostly red, purple, blue and green by the kinkhab weavers. The brocade saree weavers had a very large range of colours and their tones and also used mixed
colours. The mashru weavers also had a large variety of colours which were very bright.

Workmanship of the kinkhab fabrics had gone down, probably due to coarse zari yarns and also because some of the weavers were not very good at the craft.

One aspect that was very obvious was that the younger generation was not keen to continue the craft, not only because it was not remunerative enough but also because it was labour intensive. Exposure to media and education seemed to have a direct effect on their way of thinking, which had changed their values and needs. They preferred jobs like, working in a diamond cutting factory or as salesman or in an office or even start a small business of electrical goods or a grocery shop of their own, even though these jobs called for longer working hours. They did not want to stay at home and weave as they felt the work was boring and not attractive in terms of money and otherwise.

Weavers were aware that the government gave loans and subsidies. But, they were very pessimistic about getting the loans as they felt the procedure was too difficult and the officers not easy to please. Some weavers complained that loans could be procured only by those weavers who knew how to pull strings, while other weavers expressed the view that being of the higher castes loans were not easy to get, as most of the subsidies and loan schemes were for the benefit
of the backward classes only. The weavers of Mandvi, had accepted their way of life and were unaffected by the government schemes and their children too were not so ambitious. They only worked as agricultural labourers in their village itself when they were not weaving.

The weavers did not realise that getting loans alone to increase the number of looms would not solve their problems. Markets were limited for the kinkhabs as they were being sold only to the 'rabari' tribes of Saurashtra for their blouses. Also increasing loom capacity would mean employing outside workers which in turn would mean additional problems of wages, etc. It was important that the quality of their fabric improved by using pure silk and finer zari yarns and improving workmanship and increasing their market. Training and education in these areas would be very helpful.

Kinkhabs were basically very grand and attractive fabrics. They have lost their grandeur because of the cheap imitation yarns used. If these fabrics are once again made with pure silk and zari and designer garments made for an "exclusive clientele" both for the domestic and foreign markets, with proper advertising, they would certainly get back their lost status and financial stability.

The mashru weavers had a few suggestion to make - they wanted government to supply raw material on quota basis and buy all their finished products at a fixed rate ensuring a
regular flow of income. Basically these weavers were facing stiff competition from the power loom sector and also prints of their designs which were selling at a lesser price were flooding the market. Product diversification had taken place in a big way on these fabrics. Traders and organisation like Gurjari had made many household and gift items out of mashru fabrics and had expanded their market all over the country. Yet, the weavers had stocks of their fabrics piled up. They could perhaps earn more if they sold their produce directly and include the middleman's or traders profit to their own income. For this, short term courses in marketing management at rural centres appraising them of rules, regulations and strategies would be very helpful. But protection from power looms is important if the traditional weavers have to survive.

The entrepreneurs of the brocade saree units were by and large doing very well. What was necessary was to ensure that they pay higher wages to their weavers.

The government's "cluster approach" has rightly been criticized. To merely give loans to increase loom capacity to each and every weaver will not solve the problem. Infact, during the field visits the investigator saw so many looms lying unused and collecting dust. It is important that each fabric be taken up separately and problems analysed and programmes planned accordingly, for the welfare of the weavers and promotion of their craft as each of them had different problems.
There were entire villages and communities who were weaving and specialising in making these fabrics, but today their numbers have depleted to a great extent. High cost of raw materials, cheap imitations, low demand, unorganised marketing channels, lack of commitment of officials implementing government policies, change from rural to urban taste, introduction of power looms, break down of the joint family system are some of the main contributing factors which have forced the weavers to give up their age old family occupation and take up other jobs to keep their hearths burning.

Hope lies in the fact that society is realising the value of the traditional crafts and is willing to promote and popularise them into the world fashion scene which is ever changing and is now fortunately looking back into the rich, glorious past of a eco-friendly environment. All our efforts should be geared to protect the Indian craftsmen who, as Shukla (1992), puts it, are

"CUSTODIANS OF OUR FABRIC ART HERITAGE"

5.8 Hypothesis

As there were not many research studies conducted on the traditional woven textiles of Gujarat, hypothesis could not be framed at the initial stage of the research work, for testing. After having conducted this study and establishing
an authentic data-base the following hypothesis, based on the outcome, were formulated for further research. These are

(1) There is no significant relationship with the joint family system and preservation of the traditional woven textile crafts.

(2) There is no significant relationship between the traditional textile 'household craft' and it's authenticity.

(3) Workmanship of woven fabrics is significantly related to
   i) Training
   ii) Experience
   iii) Type of craft-inherited or acquired.

(4) There are no significant relationships between the traditional textile woven crafts and
   i) Urbanisation
   ii) Education
   iii) Media

(5) Promotion of traditional woven textile craft is significantly related to
   i) Sale of goods (demand)
   ii) Awareness among consumers.

(6) Bringing about awareness among consumers by effective use of communication media about traditional woven
textiles will have a significant bearing on the sale of these fabrics.

(7) There is no significant relationship between the traditional woven textile crafts becoming extinct and rate of production of the traditional fabrics.

(8) Mechanization has a significant relationship to the amount of fabric woven.

(9) Government policies planned for the revival of the traditional woven textile crafts have no significant relationship on the preservation of the status of the craft.

5.9 Usefulness of the Study

To those interested in the promotion and preservation of the textile crafts, the study gives historical, present status and process details of three traditional woven textiles of Gujarat, namely, kinkhabs, brocade sarees and mashrus. This information is illustrated with pictures and samples and is accompanied by case studies for a deeper and clearer insight.

The study can be well utilized in various libraries as it is informative.

Government and non-government institutions can find this study useful to plan and implement policies to benefit the craftsman and motivate them to continue with the craft.
Those who are working on alternative technologies can find this study useful to innovate and suggest changes according to the prevailing demands and conditions.

5.10 Recommendations

1. Three woven traditional textiles of Gujarat have been undertaken for this study. Researchers could conduct similar studies for other fabrics.

2. Researches, to test and establish relationships with the craft and its' associated variables can be undertaken.

3. In order to get a "true to life" situation of the detailed processes of the traditional textile crafts they could be captured on video.

4. An experimental study can be conducted on designing appropriate fabrics for 'exclusive apparels' using traditional kinkhab fabrics as a base for their revival.

5. To popularize the traditional crafts they could be duly advertised using high-tech electronic and print media.