

**PREVAILING STATUS OF KUTCH EMBROIDERIES AND
ARTISANS: SCOPE OF ITS SUSTAINABILITY AND PROMOTION**

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M.Sc. (Home)

**PREVAILING STATUS OF KUTCH EMBROIDERIES AND
ARTISANS: SCOPE OF ITS SUSTAINABILITY AND PROMOTION**

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August 2012

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled, “**Prevailing Status of Kutch Embroideries and Artisans: Scope of its Sustainability and Promotion**” being submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Clothing and Textiles, Faculty of Family & Community Sciences**, to The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, embodies the results of bonafide research work conducted by **Ms. Kruti L. Dholakia** under my guidance. The contents presented herein have not been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma. The thesis is fit for submission and evaluation.

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Endorsement from the Supervisor

Ms. Kruti L. Dholakia, has done extensive work on her **research** topic entitled **“Prevailing Status of Kutch Embroideries and Artisans: Scope of its Sustainability and Promotion”** vide Registration No.7601, (Dated: August 12th, 2004) which have substantiated its originality. She has presented her progress of work in seminars well attended by teachers and students of the department. She has completed her course work and successfully cleared her Comprehensive Examination.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter No.	Title	Page No.
	Acknowledgement	i
	Abstract	v
	List of Tables	vi
	List of Graphs	vii
	List of Figures	viii
	List of Plates	ix
I	Introduction	1
II	Review of Literature	10
III	Methodology	51
IV	Results and Discussions	64
V	Summary and Conclusions	224
	Bibliography	246
	Appendix I	254
	Appendix II	264
	Glossary of Terms	265

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ABSTRACT

Beauty and legacy of traditional handicrafts of the rural India has always been center of attraction of art and craft appreciators. With maintaining the traditionalism craft and artisans also possess characteristics to adopt the changes going on in the society. It is essential to preserve the traditional characteristics of the craft as it always serves as a source of knowledge and inspiration for the people in various fields. In present study the attempt was made to document the embroideries of Kutch with regards to the craft details, socio economic conditions of the artisans, role of Government and Non-Government Organizations in uplifting the craft and markets and marketing practices prevalent. Purposive random sampling method was followed to select the final sample. Multi method approach was adopted for data collection. It was found that various types of embroideries practiced in Kutch were community specific. The names of the embroideries were derived either from the characteristic of the stitches used, the name of the motifs or community who practiced specific type of embroidery. It was found that majority of the artisans were unaware about the origin and history of the craft. Source of inspiration for motif was nature, daily activities, objects utilized and ornaments. *Fuladi* was the popular motif embroidered with *Pakko bharat* by all the communities except *Ahirs* and *Rabaris*, whereas, *Bhori ful* was another popular motif worked in *Pakko* and *Kachho bharat*. All the artisans hailed to Muslim religion did not use animal, human and bird motifs whereas, it was found in Hindu artisans' embroideries. Chain stitch and its variations were used by all the communities. Interlacing stitch and mirror ornamentation was also used by all the communities to emphasis the motif or as additional decorating feature. It was found that majority of the artisans adopted embroidery as a secondary source of income along with their main family occupations such as cattle breeding and farming. Majority of them were associated with NGOs and working on piece rate basis. Government and Non-Government Organizations strived to uplift the craft and artisans by serving on various forefronts where, income generation and preservation of craft was the main objectives. The measures taken by Government Organizations could not reach to the artisans effectively due to lack of promotion. Only *Pakko* and *Kachho* embroideries practiced by *Meghwar* community could survive traditionally as well as commercially, rest either survived domestically or commercially, whereas *Pakko* embroidery of *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Rayasi potra* was extinct as it could not sustain either traditionally or commercially.

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Title	Page No.
4.1a	Stitches used in various embroideries	137
4.1b	Fabrics and thread colours used by the artisans	144a
4.2	Details of the products made	161
4.3	Distribution of the artisans as per artisans' Religion and Dialect	168
4.4	Distribution of respondents as per asset possession	174
4.5	Distribution of artisans as per their family members' occupations	183
4.6	Comparison of activities undertaken by GOs and NGOs	217

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph No.	Title	Page No.
4.1	Distribution of artisans as per their age groups	167
4.2	Distribution of artisans as per their marital status	170
4.3	Distribution of artisans as per their family type	171
4.4	Distribution of artisans as per their literacy rate	171
4.5	Distribution of artisans as per their house hold type	174
4.6	Distribution of respondents as per their occupations	180
4.7	Distribution of artisans as per their annual family income	184
4.8	Distribution of Artisans as per their family income generated through embroidery	186

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.	Title	Page No.
3.1	Conceptual Frame Work	53
3.2	Sample Selection procedure	55
4.1	Classification of Embroideries of Kutch	64

LIST OF PLATES

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
2.1	Location of the communities in Kutch	56
3.1a-b	Interaction with the artisans	61
4.1	Floral motifs used in <i>Aari</i> embroidery	66
4.2	Human, bird and animal motifs used in <i>Aari</i> embroidery	67
4.3	<i>Bhori ful</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	74
4.4	<i>Ful</i> embroidered by <i>Halay potra</i>	75
4.5	<i>Gol ful</i> worked by <i>Raysi potra</i>	75
4.6	<i>Tre khune valo ful</i> embroidered by <i>Rayasi potra</i>	75
4.7	<i>Nade ja gul & Farai</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	75
4.8	<i>Nade ji nanadi butti</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	76
4.9	<i>Nade ji vadi butti</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	76
4.10	<i>Kungri valo gul</i> worked by <i>Halay potras</i> and <i>Rayasi potras</i>	76
4.11	<i>Pakke jo ful</i> of <i>Node</i>	76
4.12a-c	Various depictions of <i>Bhori ful</i> by <i>Node</i>	77
4.13	<i>Aath khuiye vali butti</i> embroidered by <i>Node</i>	78
4.14	<i>Bhuli ji butti</i> worked by <i>Node</i>	78
4.15	<i>Fuladi</i> embroidered by <i>Node</i>	78
4.16	<i>Nose pin</i> , inspiration of <i>Fuladi</i>	78
4.17	<i>Fuladi</i> as a central motif of <i>Bhori ful</i>	78
4.18	<i>Fulada</i> worked by <i>Node</i>	78
4.19	<i>Dabali</i> motif of <i>Node</i>	78
4.20	<i>Dabala Bandh</i> embroidered by <i>Node</i>	79
4.21	<i>Bhreni bandh</i> embroidered by <i>Node</i>	79
4.22	<i>Kodadiyado bandh</i> embroidered by <i>Node</i>	79
4.23	<i>Tari no gul</i> worked by <i>Node</i>	79
4.24 a-d	Various depictions of <i>Bhori ful</i> by <i>Darbars</i> and <i>Meghwars</i>	80
4.25	<i>Badam tak</i> of <i>Darbars</i> and <i>Meghwars</i>	80
4.26	<i>Fuladi</i> embroidered by <i>Darbar</i> and <i>Meghwar</i> communities	81
4.27a-b	Depictions of <i>Rano bandh</i> by <i>Darbar</i> and <i>Meghwar</i> communities	81
4.28	<i>Ler</i> motif by <i>Darbar</i> and <i>Meghwar</i> communities	82

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
4.29	<i>Padhadiyaro Bandh</i> by Darbar communities	82
4.30a-c	Various depictions of <i>Mor</i> (Peacock)motif by Darbar and Meghwar communities	82
4.31	<i>Tak chopad</i> embroidered by Darbar and Meghwars	83
4.32	<i>Char butti no gul</i> embroidered by Darbar and Meghwars	83
4.33	<i>Aath tadi gul</i> worked by Meghwar and Darbar communities	83
4.34	<i>Bandhani gul</i> motif used by Darbar and Meghwar communities	83
4.35	Various depictions of <i>Butti</i> used by Darbar and Meghwar communities	84
4.36	<i>Akko</i> motif invented by Meghwar community	84
4.37	<i>Chhe tang wala farua</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.38	<i>Jim vala farua</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.39	<i>Khich wala farua</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.40	<i>Chokadi valo faruo</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.41	<i>Khudi valo faruo</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.42	<i>Badami farua</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.43a	<i>Molado</i> by Mutwa community	85
4.43b	Wooden pestle known as <i>Molado</i>	85
4.44	<i>Bhori</i> embroidered by Mutwa	86
4.45	<i>Chakkan</i> worked by Mutwa	86
4.46	<i>Tre fangdi wali chakkan ji butti</i> by Mutwa	86
4.47	<i>Gul</i> worked by Mutwa community	86
4.48a-b	Depictions of <i>Fuladi</i> by Mutwa community	87
4.49a	<i>Tak chopad</i> - traditional by Mutwa community	87
4.49b	<i>Tak chopad</i> - commercial by Mutwa community	87
4.50a-b	<i>Pakke ji butti</i> by Mutwa community	88
4.51	<i>Pakke jo butto</i> by Mutwa community	88
4.52	<i>Kula nu Dhoran</i> worked by Mutwa community	88
4.53	<i>Tana nu dhoran</i> by Mutwa community	89
4.54	<i>Bandh nu dhoran</i> by Mutwa community	89
4.55	<i>Tadi walo gul</i> embroidered by Sindhi Memon	89
4.56	<i>Sat handa valo gul</i> by Sindhi Memon	90
4.57a	<i>Vada ful</i> depicted by Sindhi Memon community	90
4.57b	<i>Tevarani ful</i> - whole flower depiction by Sindhi Memon	90

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
4.57c	<i>Tevarani ful</i> - half flower depiction by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	90
4.58	<i>Sinye nu ful</i> worked by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	91
4.59	<i>Paida</i> and <i>Chopad ful</i> worked by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	91
4.60	Gaanth motif depicted by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	91
4.61	<i>Bachado pitado</i> depicted by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	92
4.62	<i>Bhiraniya bandh</i> depicted by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	92
4.63	<i>Badami pitado</i> depicted by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	92
4.64	<i>Dhari</i> used by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	92
4.65	<i>Fuladi</i> embroidered by <i>Jat</i> community	92
4.66	<i>Saachi fuladi</i> used by <i>Garacia</i> and <i>Fakirani Jats</i>	93
4.67	<i>Khoti fuladi</i> used by <i>Garacia</i> and <i>Fakirani Jats</i>	93
4.68	<i>Ghenta sing</i> used by <i>Jats</i>	93
4.69	<i>Limbodi aanko</i> used by <i>Jats</i>	93
4.70	<i>Ghodi</i> depicted by <i>Jats</i>	94
4.71	<i>Butto</i> depicted by <i>Jats</i>	94
4.72	<i>Mandi chopad</i> depicted by <i>Dhaneta Jats</i>	95
4.73	<i>Adh butti</i> depicted by <i>Garacia</i> and <i>Fakirani Jats</i>	95
4.74	<i>Khil ful</i> depicted by <i>Garacia</i> and <i>Fakirani Jats</i>	95
4.75	<i>Ful</i> embroidered by <i>Garacia</i> and <i>Fakirani Jats</i>	95
4.76	<i>Oonthdo</i> motif depicted by <i>Jats</i>	96
4.77	<i>Chher</i> worked by <i>Jats</i>	96
4.78	<i>Chambh tak</i> embroidered by <i>Garacia Jats</i>	96
4.79	<i>Jaat tak</i> used by <i>Garacia Jats</i>	96
4.80	<i>Popati</i> used by <i>Garacia Jats</i>	97
4.81	<i>Baliyaj</i> used by <i>Garacia Jats</i>	97
4.82a-d	<i>Kagar, Oonthdo, Jhaad, Dhingli</i> used by <i>Darbars</i> and <i>Meghwars</i>	98
4.83	<i>Chakki</i> embroidered by <i>Darbars</i> and <i>Meghwars</i>	98
4.84	<i>Kharek ji butti</i> embroidered by <i>Darbars</i> and <i>Meghwars</i>	99
4.85a	<i>Kanjari</i> worked with <i>Suf</i> by <i>Mutwa</i> community	99
4.85b	Closer view of the motifs of <i>Suf</i> embroidered <i>Kanjari</i>	99
4.86	<i>Neran jo gul</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	100
4.87	<i>Neran ji nanadi butti</i> by <i>Halay potra</i>	100
4.88	<i>Neran jo bandh</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	101

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
4.89	<i>Tani ja butta</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	101
4.90	<i>Neran ji butti</i> worked by <i>Node</i>	101
4.91	<i>Neran ful</i> of <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	102
4.92	<i>Neran jo goto</i> worked by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	102
4.93	<i>Neran jo bandh</i> by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	102
4.94	<i>Tari no gul</i> worked by <i>Halay potras</i>	103
4.95	<i>Sufadi</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i> and <i>Raysi potra</i>	103
4.96	<i>Ghodi</i> motif depicted by <i>Halay potra</i> & <i>Raysi potra</i>	103
4.97	<i>Suf ja ful</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i> and <i>Raysi potra</i>	104
4.98	<i>Tadi valo gul</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i> and <i>Raysi potra</i>	104
4.99	<i>Suf ja ful</i> worked by <i>Node</i>	104
4.100	<i>Suf ji butti</i> worked by <i>Node</i>	104
4.101	<i>Suf ji butti</i> by <i>Node</i>	105
4.102	<i>Kachhe jo bandh</i> by <i>Node</i>	105
4.103a-b	<i>Golaido</i> motif as depicted in older and recent embroidery	106
4.104	<i>Chandar</i> embroidered by <i>Mutwa</i>	106
4.105	<i>Asal jo chandar</i> embroidered by <i>Mutwa</i>	106
4.106	<i>Kachhe ji butti</i> embroidered by <i>Mutwa</i>	107
4.107	<i>Adh kharek</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	107
4.108	<i>Bhindudi kharek ji butti</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	107
4.109a-c	<i>Kharek</i> by <i>Halay potras</i>	108
4.110	<i>Kharek ji butti</i> by <i>Mutwas</i>	108
4.111	<i>Katariye ji sar</i> by <i>Mutwas</i>	109
4.112	<i>Bo ghar no kambhiro</i> by <i>Halay potras</i>	109
4.113	<i>Khudi Sebha</i> by <i>Halay potra</i>	110
4.114	<i>Mino</i> worked by <i>Halay potra</i>	110
4.115	<i>Khudi Sebha</i> of <i>Darbars</i> and <i>Meghwars</i>	110
4.116	<i>Gheni</i> motif worked by <i>Halay potra</i> , <i>Raysi potra</i> and <i>Pathan</i>	111
4.117	<i>Javado</i> motif worked by <i>Halay potra</i> , <i>Raysi potra</i> and <i>Pathan</i>	111
4.118	<i>Ful</i> worked by <i>Pathan</i> community	112
4.119	<i>Sat tak valo gul</i>	112
4.120	<i>Macchi/Chakali</i>	112
4.121a-d	<i>Zarmar</i> and its depictions with <i>Mukko</i> embroidery	113

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
4.122	<i>Gheni</i> worked by <i>Meghwars</i>	114
4.123	<i>Pakatadi</i> worked with <i>Mukko</i> embroidery by <i>Mutwa artisans</i>	114
4.124	<i>Be bundi vali kungari</i>	114
4.125	<i>Zarmar/ Janjiri</i> embroidered by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	115
4.126	<i>Chokdi</i> motif worked by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	115
4.127	<i>Chakri</i> motif worked by <i>Sindhi Memon</i>	115
4.128	<i>Dhungo</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	115
4.129	<i>Goto</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	115
4.130	<i>Jhad/ Aambo</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	116
4.131	<i>Ubhi zarmar</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	116
4.132	<i>Bethi zarmar</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	116
4.133	<i>Popati ni kor</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	117
4.134	<i>Makodiyo</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	117
4.135a-b	Depictions of <i>Kodi</i> motif by <i>Ahirs</i>	117
4.136	<i>Suda</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	117
4.137a-d	Depictions of <i>Mor</i> by <i>Ahirs</i>	118
4.138	<i>Nariyel</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	118
4.139	<i>Paniari</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	119
4.140	<i>Vinchi</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	119
4.141	<i>Dedavo</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	119
4.142	<i>Baju bandh</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	119
4.143	<i>Haathi upar ambadi</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	119
4.144	<i>Kanudo</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	120
4.145	<i>Diamond</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	120
4.146	<i>Club</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	120
4.147	<i>Keri</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	120
4.148	<i>Mahiyari</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	121
4.149	<i>Kharek disiyu abhala ni kor</i> motif embroidered by <i>Ahirs</i>	121
4.150a-b	<i>Aambo</i> motif embroidered by <i>Rabaris</i>	122
4.151a-c	Depictions of <i>Dhungo</i> motif by <i>Rabaris</i>	123
4.152	<i>Suda</i> motif by <i>Rabaris</i>	123
4.153	<i>Mor</i> motif by <i>Rabaris</i>	123
4.154	<i>Lodan Mor</i> motif by <i>Rabaris</i>	123

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
4.155	<i>Chakali motif by Rabaris</i>	123
4.156	<i>Makodiayo motif by Rabaris</i>	124
4.157	<i>Dedavo motif by Rabaris</i>	124
4.158	<i>Popati motif by Rabaris</i>	124
4.159	<i>Oont motif by Rabaris</i>	124
4.160a-b	Depictions of <i>Haathi</i>	125
4.161	<i>Vinchi motif of Rabaris</i>	125
4.162	<i>Trikon ful motif of Rabaris</i>	125
4.163	<i>Ful motif of Rabaris</i>	126
4.164	<i>Deradi motifs of Rabaris</i>	126
4.165	<i>Sharvan kavadiyo motif of Rabaris</i>	126
4.166	<i>Harana motif of Rabaris</i>	128
4.167	<i>Batta panj kania embroidered by Mutwas</i>	128
4.168	<i>Addhad embroidered by Mutwas</i>	128
4.169	<i>Farmatado embroidered by Mutwas</i>	128
4.170	<i>Madhariya bandh</i>	129
4.171	Steps to embroider <i>Fuladi</i>	130
4.172	Steps to embroider <i>Tari nu gul</i>	131
4.173	Steps to embroider <i>Suyadi</i>	133
4.174	<i>Chag</i>	134
4.175a-b	<i>Kandhado of Mutwa community</i>	134
4.176	<i>Pakatadi of Mutwa community</i>	135
4.177	<i>Tre tak jo judo embroidered by Mutwa community</i>	135
4.178a-b	Framing of interlacing stitch	139
4.179	Clay used for <i>Lakhatar</i>	150
4.180a	Fabrics used by various communities	152
4.180b	Threads and needle used by communities	153
4.180c	Mirrors, beads, buttons, laces used	154
4.181a-d	Ladies upper garments	156
4.182a	<i>Ghaghro of Ahir</i>	157
4.182b	<i>Pehrnu of Rabari</i>	157
4.183a	<i>Akhiyo- Bride's face mask</i>	158
4.183b	<i>Mod- Groom's face mask</i>	158

Plate No.	Title	Page No.
4.184a-b	<i>Ahir</i> community's children's garments	160
4.185	<i>Bhap ji Kothali</i>	161
4.186a	<i>Sankhiya</i> of <i>Ahir</i>	162
4.186b	<i>Toran</i> of <i>Darbar</i> community	163
4.186c	<i>Toran</i> of <i>Ahir</i> community	163
4.186d	<i>Parida</i> of <i>Ahir</i>	163
4.187	<i>Meghwar</i> groom wearing <i>Bokani</i>	164
4.188a-b	Animal decoration pieces	164
4.189a-p	Aritans' habitats	175-176
4.190	Artisans' family occupations	183
4.191a-c	Trainings by GO and sample created during training of <i>Rabari</i> Artisans at Gada village	200
4.192	Specimen of advertise published in daily newspaper	201
4.193a-d	Design created during workshop by NGO with <i>Meghwar</i> artisans and tools used by them for designing	209
4.194a-d	Impartment of design education by NGO	215

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Traditional and creative arts and crafts have conjured up the globe since time immemorial. Akin to all the crafts, textiles were originated as a matter of necessity but, they have always served as an evidence to recognize the creator's and wearer's identity. Apart from fabric, cloth or textile's primary efficacy of protection and decoration, it has always been an imperative means of records indicating the cults, communities, culture, region and religion as they are manufactured incorporating autonomous processes, motifs and raw materials inter woven with climatic conditions, societal norms and cultural ethos.

The sub-continent of India has forever relished the rich legacy of textiles. The denizen and migrated people have always put the country on omnipotent emplacement by continuing their crafts with passage of time and technological development. With the amalgamation of various art forms, symbols and imagery, it has never faced any doldrums but widened its scope and projected an image of the Indian way of life.

Textiles, primarily served as a protecting layer for the body, with time had been decorated implying ornamentation techniques which had been derived as a matter of necessity to decorate the fabric. Times immemorial the Indian craftsmen have been creating two types of craft i.e. rural and urban. The craftsmen created articles to suit the economic groups, simple articles for common people's use, and deluxe examples on demand for the privileged and the noble class (37).

Textiles beautification can be done in two ways i.e. structural and on a surface. Embroidery falls under second category and reflects the cultural heritage of a cult.

According to Bhushan (1990) embroidery, the embellishment of cloth with design made by needle and thread is an art that stretches back to antiquity. The word 'embroidery' is a Middle English word derived from the old French word 'broder' meaning edge or border.

Embroidery requires the use of needle, a primary tool either ordinary or of some special type. The origin of an ordinary needle though not of steel, is very ancient being known to Palaeolithic Europeans. It is interesting to note that in Vedic times the needle was considered an important item in the lives of people and it served as a symbol of joining and for strength (16). In the most primitive times needle work was practised to mend and add strength which later on led to ornate, resultant to a beautiful craft of embroidery and when these led to a perception of its ornamental possibilities, the beautiful craft of embroidery was created.

According to Ghurye (1951) in India embroidery must have been known even earlier than the Vedic period (16).

Embroidery technically known as a needle craft occupied a unique place in the warp and weft of the history and civilisation of the country. Embroidery is a manifestation of the aesthetic emotions delivered by applying a little material followed by a plethora of patient labour which determines its intrinsic value while ensuring a niche position amongst the family of crafts.

A survey of the embroidery existing in various regions in India presents the picture of a glamorous past, a vigorous present, and a promising future. It leaves no doubt that

the embroiderer's art has a significant part to play in the cultural, social and economic development of the country. Thus *Coomarswamy* clearly asserted that our civilisation lay in the hands of our craftsmen and it indeed was a tribute to the artisans (16,42).

Embroidery, though being a domestic art, has not only glued the bondages of relationship within the country but also between the countries.

An obvious intent of a craft is self-expression and communication of cultural values. Like any other art or craft embroidery welcomes anyone who is dexterous and zealous to excel. While it demands a set of discipline and covenants to be followed, it also provides a room for the craftsmen to let their creative juices flow. Embroidery is a craft of decorating articles, apparels or fabrics using a needle. Therefore, Bhushan (1990) referred the embroidery as '*painting with needle*'. Embroidery adds elegance and charisma even to mundane ambiences and gives a picturesque effect. It enhances the visual value of artefact and adds texture to the life of a common man. It satiates the vanity to flaunt the richness of interiors and surroundings that are decorated by embroidered articles. It simply adds to the status and dignity of elite while nurturing the poor deft hands.

Embroidery, since ancient times has embellished everything from a small handkerchief or a quilt to the extravagant royal artifact. The craft is directly linked to the external factors such as climate, natural surroundings, flora, fauna, raw material, economic and social life of the people however, they strongly influence the aesthetic sense of the artisans and provide them with an inspiration to bring out creative designs.

The legacy of embroidery extends its roots in different parts of the world especially in India as, the county claims to be the original home of embroidery. The beauty and

iridescence of traditional Indian embroidery was as much achieved by the quality of material used as from the embroiderer's skills. The ornamentation was done on all kinds of ductile material derived from animal sources i.e. leather, silk, wool and from plant sources i.e. cotton and linen that could be pierced with a needle. Thread made of silver, gold, silk, cotton and wool were used along with other decorative material to provide refulgence with simplicity to the surface being decorated.

The Indian embroiderer as an artisan has always showcased his or her best sense of hues and portrayed optimal adornment that has categorized their products as most preferred designs. The impeccable Indian craft has invariably impressed the world around with its graceful expression and style to put itself on the acme of excellence and creativity.

The skill of embroiderer lies in the choice of stitches and the deftness with which they are employed. The stitches are used to form the outline or to fill in the whole surface almost like mosaic. In other pieces they give an impression of being used like brush work in painting. Over the centuries a number of stitches have been evolved to enable the embroiderer to achieve sophisticated results. Most of the stitches are common to the work done in different parts of the world. However, variations of the basic stitches allow distinctive regional characteristics to develop. These depend on the type of ground fabric used, the thickness, colour and quality of the embroidery thread, the aesthetics of the embroiderer or his/her patron and the design favoured, whether geometric or figurative motifs or a combination of both (37). It could be said that local people exclusively drive the style of their craft. Most of the embroidery practised on the Indian sub-continent was done in the north-western region, the river Indus plain and Thar Desert area.

In western region, a thought of embroidery invariably directs one to think of Kutch in Gujarat. The needlework of Gujarat is famous across the globe for its fineness and exactitude where Kutch sets an example. The magnificent grandeur, beauty and distinctiveness of the Kutch embroidery have raised the eyebrows of craft lovers not only in India but across the globe.

Embroidery is Gujarat's quintessential handicraft and many of the artisans are herders, nomads and agriculturists battling for a second income. For the peasant woman of Gujarat, the needle is her pen; her paint brush with which she gives expression to her creativity and reiterates her relationship with religion and nature (15).

Kutch, is one of the richest regions imbued with variety of embroidery. Kutch, a single district is situated in the north-west of Gujarat. It is bounded on the south by the Gulf of Kutch and separated from Pakistan and mainland India by the *Rann of Kutch* on the north and east parts respectively. The adjoining regions touching the boundaries of Kutch have influenced its cultural as well as craft heritage phenomenally. A large number of communities who migrated due to some reasons have settled in various pockets of Kutch. Majority of them continued to practise their craft even after migration in order to maintain and carry forward their cultural heritage; simultaneously fulfilled their economic needs. This enriched Kutch with varied types of crafts and folklore that eventually made Kutch a craft hub of Gujarat. Kutch has not only introduced but defined craft in its true sense for Gujarat and beyond the boundaries of the state. Kutch has presented craft to the world in its divine form – with the language that is inaudible, but enunciate; abstract, but not unclear. It is the reflection of the deep rooted creative forces in material format.

Myriad styles of Kutch embroidery displayed a rich textured map of regions and ethnic groups. Each style a distinct combination of stitches, patterns, and colours, was shaped from historical, socio-economic, and cultural factors (20).

The peasant and tribal women at home, whose imagination and thoughts unspoilt by urbanized ideals, conjure up a world that throbs with life and a spontaneous liveliness unknown in the slick prodigality of the professionals. The vagaries of fashion picked up its own pace, but the peasant and tribal woman at home who carried their unfettered imagination and thoughts unspoilt by urbanized ideals were busy with their own world full of life and creativity. Undeterred by the urbanization, the needle of a peasant woman of Kutch has never been at respite.

During summers, the peasant woman is sighted busy embroidering the trousseau for her young daughter. Each year, during days that permit some leisure, the mother incessantly goes on with her needle. The little girl since her childhood imbibes the skills of the craft from her mother. The girl is trained to embroider lines, circles and flowers, stitch by stitch and gradually she delicately embroiders garments that are ready for her trousseau. The trousseau expressed the love of her mother and flaunted her own skills that earn respect and warmth of her in-laws.

Embroidery; beyond practical wealth, is a blatant expression of culture. What is merely a piece of art, decoration or status for others is a medium to communicate self and status. Embroideries, for artisans, link hearts and create bonds within society. Embroideries introduce a girl's identity to her in-laws. Ritually exchanged embroideries build relations and revive the existing. Different styles of embroidery demarcate various communities, sub-communities and social status within the community.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Society is ever changing, a process driven by various factors such as social, economic, political and migratory. When such changes occur, new ideas emerge, fresh trade contacts are established, and new tastes develop. A remake is imperative in order to accustom to these changes. Records of historians, accounts of travellers and contemporary literature enunciate this upheaval, and it is interesting to find that the embroiderer's art supplements this narration through their craftsmanship as a visual representation of man's adaptability to changes around him (37). In view of the above, researcher planned to re-assess the embroideries of Kutch as the entire process of revolution may affect traditional embroideries of Kutch that are susceptible to change with regards to motifs, material, products etc. Documentation is considered as one of the very old and authentic method to preserve the crucial records. Therefore, documentation on Kutch embroideries was agenzized to preserve the rich heritage in terms of traditional as well as existing motifs, stitches, raw material, techniques and modus-operandi for types of embroidery.

There is a huge scope available for the community of artisans to make their presence felt both nationally and internationally, obstructed by improper communication channels. Artisans are striving hard to approach the emerging markets. Various organisations are also making their efforts to serve the artisans for the upliftment of Kutch embroidery. The investigator felt the need to study in detail the socio-economic condition of the adept community in context to the potential global environment. This may provide a launch pad for the busy hands to flourish. The problem is studied in light of the following objectives:

1.2 Objectives:

Major Objectives:

1. To study the origin and history of Kutch embroideries.
2. To study the prevailing status of various types of Kutch Embroideries
3. To study the socio-economic status of the artisans of Kutch Embroideries.

Specific Objectives:

1. To study the origin and history of various Kutch embroideries.
2. To document various determinants of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch regarding motifs, stitches, materials, colour combinations, techniques and products made.
3. To record the socio- economic status of the artisans of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch region.
4. To explore the role of Government and Non -Government Organisations in promotion of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch and its artisans.
5. To understand the market of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch and various marketing practises prevalent.

1.3 Significance of the study

- The primary objective of the study is to document the types of embroideries as a form of craft with a view to preserve the intellectual capital as well as the rich artistic heritage of Kutch region of Gujarat.
- The research would provide an insight to the forms of craft and provide information pertaining to traditional as well as existing motifs, stitches, threads, fabrics, placement, colour combinations etc. and unveil cultural and

social rationale of the craft; which will provide an inspirational thrust to the neophytes, professional experts such as design magnate and academicians as well as craft appreciators.

- The study would reveal the present socio-economic conditions and hurdles encountered by the artisans which could be considered during policy formation.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Human is the only living being who can take advantage of knowledge accumulated through the centuries. The fact was of a particular importance in research which operates as a continuous function of ever-closer approximation to the truth (41). Considering this fact the investigator had thoroughly reviewed the relevant literature to acquire a deep insight, clear perspective and better understanding of the research problem.

The chapter has been classified under the following heads.

2.1 Theoretical Review

2.1.1 Craft as a heritage and industry of India

2.1.2 Origin and history of embroidery

2.1.3 Profile of Kutch

2.1.4 Embroidery and artisans of Kutch

2.1.5 Government Organisations (GOs) and Non- Government Organisations (NGOs)

2.2 Research Review

2.2.1 Status and sustainability of handicraft industry – An Insight

2.2.2 Embroidery: sources of inspiration, types, techniques and socio-economic association

2.2.3 Marketing of handicrafts and its scope and promotion.

2.2.4 Role of Non-Government Organisations

2.1 Theoretical Review

As per the dictionary meaning the word *Craft* denotes skill; art; trade or workmanship. The word Craft is derived from the German term *Kraft*, denoting strength, power or ability. Craft work is a skilled work: any kind of craft must involve the application of a technique, but not necessarily mechanical technology. Craft implies the application of human intelligence and usually word craft implies to the application of the human hand. The craftsman had tools at command but to the extent that the tools itself, independent of human guidance, accomplish a task, one doesn't talk about craftsmanship. Thus, craft is involved where man or human skill play a role. Sabourin (1999) has defined craft as the production of original pieces, unique in several copies aimed at a utilitarian, decorative or expressive function and was related to the transformation of wood, leather, textiles, metals, silicates or any other material. In India however, craft is highly associated with art and therefore craft example was usually considered to be a specimen of folk art or people's art.

The concept of craft was historically associated with the production of useful objects unlike that of art. A craftsman's piece should normally be worth its purpose for which it was created, while the artist's work is typically without utilitarian function. According to an idea which found fullest expression in the aesthetics of the great enlightened philosopher Immanuel Kant; 'works of art were intrinsically final: they appeal purely at the level of the imagination and aren't good for any practical utility except cultivation of the human spirit'. Whether the artist consciously or subconsciously had something to say, it was there within the finished piece. Thus, art was purely an exhibit of creativity with no intention or conscious effort to be useful whereas the craft examples produced by the craftsmen were basically utilitarian in

which an effort had been made to introduce aesthetic appeal. These two properties of craft, involved the application of intelligent skill (often some kind of handwork), and that it commonly resulted in the production of useful objects were uncontroversial but they still don't get us very far in distinguishing craft from art. Anyone who creates his/her own unique design is an artist whose medium happens to be a particular craft (91).

2.1.1 Craft as a heritage and industry of India

Just like its unique and diverse customs and traditions; India has been highly renowned for its craft heritage. Each part of the country has its own unique cultural ethos, which has been manifested in the handicrafts of that particular region. Indian handicraft traditions were influenced by local topography, climate and socio-religious factors and stood for man's endeavor to bring elegance and grace into an otherwise harsh and drab human life. The early people way back in the dim ages, began to first ornament their weapons and finally their surroundings. These craft traditions had withstood the ravages of time and numerous foreign invasions and continue to flourish till date owing to the assimilative nature of Indian culture and broadmindedness of the crafts men to accept and use new ideas. Indian craft tradition has been unparalleled in the world in diversity as well as in technique and use of materials. Handicrafts have always been a very basic activity of human society. Craft has been an integral part of people's life; in fact they were found to be more cohesive in human relationship than even language, and can cross such barriers as the latter may create. Particularly this has been true for the ancient societies of Asia, South and Central America, Africa and older countries like Greece where certain aspects of the handed- down cultures still continue to exercise powerful influences that almost seem

ageless. These crafts not only cater to the day- to -day needs of the people but have been also used for decorative and religious purposes (81).

Crafts have been recognized as much as an expression of the human spirit in material form which gives delight to mankind as other forms, termed as fine arts. In the craft world however, there is no hiatus between serviceability and aesthetics. The outstanding philosophic significance characterizes crafts as integration between aesthetics and function (81).

The Indian craftsman has been an organic element in the national life. It is seen to have produced two types of craft examples such as rural and urban. In a developing economy, the craftsman has to satisfy the needs of both the rural as well as urban people. Rural community is satisfied with the simple and less costly objects of daily use while the urban people demand more costly and sophisticated craft specimens whether they are for decorative or utilitarian purposes. This was prevalent even in ancient India where the same craftsmen who produced simple articles for the use of common people had to produce deluxe examples on demand for the privileged and the noble class (46).

Apart from the craft itself, the participation of the family in the production activities also play a pivotal role in contributing to the heritage. The combination of women and men has been a creative and essential part of the craft process, as it is in the fields and family life. The shift in the balance of power within the family and the changing perceptions of the community towards women as they become earners, mirrors the transition in the craft as it reaches out to new and wider markets. As women find new strengths and freedom, men too find their minds and horizons expanding. The process is not without conflict but it is invariably catalytic. While India entered in a period of

hi-tech industrialization and globalization, craft and the ancillary aspects of design and tradition are considered by activists and economists, bureaucrats and business strategists as decorative, peripheral and elitist rather than retrograde ways of earning a living. Crafts people were always seen as picturesque exhibits of our past rather than dynamic entrepreneurs of our present and future (99).

Every area and community has a different tradition, need and capacity. In the past, the craft community was linked to a consumer community that was close by and locally accessible material was used to cater to the local demand for products. Globalization has changed the need for localized activities. The value of crafts must be perceived in the light of new potential uses in these changing contexts. But, before entering into a discussion about value creation from a commercial perspective one must take note of the significance of crafts in terms of culture and religion. The commercial potential of crafts in modern market is immense. This is not surprising since the competitive edge in today's globalized world is obtained primarily by capitalizing on specific skills rather than mere labour intensive production. Along with the skill content, the craft sector also embodies valuable traditional knowledge that is rarely appreciated or nurtured. No doubt, macro industries and hi-tech mechanized production are favored over small-scale village industries and indigenous technologies. But with the development of new technologies and global markets, elements of traditional knowledge are also being appreciated as resources of actual or potential value (25).

The traditional handicraft industry belonged to an unorganized sector. A clear-cut demarcation of the handicraft sector seems to be rather difficult task. The basic characteristics of the handicrafts were:

- i. The most important work should be done by hand.
- ii. The resultant product should have some artistic or aesthetic value.

Handicrafts may be found either in the form of a cottage industry or in the form of small-scale industry. Flights of fancy, tempered with traditional fervor, plus a utilitarian view of aesthetic design- all these go into the making of the handicrafts of India (81).

Crafts in India grew on two demands: the comparatively plain objects of utility which served the needs of the common people mostly in or around the centers of production and the more sophisticated products upon which much time and labour were spent and which catered to the aristocracy and were exported as gifts and objects of art (81).

Crafts were an important commodity for world trade and they were a part of the economy in India, since ancient times. Trade links between India and the rest of the world existed from ancient periods (57).

With the break- up of the *Mughal* Empire and the growing enmity between the smaller Princely states, local crafts lost their centuries old local patronage. With the East India Company coming to India, the volume of trade reduced though they managed to strive (60).

England flooded the Indian market with its cheap machine-made items which ousted the homemade crafts. A number of craftsmen were turned destitute overnight. Those who continued with their craft had to compete with the machine-made goods. Gandhiji's *Swadeshi movement* focused on the plight of the Indian craftsmen and on the need for maintaining the ancient craft traditions (88).

After Independence, All India Handicrafts and Handloom Board was set up in November 1952 to look into the plight of the dying crafts. The All India Handicrafts Board is a statutory board with a government department to execute the decisions. A handful of people began the task of mapping out the craft centers trying to reach out to them. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay was a woman of foresight who created a multi-pronged program. A team of economists, marketing experts and researchers carried out a rapid market survey of crafts in well-known urban centers in different regions and developed a plan of work based on the findings of the survey. The Central Cottage Industries Association was an outcome of this survey, the first voluntary organization in handicrafts being run by the Indian Cooperative Union (65).

The economic advisors proposed a prioritization of the most important issues: to survey the handicrafts industry for assessing the employment levels and get a detailed picture of the status of the craft which required a planning and research division, assess the technological and design inputs needed to upgrade the products and bring them into the market. For this purpose, regional design centers were set up along with technological and training centers. The Central Cottage Industries Association was set up to create not only a market outlet but show-case the finest products of handicrafts and introduce new products from all over India. It was also imperative to educate the consumer and influence tastes for which a number of exhibitions of different crafts were organized. Every year one state was selected for developing their crafts and held an exhibition of their products, highlighting one craft. This also created a sense of urgency to develop the products of a particular craft of one state and create a sense of pride in the creative expression of their region, amongst the government officials and the craftsmen (89).

2.1.2 Origin and history of embroidery

Embroidery probably has its origin in the daily needs of humanity. The problem of how to join the edge of a fabric together must have arisen very early, as so many oriental embroideries may be treated decoratively. Fine bone needles found on sites of the upper Palaeolithic period were perhaps intended for sewing garments from skins, but they could have been used for embroidery (58, 59).

Before perusing the Indian Embroidery one should first get an insight into the origin and history of world embroidery. It is an established fact that embroidery originated in the East and the art existed in China and Japan. The earliest traces of actual embroidery were small gold plaques in the shapes of animals and rosettes evidently intended to be sewn to cloths which have been found in the eastern Mediterranean region in southern Russia on sites dating from the 3rd to 2nd millennium B.C. The richly decorated textiles perhaps embroidered or possibly of tapestry, were depicted in Assyrian and Persian relief, Greek vases, also found across the borders of China (67).

Fragments of embroidered cloth dating from early times were found in Europe and Asia. Pieces of tapestry of leather and felt excavated from burial mounds in the Altai Mountains dating from the 4th century B.C. showed amazing dexterity in the art of appliqué. At that time, seven different kinds of cloths were used, one to depict a horse, a rider and a griffin where the work done with horse hair using very fine needles had strong folk element. Another to portray a garden, dating from the 4th or 5th century A.D. originating probably from Eastern Mediterranean country, was decorated with rows of amazingly natural looking trees. A fragment of embroidery from the Sassanian dynasty of Persia in the 6th century portrayed men with details of jewellery and clothes along with trees (10).

The European climate called for wall hangings and curtains to warm interiors and keep out draughts. High born ladies spent all their leisure hours embroidering massive tapestries with scenes of religious and historical happening like; the battle of Hasting which brought the Normans to England and was the start of the historical period of English history. Bed hangings and table covers were other items on which the ladies exercised their skill, as were items such as chalice veils and altar clothes used in churches (10).

Ecclesiastical robes celebrating the pomp and grandeur of the church, vied with royal robes in splendour were embroidered with silk, gold and silver threads showing various incidents from the Bible or recounting the history of a particular saint. The insignia of the Holy Roman Empire consisting of items worn by the Emperor were embroidered with gold and silver thread and pearls. The cloak said to have been worn by the emperor Charlemagne at his coronation; dated from 1200 A.D. and carried a stylised representation of the Imperial eagle. Gloves, dresses, cushions, curtains, vests, gentlemen's suits, fire screens christening dresses and shawls, chairs, handbags, hunting pouches, shoes, sashes, pillow covers, were other items that were embroidered. The Victorian lady prided herself on the number of embroidered anti-macassars, table covers, etc., that filled her house the same way as her counterpart four or five centuries earlier on the minute and elaborate work of her tapestries which were teemed with horses, dogs, men, trees, flowers, legendary birds and animals (10).

A group of pictures from 14th century China done with infinitely fine stitches could easily be mistaken for painting; so lifelike were the expression; so natural the stance and background and so smooth the surface. It was difficult to identify the period during which the tradition of embroidery originated in China however, some

authorities did assert that the art originated there. The Chinese also embellished articles of everyday use as well as ceremonial regalia with the needle. Their skill with the needle had few parallels anywhere in the world. The girl was considered accomplished only if she had achieved proficiency in the art (10).

There are references in The Hymns of the Rig Veda and The Aithareya Brahmana to the art of sewing as follows: 'With never-breaking needle may she sew her work and give a hero son most wealthy, meet for praise, provided evidence of existence of needle in India (58).

It is important to note that India's trade links with other countries have been a Gateway to Indian Embroidery. In gaining an understanding of Indian embroidery it was imperative to consider India's position in relation to other countries and its past trade, invasions and migration patterns. As a result of these factors changes have been considerable, at least during the twentieth century. In the early part of the century, any study of India would have involved the whole sub-continent, but this area had now been divided into Pakistan, Bangladesh and India. The natural movement of people throughout the subcontinent determines the type of embroidery found in these countries despite the formation of national boundaries (40).

India lies along the ancient trade routes across Asia. This has resulted in the introduction of many cultural and religious influences from other countries. From the West, trade and influence came from Iran (Persia), the Aegean area, and Afghanistan. From the East, notable along the old silk roads, came the rich textiles from China. India has very extensive coastline and for centuries this has enabled trade to flourish with many countries including Portugal, Holland, France and Britain. These became invaders rather than trading partners, with obvious effects on the cultures and crafts of

India. The areas around Bengal and Gujarat had, for hundreds of years, been notable centres for European trading companies, who exported large quantities of embroidered products and other textiles. India had assimilated and followed its own ideology introduced by these people who had always been known for the diversity, quality and richness of its textiles. Study of the arts and crafts of ancient times was usually confined to evidence gained from archaeological excavations and examples of early textiles only survived in few parts of the world where the right conditions have existed to ensure preservation. However some pieces produced in India have been found in other countries, indicating the scope of early textile trading throughout the Far and Middle East. Much of the embroidery produced on the Indian subcontinent was made in the north- west-the river Indus plain and Thar Desert areas where the first urban community of that region started to develop some 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. The best known sites were those at Harappa and Mohenjo- daro (40).

Needles were found at all excavation sites in India dating from the third millennium B.C. Figurines found at both Harappa and Mohenjo- daro were clad in embroidered garments. The sculptures Bharhut and Sanchi dating from the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. show figures in embroidered veils and headbands. Strabo, the Greek geographer based his account of India in the diaries of Megasthenes, ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya in the 4th century B.C. described Indians as dressed in robes worked in gold and richly flowered muslin (10).

In the 13th century, Marco Polo the Venetian traveller who visited India on his way back from China wrote on the leather mats of Gujarat that were made of red leather depicting birds and beasts in gold and silver thread sewn very subtly. (40).

Probably the major influence on Indian textiles including embroidered textiles was the Persian taste and tradition which prevailed during the Mughal Empire (1526-1756). Other significant influences came from the Europeans, including the British. (40)

From the 16th century onwards a professional style of court and trade embroideries emerged from this region. During the Mughal periods embroidery was given much importance. The Mughal emperors, being great aesthetes naturally took pride in their appearance and paid attention to their clothes. The Ain-i- Akbari described Akbar's wardrobe as, "his majesty pays much attention to various stuffs hence Iranian (Persian), European and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance". Skillful masters and workmen have settled in the country to teach the people an improved system of manufacture. The imperial workshops in the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fatehpur, and Ahmedabad in Gujarat turned out many masterpieces of workmanship while the figures and patterns, knots and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty had himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade, and on account of the care bestowed upon them the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. The imperial workshops furnished all those stuffs which were made in other countries. "In 1663 Francois Bernier, the French traveller, visited the court of Aurang Zeb and described the imperial workshops, "There were besides some large halls which are the 'kar-kanays'(karkhanas), where the craftsmen worked. However, his age saw the beginning of the decline of the country to seek new patrons and to blend their own skills with those existing locally (10).

During the time of Emperor Jahangir, when his son Prince Khurram established his own court, the master craftsmen developed a rich and sophisticated sense of design.

Gujarat's embroideries decorated the very fine muslin over garments worn by the nobility. Large embroidered wall hangings were commissioned for darbar halls and palaces (15).

Gujarat was renowned for its silk embroidery on cotton. This was done in very fine chain stitch and according to Barbosa in 1518 the products of Cambay, the most important port of Gujarat the art seems to have been used to produce very beautiful quilts and testers of bed finely worked. These quilts were carried to Europe by the Portuguese and enjoyed great popularity. Merchants of East India Company were anxious to export these items to England where they fetched high prices. During the 16th and 17th centuries, Gujarat was an internationally famous centre for embroidery. It was the silk chain stitch embroidery on cotton which was renown at that time (44).

The migratory communities of India had a large share in contributing to the growth and expansion of the art of embroidery (16). Today, the belt comprising Kutch and Saurashtra up through northern Gujarat to western Rajasthan and the Thar Parkar district of Sind in Pakistan is the world's richest source of folk embroidery. Marriage costumes, wall hangings, quilts, cradle cloths and animal trappings were embroidered, appliquéd, decorated with beadwork, embellished with mirrors, sequins, buttons and shells. Each caste passes on unchanged from generation to generation its own distinct designs, colours, and range of stitches, together with the cut of their garments. The people living in this region share a common dowry tradition. In addition to the usual gifts of jewellery and household utensils, a bride will bring to her husband's home a large number of richly embroidered textiles which she and the women of her family have worked upon. This dowry will consist of costume for the bride and groom, hangings for her new home and trappings for their domestic animals (8).

2.1.3 Profile of Kutch:

2.1.3 a. Geography

The word Kutch evokes in one's mind, The Desert. Even though the distinctive feature of the area is the great Rann (Moto Rann) and the little Rann (Nana Rann) stretching over more than half of the area, the land lining the Sea coast in the South is fertile and well cultivated. It is appropriate to say that 'desert is in Kutch but Kutch is not a desert'. The word Kutch is derived from the resemblance of a tortoise (Kachbo) in its geographical feature. The district lies in the extreme West of Ludia between 22⁰ 44' 8'' to 24⁰ North latitude and 68⁰ 7' 23'' and 71⁰ 46' 45'' East latitude. It is bounded on South Gulf of Kutch on the west by the Indian Ocean on the North-East and South East by the districts of Banaskantha and Mehsana. The total area of the district is 45612 Sq. Km. (67).

The climate of the district is generally hot with varying temperature of 45°C (maximum) during summer and 2°C (minimum) in Winter. An average rain fall is 474 M.M. June accounts as hottest month, August for maximum rain fall and December the coldest (97).

2.1.3 (B) History and Culture

Kutch district is inhabited by various groups and communities. Many of these have reached this region after centuries of migration from neighboring regions of Marwar (Western Rajasthan), Sindh, Afghanistan and farther areas. Even today, one can find various nomadic, semi nomadic and artisan groups living in Kutch. It is believed through Vedic Puranas that Yadavas and Ahirs ruled Kutch much before anybody else (67).

While certain groups like the *Kachchi Mali Samaj, Leva Patel, Rabaris, Rajgor, Shah, Kharva Meghvals, Wankars, Vankaras, Ahirs* and many others have adopted a settled lifestyle and have struck a life rhythm close to that of modern-day towns, some groups such as *Dhanetah Jats, Halay potra, Bhadalas, Rayasi potra, Sammas, Node* and other Muslim groups of the Banni region, live simpler and traditional lifestyles (68).

The languages spoken predominantly in Kutch are Kutchi and to lesser extent Gujarati and Sindhi. Script of Kutch language has become extinct and it is occasionally written in the Gujarati script. Increased use of Gujarati language is mainly because of being it a medium of instruction in schools. Often Kutchi language is mistaken as dialect of Gujarati, however it bears more similarity with Sindhi than Gujarati (68).

2.1.3(C) Economy and Industries

Kutch is a growing economic and industrial hub in one of India's fastest growing states - Gujarat. It's location on the far western edge of India has resulted in the commissioning of two major ports Kandla and Mundra. Kandla port is considered as a Gateway to India's Northern region. These ports are near most to the Gulf and Europe by the sea route (97).

Kutch is Mineral rich with a very large reserve of Lignite, Gypsum and lot of other minerals. Lignite is mined only by Gujarat Mineral Development Corporation (GMDC) at its two mines in Panandhro and Mata-No-Madh situated in Kutch. The Panandaro mine has now been reserved for GEB and GMDC power plants and GMDC has stopped the supply to other industries from here. Kutch also houses the plant of Sanghi Industries Limited which is India's single largest cement manufacturing plant apart from other industrial giants like Welspun, Ajanta Clocks,

JayPee Cements, Jindal Steel and one of the largest windmill farms. Kutch region is also a major producer of salt. Other traditional industries in the area include manufacture of Handlooms and handicrafts (97).

(a) Handicrafts

Kutch is considered to be an abode of the numerous handicrafts which are carried from generation to generation. The artifacts of Kutch moved not only in the length and breadth of the country but also in the overseas market (67). The main handicrafts of the district are embroideries, patch work, tie-dye, hand printed textiles, wood work, terracotta, penknives and nutcrackers (68). The finest *aari* embroidery of this region was carried out for the royal and wealthy families. Traditionally, women in rural areas do the embroidery for presenting in the dowries. Unfortunately many of these fine skills have now been lost though some are being rejuvenated through handicrafts promotion initiatives (97).

2.1.4 Kutch embroideries and artisans

In Kutch the craft has been known as *Mochi bharat* and at other places it was also called *Aari bharat* means from the *aar* or Indian crochet used in working the chain stitch. This particular embroidery was popularly known as *Kutchi bharat*. *Mochis* or the members of the traditional shoe maker community were the principal craftsmen once actively engaged in this particular craft. It had also been mentioned that they learned their craft from the Muslim craftsmen who in turn had inherited *Mughal* idioms in their workmanship. The earlier specimens of this embroidery, however, rarely reflected the finesse seen at the end of 19th century. From the beginning their craft was localized to Bhuj, the metropolis of the defunct Kutch state, though a few workers were also known from Mandvi. This sophisticated craft was highly

patronized by the rulers of Kutch. The craftsmen were more or less permanently engaged by them. Their work was in constant demand and in prodigal output too during royal marriages, the occasions of the kind were quite frequent in Kutch. The richly embroidered silks were needed as gifts to a British Political Agent, governor, or Viceroy during his visit to the State. As a background the best kinds of silken cloths including varieties of satin commonly known as *gaji* and *atlas* were preferentially used although at times cashmere or European woollen pieces were also employed. European or the Chinese silk was also to be found; but the more frequent use was made of *gaji* from Surat and *atlas* from Mandavi and Jamnagar. The silken fibers for the needle work were imported from western countries and sometimes from China. These were commonly known as *Basarai heer* and *Chinai resham* respectively (44).

The work was executed with the aid of an *aar* sharpened to the best degree of fineness of stitch required to produce the best work. The *Mochis* made an almost exclusive use of chain stitch which was locally known as *sankali- no tanko*. The stitch was worked out from below the cloth in the lap and going away from the operator. Although the technique was simple in principle, it could boast to produce a work of outstanding merit. It also involved pretty long period for the completion of an elaborate piece of work. An individual chain in a fine work is always minute, uniform in appearance and never abandoning the correctness of lines. The usual motifs comprised *buttis* available in a large number of varieties that were derived originally from Persian or *Mughal* stock. On some of the *buttis* perches a pair of parakeets, or bulbuls. Due to western impact roses and flower baskets were also included, especially in later specimens. The *buttis* were often alternated with peacocks of exceedingly beautiful forms. In some cases peacocks were replaced by the figure of a damsel (*putali*). In rare cases, *buttis* were altogether dispensed with. Instead, caparisoned elephants and

horses with saddler cater to the eye. In this type of work mostly petticoat (*ghaghara-pat*), frilled skirt, *choli*(*Kuchali*, *natiya*), wall hanging, coverlet (*chakla*) and *toran* were found. The borders often of the most stylised flowers were also embroidered (44).

Kanabi embroideries had been practised by the *Kanbis* who were the immigrants from Saurashtra. As such, close parallelism was noticeable between their work and that of their brethren in Saurashtra. For example, they too loved yellow, white or saffron background for their embroidery. Motifs such as parakeet, and the sun-flower were peculiar to Kutch. The main difference was noticed in the technique. The work here consisted almost exclusively of chain stitch as opposed to the darn or surface satin stitch so popular in Saurashtra (45).

Pakko, *Neran* and *Mukko* were practiced by *Halay potra*. Their *Pakko* work resembled traditional *Pathan* embroidery both in design and stitching but, the *Halay potras* used cotton thread in brighter colours. They added small white single chain stitches to *Pakko* embroidery, known as *Boria* meaning honey bee. They adopted *Kharek* embroidery from *Harijan* (17).

The *Halay potra* claim that their community is after its first male ancestor, Holosamma. According to another account Halar in Sindh is believed to be their original home from where they migrated to their present habitat few decades ago. It is a small Maldhari community of the Kutch district. *Halay potras* were distributed in Banni area of Bhuj taluka in substantial numbers. Endogamy at community level governs the rules of marital alliances. Both parallel and cross cousin marriages were preferred and practised. Monogamy was the general form of marriage, however polygamy is allowed for the sake of having a son. Nuclear families followed by

vertical as well as extended joint families were prevalent. The women were mostly confined to domestic duties, sometimes they may also earn as a labourer in scarcity relief works. She contributed to family income by doing *bharat- ka- kam* (embroidery) on clothes and cushion covers. *Halay potras* were cattle breeder and they breed buffaloes, cows, bullocks, goats and sheeps which still remain the principal source of livelihood. They sold milk to Bhuj which was being collected by a milk dairy every day. The *sunni* sect of Islam was being professed by the *Halay potra*. The level of literacy was very low in the community. Girls do not attend school. Boys did not study beyond the primary level because as soon as one attained the age of 12 years of they started grazing cattle or moved out in search of work (53).

Literature records mentioned about usage of *Adaree* motif with light and brilliant colours embroidered by *Halay potra*. The community derived its name after its first male ancestor *Raysojee*, who belonged to *Dal* Muslim community. This fact was found to be in conformity with an account mentioned in village Monograph Bhirandiyara of Kutch district (Census, 1961). The *Raysi potra* was the small maldhari (cattle breeding) community confined to the village of Bhirandiyara in Banni area of Kutch district. A few also lived in Gadhiyado village. It was believed that Sindh in Pakistan was its original home where they had a large population and from there they migrated a few generations ago along with their cattle in search of grass. They came to the present habitat and used to exchange girls in marriage from Sindh villages, prior to the partition of India in 1947. Endogamy at community level is strictly observed. Marriage with the parallel-cousins and cross-cousins are preferred which were followed by exchange of sisters. Monogamy was the norm, non- sorroral polygamy was allowed in exceptional cases for the sake of offspring. Vertically extended families followed by nuclear type of families were the usual pattern in the

Raysi potra community. Besides managing household duties, they took care of cattle, sheep and goats of the family. Water was brought by the women. Women were associated with all social and religious activities of the household. They occasionally earned as labourers during scarcity- relief work in the village. They made little contribution to family income. The cattle were grazed in the forest which was controlled by the government. *Maldhari* was the main occupation of the community, which was not only the traditional but also continued to be the principal and primary source of earning of the community. A few males earned as agricultural labourers by working in the agricultural fields of the adjoining Banni area. Male children above ten years of age tend buffaloes, goats at far off places. They go over to Bhuj or other parts of the district during summer for the purpose of selling their cattle. Wages were paid in cash. Scarcity was the common phenomenon of their habitat; therefore the eldest male along with his grown-up sons and cattle remained out of the village in search of grass for eight to nine months in a year.

The level of literacy is poor in the *Raysi potra* community. Boys study up to primary level and drop-out as one has to support the economic pursuits of the family from the childhood (53).

Elson (1979) explained about medallion design used by Node in their embroidery. The *Node* claim their origin from Kasgodh area situated on the border of Iran and Russia and was believed to be their original home from where they migrated to the present habitat about 1500 years ago, through the Thar desert of Chilar in and then settled at Soni Miyani. From there, a bulk of the population left for Vangh village. They shifted in Banni area of Kutch district which was ruined by sea water in 1979. The *Node* were mainly located in Kutch district (17).

The *Node* community belonged to the *Sunni* sect of Islam. Nuclear families and both vertically and horizontally extended type of families exist among the Node. Generally women preferred to confine themselves to domestic duties, besides taking care of cattle of the household and extending help in the family's agricultural operations. But during scarcity of drought period, she also earned by doing labour work within village. *Maldhari* combined with dry agriculture were the traditional primary occupations of the community. Besides milk selling, a few made their livelihood by working as labourers and doing petty business like pan (betel leaf) cabin, tea stalls etc. in towns (53).

Suf embroidery was being practised by the *Sodha Rajput* women who migrated from Pakistan during 1971 Indo-Pak war and were settled in Banni. Embroidery was done by using satin thread by insertion of needle from back side of the fabric by accurate counting of warp and weft without tracing of designs on the fabric, making designs appear as though woven (60).

Pakko was embroidery that endures. The name literally means solid or permanent, referring to embroidery with very tight square chain stitches that dominated and characterised the style. The basic stitch repertoire included other chain stitch variations: an elongated square chain, interlaced chain stitch, round chain and detached chain stitches. Traditional work also used a line of slanted satin stitch usually black but at times yellow to outline motifs, a certain type of stitch to embroider mirrors and occasionally a tight double buttonhole stitch for round motifs. All of these stitches were very durable, and in-fact, the legend that the embroidery of a *Pakko* piece would outlast the background cloth is often proved true. The other stitches used were: couched, herringbone, interlaced, buttonhole, detached Romanian

and back stitches. Fabric used was hand woven cotton, mashru, and occasionally *gaji* silk. According to Frater (1994), *Sodha Rajputs* and *Meghwars* were practicing the *Pakko*, *Suf* and *Kharek* embroideries in their native Sindh (18).

Marvada Meghwar harijans are originally from Marwar (Rajasthan). The name Harijan was given by Mahatama Gandhi to the people of *Meghwar*. Hari means God and *Jan* means people. Now they also live in parts of western Gujarat, near the Pakistan border. People from the tribe are also living in Pakistan. Traditionally, the Meghwar lived close to Muslim families. The latter influenced the embroidery patterns and techniques of *Meghwars*. The *Meghwar* worship Ramdevpir. *Meghwars* live in groups and move around in small hamlets. They lived in mud brick huts which are painted on the outside with colorful geometric designs, decorated with detailed mirror inlay. You would often find a pot (kalash) placed at the top of the hut believed to ward off evil spirits and bring good luck. Women of the tribe have always been famous for their embroidery skills and are master cotton and wool weavers. Men were traditionally wood carvers and leatherworkers. Only a few men of the community still work with leather. Not only is the work very tedious but it hardly pays hence it is not an economically viable option for the villagers who seek sustenance from it. Unfortunately, simple manual labour pays approximately the same if not more (34).

Mutwa embroidery derives its name from Mutwa a sub-caste of Muslims who lived in Banni. Stitches were carried out by using silk threads. *Gotam* stitch, close chain stitch and buttonhole stitch, tiny mirrors were used in this style of work which was very intricate (60). *Mutwa* is the name of eighteen Muslim clans who lived in isolated villages scattered throughout the Banni region of Kutch. Over the past 200-500 years the *Mutwas* have fled Sindh to avoid disputes with the rulers. They were traditionally

cattle herders, although with drought and the increased salinity of the water their cattle holdings were diminishing (65).

Jats are migrants from Baluchistan in Pakistan and settled in Kutch. Chain, inverted chain stitches along with interlacing and button-hole stitches was common application in their embroidery. Mirrors of small dimension were inset with great care. Only front of *Abha* or *Kanjari* was embroidered by using pleasing colours and geometrical designs with refined work (60). The *Jats* who lived in Kutch were particularly conscious of their identity as a group and their sense of unity comes from a perception of shared historical traditions and a belief in common ancestry (39). Originally, the *Jats* were herders who lived in an area called Halab region of present day Baluchistan. Five hundred years ago, these shepherds migrated and came to Sindh and Kutch in search for new grazing lands. They crossed the Rann of Kutch and settled there taking up farming. This is how they were known as the *Garasia Jats*. Some *Jats* who looked after cattle were known as *Dhanetah Jats* and some who had devoted themselves to the study of the Quran were known as the *Fakitani Jats*. All the *Jats* in Kutch belonged to Muslim religion and had similar marriage and dowry customs (65).

The *Dhanetahs* were the largest of the *Jat* communities. They lived throughout north-western Kutch. *Dhanetahs* who lived in the Banni, herd Cattle. They lived in tents. The men cared for the animals and women remain in camp-looking after their families. They sold *ghee*. In Nakhtrana and Lakhpat taluka the *Dhanetah Jats* who went for pilgrimage to Macca and Madina were known as *Hajianis* and they preferred to marry their children to the offspring of other Hajianis. The *Fakiranis* who comprised the smallest of the three *Jat* communities were nomads who inhabit the swampy coastal regions of Lakhpat and Abdasa Talukas. They were originally holy

men and beggars. The men herd camels and sold young male animals. The women spent most of their time caring for their tents and looked after their children. They worshiped various heroes, goddesses and particularly a holy man called savlo pir. *Fakirani* were poor but they gave as many dowry gifts to their daughters as they could. The *Garasia Jats* were farmers who made their homes in Lakhpat Talukas. The women did most of the work in the field with herds of cattle, buffalo sheep or goats. They worship the Goddess Jeejamah (65).

The ladies of *Ahir* families embroidered their traditional costumes during their off seasons. Base material used was hand spun and hand woven coarse *Khaddar* on which a series of loops leading to chain *stitch* using *Aari* along with abundant application of mirrors were observed. At present the embroidery was done on silk or a locally manufactured satin fabric, *gajji* silk or a satin fabric known as atlas. The hand work was done with colourful cotton thread on dark coloured *Khaddar* in olden days but now they used the untwisted silk floss (*heer*) or the twisted silken thread, on *choli*, *pajamas*, jackets, bonnets, caps and other children's garments. The craftsman later introduced various colour schemes in the basic chain stitch to denote the stem, veins and other subtler parts of the motifs, a chief characteristic of the embroidery. Birds, flowers, creepers, foliage were some of the motifs of which parrots, peacock, bulbul, human figure, dancing doll, *karan phool* were the main (45).

The *Ahirs* are descendants of Lord Krishna. They lived as shepherds at Gokul Mathura about a thousand years ago. After living Gokul Mathura they were spread throughout northern and north-western India. The community has been divided into four types of sub-castes viz., *Parathariya*, *Machoya*, *Boricha* and *Sorathiya*. The *Parathariya* settled in eastern Kutch, whereas the *Machoyas* and *Borichas* settled in

Chorad area. Of the 18 million populations of *Ahirs* in India, three lakh are in Kutch. These communities are mainly farmers who sell milk and ghee. Later, they have changed their business to transport of salt because of the irregularity in rain. Their mother tongue is Gujarati and they worship *Ramdev pir* (28).

The embroidery practised by *Rabari* women was known as *Rabari* embroidery. They considered *Choli* or blouse as their most important art form because of its heavily embroidered ornamentation. The *Rabari* women were known for their highly ornamented embroidery by using close and filling chain stitch. Continuous lines of tiny mirrors could be seen in their work. Their embroidery combines square, triangular, rectangular, diamond, colonial and circular mirrors. This unusual play with shaped mirrors is unique in *Rabari* embroidery. Use of appropriate matching colours is the speciality of *Rabari* work (67,68).

Rabari were nomadic or semi nomadic. Their life style was totally different from any other tribe. Most of the time, they wandered with their herds. In Kutch, there were about 2500 to 3000 families. Out of them 70% were nomads who moved with their herds in Gujarat, Madya Pradesh, Orrisa, Maharashtra, and Karnataka in search of food. Originally, Rabaris are from Jesalmer. According to verbal history, Rabaris came to Kutch from Afghanistan through Baluchistan. Some experts believe that they came from Sindh. There are three types of sub-Castes namely *Dhebaria*, *Vagadia*, and *Kachhi*. In eastern Kutch, *Vagadias* and *Dhebarias* live in Anjar Taluka where *Dhebarias* comprise of a larger portion. (28).

2.1.5 Government Organizations and Non-Government Organisations

Office of Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) is a nodal office to work for socio-economic upliftment of the artisans by supplementing the efforts of the state

Governments for promotion and development of handicrafts within the country and abroad. The office also aimed at qualitative improvement in production and increase in the productivity of artisans for augmentation of their income both at individual and group levels (75,76).

Gujarat State Handloom & Handicrafts Development Corporation Ltd., (GSHHDC), is an undertaking of Government of Gujarat. The main objectives of the office were identification, revival, development of handicrafts and handlooms of Gujarat. The office helped in creating sustainable employment opportunities and income generation to the artisans working in the area of handloom and handicrafts, which is a non farming sector of Indian economy. The Corporation markets their products through its GARVI-GURJARI chain of emporia across the country and supply to exporters, which has created its market in overseas countries (74).

Any organization working for a social, cultural, economic, educational or religious cause is termed as an NGO. NGOs have made favorable indents to needy sections of Indian society at par with a constantly changing socio-economic climate. NGOs have reached out to all sections of society including women, children, pavement dwellers, unorganized workers, youth, slum-dwellers and landless labourers. NGOs are viewed as vehicles of legitimization of civil society (89).

Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) to mean any grouping of people who have a common mission to meet a particular need in their society or community, and are not formed or controlled by government. Throughout the world groups of people identify needs in their communities which government institutions are either not designed to meet or which government institutions are unable to meet because of unavailability of resources, and the government busy with other priorities. A further characteristic of

NGO's is that in most cases they depend on donations for the resources required to perform their functions. The donations may come from the community, from businesses, from the government of the country in which the NGO operates, or from foreign governments, foundations and businesses. The contribution by government to an NGO's material needs can only happen where there is a friendly relationship between NGO and the government. This happens where the government wishes to channelize its resources into work of more urgent need but, the government is prepared to have an NGO, or a number of NGO's that take care of those needs which the government cannot fully pay attention to during a particular time period (78).

2.2 Research review

2.2.1 Status & sustainability of handicraft industry – an insight

Parikh (1990) had undertaken a research on “An information map of handicrafts of India”. The results of the study were as follows.

Handicrafts were classified as an income generating and high revenue yielding industry than being relegated as a form of art or rural activity. Unfortunately, handicrafts have suffered because of various historical, social and industrial factors.

In spite of a lot of threats to the handicraft sector's creativity, the main strength, among artisans has been largely inherent, associated with their culture and lifestyles which have been providing a strong resource base. The sector possessed large employment opportunity in manufacturing highly aesthetic and utilitarian products.

Despite the strong aesthetic background the sector was unorganised with a dispersed product base. Insufficient working capital, drudgery and long hours involved were a few more drawbacks. The craft was perceived as highly decorative and non-essential

by a specific school of thoughts of end users. A dearth of market intelligence was observed in the sector.

However, the handicraft sector; with a blend of strengths and a few short comings, has had many frontiers to expand the horizon by increasing export especially in developed countries. Due to social workers' intervention and technological support this sector can achieve eminent position.

The investigator further stated that in production and procurement, closer interaction with the artisans was helpful. A number of voluntary organisations have been working closely with crafts persons. A small beginning of attractive display, skill up-gradation training and packaging to market products by professional institutes had been initiated (46).

SRUTI; Society for Rural, Urban and Tribal Initiative (1995) undertook a research to study artisans' socio-economic status in changed market scenario. As per the report the state of India's artisans was a matter of grave concern. The artisans who were once the backbone of the Indian economy, providing much of the goods and services that our people needed, are marginalised by the "modernisation" and "industrialisation" of society. Though some have managed to adapt to changing times and a few have even thrived, most of them lived in abject poverty with no prospects for a better tomorrow.

As per the study, expansion of markets for modern goods and services deprived the artisans those "stepping stones of history" which would have enabled them to move with the changing times.

The study suggested that the role of artisans' sector in Indian economy be rethought and a national initiative was required to reorient their skills for their rehabilitation.

Kak (2003) had presented a paper entitled 'Culture genocide?' at the symposium organised on handicrafts and discussed that, in considering crafts as values one must really consider skills as symbolizing values and not the products as they just signify the material expressions through which the skill is manifested. The profitable exercise of creative skills was possible only if there was a demand for them. A market for craft skills therefore, was the first requirement for the five million. When the traditional market that sustained these skills was dying the new market needed to be developed.

It was further discussed that in India there were five main players with their roles sometimes overlap i.e the artisans, the government, the business sector, mediating organisations, primarily the NGOs and the market.

The government has expressed a good deal of sympathy for artisans but, its actual policies and attitudes have steadily undermined the existence of artisans in the sector. The business sector was primarily interested in making more money for their owners whereas, artisans are important only as long as their skills laid golden eggs.

It was stated that there was a felt need for the NGOs to study and understand the traditional culture of production, the modern culture of consumption and further it must act as a catalyst between the two by helping traditional artisans adapt their skills to cater to the modern markets. These NGOs must use its expertise and experience to link the old producers and new consumers through interactive processes both, educational and commercial (38).

Craft Resource Centre (2004) had conducted a household survey of the artisans and discussions with various stakeholders of the handicrafts in Kutch Region. The results of the survey divulged that over 40,000 families in Kutch lived their livelihood practicing traditional skills. In the drought prone area, handicraft was the main means of providing a sustainable means of income.

Embroidery sector had an organized intervention from the NGOs for past thirty years. Various NGOs had different methodologies however, returns to the artisans were fairer than if they supplied to traders. Yet, a large number of women were not registered under any of the NGO but, chose the channel via traders or middlemen. Post-earthquake different agencies and NGOs aided new groups for their livelihood. These NGOs had articulated the need to be supported by design, skill up-gradation and linkages to suitable markets.

2.2.2 Embroidery: sources of inspiration; types; techniques and socio-economic association.

Kwalra (1982) conducted a study on the role and scope of embroidery in export units to study various techniques, designs, method of tracing, products embroidered, problems faced and the existing demand for the products. The findings of the study revealed that embroidered garments manufactured in India were being exported to many countries. Embroidered dresses, tops, jackets, shirts and trousers for exports were manufactured throughout the year at the export houses; the motifs to be embroidered did not change much with changing seasons but the colours used and the placement of the designs changed considerably. Fabrics especially suited for embroidery on export quality garments were cotton, linen, silk, wool and wool

blends. It was observed that embroidery for export done on automatic embroidery machine was also being practised on garments.

According to the crafts notes prepared by Office of the Development Commissioner in respect of handicrafts for marketing clinic on Handicrafts of Gujarat (1987), in total 12 crafts were covered including embroidery as one of the crafts. Personal clothing, decoration for the doorways and for the carts and trapping for the animals-all bear ample testimony to the rich craft. It was mentioned that various communities in Gujarat such as, *Mochi, Rabari, Ahir, Mutwa, Halay potra, Raysi potra, Jat*, were practising their own styles of needle work. It had also been noted that production process was not very technical but strenuous and time consuming.

According to the estimate more than 15,000 women were engaged in this craft, mostly during leisure. Artisan's daily earnings ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 20 depending upon the hours of work put in and intricacy of designs employed. The work was carried out on piece rate basis as the women worked during their leisure time. The craftswomen could not work continuously since it was strenuous to eyes. It was noted that middlemen got the work done on meagre piece rate basis and supplied to merchants and exporters. Lion's share of profits was appropriated by middlemen, merchants and exporters. Credit assistance was required for stocking of raw materials and finished products by craft women to improve their stock holding and bargaining capacity. Quality control on threads and fabric was considered as a need of the hour as hand embroidered products were facing competition from cheaper machine embroidered products. It was also stated that the influence of western culture had its impact on traditional designs like peacock, elephant, lotus found no place on the *toran*, instead

designs of phrases like 'Welcome' 'Good day' were used. The spurt in marketing for traditional design had resulted in introduction of motifs and colours that were alien.

Suggestions were also made to overcome stated problems such as reducing the role of middlemen in marketing, forming women's *mandals* or co-operatives, establishing direct market link with domestic and overseas agencies and training programmes for product diversification. Awareness in quality control, setting up agencies for supply of raw materials like thread, *jari*, cloth and *abhla* at reasonable prices and costing of products were some of the remedial measures that were considered.

Patel (1987) congregated data regarding embroideries of Kutch and Kathiawar. A questionnaire was formulated to obtain technical information pertaining to embroidery, the type of motifs, colours, and techniques used and the present status of the embroideries.

On analysis it was found that majority of the girls learnt the embroidery through mother or grandmothers while initiated embroidery between the age of 8 to 10 years. Fabrics used were Casement which was purchased from Bombay and Madras whereas Satin from Surat. Poplin was procured from Ahmedabad, Khadi from Porbandar or Bhavnagar. The stitches used in the embroidery were chain stitch, herring bone stitch, button hole, darning and *sindhi taropa*.

Various innovative articles made were inclusive of decorative bed linings, clothing and accessories. Required raw material was supplied by the handloom handicraft shops while placing orders. The artisans were paid on piece rate basis.

The results also indicated that the embroideries of Kutch and Kathiawar were not restricted to Gujarat only, but were popular all over the country and even exported.

Sisodia (1989) conducted a study on the *Kasida* of Kashmir. A data was collected from three important centres famous for Kashmir embroidery.

The findings of the study indicated that the designs were dominated by landscape, flora and fauna where a profusion of colours were seen. The stitches were simple mainly *Satin*, *Stem*, *Chain* with often use of *Herring bone*, and *Darning* stitch. The threads used were Cotton, Wool or Silk. Silk threads were not excessively used those days, because of their high cost. Rayon was gradually replacing Silk as it was cheaper. The *Kasida* of Kashmir consisted of a *Rezkar*, *Vatachikan*, *Do-Rookha*, *Jalak dozi*, *Rafugari*, *Doria* and *Jali*. The process of tracing the design remained the same as the old techniques.

It was found that during the last 15 to 20 years a phenomenal change has taken place in the export trade. The exporters were benefited by facilities and incentives provided by the government for export of handicrafts. Due to these benefits their standard of living was highly uplifted. The embroiderers were generally paid on piece rate basis. However, some schemes are under consideration to provide facilities to crafts men.

It was found that, in U.S.A. there was scope for high priced embroidered Silk and Wool products. The Kashmir craftsmen were known for their hard, honest and fine work. However, their wages and working conditions have not been in proportion to their contribution to the craft. Despite some difficulties faced by the Kashmir, crafts acclaim the world over.

Jain (1992) carried out a socio-economic study of the artisans in *Zari* Industry, focusing women's role and participation. The multi methodological, integrated approach was adopted to carry out the study.

The findings of the study indicated that 96 per cent industry workers and manufacturers in *Zari* production and product making sectors were from the Hindu community. Majority i.e., 61.53 per cent entrepreneurs fall in the age group of 19 to 39 years and in product making 46.15 per cent owner cum manufacturers were in the age group of 40 to 49 years.

The joint family system was prevalent among the entrepreneurs and artisans in *Zari* production and product manufacturing sectors. Data showed involvement of child earners in the family which was more in family labour compared to hired labour.

Data revealed that 100 per cent of the respondents could speak, read and write Gujarati language. Male child in the family joined business after completing their studies. The study revealed that 24 percent of the owner-cum-manufacturers in general suffered from ailments like hand and finger pains, backaches, and ocular problems. It was noted that 57.14 percent *Zari* production and product making sector, reserved some capital for raw material, electricity, building or tools and equipments. Majority of the manufacturers reported that they were paying to the artisans on piece rate basis.

According to the craft notes published by the *Office of the Development Commissioner of Handicrafts* (1992), Gujarat had been offering various types of embroideries namely *Ari, Rabari, Ahir, Bavalia, Banni, Suf, Mutwa, Jat and Lohana*. The product range embroidered for market included *Chakla, Toran, Ghaghra, Kanjari, Godadi*(quilt), Bags, Cushion cover, Pillow cover, Sarees, Saree borders,

Wall hangings, Punjabi suits, *Chania choli*, Waist belts, Bed spreads etc. These items were mainly marketed, through local fairs & festivals, exhibitions organised by office of the Development Commissioner of Handicraft Corporations. These products also had a good export potential. In spite having various marketing channels, a gap between production and marketing was found. It was felt that the state owned marketing organisation may come forward to provide a regular marketing support to the artisans to choose the network of their emporia. It was also suggested that the marketing agencies may guide the artisans to choose the type of products having good demand in the market and place orders with the artisans for such products.

It was mentioned that most of the designs adopted in these crafts were traditional and self-innovated by the artisans. It was a felt need to provide the artisans with necessary design guidance keeping in view the tradition for making utility items to suit the market demand.

Joshi (1994) carried out the study on *Ari* and *Soofi* embroidery of Kutch and Banaskantha districts. The findings indicated that migrant *Mochi* families, who practiced *Ari* embroidery in Sindh settled in some of the villages of Kutch and Banaskantha.

The artisans of Banaskantha created designs by using different colours in motifs without shading. In present work done in Banaskantha, had about 10 chain stitches, showed quality deterioration. Satin and Georgette were commonly used fabrics in traditional articles and silk embroidery threads were used. The researcher reported that since long the artisans had been embroidering with cotton and acrylic yarns mostly on poplin, cambric and muslin. The common colours of threads for *Ari*

embroidery were red, green, orange, brown, black, yellow, pink, parrot-green and purple.

The *Soofi* embroidery was mainly of two types, namely *Kharek bharat* and *Soofi bharat*. Both these embroideries were done using silken threads. In *Kharek bharat*, the major area were embroidered in satin stitch and button hole stitch. Outlining of a motif was carried out with black thread. In *Soofi bharat* the stitches used were darning which was done from the wrong side of the cloth by counting the wrap and weft yarns without tracing the motifs. Colours of the thread used were shades of blue, brown, green and red. '*Soofi*' embroidery was done on cotton, spun and terry-cotton.

In both *Ari* and *Soofi* embroideries common motifs used were inspired from flora fauna, animal, birds, daily chores of the artisans and deities. In *Kharek bharat* motifs were generally stripes, squares, and triangles.

Articles made in *Ari* and *Soofi* embroidery were apparels, home furnishings and accessories.

The artisans got the raw materials from the customer or through the organisation under which they worked, where price was fixed as per the intricacy and type of work. For personal use they bought the material from local market. Majority of the artisans were aware of the credit facility given to them by the government.

The results of socio-economic back ground indicated that embroidery was a female oriented craft in both the districts. In *Ari bharat*, majority of the artisans, were in the age group of 26-35 years, while in *Soofi bharat* majority of the artisans were 15-25 years of age. Majority of *Ari* and *Soofi* artisans were found to be uneducated. *Ari* embroidery artisans mostly belonged to *Harijan* community. Majority of the *Ari*

artisans' income generated through embroidery ranged between ₹. 201 to ₹. 400 and in case of *Soofi* artisans 53.32 per cent artisan's income was found to be below ₹. 200 per month.

Arya and Sadana (2001) had undertaken a diagnostic study on the *Chikan* embroidery cluster at Lucknow and analysed the findings in terms of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats.

Strengths of the craft were traditional handicraft, huge artisan base with highly skilled artisans. Due to availability of raw material, possible application of varieties of fabrics, transportation, exemption from excise duty and trade tax, low price handmade garments could be manufactured and customised products also be made. Due to all these factors it had a huge demand in domestic market and was brand name in itself.

Research also unveiled weaknesses such as lack of technological up gradation and designer input, lack of technical knowhow and association among manufacturers. In spite of lengthy production time, products could not gain state of the art quality. A negligible amount of exports and lack of advertisement in foreign markets were also noticed. Above all, these products were mainly treated as summer wear.

The investigator encompassed the scope in domestic as well as foreign markets. Development of new products, selling low priced products in Latin America and implementation of various schemes at central as well as state level for the welfare of artisans could be worked upon.

The threats to be noted were competition with printed & machine embroidered items, invasion of alien embroidery or similar foreign products in India on account of globalisation and change in government tax policies.

2.2.3 Marketing of handicrafts and scope of craft promotion:

Singh (2000) had undertaken a study *on* 'Marketing of rural non-farm products: a case study of handicrafts' with the aim to overcome the major problems of rural industry from the marketing point of view. An evaluation study of 33 craft development centres sponsored by the Development Commissioner of Handicrafts across 14 states revealed that major weaknesses of ill functioning craft development centres were in the nature of poor quality of products, lack of designs, working capital, marketing orientation and shortage of raw materials besides absence of local markets and lack of funds for market promotion. Based on above analysis of marketing problems of handcrafted products, strategies for better marketing were suggested as under:

The role of government was crucial in terms of development of infrastructure, seed capital, managerial support and risk sharing. The government could sponsor new enterprises, attract external investments and persuade the central and state governments to contribute for resources.

The programmes of rural craft development were undertaken with a demand driven approach combined with local needs. It was important to monitor procurement management and quality of artisans' work, to keep the abreast on changing market trends and product diversification. The involvement of craft group leaders and members into marketing activity would help them get a first-hand feel of the customer needs and new products. To avoid the market risk, necessity for multiple outlets were stressed on. At the retail level, improvement in window display was suggested to promote sales and regain customers. The handicrafts outlets should attempt to deliver value added services i.e. gift packing, tailoring, etc.

The products needed to be positioned, as a strategy, with a brand image through assured utility and advertising. Also, personalised selling could establish brand loyalty. The wholesale market should be treated separately with discounts and tied offers.

Perivoliotis (2001) had undertaken an investigation, entitled the management and marketing of craft textiles at Greece to gain an insight into the skill needs of Greek textile co-operatives. The main findings revealed that at management level the deficient points noted were lack of co-operative spirit motivation, entrepreneurship, effective human resource management, inability to deal effectively with accounting and financial management. At organisational level lack of rational allocation tasks, inadequate planning and monitoring of production, poor stock and time management were the negatively affecting factors. It was found that need of market research and distribution network was not understood properly thereby implemented inadequately resulted in improper marketing. The cooperatives were also lacking in technological know-how, and they were finding difficulties in coexistence of hand-made quality with new technology. Further it was revealed that the cooperatives also needed to intervene into Design development as they lacked in innovative products and designs. They did not possess the knowledge of aesthetics, true tradition and heritage.

Exim Bank's occasional paper on Indian handicrafts: A new direction for exports had put forward a case for the repositioning of the handicrafts sector as 'industry' rather than cottage enterprise in order to harness the intrinsic marketability of Indian Handicrafts. The study identified a number of constraints faced by this sector and analysed the trends in the world market, and emphasized the need to improve India's export penetration of handicrafts in sizeable markets such as France, Netherlands,

Italy, Switzerland, Canada, Japan and Hong- Kong. At enterprise level, exporters must undergo a re-orientation in products, engage designers, be customer focussed, utilise improved tools and equipments, specialise in limited areas, hire professionals, pay attention to packaging and endeavour to obtain international quality certification. It was further mentioned that despite the constraints faced by the industry, adopting the right initiatives backed by strategic restructuring of the sector go a long way to enhance the competitiveness of the Indian Handicrafts sector (51).

2.2.4 Role of non-government organisations:

Nanavati (2003) conducted a case study to examine the constraints towards growth faced by various occupational groups. One such being embroidery artisans of Kutch and Banaskantha districts and described the strategies of SEWA to help **it's** members overcome these constraints. The findings indicated that those artisans who tried to support themselves and their families through embroidery had little (if any) direct access to markets and had to rely upon jobbers or traders who offered extremely low prices for their products. To address concerns related to product uniformity and quality, a three-month intensive training program was organised.

After working with design and marketing consultants, two lines of embroidered products as well as marketing channel and a brand name called, *Banas craft* and *Kutch craft* were developed.

The organisation had partnered with several organisations for expansion of the market in India as well as abroad. In addition, a website was also designed to facilitate Internet sales, released product catalogues, participated in handicraft expositions, and arranged fashion shows.

The organisation also conceptualised centralization of production centres with a master craftsman to monitor the quality of production. The concept ensured better standardization and quality control to streamline production for international markets (51).

Bhatia and Balkrishniah (2006) undertook a descriptive research on 'Preservation and promotion of crafts: Role of NGOs in Gujarat-Case studies' that put forth following facts.

Analysis of data collected on production process highlighted the issues and lacunae of the NGOs who deserved attention. Unsatisfactory work was rejected and further sold in local market, or to other NGOs at low prices. If the material were provided by the organisation then the worker was paid lower than the agreed price. To mitigate the adverse effects, exhibitions were held at national level which provided a platform to expand the market and promote the art. The effort at least extended the probability of visual appreciation if not economic gains to a fuller extent.

It was concluded that, the attempts of the NGOs had made craftsmen self-motivated, self-reliant and successful entrepreneurs who would no longer remain picturesque exhibits of our past. Commitment, competency and skill of people working in the NGOs had significant impact on sector performance and its reform process. However, the NGOs were required to invest progressively and in a proactive manner towards developing the professional linkages to improve and sustain the motivation of its beneficiaries. Sustaining motivation for the craftsmen also involved efforts to regularise training sessions, prioritization and synchronization of short term achievable goals and long-term research based actions.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The main aim of the present study was to acquire authentic data regarding the prevailing status of the Kutch embroideries. The researcher had keen interest to study the various aspects of embroideries of Kutch that included motifs, raw material used, processes, artisans' socio- economic conditions, efforts made by and the impact of GOs and NGOs for sustainability and promotion of the embroidery of Kutch. In order to attain deeper understanding and acquaintance to the topic extensive information was congregated from primary and secondary sources.

The methodology adopted for conducting the present study has been discussed under following heads:

- 3.1 Literature Survey
- 3.2 Research Design
- 3.3 Sampling Design
- 3.4 Collection of Data
- 3.5 Analysis of Data

3.1 Literature Survey

An extensive literature survey was carried out in order to procure the baseline information including various aspects of the study such as origin and history, locale, various embroideries practised in Kutch, institutional support, marketing practices etc. The investigator personally visited different libraries to review relevant data from published and unpublished literature. The 'World Wide Web' was also explored using

various search engines. Literature from the libraries including Smt. Hansa Mehta library and Prof. T K Gajjar library at The M.S. University of Baroda; National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad; National Institute of Fashion Technology, Gandhinagar; Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad; Kutch Museum, Bharat Sanskruti Darshan Museum and Aina Mahal at Bhuj were referred. Reports of various GOs and NGOs were also explored to have an insight into the various aspects of Kutch embroideries. The literature reviewed helped in exploring information on the role of GOs and NGOs in sustainability and promotion of the craft.

3.2 Research Design:

In view of the objectives, a research design was planned which included descriptive survey method for collecting complete and authentic first hand data pertaining to the embroideries, socio-economic conditions of the artisans and the techniques followed by them for marketing the finished products. Case study method was the most appropriate for assessing the role of GOs and NGOs

3.2.1 Conceptual frame work

On the basis of objectives of the research, the investigator conceptualised a broad framework for the study. From the available literature, it was noted that different communities practised embroideries in Kutch for their personal use as well as catered to domestic and global markets. GOs and NGOs strived for the survival and upliftment of the traditional embroideries of Kutch (Figure 3.1).

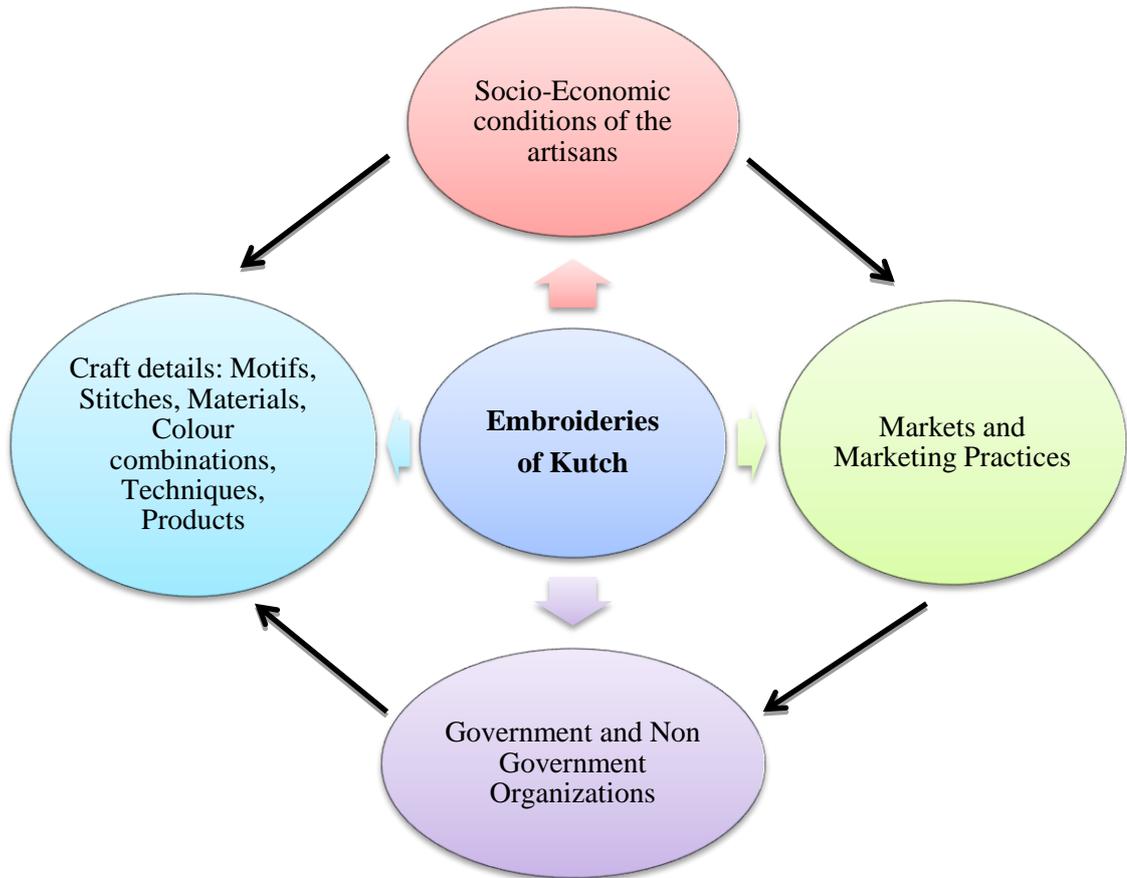


Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework

3.3 Sample Design

3.3.1 Locale of the study

Data pertaining to talukas and villages where the embroideries were practised was obtained from the primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included the Taluka Panchayat Offices and The Handicraft Marketing and Service Extension Centre of Bhuj while the referred secondary sources of information were official records of the GOs, NGOS and from the Internet through various search engines.

The collected data revealed that embroideries were being practised by various communities residing in the following seven of ten talukas of Kutch.

Bhuj, Nakhatrana, Lakhapat, Rapar, Anjar, Gandhidham and Bhachau.

3.3.2 Sampling procedure

i) Selection of the artisans:

The researcher initially identified the number of embroideries practiced in the Kutch region followed by the respective practicing communities and their native villages. The investigator identified the villages where these embroideries were practised (Figure 3.2). To gain a holistic insight, purposive random sampling method was adopted for the selection of villages and the artisans based on the following criteria.

- Accessibility to the village.
- Willingness of the artisans to respond.
- Density of the artisans' population.

In all, two villages for each community were purposively selected (Plate 3.1). A list of number of households in each village was obtained from the Taluka Development Officers. Of the total, 30 per cent from each village were selected as the sample. One artisan per house hold was selected through snow ball technique while from each village at least one artisan of age above 60 years of each community was purposively selected for data collection.

A sample size of 720 artisans from 17 communities and sub-communities residing in 34 villages were included in present study.

ii) Selection of Government and Non-Government Organisations:

Government offices situated in Kutch were visited to collect the first hand information. Secondary information was collected through the web sites of the office of the Development Commissioner, Handicrafts and Gujarat State Handloom and Handicrafts Development Corporation as well as from the published literature of concerned office.

NGOs addressing different issues of the traditional embroideries and artisans of Kutch willing to co-operate with the investigator were selected as sample for the study.

In all, two GOs and three NGOs were selected for the study.

3.4 Collection of data

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, multi method approach was adopted for collection of the data. The methods consisted of interview, focused group discussion, observation and case study. The data procured was verified through multi visits.

3.4.1 Development of interview schedule:

In view of the objectives the investigator felt a need to frame an interview schedule in order to obtain specific in depth information and maintain a systematic record of the data collected. Interview schedule was the most reliable tool in light of the objectives since a direct conversation with the interviewee would facilitate the first hand data collection effectively. Hence, an interview schedule was structured with both open and close ended questions. The interview schedule contained a set of questions covering different aspects of traditional embroideries and artisans. The details of the tool are explained below:

3.4.1.1 Back ground information

The first section comprised of background information, which included name, village, community.

3.4.1.2 Craft details

The second section dealt with the craft details where questions pertaining to origin and history, transfer of skill and number of family members engaged in embroidery. This section also elucidated information about their prior formal training sessions if any and its benefits. Further, data on components viz., motifs, raw materials, colour combinations, stitches of the embroidery craft and products made were collected.

Technical details such as designing, tracing (transfer of the motif on fabric), embroidering, cutting, stitching and finishing of product were also a part of the survey. Details of the products manufactured for their household use as well as for commercial purpose catering to different market segments, payment procedures and quality control were also included. The investigator accentuated the information about future plans of the artisans where issues such as, willingness to continue with the craft and to pass on the inheritance to the next generation were discussed. Willingness of the artisan to change the profession and readiness of the artisans to migrate to urban area, if required was also touched upon. Details regarding the kind of assistance needed from the Government were also discussed.

3.4.1.3 Socio economic conditions

The section dealt with socio economic components including age, gender, religion, dialect spoken, marital status, family compositions, educational qualification, occupation, income and possessions of the artisans. Questions pertaining to the financial condition such as, raising funds, amount and duration of loan, rate of interest, source of borrowings and their debt servicing capacity as against their income were also studied.

3.4.1.4 Problems faced by the artisans

Here, collection of information pertaining to the problems faced by the artisans in procuring raw material, production, payment and institutional financing and the occupational hazards faced by the artisans were studied.

3.4.1.5 Facilities provided by the Organization and terms and conditions to be followed

The section was framed only for the artisans who were working with the GOs and NGOs. It was inclusive of holistic information on facilities provided by the organisations for which they had been working. It also encompassed information pertaining to the awareness of the artisans regarding the facilities provided by the organisation and their types. The section also gathered information on the terms and conditions laid down by the various GOs and NGOs to be followed by the artisans. Questions on artisans' awareness about the existence of other such organizations and their experiences with them, if any.

3.4.1.6 Markets and marketing practices

The section elucidated information on markets and marketing practices followed by the artisans' peak season for the sale of embroidered products when their demand was high, problems faced by artisans due to introduction of machine embroidered products in the market and their knowledge about e-marketing.

3.4.2 Pre-testing

In order to ascertain and solve unforeseen problems in administration of the interview schedule, it was pre-tested on a non-sample group comprising of 27 artisans. On pre-testing the interview schedule required modification were carried out by re-framing and adding to the questions.

3.4.3 Methods of data collection

Data for the present study had been collected through extensive field work. To obtain complete information, investigator personally administered the interview schedule. A

focused group discussion as well as observation methods were combined with the interview method in order to obtain comprehensive information.

To explore the target group in the field, the investigator contacted the District Development Officer, Taluka Development Officers, In-charge of the handicrafts office, field workers, managing trustees of the NGOs and local shop owners. A purpose and importance of the field visit was discussed with them to obtain and verify the exact locale where various embroideries were practised. Through the above sources, leisure hours of the artisans during which they practice embroidery were ascertained. These hours were found suitable for collecting the data. Information so collected served as a guideline to plan for data collection.

Finally, a field programme was chalked out after having considered the climatic conditions of the region, festivals and religious customs to ensure that the artisans did not get disturbed during their festivals and rituals. The investigator approached the target groups with the help of the *Sarpanch* of the village, leader of the village, the proprietors of the government authorized ration shops and block printers. The initial response of the artisans was hesitant and they were reluctant to share the information. The investigator explained the purpose of visit and significance of authentic data for the research, in order to avoid any inhibitions, which enabled to develop a rapport with the artisans' community.

Conversation was initiated with an informal approach. During the interview, focused group discussion and observation methods were also used to elaborate on the topics of concern. To understand the processes of various embroideries, the investigator had a hands-on with the embroidery. The informal mode of communication helped the investigator know about some traditional motifs that were explained by the artisans

through pencil sketches. Observation method helped in verification of the information provided by the artisans.

During the field work, whenever possible, the investigator stayed back with the artisans for a few days in order to facilitate data collection at a micro level. This also developed a long term personal relationship with the artisans. This was essential to collect information that was more authentic, minute and to know certain trade secrets.

The investigator was unable to understand or speak the *Kutchi* language therefore; help of a local interpreter was taken to translate the conversation as many of the respondents were not familiar with Gujarati language.

Data pertaining to the role of GOs and NGOs was collected through case study method with participatory observation. A prior permission over the phone, fax or through an e-mail was sought before visiting the organisations.



a. Researcher gathering information on embroidery



b. Learning the embroidery

Plate 3.1 Interaction with the artisans

Prior to data collection from the NGOs, the investigator had an ‘on Job training’ for one month and worked in all the departments of the leading NGO of the Kutch region to get familiar with the operational activities. This facilitated to attain an insight into the case study and thus elicit complete information.

The data was collected during the months; May-June, 2007; September-October, 2007; December, 2007; March, 2008; April- May-June, 2008 and Oct, 2008. Before proceeding for final result writing data was again verified in December, 2011 and April, 2012.

3.4.4 Electronic devices used for data collection

- **Camera:** Documentation of the craft details was carried out by capturing photographs and short length movies. Digital cameras of resolutions 4.1 mega pixels and 7.1 mega pixels were used at a working resolution of 3 to 4 mega pixels for the present study. Photographs of the artefacts displayed in the museum were taken with the help of a professional photographer using a digital camera of 10.1 mega pixels resolution. Photographs were captured after setting up flash light and applied from 45⁰ angle to overcome the reflection of mounted acrylic sheet.
- **Voice recorder:** Each and every discussion during the interviews and case studies was recorded in the voice recorder to ensure complete information.

3.5 Analysis of data

As the data collected through the extensive field work was qualitative in nature, a descriptive and documentary analysis was carried out.

The embroideries practised before 30 years were considered as traditional embroideries. The data was analyzed on the basis of the specimens documented from museum, visual and written records from various references and the first-hand information procured from the artisans regarding traditional embroideries. It was observed that since past thirty years each community's embroideries had undergone

changes in terms of type of embroidery, motifs, stitches, colour combinations and materials. The said observations have been discussed wherever it was applicable.

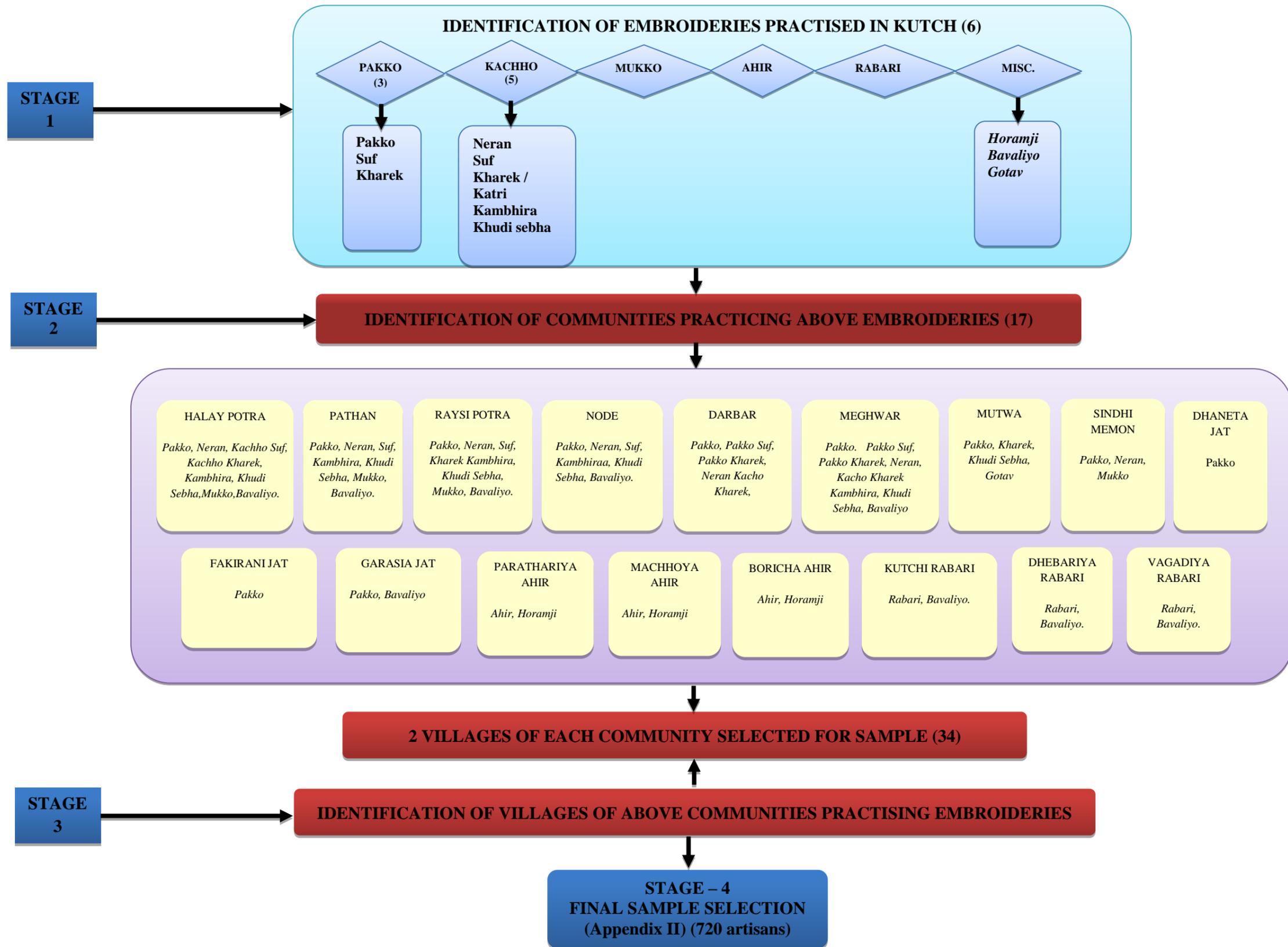
3.5.1 Processing and presentation of the data

Processing of the data included editing, coding and tabulating the data collected. Data analysed was presented with suitable presentation techniques inclusive of frequencies, percentage, tables, photo plates, flow charts, graphical presentation and descriptive analysis.

3.5.2 Case study analysis

The case studies were analysed and represented to obtain a holistic insight into the dimensions by the GOs and NGOs towards the preservation and upliftment of the craft and artisans.

FIGURE 3.2: Sampling Procedure



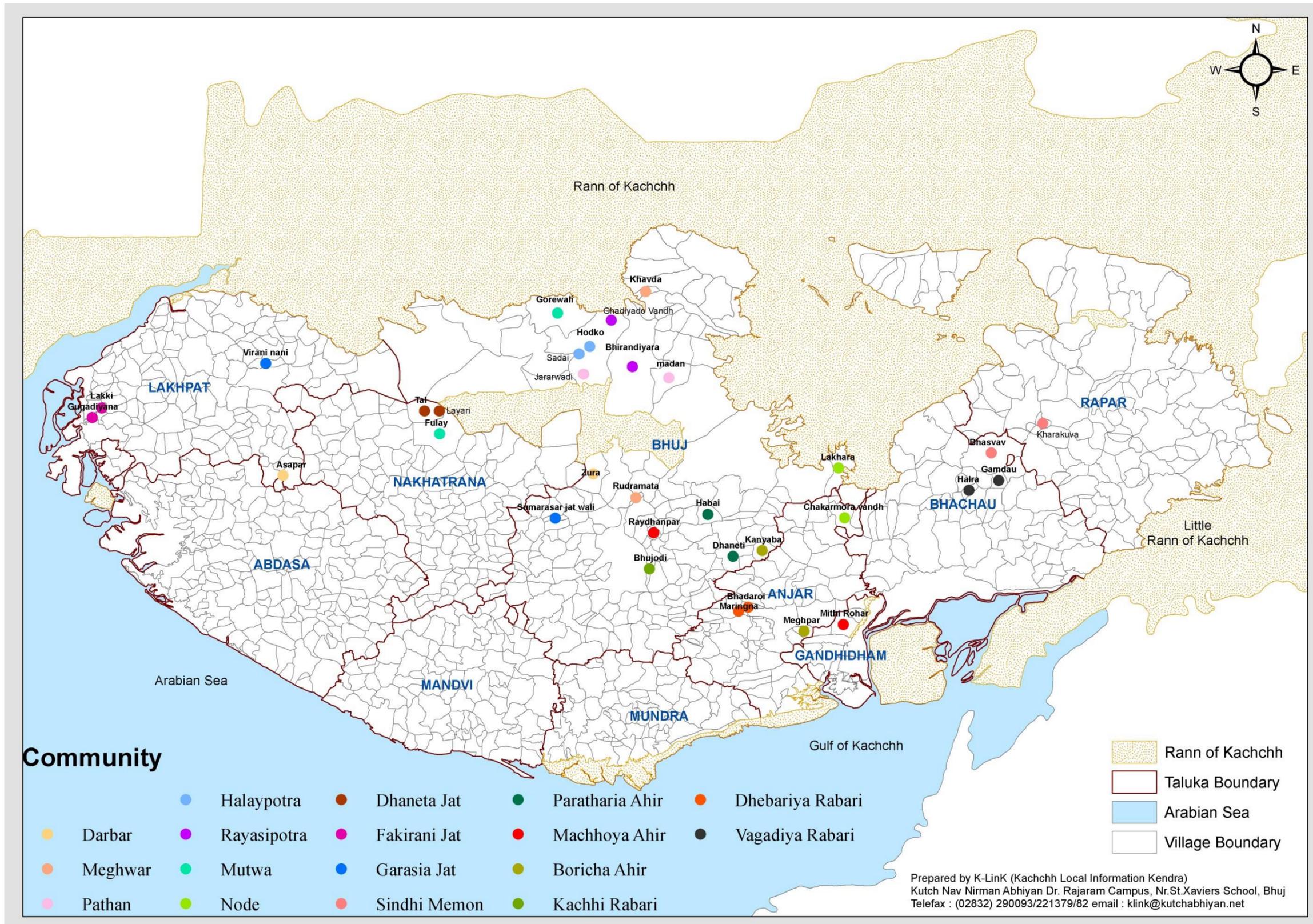


Plate 3.1 Community locations in Kutch

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The investigator conducted extensive field study to congregate the data. The findings of the research have been discussed under following heads.

- 4.1 Origin and History
- 4.2 Craft Details
- 4.3 Socio- Economic Conditions of the Artisans
- 4.4 Role of Government and Non-Government Organizations
- 4.5 Markets and Marketing Practices

The data pertaining to Kutch embroideries revealed that various embroideries of Kutch were *Pakko bharat*, *Kachho bharat*, *Mukko bharat*, *Ahir bharat*, *Rabari bharat* and *Bavaliyo* also known as *Horamaji* or *Gotav* (Figure 4.1). *Pakko bharat* was sub-categorised under *Pakko*, *Pakko Suf* and *Pakko Kharek*. *Kachho bharat* was sub-categorised as *Neran*, *Kachho Suf*, *Kachho Kharek /chiddar*, *Katri*, *Khudi sebha* and *Kambhira*. The names of embroideries were derived either from the name of the respective community, characteristic of stitches or prominent motifs incorporated.

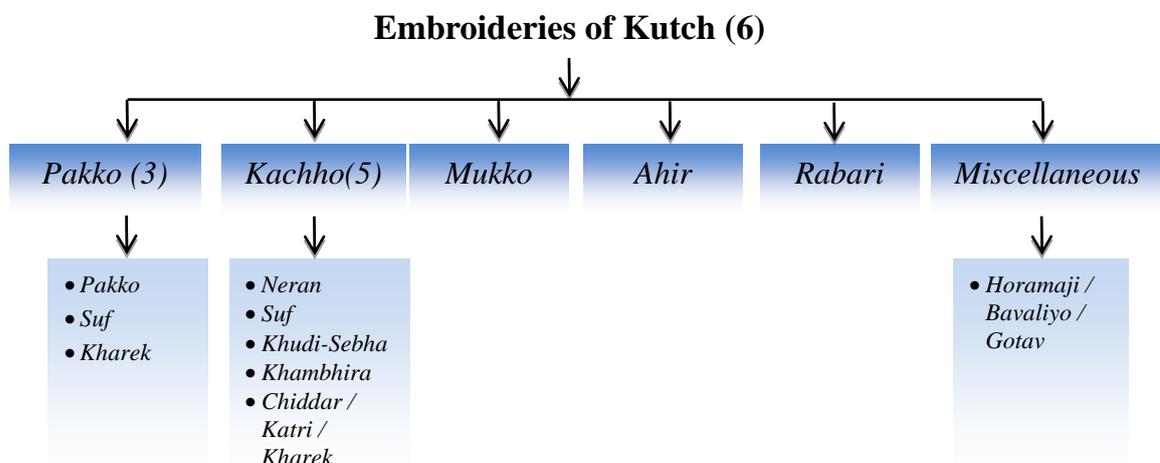


Figure 4.1 Classification of embroideries of Kutch

On analysis it was found that embroideries were community specific and various communities namely *Halaypotra, Pathan, Raysipotra, Node, Darbar, Meghwar, Mutwa, Sindhi Memon, Dhaneta Jat, Fakirani Jat, Garacia Jat, Parathariya Ahir, Boricha Ahir, Machhoya Ahir, Kutchi Rabari, Dhebariya Rabari and Vagadiya Rabari* were practicing embroidery for personal and commercial use.

4.1 Origin and History

Majority of the artisans were unaware about history and origin of the embroidery practiced by them. The artisans were practicing the craft ever since they were in their native place. The analysis of the data revealed that *Kanabi, Bhanushali, Satwara, Lohana* and *Mochi* practiced intricate embroideries in Kutch region however; the embroideries except that of *Mochis* of the captioned communities were redundant since past four decades.

Mochis meaning cobblers historically practised *Mochi-bharat* also known as *Aari bharat*. The name *Aari* embroidery was derived from the hooked needle an indispensable tool *Aari* used for the embroidery. Literature records explained the fable that a Muslim man from Pakistan taught the beautiful embroidery to the cobblers and 16th century onwards these cobblers were recruited by the ruling emperors. Their main task was to decorate the artefacts of the palace and apparels of the Royal families (2). During research the researcher visited the museums of Kutch and found the wall decoration pieces and apparels of the queens of the state which supported the literature evidences as shown in Plates (1-13). *Aari* embroidered products were also used as a valuable gifts for the British rulers. The researcher could locate only one respondent in Bhuj who stated that his grandfather was appointed by Government to train the groups of the people for

Aari embroidery after independence. But, since long those trained artisans had also migrated to neighbouring district and since then *Aari bharat* was not being practiced in Kutch. His family had also shifted to other profession as *Aari* work was very time consuming and not lucrative. Joshi (1994) also found similar facts about the migration of *Aari* embroidery artisans.



a. Skirt border and field



b. Skirt border and field



c. Skirt border



d. Segment of wall hanging



e. Segment of wall hanging

Plate 4.1 Floral motifs used in *Aari* embroidery

* Source: Kutch Museum, Bhuj



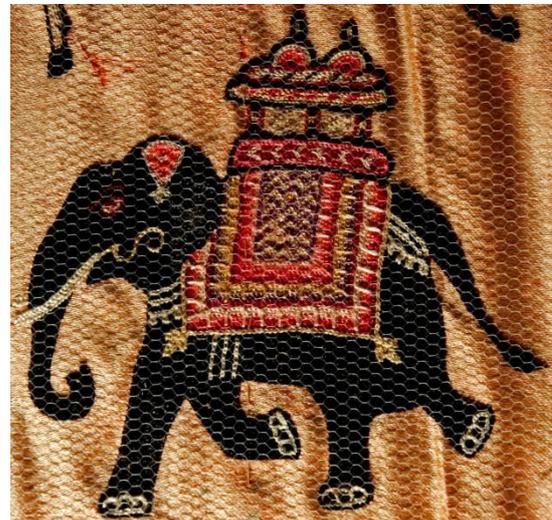
a. Man with *hukkah*



b. Bird motif



c. Elephant hunting scene



d. Elephant with howdah



e. Hourse



f. Bhuj state emblem

Plate 4.2 Human, bird and animal motifs used in *Aari* embroidery

* Source: Kutch Museum, Bhuj

The data revealed that different communities i.e. *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysipotra*, *Darbar*, *Meghwar*, *Mutwa* and *Sindhi Memon* practised embroideries namely *Pakko*, *Neran*, *Kharek*, *Suf*, *Khudi Sebha* and *Mukko*. Of these, the *Pakko*, *Kharek*, *Khudi Sebha* and *Mukko* embroideries practiced by *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Raysipotra* were similar to each other. The artisans aged 50-70 years from these communities responded that they were unaware about the time of origin of the embroideries but they presumed that it was initiated by *Halay potra* community. *Halay potras* were cattle breeders and originally assisted by *Pathans* during cattle breeding and trading. As a result, habitats of *Pathans* were adjacent to *Halay potras*. Later, *Pathans* imitated the embroidery practiced by *Halay porta* artisans. With regard to the origin of *Mukko* embroidery, an artisan of about 50 years of age from *Pathan* community explained that her maternal grandmother *Mithabai* and *Bhegibai* from *Halay potra* community went to Pakistan before partition to learn *Mukko* embroidery. They further taught the same embroidery to their family and relatives. *Raysi potra* community artisans explained that their occupation was also cattle breeding as similar to *Halay potras* and *Pathans* therefore, they had travelled many times with these two communities and their habitats were also adjacent to each other. Considering these facts they assumed that the craft may have been adopted from *Halay potras*.

Elson (1979) mentioned that *Pakko*, *Neran* and *Mukko* embroideries were practised by *Halay potras*, of which *Pakko* resembled *Pakko* embroidered by *Pathan* whereas, *Halay potras* adopted *Kharek* embroidery from *Meghwars*.

Pakko, *Neran*, *Kacho suf*, *Khudi Sebha* and *Chiddar* were practiced by *Node* community. Conversations with an artisan aged 65 years revealed that they were the

natives of Kutch though they frequently travelled to Sindh in the past. Their embroidery was as old as 400-500 years. On the contrary, literature explained that they were from the Kasgodh area situated on the border of Iran and Russia which was believed to be their original native from where they migrated to Kutch about 1500 years ago through Sindh. From Sindh they migrated to border of Kutch and settled in Banni region in 1979. On probing, researcher learnt that the artisans were unaware of their migration but, the fact that they frequently travelled to Sindh was an indication of their past habitat in Sindh.

The artisans from *Darbar* and *Meghwar* communities of about 60-70 years narrated that *Sodha Rajput* a cult of *Darbars* were landowners in their native *Sindh* and *Tharparkar*. *Meghwars* were working at havelis of *Darbars* as domestic helpers. Besides household chores, they also had to embroider for *Darbar* families. Consequently, *Meghwars* adopted the same embroidery style as *Darbars* on their apparels and home decorations. It was learnt that *Darbars* got their daughters married to places across the country majorly in another cult of *Darbar* community known as *Jadeja*. Therefore, they used to learn embroidery from *Meghwars* which was helpful to their daughters who got married outside their regions. Their traditional embroideries were *Pakko*, *Kharek* and *Suf* in their native place. At present only those artisans who had migrated in 1970s were aware of *Suf* embroidery techniques. Information also revealed that embroideries of *Darbars* were as famous as of *Sodhas*.

The *Meghwar* artisans residing adjacent to *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Raysi potra* communities adopted *Mukko* embroidery skills from these communities.

Pakko, Kharek, Mukko and *Khudi Sebha* embroidery practiced by *Mutwa* communities were more intricate than that of any other communities. As per the review, *Mutwas* were also migrants from *Sindh* owing to their dispute with the ruling empire of *Sindh*. A 72 years old artisan responded that they carried their embroidery while they migrated from *Sindh* to *Kutch*. Despite of being unaware about the origin of the embroidery she introspected that the need to ornament the fabric may have given birth to embroidery because earlier they were not wealthy enough to purchase material. If at all they got some fabric they used to embroider it only for their household collection which was arranged in various ways to create a product. Embroidering on a small piece may have led to achieve the fine skills matchless to any other community. Similar to *Meghwar* artisans, *Mukko* was adopted from the *Halay potra* and was practiced since past about 25 years but, *Mutwa* artisans were efficiently embroidering more intricate *Mukko* embroidery than *Halay potra, Pathan, Raysi potra* and *Meghwars*. Their basic skills may be the reason that though *Mukko* embroidery was not their traditional embroidery, they were more proficient in it. On the other side, according to Ms. Chanda Shroff; founder of *Shrujan*, *Mukko* was practised earlier by *Mutwa* like other communities in their adjacent habitat but they stopped practicing it. She was unaware about the reason for the same but it could be attributed to the hike in Gold and Silver wire prices as earlier real gold and silver wires were used for *Mukko* embroidery. Elson (1979) also mentioned that brides of all Muslim communities in *Banni* wore *Mukko* embroidered *Kanjari* at the time of wedding, which supported the statement made by Ms. Chanda Shroff.

Sindhi Memon were also migrants from *Sindh* but, it was assumed that they were from different region of *Sindh* thus their pattern of embroidering *Pakko* also differed from other communities. The visible difference was observed in the stitches used for

embroidery. Further, two artisans aged between 60 and 65 years explained that they practiced *Mukko* at their native place as well. *Khudi Sebha* was also practiced by them but in lesser quantity as compared to other communities. There was no pertinent review in the literature collected which could be attributed to lesser known community and its population size.

Jat community of Kutch were said to be migrants from Iran-Irak through Baluchistan. They migrated to Kutch and settled around 12th -13th centuries. As narrated by *Vadliben*; an artisan aged around 80 years from Tal village, after migration *Jat* community was divided into three sub communities as per their occupation. The statement was coherent since the embroidery practiced by all the three sub communities was similar to each other except by one cult of *Garasia jat*. The attire worn by them also had similarities. The main articles embroidered by them were yoke for women's attire. As per the order of the ruling king *Daneta Jats* settled in Banni area on the condition that they were to supply them *Ghee* as tax. *Dan* was the colloquial term used for Tax and the tax payer was known as *Daneta*, eventually known as *Dhaneta Jats*.

Ahir embroidery was practiced by *Ahirs* community. The artisans responded that they had migrated from Mathura and settled in north-west region of Gujarat. Unaware of their origin of the craft, the artisans of about 70-80 years of age stated that their embroideries were at least 500 years old.

There were different opinions about the native of *Rabari* in the literature. Jethi (2008) stated three different origination points of *Rabari*. It was believed that this community rooted from Jaisalmer. Another belief was that they migrated from Afghanistan

through Baluchistan. However, a different set of opinion says they had come from Sindh.

The artisans from *Rabari* communities aged 70-75 years stated that they were nomads and always travelled from one place to another in search of grazing lands. While wandering they had passed through all the above mentioned regions before they settled in Kutch. Actual origin was unknown but stated that their embroidery craft was more than 500 years old. They explained that as per the societal norms it was mandatory for each girl to carry around 30-35 embroidered pieces including apparels and home decorations in her trousseau.

4.2 Craft details

The craft details has(d) been categorised in terms of motifs, stitches, materials, colour combinations and techniques. *Bharat* was colloquial term used for embroidery by cent percent artisans.

Embroideries included in the study were hereditary craft and it was passed on from one generation to the next generation. Initial training was given to the girl by her mother or grandmother. Of the total sample selected, 311 artisans who embroidered for GOs and NGOs were trained for skill up-gradation, to embroider contemporary designs, fabric and products.

It was observed that the design principles such as emphasis, proportion, rhythm, and balance were proactively followed by the artisans while planning the layout, motif arrangement and colour combinations, though they did not pursue any formal education on design. The arrangement of the motif varied as per the article to be

embroidered and its functionality. The motifs were arranged either in a grid like structure, line or one on top of the other.

Each topic has been explained embroidery wise. The artisans who practiced similar type of embroideries have been clubbed to facilitate comprehensive representation of data.

4.2.1 Motifs Used

4.2.1.1 *Pakko bharat*

As responded by cent percent artisans, *Pakko* meaning strong. The strength of *Pakko* embroideries under these sub heads supersede the fabric such that the fabric would wear off but the embroidered surface was unaffected.

4.2.1.1 (a) *Pakko*

Pakko embroidery practiced by *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Rayasi potra* was similar to each other. The only two articles embroidered by *Halaypotra* i.e. one *Kanjari* and one *Kothali* and two *Kanjaris* embroidered by *Raysipotra* artisans were entirely worked with *Pakko* embroidery. However, *Pathan* artisans did not possess any article embroidered with only *Pakko* embroidery which was an evidence of extinction of *Pakko* embroidery amongst *Pathan* community. One *Kanjari* found from *Halay potra* artisan was being embroidered with *Pakko* and was under process. All other articles by all three communities were worked in combination of two embroideries namely *Mukko* and *Pakko*.

The floral motifs consisted of *Bhoriful* and *Ful*. Interestingly, *Bhori* was embroidered in square form by *Halay potra* which was different than the *Bhori* embroidered by the artisans of *Darbar*, *Meghwal* and *Sindhi Memon* communities. *Bhori ful* was inspired from



Plate 4.3 *Bhori ful*

flower of berry tree (Plate 4.3). Different forms of representation were based on artisans' imagination, placement in the segments of the *Kanjari* and to match it with the shape of the *Kothali*. Elson (1979) mentioned the similar design as *Boria* representing honeybee.

Another motif was *Ful* meaning flower found in two *Kanjaris* of *Halay potra* artisans but they were not able to identify the flower. The flower was embroidered with seven to nine petals incorporating mirror in the centre. When it was embroidered with seven petals the petals were wide and shorter in length with smooth curve covering larger area. In the nine petal motif the petals were narrower and longer with sharp curves (Plate 4.4). Similar flower was found in the *Kanjari* of *Raysi Potra* artisans which was known as *Gol* (circular) *ful* as seen in Plate 4.5 and if the same flower was depicted with three petals it was known as *Tre khune valo ful* (Plate 4.6). Both the communities embroidered this particular *Ful* with white threads indicating same source of inspiration. This particular floral motif was not seen in any of the artifacts possessed by *Pathan* artisans selected as sample.



Plate 4.4 *Ful*



Plate 4.5 *Gol ful*



Plate 4.6 *Tre khune valo ful*

Another motif embroidered by *Halay potras* was *Nade ja gul*; a geometrical eight petal floral motif where each petal was forming a rectangular shape. Interestingly, this was the only floral motif found with rectangular petals. Each *Nade ja gul* was interconnected with *Farai* (seed pod); a term derived from ground nut pod or green gram pod (Plate 4.7). *Nade ja gul* was not found in the articles of *Pathan* and *Rayasi potra* artisans.



Plate 4.7 *Nade ja gul & Farai*

The motifs made by combining the segments of various units such as flower, stem and leaf were known as *Butti* or *Butah*. To denote a bigger size of *Butti* the colloquial term was *Vadi* and to denote smaller size the term was *Nanadi*. The most popular *Buttis* were *Bhori ji buti* and *Nade ji butti* (Plate 4.8, 4.9) amongst *Halay potras* and *Rayasi potras*.



Plate 4.8 *Nade ji nanadi butti*



Plate 4.9 *Nade ji vadi butti*

Halay potras and *Rayasi potras* embroidered floral motif known as *Kungri valo ful*. It was formed with zigzag arrangement in circular manner as seen in Plate 4.10. Similar floral motif was embroidered by *Pathan* where, *Mukko* and *Pakko* embroidery were in combination.

Cent percent artisans of these three communities responded that for past 30 to 35 years blend of *Pakko* and *Mukko* embroideries together in an article had increased while articles entirely worked in *Pakko* were not practised. On probing, cent percent artisans responded that this was due to easily available tested *Zarithreads* and more time consumed to embroider *Pakko*.



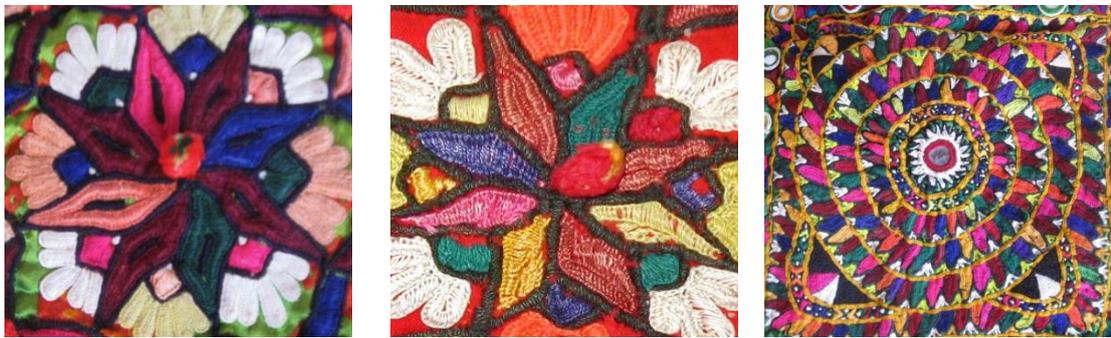
Plate 4.10 *Kungri valo gul*

Pakko bharat was also practiced by *Node* community. *Pakke jo ful* was a floral motif with mirror in centre encircled by 15 to 23 petals. Each petal was around one Centi metre long and curved from the top (Plate 4.11).



Plate 4.11 *Pakke jo ful*

Bhori jo ful was the motif inspired from flower of berry tree but rendition was different than the *Bhori ful* of other communities. *Node* artisans represented it in long diamond shaped segments. Size of *Bhori ful* also varied as per the article on which it was embroidered (Plate 4.12 a, 4.12 b). If it was embroidered in larger area, stylisation was done by increasing the size of the circles and it was repeated in concentric manner. On each circle *Bhori* petals were radically repeated to obtain the look of the *Bhori ful* as seen in plate 4. 12 c.



a.

b.

c.

Plate 4.12 a-c Various depictions of *Bhori ful*

Other circular motif was *Aath khuiye vali butti* with eight corners (Plate 4.13). *Panj fangiya vali butti* means *Butti* with five sections. There was another *Butti* known as *Bhuli ji butti* which was inspired from a nose pin known as *Bhooli* worn by the newly wedded bride. It was a long *Butti* with two V-shapes facing opposite to each other and in between the space of V- shapes *Tre fangiye vali butti* was placed. Wider part of one V- shape was joined with other *Butti* or border and on another end *Tre fangiye vali butti* was placed to represent the shape of the nose pin as seen in Plate 4. 14.



Plate 4.13 *Aath khuiye vali butti*



Plate 4.14 *Bhuli ji butti*

Fuladi and *Fulada* were the circular motifs made up with repetition of triangles wherein *Fuladi* was formed with triangles in radial repeats (Plate 4.15), it was inspired from nose pin (Plate 4.16). In only one *Kanjari*, *Fuldi* was placed as a centre motif of *Bhori ful* (Plate 4.17).



Plate 4.15 *Fuladi*



Plate 4.16 *Nose pin*



Plate 4.17 *Fuladi* as central motif

In *Fulda* motif, triangles were repeated in various directions to form circular motif as seen in plate 4.18.

The circular motif known as *Dabali* meaning precious container was depicted with outer circle divided into four with horizontal line



Plate 4.18 *Fulada*

moving towards outside

and a floral motif was placed within (Plate 4.19). If the motif was used in border it was known as *Dabala*



Plate 4.19 *Dabali*

bandh as shown in plate 4.20. Other border design was *Bherni bandh*, formed with two wide V shapes one overlapped flip vertical over the other (Plate 4.21).



Plate 4.20 *Dabala Bandh*



Plate 4.21 *Bhreni bandh*

Kodadiyado bandh was inspired by conch shell. The motif of the border was formed by horizontal diamond shape and inner portion was embroidered with white colour (Plate 4.22). *Tari no gul* was a circular motif (Plate 4.23). Same motif was embroidered by *Raysi potra* but they considered it as *Kachho bharat*.



Plate 4.22 *Kodadiyado bandh*



Plate 4.23 *Tari no gul*

Motifs of *Pakko* practiced by *Darbar* and *Meghwar* were mainly inspired by nature and also from their wall drawings done during festivities. Motifs were also inspired from the ornaments worn by them. There were motifs which were just used as a decorative pattern. The artisans aged above 60 years

from both the communities responded that historical concepts such as monuments of rulers, warriors and *Sati* women, were also reflected in the motifs though, the same were observed to have vanished. There were number of border designs. *Bandh* was

the colloquial term used for border. Mirror was always used to create a focal point, and some time as fillers between the motifs or into the larger areas.

Floral motifs were known as *Gul* in colloquial language, a primary motif covering a major portion of the article, as it was the most popular motif at that time. The branched motifs or *Butah* were known as *Daal*. Commonly used floral motif was *Bhori ful* (Plate 4.24, a-d). It was extinct amongst *Darbar* community whereas, among *Meghwars* it was in trend as it was observed that 94 per cent of the total *Meghwar* artisans possessed at least one artifact worked with *Bhori ful*.



Plate 4.24 a-d Various depictions of *Bhori ful*

Apart from floral, human figures and birds there were motifs which were derived from fruits such as *Badam*; a local term used for almonds, Border with alternate arrangement of *Badam* and mirror was known as *Badam tak* (Plate 4.25).



Plate 4.25 *Badam tak*

Another motif was *Farai*; a local term used for seed pod. *Fuladi*, was observed only in one *Kanjari* of the sampled *Meghwar* artisans (Plate 4.26) and in one *Kanjari* it was used as central motif of *Bhori ful* as similar as placed by *Node* whereas, it was not observed in articles of *Darbars* as the motif was at the verge of extinction. This was an indication towards *Fuldi* motif being languished.



Plate 4.26 *Fuladi*

There were some similar designs of borders in *Darbars* and *Meghwars* which were inspired by various elements around them. Very popular was *Raano bandh* representing a king in a jail as seen in plate 4.27 a-b. Frater (1994) mentioned the same border as king's border.



a.

b.

Plate 4.27a-b Depictions of *Rano bandh*

Another popular border was *Dabla bandh* where *Dabla* signified as *precious container*. It was also found in the embroidery of *Node* community. *Ler* meaning waves was another border used by both *Darbars* and *Meghwars*. It was inspired from the ripples created on the desert sand (Plate 4.28). One border design known as *Gingri* amongst *Darbars* was inspired from bell, where *Gingri* was the colloquial term used for bell. Similar to the *Gingri* border, *Meghwar* was practising *Padhadiyaro bandh* as shown in Plate 4.29.



Plate 4.28 *Ler*



Plate 4.29 *Padhadiyaro Bandh*

Various depictions of *Mor* meaning peacock was also observed in their embroidery as seen in plate 4.30 a-c. When two *Mor* motifs were placed confronted to each other it was known as double *Mor* (Plate 4.30b).



a. *Mor*



b. *Double Mor*



c. *Mor*

Plate 4.30 a-c Various depictions of *Mor*



Plate 4.31 *Tak chopad*

Usually, the components were arranged such that they will outspread in all four directions from centre, fitting into the segments made on the articles. These four directional patterns were known as *Chopad*. They were also arranged in the radial arrangement forming circular pattern. If mirror was placed in the centre it was known as *Tak chopad* (Plate 4.31).

The artisans named the arrangement of the motifs in terms of part repeated or arranged such as *Adadho* (half), *Cho bandhi* (all four sides closed), *double*(two), *Char butti no gul* (flower with four butti) as shown in Plate 4.32.



Plate 4.32 *Char butti no gul*

Aathe tadi gul was the flower with eight petals as shown in plate 4. 33. *Bandhani gul* was the circular motif used at the upper portion centre back of the veil (Plate 4.34).



Plate 4.33 *Aath tadi gul*



Plate 4.34 *Bandhani gul*

Both the communities also explored various depictions of *butti* (Plate 4.35a-f).



Plate 4.35 a-f Various depictions of *Butti*

Akko; as shown in plate 4.36 was a motif inspired from ace of spade. It was observed in the veil of young girl aged 17 years. This was symptomatic of love towards craft and the zeal to carry forward the inheritance amongst the young generation. It was strong pointer in the direction of sustainability of craft in future.



Plate 4.36 *Akko*

It was observed that *Mutwa* artisans were using *Pakko* and *Kachho* embroidery in same article combined together, though they even practised both the embroideries separately. Both the variations were observed to have been used equally in the articles included in the study. *Kachho Suf* practised by *Mutwa* was worn by the ladies above 50 years of age whereas, the ladies belong to age group of 30 to 50 years of age were wearing *Pakko* embroidered garments. The embroidery was a composite of various

arrangement including border, *Butti*, *Butah* and mirrors. Composite of curved leaf and flower like shape was known as *Butti* and *Butah*. If the size of motif was from one inch to four inch it was known as *Butti* and larger size motifs were known as *Butah*. *Bandh* or *Sarwere* the terms used for border. Source of inspiration was flora-fauna, jewellery and house hold utensils. It was observed that the circular motifs were arranged in concentric layers. Mainly six borders were used in *Pakko* embroidery. Borders were always created with mirror arrangement. *Tak* was the colloquial term used for mirror and border was commonly known as *Takfarua* wherein, *Farua* was the term used for the motif used in between *Tak*. Each motif had specific name including *Chhetang wala farua* means farua with six legs, *Jim vala farua*, *Khich wala farua*, *Chokadi valo faruo*, *Khudi valo faruo*, *Badami farua* and *Molado* inspired from wooden pestle (Plate 4. 37 to 4.42, Plate 4.43 a-b).



Plate 4.37 *Chhe tang wala farua*

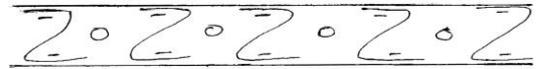


Plate 4.38 *Jim vala farua*



Plate 4.39 *Khich wala farua*

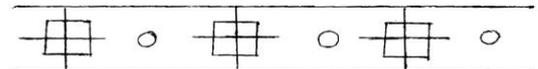


Plate 4.40 *Chokadi valo faruo*

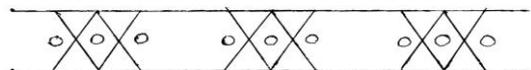


Plate 4.41 *Khudi valo faruo*



Plate 4.42 *Badami farua*



Plate 4.43a. *Molado*



Plate 4.43b. Wooden pestle known as *Molado*

Unlike embroideries practised by *Darbars* and *Meghwars*, *Mutwas* had separate motif for borders and for field. Floral motifs consisted of *Bhori* (Plate 4.44) and *Chakkan* (Plate 4.45). *Chakkan* or *Chikan* was a curved petal floral motif. The motif

embroidered in earlier artifact was around two centimetres, whereas, recently embroidered *Chakkan* motif was around one and a half centimetres. This indicated decrease in the size of the motif which was on demand by the organisations as they focussed on fineness of the embroidery. The entire flower was represented with five to six petals, whereas, arrangement with three petals was often used with *Butti* known as *Tre fangdi wali chakkan ji butti* (Plate 4.46).



Plate 4.44 *Bhoori*



Plate 4.45 *Chakkan*



Plate 4.46 *Tre fangdi wali chakkan ji butti*

Gul was the term used for floral motif. Same term was also used by *Darbars* and

Megwars for floral motifs. These floral motifs were initiated with mirror in centre and outer edge of the mirror was surrounded by repeats of *Molado*. The above repeats were an arrangement of mirrors equidistant from each other separated by vertical straight lines and two to



Plate 4.47 *Gul*

five horizontal lines on each side of the straight lines. The artisans responded that they generally used *Molado* and *Kench* on one top of other (Plate 4.47). *Kench* was an attractive arrangement of colours creating striped look.

Fuladi was the common motif used by *Node*, *Darbar*, *Meghwar*, *Mutwa*, *Daneta Jat*, *Fakirani Jat*, *Garacia Jat* and *Sindhi Memon* communities (Plate 4.48). The artisans aged 35 years and above from *Mutwa* community responded that *Fuladi* was adopted

from *Jat* artisans. It was used earlier and it was wiped out in the span of last 10 to 15 years but, recently they restarted using it in their embroidery.



a.



b.

Plate 4.48 a-b Depictions of *Fuladi*

Another popular motif used was *Chopad* means four sides. As name indicated, the motif was formed by small petal shaped units in all four sides from the centre. The empty spaces in between the four petal shaped units were filled in with tiny mirrors. The square formed in the centre by the four petal shaped units was filled with white colour. The entire arrangement was known as *Tak chopad*. It was interesting to learn that the square formed in the centre by the four petal shaped units in *Tak chopad* (Plate 4.49 a) was observed as an optional element in commercial articles unlike in the article preserved by the Kutch museum and articles embroidered for domestic use (Plate 4.49 b).

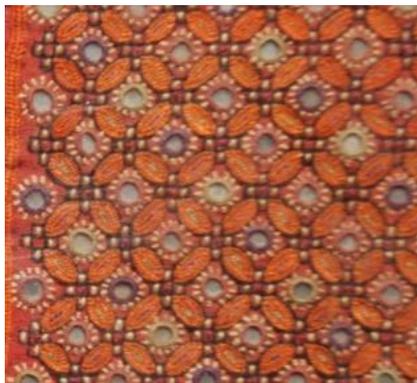


Plate 4.49a. *Tak chopad* – traditional



Plate 4.49b. *Tak chopad* - commercial

Various *Buttis* and *Butah* were also embroidered with *Pakko bharat*. The size and shape of the motif was relatively dependent on its place to be embroidered. It varied

from three centimetres to as big as 10 to 15 centimetres. All the *Buttis* or *Butah* were known as *Pakke ji butti* (plate 4.50 a-b) or *Pakke jo butto* (Plate 4.51). A shape resembling half circle was known as *Kundha* which was placed at the pointed end of leaf like structure in *Butti* or *Butah*. If entire *Butti* was formed with various placement of *Kundha*, it was known as *Kundhe ji butti*. Both *Butti* and *Butah* were drawn with vertically mirrored effect.



a.



b.

Plate 4.50 a-b *Pakke ji butti*



Plate 4.51 *Pakke jo butto*



Plate 4.52 *Kula nu Dhoran*

Dhoran was a geometric motif embroidered in *Pakko* embroidery. It was adopted from other community from their migrating place. The arrangements of the units were as per the area in which it was placed. If it was placed on shoulder it was known as *Kula nu dhoran*; *Kula* meaning shoulder (Plate 4.52). If the same was

placed above bust it was known as *Tana nu dhoran* (Plate 4.53) as the yoke joined above bust was known as *Tanu*, and if placed on the bust in between the border it was known as *Bandh nu dhoran* as, border was known as *Bandh* (Plate 4.54).

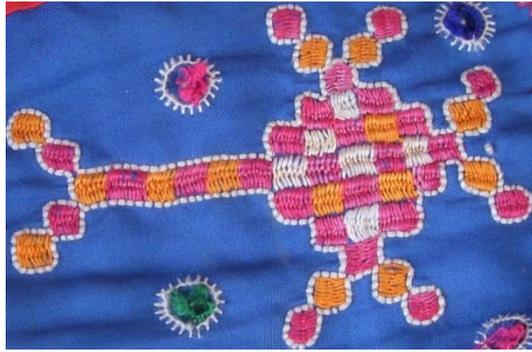


Plate 4.53 *Tana nu dhoran*



Plate 4.54 *Bandh nu dhoran*

Motifs of *Pakko bharat* embroidered by *Sindhi Memon* artisans were inspired from various sources such as flora and fauna grown in their native place Sindh. Motifs were also inspired by their furniture and tires of the cart in motion. The forms of animals, birds and human figures were not used as a motif due to the taboo in Muslim religion. The researcher could understand that motifs were stylized as there was no direct representation of the natural forms. The stylization was directly proportionate to the observing, imagining, imbibing and drawing skills of the artisans. It was difficult to decide the intensity of stylization as majority of the motifs was derived from the artisans' surroundings in Sindh. Name of the motifs was also derived from the actual source of inspiration. The motif was created by repeating the component in radial format or towards the four corners of the square.

Gul and *Ful* were circular motifs. If the motifs were created by repeating the *Tadi*, a leaf like shape than it was known as *Tadi walo gul* (Plate 4.55).



Plate 4.55 *Tadi walo gul*



Plate 4.56 *Sat handa valo gul*

Handa was the colloquial term used for half circular shape and the same when repeated was known as *Handa valo gul*. The repeats were in odd number. The number of repeated units was always depicted with the name e.g. *Sat handa valo gul* meaning motif was repeated seven times (Plate 4.56).

Tevrani ful was another floral motif. Its name was derived from the regional flower grown in Sindh from which it was inspired. *Tevrani ful* was represented in three different ways. The whole flower with leaf and elongated stem wherein three mirrors placed on each side of the stem it was known as *Vada ful* (Plate 4.57 a). Second depiction was of whole flower motif made by five to six petals surrounding a mirror as shown in Plate 4.57 b. Third depiction was represented as half flower joined with stem and two leaves and two mirrors both one on each side of the stem (Plate 4.57 c).



Plate 4.57a. *Vada ful*



Plate 4.57 b. *Tevrani ful*- whole flower depiction



Plate 4.57 c. *Tevrani ful*- half flower depiction

Sinye nu ful was another floral motif which was inspired by flower grown in Sindh. It was observed that *Sinye nu ful* was embroidered with white colour only. That could be attributed to the actual flower's colour (Plate 4.58).



Plate 4.58 *Sinye nu ful*

Apart from floral motifs *Sindhi Memons* also depicted *Paida* motif which was inspired by wheel and in majority of the *Kanjari* it was repeated in a square layout and placed at all four corners of the said layout. The centre portion of the square was filled in with *Chopad ful* which means flower having four petals. Thus, *Chopad ful* and *Paida* were always used together (Plate 4.59). *Gaanth* meaning knot was represented by set of small triangular like motifs arranged together in such a way that it looked like a knot (Plate 4.60).



Plate 4.59 *Paida & Chopad ful*



Plate 4.60 *Gaanth*

There were some peculiar borders known as *Bachado pitado*. *Bhiraniya bandh* was another border used by *Sindhi Memon* (Plate 4.61 & 4.62). *Badami pitado* was another border used by them (Plate 4.63). The circular motif formed by the arrangement of thick lines side by side in a circular manner around the mirror was known as *Dhari* which was representing axel of the wheel as shown in plate 4.64.



Plate 4.61 *Bachado pitado*



Plate 4.62 *Bhiraniya bandh*



Plate 4.63 *Badami pitado*



Plate 4.64 *Dhari*

The design lay out in *Kanjari* was symmetrically balanced and the quantity of embroidery was in decreasing proportion towards the bottom of the garment. It was observed that in most of the motifs single component was repeated in circular format. In majority of the articles same component was used to create motifs and borders.

Dhaneta, *Fakirani* and *Garacia Jats* used similar motifs except one cult of *Garacia Jat* who only practiced *Pakko* embroidery. As compared to other communities though, *Jats* used lesser number of motifs but preserved them.

Fuladi was very popular motif amongst all three *Jat* sub communities. *Fuladi* depicted by narrow triangles repeated radially such that narrow tip of the triangle was facing towards the centre. *Fuladi* embroidered by *Dhaneat Jat* had maximum number of triangles repeated i.e as many as 22



Plate 4.65 *Fuladi*

times creating an interesting look (Plate 4.65).

Garacia and *Fakirani Jats* practiced two types of *Fuladi*. One had narrow petals known as *Saachi fuladi* meaning real *Fuladi* (Plate 4.66), though number of petals were lesser than those created by *Dhaneat Jat*. Other type of *Fuladi* was known as *Khoti fuladi* meaning artificial *Fuladi*. *Khoti fuladi* was created with four wide and four narrow triangles placed in an alternate pattern (Plate 4.67).



Plate 4.66 *Saachi fuladi*



Plate 4.67 *Khoti fuladi*

Ghenta sing was the motif inspired by the horns of sheep (Plate 4.68), though depiction of living objects were taboo in their religion, being inspired from the horns of the sheep and rendering it was an evidence of their eagerness to add to the number of motifs in their embroidery to increase market.



Plate 4.68 *Ghenta sing*



Plate 4.69 *Limbodi aanko*

Limbodi aanko was inspired from the fruit of *Neem tree*. It was a diamond shaped unit repeated to form a square. Centre of the square was embroidered with mirror around which circular periphery was created with lines. The remaining empty space within the square was filled with similar lines in circular format (Plate 4.69). *Kanak*,

inspired by wheat grain, was the colloquial term used for these lines.

Ghodi was the motif inspired from the ladder used in farms. It was depicted as diamond shape in centre and V shapes flipped horizontally placed on both the sides of the diamond in such a



Plate 4.70 *Ghodi*

way that tips of the V shape touched the diamond to complete the motif (Plate 4.70).

The shape of the motif was similar to the *Bhirni bandh* used by *Node* community.

Butto motif was inspired from the stack of dry grass. It was initiated by two right



Plate 4.71 *Butto*

angled triangles placed adjoining each other so that their hypotenuses formed a V shape. This entire work was placed on the tip of another V shape whose sides were decorated with mirrors. Another inverted V shape touching the hypotenuses was worked whose tip held two diamonds one on top of other. The upper most diamond was further sandwiched between two flip horizontal V shapes both touching the diamond. A vertical line was drawn through the diamonds crossing away and completed the *Butto* motif with a small diamond at the top (Plate 4.71).

Other motif used was *Mandi chopad* which was representing flower like shape but the artisans did not know the significance. It was initiated with a square. Two upper corners of the square were connected to the curves placed slant moving out wards. Between the curves on the top of the square a small vertical line was placed that connected the tip of a V shape. Another small V shape was placed flip vertical to form a diamond (Plate 4.72). *Adh butti* motif amongst *Garacia* and *Fakirani Jat* looked

similar to that of *Mandi chopad* motif used by *Daneta jat* community though, the motif was less preferred by both these communities (Plate 4.73).



Plate 4.72 *Mandi chopad*



Plate 4.73 *Adh butti*

Garacia and *Fakirani Jats* also practiced floral motifs which were not practiced by *Dhaneta Jats*. *Khil ful* was an arrangement of various squares embroidered in such a way that it was creating an image of a flower as shown in Plate 4.74. Motif known as *Ful* was a circular repeats of the petals worked in white around the mirror (Plate 4.75).



Plate 4.74 *Khil ful*



Plate 4.75 *Ful*

Oonthdo was the motif inspired from camel though depiction was in abstract form. It was in a triangular shape depicting camel in seating position (Plate 4.76).

Embroidery was ended with number of horizontal rows made up of either zigzaglines or in combination with a row of any of the motif used by them. This portion was known as *Chher* means infinite or neverending (Plate 4.77).

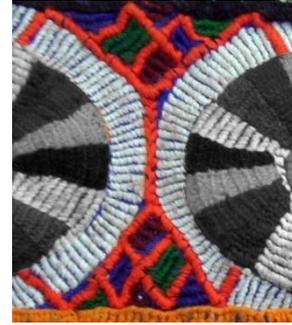


Plate 4.76 *Oonthdo*



Plate 4.77 *Chher*

One of the cults in *Garacia Jat* practiced different kind of embroidery which was worked by counting the warps and wefts of the fabric. They used limited motifs and were not able to explain the meaning of its name. They considered their embroidery as *Pakko* though embroidery practiced by them was different than *Pakko* practised by other



Plate 4.78 *Chambh tak*

Jats. They embroidered *Chambh tak*, a placement of the mirrors in diagonal chequered layout (Plate 4.78).



Plate 4.79 *Jaat tak*

Jaat tak was another popular motif used where in *Jaat* means diamond shapes with zigzag outline placed to form a square shape and mirror was placed in the inner portion of square (Plate 4.79). It

was also known as *Riraniya*.

Similar to *Chher* these artisans ended their yoke with the horizontal row of triangles facing downwards and on the lower tip a diamond shape was placed. It



Plate 4.80 *Popati*

was known as *Popati* inspired from the earrings (Plate 4.80). Similar motif was also used by *Mutwa* artisans.

To separate two designs the border was created with repetition of small vertical line inside the continuous outline while the gaps in between the vertical lines were filled in either with cross stitch in different colours or mirrors were placed. This border was known as *Baliyaj* (Plate 4.81).



Plate 4.81 *Baliyaj*

4.2.1.1 b. *Pakko Suf and Kharek*

Under *Pakko* embroidery *PakkoSuf* was also practised by the artisans however, *Pakko Suf* was worked with counted thread work. Only those *Darbar* and *Meghwar* artisans who migrated from Sindh in 1972 were aware of the embroidery. They also practised it while they were in their hometown. However, artisans who migrated prior to 1972 did not practice *Suf* embroidery as observed during data collection. The artisans interpreted *Suf* as triangle shape in their colloquial language. Therefore, the motifs were growing in triangular format.

Motifs were named according to the arrangement of the triangles. A triangle split down at the centre or half a triangle usually executed in a series was called *Kagar*. Animal figures like *Oontdo* meaning camel, Plant motif like *Jhaad* meaning tree, and

human figures like *Dhingli* meaning doll (Plate 4.82 a-d) was shown very rarely. Single or double *Mor* meaning peacock were composed of any of the basic units.

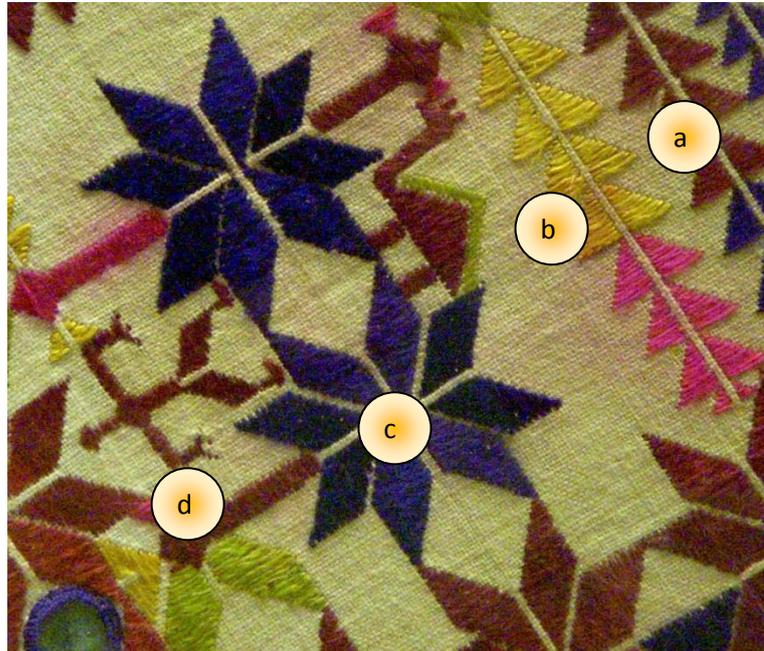


Plate 4.82 a-*Kagar*, b- *Oontdo*, c- *Jhaad*, d- *Dhingli*

A rhomboid as a set of two triangles was called *Phalli* meaning pod. Two rhomboids arranged in a ‘V’ formation was called *Batto* meaning double or *Butti*, and a small diamond also understood as two flipped triangles that represented a small container for *Kohl*. *Chakki* was composed of eight rhomboids (Plate 4.83) and a large triangle that



Plate 4.83 *Chakki*

constituted of triangles or rhomboids was known as *Mod*; a bride or groom’s triangular head ornament. A square formation of lines or double waves sometimes filled with triangles was called *Chokdi* meaning square.

Pakko Kharek was executed by counting warps and wefts of the fabric. The size of the motif though smaller than *Kachho Kharek*, was compact. Researcher could find only one *Bujaki* meaning a purse worked with *Kharek* embroidery. Single *Kharek* was known as *Kharek*, two placed together was known as *Batti Kharek*, and cluster was known as *Kharek ji butti* (Plate 4.84). If border was created it was known as *Kharekjo bandh*.



Plate 4.84 *Kharek ji butti*

Researcher found only one *Kanjari* preserved in Kutch museum that belonged to *Mutwas* embroidered with *Pakko Suf* as shown in Plate 4.85 a-b which was evidence that *Pakko Suf* was practised earlier but the same was vanished. On probing it was learnt that artisans were not able to specify the time when *Pakko suf* was discontinued.



Plate 4.85 a. *Kanjari* worked with *Suf*
* Source: Kutch Museum, Bhuj



Plate 4.85 b. Closer view of the motifs

4.2.1.2 *Kachho bharat*

4.2.1.2 a. *Neran*

Neran was a triangle shape unit which resembled the shape of an eye brow as explained by the artisans. The single unit was multiplied to get required shape and motifs. These motifs were made with geometrical arrangement.

More than 50 years ago *Neran* and *Kachho Suf* was widely practiced and thus more number of *Neran* and *Kachho Suf* embroidered articles were gifted in trousseau of *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Raysi potra* communities. *Neran* was practiced earlier by these communities but, the researcher could only locate one *Kanjari* prepared with *Neran* embroidery that was possessed by only one *Halay potra* artisan. One *Kothali* i.e fabric bag embroidered with a combination of *Neran* and *Kharek* embroidery was also possessed by only one *Halay potra* artisan.

Circular motif was known as *Neran jo gul* as shown in plate 4.86 wherein, *Bhori ful* was placed as a central motif. *Bhori ful* was in a circular form as similar to the *Bhoriful* represented by the artisans of *Meghwar*, *Darbar* and *Sindhi Memon*. A smaller version of *Gul* was known as *Neran ji nanadi butti* (Plate 4.87).



Plate 4.86 *Neran jo gul*



Plate 4.87 *Neran ji nanadi butti*

The border was known as *Neran jo bandh* where, *bandh* was the term used for border. In *Neran jo bandh* two slant lines were forming triangles throughout the border. The triangles were again divided into three triangles which were known as *Khajano* (Plate 4.88). *Khajano* represented treasure in their vernacular language.



Plate 4.88 *Neran jo bandh*

Representation of the layout was divided by two wide borders, one passing across centre front and another across the empire line. The border was forming right angle near the overlapping points. The corner created and the shape embroidered to fill up the corner was known as *Chukh* and square arrangement formed by *chukh* placed at each corner was known as *Tani ja butta*.



Plate 4.89 *Tani ja butta*



Plate 4.90 *Neran ji butti*

At the time of data collection it was observed that *Node* also embroidered *Neran* but they used limited motifs. *Neran jo bandh*; a border arrangement and *Neran ji butti*; a circular arrangement were the only observed designs (Plate 4.90). It was also observed that the floral motif of *Neran* embroidery was used in the same article where

Tariye nu gul was embroidered. This could be attributed to the similar shape of both these motifs and typical look of the stitches used.

Neran was also practised by *Darbar* and *Meghwar* communities. Artisans above 60 years of age from both the communities reported that *Neran* was historically practiced by them but they preferred to embroider in less quantity. It was popularised only due

to commercialisation of the embroidery. For their domestic use artisans did not prefer to work with *Neran* as it was not valued in their communities.

Researcher could not locate any specimen of *Neran* embroidery from the respondents of *Mutwa* artisans but two artisans above 60 years of age stated that they embroidered *Neran* 40 year ago and their triangular *Neran* unit was more spiked than other communities' work of *Neran*. It was a fact that no specimen was preserved by them as the researcher could also not find any visual reference of *Neran* embroidery by *Mutwa* from the review of literature available.

At the time of data collection it was observed that *Sindhi Memon* practised *Neran* embroidery but, in very less quantity. Only two specimens were found, where *Neran* was coalesce with *Pakko* embroidery. Circular motif created by repetition of



Plate 4.91 *Neran ful*



Plate 4.92 *Neran jo goto*

triangular units representing eye brow were known as *Neran ful* (Plate 4.91) if multiple *Neran ful* was placed together it was known as *Neran jo goto* as shown in Plate 4.92.

Border with *Neran* was known as *Neran jo bandh* (Plate 4.93) similar bandh was also used by *Sindhi Memon* in *Pakko bharat*.



Plate 4.93 *Neran jo bandh*

4.2.1.2 b. *Kachho Suf*

The term *Kachho* meaning weak, and *Suf* meaning triangle together derived the name *Kachho suf*. As per the significance of the term *Suf* motifs were made up of number of triangles as a result, all the motifs were geometrical in nature. *Earlier Kachho Suf* was practiced by *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Rayasi potra* communities but at present it was practiced by only *Halay potras* and *Rayasi*

potras. It was practiced in lesser quantities as it was not valued much as compared to *Pakko* and *Mukko* embroideries. One article each from both the communities was available for assessment. *Tari no gul* was the circular motif which was also used by *Node* artisans but they



Plate 4.94 *Tari no gul*

considered it as a motif of *Pakko* embroidery (Plate 4.94).

Sufadi was a motif created by placing diamond shape over a triangle as shown in Plate 4.95. *Ghodi* was the motif that depicted the ladder used in farms (Plate 4.96).



Plate 4.95 *Sufadi*



Plate 4.96 *Ghodi*

Suf ja ful was seven petal floral motif, wherein each petal was long diamond shaped as shown in Plate 4.97. *Tadi valo gul* was circular arrangement of the triangular leaf like shape (Plate 4.98). *Tadi* was the colloquial term used for leaf.



Plate 4.97 *Suf ja ful*



Plate 4.98 *Tadi valo gul*

The researcher learnt that *Kachho Suf* was as popular amongst the *Node* artisans as *Pakko bharat*. Floral motif with eight triangles was popular amongst the artisans of *Node* community, wherein four triangles in alternate order were embroidered with black colour resembling a wind mill. Remaining four triangles were each filled with four different colours that enhanced the aesthetics of the flower (Plate 4.99). Alternatively, *Suf ji butti* was also worked by filling up all the triangles with different colours (Plate 4.100).



Plate 4.99 *Suf ja ful*



Plate 4.100 *Suf ji butti*

Triangular motif embroidered on the outer edge of the artifact was known as *Sufadi*. Another depiction of *Suf ji butti* was the arrangement of eight rhomboids repeated radially wherein tip of each rhomboid touched the centre. *Sufadi* was placed on the rhomboid such that base of the *Sufadi* was towards the rhomboids and each tip of the triangle touched the tips of the rhomboids. This entire arrangement created *Suf ji butti*

(Plate 4.101). *Asharafi* was the motif created with small triangles placed in radial order. Minimum four triangles were placed together in such a way that one tip of each triangle was facing towards the centre. *Kodadiyado bandh* used in *Pakko* embroidery was also used for *Kacho Suf*. *Kache jo bandh* was a border used in *Kachho Suf* embroidery. *Kachhe jo bandh* was composed of ‘L’ shaped motifs placed in between the blocks formed by two vertical lines. Each such motif was repeated in an inverted position in a row as shown in plate 4.102. *Kachhe jo bandh* was also used for *Pakko* embroidery as the artisans who belonged to *Node* community blended *Kachho* and *Pakko* embroideries in the same article.



Plate 4.101 *Suf ji butti*



Plate 4.102 *Kachhe jo bandh*

Only three *Kachho Suf* embroidered specimens were (available) for the detailed study. Of which one was 55 years old and other two were 30 years old. As survived artifacts were minimal in number it was a sheer indication of extinction of *Kacho Suf* embroidery of *Mutwas*.

Golaido; as stated by the artisans was inspired by the leaf of *Little Gourd* (*Cossignia Grandis*) but, on observing the creeper researcher found that the shape of *Golaido* resembled the flower of the creeper. *Golaido* was circular arrangement of a single leaf unit with mirror in the centre. It was observed that the size and shape of the motif embroidered before 50 to 60 years was different than the motif embroidered now-a-days. Earlier *Golaido* motif was with diameter around three centimetres in a curved

shape (Plate 4.103a). The motif embroidered in the recent articles was around eight centimetres with shape resembling the motif *Bhori ful* as shown in Plate 4.103b.



a. *Golaido* in old sample



b. *Golaido* recent

Plate 4.103 a-b *Golaido*

Chandar was another circular motif inspired from moon. Mirror was placed in the centre which was surrounded by fine outline. On the outline zigzag was repeated in a circular pattern. If outline was embroidered it was known as *Chandar* (plate 4.104) and, if filled with Romanian stitch it was known as *Asal jo Chandar* meaning actual moon (Plate 4.105). Motif similar to *Chandar* was also observed in the embroideries of *Halay potra* which was known as *Kungari valo phul*.



Plate 4.104 *Chandar*



Plate 4.105 *Asal jo chandar*

Kachhe ji butti was the arrangement of stem, leaf and flower. It was placed as a corner motif on pillow cover (Plate 4.106). *Bido* was another circular arrangement which was inspired from the buttons made of thread. Mirror was centrally placed and the peripheral area was embroidered with crisscross lines forming a circular pattern.



Plate 4.106 *Kachhe ji butti*

4.2.1.2c. *Kachho Kharek and Katri*

Kachho Kharek was practised by *Halay potra* and *Raysipotra* but, not practiced by *Pathan*.



Plate 4.107 *Adh kharek*

The name of the embroidery was derived from the name of the fruit from which it was inspired. *Kharek* was the colloquial name used for dates; a domestically grown fruit. It was an imaginary shape highly stylized and not exactly resembling to the shape of the fruit. *Adh Kharek* was the term used when half *Kharek* was embroidered where, *Adh* means half (Plate 4.107).

Similarly, *Batti Kharek* was also worked upon. The representation was in rectangular and square forms. *Kharek* was majorly practiced combining with *Neran* and *Pakko* embroideries. It was not embroidered on apparels but embroidered on quilt, pillow covers and bags. All the arrangements of *Kharek* were known as *Kharek ji butti*. Motif initiated with triangle, followed by diamond and again triangle placed upside down was known as *Bhindhudi kharek ji butti* (Plate 4.108).



Plate 4.108 *Bhindhudi kharek ji butti*

It was interesting to note that unlike other communities *Halay potras* also depicted *Kharek* in diamond shape (plate 4.109a-b) as similar to *Katri* depicted by *Mutwa* artisans. *Halay potras* also depicted smallest *Kharek* form of all arrangement measuring 0.5 Centi meter square each of its side being another square of similar size (Plate-4.109c). The process of creating outline of the *Kharek* was known as *Chiddar*.

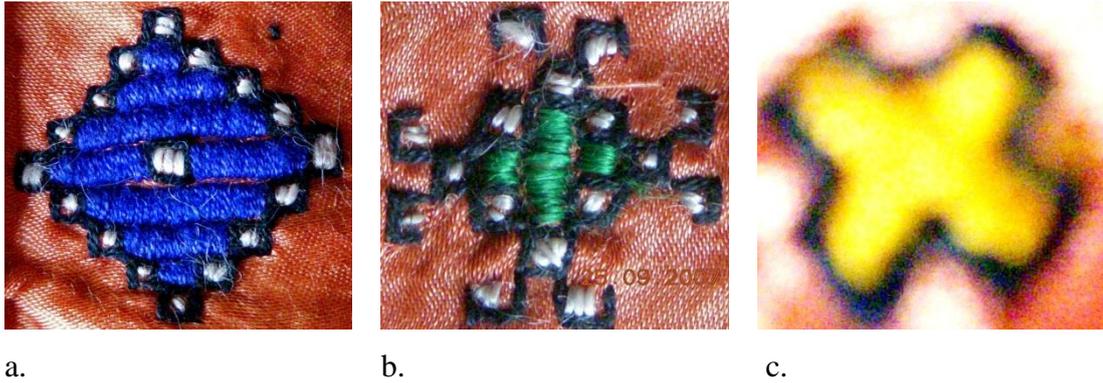


Plate 4.109 (a-c) *Kharek*

Artisans of *Darbar* and *Meghwar* who migrated prior to 1972 embroidered *Kachho Kharek*. During the data collection one *Kanjari* was available to assess. The pattern of naming the motifs was the same as that of *Halay potras*.

Kharek and *Katri* were mostly used together or with *Pakko* or *Kaccho Suf* by *Mutwa* artisans. Various *Butti* and border arrangements were found in the articles embroidered by them. These two embroideries were not popular as *Pakko* and *Kachho Suf*



Plate 4.110 *Kharek ji butti*

embroideries. All the arrangement was geometric and known as *Kharek ji butti* (Plate 4.110) or *Katariye ji butti*. Number of single units representing *Kharek* or *Katri* was

repeated as required to create the *Butti*. Borders were known as *Kharek ji sar* or *Katariye ji sar* (Plate 4.111).



Plate 4.111 *Katariye ji sar*

Kharek was rectangular motif divided in two equal halves by chequered line filled with white colour. *Katri* was square motif and ended with line of white chequered pattern. Keeping in mind the limitation of both the embroideries *Buttis* were formed in square, rectangle, diamond and triangle shape.

4.2.1.2d *Kambhira* and *Khudi Sebha*

Kambhira was a square formed with the zigzag lines. It was embroidered in concentric manner and each closed structure was known as *Ghar*; meaning house. If it was one structure it was known as *Ek ghar no kambhiro* whereas, for two it was *Bo ghar no kambhiro*, where *bo* means two (Plate 4.112).

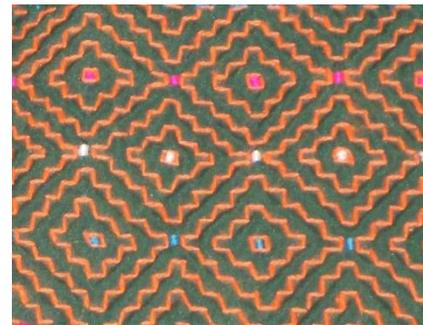


Plate 4.112 *Bo ghar no kambhiro*

The researcher could find only two articles embroidered with *Kambhira* from *Halay potra* artisans i.e. a quilt and a bag. Only one *Kothali* (bag) was found embroidered with *Kambhira* from one *Raysi Potra* artisan whereas, no *Kambhira* embroidered article was found from *Pathan* artisans. This could be attributed to the complex thread counting process followed for the embroidery. *Kambhira* was often combined with

Khudi Sebha. *Khudi* was diamond shape motif and *Sebha* was simple running stitch. It worked in the form of rows and *Khudi* was incorporated



Plate 4.113 *Khudi Sebha*

at various intervals with *Sebha*. These embroideries were majorly used for embroidering quilts (Plate 4.113).

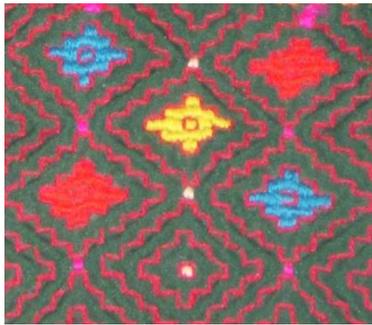


Plate 4.114 *Mino*

Very rarely inner portion of *Khudi* and *Kambhira* were filled with satin stitches known as *Mino* as shown in plate 4.114. The look of the *Mino* was similar to the *Mino* practised in *Kharek* by *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi Potra*, *Meghwar* and *Mutwa*.

Kambhira was extinct amongst *Node* artisans as they did not practise it any more for past twenty years and, *Khudi sebha* was practised very less as compared to other embroideries practised by them. *Khudi*, a diamond shaped motif and *Sebha*, embroidery done with single running stitch was used on quilt and *Tariye nu gul*. *Khudi* was also used on the *Kad* made from bundle of thread couched at different intervals.

Khudi Sebha was earlier practiced by *Darbar* and *Meghwar* to embroider *Kothali* (bag). Only one bag was available to asses during the study. It was observed that *Khudi* and *Sebhawere* embroidered



Plate 4.115 *Khudi Sebha*

in zigzag lines (Plate 4.115). Presently the practise was limited to ornament the mirror in their embroidery and also to ornament *Chag*; a bundle of threads couched. The shape of *Khudi* was depicted in triangle as well as diamond shape.

Mutwa practised *Khudi Sebha* only on quilts wherein, *Khudi* was incorporated along with *Sebha*. However, their *Khudi* was simpler with lesser quantity as compared to the embroideries of *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Rayasi potras*. *Mutwa* did not practice *Kambhira*.

Sindhi Memon used *Khudi* to fill the gap in between the motifs in their artifacts but in negligible amount. They used *Sebha* in quilts. Straight lines were executed with *Sebha*.

4.2.1.3 Mukko bharat

Mukko was practiced along with *Pakko* embroidery by all the three communities but vast variety in motifs of *Mukko* embroidery was found with *Pathan* community artisans. All the motifs used in *Pakko* were also used for *Mukko* embroidery. Apart from that there were special motifs used for *Mukko*. The motif worked in a circular manner was known as *Gheni* meaning a coin Plate 4.116.



Plate 4.116 *Gheni*



Plate 4.117 *Javado*

It was placed in a random manner or around the mirror. The other motif used to embroider *Mukko* was *Javado*, inspired from an *ant* (Plate 4.117). It

was majorly used as outer most layer of border or any motif.

Ful was the motif introduced recently was representation of flower with stem and one leaf on each side (Plate 4.118). Motif named *Guli* representing floral motif was also recently introduced in *Mukko* embroidery. In the centre of *Guli* a single mirror was embroidered.



Plate 4.118 *Ful*



Plate 4.119 *Sat tak valo gul*

Fuladi motif was repeated outside the mirror in all the four directions with stem ending towards the mirror. The motif embroidered with seven mirrors in circular manner was known as *Sat tak valo gul* by *Pathans* (Plate 4.119). It was not found in the articles of selected

artisans from *Pathan* community. *Pakke ja gul* observed in one *Halay potra* artisan's *Kanjari* resembled *Sat tak valo gul* embroidered by *Pathans*. The name was indicative of same motif that could have been embroidered in *Pakko* earlier. No similar motif was found in the articles of selected artisans from *Raysi Potra* community.

Animal and human figures were absent in the earlier specimens as it was a taboo in their religion, but motifs inspired by birds were introduced in the recent work. It was interesting



Plate 4.120 *Macchi/Chakali*

to note that artisans of age around 40 years named one motif as *Macchi* inspired from fish and the same motif was named as *Chakali*; the local name of sparrow by the artisans of 25-30 years of age (Plate 4.120). The other motif was known as *Kagde ja pag* means legs of the crow inspired from the impression of the crow's leg in the mud. Peacock motif was observed in the piece completed with the sketch of motifs but,

embroidery had to be initiated. *Zarmar* was embroidered around the neckline resembling their necklace known by the same name (Plate- 121 a-d).



a. Necklace known as *Zarmar*



b. *Zarmar* with *Mukko*



c. *Zarmar* with *Mukko*



d *Zarmar* with *Mukko*

Plate 4.121a-d. *Zarmar* and its depictions with *Mukko* embroidery

The *Meghwar* artisans either belonged to the *Banni* region or had social relation with *Banni* region, and resided near *Halay potras* though adopted *Mukko* embroidery but, practiced in negligible amount. They used gold and silver thread and embroidered the same motifs which were embroidered in *Pakko*. It was observed that only one artifact of *Meghwar* a single curvi-line overlapping with each other was couched. Only one article was found embroidered with *Gheni* motif similar to that used by

Halay potras, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras* (Plate 4.122).

However, *Darbars* did not possess any artifact embroidered with *Mukko*, though a few artisans responded that they were aware of *Mukko*.



Plate 4.122 *Gheni*

As narrated by the *Mutwa* artisans *Mukko* was adopted by *Mutwas* from *Halay potra* artisans. One lady from *Mutwa* community learnt the embroidery from *Halay potra* artisan and eventually taught to her family members and relatives. It was evident that *Mukko* was practised by the artisans close to the habitat of *Halay potras* though they practised it in lesser quantity. Further, it was noticed that one artifact was embroidered 45 years ago using *Zari* thread. Interestingly, they did not couch the *Zari* thread rather, used directly for embroidering the fabric. However, the artifact embroidered for commercial purpose was with couching stitch. Further the motifs used were very limited and named similar to their other embroideries. *Gheni* motif of *Halay potras* known as *Pakatadi* and *Javado* was known as *Be bundi vali kungari* by *Mutwa* artisans (Plate 4.123 - 4.124).



Plate 4.123 *Pakatadi*



Plate 4.124 *Be bundi vali kungari*

It was responded by majority of the *Sindhi Memon* artisans that earlier *Mukko* embroidery was carried out only around the neck line but, past 15-20 years they started embroidering entire *Kanjari* with *Mukko*. A band of *Mukko* work practiced around neckline was known as *Zarmaror Janjiri*, the source of inspiration was similar

to that of *Halay potras* (Plate 4.125). All the motifs practiced in *Pakko* were also adopted for embroidering *Mukko* by *Sindhi Memon*. It was an indication of *Mukko* being introduced at a later stage. While practicing *Mukko* the artisans also invented newer motifs such as *Chakki*, *Chokdi* (Plate 4.126) and *Chakri* (Plate 4.127). *Chokdi* was representing the cross formation in the design whereas, *Chakki* was representing the wind mill.



Plate 4.125
*Zarmar/
Janjiri*



Plate 4.126 *Chokdi*



Plate 4.127 *Chakri*

4.2.1.4 *Ahir Bharat*

Circular motifs of *Ahir Bharat* were known as *Dhungo*, *Goto* or *ful*. All three of them were initiated with mirror in centre; around which another set of mirrors was placed as per the shape required as all three motifs were embroidered in half circular and full circular forms. Empty spaces between these mirrors were filled up with curves around the mirrors. Rendition of curves was executed with different ornamentation as per the imagination of the artisans (Plate 4.128, 4.129).



Plate 4.128 *Dhungo*



Plate 4.129 *Goto*

Motif inspired from a tree was used by *Ahirs*. Of the total 47.5 per cent artisans used the term *Jhad* for the motif inspired by tree whereas, 52.49 per cent artisans called it *Aambo* meaning a mango tree. It was also a popular motif embroidered by all the three sub communities of *Ahirs*. It was a vertical mirror arrangement with placements of half and full circular motifs and curved V shaped motifs known as *Pandada* meaning leaves (Plate 4.130).



Plate 4.130 *Jhad/ Aambo*

Zarmar was the motif used by *Ahirs* mainly to create the border and also repeated radially. Source of inspiration was the same as *Darbars*, *Meghwars*, *Sindhi Memons*, *Halay potras* and *Raysi potras*. Two variations were found in depiction of *Zarmar*, one was *Ubhi zarmar*, mostly used as border and, other was *Bethi zarmar*, mostly placed in circular manner. *Ubhi zarmar* was initiated with diamond over which an oval shape subulate from both the tips was placed vertically. On top of it two wide oval subulate shapes were placed such that they were forming a V shape. The gap in between the V shape was filled up with the half circular motif with mirror in the center (Plate 4.131). In *Bethi zarmar* vertical oval shape was absent (Plate 4.132).



Plate 4.131 *Ubhi zarmar*



Plate 4.132 *Bethi zarmar*

Other design used as border was *Popati ni kor*. It was created placing mirrors at equidistance in a linear order and the spaces in between the mirrors were filled up by

two triangles placed opposite to each other vertically wherein, tip of both triangles touched each other and side of the triangles were concaved (Plate 4.133). *Makodiyo* was another motif used to fill up the gap in between the borders. It was a curvy linear motif inspired from the movement of the ant (Plate 4.134).



Plate 4.133 *Popati ni kor*



Plate 4.134 *Makodiyo*

Kodi motif was inspired from conch shell. It was a tear shaped motif with mirror placed in the centre. Various depictions of *Kodi* motif were observed in the articles embroidered (Plate 4.135 a-b).



a.



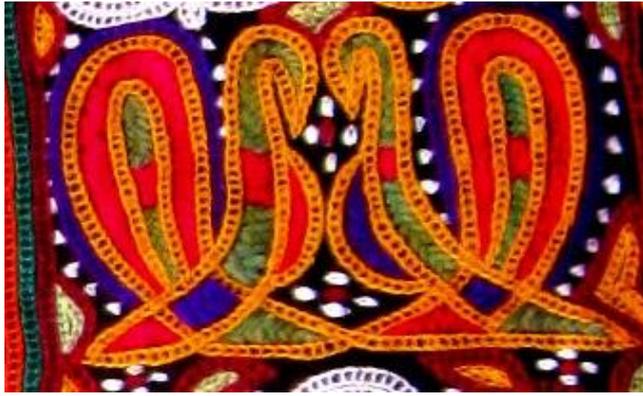
b.

Plate 4.135 a-b Depictions of *Kodi* motif

Inspiration was also drawn from birds for motifs like *Suda* meaning Parakeet as shown in Plate 4.136, and *Mor* meaning Peacock (Plate 4.137 a- d). Both the motifs were depicted in stylised form and they were popular amongst all the three sub communities of *Ahirs* as it was widely used to create either borders or placed as individual motif in many artifacts.



Plate 4.136 *Suda*



a. Double Mor



b. Amba upar Mor



c. Mor



d Double Mor

Plate 4.137 a-d Depictions of Mor

Nariyel inspired from coconut was initiated with a bunch of three mirrors in the centre forming a triangular shape. This was further circumvented with two tear shaped figures one outside the other as shown in Plate 4.138. This was also filled with mirrors of around 1.5 centimetre diameter. *Nariyel* motif was observed only in one artifact of *Parathariya Ahirs*.

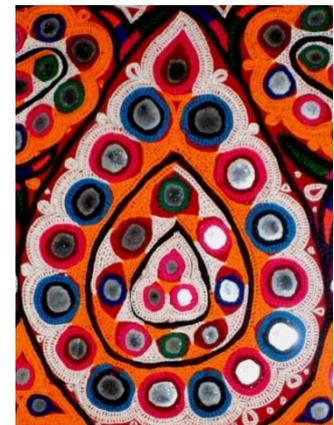


Plate 4.138 *Nariyel*

Paniari motif was stylised depiction of lady's head loaded

with earthen pots filled with water (Plate 4.139). *Vinchi* was inspired from a scorpion as shown in Plate 4. 140. *Dedavo* was a wide curvy linear arrangements inspired by amulet (Plate-4.141).



Plate 4.139 *Paniari*



Plate 4.140 *Vinchi*

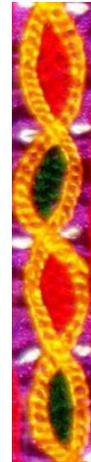


Plate 4.141 *Dedavo*

Baju bandh was the motif inspired by the ornament worn on upper arm. The motif was a diamond shape filled with mirrors arranged following the inner line of the diamond and the space in centre was filled in with one mirror. On two opposite tips of the diamond *Pandada* motif was placed (Plate 4.142). *Baju bandh* motif was found in only one *Kanchali* of the total 13 *Kanchalis* observed of *Parathariya Ahirs*.



Plate 4.142 *Baju bandh*

Haathi upar ambadi meaning Elephant with howdah was observed in one door hanging of the *Parathariya Ahirs*. Rendition of *Elephant* motif was stylised and howdah was depicted through the shapes similar to *Pandada* placed in the centre around which shapes similar to *Dhunga* were placed (Plate 4.143).

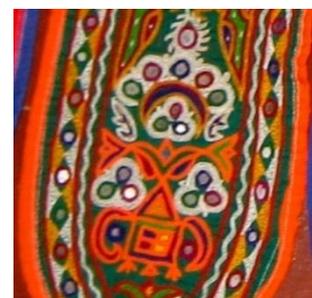


Plate 4.143 *Haathi upar ambadi*



Plate 4.144 *Kanudo*

Motifs inspired from deities like *Kanudo* a motif depicting lord *Krishna* was seen in one of the wall hangings of *Machuya Ahir* artisan (Plate 4.144). It was not found in other two communities' artifacts. Similar to other motifs, stylised forms were used to depict *Kanudo*.

Artisans of *Parathariya Ahir* responded that they also depicted motifs inspired from the symbols of playing cards

i.e. Diamond, Spade, Club and Heart. Of which the researcher could find Diamond and Club shaped motifs in one artifact of *Parathariya Ahir* (Plate 4.145, Plate 4.146).



Plate 4.145 *Diamond*



Plate 4.146 *Club*

Toran was a term used for door hanging but the layout of the *Toran* with its ornamental details was also found on the cover for mattress stack. *Anjirbag et. al.* (2010) mentioned in their research that *Keri* motif inspired by mango was exclusively used by *Parathariya Ahir* but researcher found *Keri* motif used



Plate 4.147 *Keri*

by *Machuya* and *Boricha Ahirs* in none of the artifacts of *Parathariya Ahiras* shown in Plate 4.147.

Mahiyari, milkmaid was also depicted in stylised form in one of the wall hangings of *Machhoya Ahir* (Plate 4.148). *Kharek disiyu abhala ni kor* meaning mirror embroidered inside the *Kharek* was used by *Machhoya Ahir* artisans (Plate 4.149). The same was not found in *Parathariya* and *Boricha Ahir* artisans.

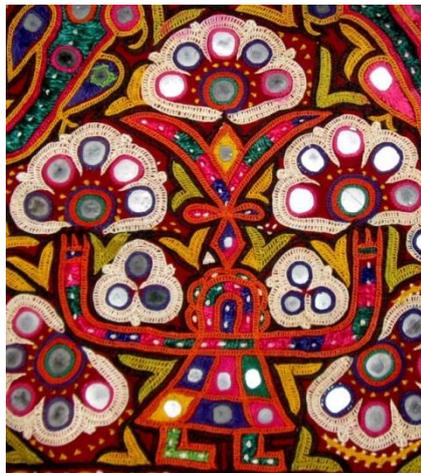


Plate 4.148 *Mahiyari*



Plate 4.149 *Kharek disiyu abhala ni kor*

All the respondents stated that since 20 years embroidering on personal utility articles had reduced due to various factors. All the artisans of *Parathariya Ahir* responded that on account of change in trend they were now not embroidering garments for their personal utility. Of the total, those who embroidered commercially responded that they did not get time to embroider for their personal use as they catered to commercial market. It was an impact of the commercialisation of embroidery on their cultural heritage. Cent per cent *Machhoya Ahir* responded that changing trend in their attire was a major factor responsible for not practicing embroidery. On probing it was added that younger generation pursued formal education and attended school therefore, even they did not practised embroidery. As responded by the artisans of *Boricha Ahir* the embroidery was banned by their community leader before 20 years. Therefore, at present they were not allowed to gift embroidered articles to their daughters and daughter in law as marriage gifts.

4.2.1.5 Rabari bharat

There was a similarity found in the motifs practiced by *Ahirs* and *Rabaris*. Motifs of *Rabari* embroidery were mainly inspired by flora, fauna and human figures.

Similar to *Ahir* artisans, *Rabaris* also depicted *Aambo* with various stylised depictions. In first, the motifs were initiated with a vertical band ending with triangular point. On each side of the band number of triangles were placed such that base of the triangle touched the vertical band. On the tip of the band number of curves was placed initiating from one side of the triangular tip and ending at another side. The outer most curvature was created by repeating triangles in



Plate 4.150a. *Aambo*

curved manner. The motif ended with curves covering tip of the triangles (Plate 4.150a). The second depiction was also initiated with vertical band ending with triangular point.

One triangle was place on each side of the band such that base of the triangles aligned with the base of the vertical band. Tip of both the triangles were covered with the curves till the tip of vertical band. As similar to first depiction, tip of vertical band was covered with number of curves ending with circular mirror placements following the curve. Each circular mirror was covered with convex curves (Plate 4.150b). The



Plate 4.150b. *Aambo*

artisans aged above 34 years of all three *Rabari* sub communities stated that they also used other depictions of *Aambo*.

Dhungo was another common motif observed amongst *Ahirs* and *Rabaris* (Plate 4.151 a- c). The creation of motif was also similar to that of creating *Dhungo* by *Ahirs*.



Plate 4.151a. *Deradi valo dhungo*



Plate 4.151b. *Dhungo*



Plate 4.151c. *Vankiya valo dhungo*

All the three sub communities also used motifs such as *Suda* (Plate 4.152) and *Mor* as shown in Plate 4.153 as similar to *Ahirs* but, *Rabaris* depicted these motifs in geometrical forms. Placement of these motifs was found in multiple variations such as double *Mor* or *Lodan Mor* meaning dancing peacock (Plate 4.154). They also used *Chakali* meaning sparrow as a motif as shown in Plate 4.155.



Plate 4.152 *Suda*



Plate 4.153 *Mor*

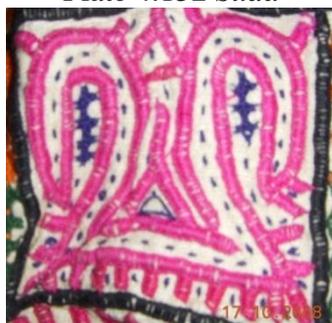


Plate 4.154 *Lodan Mor*



Plate 4.155 *Chakali*

Rabaris also used the motifs known as *Makodiyo* inspired from an ant (Plate 4.156), *Dedavo* inspired from amulet (Plate 4.157) and also used *Popati* but all the motifs were in geometrical form thereby had sharp corners at each banding points instead of smooth curves like *Ahirs* (Plate 4.158).



Plate 4.156 *Makodiyo*



Plate 4.157 *Dedavo*



Plate 4.158 *Popati*

Rabaris' depiction of human and animal figures was in geometrical abstract forms. They used motifs such as *Oont* meaning camel where *Oont* was depicted in seating position. One vertical and one horizontal line were placed at right angle. On the tip of vertical line slant triangle was placed to depict the head of the camel. Triangle was placed on the horizontal line in such a manner that the base of the triangle touched the horizontal line. On the right side of the triangle an obtuse angle was placed to complete the motif (Plate 4.159).



Plate 4.159 *Oont*

Haathi meaning Elephant was also depicted in abstract form. The outer shape from the elephant's trunk to its tail was depicted through wide convex curve with both the tips of the curve turning inside. Inside the centre portion of the curve either a triangle or triangle based on square shape was placed to depict the body and legs of the elephant (Plate 4.160 a -b).



a. *Haathi*



b. *Haathi*

Plate 4.160 a-b Depictions of *Haathi*

Vinchi was also depicted by them. The motif was initiated with elongated triangle in centre and one curve on each tip of the triangle was placed which was extended by number of small lines perpendicular to curves depicting legs of the scorpion as shown in Plate 4.161.



Plate 4.161 *Vinchi*



Plate 4.162 *Trikon ful*

Floral motif was rarely seen in *Rabari* embroidery. Only two motifs were used known as *Ful*; a colloquial term used for flower. One of *Trikon phool* was initiated with triangle in centre and on each tip of triangles tear shape was placed (Plate 4.162).

Another floral motif was made with circular shape in centre and it was surrounded by four tear shapes such that tips of the tear shapes touched the circle in the centre as shown in Plate 4.163.



Plate 4.163 *Ful*



Plate 4.164 *Deradi*

Rabaris also used variation of motif known as *Deradi* meaning a small temple. The depiction was geometrical abstract form. It was highly popular motif amongst all three *Rabari* sub groups as many variations of this motif were observed. It was initiated with vertical band and on around the vertical band a number of curves elongated about the top

were placed to create the form resembling to a temple (Plate 4.164).

The *Rabaris* also used the motifs known as *Shravan kavadiyo* depicting a story from mythology as shown in Plate 4.165.



Plate 4.165 *Sharvan kavadiyo*

All the articles of *Rabaris* assessed for the study were at least 15 years old. Each artisan possessed only one or two artifacts due to the change in their social life style. At the time of data collection it was observed that quantity of embroidery practiced by *Kutchi Rabari* had decreased. The costumes entirely worked with hand embroidery were only worn during the wedding ceremony. The costumes of the elder family members and relatives were often borrowed for the ceremony purpose. For daily used attire they increased the usage of machine embroidery and minimized the application of their traditional hand embroidery. This clearly indicated the extinction of *Rabari bharat*. One artisan from *Kutchi Rabari* community also stated that borrowing the costumes from *Ahirs* was also in trend. It was a threat to both the embroideries and may pose a threat to the identities of these sub communities.

Dhebariya Rabari artisans explained that as per the societal norms it was mandatory for each girl to carry around 30-35 embroidered pieces including apparels and home decorations at the time of *aanu*; the gift ceremony post wedding. Though they were married during early childhood the girl could not go to her in-law's house unless she had stipulated number of embroidered pieces prepared. As a result, girls were at their maternal home till the age of 30-35 years. To justify this social status of the bride, embroidery was banned among *Dhebaria Rabari* cult since last 20 years. As observed by the researcher, the artisans were still not allowed to practice the embroidery for their personal use though they were allowed to practice for commercial purpose. Here the revival of the embroidery was only due to market demand.

A large number of *Vagadiya Rabaris* exchanged their traditionally embroidered artifacts against utensils to gift in daughter's marriage. The artisans responded that due to change in fashion amongst the community they did not practice their traditional embroidery anymore. The artisans also stated that now the girls also pursue and complete their primary education as a result, they did not get time to learn embroidery. According to the data, *Vagadiya Rabaris* did not practice embroidery commercially, which lead to an opinion that embroideries of *Vagadiya Rabaris* were almost extinct.

4.2.1.6 Horamji, Bavalio, Gotav

The terms *Horamji*, *Bavalio* and *Gotav* were used for similar arrangements of interlacing stitches. *Bavalio* a term denoted its inspiration from domestically grown thorny plant known as *Baval*. The term *Horamji* was used by *Ahirs* and *Rabaris* for the said arrangement however, the source of inspiration was unknown. The said motif was called as *Bavalio* by *Garacia jats*, *Rabaris*, *Darbars*, *Meghwars*, *Halay potras*,

Pathans, Raysi Potras, Nodes and Sindhi Memons whereas, *Mutwas* called it *Gotav* meaning ‘to find out’. The name of the embroidery was derived from the characteristics of stitches. The name of motifs was given by *Mutwas* based on its arrangements. It was found that only *Mutwas* had vast variety in this embroidery though it was also used by all the other communities except *Dhaneat Jat, Garacia Jat* and *Fakirani Jat* communities.

The motif known as *Harana* inspired from deer’s head was forming straight line and on each side almost halfway slant lines were formed (Plate 4.166).



Plate 4.166 *Harana*



Plate 4.167 *Batta panj kania*

If five square segments were embroidered together it was known as *Panj kania* where, *Panj* means five and *Kan* means grain, when two *Panj kania* was placed one on top of other it was known as *Batta panj kania* (Plate 4.167).

If three diamond shaped segments were aligned and on the middle diamond one more diamond shape was placed it was known as *Addhad* meaning half (Plate 4.168).



Plate 4.168 *Addhad*

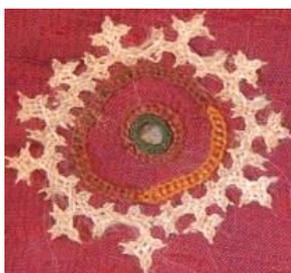


Plate 4.169 *Farmatado*

If arranged in circular manner it was known as *Farmatado* inspired from circular movement of the coin as shown in plate 4.169.

If single square unit was embroidered it was known as *Fofaliyo*. *Madhariya bandh* was another motif created with *Gotav*, inspired by amulet (Plate 4.170).



Plate 4.170 *Madhariya bandh*

Only two artisans from *Garacia Jat* practiced the embroidery. On probing the fact was unveiled that they rejuvenated their social connections with Pakistan in the recent past as a result they travelled to Pakistan frequently and carried the embroidery from there.

4.2.2 Stitches used

4.2.2.1 *Pakko Bharat*

4.2.2.1a. *Pakko*

The term *Pakko* is derived from the term strong. As the name indicates it denotes strength of the embroidery. Outlining the pre-determined area on the product and outline of the motif was worked in *Pakko* embroidery by *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Rayasi potras* known as *Aad* worked with satin stitches by using counting thread method. In one inch 25 to 30 stitches were taken in *Aad*. This was obsolete since around 25 years. In the piece embroidered recently it was replaced with compact open chain stitch known as *Aank*. As embroidering *Pakko* was extinct, at present these stitches were no more in use. In *Pakko* embroidery, motif was filled up using square chain stitches known as *Khinch* with the density of 20 to 25 stitches per inch. While embroidering, care was taken that the shape of the motif did not get distorted. Similar care was also taken in *Pakko* practiced by *Darbars* and *Meghwars*. *Achhe jo Khan* was the colloquial term used for back stitch by all the mentioned three communities.

Back stitch was used as outer most line of the motif. Mirror was embroidered with buttonhole stitch (Plate 4.171 a-i). *Fuladi* motif was embroidered using a combination of satin stitch and couching stitch. It was mentioned as *Vell* stitch by Elson (1979).

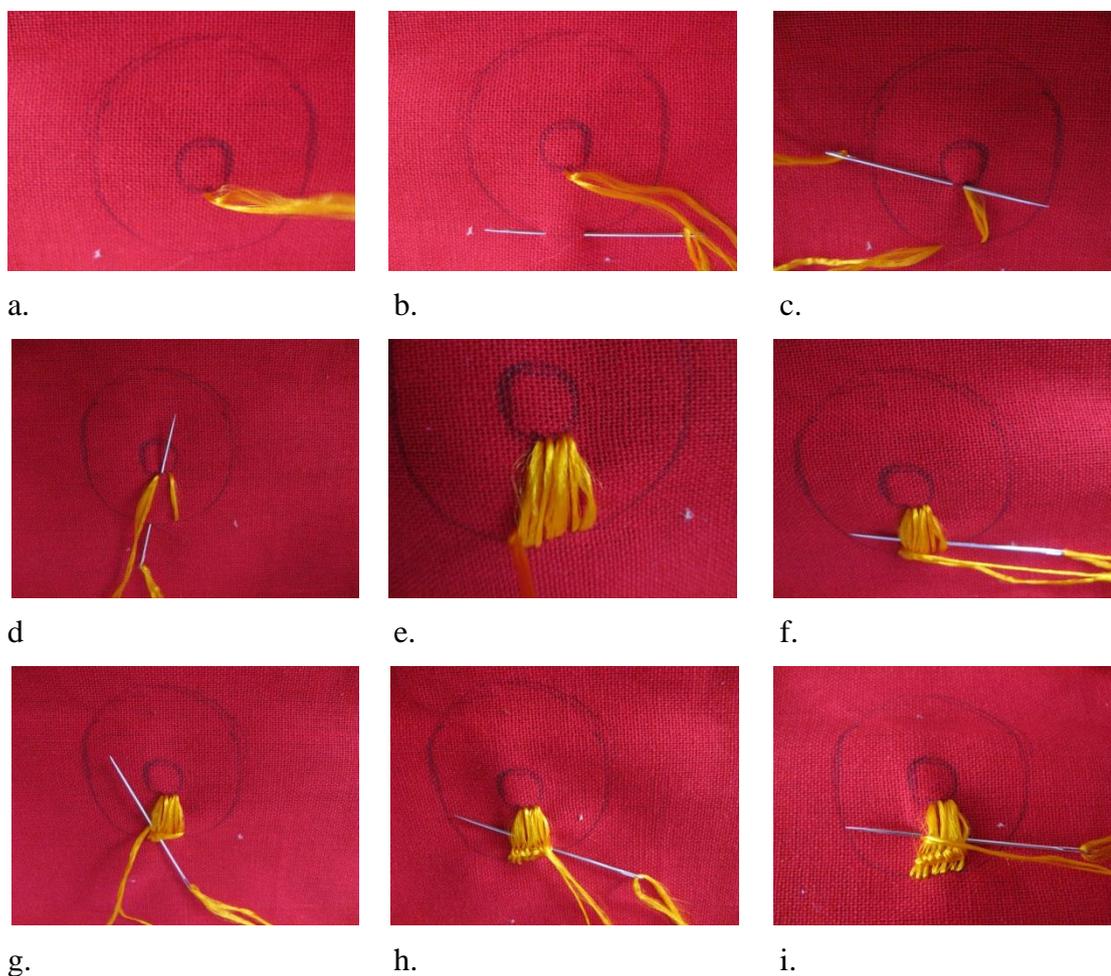


Plate 4.171 Steps to embroider *Fuladi*

Similar to *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras* out line was worked with satin stitch known as *Aad* amongst *Node*. Motifs were filled up using *Khinch* a colloquial term for open chain and square chain stitches. Open chain stitch was worked with 20 to 25 stitches per inch and square chain stitches were worked with 25 to 30 stitches per inch. Open chain stitch was also used to decorate periphery of the mirror. Mirror embroidered with *Jaat*; the term used for buttonhole or combination of buttonhole and chain stitches. Buttonhole stitch with density of 16 to 20 stitches was also used to

embroider the shape known as *Bhirani*. *Tariye nu gul* and *Tadi valo gul* was embroidered using a blend of elongated Romanian stitch and long and short satin stitches as shown in Plate 4.172 a-h. One of the villages used *Chuur* as a conversational term for embroidering detached Romanian stitches around the mirrors with density of 19 to 20 stitches per inch whereas; *Ache ji khan* was used by another village. *Annk* created by coalesce of couching method and open chain was also used to add ornamentation around the mirror.

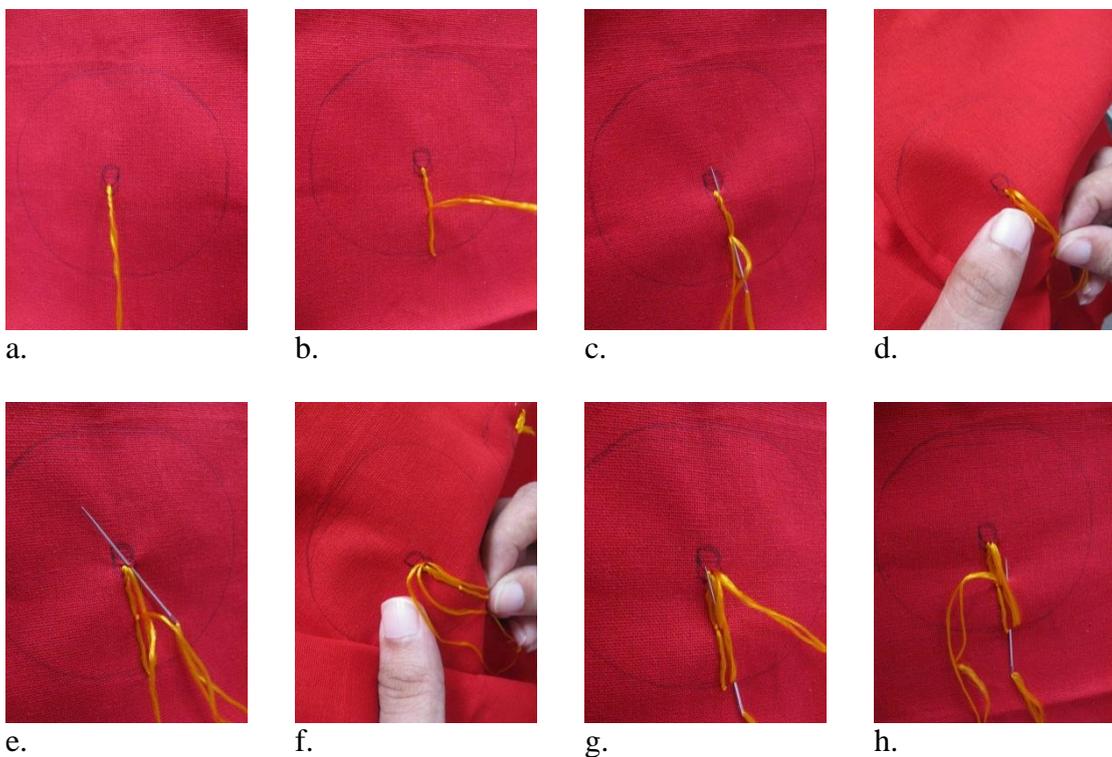


Plate 4.172 Steps to embroider *Tari nu gul*

Stitches for the outlines, borders and for filling up the motifs were predefined for *Pakko* embroidered by *Darbaras* and *Meghwars*. At present chain stitch and open chain stitch were used to work outermost lines of the borders and the motifs. The stitch was known as *Aank*.

Earlier the said outermost borders were worked using slanted satin stitch and counting the warps and wefts of the fabric. *Lath* was the term used to recognise the outline worked with the satin stitch around 25 to 30 stitches per inch. Old samples as old as 25 to 30 years also revealed the same fact. *Lath* was now-a-days replaced with the chain stitch. This could be due to *Lath* being time consuming and complex while embroidering as compared to the chain stitch. Besides, the amount of wages paid for the quantity of embroidery also compelled them to shift to chain stitches in order to finish the allotted work in stipulated time duration. The increase in trousseau amongst *Meghwars* could also be the probable reason for changing the stitch of the outline. *Meghwar* was the only community to have continued the traditional custom of gifting the trousseau of embroidered articles. In fact, they had increased the number of articles to be included in the trousseau.

Square chain stitch was mainly used as a filling stitch of the embroidery. Amongst the artisans of *Meghwar* and *Darbar* community it was known as *Jaat*. The stitch worked was as compact as 27 to 30 stitches per inch such that the portion of base fabric was not visible. The length of the stitch altered in ascending or descending order according to the shape of the motif or motif component. It was also observed that in the same motif or component of the motif the stitch length could vary in ascending or descending order. To achieve perfect shape through varying stitch length and still maintain fineness and precision was subject to the skill.

Buttonhole with 25 to 27 stitches per inch was mainly used to attach the mirrors. A mirror placed in the centre of a motif or any of its part was generally worked using button whole stitch. Sometimes the artisans also used a conglomeration of chain stitch with button whole stitch to secure the border of the mirror thereby add one more

ornamental feature to the embroidery as shown in Plate 4.173 a-d. Frater (1995) mentioned that chain with buttonhole stitches were double buttonhole stitches. Surrounding parts of the mirror were ornamented with chain stitch, buttonhole stitch in opposite direction, Cretan stitch or detached Romanian stitch. These stitches were generally worked out to highlight the mirror or to portray emphasis. *Suyadi* was the ornamentation around mirror with combination of couching and chain stitch.



a.



b.



c.



d.

Plate 4.173 Steps to embroider *Suyadi*

Earlier spaces between the outline of the layout were also filled in by a bunch of thread known as *Kad* held with couching or satin stitch at regular intervals. These intervals were also creating a uniform attractive pattern by itself. The whole composition of a bunch of thread held with above mentioned stitches was known as *Chag* (Plate 4.174). The researcher observed that *Chag* in the majority of the articles assessed was replaced with the ricrac curved pattern locally known as *Fit*.



Plate 4.174 *Chag*

Back stitch at density around 15 to 17 stitches per inch was used after the embroidery was completed. It was used to outline all the borders and motifs in order to give an overall finish to the article.

Mutwas used very minute open chain stitch for the outline known as *Aank* similar to other communities. In *Pakko* embroidery motif was filled with minute open chain stitch. If space to fill up in the motif was more than 0.5 centimetres it was filled up with padded satin stitch with density of 20 to 24 stitches per inch known as *Gidhari khinch*; the name derived from a worm. Both the spaces between the borders as well as mirror and circular floral motif were filled with a stitch called *Kench* term used for Cretan stitch inspired by snake's skin with stitches around 20 to 25 stitches per inch. Feathered chain stitch known as *Asali kandhado* (Plate 4.175a) and, if filled in with wavy feather stitch it was known as *Nakali kandhado* (Plate 4.175b) was also used instead of *Kench*.



a. *Asali Kandhado*



b. *Nakali Kandhado*

Plate 4.175 *Kandhado*

Mirror embroidered with buttonhole stitch was known as *Kadai* amongst *Mutwas*. Ornamentation around mirror was done in four different styles. Buttonhole in reverse

manner was known as *Pakatadi* as shown in Plate 4.176. Romanian stitches close to each other were known as *Chuur* and if the stitches were comparative distant to each other it was known as *Chokha* means rice. It was practiced to reduce the labour time and known *Sarkari pakatadi* when GOs were placing orders in 1970s. If *Laisy daisy* stitch was taken around the mirror it was known as *Khan wali tak*. If three mirrors were placed together it was known as *Tre tak jo judo* (Plate 4.177).



Plate 4.176 *Pakatadi*



Plate 4.177 *Tre tak jo judo*

Around the motifs or at the edges of the border they also practiced *Dantadi* inspired by teeth of the mouse. It was similar to the *Suyadi* practiced by *Darbars* and *Meghwars*. Back stitch known as *Bakhiyo* was embroidered in outer most line to highlight the motifs.

Outline of *Pakko* embroidery worked with chain stitch by *Sindhi Memon* was known as *Aank*. The chain stitch with density of 18 to 20 stitches per inch embroidered by *Sindhi Memon* artisans was narrow and long as compared to the chain stitch of *Darbar* and *Meghwar* artisans. It was interesting to note that the space in between two out lines was embroidered to demark the segment of the embroidery layout and was left unembroidered. *Reso* known as *Chag* by other communities was attached in these spaces later on.

Pakko practiced by *Sindhi Memon* was majorly done using Romanian stitch with 28 to 32 stitches per inch was worked which was known as *Khinch* amongst the artisans.

The term might be derived from the process of taking stitch as it was tightly pulled from the couching point and resultant appearance of the stitch was embossed. *Khinch* was used to fill the field of the motifs. If the field area was wide, Romanian stitch was used since the construction of the stitch provided a hold to the stitch from the centre preventing the longer stitch either being pulled out or shifting from its place. Romanian stitch was also used to emphasis the mirrors. It was embroidered next to the outline of the buttonhole stitch worked on mirror. Back stitch was also used though very minimal in amount. It was known as *Bakhiyo* in their colloquial language.

Dhaneta, Fakirani and Garacia Jats used *Fuladi* as their popular motif. *Fuladi* motif was executed with commingle of satin stitch and couching stitch. To fill up space around the motifs padded satin stitches with density of 30 to 35 stitches per inch known as *Kanak* inspired from wheat grain were embroidered along the shape of the motifs by the above communities. The outline of *Chher* was worked with long satin stitches which were couched at various points. Outline of the motifs except *Fuladi* motif was embroidered with open chain stitch with 25 to 30 stitches per inch known as *Reso*. Mirror was embroidered with buttonhole stitch. Spaces around mirror were filled up either with *Kanak* or slanted satin stitches. Cross stitch was practiced by one cult of *Garacia Jat* who also embroidered mirrors using buttonhole stitches.

4.2.2.1b. Pakko Suf and Kharek

Out line was done with couching stitches by counting warp and weft known as Chiddar. Filling was done with satin stitches with density of 20 to 25 stitches per inch known as *Jaat*.

Insert table of Stitches

4.2.2.2 Kachho Bharat

Neran was embroidered either using buttonhole or double satin stitch with 18 to 20 stitches per inch by all the communities. As similar to *Pakko* embroidery mirror was embroidered with buttonhole stitches.

Kachho Suf, *Kachho Kharek* and *Katri* were executed with double satin stitch with density of 23 to 25 stitches per inch. Outline of the *Kharek* was embroidered with couching stitches on the drawn outlines. *Tariye nu gul* was embroidered with elongated *Romanian* stitch combined with long and short satin stitches. Artisans of *Node* community followed the same pattern for embroidering *Tariye nu gul*.

Kambhira and *Khudi sebha* was worked with double and single running stitches respectively.

4.2.2.3 Mukko Bharat

Mukko was embroidered with couching stitches. *Zari* threads were laid on the fabric and couched with sewing thread or embroidered threads. Wherever *Mukko* was combined with *Pakko bharat*, out line was worked with couching stitch and motifs were filled up by square chain stitches or satin stitches. *Mutwa* artisans embroidered padded satin stitches known as *Gidhari khinch* to fill up the motifs.

4.2.2.4 Ahir Bharat

In *Ahir Bharat* outlines of the motifs were embroidered using *Sankali* a colloquial term used to express chain stitch among the community. *Sankali* with density of 20 to 25 stitches were used. Motifs were filled up with two stitches; *Sankali* an open chain stitch and *Vaano* a herring bone stitch. *Vaano* with 30 to 32 stitches per inch was

used. Mirror was embroidered using buttonhole stitch known as *Gaaj no tanko* and also with herring bone stitch. *Daano* a colloquial term for *Laisy daisy* stitch was used to ornament the mirror. It was observed that *Machoya* and *Boricha* artisans embroidered bigger chain stitches as compared to the stitches taken by *Parathariya Garacia Jats*. Combination of couching and chain stitches known as *Kanti* was used to embroider mirrors. *Adh-kanti* a colloquial term used for buttonhole stitch amongst *Ahirs* was embroidered to ornament the mirror.

4.2.2.5 Rabari Bharat

Compactly worked *Sankli*; a term used for open chain stitch was the main stitch used to outline as well as for filling amongst *Kutchi* and *Dhebariya Rabaris* whereas, *Vagadiya Rabaris* used applique to work on outline of the motif. *Sankali* with 28 to 30 stitches was used. *Daano* was the term used for scattered *Laisy daisy* stitches.

4.2.2.6 Horamji/Bavaliyo/Gotav

It was an interlacing stitch with various arrangements. It was observed that the artisans of younger age group invented new method of interlacing which was simpler than the earlier method followed yet gave similar appearance (Plate- 178a-b).



a. Traditional framing



b. Recently introduced framing

Plate 4.178 a-b Framing of interlacing stitch

4.2.3 Materials used

4.2.3.1 Fabrics used

Fabric used for all the embroideries were dependent on articles embroidered and type of embroidery to be performed. The artisans used at least two layers of fabrics; one for upper layer and another as a lining material. Artisans of *Dhaneta*, *Fakirani* and *Garacia Jat* used three layers of fabric to ensure sufficient thickness of the layer to withstand their embroidery. *Garacia Jat* who practiced cross stitches did not use any lining material.

Except three *Jat* sub communities all the artisans hailed to Muslim religion responded that it was mandatory to gift at least one *Kanjari* of *Mashru* fabric known as *Mamsai Gaj* to their daughter in her trousseau as it was considered auspicious. Other *Kanjaris* were made of *Gajji* silk. *Jats* used medium weight cotton fabrics to embroider the *Agoti*- a yoke for their *Churi*. Cross stitch embroidery was done on casement fabric since coarse yarns facilitated ease in counting warps and wefts. *Meghwar* artisans of old age reported that earlier *Gajji* silk was used for *Kanjari* worked with *Pakko* embroidery whereas, for *Pakko Suf* and *Kharek* medium weight cotton fabric was used. *Darbar* artisans were using cotton background fabrics. *Ahirs* and *Rabaris* used tie dyed silk fabric known as *Sachu Kapdu* where, *Sachu* meaning real and *Kapadu* meaning fabric.

Halay potras, *Pathans*, *Raysi Potras*, *Nodes*, *Meghwars* and *Sindhi Memons* embroidered bag of various sizes, men's head gears worn at the time of wedding, *Garacia Jat* and *Rabari* men's attire, ladies' skirts, quilts and wrappers for lunch box on cotton fabrics. Skirt of *Garacia Jat* artisans was embroidered on *Khaddar* fabric. Wall decoration pieces embroidered by *Meghwars*, *Darbars*, *Garacia Jats* and

Rabaris were also embroidered on cotton fabric. *Pandada* representing leaves in *Toran of Rabaris'* was in Silk or *Mushru*. These articles were now not embroidered except quilt covers which were presently embroidered on polyester fabrics.

For around 25 to 30 years all the polyester fabrics were used for all the embroideries except *Pakko suf*, *Pakko Kharek* and with various weaves and prints. On probing, the artisans responded that this new material was easily available in the local market at comparatively cheaper rate. It was also added by the respondents that the synthetic fabrics were long lasting, lustrous and easy to maintain.

It was observed that GOs and NGOs used varieties of Handloom and power loom fabrics of silk, cotton and wool procured from all over India.

Lining was used to provide the strength to the article and thereby to help withstand the heavy embroidery. Majority of the artisans used left over fabric for lining. Utmost care was taken while selecting the lining fabric to match the thickness and weight of the base fabric. *Jat* sub communities were applying two layers of linings. It was observed that fabric used for lining was skirt fabric and male attires in the artifacts embroidered before 25-30 years. Presently polyester was used for both base and lining material.

4.2.3.2 Threads used

Threads were the main raw material used to ornament the articles with embroidery. Though varieties of embroideries were practiced similarities were found in the types of threads used. Before 50 years *Suttar*; meaning cotton thread was used. This was replaced with *Pat* or *Sani*; meaning untwisted silk thread around 30 years ago for *Pakko* and *Kachho* embroideries of *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potra*, *Node*,

Mutwa, Sindhi Memon, Darbar and Meghwar communities. It was a fact that researcher could not find any specimen embroidered with cotton threads from these communities. *Jats, Garacia Jats* and *Rabaris* used cotton twisted threads. For past 25 to 30 years untwisted rayon and acrylic threads had replaced untwisted silk. *Dhaneta Jat* and *Garacia Jat* artisans who practiced counted thread embroidery still preferred to use cotton threads though they also experimented with acrylic threads. *Pakko* practiced by *Fakirani Jats* and *Garacia Jats* resided in *Lakhpat* taluka was presently embroidered with threads drawn from knitted hosiery garments procured from domestic market.

Mukko embroidery was practiced with real gold and silver threads earlier which were replaced by tested *Zari* threads since past 25 to 30 years. In one of the articles embroidered in a period of last four years by *Meghwars*, presence of copper thread was observed, indicating the experimental nature of the artisans and incorporation of innovative material in the embroidery. In the preceding years the use of copper may increase as an accent element.

It was observed by the researcher that the artisans did not combine silk and cotton thread in a single piece but they often combined gold and silver threads with silk or cotton.

For commercial embroidery artisans' clients provided them twisted cotton, twisted rayon and untwisted rayon threads. On probing it was reported by the artisans that change in type of threads facilitated ease and speed in embroidery. For *Mukko* embroidery NGO provided gold and silver wires.

Threads were also used to make *Tor* meaning tassels which were placed on top of the centre of embroidered motifs and also in places between the remaining motifs. These

tassels though used as an accent had a specific significance for them. The artisans ornamented the *Kanjari* with tassels just a night previous to the Marriage. They were also ornamenting other articles with tassels but carried no significance except that of decoration. All the artisans responded that they purchased threads from the local markets.

4.2.3.3 Mirrors used

Mirror was the second widely used material known as *Tak* amongst the artisans of *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potras*, *Node*, *Mutwa*, *Sindhi Memon*, *Darbar* and *Meghwar* communities. *Ahirs* called it *Abhlo* and *Rabaris* knew it as *Khanp*. The artisans were purchasing it from the local market. It was available in form of sheets as well as broken pieces of sheet. Majority of the artisans preferred broken pieces as it was cost effective compared to the sheet. Negligible number of artisans preferred to use cut mirrors. All the sub communities of *Jat* used tear shaped mirrors known as *Kali tak* where *Kali* meaning bud. Same shape and term was used by *Rabaris* as well. *Rabaris* used *Gol tak* meaning circular mirror. *Rabaris* also used triangular shaped mirror known as *Tri khuni tak* meaning mirror with three corners, it was also known as *kagda tak*. They also used *Limbodi tak* represented with rectangular shaped mirror. Unlike all other embroideries where circular mirrors were used, *Pakko bharat* and *Kachho Suf bharat* practiced by *Mutwas* embroidered using smallest mirrors of 0.5 Centimetre in diameter. *Pakko* and *Kachho* embroidered by *Node* were having largest mirrors of around two Centimetres in diameter.

4.2.3.4 Tassels

The tassels were made of untwisted silk floss known as *Tor* amongst the artisans in their colloquial language. It was used by *Halay potras*, *Pathtans*, *Rayasi potras*, *Nodes*, *Mutwas*, *Sindhi Memons* and *Megwars*. It was made in various colours such as maroon, yellow, red, green etc.

4.2.3.5 Beads, Buttons and Sequins

The artisans used either plastic or metal beads on the top of the tassel to add to the decoration. The artisans responded that earlier glass beads were used but use of metal or plastic beads was a new replacement of the glass beads as metal or plastic beads were inexpensive and durable. Golden and silver sequins were also attached to the articles embroidered with *Mukko* embroidery.

4.2.4 Colour combinations

The embroidery was mainly done on bright background. All the communities of *Muslim* religion used green coloured *Kanjari* for wedding as, green was considered auspicious. *Mamsai Gaj* was the fabric with strips of yellow, green and red colours with diamond shaped motifs made of white colour. Other colours used by them were crimson and dark purple (Table 4.1 b). Blue was used since past 20 years. It was observed that *Node* used both yellow and red as much as they used green on which *Tari vali kanjari* was mainly embroidered. As similar to *Node*, *Sindhi Memon* also used yellow and red coloured fabrics. This could be due to the contrast created with black coloured thread as, *Tariye nu gul* was embroidered with black thread on these fabrics. Similarly, if blue coloured fabric was used *Tariye nu gul* was embroidered with red thread to create the contrast.

It was observed that *Sindhi Memon* artisans attached a separate narrow fabric panel in the centre of the *Kanjari* with contrasting colour. Since *Gajji* silk fabric was woven in narrow width this extra panel served two purposes; one to increase the width of the fabric and secondly the central portion was emphasized due to contrasting colour combinations. On analysis of the data it was found that apart from red and green other colours such as yellow, orange and crimson were also used for the background since last twenty years to embroider *Kanjari*. Printed fabric was also used as a background for embroidered *Kanjari*. Other articles were also embroidered on similar coloured fabrics.

Black was rarely used as a base fabric. On probing, the reason ascertained was fatigue to the eyes on account of embroidering on black background.

Mainly red was used as a base colour by *Meghwars*, followed by green and rarely blue. The articles of *Darbars* were embroidered on red background followed by blue. Artisans responded that since generations red and its shades were popular and acceptable especially for the trousseau, as red was symbolic of being *Suhagan* and brought good luck to the married woman. Green was even considered to be a symbol of life, longevity and happiness. Blue was not as popular as red and green amongst the *Meghwars* since it did not bear any significance. The researcher noticed different colours introduced recently by the younger generation. Those were crimson, royal blue, orange, parrot green, wine purple etc. Mainly it was nearest tints and shades of the colours used in the past which ensured acceptability of the design elements in the society.

It was interesting to note that *Jats* though hailed to Muslim religion, used red as a base color. Of all, *Dhaneta Jats* also used maroon colour as a base fabric.

Ahirs and *Rabaris* used red, green and yellow colours for women's upper garments as well as for home decoration pieces. *Ahirs* used shades of red and black for lower garment whereas, *Rabaris* used only black for lower garment and veil. *Kutchi* and *Dhebariya Rabaris* used white for male's attires.

Outline of *Pakko* embroidery by *Halay potras*, *Pathans*, *Rayasi potras* and *Node* was either in black or yellow. Only two artifacts had yellow out line whereas, others were embroidered with black outline. *Tari no gul* was outlined with white or yellow threads since *Gul* was embroidered in black. *Bhori phul* embroidered with *Pakko* by *Halay potra* was worked with white thread similar to *Gol ful* and *Nade ja ful*. For other floral motifs contrasting colours were used to fill up the motifs by all four communities.

Colour combinations of embroidery were vibrant, bright and contrasting. Black was generally used for outline of the motifs and the segments in overall layout. The artisans of age above 60 years responded that earlier yellow colour was used to embroider the outline which was known as *Aank*, now almost replaced with black colour. The other colours used for embroidery were green, red, yellow, blue and its shades. Artisans of *Meghwar* community used white as an accent colour and to balance the overall look of the article. It was mainly used to embroider the outer most line with *Bakhiyo* meaning back stitch, area around mirror, and sometimes to make the *Chag*. It was observed that wherever the design was distributed in two halves and demarcated by a line, the line was embroidered either with white or light yellow coloured thread. The artisans of *Darbar* community were using white colour for embroidering motifs also. The rest of the colours were used in contrast to each other by both the communities. Generally repetition of a colour in the same motif was not observed. eg. In a four petal flower all the petals were embroidered with different

colours. If the same colour is repeated it will never be in juxta position, rather it was used alternatively.

The *Meghwar* artisans either belonged to or had some social connection with *Banni* region, and resided just near the *Halay potras*. They were also using gold and silver colours for *Mukko* embroidery as accent to the article.

Mutwas used orange and black equally to outline the lay out and motifs of *Pakko* embroidery. *Chopad* was embroidered in one colour, rarely made using two colours. *Buttis* and *Butah* were embroidered with four to five colours but *Chakkan jo gul* was embroidered in a single colour. If it was placed in a row or at various points in *Butti*, each *Ful* could be embroidered with different colour. *Kandhado*, and *Bakhiyo* was always embroidered in white whereas, *Kench* in multiple colour bands. Five to six colours were used to embroider a *Kench*.

The colour selection of the threads varied in old and new samples of *Sindhi Memons*. In the old pieces tint and shades of the central panel was used for the embroidery and another two to three colours were used as accent colours. The pieces embroidered since past 10 to 12 years had minimum four to five colours. Majority of the articles were embroidered with red, black, yellow, blue, crimson, orange, white and violet colours. Analogous as well as contrasting colour schemes were used for embroidering the motifs. More amount of *Mukko* was seen in the pieces embroidered during past 10 to 12 years. The *Pakko* and *Mukko* were combined in majority of the *Kanjaris*. Placement of the colours was totally dependent on the motifs. *Tevraniful* was done in two to three colours where the inner petal was embroidered with single colour while outer petals were embroidered with any one of the red colour shades. Around the floral motif one circular shaped design was embroidered that used more than one

colour which was also a part of the motif. Motifs such as *Tadi valo gul*, *Bhoriful* and *Fuldi* was divided into even number of sections in circular manner, where number of colours were half of the total number of petals and the same was repeated such that the petals opposite to each other were in same colours. *Handa valo gul* was embroidered in the similar manner as *Tadi valo gul* but, if *Char Handa valo gul* was embroidered, each of the curved part known as *Handa* was embroidered with different colours. *Payda* and *Chopad ful* was used together which was either embroidered with four different colours to fill each *Payda* and *Chopad ful* or with two different colours to fill up the *Payda* situated diagonally opposite to each other.

Sinye nu ful was always worked with white. The artisans of *Sindhi Memon* were unaware of its significance but probably the flower's original colour would be white.

The motif known as *Pakh* or *Parakhadi* was made by splitting the triangle in two equal halves. Both the divisions were embroidered using two different colours.

The outline of the layout segments was embroidered with black or yellow colours. The artisans of *Sindhi Memon* above 55 years of age responded that earlier yellow colour was preferred for the outlines but gradually preference was shifted to black colour. The motif outline was always embroidered with black colour thread. Wherever, *Pakko* was combined with *Mukko* embroidery, out line was done with golden or silver colour.

It was observed that *Sindhi Memons* embroidered outline of the mirror using white or yellow colours. The artisans were of the opinion that since white or yellow were light colours as compared to the colours used in background and motifs for embroidering, they balanced the colour combinations and emphasised the mirrors. The *Kanjari*

embroidered around 10 to 12 years ago had *Kagar gulio* – an embroidered ornamentation with broken or continuous circle with buttonhole stitch.

Pakko embroidery by *Jats* except one cult of *Garacia Jat* was outlined with black and orange coloured threads. *Fuladi* motif was divided into 20 to 22 segments. Four segments that together formed the shapes of alphabet X were embroidered with black colour and the segments adjacent to each black coloured segment were filled with white colour. The remaining segments were filled with different colours in such a way that segments opposite to each other would be filled with same colour. Other motifs were embroidered with multiple colours. Maximum four to five colours were used in each motif. Spaces around the motifs were embroidered with white threads. Majorly used colours were red, orange, golden yellow, green, blue, white and black. For cross stitch embroidery outline was embroidered with white thread and filling was done with orange, red, blue and green colours.

4.2.5 Techniques used

Embroidery process was initiated with preparation of base material. Base fabric and lining was placed on one top of another. Basting was done with darning stitches on the edges of the fabric and two row of basting was carried out in the field of the fabric to hold both the layers together. For *Pakko*, *Kachho Suf*, *Kachho Kharek*, *Mukko*, *Garacia Jat* and *Rabari bharat* outline of the motif was drawn on the fabric known as *Lakhatar* by the artisans of Halaypotra, *Pathan*, *Raysi Potra*, *Node*, *Mutwa*, *Sindhi Memon*, *Jat* and *Rabari* whereas, amongst *Ahirs* it was known as *Aarekhani*. Motifs were drawn with the paste made from locally available clay, gum of *baval* tree or jaggery and water. Gum or Jaggery was added to avoid removal of motifs from the

fabric. The paste was applied with the help of either broom stick or needle. As per the end product, first a layout was drawn and inside the layout motifs were sketched.



Plate 4.179 Clay used for *Lakhatar*

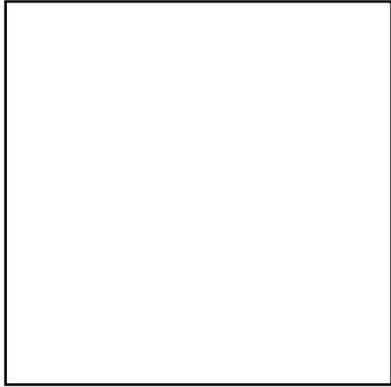
Of the total types of embroideries practiced in Kutch, *Pakko* of *Node*, *Mutwas*, *Sindhi Memons*, *Jats*, *Meghwars* and *Darbars* practiced commercially. *Pakko Suf*, *PakkoKharek*, *Kachho Neran* and *KachhoKharek* practiced by *Darbars* and *Megwars*; *Kachho Kharek* and *Katri* by *Mutwas*; *Kambhira* and *Khudi Sebha* by *Halay potras*; *Mukko* practiced by *Halay potras* and *Mutwas* were also practice commercially. *Ahir bharat*, *Rabari bharat* and *Horamji/ Bavaglio/ Gotav* embroideries were also practiced commercially. Except *Garacia Jat's* Cross stitch, *Pakko Suf*, *Pakko Kharek*, *Kambhira* and *Khudi Sebha* all the other embroideries were traced on the fabric with the help of designs made on butter paper.

All artisans responded that they kept only part of the entire fabric open on which they had to embroider; rest of the fabric was folded and stitched with basting stitches to protect it from getting dirty. For commercial pieces if it was a large article such as *Saari* and *Dupatta* it was placed inside polythene bag. Similarly when considerable

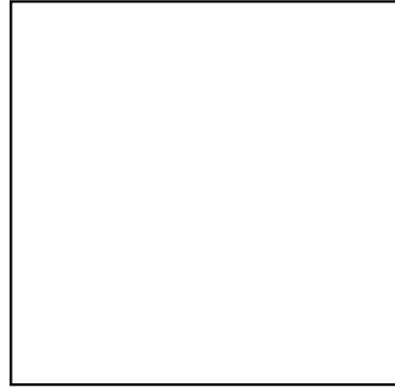
portion was embroidered they kept folding the embroidered portion and stitched it to protect it from dirt.

Results pertaining to the type of needle preferred unveiled that cent per cent respondents were unaware about the terminology of type of needles. All the artisans responded that they could embroider with any needle but it should not be very thick and long. On observation it was found that the artisans were using five, seven and nine number sharp needles. Embroidery was initiated with embroidering outline. If mirror was placed in center of the motif it would be embroidered first and followed by embroidering motif. It was followed by filling up the motifs and borders. It was followed by embroidering back stitch as an outer most line around motifs and borders in *Pakko* and *Kachho* embroideries except *Pakko* of all the three *Jat* sub communities and *Garacia Jat* embroidery. It was interesting to note that the artisans did not put a knot at the end of the thread but they put the knot at the end of the needle to hold the thread. Wherever thread were ended it was passed through two to three stitches on the wrong side of the fabric or very tiny stitch was taken at a distance on the right side of the fabric to hold the needle. *Rabaris* and *Jats* were creating different shapes of mirrors by filing the edges of mirror sheets on mud brick. Mirrors were first framed with various methods and along the frame embroidery was done. Interlacing stitches were also carried out which was followed by framing. Among *Mutwa* framing of interlacing stitch was known as *Bandhyo* and interlacing was known as *Gotyo*.

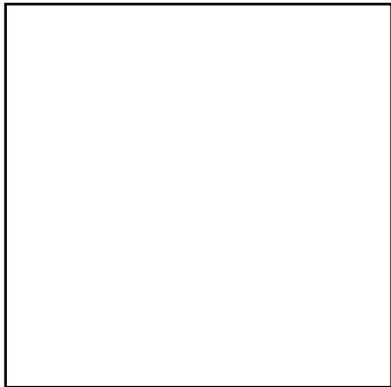
When entire piece was embroidered it was preserved in wooden, iron or mud storage spaces. Cloves and *Neem* leaves were used to protect the artifacts from micro organism.



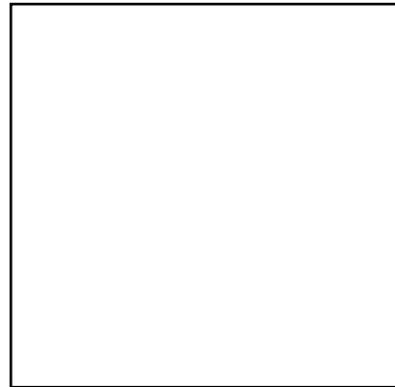
Replication of *Mamsai Gaj*



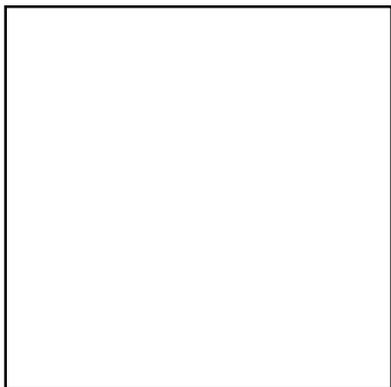
Replication of Tie- dye



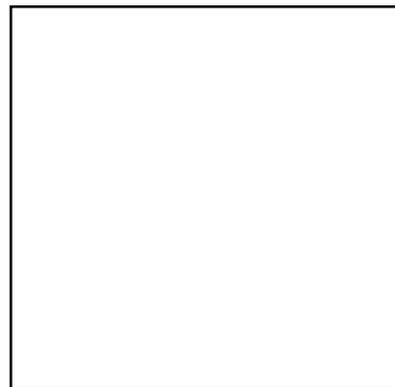
Chhint



Chhint

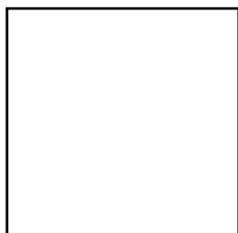


Casement

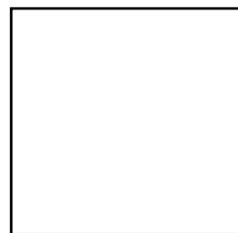


Polyester

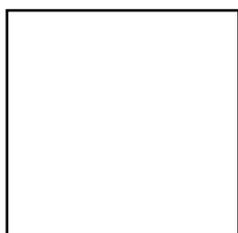
Plate 4.180a. Fabrics used



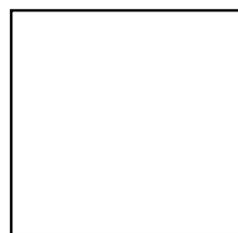
Cotton thread



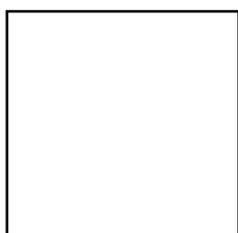
Cotton thread



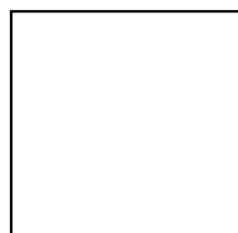
Rayon twisted thread



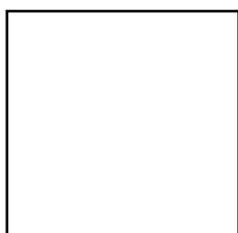
Rayon untwisted thread



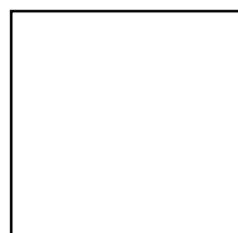
Acrylic thread



Nylon thread

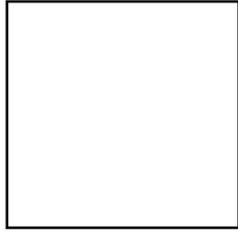


Tassels

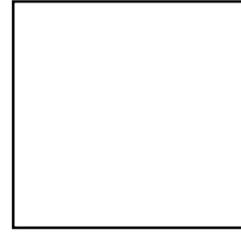


Needle

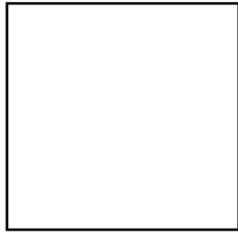
Plate 4.180b. Threads and needle used



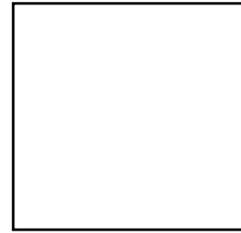
Mirror sheet



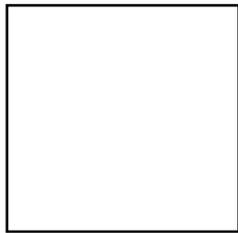
Cut mirrors



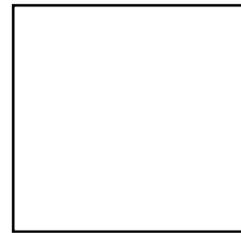
Beads



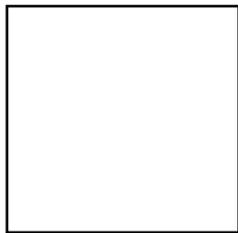
Beads



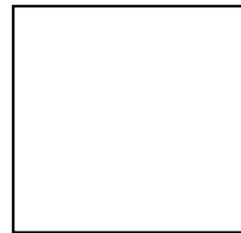
Buttons



Lace



Lace



Ric rac

Plate 4.180c. Mirrors, beads, buttons, laces used

4.2.6 Products made

Irrespective of the type of embroidery practiced, communities and religion of the artisans, similarities were found in type of products embroidered for personal utility. Categories of the articles consisted of apparels, soft furnishings and animal decorations. Variety and number of products embroidered earlier varied from those embroidered presently.

Of the total embroideries, *Pakko*, *Neran*, *Kacchho Suf*, *Kachho Kharek*, *Neran*, *Mukko*, *Ahir* and *Rabari* embroideries were implemented on apparels and accessories. Of these, except *Mukko bharat* all the embroideries were used to embroider soft furnishings whereas, *Khudi Sebha* was used as an additional decorating feature in apparels and accessories but exclusively used in quilts. *Kambhira* was used to embroider quilts and accessories.

Cent per cent artisans responded that they all embroidered ladies' upper garments. It was considered to be the most important, most enjoyable and intricately embroidered product amongst all. This ladies' garment was known as *Kanjari* amongst all the communities excluding *Jat*, *Ahir* and *Rabari* sub communities (Plate 4.181 a). *Jats* embroidered yoke of their one piece ankle length garment. The yoke was known as *Agoti or Dhevo* (Plate 4.181b). *Ahirs* and *Rabaris* called it *Kapdu* or *Kanchli* (Plate 4.181 c-d). The pattern of *Kanjari* was flat without added fullness with Reglan sleeves covering shoulders whereas, a *Kapdu* and a *Kanchli* was patterned as per the body shape and had $\frac{3}{4}$ or full sleeves. Embroidery in all the ladies upper garments were planned keeping in mind pattern of the garment and area to be emphasised.



a. *Kanjari*



b. *Agoti*



b. *Kanchali* of Ahir



d. *Kanchali* of Rabari

Plate 4.181 a-d Ladies upper garments

It was observed that in *Kanjari* embroidery started from shoulders, heavily decorated till bust level, from where the quantity of embroidery would decrease as it moved down wards.

Agoti embroidered by *Jat* communities was a yoke to be attached to their upper garment. It was observed that two different layouts were in practice for yoke. The first layout was created by dividing the yoke into strips by embroidered borders. Inside these strips various motifs were placed. In second layout motifs were placed all over

the yoke. In both the layouts yoke was ended up with the rows of horizontal borders. This arrangement was known as *Chher* means infinite.

Kapdu or *Kanchli* worn by *Ahirs* and *Rabaris* was a body fitted garment with *Sald*, adding fullness at bust level. *Pet* was the term used for Basque panel and *Khadpa* was the term used for side panels. *Baay* was the term used for sleeves. It was observed that Reglan sleeves were attached to the *Kapdu* or *Kanchli*. *Kanchli* worn by unmarried girls was without *Sald*. *Kapdu* or *Kanchli* worn during marriage and gifted in trousseau was embroidered entirely however, others were just embroidered on waist panels and side panels.



Plate 4.182a. *Ghaghro* of *Ahir*

Ahirs and *Rabaris* embroidered lower garment known as *Ghagro* or *Pehrnu* with *Ahir bharat* and *Rabari bharat* respectively. *Horamji* or *Bavadiyo* was also used in combination with *Ahir* and *Rabari bharat* to add accent to the garment.

Ghaghro worn by *Ahirs* was a gathered embroidered skirt. It was embroidered with various border placements.

Embroidery was done from the bottom of the *Ghaghro* and continued till mid thigh level. Waist band of the *Ghaghro* was also embroidered. *Pehrnu* was a draped garment worn by *Rabaris*. Portion of the garment that fall at centre back and centre front was only embroidered. One vertical border was embroidered at centre front. On each side of these borders motifs were placed at the



Plate 4.182b. *Pehrnu* of *Rabari*

lower end of a *Pehrnu* in such a way that outer edge of the motifs will form triangular or square shape. Ladies lower garment was not embroidered by any other community.

Ohdani or *Chundadi* was the term used for *Veil* amongst *Ahirs* whereas, *Ludi* was the term used amongst *Rabaris*. As stated by the *Ahir* artisans they mainly wore printed or tie dyed *Odhani* but sometimes they also embroider the borders of the *odhani*. *Rabaris* embroidered borders as well as centre portion of the *Ludi* which would fall at the centre back when draped on head. Since past five years *Meghwars* also started embroidering veil border and motifs arranged in circular manner at upper portion of the veil falling on the centre back.



Plate 4.183a. *Akhiyo*

Akhiyo and *Mod* were the face masks worn by the brides and grooms during wedding ceremony. They were embroidered with *Pakko*, *Neran* and *Kachho Kharek* by *Halay potras*, *Pathans*, *Rayasi potras*, *Nodes*, *Mutwas*, *Sindhi Memons* and *Dhaneta Jat* communities. *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras* also embroidered *Akhiyo* and *Mod* using *Mukko* embroidery. Brides' mask was rectangular in shape measuring around 7 inches x 5.5

inches. It had circular hollow near the eyes. Its outer line was embroidered and the area placed on nose was embroidered by vertical border with a triangular end. The portion placed on cheeks was embroidered with *Buttis* and the rectangular edges were also embroidered with borders.



Plate 4.183b. *Mod*

Grooms' face mask had an embroidered horizontal band of around 8 inches x 1.5 inches. It was placed on forehead and tied at the back of head

with the strings attached to the ends of the band. At the lower end of the band vertically hanging strings made of beads were attached to cover the face. Horizontal band was divided into equal segments and *butties* were embroidered in the segments. Similar to brides' mask, edges were embroidered with thin borders. Both bride's and groom's face masks was gifted to them by their mother- in- laws. The numbers observed were less as these articles were borrowed from each other on occasions.

Men's upper garments and lower garments were embroidered with *Ahir bharat*, *Rabari Bharat* and *Horamji* or *Bavadiyo*. Anjirbag et. al (2010) mentioned in their study that *Vanjnu* a lower garment of *Ahirs'* wedding dress would be embroidered at *Hem*. During the survey none of the respondents of all the three *Ahir* sub communities possessed *Vanjnu* which was an indication towards extinction of the garment attributed to changed clothing pattern. Similarly, Frater (1995) mentioned about *Adan* and *Kediyu* the terms used for men's upper garments by *Kutchi*, *Dhebariya* and *Vagadiya Rabaris*. She also mentioned about *Chorni*, *Rabari* men's garment embroidered at hemline, but respondents of all the three *Rabari* sub communities did not possess the garment as it was now not worn by them.

Children's garments were also embroidered with *Ahir*, *Rabari* and *Bavadiyo bharat*. The girls of both the communities wore similar attire as ladies but, the embroidery was done only on the *Khadpa* or some times on the Basque. Moreover, girls' *Kapdu* would not have *sald*.

Anjirbag et.al (2010) explained about the *Chobaglo*; a jacket worn by the boys of *Machhoya Ahirs* however, researcher could not find the same during data collection. Another boy's upper garment embroidered was *Jhuladi*. It was a full sleeve garment with gathers from the bust level till lower waist level. The sleeves and yoke from

shoulder to above the bust were embroidered. The rest of the garment was left empty working only on the borders of the garment. The researcher could locate two specimens from *Machhoya Ahirs* of which one was worked with *Ahir bharat* and another was with *Horamji*. Only one specimen from *Boricha Ahirs* worked with *Horamji* was located whereas, no artifact was located from *Parathariya Ahir* (Plate 4.184a). Only one *Vanjani*, lower garment of boys was located from *Boricha Ahir* artisans wherein, bottom of the *Vanjani* was embroidered with *Horamji* (Plate 4.184b).



a. *Jhuladi*



b. *Vanjani*

Plate 4.184 a-b *Ahir* community's children's garments

Ahirs also embroidered cap for boys. The length of the cap would extend below the shoulder which was gifted by maternal grandmother during the ceremony of tonsure. Researcher could locate only one cap from *Machhoya Ahir* artisans.

Similar to *Ahirs*, *Jhuladi* was also embroidered by *Rabaris*. Only one *Jhuladi* was located during the data collection. All the artisans of *Rabari* sub communities stated that they did not embroider lower garments of boys. This fact was also supported by the literature reviewed.

Table 4.2 Details of the products made

Article \ Embroidery	Ladies upper garment	Ladies lower garment	Veil	Bride's face mask	Groom's face mask	Men's upper garment	Men's lower garment	Men's head gear	Children's upper garment	Children's lower garment	Children's head gear	Door hanging	Wall hanging	quilts	Pillow cover	Animal decoration	Accessories
pakko	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	√	√	√	√	√
Pakko suf	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√
Pakko Kharek	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	√
Neran	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	√
Kacho Suf	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√
Kacho Kharek	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√
Kambhira	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√
Khudi sebha	√	-	-	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√
Mukko	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	√
Ahir	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	-	√
Rabari	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	-	-	-	√
Horamji/ Bavaliyo/ Gotav	√	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√

Kambhira was used to embroider *Dhadaki*; a quilt and *Vyano*; a pillow cover by *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras*. Researcher also found one envelope shaped bag embroidered with *Kambhira* which indicated that *Kambhira* was used to decorate bags in distant past. It was observed that *Kambhira* was embroidered only on one or two quilts and pillow covers of the total 10-15 pieces included in trousseau. This could be due to the time consumed in embroidering *Kambhira*.

Bags of various sizes were embroidered by all the communities except by three *Jat* sub communities. Embroideries used to decorate the bags were *Pakko*, *Neran*, *Kachho suf*, *Kachho Kharek*, *Mukko*, *Khudi Sebha*, *Ahir* and *Rabari bharat*. Bag of the size around



Plate 4.185 *Bhap ji kothali*

6.5 inches x 4.5 inches known as *bhap ji kothali* was embroidered by *Halay potras*,

Pathans, Raysipotras, Darbars, Meghwars, Nodes and Sindhi Memons (Plate 4.185).

The border and centre motifs were placed in proportion with the size of the bag. The bag was filled with either dry fruits or betel nuts that were distributed by the groom during marriage ceremony. Such bags were not embroidered by the artisans of *Mutwa* and *Jat* sub communities.

Sankhiya; a pair of L-shaped wall hangings to decorate the sides of the door as shown in Plate 4.186a and *Chakalo*; a square wall hanging. During data collection *Chaklo* was not possessed by any of the artisans of *Ahir* sub communities. The reason could be the shift in the patterns of their house interiors.

Toran, a door hanging was embroidered with *Pakko, Ahir* and *Rabari* embroideries by *Darbar, Ahir and Rabari* communities respectively. *Toran* embroidered by *Darbars* was made with a horizontal band of around 32 inches x 7 inches. On the lower edge of the band *Saat Pandada* was attached where, *Saat* meaning seven and, *Pandada* meaning leaves. *Toran* embroidered by *Ahirs, and Rabaris* were of *Panch Pandada* meaning five leaves. It was observed that the *Darbars* made *Pandada* with sharp corners whereas; the *Ahirs'* *Pandada* was with tapering smooth curves. Shape of the *Pandada* of *Toran* embroidered by *Rabaris* was similar to the *Toran* made by *Ahirs* but, it was longer. Only one *Toran* was found from each community during data collection (Plate 4.186 b-c). *Ahirs* also made *Gokhaliya* to cover small recess in the wall. The layout of the *Gokhaliya* was



Plate 4.186a. *Sankhiya* of *Ahir*

similar to that of *Toran*. *Ahirs* also embroidered wall decoration articles such as *Parda* a type of door hanging (Plate 4.186d).



Plate 4.186 b. *Toran* of *Darbar* community



Plate 4.186c. *Toran* of *Ahir* community

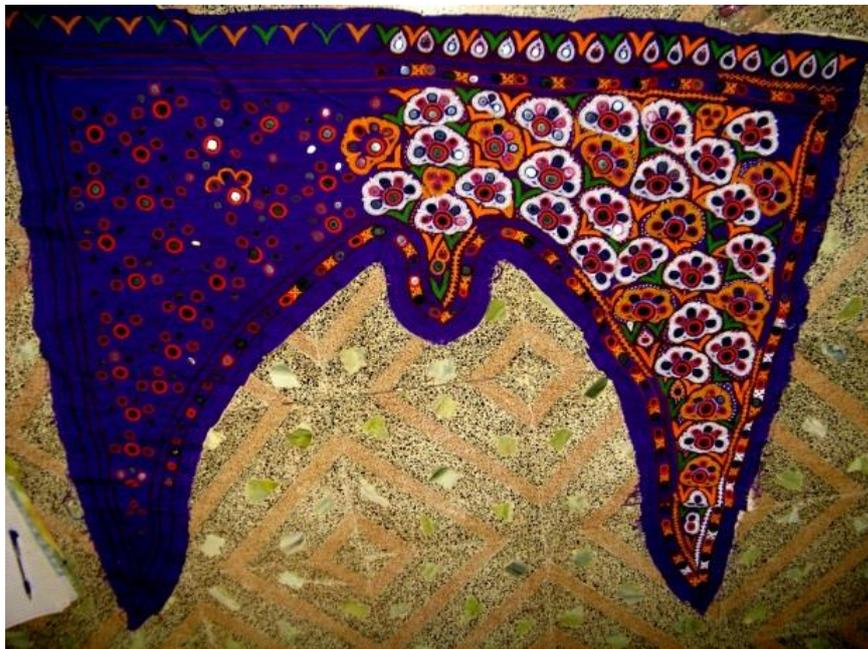


Plate 4.186 d. *Parda* of *Ahir*

Pakko embroidery was also used to embroider *Bokani* worn during the wedding ceremony of the grooms of *Meghwar* community (Plate 4.187). *Bokani* where, *bo* meaning two and, *kan* meaning ears. It was long wrapper with a narrow width wrapped around chin and turban covering both the ears justifying the name. Frater (1995) in her work explained about *Bookani* worn by *Rabaris* though, further interrogation with the *Rabari* artisans revealed that they were unaware of *Bokani*.



Plate 4.187 *Meghwar* groom wearing *Bokani*

Animal decorations were embroidered with *Pakko*, *Ahir* and *Rabari* embroideries by *Ahirs* and *Rabaris* communities respectively. *Andhari*; a head gear and, *Kandh ni gani*; a band wrapped on the shoulder of horse was embroidered by the artisans of *Node* community (Plate 4.188 a-b). The *Ahir* and *Rabari* artisans responded that they stopped embroidering these animal decorations long back as a result, they were unable to recall the details of the work. Though, they did state that more of appliqué was used in animal decoration articles than embroidery.



a. *Andhari*



b. *Kandh ni gani*

Plate 4.188 a-b Animal decoration pieces

4.7 Future plans of the artisans

The section included the questions related to the artisans' willingness to continue, extend in future and its devolution to next generation. The data unveiled certain facts that could pose a threat to the future of the craft. Artisans of Muslim religion except *Node* and *Sindhi Memon* responded that for past around 10 years due to change in socio cultural factor they changed their dressing style as a result, they were now not embroidering on the new designs. They were not willing to continue embroidery in future on the changed layout but on the contrary researcher observed that one of the *Pathan* respondent embroidered *Zarmar* with *Mukko* embroidery on the neckline of her dress, which was an indication that artisans may change their minds and adopt new designs for designing and embroidering in new silhouette. Of the selected 30 artisans of Mutwa community 13 artisans already adopted the occupation of coal making with their family members. *Node* and *Sindhi memon* showed willingness to continue craft in future of these, cent per cent *Node* artisans showed interest for catering to market in future. They also expressed interest for pursuing training for new designs and products. *Jat* sub communities who did not practice craft commercially were keen to embroider if they get enough prices for their embroidery. Artisans of *Garacia Jat* residing in Lakhpat taluka needed help from government in terms of finance, leadership support and marketing facilities in order to build up entrepreneurs' group. *Fakirani Jats* continued the craft. They did not express any requirement from the Government but it was observed that they needed lucrative secondary occupation to improve their lifestyle. *Ahirs* did not continue embroidery for their personal utility products but significant number of *Parathariya Ahirs* adopted the same as an occupation and they strongly showed interest to continue the same in future which assured future sustainability of the craft though commercially. *Boricha Ahir* who

resided in Meghpar village were keen to work professionally and especially with NGOs. On the contrary *Machoya Ahir* did show interest to work commercially that may lead to absolute wipe out of their embroidery.

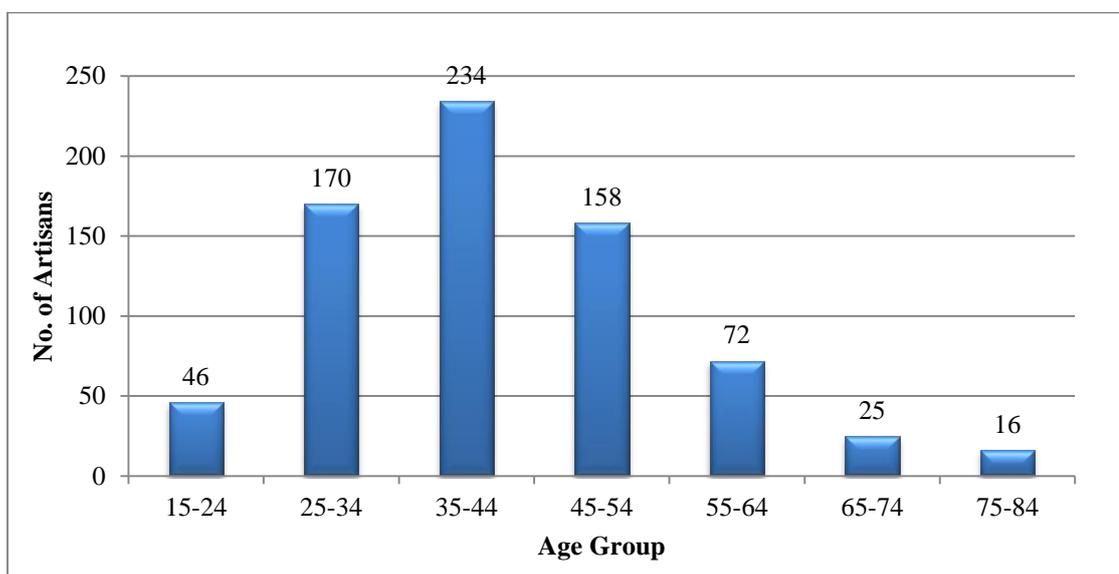
Kutchi Rabari adopted machine embroidery and they also practiced embroidery for commercial purpose. Both *Kutchi* and *Dhebariya Rabaris* showed willingness to continue for commercial purpose. They also needed assistance from the GO to build up self reliant business. Similar to *Boricha Ahir*, *Vagadiya Rabari* also showed keen interest to get associated with NGO.

4.3 Socio-Economic Conditions of the Artisans

4.3.1 Age of the artisans

On analysis of the data related to age it was found that age of the artisans varied from 14 years to 84 years, which was classified into seven groups of ten years each for ease in interpretation of the data. As indicated in Graph 4.1 majority of the artisans fall under the age group of 35-44 years followed by 25-34 years and 45-64 years of age. It was also evident that only 5.69 per cent artisans from the drawn sample fell under the last two age groups. It was further found that the artisans under the age group of 14-24 years possessed minimum information regarding the embroideries they practiced however, 43 of them were aware about the types and application of stitches. Of these 43 artisans 17 also possessed the knowledge about the traditional and existing motifs whereas, 3 artisans only possessed the information about motifs. Artisans aged above 55 years were less interested to respond as a result, only those artisans were selected as a sample that had knowledge regarding the traditional embroideries and were supportive to share the data with the researcher. Irrespective of the age group, cent per cent respondents were communicative once the rapport was

built and they understood the purpose and importance of the research. Amongst all the artisans between 14 to 24 years of age, two respondents; one from *Darbar* community aged 15 years residing in Zura village, and second from *Meghwar* community aged 17 years residing at Khavda village were receptive to the interview with utmost interest. The eldest artisan aged 80 years belonged to *Dhaneta Jat* community residing in *Tal* village followed by a 78 years old artisan of *Parathariya Ahir* from Dhaneti village. It is important to discuss that cent per cent artisans were females.



Graph 4.1 Distribution of artisans as per their age groups

4.3.2 Religion and dialect of the Artisans

Data pertaining to the religion unveiled that of the total, 55.69 per cent of the artisans belonged to *Darbar, Meghwar, Parathariya Ahir, Machhoya Ahir, Boricha Ahir, Kutchi Rabari, Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari* communities of Hindu religion whereas, 44.31 percent respondents from *Halay potra, Pathan, Raysi potra, Mutwa, Node, Dhaneta Jat, Fakirani Jat* and *Garacia Jat and Sindhi Memon communities* belonged to Muslim religion. Selected respondents were speaking three

different dialects namely *Gujarati*, *Kutchi* and *Urdu Kutchi* which was a blend of *Urdu* and *Kutchi*. Data of table 4.3 indicates that 44.27 percent artisans were speaking *Urdu Kutchi* which was directly related to the religion of the artisans. All the artisans of Muslim religion spoke *Urdu Kutchi*. Out of the total number of artisans under study 29.01 percent artisans were speaking *Kutchi* and 26.66 percent artisans spoke *Gujarati* language. *Kutchi* and *Gujarati* speaking artisans hailed to Hindu religion. It was noticed that the artisans who spoke *Urdu Kutchi* and *Kutchi* except *Jat* sub communities, mingled words of *Sindhi* dialect along with *Urdu Kutchi* and *Kutchi*, though less frequently. It was an indication of their past social connection with Sindh.

Table 4.3 Distribution of the artisans as per artisans' Religion and Dialect

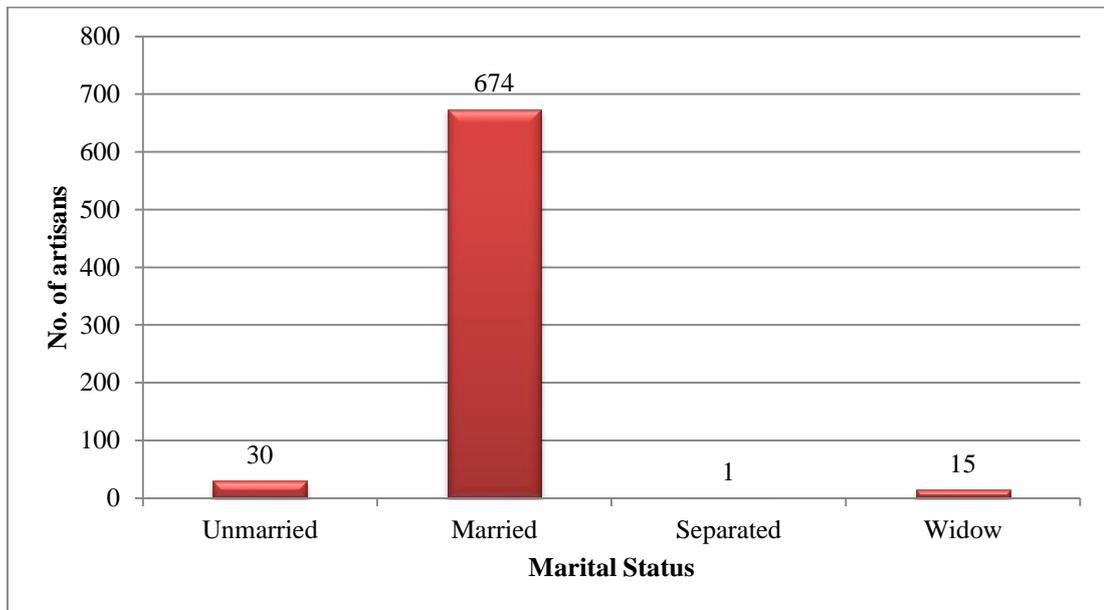
Community	Religion N = 720				Dialect N = 720					
	Hindu		Muslim		<i>Kutchi</i>		<i>Urdu Kutchi</i>		<i>Gujarati</i>	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Halaypotra</i>	-	-	36	5	-	-	36	5	-	-
<i>Pathan</i>	-	-	25	3.47	-	-	25	3.47	-	-
<i>Rayasipotra</i>	-	-	33	4.58	-	-	33	4.58	-	-
<i>Node</i>	-	-	38	5.27	-	-	38	5.27	-	-
<i>Darbar</i>	110	15.83	-	-	110	15.83	-	-	-	-
<i>Meghwar</i>	35	4.86	-	-	35	4.86	-	-	-	-
<i>Mutwa</i>	-	-	30	4.16	-	-	30	4.16	-	-
<i>Sindhi Memon</i>	-	-	25	3.47	-	-	25	3.47	-	-
<i>Dhaneta Jat</i>	-	-	38	5.27	-	-	38	5.27	-	-
<i>Fakirani Jat</i>	-	-	23	3.19	-	-	23	3.19	-	-
<i>Garasia Jat</i>	-	-	71	9.86	-	-	71	9.86	-	-
<i>Parathariya Ahir</i>	64	8.88	-	-	64	8.88	-	-	-	-
<i>Machhoya Ahir</i>	33	4.58	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	4.58
<i>Boricha Ahir</i>	34	4.72	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	4.72
<i>Kutchi Rabari</i>	54	7.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	54	7.5
<i>Dhebariya Rabari</i>	35	4.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	4.86
<i>Vagadiya Rabari</i>	36	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	5
Total	401	55.69	319	44.31	209	29.57	319	44.27	192	26.66

4.3.3 Marital status of artisans

All the communities considered marriage as an important social institution. It is evident in graph 4.2 that majority of the artisans were married. Total 674 artisans were married of which a substantial number of the respondents got married at the age between 15 to 17 years owing to their custom then, of early marriages at the time of data collection. Customarily daughters' engagement ceremony was held at the age of 7 to 8 years amongst all the communities irrespective of the religion. Only *Rabaris* followed the system of marriage at an early age of 8 to 9 years though married daughters had to stay with their parents till they attain the age of 18 to 20 years. The custom of shifting from parents' to in-law's house was known as *Aanu vaalvu*. At the time of *Aanu*, daughter had to carry required number of embroidered articles with them as part of their trousseau. Recently they adapted the prevailing custom to get their daughters married between 18 to 20 years.

Of the total, only four per cent respondents were unmarried and two percent were widow. It is evident from Graph 4.2 that only one artisan was reported to have separated from her spouse. Initially, during the course of data collection, artisans were hesitant to interact on marital norms however, on probing they informed that if application seeking divorce is lodged by husband a fixed amount of alimony had to be paid to the community forum while obtaining divorce which would be passed on to the wife as compensation. This could be one of the factors for a low rate of divorce and separation. Another factor responsible for low rate of divorce and separation could be their residential pattern in close proximity to the relatives facilitating resolution of social conflicts, if any. On introspecting the marital system and norms it was observed that customs like polygamy and exogamy were prevalent, especially

amongst Muslim communities. On probing it was found that age difference amongst bride and groom had no weightage. Of the selected sample the age difference between three artisans and their husbands was as much as 20 years. On the contrary, there were artisans whose husbands were three to five years younger than them.

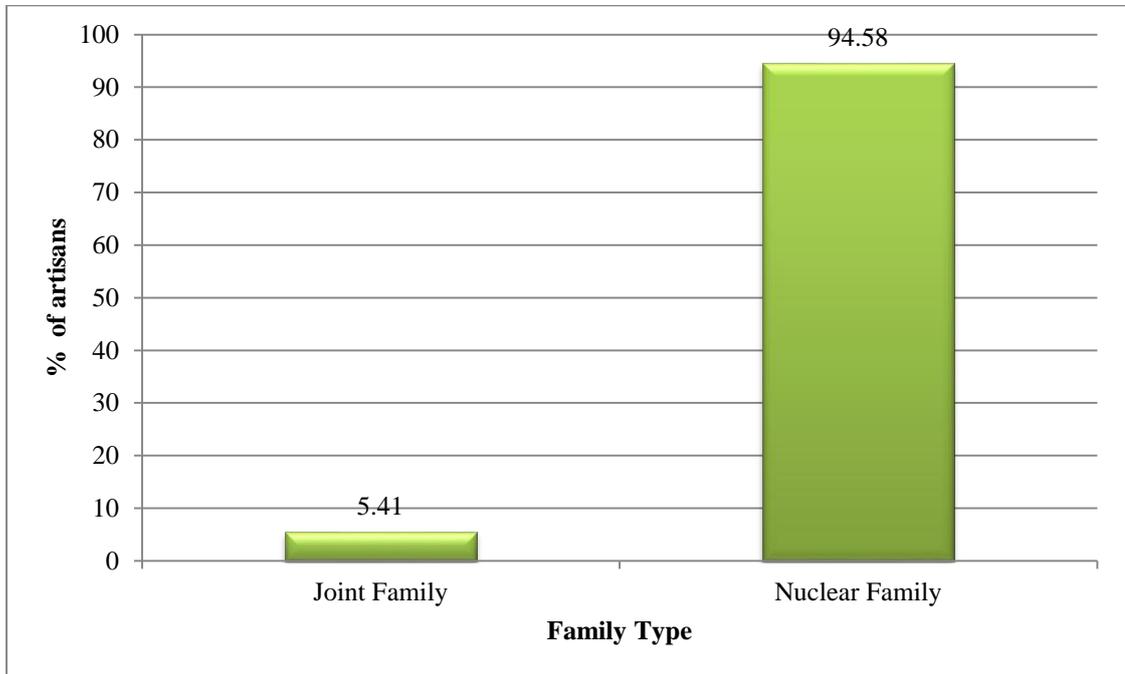


Graph 4.2 Distribution of artisans as per their marital status

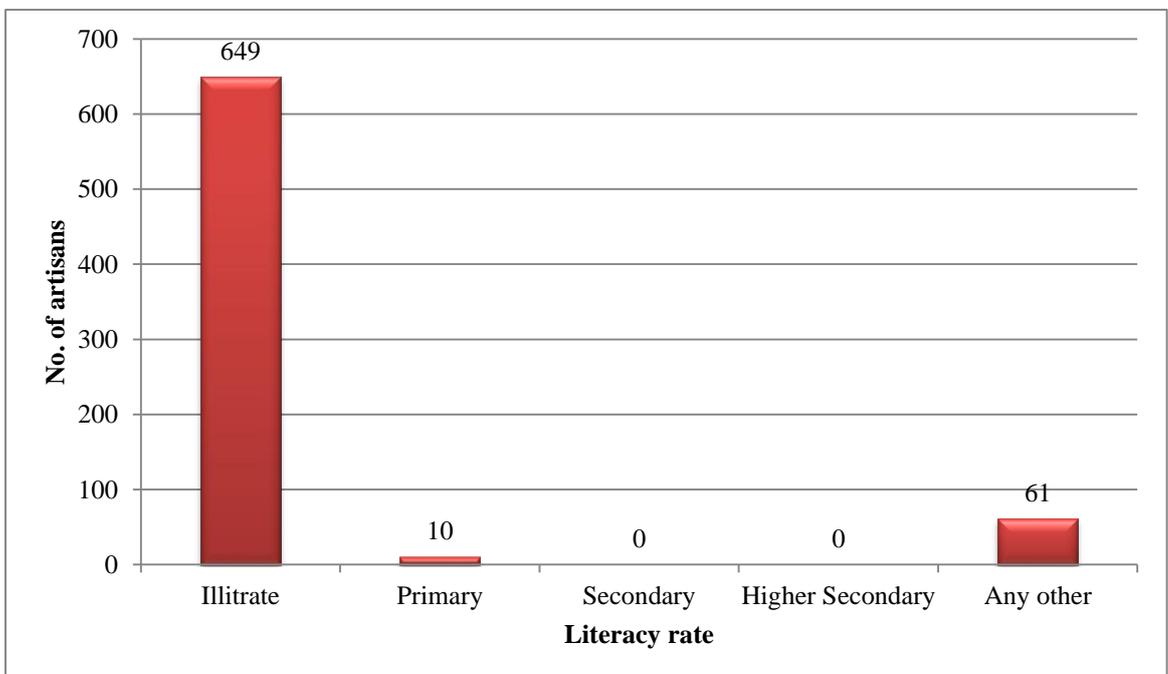
4.3.4 Family composition of the Artisans

The artisans resided in joint as well as nuclear family system. Of the total, majority of them were residing in nuclear family system. It is evident from the graph 4.3 that only 5.41 per cent artisans stayed in the joint family system. Artisans preferred to stay in nuclear family but it was observed that all the close relatives stayed adjacent to each other, which was probably providing a feel and security of joint family system. Irrespective of the family type, number of family members per family ranged between five and nine. It was noted that each family had three to five children. It could be attributed to the strong urge for a male child in their culture. During the field visits

researcher learnt that the custom of a girl child infanticide was persistent in some of the villages.



Graph 4.3 Distribution of artisans as per their family type



Graph 4.4 Distribution of artisans as per their literacy rate

4.3.5 Literacy rate of artisans

Analysis of the data as portrayed in graph 4.4 pertaining to literacy level of the artisans unveiled the fact that majority of the selected artisans were illiterate as they did not pursue any formal education. Only 1.38 per cent artisans who were from youngest age group had received the primary education up to two or three standards. It could be owing to no or less importance for girl's education. The artisans further stated that socio cultural factors had great impact on their values especially for girls as for them training in house hold chores and embroidery was given greater importance rather than formal education. Of the total, 8.88 per cent artisans of Muslim religion responded that though they did not pursue any formal education, they studied in *Madrassa* to acquire the knowledge of reading *Quran-e-Shareef*, as a result, they could read *Arbi* and *Urdu* script. Majority of the artisans stated that since past five to seven years they initiated to educate girls along with boys. Amongst all the communities *Ahir* and *Rabari* communities were leading in adopting the change, who permitted their daughters to attend school till seven to eight standards. They were forced to drop out from the school after the completion of primary education as it was mandatory for them to acquire the training on house hold chore. Girls' drop out from schools could also be attributed to their age approaching towards adolescence. The daughter of all the other communities including *Darbars* and *Meghwars* were observed to have studied only till four to five standards, which reflected on families' inclination towards adopting the change.

4.3.6 Assets possessed by artisans

Assets of the artisans were divided into categories such as farming land, house, cattle, vehicles and electronic gadgets. Of the total 720, 129 artisans possessed the

farming land, of which 40.31 per cent were from *Darbar* followed by *Dhaneta Jat* community with 20.9 per cent. Only 1.55 per cent of total 129 artisans holding farm lands were *Halay potras*. It is evident from the table 4.2 that though *Ahirs* were known as agriculturists, at the time of data collection only 13.95 per cent land of the total land possessed was by *Ahirs*, specifically *Machoya Ahirs*.

Majority of the artisans from all three *Ahir* sub communities responded that they possessed the land in past but, since past seven years land yielded good revenue and thus they sold off their land which was attributed to the on going urbanisation in the region.

It is evident from the table 4.4 that cent per cent artisans were possessing the house of their own. The type of houses were divided in two categories namely *Kachha* and *Semi pakka* houses. From the graph 4.5 it can be observed that out of total 720 selected artisans, 35.69 per cent artisans were residing in *Kachha* houses and 64.3 per cent were residing in semi pakka houses. It was observed that the artisans possessing *semi pakka* house also possessed a *Kachha* house of one or two rooms known as *Bhunga*. *Bhunga* a colloquial term used for *Kachha* houses were in a cylindrical forms and the roof forming conical shape was made of either mud- bricks or hay stack. *Kachha* house of *Fakirani Jats* was known as *Pakha*. The rooms were in cubical form while the shape of the roof was a truncated pyramid, both constructed of hay stake or wooden sticks. The rooms of *Semi pakka* houses were constructed in cubical forms but the roof was made up of mud brick in truncated pyramid shape.

Table- 4.4 Distribution of respondents as per asset possession

Assets Community	Farming land N= 129		House N= 720		Cattle N= 312		Vehicle N= 86		Electronic Gadgets N=119	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Halaypotra</i>	02	1.55	36	05	36	11.53	-	-	02	01.68
<i>Pathan</i>	-	-	25	03.47	25	8.01	-	-	03	02.52
<i>Raysipotra</i>	-	-	33	04.58	20	6.41	-	-	09	07.56
<i>Node</i>	-	-	38	05.27	38	12.17	-	-	02	01.68
<i>Darbar</i>	52	40.31	110	15.27	13	4.16	08	9.30	14	11.76
<i>Meghwar</i>	-	-	35	04.86	-	-	02	2.33	03	02.52
<i>Mutwa</i>	13	10.07	30	04.16	30	9.61	-	-	03	02.52
<i>Sindhi memon</i>	-	-	25	03.47	-	-	05	5.81	02	01.68
<i>DahanetaJat</i>	27	20.93	38	03.19	35	11.21	08	9.30	02	01.68
<i>FakiraniJat</i>	17	13.17	23	09.86	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>GaraciaJat</i>	-	-	71	03.47	-	-	07	8.14	04	03.36
<i>ParathariyaAhir</i>	-	-	64	08.88	33	10.57	05	5.81	12	10.08
<i>MachoyaAhir</i>	18	13.95	33	04.58	-	-	12	13.95	07	05.88
<i>BorichaAhir</i>	-	-	34	04.72	14	4.48	11	12.79	03	02.52
<i>KutchiRabari</i>	-	-	54	07.5	32	10.25	12	13.95	24	20.16
<i>DhebariyaRabari</i>	-	-	35	04.86	16	5.12	11	12.79	16	13.44
<i>VagadiyaRabari</i>	-	-	36	05	20	6.41	05	5.81	13	10.92
Total*	129	99.98	720	99.94	312	99.93	86	99.93	119	99.96

*Multiple Responses



Graph 4.5 Distribution of artisans as per their house hold type

Aritans' habitats



a. Interior of *Halay potra*'s house



b. *Pathan*'s habitat under construction



c. *Pathan*'s habitat



d. *Rayasi potra*'s habitat



e. *Rayasi potra*'s habitat



f. *Node*'s house



g. *Node*'s house

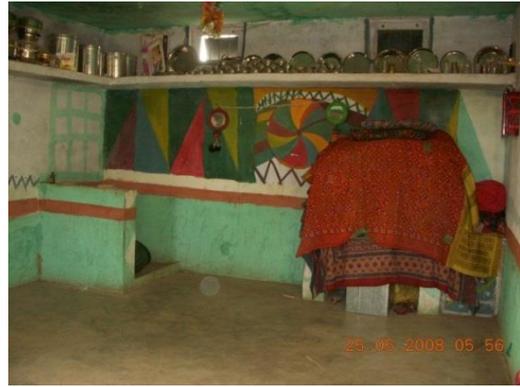


h. *Mutwa*'s house

contd..



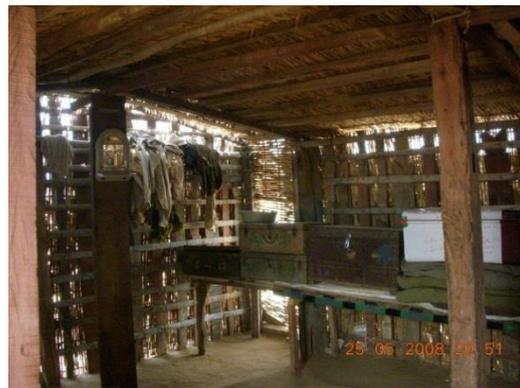
i. *Dhaneta Jat's* habitat



j. *Garacia Jat's* habitat



k. *Fakirani Jat's* house



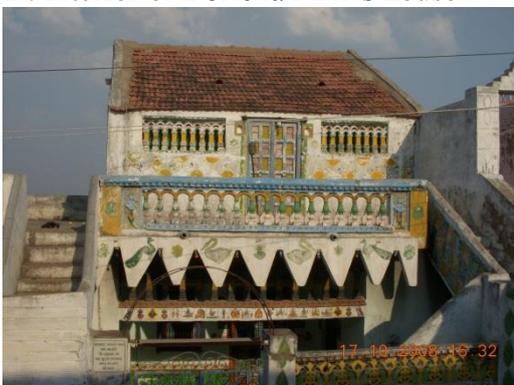
l. *Fakirani Jat's* house



m. Interior of *Boricha Ahir's* house



n. Interior of *Machoya's* house



o. House of *Dhebaria Rabari*



p. Interior of *Dhebaria Rabari's* house

Plate 4.189 (a-p) Aritans' habitats

Of the total 720 respondents, 312 possessed cattle which excludes the artisans from *Meghwar*, *Sindhi Memon*, *Garacia Jat*, *Fakirani Jat* and *Machhoya Ahir* communities. Communities including *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potra*, *Mutwa*, *Node*, *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari* possessed cattle due to their cattle breeding occupation whereas, other communities were possessing cattle to cater to the household needs for dairy products.

Only 86 artisans possessed vehicles of different category. Majority of them i.e 43.67 per cent possessed bikes probably because bikes were suitable on the arid land and semi finished roads whereas, 32.99 per cent of artisans who belonged to three *Ahir* sub communities, possessed trucks as they switched over their profession from farming to transportation. Of 86 artisans 17.44 per cent (15) who belonged to *Garacia Jat* and *Dhanet Jat* communities possessed tractors and two *Meghwar* artisans possessed jeeps. Moreover 5.81 per cent who belonged to *Sindhi Memon* community possessed six seater auto rikshaws.

Electrical and electronic gadgets included television, transistor set, refrigerator and mobile phones. Of the total sample, 119 artisans possessed one or more of these gadgets. Of these, 70 respondents possessed television and mobile phone both of which majority were from three sub communities of *Rabari*. It was interesting to note that in Fulay village of *Mutwa* community only one television set was installed and that was purchased by contribution from each house hold in village. It was kept in the common room at the entrance of the village. Ladies were not allowed to watch programs broadcasted on television. Of the total, 27 artisans possessed only mobile phones and only 20 artisans possessed transistor sets. Only two households one from *Halay potra* and one from *Ahir* communities possessed refrigerators.

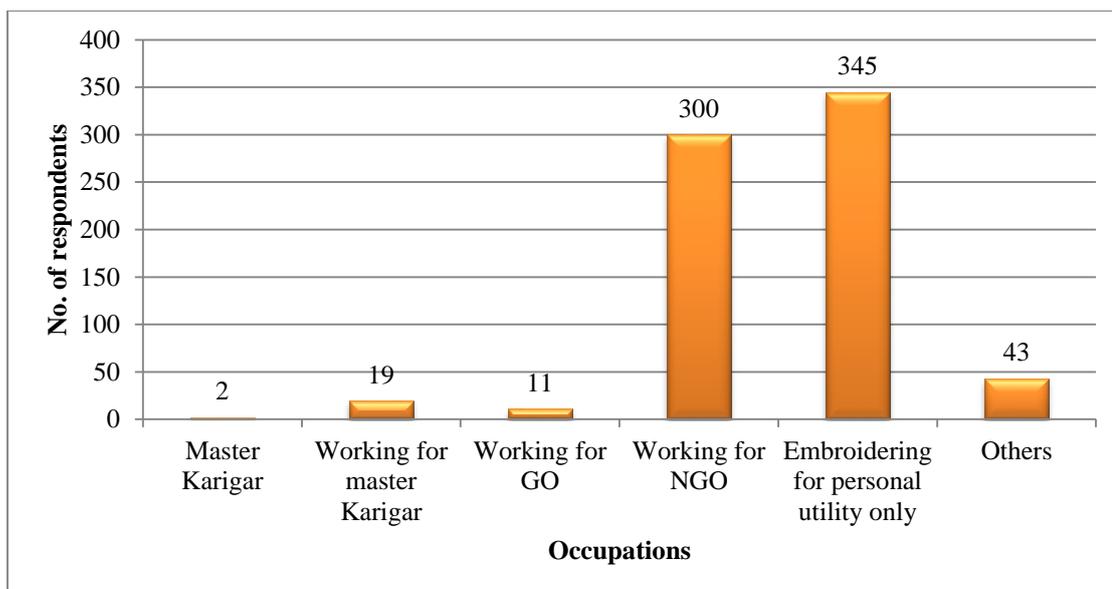
4.3.7 Occupations selected

4.3.7.1 Occupation of the artisans

Artisans practiced the embroidery at various occupational levels as per their skills and needed to earn a supplementary income. Of the total sample drawn only two artisans from *Ahir* community were master *Karigar* which was an insignificant number. Of the total, 300 artisans were engaged with NGOs on job work basis. It is evident from Graph 4.6 that as compared to the number of artisans associated with NGOs, only 19 artisans from the sample drawn were associated with master *Karigar* on job work basis and 11 artisans were embroidering as per the job work assigned by GO. This could be attributed to the comparable high payment rates, suitability to work from home and regular work orders. The other reason also being the facility of providing the material at home to the artisans and getting it collected by the NGOs. The artisans did not prefer to work for GOs since they did not fetch the material to the artisans' door steps. The programs designed by government agencies focused more on training and marketing facilities. Very few programs were designed to provide direct employment to the artisans. It could also be the probable reason for less number of artisans associated with GOs. Researcher had learnt that 87.36 per cent of the artisans were unaware about the plans designed by various GOs for craft and artisans' socio-economic development. Only 13.47 per cent were aware about Government initiatives, of which 2.91 per cent availed the benefit of the Government plans and 3.75 per cent artisans embroidered for Government in the past but discontinued due to unfriendly, lengthy and tedious procedures. There were 6.80 per cent respondents who did not put any efforts to avail the benefit of the plans as they were unaware about the procedural formality. Of the total, 345 numbers of artisans did not select

embroidery as professional occupation but they were embroidering only for domestic purpose. Of these 16.52 percent stated that they did not possess skills required to meet the standards of NGOs. Various factors were responsible for embroidery not being pursued as a profession by the artisans. The artisans from *Dhaneta Jat* and *Garacia Jat* community responded that the payment offered by various organizations were not sufficient in proportion to the time spent for quantity and quality of embroidery they delivered. *Fakirani Jat* artisans stated that no organization approached them since their habitats were far away from the taluka head quarter. Further, *Fakirani Jat* artisans also added that due to lack of transportation facilities it was difficult to reach to them for delivering materials. Majority of the artisans of *Kutchi Rabari* community aged 45 years and above practiced embroidery for their own utility but, along with their younger generations even they adopted recent trend of machine embroidery. On the contrary, the respondents from the age group of 14 to 24 years of *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potra*, *Mutwa* as well as artisans in the age group of 14 to 24 years and 25 to 34 years of *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari*, were practicing embroidery only for commercial purpose and not for their house hold utility.

Of the total 345, 50 artisans of *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potra*, *Node* and *Mutwa* communities selected other occupation such as coal making and farming. The artisans of *Garacisa* and *Fakirani Jats* preferred to work as laborers in lignite mine at Panadro. Only 10 artisans were working with NGOs at administrative posts such as production coordinators and group leaders.



Graph 4.6 Distribution of respondents as per their occupations

4.3.7.2 Occupations of the Family members.

On analysing the data regarding artisans' occupations, it was revealed that in the past, main occupations were cattle breeding and farming but during data collection it was observed that artisans' family members adopted various other occupations namely cattle breeding, farming, coal making, driving three wheeler, four wheeler and heavy vehicles, labour, transportation, or employed to GO or NGO.

Halay potra, Pathan, Raysi potra, Node, Mutwa and Dhaneta Jat artisans' main occupation was cattle breeding. All the selected artisans continued the same occupation and also adopted coal making since past 10 years. From the table4.5 data reflected that of the total artisans engaged in coal making, 23.72 per cent were *Halay potras*, 18.64 per cent were *Pathans*, 13.55 per cent were *Raysi potra*, 18.64 per cent *Mutwa*, 25.42 per cent were *Node* and 15.02 per cent were *Dhaneta Jat*. This was attributed to ease in procuring raw material, low investment and comparatively yielded good economic returns.

Data revealed that the occupations of the communities like *Darbars*, *Parathariya Ahir*, *Boricha Ahir* and *Machoya Ahir* was farming but, recently they adopted other occupations such as transportation, labour work, and job. Of the total, 48.14 per cent *Darbars*, 15.74 per cent *Fakirani Jats*’ and 12.03 per cent *Mutwas*’ family members were involved in farming. Only 7.40 per cent were from *Garacia Jats*, 8.33 per cent were *Parathariya Ahirs*, 6.48 per cent were *Machoya Ahirs* and least 1.85 per cent were *Boricha Ahirs*. Main crops were *Bhutadi* (Ground nuts), *Eradi* (Castor), *Mag* (Green gram) and *Govar* (Cluster beans).

Driving as an occupation was adopted by 108 family members of various respondents. Of the total artisans 19.44 per cent were from *Parathariya Ahir* community, followed by 15.74 per cent from *Garacia Jat* artisans, 14.81 per cent were from *Vagadiya Rabari*, 12.96 were from *Dhebariya Rabari*. Less than 10 per cent i.e. 9.25 per cent from *Kutchi Rabari*, 7.40 from *Boricha Ahir* and 5.5 per cent were *Meghwars*. Percentage of family members of *Raysi potra*, *Dhaneta Jat* and *Machoya Ahir* in driving occupation was negligible. This was due to *Raysi potras*’ and *Dhaneta Jats*’ main occupations of cattle breeding which was lucrative whereas, *Machoya Ahir* themselves possessed trucks and had appointed drivers from their own as well as from other communities.

Labour work was adopted by majority of the communities except *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Mutwa*, *Node* and *Dhaneta Jat* communities. Majority i.e. 21.91 per cent were from *Parathariya Ahir*, working as farm labourers to other *Ahir* families on daily wages followed by *Garacia Jat* who were working as labourers at lignite mine at Panandro village and also working as farm labourers. Labourers were paid on daily wages. Of the total, 18.10 per cent of *Darbars*’ and *Meghwars*’ family members were involved in labour work. They were working in the farms of *Darbars* and in the

grocery shops as carters and to perform other miscellaneous tasks at the shops. Of the total sample 3.29 per cent were *Boricha Ahirs* and 2.05 per cent were *Machoya Ahirs* who were working in farms and one artisan's lady family member was working as domestic helper in near by town. From all the *Rabari* sub communities men of the family had migrated to towns and cities near by and five artisans' family members had also migrated to Mumbai which could further lead to the trend among artisans migration from villages to towns and other states for a better life. Three women from *Kutchi Rabari* families also worked as domestic helpers.

Of the total, 48 artisans' family members took up a job in the industries located nearby. Majority i.e. 22.91 per cent of the respondents were from *Parathariya Ahir* communities. Male family member of one *Parathariya Ahir* was working with NGO. Further, 14.58 per cent each of *Boricha* and *Machoya Ahirs* took up jobs with the industries in the districts. Two *Halay potra* artisans were working as a care taker at the tourism site near their residence. One family member each from one family of *Parathariya Ahir*, *Boricha Ahir*, *Pathan*, *Meghwar*, *Mutwa* and *Dhaneta Jat* communities were working with NGOs, whereas one *Meghwar* artisan's husband was employed in police department.

All the three *Ahir* sub communities opted for transportation as their occupation, of which majority i.e. 25 percent were from *Machoya Ahir* followed by *Boricha Ahir*. It could be attributed to their possession of trucks which was most suitable vehicle for transportation. *Parathariya Ahir* and *Sindhi Memons* comprising of 15.62 per cent each were involved in transportation whereas, only 12.5 per cent *Vagadiya Rabari*, 6.25 per cent *Kutchi Rabari* and 3.12 per cent *Dhaneta Jats* were in transportation. This could be attributed to their involvement in other occupations as well as not possessing any vehicle for transportation.

Table- 4.5 Distribution of artisans as per their family members' occupations

Occupation	Cattle breeding		Farming		Coal making		Driving		Labour work		Job		Transportation	
	N=233		N=108		N= 59		N=108		N=243		N= 48		N= 32	
Community	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Halaypotra	36	15.45	-	-	14	23.72	-	-	-	-	02	4.16	-	-
Pathan	25	10.72	-	-	11	18.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Raysipotra	20	8.58	-	-	08	13.55	02	1.85	07	2.88	-	-	-	-
Darbar	04	1.71	52	48.14	-	-	11	10.18	44	18.10	10	20.83	-	-
Meghwar	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	5.55	27	11.11	02	4.16	-	-
Mutwa	30	12.87	13	12.03	11	18.64	-	-	-	-	02	4.16	-	-
Node	38	16.30	-	-	15	25.42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sindhi memon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	6.99	-	-	05	15.62
DahanetaJat	35	15.02	-	-	-	-	01	0.92	-	-	01	2.08	-	-
FakiraniJat	-	-	17	15.74	-	-	-	-	08	3.292	-	-	-	-
GaraciaJat	-	-	08	7.40	-	-	17	15.74	45	18.51	-	-	01	3.125
ParathariyaAhir	-	-	09	8.33	-	-	21	19.44	52	21.39	11	22.91	05	15.62
MachhoyaAhir	-	-	07	6.48	-	-	02	1.85	05	2.05	07	14.58	08	25
BorichaAhir	-	-	02	1.85	-	-	08	7.40	08	3.29	07	14.58	07	21.87
KutchiRabari	28	12.01	-	-	-	-	10	9.25	10	4.11	02	4.16	02	6.25
DhebariyaRabari	10	4.29	-	-	-	-	14	12.96	11	4.52	-	-	-	-
VagadiyaRabari	07	3.00	-	-	-	-	16	14.81	09	3.70	04	8.33	04	12.5
Total*	233	99.95	108	99.97	59	99.97	108	99.95	243	99.94	48	99.95	32	99.98

*Multiple responses



a. Cattle breeding



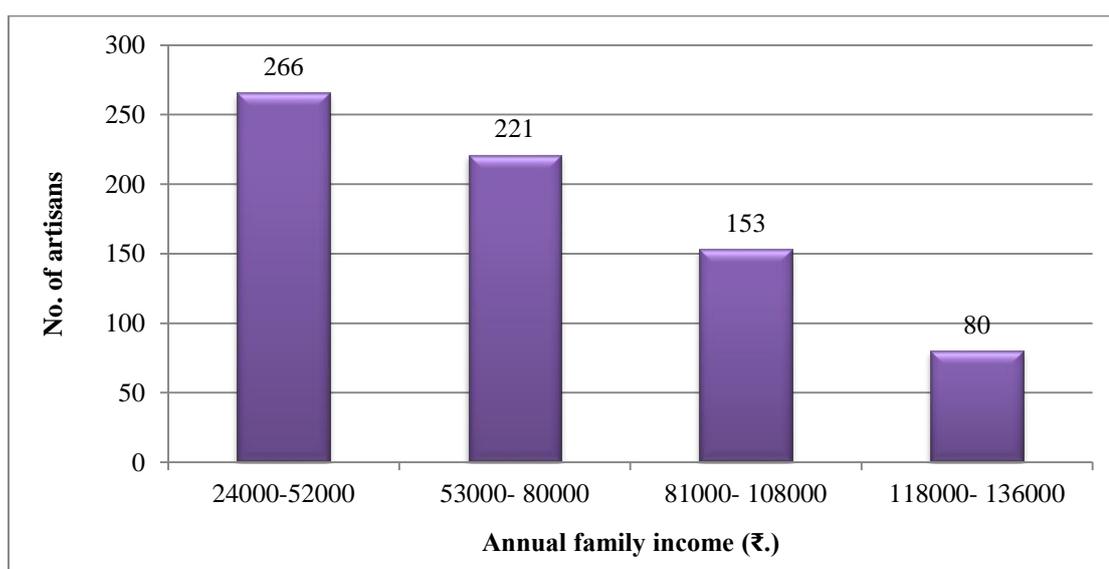
b. Coal making

Plate 4.190 Artisans family occupations

4.3.8 Income of the artisans

4.3.8.1 Family income of the artisans through their primary occupations

Various occupations were adopted by the artisans for their livelihood. Due to the nature of occupations income was uncertain and as a result, artisans could only respond in terms of approximate income per annum. Their family income was divided into four categories. The Graph 4.7 projects that of the total sample size, 266 artisans fell under the category of annual income worth ₹. 24,000 – ₹. 52,000. This wide range observed was on account of the nature of occupation which was dependent on climatic conditions. The artisans owning farms who practised dry farming stated that they earned more only during the year when they received sufficient rainfall with no climatic changes such as non seasonal rains. Of the total, 221 respondents earned an income of ₹. 53,000 – ₹. 80,000 p.a., 153 under ₹. 81,000 – ₹. 1,08,000 p.a. and only 80 were categorized under the income bracket of ₹. 1,18,000 – ₹. 1,36,000 p.a. In fourth category artisans' family members adopted other occupations along with cattle breeding and farming.

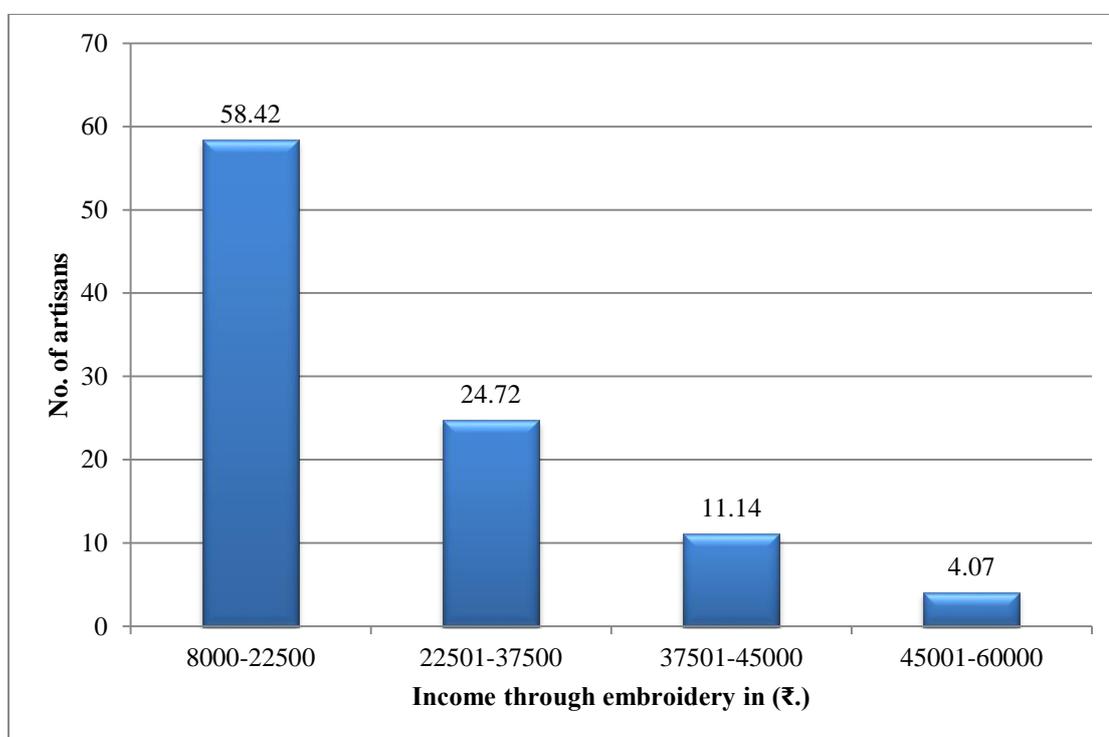


Graph 4.7 Distribution of artisans as per their annual family income

4.3.8.2 Income generated through embroidery

Irespective of the respondents' family income generated through their primary occupations, embroidery was practised as a means of occupation and it served as a supplementary source of income. From 720 respondents, 369 respondents with their family members practised embroidery as a profession thereby, as a source of secondary income. It is evident from the graph 4.8 that majority i.e. 58.42 per cent respondents' family generated income of ₹. 8,000 to ₹. 22,500 per annum which was around ₹. 700 to ₹. 1,900 per month. It is observed that number of artisans practicing embroidery as secondary source of income was inversely proportionate to their income that is lower the income more the number of artisans practicing embroidery for their livelihood. Only 24.72 per cent and 11.14 per cent artisans earned an income of ₹. 22,501 to ₹. 37,500 and ₹. 37,501 to ₹. 45,000 respectively. Whereas, only 4.07 per cent artisans' family income through embroidery was up to ₹. 60,000 per month. The artisans were from *Raysi potra*, *Darbar*, *Meghwar*, *Mutwa*, *Dhaneta Jat*, *Garacia Jat* and *Parathariya Ahir*. Among these families only three family members had adopted embroidery as an occupation and they were working for more than 12 hours per day. Amount of income earned through embroidery was directly related to artisans' embroidery skill, number of family members practicing embroidery as a secondary source of income and the payment offered by the respective client. It was further observed that the artisans who did not possess farming land or cattle adopted embroidery as their secondary occupation. It is important to note that from total 369 artisans, five artisans adopted embroidery as their primary source of income. These artisans were from *Darbar*, *Dhaneta jat*, *Node* and *Dhebariya Rabari* communities. Of these, two respondents were widows and one respondent was separated from her spouse. These artisans fall under the first category of income generated through

embroidery and it was a fact that amount of ₹. 22,000 per anum was insufficient to meet the two ends of the family. It was observed that artisans of *Darbar, Meghwar, Parathariya Ahir, Dhaneta Jat* and *Dhebaria Rabari* contributed significant amount i.e. around 30 to 40 per cent of the total family income. This could be attributed to the need to earn through embroidery due to unavailability of other occupation and insufficient amount of revenue generated through primary source of income. It could also be owing to the facility to work from home for *Darbar* and *Dhaneta Jat* artisans as they were not permitted to travel outside their habitats due to their cultural taboo.



Graph 4.8 Distribution of Artisans as per their family income generated through embroidery

4.3.9 Financial conditions of the artisans

Data pertaining to financial conditions of the artisans revealed that borrowing funds was directly related to their occupations and annual income. Cent per cent artisans responded that their major financial needs increased during natural calamities,

medical emergency and social responsibilities. The artisans of *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysipotra*, *Mutwa*, *Node*, *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari* involved in cattle breeding responded that they managed for funds to meet their house hold requirements by selling their cattle. In emergency, they borrowed money from their relatives which was repaid by selling of their cattle. Of the total 720, only 60 artisans borrowed institutional loans of these, 78.33 per cent artisans borrowed micro finance on their savings generated through embroidery from NGOs. Their amount of loan borrowed was around ₹. 5,000 to ₹. 7,000 for the duration of one year to three years. Their interest rates were two per cent per month. These artisans borrowed the loan for wedding and to build the house. Other 21.67 per cent artisans borrowed loans for purchasing vehicle. They borrowed loan from the dealers with the rate of interest at 18 to 20 per cent p.a.

4.3.10 Problems faced by the artisans

The artisans involved in commercial embroidery responded that working for long hours had occupational hazards. They suffered from various ailments such as backache, fatigue and ophthalmic problems. Artisans who practiced *Pakko suf* and *Kharek* responded that they embroidered on fine fabrics for commercial purpose which resulted in deterioration of eye sight at the age of 25 to 30 years. Artisans of *Boricha Ahir* explained that artisans from their communities underwent health problems and miscarriages due to seating for long hours while they embroidered during pregnancy. Considering these incidences their community leaders banned the embroidery. Raw materials were provided by artisans' clients. They were mainly GOs or NGOs.

4.4 Role of Government and Non Government Organizations

The section includes the information about the role of GOs and NGOs in uplifting the Kutch embroideries and artisans. Under this section artisans' responses on the aspects such as facilities provided by the organization to the artisans, terms and conditions to be followed, quality measures taken and payment procedure has been covered.

Two GOs and three NGOs as listed below were selected for the case study. Their steps towards sustainability and promotion of Kutch embroideries have been analyzed under this topic.

Case study-1: Handicraft Marketing and Service Extension Centre; Office of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts); Ministry of Textiles; Government of India

Case study-2: Gujarat State Handloom and Handicraft Development Corporation Ltd.

Case study-3: Shrujan

Case study-4: Qasab

Case study-5: Kalaraksha

4.4.1 Facilities provided by the organizations

Of the total artisans who were associated with NGO, 40 per cent responded that their organizations provided them facilities of loan and advance payment. The organizations did not pay old age pension. Cent per cent artisans responded that their organization did not provide any common roof to work that could be due to the nature of the craft and artisans' social structure.

4.4.2 Terms and conditions to be followed by the artisans

Of the total artisans worked for NGO, 58 per cent responded that they had to become a member of the organization while rest of the artisans stated that they were only working as job workers. Artisans stated that their skill should match the fineness standards set by the NGO they worked with. If skill level did not match the artisans had to undergo skill up gradation training. As per the feedback received the artisans had to improvise the skills. The artisans were bound to complete the work in a stipulated time period. There was no such covenant observed where an artisan could not work for more than one organization.

4.4.3 Quality measures followed

As the craft was popular for its fineness and intricacy, quality was a major concern. Of the total, 300 artisans associated with NGOs stated that their employers were highly fussy about the quality. Payment was affected as per the quality parameters. The completed pieces should match the standards designed by the NGO. Completion of the allotted pieces for embroidery was the first concern. If the allotted work was incomplete to the tune of three to five per cent, the article was deposited and pro-rata payment was deducted. If the product was incomplete about more than 10 per cent than less amount of another work was assigned to the artisan or perhaps no further work was assigned till she finishes the pending work. Cent per cent artisans responded that fineness of the work was considered as one of the very important criteria. Each NGO evaluated the artisans work on 5 to 6 point grades. Subject to the fineness grade was awarded to the work and payment was made relatively. Neatness was also considered along with fineness of the work. If the piece was damaged or torn it affected the payment negatively.

Artisans reported that it was difficult to maintain the quality consistently though they tried their level best. They responded that completion of work was the easiest criteria to maintain but in order to complete the work they were missing out on fineness and neatness. Of the total, 29 per cent artisans informed that they were unable to match the high standards decided by their employer which resulted in low payment rates. On account of their life styles it was a tough task to maintain neatness. All the artisans responded that they put effort to maintain the neatness using their traditional methods of sealing the unprocessed area with basting stitches. They also covered the unprocessed area with polythene bags which was sealed with stitches to protect the product from dirt and dust. In spite of their efforts, it was observed that the artisans often missed to completely protect the product from dirt and dust around. It was also spoiled by children playing around or cattle consequentially cutting down the wages.

As compared to NGOs, middle men and GO were less concerned about the quality.

4.4.5 Payment Procedure

Of the total, 369 artisans who practiced embroidery commercially responded that the wage rate for the articles embroidered by them was decided on the basis of the intricacy and quantity of the embroidery. Of the total, 118 artisans responded that payment was decided by mutual negotiation amongst their group leader and NGO representatives. The group leaders regularly assured the satisfaction level of the artisans. If any conflict occurred the representative escalated the same to the NGO representative which was resolved. Other respondents stated that the payment was decided by their clients. They further responded that their employer revised the rates every three years or as per the inflation rate.

All the artisans responded that their employer's representatives visited the village every fortnight to fetch the material and disburse the payment. They further informed that their employers maintained the records of material distributed or received and payment made in a separate record book or pass book issued to individual artisans. On release of the payment artisan had to mark thumb impression in the said record as a token of receipt.

4.4.6 Case studies

4.4.6.1 Case Study-1

Development Commissioner of Handicrafts under Ministry of Textiles, Government of India has opened service offices across India with an objective to reach to the artisans and provide necessary aid to them for promoting their crafts.

One of the branches was operating in Bhuj under the aegis of Development Commissioner of Handicraft, Government of India that looks after the promotional activities of the crafts of Kutch, Banaskantha and Saurashtra regions. The main objective of the office was to successfully implement the promotional schemes designed by the head office. These schemes were designed to fulfill various needs of the artisans and facilitate the upliftment of crafts. Skill recognition, Skill up-gradation, Financial assistance, Marketing of products, Welfare, Research and Development were the activities emphasized while designing the schemes.

4.4.6.1a. Skill Recognition

- **National Awards and National Merit Certificates**

Under skill recognition the office provided motivation to the artisans by providing National Awards and National Merit Certificates sponsored by Ministry of Textiles,

Government of India. Every year nominations were invited by the office with representative samples. The artisans were required to fill up the entry form available at the service office located at Bhuj and submit the artifact prepared by them as a sample or representation of their skills. All these forms and samples collected at Bhuj were sent to regional office for state level scrutiny. The state then sent the selected specimen and entries to the head office for final elimination. The panel at the head office decided the final awardees based on the fineness and precession of the craft skill implemented. The application of artisans who could not achieve the awards was passed on to another panel for the nominations of National Merit Certificate. In a span of past ten years three embroidery artisans from Kutch were selected as awardees. These artisans were known as Master Craftsmen.

- **Shilp Guru Awards**

Shilp Guru Awards were designed to honor the best Master Craft men of all the selected national awardees and the artisans honoured with National Merit Certificate. No embroidery artisan was nominated for this honor till the time data was collected.

The artisans who were honored with the awards were eligible to organize training programs for other artisans. It was mandatory for GO and NGO to involve these awardees as a Master Crafts men or guru under Guru Shishya Parampara during Government sponsored training programs.

At the age of 60 years if Master Craft person's monthly income was less than ₹. 13000, he or she was eligible to avail the benefit of the pension scheme designed by office. Every year artisan's income was evaluated and based on the results pension worth ₹. 1000/- per month was granted to the artisan.

4.4.6.1b. Skill Upgradation

- **Baba Saheb Ambedkar Hastshilp Vikas Yojana**

Under this scheme a financial aid was extended to the SHGs and organizations in order to help them meet the training expenses incurred in upgrading the skills of the artisans. Once in a year proposals in respect of various skill up-gradation programs were invited from the organizations, associations of entrepreneurs and SHGs of artisans by the office. The applications were then scrutinized and selected for sanctioning the funds at regional office based on the viability and impact of the program on the skill-sets of the artisans. During the interrogative session the researcher learnt that with respect to the embroidery artisans of Kutch the implementing partners were various NGOs located in Kutch region unlike SHGs and organizations at other places. On probing further it was reasoned that grant to NGOs was safe and easy. Another reason being, no master craftsmen or SHG initiated to submit their proposal as clarified by officer of Handicraft Marketing and Service Extension Center. According to him, approximately 2000 to 2500 artisans were benefitted by this scheme in last fifteen years.

The officer stated that the success of the training program was evaluated on the basis of artisan's product selling and skills developed, but the office did not maintain any records of the success rate of these training programs. On probing an official discussed that there was no policy designed for evaluation and artisans never turned up to the office to provide feedback on the benefits of the training programs. It is suggested that impact of the training should be monitored and documented. This would help the office in unveiling the pros and cons of the schemes which would

further be an aid to plan the strategies to overcome the weaknesses of the scheme and to design better schemes.

Under the same scheme the aid was also extended to open up emporia or common facility centers. Similar to the above mentioned scenario, here as well, the beneficiaries were NGOs of Kutch region.

4.4.6.1c. Design Development

The aim of the scheme was to develop the prototype as per the current market trends and to guide the artisans about urban market demand and trends. Under design development the grants were being sanctioned for two different programs namely design development work shop and design development project.

The workshop was being conducted for 15 days followed by a project of six months. All the expenses incurred during these activities including raw material purchasing, experts fees, artisans stipend, infrastructure rent and electricity expenses was granted by the office.

The applications were invited and scrutinized as per the craft and craft pocket identified by the candidates throughout the year. Eligible organizations were NGOs, and academic institution such as NIFT, NID and government apex organizations. In the case of embroidery artisans the implementing partners were NGOs. As per the official's view, in last 10 years approximately 2500 to 3000 artisans were benefited by this scheme. However, the grant was through NGOs therefore, the artisans worked for NGOs and never got direct exposure to the market leading to their market skills being under developed though, at times, they did receive orders through government directly.

4.4.6.1d Marketing support

Under the office of the Development Commissioner of Handicrafts, exhibitions in various cities across the country were organized throughout the year. The objectives of the exhibition were to provide the artisans with a platform to market and sell their products, to make the artisan aware about the current market trends, opportunity to interact directly with the clients, direct interaction with other crafts' artisans on the same platform to share their expertise and skills. The advertisement with location wise yearly calander of Gandhi Shilp Bazaar was being published in the month of April every year in the news papers. The artisans were required to send their candidature till June followed by the selection process. The artisan would get the opportunity to showcase their work under the banner of Gandhi Shilp Bazaar only once in a year. From all over the country maximum 150 artisans could participate in one exhibition wherein, he or she could sell the products and also demonstrate the craft in order to spread awareness of the craft.

If number of candidates were less or if no candidature was received from any other artisan practicing the same craft, only then an artisan would get the opportunity in second consecutive year's exhibition.

The artisan enrolled with the office could only get the benefit of all the schemes designed by the office.

4.4.6.1(e) Welfare

- **Artisans' Identity Cards**

As per the scheme designed by the office, those artisans who had enrolled with the office and were issued identity cards would only be eligible to avail the benefits of all

the schemes. To obtain the Identity Card the artisan had to demonstrate the skills and prove that they had imbibed craft through inheritance. The artisan had to fill up a form containing information pertaining to artisans' name, residential address and details about the craft practiced. On verification of the information provided by the artisan the Identity Card was issued. Up to the year 2008, 13,676 Identity Cards were already issued by the office situated in Kutch. The data pertaining to the total number of embroidery artisans who had already obtained Identity Cards till the time of data collection was not available with the office for reference. As stated by the officer the embroidery artisans did not take active interest in obtaining knowledge about the benefits of the schemes and the procedure to avail the same. The reason could be their need to earn supplementary income was being satisfied as NGOs were offering them work at their door steps. Another reason could be artisans' social status. As all the artisans were women, subject to their religion and social norms, their movement outside the house and village was not appreciated except for a medical emergency.

- **Insurance policy**

- **Rajiv Gandhi Swasthya Shilpi Yojana**

This scheme was designed especially to meet the financial needs of the artisans at the time of medical emergency. The total amount of annual premium payable was ₹. 736 of which an artisan only paid ₹. 75 per annum; the remaining amount of ₹. 661 was contributed by Government of India. Through this scheme an artisan was covered for a sum assured of ₹. 15000/- during any medical emergency and for ₹. 1.00 Lac against any accidental death or disability. Eligibility criteria to avail the benefit of the scheme were as follows.

- a. Artisan should possess the Identity Card.

- b. Age limit was from 18 to 80 years.
- c. Artisan should have a bank account.

The terms and conditions for availing the benefit:

The scheme was applicable only for four members of a family inclusive of husband, wife and any two out of the children and dependent parents.

4.4.6.2 Case Study-2

The office an undertaking by Government of Gujarat was established in 1973. As per the officer, the body was established with the following objectives.

- Identification, revival, development, promotion and marketing of handloom and handicraft products of Gujarat.
- Organizing exhibitions, tribal melas for selling and creating awareness of handloom, handicrafts and tribal crafts of Gujarat among perspective buyers.
- Providing marketing support to the artisans by way of procuring the products and selling through its chain of Garvi-Gurjari emporia.
- Providing assistance to the artisans and weavers in the field of design development, quality raw materials and development of new value added products suiting to the contemporary market requirement and fashion trends.
- Creating employment opportunities and sustainable income to the rural artisans and weavers.
- To arrange training programs for skill up-gradation in various crafts and weaving techniques to produce new innovative products according to market demands and changing tastes.

- To implement the schemes of Government of India and Government of Gujarat to the benefit of artisans and weavers.

The office was divided into various departments such as administration, finance, production, marketing and training. The office established 23 outlets across the country to sell the products. Training and procurement centers were also opened up by the office in various regions of the states to facilitate the regional crafts persons and stakeholders.

Researcher visited the training and procurement centre located at Bhuj to collect the data pertaining to the role of office in supporting the embroidery artisans. It was learnt by the researcher that the in-charge of the centre was frequently changed due to transfers and they were not properly aware about the handicrafts of Kutch, as a result, they were unable to provide holistic information on the office's role in supporting the embroidery craft and artisans. This could also affect the coordination process, and as a result all the crafts may not get equal opportunity in terms of commercial exposure through the office.

The researcher visited the office multiple times to observe and noted the activities carried out by the office. Main functions of the office located at Bhuj were procurement of handcrafted products from various stakeholders including artisans, to become a link in between the emporia and handicraft producers and thereby plug the gap. The office was also instrumental in furnishing the information about the schemes designed by central government and to guide the artisans for procedural formalities to avail the benefit of the schemes. During the visits it was noted that the office majorly concentrated on marketing of crafts including embroidered products. The office in-charge explained that the products were procured from various stakeholders and sold

through the office out lets by the brand name *Gurjari*, a brand name for all the handcrafted products of Gujarat. The stake holders were Master craftsmen, artisans' SHGs, middlemen, cooperatives and NGOs. There was no bar on the ratio of procurement from each segment of the stake holders. As discussed with the in-charge, procurement of any craft products were based on the market demand and feedback received from the emporia managers from all the emporia across the country.

If they come across any gap in between market and production, inputs were given to respective procuring client. If artisans' skills needs to be improved the office organized necessary training programs. Duration of the training program could be minimum of one week to maximum of six months subject to the purpose of training, however they preferred to organize short term training programs from one week to maximum two months. The funds for training programs were raised by obtaining grants under various schemes designed by the office of Development Commissioner Handicrafts.

Academically qualified designers from NID or NIFT were involved to impart training, whereas, skill up gradation was guided by involvement of Master Craftsmen. After completion of the training, prototype will be made and if order is received mass production would take place. As mentioned by the office in-charge these training programs were organized based on the current market trends and not based on the forecast. This could affect the sale of the products or designs developed during the training programs, as by the time products would reach the market after passing through entire process the trend would have changed, making the product obsolete. However, some classic product did get absorbed in the market. During the visit to the training sessions, it was observed that artisans were instructed for colour selection as

well as for type of stitches to be embroidered; as a result artisans' role was similar to the skilled labourers which may affect artisans' creativity negatively (Plate 4.191a-c).



a.



b.



c.

Plate 4.191a-c Trainings by GO and sample created during training of Rabari Artisans at Gada village

As office was not able to provide continuous opportunity to the artisans, they were guided to sell the products in exhibitions organized by the office across the country. The procedures to be followed to participate in these exhibitions were similar to that followed by the office of Development Commissioner of Handicrafts. A specimen of the advertisement is portrayed in plate 4.192.

ગુજરાત રાજ્ય હાથશાળા અને હસ્તકલા વિકાસ નિગમ લિ.

(ગુજરાત સરકારનું સહાયક)

પ્રથમ માળ, હેન્ડલુમ ટેક નોર્થોસ્ટ ઈસ્ટીંગ, રેલ્વે સ્ટેશન રોડ, સેક્ટર-૧૩, ગાંધીનગર
ફોન નં. ૦૭૯-૨૩૨૪૧૧૨-૨૩૨૪૭૦૩૩ ફેક્સ નં. ૦૭૯-૨૩૨૩૦૭૩૮, ૨૩૨૪૭૦૫૯
Website : www.gurjari.co.in/Email : Contact @ gurjari.co.in/ **gurjari**

-: જાહેર નિવેદા

નિગમ દ્વારા વર્ષ ૨૦૧૨-૧૩ માટે નીચે જણાવેલ વિગતે ગુજરાત રાજ્ય હાથશાળા અને હસ્તકલા વિકાસ અને હસ્તકલા-હાથશાળા પ્રદર્શન/મેળાનું આયોજન કરેલ છે. તેમાં નિગમના નીતિ-નિયમો મુજબ પોતાની હસ્તકલાના નિદર્શન તેમજ વેચાણ માટે ભાગ લેવા રસ ધરાવતી સંસ્થાઓ/ મંડળીઓ/ કારીગરો/માસ્ટર કારીગરોએ જાહેરાત પ્રસિદ્ધ થયેથી દિન-૧૦ માં જે પ્રદર્શન/મેળામાં ભાગ લેવા માંગે છે તેની વિગત સાથે ઉપરોક્ત સરનામે અરજી-કરવા જણાવવામાં આવે છે. વધુ વિગત માટે માઈક્રોનિગમમાં મો.નં. ૯૯૦૯૯૭૭૭૫ ઉપર સંપર્ક કરવો.

ક્રમ	તારીખ/માસ	સ્થળ	ક્રમ	તારીખ/માસ	સ્થળ
૧	ઓગસ્ટ-૨૦૧૨	કલકત્તા	૨૧	ઓક્ટોબર-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ
૨	ઓગસ્ટ-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ	૨૨	નવેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	ચૈન્નાઈ
૩	મે-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ	૨૩	નવેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ
૪	મે-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ	૨૪	નવેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	કલકત્તા
૫	જુલાઈ-૨૦૧૨	ચૈન્નાઈ	૨૫	ડીસેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	લાખનૌ
૬	જુલાઈ-૨૦૧૨	બેંગ્લોર	૨૬	ડીસેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ
૭	જુલાઈ-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ	૨૭	ડીસેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	ચૈન્નાઈ
૮	ઓગસ્ટ-૨૦૧૨	લાખનૌ	૨૮	ડીસેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	બેંગ્લોર
૯	ઓગસ્ટ-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ	૨૯	ડીસેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ
૧૦	ઓગસ્ટ-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ	૩૦	ડીસેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	કલકત્તા
૧૧	સપ્ટેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ	૩૧	જાન્યુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	લાખનૌ
૧૨	સપ્ટેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ	૩૨	જાન્યુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	ચૈન્નાઈ
૧૩	સપ્ટેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	બેંગ્લોર	૩૩	જાન્યુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	મુંબઈ
૧૪	સપ્ટેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	કલકત્તા	૩૪	જાન્યુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	કલકત્તા
૧૫	સપ્ટેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	કલકત્તા	૩૫	જાન્યુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	હેદ્રાબાદ
૧૬	સપ્ટેમ્બર-૨૦૧૨	કલકત્તા	૩૬	જાન્યુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	કલકત્તા
૧૭	ઓક્ટોબર-૨૦૧૨	ચૈન્નાઈ	૩૭	ફેબ્રુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	મુંબઈ
૧૮	ઓક્ટોબર-૨૦૧૨	મુંબઈ	૩૮	ફેબ્રુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	બેંગ્લોર
૧૯	ઓક્ટોબર-૨૦૧૨	હેદ્રાબાદ	૩૯	ફેબ્રુઆરી-૨૦૧૩	દિલ્હી
૨૦	ઓક્ટોબર-૨૦૧૨	દિલ્હી	૪૦	માર્ચ-૨૦૧૩	લાખનૌ

માર્ચ/૨૦૧૩/૧૧-૧૨ મેનેજીંગ ડીરેક્ટર

Plate 4.192 Specimen of advertise published in daily newspaper

Besides, the office played a pivotal role in procuring the raw materials. If any artisans or organizations seek help in procuring raw material, the office would purchase good quality raw material at bulk rates from the renowned market players and sell to the needy artisans. This process made the artisans dependent on the office. However, the office should be a bridge between the artisans and the material providers thereby shortening the chain that eventually saved time, money and energy. Artisans would become self-reliant and motivated to produce more goods as they would get direct exposure to market and opportunity to boost their communication skills and confidence while interacting with the urban customers.

4.4.6.3 Case study-3

NGO conceptualized and initiated as a very small project by family members. The founder and managing trustee stated that they frequently visited Kutch as it was their

native. During these visits she always felt pity about the region and the people as this area is drought prone. She always thought to overcome the problem of income generation and thereby devise a scheme to aid the people. One fine day she observed the embroidery done by these people who were working in drought relief projects. The ideas struck to her mind to create market for these embroideries and provide them a lucrative platform to earn and can also get the work at home to avoid working under the burning Sun. With this idea she first contacted *Ahir* community's artisans and initiated the work with five artisans at very small scale. Fund was raised from the family members.

The NGO was started in 1969 as a minor project funded by family members. The main objective of the project was to provide regular income by providing continuous embroidery work to them. In the beginning it was difficult to convince the artisans to embroider for commercial purpose and to change the colour palette for the same. She stated that "they changed the colour of background fabrics to obtain aesthetic look which would be acceptable in urban market". The exhibitions were held in Mumbai and the work was appreciated by clients resulting in increase of demand. The artisans also gradually got convinced to do embroidery for commercial purpose and their involvement also increased.

Since 1971 the artisans of *Mutwa* community were also working with the NGO. Before 1971 the artisans embroidered for GOs. Though they had an experience to embroider for commercial purpose, their quality and finishing of the embroidery was not up to the mark as it was while they worked with GO and they did not control the quality effectively. Gradually, demand increased but many of the artisans from both the communities could not produce good quality embroidery. Since 1975, to

overcome this problem they started imparting skill up gradation training to the artisans. They also approached and initiated to offer job work to the communities including *Darbar, Meghwars, Garacia Jat, Halay potra* and *Node*. The organization also extended the work to other neighboring districts such as Banaskantha and Jamnagar.

At present the NGO was providing the employment to more than 3000 artisans from more than 100 villages. The product range was diverse as observed by the researcher. The embroidery done on each piece was customized and the payment rates to the artisans were dependent on skill of the artisans, size of the motif or piece and type of embroidery. On probing it was unveiled that the artisans of *Garacia Jat, Mutwa, Ahir, Rabari* embroideries were paid highest as compared to the embroideries of other communities. NGO also appointed *Ahir* and *Mutwa* artisans as designers on monthly salary basis. The artisans imparted training as per the market needs. To expand and popularize the embroidery the organization also initiated training programs for the women who do not belong to particular embroidery practicing community. For example they taught embroideries practiced by *Ahir* and *Mutwa* to other communities.

During the course of time the NGO expanded the horizons and also indulged into various other activities with the aims to train the artisans to produce the best quality embroideries which would help create and expand the niche market. It also aimed to preserve and revive the embroideries though on the other fore fronts the organization always added new design and product diversification.

Wide product range was designed to meet the demand of urban market. It included the cushion covers of various sizes, bed linens, wall hangings, bags of various sizes, ladies and gents kurtas, skirts, tops, long coats, sarees, stoles, dupattas, costers, mobile

cases, spectacle cases, capris, trousers and shawls. Products were marketed through the stores located at Bhujodi; Ahmedabad, Mumbai and Bangalore, and also through franchisee at Vadodara. The organizations also utilized the medium of e-marketing. Organization had adopted various marketing and promotion strategies. They place hoardings on the highways which demonstrated the products made at NGO. They also promoted the brand by advertising on local bus run by government, which stretched attention of the tourists. They also launched a travellers' guide named 'Lonely Planet'. Through that they received substantial number of clients from all over the world. To spread awareness about the embroideries, they distributed brochures brochures and handouts along with the products. Of all the organizations selected, this organization's window display was found most attractive.

To preserve the embroideries the NGO initiated a project called 'Design Centre on wheels'. The project was funded by 'Sir Dorabji Tata trust'. Under the project, NGO aimed to create a motif bank of various embroideries of Kutch. The designs were created to make the panels and prior to distribution of the embroidery work training classes were organized to disseminate information about the aim of the project and expected skills required. The finished panels are preserved and displayed in the Museum gallery in the NGO. On observation it was learnt that in each design three panel one each of bright, pastel and earthen colour combinations were made. The researcher also observed that in the panel, traditional as well as contemporary motifs were also included though in lesser amount.

Along with the completion of the project, since past six years NGO has been working on various areas to preserve the craft. Research and documentation was other major task being performed by the organization. Documentation of *Ahir* embroideries was

completed till the time of research and, on a few other communities the same was under process. The organization collected old pieces and used to generate specimen that were not available from the respective communities.

4.4.6.4 Case Study-4

NGO was established in 1989 with the aim to empower the women of Kutch. Empowering the women was defined as to provide livelihood to the women by coordinating the embroidery work as per the order by *Gurjari*. These women were otherwise working as laborers in Government's draught relief project which included the work like digging the roads and ponds. Another concept of empowerment was as spreading awareness and solutions about their health issues, domestic violence and dowry related cases. Gradually organization initiated to give job work to the artisans by themselves. The idea was conceptualized to provide more economic support to the artisans by enhancing income and promote quality work. Organization built up a rapport with the artisans while working on the health and family issues. They identified the artisans who were very keenly concerned for their community's women and also possessed leadership quality. *Lalkorba* an artisan of *Darbar* community approached the NGO because she was very keen for her village women and dreamt that each and every lady in the village be economically independent by practicing embroidery. Therefore, she put efforts to make the artisans aware about the entire work process of the organization. She also created a sense of responsibility amongst the artisans which helped the organization in producing good quality work and timely delivery to the clients. She joined the organization as an artisan but because of her zeal and determination to work for her villagers she even travelled on her feet to fetch the work. Even today her villagers could be relied upon to complete any order in a

short span of time, as stated by the in-charge of the NGO. Similarly, there were one or two artisans from each community who possessed leadership quality, and could understand the motive of the organization who played a vital role in making the dream success. The official proudly stated that since the beginning till date such artisans with leadership qualities had been their backbone because of whom their organization could flourish. The organization was working with *Darbar, Meghwar, Mutwa, Pathan, Halay potra, Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari* communities. The structure of the organization was such that these leaders had a right to contribute to the decision making on production process and payment rates. The artisans were divided into the groups and each group had one leader who can control the group. The group wise account was maintained in order to calculate profit or loss. It also helped organization's profit sharing policy. The group who had earned profit would only be eligible for profit sharing. The total profit earned by the group was shared with each artisan in proportion to the amount of work done. The policy was designed with the aim to motivate the artisans to work more and earn more. It was helpful to the artisans especially at the time of their daughter's wedding. One year prior to daughter's marriage an artisan could plan to work more for the entire year in order to receive a handsome amount of profit share on top of her earnings from the embroidered pieces. This share was generally used to purchase trousseau items such as a pair of water pot and anklets.

In 1997 AD the organization conceptualized to upgrade the quality of the embroidery and take it to the value of art work. They also aimed to create new market for the niche products which could eventually help the artisans to earn more. Another objective of the organization was to create awareness about the identity of embroideries of each community. As stated by the in-charge of the organization, "the

client who is associated with us since long time due to the quality of work and type of stitches, are now able to identify the community who has embroidered it.”

The organization introduced a brand and started a separate cell to promote embroidery which would dedicatedly work for artisans and thereby provide better income generation. The organization opened an outlet in a three star hotel based at Bhuj. Initially, it was operated by the artisans in support of organization’s representative. It gave the idea of marketing and market value of the product embroidered. By marketing their own products to the customers the artisans became aware about the market value of self embroidered products, which helped the artisans and organization to take mutual decision while deciding upon payment for each embroidered piece. It also helped in building trust between artisans and organization thereby developed a healthy relation. During data collection the organization was working with 1200 artisans who embroidered throughout the year. The artisans belonged to *Halaypotra, Pathan, Dhaneta Jat, Mutwa, Dehbariya Rabari, Kutchi Rabari, Darbar, Meghwars* and *Sindhi Memon* communities from total 42 villages. In 2011 the organization registered as a producer company and worked independently. In the Board of Directors of the organization 12 directors were mandatory of these, 9 were artisans and other three were experts. The experts did not have any privilege to take decision but could only give their suggestions to the artisans’ panel. Though the artisans did take interest in the activities of the organization, they were unable to take control over managerial tasks, inspite of being active and aware of their rights and duties towards organization. They curiously asked questions during the meetings. The structure of the board changed at every five years, and entire new panel was formed either by selection or election. As per the company’s rules the artisans should now be a member to embroider and not just be a labourer. Initially, organization raised the funds from

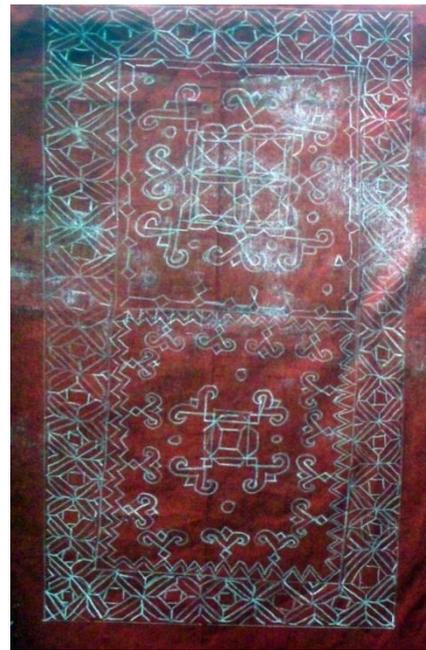
GOs for working capital. Gradually, it was repaid and all the assets were owned by the organization. Whenever new group of the artisans joined the organization they were imparted training to meet the fineness in skills with the other artisans of the NGO. The artisans are first given four x four or five x five inches swatch with simpler designs. On completion of the first swatch, feedback by organization's coordinator was given and based on the feedback received the artisans had to embroider second piece of around seven x seven inches. Gradually they had to improve the skills and embroider on larger pieces. At each stage the embroidered pieces were scrutinized in three grades as per the fineness and precision. The artisans were paid based on the grades allotted to them. A grade pieces were made full payment, B grade pieces were made 90 percent of the actual payment and C grade were paid 50 percent. Actually, C grade pieces were all poor quality rejected pieces however, since artisans had spend time and worked to embroider the piece therefore, on ethical grounds the organization paid the artisans in order to motivate them to work with better quality embroidery next time.

Towards the revival of the craft the organization held workshops to design the motifs which were extinct. Periodic workshops were organized to add to design bank, layouts and motif combinations. Participants were selected based on the objective of the workshop but, developing interest towards design and basic drawing skills was the main idea behind the activity. The artisans who possessed good composition sense and could work on varieties of motifs were allowed to take the help of the artisans who were good at drawing. Workshops were based on discussions and exercise where the artisans were asked to design as per their choice on given fabrics. To facilitate the comfort in drawing cotton was selected as a base fabric and artisans were provided with stationery like glass markers, pencils, sharpeners, rulers to draw straight lines.

The artisans were allowed to draw using traditional material and tools as well. “ As an outcome of the workshop many a times we get to know about the motifs and layouts which were vanished and the artisans used earlier”.... as stated by in house designing consultant and founder member of the organization. Stipend was provided to the artisans on daily wage basis.



a. Design 1



b. Design 2



c. Design 3



d. Tools used by artisans for commercial designing

Plate 4.193 a-d Design created during workshop by NGO with *Meghwar* artisans and tools used by them for designing

The designs created by the artisan were drawn by the illustrator who was also from the artisans' community. He had to take care about proportion and fine tuning of the designs, if needed. If any space is left on redrawn piece, it would be again given to the

artisan who had previously drawn it. After completion of drawing the embroidered piece was converted into *Khakha* by tracing the design on butter paper and creating holes on the outline by pricking it with sharp needle. This in turn was traced on fabric and given to the same artisan who has earlier drawn thereby entire design would be by one artisan.

The organization ensured that the design created by each community should be embroidered by that particular community only.

Payment was decided mutually by both, community leader and organization's representative. Payment rate was revised every three years or as per the existing change in inflation rate. As stated by founder member, each community decided the rate of embroidery as per the value of particular embroidery in their community, e.g. amongst *Neran*, *Pakko* and *Kharek*, *Pakko* and *Kharek* embroideries were more valuable for *Meghwars* than for *Nerans* as a result, they asked for more payment for embroidering *Pakko* and *Kharek* as compared to *Neran*. It was difficult to balance the artisans' demanded rates with the market rates for particular design. If the rates quoted by the artisans were higher compared to the market price that design was not placed in the market. "We do not want to dissatisfy our artisans by convincing them to accept low payment rates", as added by marketing and production in-charge, during the conversation.

Their product range included cushion covers of various sizes, bags of various styles, accessories such as pass port holder, wallets and wall hangings.

Till date total seven artisans got the opportunity to travel abroad. Out of which two artisans travelled to Canada to demonstrate their craft in a symposium. Four artisans

travelled to Italy to exhibit the embroidered products and to demonstrate their skills. One artisan travelled to France to exhibit the embroidered products.

The organization also supported the researchers from various Indian and foreign institutes in providing the data related to the various communities' clusters and also in report building if needed, with the aim to ensure authentic data collection and accurate documentation. This indicated the organization's sensitivity towards preserving and spreading Kutch embroideries authentically.

4.4.6.5 Case Study-5

NGO was established in 1993 as registered society and trust with the objective of preservation of Kutch crafts by making them culturally and economically viable. The NGO initiated the work with the *Suf* embroidery artisans who migrated from Sindh in 1972. Gradually more number of artisans and embroideries were included as a part of the project. Based on the organization's broad objective specific objectives were defined as follows.

- Preserve and present traditional arts
- Encourage innovation within tradition
- Assist achievement of self-sufficiency
- Provide basic education
- Enable sale of contemporary arts

The first step taken by the NGO was to generate income through embroidery craft as, embroidery was secondary source of income for the artisans.

At present the NGO is working with the artisans practicing *Pakko*, *Pakko suf*, *Kharek* and *Rabari* embroidery, *Jat* practicing cross stitch embroidery, and embroideries

practised by communities of *Meghvar*, *Kachhi Rabari*, *Dhebaria Rabari*, *Garasia Jat* and *Mutwa*. In total 1000 artisans from twenty five villages worked under the NGO at the time of data collection.

The system of NGO ensured participation of artisans at each stage i.e. from conceptualization to marketing of the products. The organization adopted traditional method of transferring motifs on the fabric. As per the conversation with the co-founder of the organization once in every fortnight or monthly the designer and production committees convened a meet at the organization located at Bhuj taluka to discuss the viability of products from its design till the market. Based on this discussion the committee was creating designs. At village level the organization created the producer group and ensured sense of responsibility similar to the case study-4. In each village artisan coordinators were mutually selected by artisans and the organization leaders. These coordinators took care of the timely completion of the work and maintaining bridge between artisans and the organization.

For the embroidery work artisans were paid on piece rates as well as daily wage basis. While disbursing payment to the artisans parameters such as quality, neatness and finishing was evaluated. The official stated that the organization mainly worked on products and not on the swatches like other NGOs, and the artisans were aware about the importance of these criteria and as result they did not face any problem in maintaining quality.

NGO's product range included handbags of various styles, cushion covers, table linen, ladies and gent's kurta, dupatta, stoles and soft toys.

Artisans' committee member from each producer group held the meeting once in a month to decide and revise the cost of the products in coordination with the officials

of the NGO. The artisans were also exposed to the market during various exhibitions and workshops regularly as stated by the official though exact number of artisans exposed was not unveiled.

Marketing of the products were done through the shops and through exhibitions. Three shops were operating one each in Sumrasar, in the hotel of Bhuj town and in the resort located in Surendranagar district. National as well as international exhibitions throughout the years were held to reach to the clientele of various places in India as well as abroad. In India the organization held exhibitions in the cities namely Delhi, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Pune and Ahmedabad. International clients were from various destinations namely Sweden, USA, Australia and UK.

Apart from income generation project the organization also built artifact bank which was inclusive of various traditional embroidered articles procured from the artisans. It was preserved in the Museum established in 1996 by the organization. Care was taken to protect the specimens in controlled atmospheric conditions and experts from various reputed museum around the world was consulted to adopt the right preservation methods. The artifacts were preserved in the cabinets and placed inside acid free paper boxes. According to the official it was the best way to protect the artifacts keeping in mind the environmental conditions of the region.

During the design process of income generation project the artisans were encouraged to refer the preserved artifacts and various reference books available at the office. The artisans referred readily available specimens to refresh their knowledge pertaining to the motifs, stitches, placements, colour combinations and products. It helped them to brainstorm on new ideas on motifs its placements, colour combinations and products.

Digital data base of these articles was generated and access was available through organization's website with the details of product name and motifs used. Online accessibility made presence of the traditionally embroidered artifacts global. It could be instrumental for increase in sensitivity of the people around the globe towards traditional embroideries of the Kutch. Online availability of the artifacts may also provide an identity to the embroidery in its traditional form which can lead to increase in number of appreciators thereby, increase in clientele.

Apart from income generation and preservation activities, the organization also initiated education on health issues and craft design. To educate the artisans on health issues local teachers were identified in order to impart the knowledge effectively.

In the areas of craft curriculum were designed for various time durations as per the necessity of the craft and also without disturbing social and economic set up of the craft persons. The researcher observed the training program of the *Rabari* embroidery artisans, where artisans were being imparted with the entire design process that was followed by the design school students. The organization also developed professional linkages with the design school across the country and invited them to take the sessions during these training programs. The students of the school also had to attend the jury where eminent personalities around the country were invited and the students were benefitted by their feedback. It was also observed that the alumni of the school were also appointed as mentors for the junior batches. The ongoing batch felt more confident in learning when they had the example of the person amongst them as a mentor. The school was the very first attempt of the organization to empower the artisans with design knowledge and thereby make them self reliant.



a. Discussion with the mentor on theme



b. Artisans creating theme board



c. Creating designs by taking inspiration from the theme



d. Closer view of learner's designs

Plate 4.194 a-d Impartment of design education by NGO

The organization also initiated workshops for the students and faculties of the design schools in India as well as abroad. This may lead to increase in awareness amongst the design students and faculties around the world.

To mobilize all these activities the organization received funds from various national and international sources.

4.4.7 Comparative analysis

The GOs and NGOs selected for the study were working on broad common objectives of income generation activities, preservation of craft and its promotion.

Of the total five organizations, two were GOs mainly involved in implementation of the schemes designed by the head offices, whereas other three organizations were beneficiaries of these schemes. The GOs designed various schemes of financial assistance for income generation activities, skill up-gradation and funds to develop an infrastructure. The NGOs availed the benefits of these schemes to train the artisans who embroidered for them and also develop the infrastructure. It was observed that the artisans were also eligible to avail the benefit of the schemes but due to lack of awareness the schemes did not benefit the artisans directly. It was suggested that the awareness programs should be organized at taluka level and its publicity should be done through traditional media i.e through folk drama (*bhavai*), folk music and folk dance.

Till the time of data collection 2500 to 3000 artisans were benefited who pursued training but majority of implementation was through NGOs. In all, more than 5200 artisans from 167 villages were associated with NGOs. Of this, majority of them were associated with Case-3. NGO discussed as Case-3 was the first NGO established in the region. Reputation of the NGO, its expertise, out reaching efforts and financial stability of the organization could be the contributing factors.

Of all the organizations included one GO recognized the skills of the craftsmen and honoured them with awards in order to motivate them to continue the craft and carry forward the heritage. NGOs were conducting workshops on design development where artisans always discussed about the craft practiced in past and also recalled the motifs and stitches, as they were the key components of any embroidery worked on the products. Through the entire process of design development, artisans were sensitized towards their craft and younger generation got exposure to this extinct

components. It was a first step towards the craft resurgence as appreciating ones' own craft is vital for craft revival. Two NGOs put efforts to procure the old embroidered pieces and its preservation. These efforts will definitely preserve the specimen in the region. Of these two only one NGO permitted access of the specimen to those artisans who were involved in designing. Based on these observations it was clear that very limited number of artisans got exposure to the preserved artifacts. The preserved specimens should be open to all the artisans and periodically NGO should invite the artisans to have hands on exposure to the preserved collection. This will help in continuous remembrance of the craft details and artisans would feel esteemed by observing their own artifacts being preserved and valued by the people around the world. This would change their perception about the craft as a heritage.

Table 4.6 Comparison of activities undertaken by GOs and NGOs

Cases	Objective	No. of artisans benefitted/ working	No. of villages covered	Activities											
				Policy planning and implementation	Income generation	Artisans skill recognition	Preservation and revival of embroideries	Craft education	Artisans' involvement in production process	Artisans' involvement in deciding payment and final product cost	Marketing	Involvement of artisans marketing	Micro finance	Health education	Insurance
Case Study-1	Preserve and promote the craft	2500-3000	-	√	√	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	-	-	√
Case Study-2	Providing marketing facilities	-	-	√	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	√	-	-	-
Case Study-3	Income generation	3000	100	-	√	-	√	-	-	-	√	-	-	-	-
Case Study-4	Income generation	1200	42	-	√	-	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	-
Case Study-5	Income generation	1000	25	-	√	-	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	-

Only one organization initiated imparting of formal education to the artisans on design process. It was indication of the change in artisans' role from skilled labourers to design experts in future.

Data unveiled that the artisans honored with awards and merit certificate were involved in training the artisans, there by those honored artisans were being self reliant and the learners acquired the knowledge and skill. This pedagogy had advantage of passing down the knowledge from artisan to artisan but, it was observed that number of Master Craftsmen were minimal therefore, craft may suffer monotony as the learners would pursue education from the same trainer and single point of view.

It was observed that only one of two NGOs was procuring the products from the artisans where artisans were involved in production process from raw material to the final product. Whereas, two of three NGOs established the working structure such that artisans had a role to play in each stage of production from designing to quality control. The third NGO involved the artisans in quality control only.

Data regarding Organizations' efforts towards marketing indicated that all five organizations were providing marketing opportunities to the artisans' products. Of the total one GO had organized exhibitions across the country and another marketed the products through its out lets across the country. Selected NGOs adopted both the practices. They opened the out lets as well as organized exhibitions in the country. Two of the NGOs under study also organized exhibitions abroad. These organizations also provided opportunities to the artisans in demonstrating their skill and directly interact with the customers during the exhibitions.

Last but not the least, health of the artisans was a matter of grave concern. Health related matters were given due importance as the artisans can only practice the craft

creatively and effectively if they themselves and their family members are fit and healthy. Of the total organizations selected, two organizations were sensitive about the health issues of the artisans and they educated the artisans on various health problems, their precautions and cure. These organizations also provided knowledge on diseases transmitted through heredity and care to be taken during pregnancy.

4.5 Markets and Marketing Practices

Analysis of the data regarding markets for embroidered products, marketing practices and artisans' role in marketing channels revealed that all the artisans did not have market place to operate on account of various barriers. Of the total sample of 720 artisans, 41.25 per cent were not permitted to move out of their villages as they followed *pardah* system as a cultural or social ethos.

Of the total artisans sampled, 369 artisans embroidered for commercial purpose. Three artisans one each of *Parathariya Ahir*, *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Meghwar* communities sold their products directly in the Bhuj market. The artisan of *Parathariya Ahir* community was a *Master Karigar*, who supplied the products to the shop located in Bhuj. It was observed that the products embroidered by her bear the characteristics which made her products saleable in the market. It could be due to her exposure to the products manufactured at NGO during the course of her visits as an expert. She also participated in the exhibitions organised by GOs outside the state. It was further observed that she motivated all the family members to adopt embroidery as a profession. Her son supported all the ladies of the family and accompanied them in travelling to exhibitions and helped in availing benefit of the schemes designed by Government. As per the demand she also provided income generation opportunity by

offering a job work to the artisans of her village. In marketing channel the artisan was playing a role of manufacturer as well as distributor.

As noticed, one each from *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Meghwar* artisans sold their products in Craft Park situated in Bhujodi village and at Bhuj Haat - an urban haat developed by Handicraft Marketing and Service Extension Centre, Office of the Development Commissioner of Handicrafts. It was observed that their product range included similar products made for their personal utility such as *Kanchali*, *Kapadu*, *Toran*, *Juladi* and patches separated from *Kanchali* of *Rabari* community. *Meghwar* artisans also marketed the products such as *Kanjari*, *Bokani*, *Theho* and *Kohtali*. These artisans stated that it was difficult to sell the products in local market since Bhuj was not the right market for their products. Of the total 369, artisans 11 were associated with GO who sold their products through the platform of the state Government Organisation. The organisation offered job work to the artisans and launched the products in open markets or exhibitions. The considerations were passed on to the artisans on piece rate basis. Respondents were unaware about the exact market locations and the end products to be made out of the pieces as they were not briefed when job work was assigned but, they were aware that their products would be sold at Government outlets located in various cities across the states. In marketing channel the respondents were in the category of only embroiderers.

In one of the villages, one artisan was observed negotiating on behalf of the whole village. It was noticed that she possessed better entrepreneurial skills and leadership quality. All the villagers supplied their products to her for selling. Tourists to the village were her customers. As described by her earlier there was no scope to sell the products as strangers were not permitted to enter in the village. Since past five years

village leaders permitted the visitors if they approached through proper channel. A change of mindsets amongst the artisans was reflected which could be attributed to their realization of tourists as potential customers. It was also to increase production and markets in near future.

For past ten years a trend of selling the embroidered products in open market to fulfil their economical needs was noticed due to the decline of fashion for embroidered articles amongst artisans and rise in the demand for garments of new design. It could also be owing to the realisation of invaluable craft they practiced, especially due to intervention of various foreign organisations for income generation activities and rise in number of foreign visitors' visiting Kutch post earthquake. It was a fact that of the total, 78.34 per cent respondents put the efforts to market their old products through NGO coordinators, village leader, social helpers such as ration shop proprietors and vendors visiting villages. Of these 46.25 per cent were *Ahirs* and *Rabari* sub communities who followed trend to sell embroidered products in exchange for utensils. These communities did not practice embroideries for personal utility for past 20 years, on the contrary continued to sell old artefacts resulted in negligible possession of embroidered artefacts with them or perhaps no possession at all. Respondents of *Jat* sub communities responded that it was considered inauspicious to sell embroidered piece, though they embroidered for organisations. The legend explained by the artisan aged around 80 years revealed that one lady caught fire and the whole *Churi* worn by her was burnt except the embroidered portion that did not catch fire. She was saved due to embroidered portion which was not blazed. Since then people believed that embroidered piece bared some super natural power that saved the lady.

Of the selected 720 respondents, 300 artisans embroidered for NGOs. Similar to the artisans associated with GOs, these artisans also got an opportunity to market their product through the platform provided by the NGOs. Only 19 per cent of the total 300 artisans associated with NGOs were aware of the clients who purchased their products as they were informed by the organisation they worked for. According to them their products were sold in various cities through exhibitions held by NGOs and they received the order from overseas too but they were unaware about the exact market locations abroad. Of these, three artisans stated their products were in high demand in the U.S market as every year they had frequent visitors in the village through NGO placing their orders for the embroidered products as per their requirements. Of the total, only three artisans stated that they sold the products directly to the customers through the NGO's outlet located in Bhuj. They added that it was a learning experience for them to interact with the customers and understand features demanded by the customers and also about marketability of the embroidered products. It helped them while negotiating for the payment rate of embroidered products as they were working as representatives of their artisans' community in production cell. It was felt that other NGOs and GOs should also follow the same practice. It will also enable to build trust amongst the artisans and Organisation. Artisans' exposure to market would build confidence amongst them to interact with the customers as well as will provide them an insight into the market trends and consumer demands. It would make the artisans independent and motivate them for market oriented production.

The analysis of the data revealed that negligible number of artisans pursued an opportunity to get an exposure to direct market. On the contrary, four artisans one each from *Darbar*, *Mutwa* and two from *Meghwar* of the selected sample responded that they demonstrated their skills in the international fairs and workshops. Of the

total, 10.33 per cent artisans stated that they got an opportunity to design the products such as wall hangings, cushion covers and bags exclusively for international buyers. These incidences were a sheer indication of promotion of artisans' skills on international platform.

Table 4.1a Stitches used in various embroideries

Embroidery		Community	Motifs	Stitches
Pakko	<i>Pakko</i>	<i>Halay potra, Raysi potra, Pathan</i>	<i>Bhori ful, Ful, Trekhune valo ful, Nade ju gul</i>	Outline-double satin stitch/Chain stitch Filling-Compact chain stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Outer most line- back stitch
		<i>Node</i>	<i>Bhori ful, Aath khuiye vali butti, bhuli ji butti, Fuladi, Fulada, Dabali, Bherni bandh, kodadiyado bandh</i> <i>Tari no gul</i>	Outline- double satin stitch Filling- Compact chain stitch/button hole stitch Mirror- Botton hole stitch Around the mirror- Romanian stitch Elongated <i>Romanian</i> stitch with long and short satin stitches
		<i>Darbar and Meghwar</i>	<i>Bhori ful, Badam tak, Fuladi, Rano bandh, Padhadiyado bandh, Mor, Tak chopad, Char butti no gul, Aath tadi gul, Bandhani gul, Butti, Akko</i>	Outline- Double satin stitch/Chain stitch Filling- Square chain stitch Mirror- Buttonhole stitch Around the mirror- Button hole/ square chain stitch, Romanian stitch, lazy daizy stitch

Table 4.1a Stitches used in various embroideries

		<p><i>Mutwa</i></p> <p><i>Che tang val farua, Jim vala farua, Khich vala farua, chokadi valo faruo, Khudi valo faruo, Badami farua, Molado, Chakkan, Bhor, Tre fangadi vali chakkan ji butti, Chopad</i></p> <p><i>Gul</i></p> <p><i>Pakke ji butti</i></p> <p><i>Dhoran</i></p>	<p>Outline- Open chain stitch Filling- Open chain stitch Mirror- button hole stitch Around the mirror- button hole/ Romanian /Lazy daisy stitch</p> <p>Outline-Open chain stitch Centre portion- Wavy feather stitch, Feathered chain stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Outer most multi colour circle- Cretan stitch Outer most line of all the motifs- Back stitch</p> <p>Outline- Open chain stitch Filling- Open chain stitch/padded satin stitch</p> <p>Outline- back stitch Filling-Romanian stitch</p>
		<p><i>Sindhi memon</i></p> <p><i>Taadi valo gul, Sat handa valo gul, Tevrani ful, Siniye nu ful, Paida, Bachado pitado, Badami pitado, Bhiraniya bandh</i></p> <p><i>Dhari</i></p>	<p>Outline- Chain stitch Filling- Romanian/ Square chain stitch</p> <p>Mirror- Button hole stitch</p>

Table 4.1a Stitches used in various embroideries

				Outer lines-Satin stitch
		<i>Jat</i>	<i>Fuladi</i> <i>Gheta sing, Limbodi</i> <i>aanko, Ghodi, Butto,</i> <i>Madi chopad, Adh</i> <i>butti, Khil ful, Ful,</i> <i>Oothado</i>	Combination of couching and satin stitch Padded sating stitch
			<i>Chher</i>	Outline- Combination of satin and couching stitch Filling- Padded satin stitch
			<i>Chambh tak, Jaat tak,</i> <i>Baliyaj, Riraniya</i> <i>Bandh</i>	Cross stitch
	<i>Suf & Kharek</i>	<i>Darbar & Meghwar</i>	<i>Kagar, OOntdo, Jhad,</i> <i>Dhingli, Chakki,</i> <i>Chokadi</i>	Single satin stitch
			<i>Kharek</i>	Outline- Couching stitch Filling- Single satin stitch
		<i>Mutwa</i>	-	Single satin
<i>Kachho</i>	<i>Neran</i>	<i>Halay potra</i>	<i>Neran jo gul, Neran ji</i> <i>nanadi butti, Neran jo</i> <i>bandh, Tani ja butta</i>	Outline- double satin stitch Filling double satin stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch
		<i>Node</i>	<i>Neran ji butti</i>	Outline- Satin stitch Filling- satin stitch Mirror- button hole stitch Around the mirror- Romanian stitch
		<i>Sindhi memon</i>	<i>Neran ful, Neran jo</i> <i>goto, Neran jo bandh</i>	Button hole, Satin stitch
	<i>Kachho</i>	<i>Halay potra & Rayasi</i>	<i>Tari no gul</i>	Romanian stitch with long and short satin

Table 4.1a Stitches used in various embroideries

	<i>suf</i>	<i>potra</i>	<i>Sufadi, Ghodi, Suf ja ful</i> <i>Tadi valo gul</i>	stitches Satin stitch
		<i>Node</i>	<i>Suf ja ful, Suf ji butti, Kachhe jo bandh</i>	Satin stitch Outline Square chain stitch, Inner line- Couching stitch Filling- Satin stitch
		<i>Mutwa</i>	<i>Golaido, Kachhe ji butti</i> <i>Chandar</i> <i>Asal jo chandar</i>	Outline- Back stitch Filling- Satin stitch Outline- Chain stitch Filling- Feathered chain stitch Mirror- Button hole Similar to gul in pakko of Mutwa
	<i>Kachho kharek & Katri</i>	<i>Halay potra &, Raysi potra</i>	<i>Aadh Kharek, Kharek, Bhindudi kharek ji butti</i>	Double satin stitch
		<i>Mutwa</i>	<i>Kharek ji butti</i> <i>Katariye ji sar</i>	Double satin stitch
	<i>Kambira & khudi sebha</i>	<i>Halay potra & Rayasi potra</i>	<i>Bo ghar no kambhiro</i>	Double running stitch
		<i>Darbar & Meghwar</i>	<i>Khudi sebha</i>	Single and double running stitch
<i>Mukko bharat</i>	-	<i>Halay potra, Raysi potra & Pathan</i>	<i>Gheni, javado, ful, sat tak vaalo gul, Machhi/ Chakali, Zarmar</i>	Couching stitch
		<i>Meghwar</i>	<i>Gheni</i>	Couching stitch
		<i>Mutwa</i>	<i>Pakatadi, Be bundi</i>	Couching stitch

Table 4.1a Stitches used in various embroideries

			<i>vali kungri</i>	
		<i>Sindhi memon</i>	<i>Zarmar, Chokadi, Chakri</i>	Couching stitch
<i>Ahir bharat</i>	-	<i>Ahir</i>	<i>Dhungo, Goto, Jhad/ AAmbo, Suda, Haathi upar ambadi, Kanudo, Diamond club</i> <i>Ubhi Zarmar, Bethi Zarmar, depictions of Mor, Paniari, Vinchi, Dedavo, Baju bandh, Kharek disiyu AAbhla ni kor</i> <i>Keri</i>	Outline- chain stitch Filling- chain stitch Mirror- button hole stitch Outline- chain stitch Filling- Herring bone stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Outlines- interlacing stitch Mirror- Button hole Around the mirror- chain stitch
<i>Rabari bharat</i>	-	<i>Rabari</i>	<i>Aambo, Depictions of Dhungo, Suda, Chakali, mor, Makodiyo, Dedavo, Popati, Oont, Depictions of Haathi, Trikon ful, Ful, Derdi, Shravan kavadiyo</i>	Outline- open chain stitch Mirror- Button hole

Table 4.1a Stitches used in various embroideries

<i>Horamji/ Bavaliyo Gotav</i>		<i>Mutwa</i>	<i>Harana, Batta panj kania, Addhad, Farmatado, Madhariya bandh</i>	Interlacing stitch
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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Embroidery has always been an important craft of the country. Western region of the country is one of the richest pockets with varieties of embroideries. Kutch in Gujarat has forever maintained its identity as an ocean of Handicrafts. Of these, embroidery is one of the prime crafts of Kutch district. Various communities practiced their unique style of embroidery to decorate the artifacts of their personal utility, which served as their social identity and wealth during the ritual exchange.

Social, economic, political and migratory factors lead to changes in the society and affect the prevailing craft and craftsmen. In view of this the study was undertaken with following objectives.

5.1 Specific Objectives:

1. To study the origin and history of various Kutch embroideries.
2. To document various determinants of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch regarding motifs, stitches, material used, colour combinations, techniques and products made.
3. To record the socio- economic status of the artisans of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch region.
4. To explore the role of Government and Non -Government Organisations in promotion of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch and its artisans.
5. To understand the market of traditional and existing embroideries of Kutch and various marketing practises prevalent.

5.2 Methodology

The present research was descriptive in nature and was undertaken with the major aim to document the present status of Kutch embroideries. The multi-method integrated approach was adopted for the present research to congregate in-depth authentic data.

Locale of the study

Primary data pertaining to talukas and villages where communities practised embroidery were obtained from the government offices situated at Bhuj. Secondary source included literature gathered from libraries, Government and Non-Government Organisations' official records, and information obtained from various websites through search engines.

Sampling procedure

1. Selection of the artisans

To gain a holistic insight, purposive random sampling method was adopted for the selection of the villages and the artisans on the basis of the following.

- Accessibility to the village.
- Willingness of the artisans to respond.
- Density of the artisans' population.

In all, two villages for each community were purposively selected. A list of number of households in each village was obtained from the Taluka Development Officers. Of the total, 30 per cent from each village were selected as the sample inclusive of one artisan per house hold selected through snow ball technique. At least one artisan of age above 60 years was purposively selected for data collection.

2. Selection of Government and Non-Government Organizations:

Government offices situated in Kutch were visited to collect the first hand information. Secondary information was collected through the web site of the Handloom and Handicrafts Development Corporation and from the published literature by concerned office.

The NGOs addressing different issues of the traditional embroideries and artisans of Kutch willing to co-operate with the investigator were the selected sample for the study.

Methods and tools for data collection

Data for the present study was collected through extensive field work. To obtain complete information, investigator personally administered the structured interview schedule. A focused group discussion as well as observation method was combined with the interview method in order to obtain comprehensive information.

Understanding of the embroidery techniques was supported through hands on with the embroideries. Observation method facilitated verification of the information provided by the artisans.

During the field work wherever possible, the investigator resided with the artisans for a few days in order to facilitate data collection at a micro level.

Data pertaining to the role of Government was procured through multi visits and case studies to accumulate the in-depth information on Non-Government Organisations.

Visual records were documented in detail using cameras. Each and every discussion during the interviews and case studies was recorded in the voice recorder to ensure collection of the complete information.

Analysis of Data

Data collected was qualitative in nature. Descriptive and documentary analysis was carried out and presented in the form of frequencies, percentage, tables, graphs and photo plates.

The embroidery practised before 30 years was considered as traditional embroideries. The specimens documented from museum, visual and written records from various references and information procured from artisans were analysed. It was observed that since past thirty years embroideries of each community underwent changes in terms of type of embroidery, motifs, stitches, colour combinations and materials. The same has been discussed wherever it was applicable.

The case studies were analysed to gain a holistic insight into various initiatives taken by GOs and NGOs.

5.3 Major findings of the study

Research conducted focused on certain facts about the embroideries of Kutch.

5.3.1 Origin and History

Majority of the artisans were unaware about the origin and history of the craft and the changes occurred in the types of embroideries practiced. As a result, minimum numbers of specimen were available for the assessment of those extinct embroideries

proving the major objective of the study. The specimens were available for visual assessment through the study conducted.

It was found that *Kanabi*, *Bhanushali*, *Satwara*, *Lohana* and *Mochi* practiced intricate embroideries in Kutch region however; the embroideries except that of *Mochis* were vanished since past four decades.

Aari work was taught by a Muslim man to a cobbler. During data collection it was found that the artisans migrated to the neighbouring district. Only one respondent was found in Bhuj who changed his profession as *Aari* embroidery did not fetch lucrative incomes. Existence and visibility of *Aari* embroidery was only through specimens displayed and preserved in the Museums. With the intervention of one of the NGOs' included in the study the craft was alive in neighbouring district.

Origin of embroidery craft was not known and only the artisans above 60 years of age possessed knowledge about its native and migration route. Majority of them were rooted to Sindh or travelled through Sindh and settled in Kutch being adjoining region to Pakistan. The younger generation was not aware about the origin and history, many of them did not know the craft details though they practiced the craft. The study would help to preserve the origin and history of the craft and data pertaining to artisans' migration.

Pakko, *Neran*, *Kachho Suf* and *Kachho Kharek* of *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Raysi potra* was at the verge of extinction as minimum articles were found for the study.

Pakko and *Kachho* of *Node* were in practice for both domestic and commercial purpose. It indicated sustainability of the embroidery.

Pakko and *Kachho* by *Mutwa* could not sustain domestically due to the changes that took place in their costumes yet it could flourish in commercial market. It was observed that the few artisans joined their family occupations and they were not willing to continue craft commercially due to comparatively less lucrative profession of embroidery. It was an alarming indication for the organizations who were striving to sustain and promote the craft.

Embroideries of *Jat* sub communities decreased and also faced stiff competition with other embroideries in market as *Pakko* of *Jat* was the densest embroidery resulted in high product cost. Thought efforts were made by various organisations in the directions of sustainability and promotion of embroideries of *Jats*. On the contrary, *Pakko* and *Kachho* embroideries of *Darbar*, *Mutwa* and *Sindhi Memon* were sustained in commercial markets. *Meghwar* was the only community found who maintained the tradition with the commercialisation of the embroidery. Similar to *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potra* and *Mutwa* community, *Darbar* also changed their costumes due to socio cultural factors; as a result they were not embroidering for domestic use.

Pakko Suf and *Pakko Kharek* by *Darbars* and *Meghwars* were at the verge of extinction for domestic purpose due to complexity though, it was practiced commercially in comparatively lesser quantity. *Pakko Suf* of *Mutwa* was no more alive as only one specimen was found in Museum and no specimen was found from the artisans, whereas *Neran* was completely extinct as no artefact was found. The verbal explanation about the motif style has been documented in the present study and it would be an indicative note for the future learners.

Work pertaining to embroideries namely *Kambhira* and *Khudi Sebha* were also reduced. Preservation and promotion was need of the hour. The efforts had been made by the NGO but due to its time consuming technique and unfriendly payment rates for artisans it did not flourish.

Halay potras, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras* adopted *Mukko* since past 20 to 25 years. Maximum number of motifs of *Mukko* was found from *Pathan* community but, the *Halay potras* had more expertise on the skill. Since past around 10 to 15 years *Mukko* was also not practiced by them for domestic purpose due to socio cultural changes occurred. *Halay potras* adopted *Mukko* as a commercial work with an NGO which may witness sustainability in future.

Mukko was also adopted by *Meghwars* for domestic purpose which showed popularity of the embroidery. It was also adopted by *Mutwas* but could survive commercially rather than domestically. *Sindhi Memon* adopted *Mukko* but since past few years the amount of embroidery was reducing.

As similar to other embroideries *Ahir and Rabari* embroideries were almost extinct as a domestic craft but they flourished commercially which might lead to continuation of the embroidery in future. It was found that NGOs had explored the embroidery to its maximum and provided innovative designs to the market. *Boricha Ahirs* and *Vagadiya Rabaris* showed keen interest toward getting associated with NGO which provided a ray of hope that more number of artisans would adopt the craft as a means of income generation which would lead to the revival of craft amongst the artisans.

Interlacing stitch embroidery was popularised in commercial market especially practiced by *Mutwas* due to the aesthetic look of the embroideries. Both at domestic and market level change in material was noticed.

5.3.2 Craft Details

5.3.2.1 Motifs used

Gul or *ful* was commonly used term for circular and floral motifs by all the communities.

Bhori ful was commonly used motif for *Pakko* by all the communities except *Jat* sub communities. *Fuladi* motif was adopted by *Jats* was very popular motif amongst all the communities but, *Fuladi* practiced by *Dhaneta Jats* was created with maximum number of sections.

Motifs used in *Pakko* of *Halay potra* was *Ful*, *Nade ja gul* and *Farai*, whereas, *Rasyi potra* used *Gol* (circular) *ful* and *Tre khune valo ful*. Common motif found in both the communities artisans were *Bhori ji buti*, *Nade ji butti* and *Kungri valo phul*. These were the only motif found and documentation done through the study would preserve the motif for visual reference.

Node used *Pakke jo ful*, *Aath khuiye vali butti*, *Panj fangiya vali butti*, *Bhuli ji butti*, *Tre fangiye vali butti*, *Fulda* and *Dabali*. Border designs used by them were *Dabala bandh*, *Bherni bandh* and *Kodadiyado bandh*. They preserved all their designs.

Darbars and *Meghwars* used concepts such as monuments of rulers, warriors and *Sati* women. These motifs were observed to have vanished. Other commonly used motifs were *Badam*, *Farai*, *Rano bandh*, *Dabla bandh*, *Ler* and *Char buti no gul*. *Bhori ful* was extinct amongst *Darbar* whereas, amongst *Meghwars* it was quite popular. *Gingri* was the motif used by *Darbars* which was known as *Padhadhiyado bandh* amongst *Meghwars*.

Molado and *Che tangdi valo faruo* was the popular border designs and depictions of *Chakkan* and *Pakko buttis* were the popular motifs amongst *Mutwas*.

Sindhi Memon used *Tadi walo gul*, *Ath handa valo gul*, *Tevrani ful*, *Sinye nu ful*, *Paida*, *Chopad ful*, *Bachado pitado*, *Badami pitado*, *Pakhadi* and *Dhari* along with *Fuladi* and *Bhori ful*. They used all these motifs for *Mukko* as well.

Fuladi was the popular motif amongst all the three *Jat* sub communities. *Garacia* and *Fakirani Jat* practiced two types of *Fuladi* where one was *Sachi fuladi* and another was *Khoti fuladi*. One cult of *Garacia Jat* practiced motifs namely *Chambh tak*, *Jaat tak*, *Chher*, *Popati* and *Baliyaj*.

Motifs of *Pakko suf* of *Darbar* and *Meghwars* were redundant domestically but existing commercially.

Only one *Kanjari* was found from *Halay potra* with the motifs namely *Neran jo gul*, *Neran ji nanadi butti*, *Neran jo bandh*, *Khajano*, *Bhoriful* and *Chukh*. *Neran* of *Darbars* and *Meghwars* was revived by GOs and NGOs, similarly efforts should be put to revive the *Neran* of *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Raysi potra* communities.

Though *Node* practiced *Neran* embroidery, they used only three motifs namely *Neran jo bandh*, *Neran ji butti* and *Tariye nu gul*. Minimal number of motifs may create monotony which may pose a threat to the sustainability of embroidery.

All the motifs used for *Pakko* was also used for *Mukko* embroidery by *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras*. *Pathans* had introduced motifs exclusively used for *Mukko* embroidery namely *Gheni*, *Javado*, *Fuladi*, *Guli* and *Tak valo gul*.

Mukko embroidery developed new motifs including *Zarmar*, *Chokdi*, *Chakki* and *Chakri*.

Ahirs and *Rabri* preserved minimum artefacts. There were similarities found in *Ahir* and *Rabari* embroideries. *Dhungo* and *Ambo* were the similar motifs found among both the communities.

5.3.2.2 Stitches used

Similarities were found in the stitches used in *Pakko* embroidered by all the communities.

Majority of the communities earlier practiced *Aad*, *Lath* or *Reso* for outline which was later replaced by *Aank*. *Jaat* or *Khinch* was used to fill the motif. Stitches used for *Pakko* embroidery by *Halay potra*, *Pathan* and *Raysi potra* were obsolete since past 25 years with extinction of *Pakko* embroidery in these three communities. Stitches of *Pakko* by *Darbar* and *Meghwars* could survive commercially of which *Meghwars* also preserved their stitches domestically.

Pakko embroidered by *Mutwa* had the finest stitches. Usage of minute open chain stitches was prominent though this community included maximum stitches in their *pakko* embroidery. The chain stitch embroidered by *Sindhi Memon* artisans was narrow and long as compared to the chain stitch of *Darbar* and *Meghwar* artisans.

Kanak was only used by *Jats*. *Chher* was worked with long satin stitches which were couched at various points.

Kachho bharat was mainly worked with double satin or buttonhole stitches. *Sankli*, *Vaano*, *Gaaj no tanko*, *Daano* and *Bakhiyo* were stitches mainly used by *Ahirs*. *Sankli* was also used by *Rabaris*.

All the communities used *Horamji* also known as *Bavadiyo* or *Gotav* with combination of other embroideries except three sub communities of *Garacia Jats*.

5.3.2.3 Materials used

Traditionally varieties of silk, cotton and wool fabrics were used for all the communities. *Mamsai Gaj* was common fabric used by all the Muslim communities except Three *Jat* sub communities. These materials were replaced with polyester and nylon fabrics.

Earlier *Suttar and Sani or Pat* was used. For past 25 to 30 years untwisted rayon and acrylic threads had replaced untwisted silk. *Pakko* practiced by *Fakirani Jats* and *Garacia Jats* resided in Lakhpat taluka was presently embroidered with threads drawn from knitted hosiery garments procured from domestic market. *Mukko* embroidery was practiced with real gold and silver threads earlier which were replaced by tested *Zari* threads since past 25 to 30 years. For personal utility products *Suttar* and *pat* was replaced with acrylic and rayon whereas, commercially twisted cotton and twisted rayon threads were also used that provided ease in embroidering.

Jats and *Rabaris* used different shapes of mirrors whereas, all the other communities used circular mirrors of which, *Mutwas* used the smallest size of mirrors. Other materials used were tassels, beads, buttons and sequences.

5.3.2.4 Colour combinations

There were similarities found in the colour combinations used for all the embroideries. Overall contrasting and analogous colour schemes were used. *Bakhiyo* was always embroidered with white. All the Muslim communities except *Jat* sub communities used green for the base fabric of *Kanjari*. *Node* and *Sindhi Memon* used yellow and red. *Jat* sub communities used red and its shades for the base fabric. *Ahirs* and *Rabris* mainly used red, green and yellow colours for women's upper garments.

Generally four to five colours were used in all embroideries but there were motifs which were embroidered with specific colour combinations. It was observed that majority of the embroideries were outlined with yellow or black colours. *Tari no gul* by *Node* was embroidered with black threads and outlined with white or yellow. In the traditional pieces of *Pakko* by *Halay potras* as well as *Bhori ful*, *Gol ful*, *Nade ja ful* and *Siniye nu ful* by *Sindhi Memon* were all embroidered with white. *Fuladi*, *Bhori ful*, and *Kench* were embroidered with multi colour arrangements. *Chakkan jo gul* by *Mutwa* was embroidered in single colour.

All the communities who embroidered *Chag*, used black coloured threads on which couching was done with white or yellow colour.

5.3.2.5 Techniques used

Fabric and lining used for *Pakko*, *Kachho Suf*, *Kachho Kharek*, *Mukko*, *Garacia Jat* and *Rabari bharat* was placed one on top of the other and outline of the motif was held together with basting stitches. On the said fabric *Lakhatar* or *Aarekhani* of the motifs were done. Embroidery was initiated with outline and followed by filling up

the motifs. To embroider interlacing stitch and mirrors, first of all the frame was made on which the embroidery work was performed.

5.3.2.6 Products made

All the artisans made ladies upper garment known as *Kanjari*, *Kapdu* or *Kanchali*. Only *Ahirs* and *Rabari* embroidered ladies lower garments, Children's and men's garments which now did not exist. Other articles embroidered were face masks of the brides and grooms by all the communities of Muslim religion while *Bokani*; a head gear was embroidered by *Darbars* and *Meghwars*. The artisans also embroidered bags of various sizes, except the artisans of *Jat* sub communities.

Dhadaki; a quilt and *Vyano*; a pillow cover was embroidered using *Kambhira* by *Halay potras*, *Pathans* and *Raysi potras*. Only one envelope shaped bag embroidered with *Kambhira* was found which indicated that *Kambhira* was used to decorate bags in distant past.

Toran, a door hanging was embroidered with *Pakko*, *Ahir* and *Rabari* embroideries by *Darbar*, *Ahir* and *Rabari* communities respectively. Only one *Toran* was found from each community during data collection. *Ahirs* also made wall decoration articles such as *Gokhaliya*, *Sankhiya* and *Chakalio*. Field investigation unveiled that *Chaklo* was not possessed by any of the artisans of *Ahir* sub communities.

Animal decorations i.e. *Andhari* and *Kandh ni gani* were embroidered with *Pakko* embroidery by only *Node* community. It was found that *Ahir* and *Rabari* artisans had discontinued to work on animal decorations.

5.3.3 Socio-Economic conditions of the artisans

The young artisans below the age of 25 years held minimum technical knowhow of the embroidery but, they were aware of the types and application of stitches. Though, it was noted that some of them were enriched with the knowledge of traditional and existing motifs. During field investigation an important fact observed was that Cent percent artisans were women.

The study revealed that more than half of the artisans belonged to *Darbar, Meghwar, Parathariya Ahir, Machhoya Ahir, Boricha Ahir, Kutchi Rabari, Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari* communities of Hindu religion. The remaining belonged to *Halay potras, Pathans, Raysi potras, Mutwas, Nodes, Dhaneta Jats, Fakirani Jats, Garacia Jats* and *Sindhi Memons* of Muslim religion. Respondents spoke *Gujarati, Kutchi* and *Urdu Kutchi* dialects.

A majority of artisans under study were found married followed by a few unmarried, widows and only one separated. This crystallizes the rationale of marriage as a social institution amongst the communities.

Baring a few, all the artisans preferred nuclear family system. An interesting pattern was noticed that close relatives stayed adjacent to each other getting a feel of secured joint family. The number of family members of all households ranged between five to nine comprising of three to five children. This could be due to the strong urge for a male child.

A detailed investigation brought home the point that near to full majority of the artisans were illiterate. Of those few literates, the education obtained was primary. This directly revealed the education status of girls. Socio cultural factors had a great

impact on their values especially for girls since for them training in house hold chores and embroidery were of prime importance compared to formal education. It was important to note that artisans of Muslim community though deprived of formal education acquired knowledge of reading *Quran-e-Shareef* as a result; they could read *Arbi* and *Urdu* scripts. During field interrogation a slight improvement in their status of literacy was observed in past couple of years though conservatism still prevailed.

All the respondents irrespective of the communities owned either a *Kachha* or *Semi Pakka* houses. It was observed that the artisans possessing *Semi Pakka* house also possessed a *Kachha* house of one or two rooms known as *Bhunga*. Artisans also owned other assets like farm lands, cattle, vehicles and electronic as well as electrical equipments. In spite of being agriculturalists *Ahirs* owned little farming land compared to *Darbars* who were leading. This was on account of urbanisation that fetched good revenue for the land sold as admitted by respondents of all three *Ahir* communities. Communities including *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysipotra*, *Mutwa*, *Node*, *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Vagadiya Rabari* possessed cattle as cattle breeding was their occupation. It was noticed that quite a few communities owned various household appliances and electronic equipments specifically mobile phones which was an impact of urbanisation. Data pertaining to occupational status revealed that a substantial number of artisans worked for a Non-Government Organization (NGO). During the data collection only two Master *Karigars* existed under whom only few artisans worked which could be deduced on account of high payment rates, ease to work from home and regular orders. The other reason being the facility to provide the material at the artisans' doorsteps and getting it collected by the NGOs. Another important finding was that a large number of artisans embroidered for their personal use and did not select embroidery as a profession. Various factors were responsible for embroidery

not being pursued as a profession as explained by the artisans of various communities like insufficient consideration, dwelling far from taluka headquarters and lack of transportation.

Majority of the artisans were unaware about the plans designed by various GOs. Only 13.47 per cent were aware about Government initiatives, of which 2.91 per cent availed the benefit of the Government plans and 3.75 per cent artisans embroidered for Government in the past but discontinued due to unfriendly, lengthy and tedious procedures. Another 6.80 per cent artisans were unaware about the procedural formalities.

The data studied on the occupation of the family members reflected that family members of all the major communities like *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi potra*, *Node*, *Mutwa* and *Dhaneta Jat* were primarily engaged in cattle breeding whereas, communities like *Darbars*, *Parathariya Ahir*, *Boricha Ahir* and *Machoya Ahir* were occupied with farming. The statistics showed that family of majority artisans were occupied in cattle breeding and labour work followed by farming, coal making, driving, transportation and other jobs. A trend of shift in occupations by various communities was observed which could favorably or adversely affect the sustainability aspect of embroideries of Kutch.

As per the study a wide majority of the respondents' annual family income ranged between ₹. 24,000/- to ₹. 52,000/-. This was attributed to their occupation that was dependent on climatic conditions. A few earned between ₹. 1,18,000/- to ₹.1,36,000/- p.a. who were engaged in multiple occupations.

Study revealed that irrespective of the primary occupation embroidery was practiced by various communities of Kutch and it served as the supplementary source of

income. An important finding of the research stated that more than half of the total respondents sampled practised embroidery as a profession for a second source of income. It was further observed that the artisans who did not possess farming land or cattle adopted embroidery as their secondary occupation. Researcher was able to find five artisans who adopted embroidery as their primary source of income. These artisans were from *Darbar*, *Dhaneta jat*, *Node* and *Dhebariya Rabari* communities and worked for more than 12 hours per day. Amount of income earned through embroidery was directly related to artisans' embroidery skill, number of family members practicing embroidery as a secondary source of income and the payment offered by the respective client.

Artisans working commercially for long hours encountered occupational hazards i.e. backache, fatigue and ophthalmic problems. Artisans who practiced *Pakko suf* and *Kharek* on fine fabrics for commercial purpose were prone to deterioration of eye sight at an early age of 25 to 30 years. Artisans of *Boricha Ahir* explained that pregnant women underwent health problems and miscarriages due to seating for long hours while they embroidered.

5.3.4 Role of Government and Non-Government Organization

Results pertaining to the payment procedure and quality parameters unveiled the facts that artisans' group leader's opinion was important on deciding the payment to be made to the artisan for any product. Further it was found that as compared to GOs, NGOs set strict quality parameters in order to sustain the market value. If the embroidered product did not match the quality standards, artisans' payment was negatively affected.

The artisans further stated that their employers provided them with facilities including loan and advance payment.

The GOs and NGOs selected for the study were working on broad common objectives of income generation activities, preservation of craft and its promotion.

Central and State level organisations were operating their offices in Kutch with the objectives of successful implementation of promotional schemes for artisans emphasized on various schemes like skill recognition, skill up-gradation, financial assistance and marketing of products, welfare, research and development. It was found that majority of the artisans were unaware about the schemes as the information could not reach to the artisans due to lack of proper promotional measures. As a result only those artisans could avail the benefit who resided near the district head quarter where the office was located. It was suggested that folk media should be utilised as an aid in spreading the information pertaining to the facilities offered by these organisations and its procedural formality. Office of the GOs should be operative at taluka level which would facilitate the artisans in fetching the information on activities of the office.

Various NGOs availed the benefits of these schemes and trained the artisans who worked for them. Till the time of data collection 2500 to 3000 artisans were benefited to pursue training but majority of implementation was through NGO.

One GO under study recognized the skills of the craftsmen and awarded them to motivate and continue the craft to the next generation thereby, sustaining the craft. These artisans imparted training to other artisans. This pedagogy had its own advantage as knowledge and skills of the master craftsmen were shared with the community.

Workshop on design development were conducted by the NGOs where artisans discussed about the craft practiced in past and recalled the motifs and stitches. Process of design development sensitized the artisans towards their craft and younger generation of the artisans' family also got exposure. Appreciating own craft was a vital step towards craft revival.

Efforts were made by two NGOs to procure traditionally embroidered samples and its preservation.

During investigation on the efforts of the organizations it was found that one NGO initiated to impart formal education to the artisans on design process. This was an indication of change in artisans' role from skilled labourers to design experts in future.

Two of three NGOs under study involved artisans in each stage of production from designing to quality control to provide hands on experience.

It was found that GO and a few NGOs organized exhibitions across the country and marketed products through direct outlets. These exhibitions were organized both at domestic and international platforms. These organizations also provided opportunities to the artisans to demonstrate their skills and interact directly with the customers during exhibitions.

Importantly, two of the total organizations selected were found sensitive towards the health issues of the artisans. They educated artisans on various health problems, their precautions and cure.

5.3.5 Markets and Marketing Practices

Of the total only three artisans one each of *Parathariya Ahir*, *Dhebariya Rabari* and *Meghwar* communities sold their products directly in the Bhuj market. Majority of the artisans marketed their products through NGOs whereas; negligible number of artisans marketed their products through a platform provided by government organisations.

Four artisans one each from *Darbar*, *Mutwa* and two from *Meghwars* responded that they demonstrated their skills in the international fairs and workshops. Few artisans got an opportunity to design the products such as wall hangings, cushion covers and bags exclusively for international buyers. These incidences indicated promotion of artisans' skills at international platform.

On detailed evaluation, still majority of the artisans were working on job work with various stake holders. To overcome the problem Government should design and implement a work model where artisans can come in direct contact with the clients. As an experimental basis the model can be implemented in five villages which should include the education of design and marketing to the artisans. As quite a few numbers of artisans owned mobiles, there was an opportunity for them to interact with customers on mobile. Considering this fact the products embroidered by artisans can be displayed online on government portals with the artisans' cell phone numbers facilitating them to develop direct contact with the customers. Periodically the progress can be assessed by government officials and further assistance in terms of finance could be disbursed in proportion of the growth of artisans' business. By following this model artisans would get direct market opportunities without disturbing their social structure.

It is a fact that any craft could survive only if it has commercial value. But, in the case of Kutch embroideries it is essential that the craft should survive at domestic level equally, as embroidery is a traditional craft. Rendering design knowledge would motivate the artisans to understand the silhouette of their changed attire which may sustain the traditional embroidery being practised on their personal utility products along with being promoted commercially.

5.4 Implication of Study

- The primary objective of the study is to document the types of embroideries as a form of traditional craft with a view to preserve the intellectual capital as well as the rich aesthetic heritage of Kutch region of Gujarat. The study implies that as modified versions of today's embroideries being practiced are inspired from the traditional embroideries of yester years, similarly, the embroideries being employed today are the traditional craft of tomorrow. Its proper documentation and preservation will provide a robust platform for the artisans of next generation to learn their traditional work and carry forward the inheritance, thereby sustain the craft.
- The study would also give an insight to the various styles of traditional embroidery craft and provide information pertaining to traditional as well as existing motifs, stitches, threads, fabrics, placement, colour combinations etc. This will uncover the cultural and social rationale of the embroidery craft thereby provide an inspirational thrust to the neophytes, professional experts such as design magnate and academicians as well as craft appreciators.
- The investigation projects the present socio-economic conditions of the artisans and hurdles encountered by them in exploring the opportunities

available to expand markets for their products through the platform of GOs and NGOs. The study implies that this finding will furnish an intrinsic picture of the artisans' status and help GOs and NGOs to analyse the variance between the standard and actual achievement of their objectives which could be considered during policy formation and taking better measures for upliftment of artisans and craft.

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APPENDIX I

Prevailing Status of Kutch Embroideries and Artisans: Scope of Its Sustainability and Promotion

Interview schedule for the embroidery artisans

[I] Background information the artisans

1. Name: _____
2. Address: _____

3. Community: _____

[II] Craft Details

4. Types of embroidery practiced?
 - (A) Origin and History
5. How has this craft originated?
6. Do you own any samples made by your ancestors? Yes/No
If yes, how old are these samples?
- (B) Transfer of the skills:
 7. What are the influencing factors that made you to start the embroidery?
 - (a) Traditional craft handed down from one generation to other
 - (b) You were interested in the craft
 - (c) Anyone suggested you
 - (d) Your initial training
 - (e) It pays well
 - (f) Any other
 8. Who taught you this craft?
 - (a) Grand mother
 - (b) Mother
 - (c) Relatives
 - (d) Self learning
 - (e) Training
 - (f) Any other
 9. At what age did you start working on this craft? _____ Years.
 10. Number of family members engaged in craft _____

11. Have you received any formal training of the craft? Yes/No

If yes, give details

Type of training	Agency/institution giving training	Duration

12. How has the training helped?

- (a) Increase production
- (b) Increase income
- (c) Produce better quality goods
- (d) Reduce wastage
- (e) Produce new designs
- (f) New technique to increase speed
- (g) To use new materials
- (h) Any other, please specify

(A) Motifs, Stitches and Materials

(a) Motifs

13. Enlist the motifs used earlier and the significance for using it, if any
Who provide the motifs? _____

14. Do you have the choice of motifs and colours? Yes/No
If No, who gives the specifications? _____

15. Have you introduced any new designs or colours? Yes/No
If yes, from where? _____

16. Do you often change the traditional motifs? _____

17. Are you ready to adapt the new design and latest trends?

If yes, give reason _____

If no, give reason _____

18. Are you getting any professional help terms of designs or techniques from institutes like NIFT/NID? _____

19. Details of the motifs used at present

Sr.No.	Types of motifs	House hold	Catering to the market		
			Local	Domestic	Foreign
1	Animal				
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					
2	Bird				
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					

3	Human				
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					
4	Floral and leaf				
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					
5	Mythological				
(a)					
(b)					
(c)					
(d)					
(e)					

20. Explain in brief: criteria for selection of the motifs

21. Explain the criteria for arrangement of the motifs

(b) Details of the stitches used

- i. _____
- ii. _____
- iii. _____
- iv. _____
- v. _____

22. No. of stitches per inch

(c) Details regarding procuring the raw materials

Type of raw material	House hold use	Catering to the market			Procured from				
		local	domestic	foreign	Manufactured at home	Purchased form			
Fabric used									

Threads used										
Needles used										
Beads used										
Mirrors used										
Other										

(d) Colours and colour combinations

23. What were the colours earlier used for embroidering?
24. Do they have any significance/ Yes/NO
If yes, specify

Details of colours and colour combinations	House hold use	Catering to the market			Significance(if any)
		local	domestic	foreign	
Colours of the fabric					
Colours of the threads					

Colours of the beads					
Fabric and threads					
Thread to thread					
Motifs and threads					

- 25. Do you follow the fashion in selecting the colours?
- 26. Do you select the colours your own or as per the customer’s specifications?

(e) Details of the production processes

Processes	House hold use	Catering to the market		
		Local	Domestic	Forgein
Designing				
Tracing				

28. What kind of assistance you need from the government to develop the craft?
- Financial assistance from the government
 - Providing raw material on subsidized rates.
 - Purchasing the finished products from artisans
 - Improve the marketing facilities for the products
 - Provide training n new designs and processes
 - Provide old age pensions
 - Any other, please specify _____
 - No idea

[III] Socio Economic Conditions of the artisans

29. Age: _____
30. Gender: _____
31. Religion _____
32. Mother tongue: _____
33. Marital status.
- Unmarried
 - Married
 - Separated
 - Widow
- (a) Family Compositions
34. Type of family: (a) Joint (b) Nuclear
35. Number of members in the family _____
36. Furnish the details about your family members

Sr. No.	Family members			Occupation		
	Men	Woman	Children	Embroidery	Other	Non-working
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						

- (b) Educational Status
37. Language spoken: _____
38. Educational qualification: (a). Literate (b). Illiterate
- If literate:
- Primary
 - Secondary
 - Higher secondary
 - Graduate
 - Any other
- (c) Occupations of the artisans:
- Independent embroider
 - Working for master karigar
 - Working for Government Organization
 - Working for Non Government Organization
 - Master karigar (Self)
 - Embroidery not practicing commercially

- (d) Assests and Income
39. Do you possess:
- Land
 - House
 - Radio/T.V./V.C.R/Mobile Phone
 - Cattles
40. Give particulars of house/shelter:
- Kachha
 - Semi pakka
 - Pakka
41. Total family income/annum
42. Total income from the other sources/annum, if any
43. Total income from the craft/month:
44. Is embroidery the only source of income in the family?
If yes, total income from the craft/month
- If no, what are the other sources of income in the family? Total income from the other sources/annum
- (e) Financial condition of the artisan
45. Have you taken any loans/debts? (a).Yes (b).No
If yes, how many loans you have taken? _____
46. Amount of loan taken _____
47. Duration of loan?
48. Rate of interest to be paid on loan amount? Rs. _____ per month
49. The source from where you took the loan?
50. Give reasons why took the loan? _____
- (f) Problems faced by the artisans
- Raw materials
 - Production
 - Payment
 - Institutional financing
 - Occupational hazards
- [IV] Role of Government and Non Government Organisations
- (a) Details of the payment procedure
51. Who decides the amount of payment?
- Self
 - Group leader
 - GO/NGO team
52. How do you receive the payment?
(Daily wages, depending up on the type and intricacy of the work)
53. At what time duration you collect the payment from the organization?
- (b) Quality control

54. What kind of quality measures you are following
55. Does it affect your payment?
If yes, list the measures considered
- a)
 - b)
 - c)
 - d)
56. What kind of care you take to maintain the quality?
- (c) Facilities provided by the organization
57. Are you aware about the facilities/aid provided by your organisation?
If, Yes, list the facilities provided (Pension, Provident fund, insurance, Medical allowances, Loans, Advance payment etc.)
- a)
 - b)
 - c)
 - d)
58. Does your organization provide you any roof or work station for embroidery?
59. Does your organization help getting aid from other sources? (eg. Banks, government)
If yes, how?
- (d) Enlist the terms and conditions you have to follow
- (e) Information and view for other organizations
60. Are you aware about any similar kind of organization?
If yes

[V] Markets and Marketing Practices

(a) Marketing channels and venue to sell the product

Sr. No.	Marketing channels	Venue					Quantity	Value
		Exhibition	Permanent shop	Weekly market	Daily market	Gram haat		
A.	Direct marketing							
1.	Local							
2.	Within state							
3.	Out side state							
4.	Out side country							
B.	Indirect marketing							
1.	Middle men							
2.	Master karigar							

3.	Local handicraft mechants							
4.	Co-operative society							
5.	Government organisation							
6.	Non- government organization							
7.	Any-other							
8.	None							

61. When do you have high demand for your products?

APPENDIX-II

Selection of artisans as per their embroideries, communities and villages

COMMUNITY	VILLAGE	TALUKA	TOTAL ARTISANS	EMBROIDERIES OF KUTCH											
				PAKKO			KACCHO					MUKKO	AHIR	RABARI	MISC
				PAKKO	SUF	KHAREK	NERAN	SUF	KHAREK/KATRI	KAMBHIRA	KHUDI SEBHA				HORAMJI/BAVALIYO/GOTAV
HALAY POTRA	HODKO	BHUJ	16	16			16	3	10	10	16	16			16
	SADAI	BHUJ	20	20	-	-	20	1	10	7	20	20			20
PATHAN	JARARWADI	BHUJ	10	10			2	2		5	5	10			10
	MADAN	BHUJ	15	15			3	3	10	10	16	16			16
RAYSI POTRA	BHIRANDIYARA	BHUJ	30				30	30	30	3	3	30			30
	GHADIYARO	BHUJ	3	3			3	3	3			3			3
NODE	CHAKARMORA	BHUJ	18	18			10	18		1	18				18
	LAKHARA	BHUJ	20	20			8	20		3	20				20
DARBAR	ASAPAR	LAKHPAT	20	20	3	3	20		20						
	ZURA	BHUJ	90	90	15	15	90		90						
MEGHWAR	KHAVADA	BHUJ	25	25	3	3	25		25	5	25				25
	RUDRAMATA	BHUJ	10	10	1	1	10		10	3	10				10
MUTWA	GOREVALI	BHUJ	18	18					8		18				
	FULAY	NAKHATRANA	12	12					7		12				12
SINDHIMEMON	KHARA KUWA	RAPAR	10	10			10					10			
	BHASVAV	BHACHAU	15	15			15					15			
DHANETA JAT	TAL	NAKHATRANA	20	20											
	LAYYYARI	NAKHATRANA	18	18											
FAKIRANI JAT	GUGADIYANA	LAKHPAT	5	5											
	LAKKI	LAKHPAT	18	18											
GARASIA JAT	SUMRASAR JATWALI	BHUJ	21	21											
	VIRANI NANI	LAKHPAT	50	50											2
PARATHARIYA AHIR	DHANETI	BHUJ	45										45		45
	HABAI	BHUJ	19										19		19
MACHHOYA AHIR	MITHIROHAR	GANHDIDHAM	18										18		18
	RAYDHANPAR	BHUJ	15										15		15
BORICHA AHIR	MEGHPAR	ANJAR	30										30		30
	KANYABA	BHUJ	4										4		4
KUTCHI RABARI	BHUJODI	BHUJ	30											30	30
	GHODA LAKH	NAKHATRANA	24											24	24
DHEBARIYA RABARI	BHADROI	ANJAR	20											20	20
	MARINGANA	ANJAR	15											15	15
VAGADIYA RABARI	GAMDAU	BHACHAU	18											18	18
	HARANA	BHACHAU	18											18	18
TOTAL			720	434	22	22	252	80	223	47	163	120	131	125	438

Glossary of Terms

Aad – A satin stitch using counting thread method.

Aank - Outline done with compact open chain stitch.

Aanu – A colloquial term for the gift ceremony post wedding.

Aarekhani - An outline of the motif by the artisans of *Ahirs* community.

Aath khuiye vali butti – A type of circular motif embroidered with eight corners.

Abhlo - A colloquial term used for mirror by *Ahirs*.

Achhe jo Khan – A colloquial term used for back stitch

Adadho – A colloquial term for half.

Addhad – A colloquial term meaning half.

Adh butti - A floral motif embroidered by *Garacia* and *Fakirani Jat*.

Adh-kanti - A colloquial term used for buttonhole stitch amongst *Ahirs* was embroidered to ornament the mirror.

Akhiyo – A face mask worn by brides during weddings ceremony.

Ambo – A colloquial term used for Mango tree.

Andhari - A colloquial term used for head gear.

Asal – A colloquial term used for real.

Asharafi – A motif embroidered with small triangles placed in radial order.

Ath handa valo gul - *Handa valo gul* motif repeated eight times.

Baay – A colloquial term used for sleeves.

Bachado pitado – A type of motif embroidered by *Sindhi Memon*.

Badam - A colloquial term used for almond.

Badami farua - A type of motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Badami pitado - A type of motif embroidered by *Sindhi Memon*.

Baju bandh - A colloquial term used for the ornament worn on upper arm.

Baliyaj – A type of border embroidered.

Bandh – A colloquial term used for border.

Bandh nu Dhoran – *Dhoran* motif placed on the bust in between the borders.

Bandhyo - Framing of interlacing stitch amongst *Mutwa* community.

Batti – A colloquial term used for two or double.

Batti Kharek – Two *Kharek* motifs placed together.

Batto – A colloquial term used for double or two.

Bavalio – A local term used for a thorny plant known as *Baval*.

Bharat – A colloquial term for embroidery.

Bherni bandh – A type of border design or motif.

Bhindhudi Kharek ji butti. - Motif initiated with triangle, followed by diamond and again triangle placed upside down.

Bhirani – A shape embroidered using buttonhole stitch

Bhooli – A colloquial term for nose pin worn by the newly wedded bride of *Node* community.

Bhori ful - A type of floral motif embroidered by various communities inspired from the flower of berry tree.

Bhori ji buti – A type of *Butti* motif.

Bhori jo ful – A type of floral motif embroidered by *Node* community inspired from nose pins.

Bhuli ji butti – A type of motif inspired from a nose pin known as *bhooli*.

Bido – A circular motif inspired from the buttons made of thread.

Bo – A colloquial term used for two.

Bujaki – A colloquial term used for a purse.

Butti or *Butah* – A type of motif embroidered by combining the segments of various units such as flower, stem and leaf.

Chag - The whole composition of a bunch of thread held with stitches.

Chakali - A colloquial term used for sparrow. A type of embroidery inspired from sparrow.

Chakkan or *Chikan* - A type of curved petal floral motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Chakki – A motif composed of eight rhomboids.

Chambh tak – Placement of mirrors in diagonal checked format.

Chandar – A circular motif inspired from moon.

Char buti no gul – A type of floral motif with four buds.

Chhe tang wala farua – A type of motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Chher – A colloquial term used for infinite or never ending.

Cho bandhi - A colloquial term for 'all four sides closed'.

Chokadi valo faruo - A type of motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Chokdi - A colloquial term used for square.

Chopad – A colloquial term for four directional pattern.

Chuur - Romanian stitches close to each other.

Daal – A branch shaped motif.

Daano - A colloquial term for *Lazy daisy* stitch.

Dabala bandh – A *Dabli* motif used in border.

Dabali – A type of circular motif. A colloquial term used for precious container.

Dedavo - A wide curvy linear arrangements inspired by amulet.

Dhari – A circular motif around mirror representing axel of the wheel.

Dhevo, Ghagho or *Churi* - A yoke to be attached to their upper garment of the ladies.

Dhingli – A colloquial term used for a doll.

Dhoran – A type of geometric motif embroidered in *Pakko* embroidery.

Dhungo – A type of circular motif embroidered by *Ahir* community.

Farai – Colloquial term for seed pod.

Farmatado – A motif inspired from circular movement of the coin.

Farua – A colloquial term used for the motif used in between mirrors by *Mutwa* community.

Ful - A floral motif embroidered by various communities.

Fuladi – A type of circular motif formed with triangles in radial repeats.

Fulda – A type of circular motif made up with repetition of triangles.

Gaaj no tanko – A button hole stitch to embroidery mirrors.

Gajji silk - fabric used for *Kanjari* worked with *Pakko* embroidery whereas, for *PakkoSuf* and *Kharek* medium weight cotton fabric was used.

Ghagro or *Pehrnu* – Ladies lower garment.

Ghar – a colloquial term used to depict house.

Gheni – A colloquial term used for a coin.

Gheta sing - A motif embroidered by *Jat* community inspired by the horns of sheep.

Ghodi – A motif embroidered that depicted the ladder used in farms.

Ghodi – A motif inspired from the ladder used in farms.

Gidhari khinch – Satin Stitch inspired from a worm.

Gingri – A type of border embroidered. A colloquial term used for bell.

Gol ful - A type of circular floral motif with nine petals embroidered on *Kanjari* by *Raysi potra* artisans.

Golaido – A circular motif inspired by the leaf of a vegetable creeper, Little Gourd.

Goto - A type of circular motif embroidered by *Ahir* community.

Gotyo – term used for embroidering frame of interlacing stitch amongst *Mutwa* community.

Guli – A type of floral motif embroidery.

Haathi uper ambadi - A motif representing Elephant with howdah.

Handa – A colloquial term used for half circular shape embroidered by *Sindhi Memon*.

Handa valo gul – A type of motif embroidered by repetition of *Handa*.

Harana – A motif inspired from deer's head.

Horamji, Bavalio, Gotav – A style of embroidery practised.

Jaat – A colloquial term used for diamond shapes with zigzag outline placed to form a square shape and mirror was placed in the inner portion of square.

Jaat tak – A type of motif embroidered by *Jat* community.

Jhaad – A colloquial term used for tree.

Jim vala farua - A type of motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Kachho Suf – A style of embroidery practised by *Mutwa* community.

Kagar – A type of motif embroidered with series of triangles arranged.

Kagar gulio – an embroidered ornamentation with broken or continuous circle with buttonhole stitch.

Kagde ja pag – A colloquial term used meaning legs of the crow.

Kambhira – A square motif formed with zigzag lines.

Kambhira and *khudi sebha*

Kanak – A colloquial term used for wheat grain.

Kandh ni gani - A band wrapped on the shoulder of horse.

Kanio – A colloquial term used for grain.

Kanjari - Ladies' upper garment.

Kanti - Combination of couching and chain stitches.

Kanudo – A motif depicting lord *Krishna*.

Kapadu - A colloquial term used for fabric.

Katri – A type of square motif embroidered with line of white chequered pattern.

Khadpa – A colloquial term used for side panels.

Khajano – A vernacular term meaning a treasure.

Khanp - A colloquial term used for mirror by *Rabaris*.

Kharek – A colloquial term used for date. A type of motif embroidered inspired from date.

Kharek ji butti – Motif formed by a cluster of *Kharek* motifs.

Kharek ji sar or *Katariye ji sar* - Borders made of *Kharek* motifs.

Kharek jo bandh – A border embroidered using *Kharek* motifs.

Khich wala farua - A type of motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Khil ful – A motif with an arrangement of various squares embroidered in such a way that it was creating an image of a flower.

Khinch – Square chain stitches.

Khoti fuladi - A floral motif embroidered by *Jats* community.

Khudi – A diamond shaped Motif.

Khudi valo faruo - A type of motif embroidered by Mutwa community.

Kodadiyado bandh - A type of border design or motif inspired by conch shell.

Kodi – A type of motif inspired from conch shell.

Kothali - A rectangular bag used for various purposes.

Kula – A colloquial term used for shoulder.

Kula nu dhoran – *Dhoran* motif placed on shoulders.

Kundha – A colloquial term used for shape resembling half circle.

Kundhe ji butti – Formation of entire *Butti* with various placement of *Kundha*.

Kungri valo phul – A type of floral motif embroidered by *Halay potra* and *Rayasi potra* communities.

Lakhatar – An outline of the motif by the artisans of *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi Potra*, *Node*, *Mutwa*, *Sindhi Memon*, *Jat* and *Rabari*.

Ler – A colloquial term used for waves.

Limbodi aako – A motif embroidered by *Jat* community inspired from the fruit of neem tree.

Ludi - A colloquial term used for *Veil* amongst *Rabaris*.

Macchi – A colloquial term used for fish. A type of embroidery inspired from fish.

Makodiyo – A motif used to fill up the gap in between the borders.

Mandi chopad – A floral motif embroidered by *Dhaneta Jat* community.

Mod – A face mask worn by the groom during wedding ceremony.

Mod – A motif embroidered of a large triangle that constituted of triangles or rhomboids.

Molado - A type of motif embroidered by *Mutwa* community inspired by wooden pestle.

Mor – A type of motif representing peacock embroidered by *Darbar* and *Meghwar* community.

Mukko - A style of embroidery employed by various communities of *Kutch*.

Nade ja gul – A type of geometrical eight petal floral motif.

Nade ji butti – A type of *Butti* motif.

Nanadi – Colloquial term to denote smaller size motif by *Halay potra* and *Raysi potra* communities.

Nariyel – A type of motif inspired from coconut.

Neran – A triangular geometrical shaped motif embroidered.

Neran ji nanadi butti – A smaller *Neran* motif.

Neran jo bandh – A border using *Neran* motif.

Neran jo gul - A circular *Neran* motif.

Odhani or *Chundadi* – A colloquial term used for *Veil* amongst *Ahirs*.

Oontdo – A colloquial term used for camel. A motif inspired from camel.

Padhadiyaro bandh - A type of border similar to *Gingri* embroidered by *Meghwar* community.

Paida – A type of motif inspired by or representing shape of wheel.

Pakhadi - A type of motif embroidered by *Sindhi Memon*.

Pakke jo ful – A type of floral motif embroidered with mirror in centre encircled by 15 to 23 petals.

Pakko - A style of embroidery employed by various communities of Kutch. The term is derived from strength of the embroidery.

Pandada – A colloquial term used for leaves.

Pandada – A colloquial term used to express leaves.

Paniari - A colloquial term for stylised depiction of lady's head loaded with earthen pots filled with water.

Panj – A colloquial term used for Five.

Panj fangiya vali butti – A type of *Butti* motif with five sections.

Pat or *Sani* – A colloquial term used for untwisted silk thread.

Pehrnu - A draped garment worn by *Rabaris*.

Pet – A colloquial term used for Basque panel.

Phalli – A colloquial term used for pod.

Phool - A type of circular motif embroidered by *Ahir* community.

Popati - A type of motif inspired from earrings.

Raano bandh – A type of motif representing a king in a jail.

Riraniya – A type of motif embroidered by *Jat* community.

Sachi fuladi – A floral motif embroidered by *Garacia* and *Fakirani Jats*.

Sald – A term used for added fullness at bust level in *Kanchali* of *Ahir* and *Rabari* communities

Sankali - A colloquial term used to express chain stitch among the community.

Sar – A colloquial term used for border by *Mutwa* community.

Sat tak valo gul – A type of motif embroidered with seven mirrors in circular manner.

Satti - A women who offers herself to the funeral fire of her deceased husband.

Shravan Kavadiyo – A motif embroidered by The *Rabaris* depicting a story from mythology.

Sinye nu ful – A type of floral motif embroidered by *Sindhi Memon* with white colour only.

Suda – A colloquial term used a Parakeet.

Suf – A colloquial term used for triangle shape.

Suf ja ful – A seven petal floral motif with diamond shaped petals.

Suf ji butti – A motif embroidered with radial arrangement of eight rhomboids.

Sufadi – A motif embroidered by placing diamond shape over a triangle.

Suttar – A colloquial term used for cotton thread.

Tadi – A colloquial term for a leaf like shape.

Tadi valo gul – A motif embroidered by circular arrangement of the triangular leaf like shape.

Tadi walo gul – A type of motif created by repeating *Tadi*.

Tak - A colloquial term used for mirror.

Tak – *Halay potra*, *Pathan*, *Raysi Potras*, *Node*, *Mutwa*, *Sindhi memon*, *Darbar* and *Meghwar* communities.

Takfarua – A colloquial term used for border by *Mutwa* community.

Tana nu dhoran - *Dhoran* motif placed above bust.

Tanu - The yoke joined above bust.

Tevrani ful – A type of floral motif embroidered by *Sindhi Memon* community inspired from the regional flower grown in Sindh.

Tor – A local term used meaning tassels.

Toran – A colloquial term for door hanging.

Tre fangdi wali chakkan ji butti – A floral motif arrangement with three petals often used with *butti* by *Mutwa* community.

Tre fangiye vali butti - A type of *Butti* motif with five sections.

Tre khune valo ful - A type of floral motif with three petals embroidered.

Tri khuni tak - Triangular shaped mirrors used by *Rabaris*.

Vaano – A colloquial term for herring bone stitch.

Vadi – Colloquial term to denote bigger size motif by *Halay potra* and *Raysi potra* communities.

Vanjnu - A lower garment of *Ahirs*' wedding dress.

Vinchi – A colloquial term used for scorpion.

Zarmar – A type of motif inspired from the necklace worn by *Sindhi Memon* community.

Table 4.1b Fabric and threads colours used by artisans

Colour Community	Green		Red		Blue		Yellow		Crimson		Black		Gold & Silver	
	Fabric	Thread	Fabric	Thread	Fabric	Thread	Fabric	Thread	Fabric	Thread	Fabric	Thread	Fabric	Thread
<i>Halay potra</i>	√	√		√		√		√	√	√		√		√
<i>Pathan</i>	√	√		√		√		√	√	√		√		√
<i>Raysi potra</i>	√	√		√		√		√	√	√		√		√
<i>Node</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		
<i>Darbar</i>	√	√	√	√		√		√		√		√		
<i>Meghwar</i>	√	√	√	√		√	√	√		√		√		√
<i>Mutwa</i>	√	√		√		√		√	√	√		√		√
<i>Sindhi memon</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√		√		√
<i>Dhaneta Jat</i>		√	√	√		√		√		√		√		
<i>Fakirani Jat</i>		√	√	√		√		√		√		√		
<i>Garacia Jat</i>		√	√	√		√		√		√		√		
<i>Ahir</i>	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√		
<i>Rabari</i>	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√	√	√		√