2018

Balancing local tradition and global influences: Design and business education for traditional artisans in Kachchh, India

Ruth Clifford

Nottingham Trent University, Ruth.clifford@ntu.ac.uk

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf>

Part of the [Art and Materials Conservation Commons](#), [Art Practice Commons](#), [Fashion Design Commons](#), [Fiber, Textile, and Weaving Arts Commons](#), [Fine Arts Commons](#), and the [Museum Studies Commons](#)

Clifford, Ruth, "Balancing local tradition and global influences: Design and business education for traditional artisans in Kachchh, India" (2018). *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*. 1075.

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/1075>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Textile Society of America at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

The Social Fabric: Deep Local to Pan Global

**Textile Society of America 16th Biennial Symposium
Vancouver, Canada — September 19-23, 2018**

Published in *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings 2018*

Presented at Vancouver, BC, Canada; September 19 – 23, 2018

<https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/>

Copyright © by the author(s).

Balancing local tradition and global influences: Design and business education for traditional artisans in Kachchh, India

Ruth Clifford

PhD Candidate, Nottingham Trent University

Supervisors: Dr Eiluned Edwards and Dr Naomi Braithwaite

Ruth.clifford@ntu.ac.uk/ruth@travelsintextiles.com

This paper draws upon current PhD research which analyses the recent development of design education for hereditary artisans in India with a specific focus on handloom weaving. It focuses on case studies of two institutes: Somaiya Kala Vidya (SKV) (and its predecessor Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya) in Kachchh district, western India, and The Handloom School in Maheshwar, Madhya Pradesh. This paper focuses specifically on SKV and the weavers of Kachchh. It weaves together data collected from ethnographic case study fieldwork, with sociological and anthropological theories of craft learning, knowledge and social mobility, to show the ways in which design education for hereditary artisans can challenge dualisms between informal and formal knowledge, and hierarchies between ‘artisans’ and ‘designers.’ I will also demonstrate the ways in which graduates innovate within their traditional knowledge set and repertoire of designs to meet the tastes of high-end urban and global markets.

In Kachchh, handloom is an important part of the economy, culture and social life of the weaving community. Cloth communicates both the maker’s and wearer’s identity, and weavers hold a deep sense of duty and pride in their profession as weavers, as these comments made by two weavers from Bhujodi village in Kachchh demonstrate:

‘We have it in our blood. You can’t throw out what’s in your blood. You have this feeling for the work, which comes from your heart. If a family member leaves for a month, we feel something is missing. Our work is also like our family member.’¹

‘We don’t just make clothes, we put life into clothes. That’s what we do.’²

Today the handloom industry is the second-largest employment provider in rural India after agriculture, employing over four million people.³ From the nineteenth century onwards, the handloom industry experienced decline due to a variety of factors, including the imported and local mechanised imitations of handloomed cloth, the centralisation and mechanisation of ancillary industries such as spinning and cotton cleaning, and the stagnation of agriculture which co-existed with handloom processes. During the campaigns for freedom from colonial rule, nationalist-led historical discourse presented weavers and other traditional artisans as

¹ P. Siju, KRV and SKV graduate, Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 1 August, 2016.

² S. Vishram Valji, Master weaver, Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 3 August, 2016.

³ ‘Handloom Census of India 2009 - 2010,’ New Delhi: Development Commissioner (Handlooms) Ministry of Textiles Government of India.

poor victims of the damage done by colonialism and industrialisation. However, studies in the last two decades such as those by economic historian Tirthankar Roy, show that these discourses tended to ignore the agency of local actors and their capabilities to adapt and innovate.⁴ Roy argues that the situation for weavers was more nuanced, and that materials, designs and technology were adapted to best suit product specialisms and changing markets. Ignoring grassroots realities of weavers risks positioning handloom and handloom weavers as either marginalised, poor and exploited; or symbols of tradition, based on idealised visions of pre-industrial village life.⁵ This in turn limits the potential of handloom to provide sustainable and valuable livelihoods.

A context of design education in India

In early modern India, (c16th to c19th), the main form of education for artisans was informal, learning from a family member in the household, or under apprenticeship with a master artisan. Crafts in urban areas were patronised by state rulers and in rural areas by local clients. The majority of artisans in India were considered to have low status according to the caste system and would largely be excluded from literary education.⁶ Formal art and technical schools founded by the British government, aimed, on the one hand, to preserve traditional arts influenced by Arts and Crafts ideals, and on the other, to modernise technologies for increasing efficiency along the lines of industrialisation. By separating ‘technical’ education from ‘fine art’ education, the British divided society in accordance with economic and political needs.⁷

The contradiction between modernising industries and preserving traditional indigenous arts, as argued in depth by Dewan and McGowan, continued into independent India, as while crafts became symbols of national identity, nationalism was also an impetus to industrial growth, championed by the Prime Minister of newly independent India, Jawaharlal Nehru.⁸ While Gandhi encouraged every household to hand-spin their own yarn during his *swadeshi* (self-rule) campaigns, imitations of *khadi* (cloth hand-woven from hand-spun yarn) were produced in the burgeoning mills of Ahmedabad and Bombay.⁹ The majority of the independent government’s educational initiatives for handloom weavers involved training in new skills or technologies in order to increase efficiency and compete with powerlooms and mills.

⁴ Roy Tirthankar, *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India*, *Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 67.

⁵ Mamidipudi, Sayamasundari and Biker, Mobilising Discourses: Handloom as Sustainable Socio-Technology.” *Economic and Political Weekly* 47 (2012), 25.

⁶ Midhu Singh, “Educational Practice in India and Its Foundations in Indian Heritage: A Synthesis of the East and West?” *Comparative Education* Vol 49, No. 1, (2013): 88–106.

⁷ Abigail McGowan, 2009. *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India* (Dewan, Deepali, Palgrave Macmillan. 2001), “Crafting Knowledge and Knowledge of Crafts: Art Education, Colonialism and the Madras School of Arts in Nineteenth-Century South Asia.” Minnesota: University of Minnesota.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ S. R. B. Leadbeater, 1993. *The Politics of Textiles. The Indian Cotton-Mill Industry and the Legacy of Swadeshi, 1900 – 1985* (New Delhi, California, London, Sage Publications, 1993).

On the other hand, where design input was required to make handloom products relevant in distant markets, it was largely provided by graduates from the newly emerging urban design institutes.¹⁰ The first was the National Institute of Design (NID) founded in 1961, just over a decade after independence. Ghose describes the first swathes of design school graduates emerging in the 1970s, as ‘designer stars,’ who claimed individual ownership of a design even if it incorporated skills and workmanship of traditional craftspeople.¹¹ This reinforced a class divide between designer and artisan causing the reduction of the status of the artisan to labourer.¹²

Weaving in Kachchh

Map of western India showing location of Kachchh (Google, 2018)

¹⁰ At this time export markets were targeted, but later on in the 1990s when the economy was liberalised opportunities in urban markets increased, see: Khaire, 2017. “The Indian Fashion Industry and Traditional Indian Crafts.” *The Business History Review* 85 (2): 345–66.

¹¹ Rahjeswari Ghose, “Design, Development, Culture and Cultural Legacies in Asia,” in *The Idea of Design*, edited by Margolin and Buchanan, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1995), 187–203.

¹² Alicia Ory and Lane DeNicola, “Rescue and Redemption: Design Schools, Traditional Craft and the Nation-State in Contemporary India,” *Cultural Studies* 26, No. 6 (2012), 787–813.

Detail map of Kachchh showing villages inhabited by a significant number of weavers and the SKV campus, and where fieldwork was conducted

The Vankars (surname literally translates to ‘weaver’) of Kachchh are members of the Dalit Meghwal community.¹³ In the past, Vankars held long-standing relationships with local farming communities, bound by the exchange of cloth woven by the Vankars in return for dairy products and sheep wool.¹⁴ This market declined as cheaper alternatives became available. Woven products include the *dhablo*, men's blanket, *pagri*, turban, and for women, the *ludi*, veil cloth and skirt material.

From the 1970s onwards, designers working with Gujarat State Handicraft Development Corporation as well as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and commercial enterprises began entering the region to adapt crafts for urban markets. After the devastating earthquake of 2001, there was heavy investment in the area, and the region became more visible worldwide. Kachchh today receives large numbers of tourists, craft enthusiasts and buyers from all over India and the world, and many craftspeople from Kachchh travel across India and some, the world, to sell and showcase their craft.

Somaiya Kala Vidya (SKV) and Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya (KRV)

One initiative that emerged out of the post-earthquake relief as a way to support craft industries, and challenge the artisan-designer divide, was Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya (KRV), a design school for artisans. It was founded in 2005 by Judy Frater, 12 years after founding Kala Raksha Trust.¹⁵ In 2014, Frater took the curriculum to a new institute, Somaiya Kala Vidya (SKV) named after primary sponsor the Somaiya group, a large family-run corporation hailing from Kachchh. The curriculum consists of six 2-week courses spread over one year:

¹³ Dalit literally translates to ‘oppressed’ and was the term applied to historically subjugated groups in India by anti-caste campaigner Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar.

¹⁴ V. Valji, Retired master weaver: Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 2 August 2016; Eiluned Edwards, *Textiles and Dress of Gujarat*, (Ahmedabad, London: Mappin Publishing Pvt. Ltd in association with V&A Publishing, 2011).

¹⁵ Frater founded Kala Raksha Trust with Prakash Bhanani in Sumerasar village in 1991, Kutch to preserve and promote the traditional arts of the region.

Basic Design, Colour, Marketing, Concept Development, Finishing, and Presentation and Merchandising, all taught in Gujarati or Hindi. Students number ten to fifteen in each batch, and include block printers, *bandhani* (tie-dye) artisans, weavers, and embroiderers. Visiting faculty are professional designers working in industry, mostly graduates of urban design schools such as NID. There are also permanent faculty who are artisan-graduates of KRV or SKV, and work as intermediaries between the students and visiting faculty. The course ends in a jury before a fashion show and convocation ceremony.

Methodology

I combined ethnographic and case study methodology over a variety of geographical locations, to address the ways in which the students and graduates of the institute are traversing the globalised and cosmopolitan spaces of the home, village and urban high-end market spaces in both India and abroad. I conducted direct and participant observation and interviews to capture the lived experiences of students and graduates of the two institutes, as well as faculty, stakeholders, collaborating designers and buyers and other key figures in Indian craft development. Visual ethnography in the form of photography and video documentation, along with the study of physical artefacts, has enabled a rich insight into the ways the weavers learn, analysis of whether what participants do corroborates with what they say, as well as giving a broader multi-sensory dimension to the data.

Embodied knowledge

If asked how or when a weaver learnt their skills, he or she is likely to answer, ‘it is our *parampara* (tradition),’ or ‘it’s in our blood.’ The majority of hereditary weavers involved in this study, and indeed across weaving clusters in India, are surrounded by weaving from birth, and learning is an inherent part of growing up. The practice is transmitted from generation to generation by what Lave and Wenger term ‘legitimate peripheral participation.’¹⁶ Through this process weavers learn not only the process of weaving, but also the socio-cultural practices and principles of their community. These practices and principles constitute what Bourdieu terms the ‘habitus,’ which is distinct to ‘habit,’ in that practices are not merely mechanical reproductions of what has gone before, rather they are fluid and adaptable.¹⁷ Thus, in the habitus, each weaver seeks to develop new solutions within the bounds of tradition, to support the continuity of the craft, which involves adapting to changes in society, markets, technology and other influences on the weaver’s (or other skilled worker’s) work. Economist Amit Basole, who has done extensive research with weavers in Varanasi,¹⁸ calls this knowledge *lokavidya*, which can be translated as ‘knowledge in society’ or ‘people’s knowledge.’¹⁹ Because the skills of craftspeople in India have not earned them a

¹⁶ Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 29.

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 78.

¹⁸ Amit Basole, “Informality and Flexible Specialization: Labour Supply, Wages, and Knowledge Flows in an Indian Artisanal Cluster,” *Development and Change* 47, No. 1 (2014); “Authenticity, Innovation and the Geographical Indication in an Artisanal Industry: The Case of the Banarasi Sari,” *The Journal of World Intellectual Property* 18, Vol. 304, (2015).

¹⁹ Amit Basole, “The Skilled and The Schooled: India’s Struggles over What Counts as Knowledge,” *The Caravan: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, January, 2018, <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reviews-essays/india-struggle-knowledge/2>.

formal qualification, this *lokavidya* goes widely unrecognised by writers of government policies to ‘skill India’ or even those working with well-meaning craft development initiatives, most of whom have been formally educated in school or college.

Weaver-designer Rajesh Vishram Valji at the loom. Photograph: Shradha Jain

Apprenticeship and blending different types of knowledge

Part of my methodology involved undertaking an apprenticeship in weaving in the workshop of master weaver Shamji Vishram Valji, led by some of the graduates of SKV in Bhujodi village. The decision to learn handloom weaving was informed by a statement made by my interpreter in Maheshwar, also a weaver, that ‘weavers don’t talk much about their work, they just do it,’²⁰ as well as by anthropological studies of craft knowledge and skill, where apprenticeship has been ‘rediscovered as a prime site for connecting theories of knowing and practical doing.’²¹ The apprenticeship lasted just a month, which was not at all long enough to reach the same level of skill as my teachers. However, it gave me the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the ‘paths that lead to mastery,’ facilitated conversations with weavers, and provided a space for getting to know better the rhythms and routine of the village.²²

²⁰ G. Kanere, Master weaver and English teacher: Personal conversation with Ruth Clifford, 6 July, 2016.

²¹ Trevor Marchand, “Muscles, Morals and Mind: Craft Apprenticeship and the Formation of Person.” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 56 No. 3, 2008), 246.

²² Greg Downey, Monica Dalidowicz, and Paul H. Mason, “Apprenticeship as Method: Embodied Learning in

Preparing the warp. Photograph: Lokesh Ghai

Learning design

Local children playing on toy looms. Photograph: Ruth Clifford

Weaver-designers and teachers (from right) Dayalal Kudecha, Purushotam Siju, Jyantilal Bokhani and Prakash Siju studying a traditional pagri (turban) cloth, Bhujodi. Photograph: Ruth Clifford

The knowledge and skills that a weaver accumulates in his habitus, which is exemplified in the handloomed cloth, constitutes weavers' embodied cultural capital. Cultural capital is one of the three forms of non-economic capital devised by Bourdieu to explain the ways in which individuals elevate their social status.²³ Cultural capital is further divided into three types, embodied, institutionalised and objectified. While objectified cultural capital constitutes cultural goods such as books, knowledge gained through the design school constitutes institutionalised cultural capital. Artisan-students develop theories of design and the ability to critique these theories. Weavers in Kachchh have been supplying to non-local, commercial markets for several decades, and the phrase 'show me something new' is regularly uttered by buyers and traders. Furthermore, the principles of design, such as balance, rhythm, proportion and scale, unity, harmony and usability are all inherent in weavers' traditional designs. However, design education helps weavers to theorise and verbalise these principles in their work, which then supports their capability to promote and communicate their work to their clients. Poonambhai Vankar, a weaver from the 2015 batch, said 'I created new designs before, but SKV provided proper direction.'²⁴ Poonam's class mate, Pachan Premji Siju, was unconvinced during the initial classes. He asked the faculty, 'why should I draw? I'm a weaver!'

'They would ask us to draw from nature. So I realised that everything we put into weaving comes from nature, like the *jhaad* - tree motif (...) like the *dungri* motif that has been derived from the *raja ka ghad* (kings fort/palace), so even our ancestors were inspired by nature and their surroundings.'²⁵

²³ Pierre Bourdieu. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1984), 243.

²⁴ P. Vankar, Master weaver: Interview with Ruth Clifford, Mota Varnora village, Kachchh, 3 January, 2016.

²⁵ P. Siju, Weaver-designer: Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 1 August, 2016.

2015 SKV students Pachan Premji Siju and Pravin Devji Siju practicing presenting their final collections ahead of the jury. Photographs: Ruth Clifford

Pedagogy at SKV involves a combination of activities such as drawing to music to understand rhythm, creating colour wheels, drawing exercises to understand concepts such as positive and negative, balance, symmetry and perspective, field trips to collect inspiration, learning digital technologies and practicing presenting their work to the rest of the group. Students are regularly reminded to find the relevance of what they are learning to their traditional craft and vice versa. Both students and graduates discuss the importance of maintaining the aspects that differentiate their craft from other communities in India or the world. Chaman Siju, an established master weaver and graduate of KRV exemplified this:

‘Otherwise, what is your USP? It’s a very big problem. Some of my friends here are making plain shawls and not incorporating any Bhujodi motifs. This is not good, it’s available anywhere. So where is our USP? (...) If (the) Bhujodi motif is not included in our product, it has no value.’²⁶

Understanding markets

During the Market Orientation class students are taken to a selection of mid to high-end fashion and homeware stores in Ahmedabad, boutique hotels such as House of MG, and the Calico Museum, which houses a large historic collection of textiles. They are also taken to the homes of craft consumers, usually including one established artist or architect, for students to ‘observe how different people live.’²⁷

²⁶ C. Siju, Weaver-designer: Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 17 August, 2016.

²⁷ A. Shaw, Graphic designer/illustrator: Skype interview with Ruth Clifford, 26 January, 2016.

Each of these spaces constitute, what Bourdieu calls ‘fields.’ Johnson defines the field as a ‘structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force.’²⁸ The fields are inhabited by those qualified to judge ‘good’ design craft, by their status and high level of cultural and social capital as designers, artists, creative entrepreneurs or collectors. In these spaces, students learn to ‘perform in appropriate ways,’ and recognise particular tastes and preferences of those inhabiting the particular space.²⁹ Pravin Siju, graduate of the 2015 batch, expressed:

‘There are so many different clients. One particular class needs new designs, one class wants unique pieces, and one class only wants traditional designs.’³⁰

Returning to the campus, during subsequent classes, students learn to bring together what they’ve learnt in the market spaces with design principles and the USP of their craft. The school receives donations of the LA Colours trend forecast, from which each student selects a theme, and with help from faculty, develops a colour palette. The students are strongly advised to interpret the trend in their own way, relevant to their own surroundings and identity. Frater has noted ‘the use of international trends in craft is itself challenging and controversial. But ultimately it takes artisans beyond their colour comfort zones.’³¹ Pachan’s theme was ‘Treasures of the Sea.’ His colour palette included different shades of blue and accent contrasting colours in the extra weft. He had adapted traditional motifs to create abstracted fish and other sea creatures and used bamboo, silk and cotton for his sari, stoles and dupattas.

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Ed. Randal Johnson (Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 1993), 6.

²⁹ Caroline Sarojini Hart, *Apirations, Education and Social Justice: Applying Sen and Bourdieu* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 51.

³⁰ P. Devji Siju, Weaver-designer: Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 6 January, 2016.

³¹ SKV Newsletter 2012 – 3.

Stoles from Pachan's final collection. Photograph: Ruth Clifford

At the end of the course, students present their final collections and their development work to a jury made up of a combination of professional fashion or textile designers, craft buyers or retailers, academics, curators and craft development professionals. The diversity of the SKV juries means that advice given to artisan-students can often be contradictory. However, most students learn to listen to the advice but to interpret it in a way that suits their instinctive style and identity. As Pachan noted:

‘I can’t change for everyone, today there’s one teacher, tomorrow there’ll be another, my nature will stay the same.’³²

In the seminar that coincided with the jury I attended for the 2015 batch, one artisan-designer asked the panel ‘what does the market want?’ to which well-established luxury fashion designer Ritu Kumar responded: ‘The market doesn’t know what it wants, you have to tell it!’ Frater shares this view, and the guidance for SKV faculty stresses that demands can be created, they don’t always have to be followed. To do this though, the artisan-designer must have a strong concept and confidence to communicate this concept. In her study of shoe designers, Braithwaite found that the majority of designers she interviewed would say they are not dictated by fashion trends but by their individual taste and interaction with materials. On the other hand, it was clear that some designers unconsciously absorbed the fashion trends they are inevitably surrounded by.³³ Indeed, the more interaction artisan-designers have with

³² P. Siju, Weaver-designer: Interview with Ruth Clifford, Bhujodi, 1 August, 2016.

³³ Naomi Braithwaite, “Materializing Fashion: Designers, Materials, Ideas and the Creation of Designer Shoes,” *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty* 5 No, 1, (2014), 53–66.

the players in various ‘fields of cultural production’ - high-end markets spaces, the more these trends are likely to be absorbed.³⁴

Frater has observed that ‘many times, the jury, if they are new people, they’re surprised. They have no idea that artisans can think!’³⁵ This demonstrates that in the current status quo, buyers and the producers of craft objects are unlikely to socialise in the same spaces as each other, which risks continuing the positioning of artisans in subordinate social and creative status. Similarly, Basole observes that the social spheres of ‘scholars’ and ‘artisans’ are ‘largely distinct and there are few public spaces where they can interact as equals.’³⁶ However, the education at SKV and THS allows for previously disparate classes and communities to interact, and while artisan-designers are learning about the tastes of their target markets, it is equally important that the cultural capital, creativity and skills of artisan-designers are recognised, and they are not simply viewed as a labour resource.

SKV final collection exhibition at Artisans' Gallery, Mumbai, December 2015. Photograph: Ruth Clifford

Conclusion

Existing literature argues that two existing paradigms have dominated the craft development discourse; the view of craft as authentic and in need of preservation to satisfy the ‘global salience for the local,’ and the view of craftspeople as outmoded and in need of modernisation.³⁷

³⁴ Bourdieu, 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production*.

³⁵ J. Frater, Founder-director of SKV, Interview with Ruth Clifford, SKV campus Adipur, 20 January, 2016.

³⁶ Amit Basole, “The Skilled and The Schooled: India’s Struggles over What Counts as Knowledge.” *The Caravan: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, January, 2018, <http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reviews-essays/india-struggle-knowledge/2>.

³⁷ Aarti Kawlra, 2014. “Duplicating the Local: GI and the Politics of ‘Place’ in Kanchipuram.” *Perspectives in*

My research has found that there is a need to ‘move away from a whole minefield of stereotypical oppositions;’³⁸ between local and global, tradition and modern, east and west, and even rural and urban. Further, craft narratives need to go beyond thinking about craft and design, as fixed categories, and to recognise the nuances of the role of the ‘artisan.’ With increased cultural, social and economic capital, on top of expert embodied knowledge of their craft and contact with urban and global clients, graduate artisan-designers are challenging these oppositions and becoming their own social change-makers, taste-makers and trendsetters.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the following people for their invaluable support during the aspect of the research I’ve focused on in this paper: Judy Frater, founder/director of Somaiya Kala Vidya and Lokesh Ghai, SKV trustee and visiting faculty, for coordinating the weaving course and for supporting with interpretation; and Jentibhai, Purushottambhai, Prakashbhai, Niteshbhai and Rajeshbhai for their hard work, patience and enthusiasm. Kanjibhai Siju and Kuldip Gadhvi for interpretation and Shamjibhai Vishram Valji for assistance with research and filming. There are too many more people to mention here who contributed to, or supported the whole research project: weavers, faculty, staff, collaborators, jury members and stakeholders of the two institutes, as well as experts in craft development across India. This research could not have been done without them. I’d also like to acknowledge the financial support I received from Nottingham Trent University via the Dean’s bursary as well as ongoing support from my supervisors Eiluned Edwards and Naomi Braithwaite.

Bibliography

- Basole, Amit. 2014. “Informality and Flexible Specialization: Labour Supply, Wages, and Knowledge Flows in an Indian Artisanal Cluster.” *Development and Change* 47 (1). St. Louis: Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis: 157–87.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/1698749082?accountid=14693>.
- . 2015. “Authenticity, Innovation and the Geographical Indication in an Artisanal Industry: The Case of the Banarasi Sari.” *The Journal of World Intellectual Property* 18 (3–4). St. Louis: Federal Reserve Bank of St Louis: 127–49.
<http://search.proquest.com/docview/1698749399?accountid=14693>.
- . 2018. “The Skilled and The Schooled: India’s Struggles over What Counts as Knowledge.” *The Caravan: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, January.
<http://www.caravanmagazine.in/reviews-essays/india-struggle-knowledge/2>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production*. Edited by Randal Johnson. Cambridge,

Indian Development. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
https://www.academia.edu/7635756/Duplicating_the_Local_GI_and_the_Politics_of_Place_in_South_India.

³⁸ Emma Tarlo, *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith*, (London. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2010).

- Oxford: Polity Press.
- Braithwaite, Naomi. 2014. "Materializing Fashion: Designers, Materials, Ideas and the Creation of Designer Shoes." *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty* 5 (1): 53–66. doi:10.1386/csfb.5.1.53_1.
- DeNicola, Alicia Ory, and Lane DeNicola. 2012. "Rescue and Redemption: Design Schools, Traditional Craft and the Nation-State in Contemporary India." *Cultural Studies* 26 (6): 787–813.
- Dewan, Deepali. 2001. "Crafting Knowledge and Knowledge of Crafts: Art Education, Colonialism and the Madras School of Arts in Nineteenth-Century South Asia." Minnesota: University of Minnesota.
- Downey, Greg, Monica Dalidowicz, and Paul H Mason. 2015. "Apprenticeship as Method: Embodied Learning in Ethnographic Practice." *Qualitative Research* 15 (2): 183–200.
- Edwards, Eiluned. 2011. *Textiles and Dress of Gujarat*. Ahmedabad, London: Mappin Publishing Pvt. Ltd in association with V&A Publishing.
- Ghose, Rajeshwari. 1995. "Design, Development, Culture and Cultural Legacies in Asia." In *The Idea of Design*, edited by Victor Margolin Buchanan, Richard, 187–203. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Hart, Caroline Sarojini. 2012. *Apirations, Education and Social Justice: Applying Sen and Bourdieu*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Kawlra, Aarti. 2014. "Duplicating the Local: GI and the Politics of 'Place' in Kanchipuram." *Perspectives in Indian Development*. Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. https://www.academia.edu/7635756/Duplicating_the_Local_GI_and_the_Politics_of_Place_in_South_India.
- Khaire, Mukti. 2017. "The Indian Fashion Industry and Traditional Indian Crafts." *The Business History Review* 85 (2): 345–66.
- Lave, Jean, and Etienne Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leadbeater, S R B. 1993. *The Politics of Textiles. The Indian Cotton-Mill Industry and the Legacy of Swadeshi, 1900 - 1985*. New Delhi, California, London: Sage Publications.
- Mamidipudi, Annapurna, B Sayamasundari, and Wiehe Biker. 2012. "Mobilising Discourses: Handloom as Sustainable Socio-Technology." *Economic and Political Weekly* 47 (25).
- Marchand, Trevor H J. 2008. "Muscles, Morals and Mind: Craft Apprenticeship and the Formation of Person." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 56 (3): 245–71. doi:10.2307/20479601.
- McGowan, Abigail. 2009. *Crafting the Nation in Colonial India*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mitter, Partha. 1994. *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850 - 1922: Oriental Orientations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mohsini, Mira. 2016. "Crafting Muslim Artisans: Agency and Exclusion in India's Urban Crafts Communities." In *Critical Craft: Technology, Globalization, and Capitalism*, edited by Clare Wilkinson-Weber M. and Alicia Ory DeNicola, 239–93. London: Bloomsbury.
- Roy, Tirthankar. 2007. *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India. Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Singh, Madhu. 2013. "Educational Practice in India and Its Foundations in Indian Heritage: A Synthesis of the East and West?" *Comparative Education* 49 (1): 88–106. doi:10.2307/23525080.
- Tarlo, Emma. 2010. *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith*. London. New York:

Bloomsbury.