

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*, *Kacho 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*. *Kacho 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.

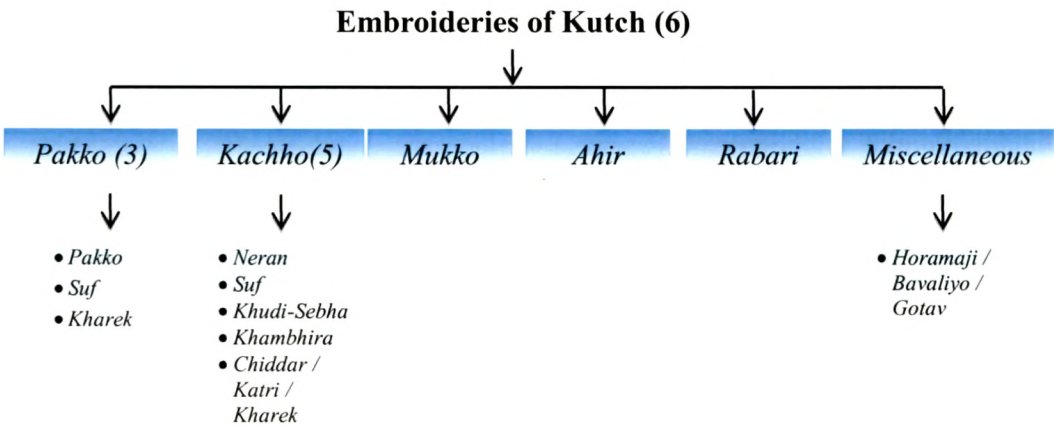


Figure 4.1 Classification of embroideries of Kutch

On analysis it was found that embroideries were community specific and various communities namely *Halaypotra*, *Pathan*, *Raysipotra*, *Node*, *Darbar*, *Meghwar*, *Mutwa*, *Sindhi Memon*, *Dhāneta 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 4.1 (a-c) ^{4.2 (d-f)} *Aari* embroidered products were also used as 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.



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 then *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 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 *Kanjari*s 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*.

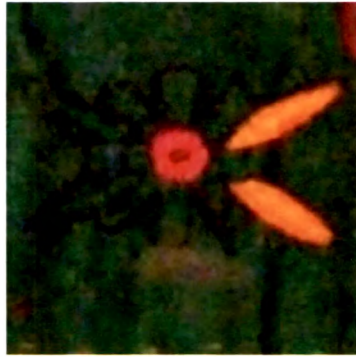


Plate 4.8 *Nade ji nanadi butti*



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 *Zari* threads 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.

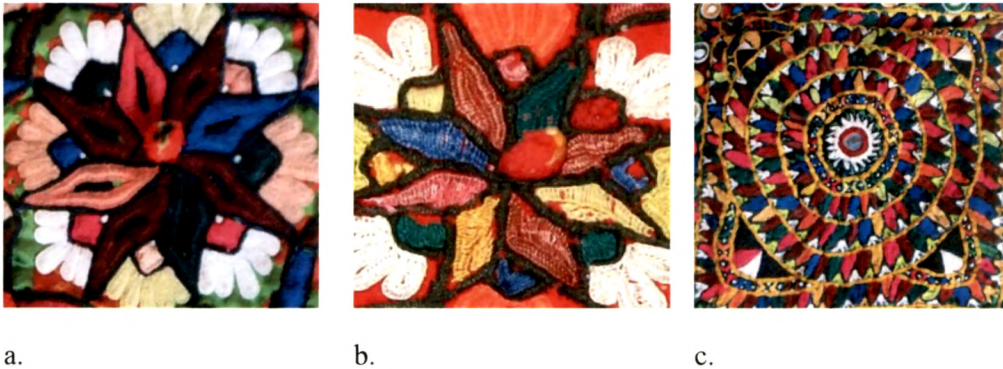


Plate 4.12 a-c Various depictions of *Bhori ful*

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 moving towards outside



Plate 4.18 *Fulada*



Plate 4.19 *Dabali*

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

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*.

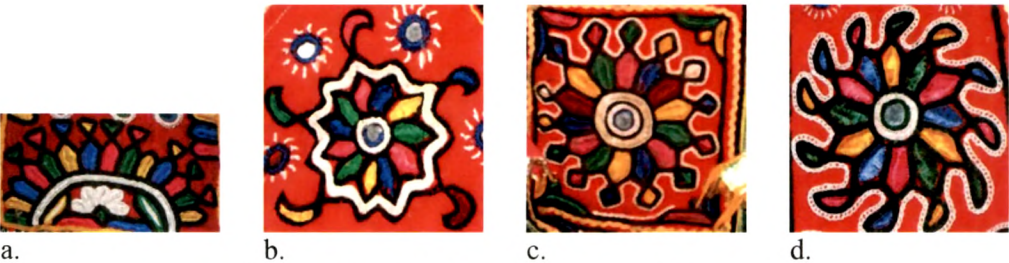


Plate 4.24 a-d Various depictions of *Bhori ful*

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 *Aathe 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 *Sar* were 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*

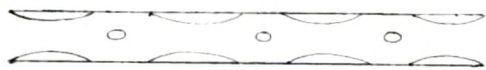


Plate 4.39 *Khich wala farua*

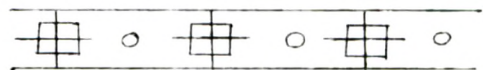


Plate 4.40 *Chokadi valo faruo*

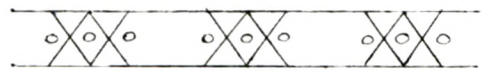


Plate 4.41 *Khudi valo faruo*



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 *Bhori*



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 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.



Plate 4.47 *Gul*

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.

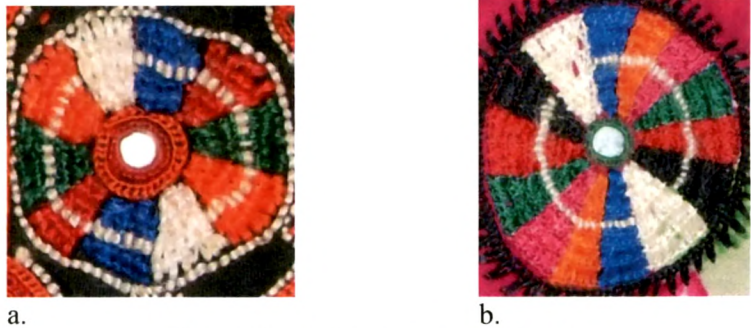


Plate 4.48 a-b Depictions of *Fuladi*

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).

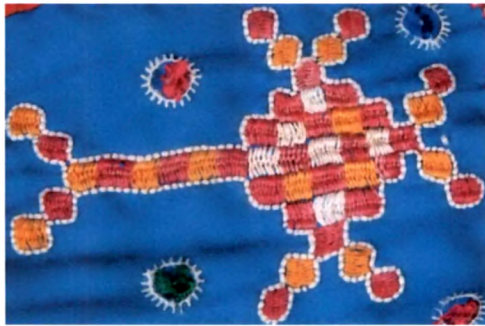


Plate 4.53 *Tana nu dhoran*



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 of whole flower motif was 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 lay out 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* and *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*

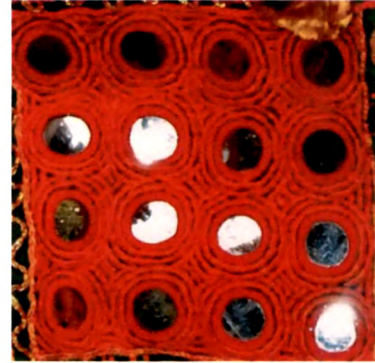


Plate 4.64 *Dhari*

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.

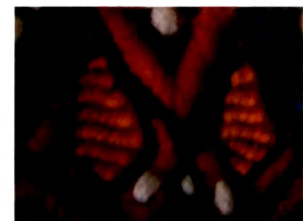


Plate 4.68 *Ghenta sing*



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*

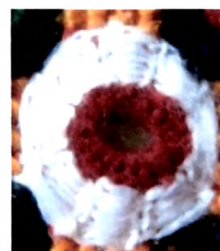


Plate 4.75 *Ful*

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 4.77 *Chher*



Plate 4.76 *Oonthdo*

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

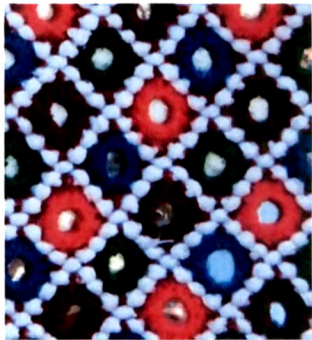


Plate 4.78 *Chambh tak*

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).

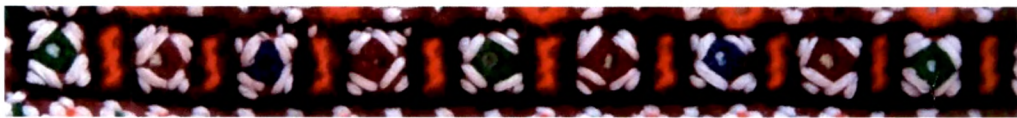


Plate 4.81 *Baliyaj*

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.

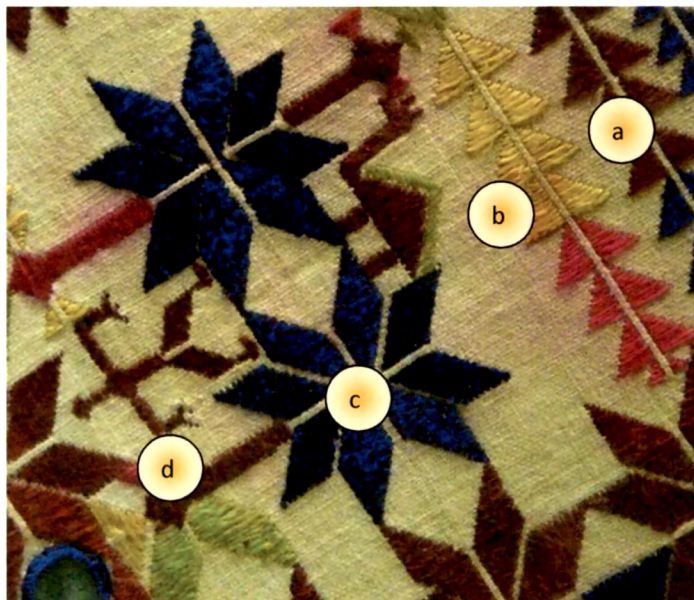


Plate 4.82 a-Kagar, b- Oontdo, c- Jhaad, d- Dhingli

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.

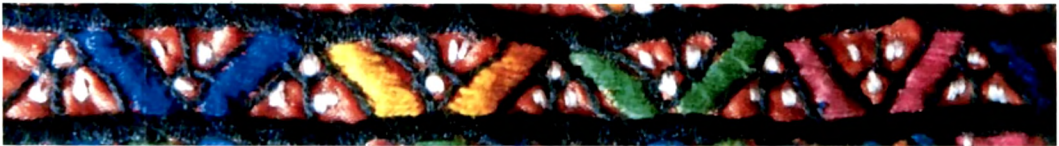


Plate 4.88 *Neran jo bandh*

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



Plate 4.94 *Tari no gul*

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 *Kachho 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 *Kachho 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.



Plate 4.106 *Kachhe ji butti*

Mirror was centrally placed and the peripheral area was embroidered with crisscross lines forming a circular pattern.

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*.

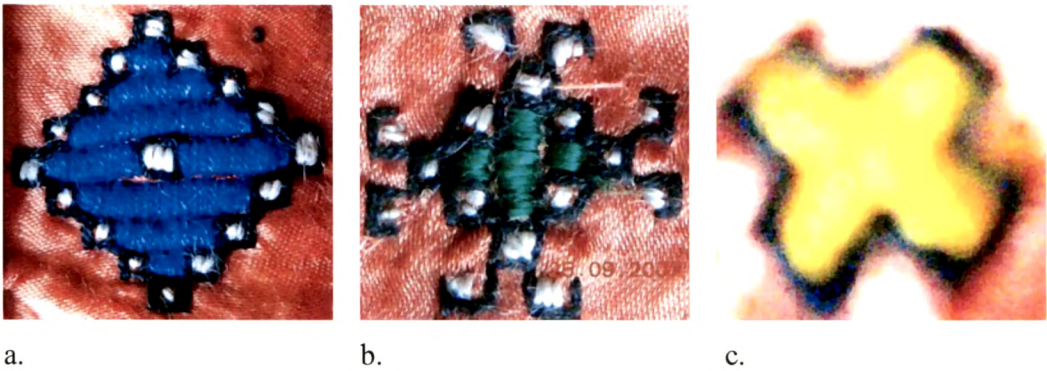


Plate 4.109 (a-c) *Kharek*

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).

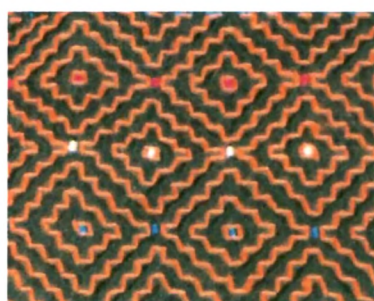


Plate 4.112 *Bo ghar no kambhiro*

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,

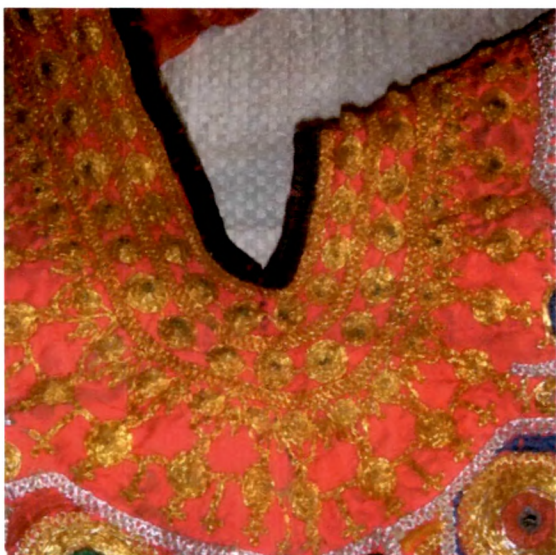
embroidery had to be initiated. *Zarmar* was embroidered around the neckline resembling their necklace known by the same name (Plate- 121 a-d).



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*.

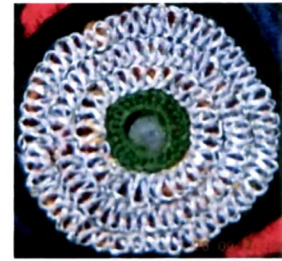


Plate 4.122 *Gheni*

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*

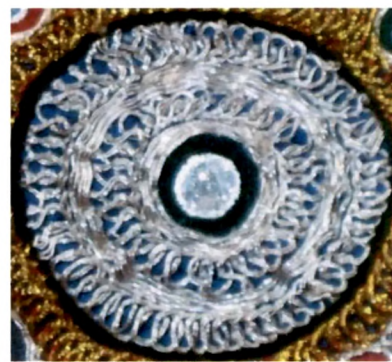


Plate 4.127 *Chakri*

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 *Potati 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 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*



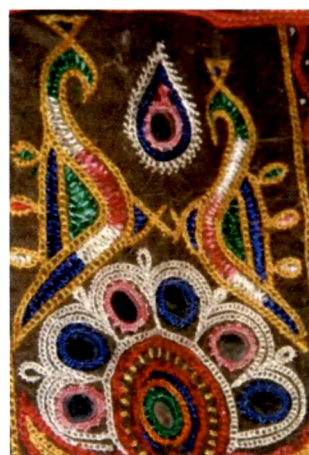
a. Double Mor



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-141).



Plate 4.139 *Paniari*



Plate 4.140 *Vinchi*

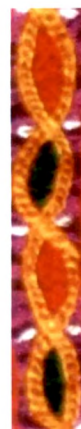


Plate 4.141 *Dedavo*

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).

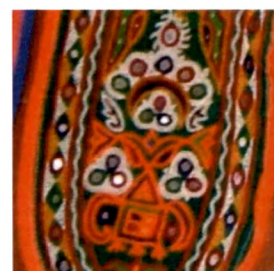


Plate 4.143 *Haathi upar ambadi*



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 abhla 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 abhla 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 placed 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*

The 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 *Makodiayo*



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.

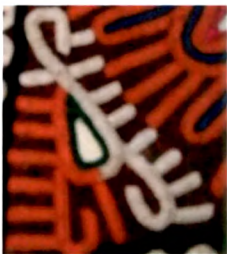


Plate 4.161 *Vinchi*



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 *Dhebariya 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*
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).



Plate 4.167 *Batta panj kania*

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 *PakkoBharat*

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 1.171 a-i). *Fuladi* motif was embroidered using a combination of satin stitch and couching stitch. It was mentioned as *Vell* stitch by Elson (1979).

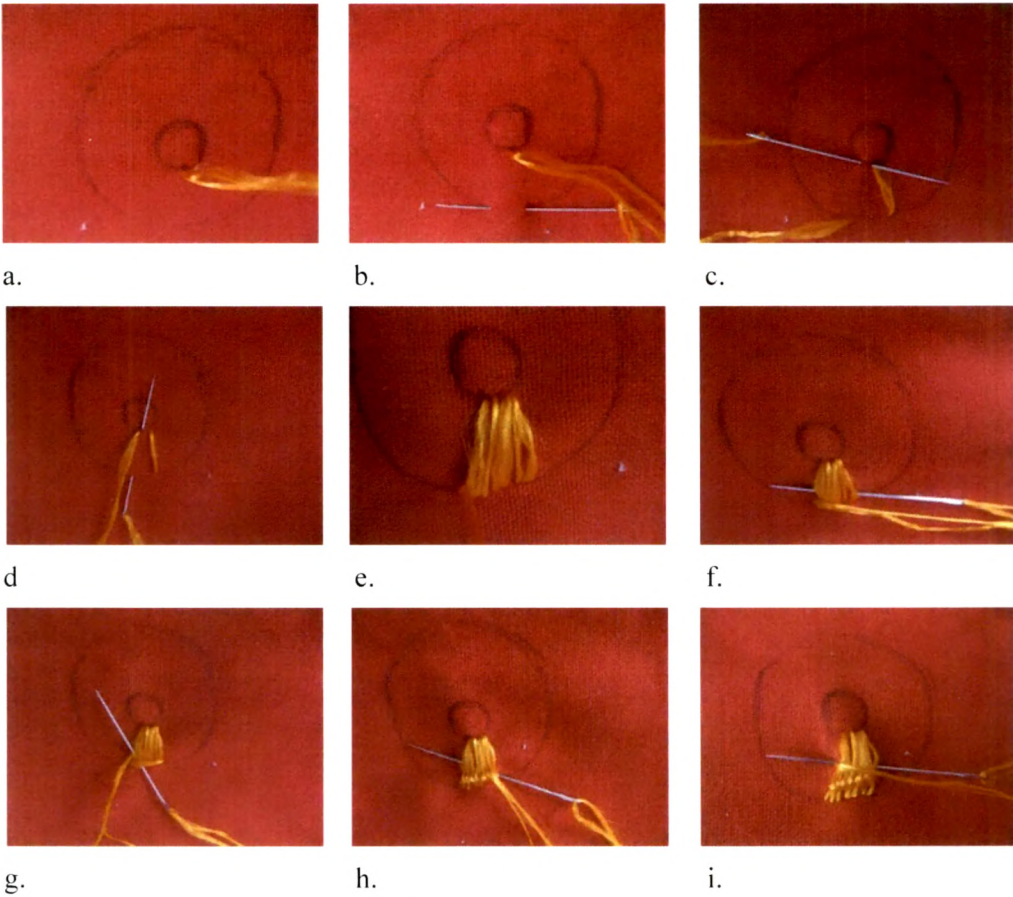


Plate 4.171 Steps to embroider *Fuladi*

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.

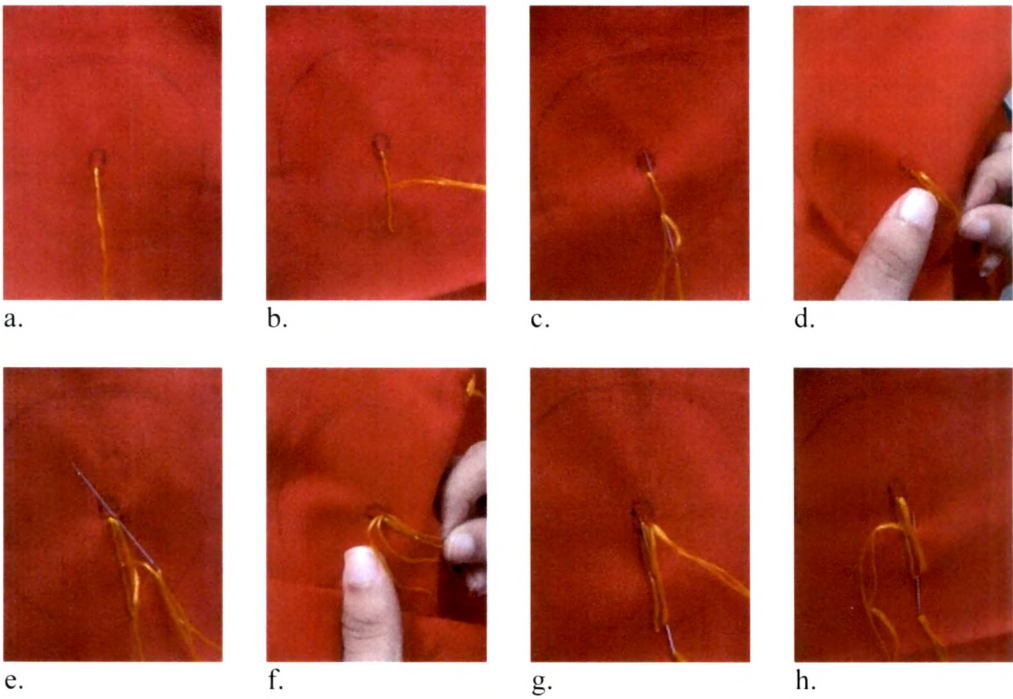


Plate 4.172 Steps to embroider *Tari nu gul*

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.

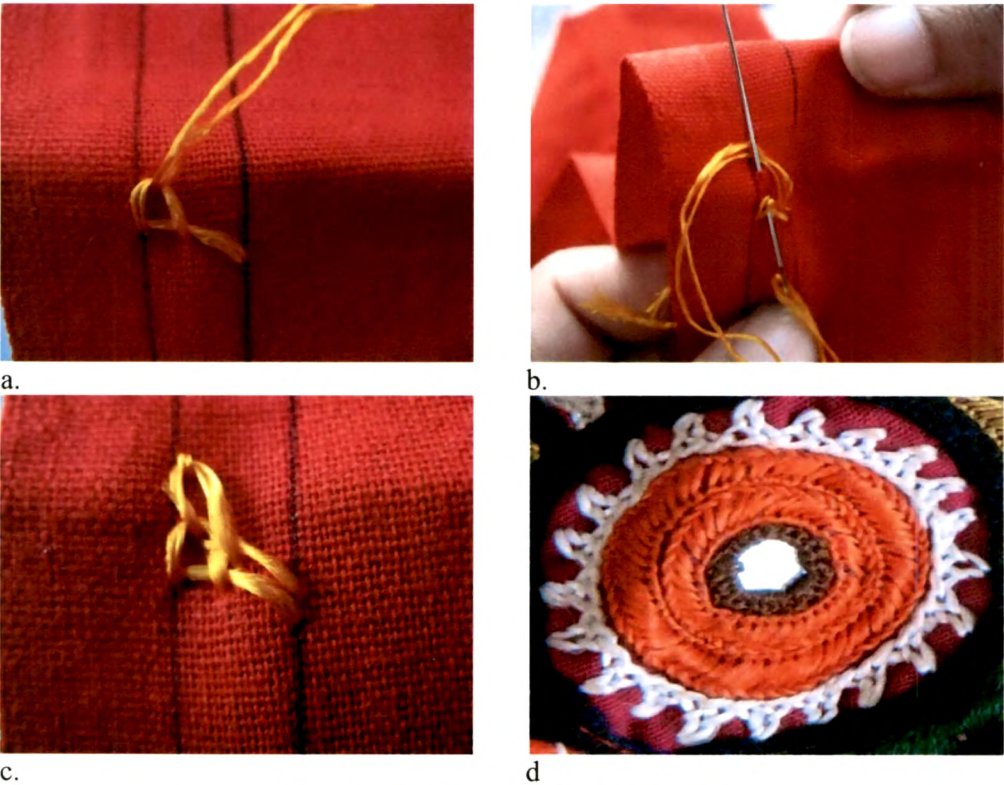


Plate 4.173 Steps to embroider *Suyadi*

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*.



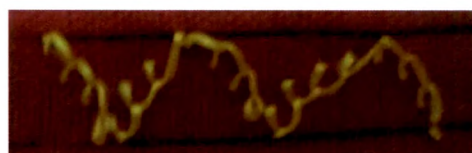
Plate 4.174 *Chag*

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*.

Embroidery	Community	Motifs	Stitches	
Pakko	Halay potra, Raysi potra, Pathan	Bhori ful, Ful, Trekhime valo ful, Nade ju gul	Outline-double satin stitch/Chain stitch Filling-Compact chain stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Outer most line- back stitch	
	Nede	Bhori ful, Aath khuiye vali butti, bhuli ji butti, Fuladi, Fulada, Dabali, Bherni bandh, kodadiyado bandh Tari no gul	Outline- double satin stitch Filling- Compact chain stitch/button hole stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Around the mirror- Romanian stitch Elongated Romanian stitch with long and short satin stitches	
	Darbar and Meghwar	Bhori ful, Badam tak, Fuladi, Rano bandh, Padhadiyado bandh, Mor, Tak chopad, Char butti no gul, Aath tadi gul, Bandhani gul, Butti, Akko	Outline- Double satin stitch/Chain stitch Filling- Square chain stitch Mirror- Buttonhole stitch Around the mirror- Button hole/ square chain stitch, Romanian stitch, lazy daisy stitch	
	Mutwa	Che tang val farua, Jim vala farua, Khich vala farua, chokadi valo farua, Khudi valo farua, Badami farua, Molado, Chakkan, Bhori, Tre jangadi vali chakkan ji butti, Chopad Gul Pakke ji butti Dhoran	Outline- Open chain stitch Filling- Open chain stitch Mirror- button hole stitch Around the mirror- button hole/ Romanian /Lazy daisy stitch 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 Outline- Open chain stitch Filling- Open chain stitch/padded satin stitch Outline- back stitch Filling-Romanian stitch	
	Sindhi memon	Taadi valo gul, Sat handa valo gul, Tevrani ful, Siniye nu ful, Paida, Bachado pitado, Badami pitado, Bhiraniya bandh Dhori	Outline- Chain stitch Filling- Romanian/ Square chain stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch	
	Jai	Fuladi Gheta sing, Limbodi aanko, Ghodi, Butto, Madi chopad, Adh butti, Khil ful, Ful, Oothado Chher Chambh tak, Jaat tak, Balyaj, Riraniya Bandh	Outer lines-Satin stitch Combination of couching and satin stitch Padded sating stitch Outline- Combination of satin and couching stitch Filling- Padded satin stitch Cross stitch	
	Suf & Kharek	Darbar & Meghwar Kharek	Single satin stitch Outline- Couching stitch Filling- Single satin stitch	
Kachho	Neran	Halay potra Node Sindhi memon	Single satin Outline- double satin stitch Filling double satin stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Outline- Satin stitch Filling- satin stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch Around the mirror- Romanian stitch Button hole, Satin stitch	
	Kachho	Halay potra & Rayasi	Tari no gul Romanian stitch with long and short satin	
	suf	potra	Sufadi, Ghodi, Suf ja ful Tadi valo gul	stitches Satin stitch
		Nede	Suf ja ful, Suf ji butti	Satin stitch

			Chher	Outline- Combination of satin and couching stitch Filling- Padded satin stitch Cross stitch
	Suf & Kharek	Darbar & Meghwar	Kagur, OOnto, Jhad, Dhingli, Chakki, Chakadi Kharek	Single satin stitch Outline- Couching stitch Filling- Single satin stitch
		Mutwa		Single satin
Kachho	Neran	Halay potra	Neran jo gul, Neran ji nanadi butti, Neran jo bandh, Tuni jo butta	Outline- double satin stitch Filling double satin stitch Mirror- Button hole stitch
		Node	Neran ji butti	Outline- Satin stitch Filling- satin stitch Mirror- button hole stitch Around the mirror- Romanian stitch
		Sindhi memon	Neran ful, Neran jo goto, Neran jo bandh	Button hole, Satin stitch
	Kachho	Halay potra & Ravasi	Tari no gul	Romanian stitch with long and short satin
	suf	potra	Sufadi, Ghodi, Suf ja ful Tadi valo gul	stitches Satin stitch
		Node	Suf ja ful, Suf ji butti, Kachhe jo bandh	Satin stitch Outline Square chain stitch, Inner line- Couching stitch Filling- Satin stitch
		Mutwa	Golado, Kachhe ji butti Chandar Asai jo chandar	Outline- Back stitch Filling- Satin stitch Outline- Chain stitch Filling- Feathered chain stitch Mirror- Button hole Similar to gul in pakko of Mutwa
	Kachho kharek & Katri	Halay potra & Raysi potra	Aadi Kharek, Kharek, Bhindudi kharek ji butti	Double satin stitch
		Mutwa	Kharek ji butti Katarive ji sar	Double satin stitch
	Kambira & khudi sebha	Halay potra & Raysi potra	Bo ghar no kambhiro	Double running stitch
		Darbar & Meghwar	Khudi sebha	Single and double running stitch
Mukko bharat		Halay potra, Raysi potra & Pathan	Ghent, javado, ful, sat tak valo gul, Muchhi/ Chakali, Zarmar	Couching stitch
		Meghwar	Gheni	Couching stitch
		Mutwa	Pakaradi, Be hano, vali kimgri	Couching stitch
		Sindhi memon	Zarmar, Chakadi, Chakri	Couching stitch
Ahir bharat		Ahir	Dhungo, Goto, Jhad/ Aambo, Suda, Haathi, par ambadi, Kamudo, Diamond club Ubhi Zarmar, Bethi Zarmar, depictions of Mor, Panjari, Vinchi, Dedavo, Tysju bandh, Kharek azyu Aabhla ni kor Keri	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
Rabari bharat		Rabari	Aambo, Depictions of Dhungo, Suda, Chakadi, mor, Makodiyo, Dedavo, Popati, Oont, Depictions of Haathi, Trikon ful, Ful, Derdi, Shraavan kavadiyo	Outline- open chain stitch Mirror- Button hole
Horaniji/ Bavaliyo Gotav		Mutwa	Horana, Batta panj kania, Addhad, Formadado, Madhariyo bandh	Interlacing stitch

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).

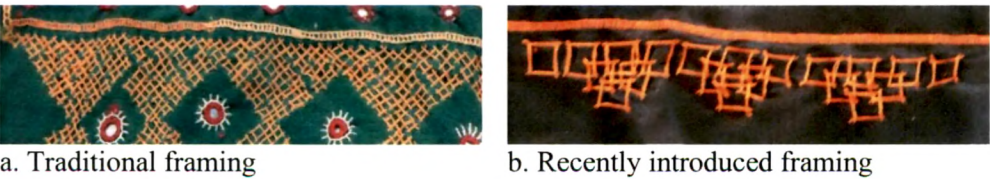


Plate 4.178 a-b Framing of interlacing stitch

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 *Lakhpur* 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.

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>	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓

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 *Meghwars*; *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/ Bavalio/ 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

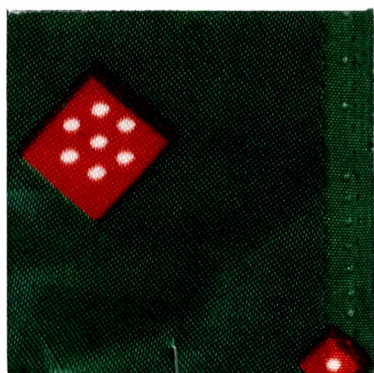
portion was embroidered they kept folding the embroidered portion and stitched it to protect it from dirt.

Results pertaining to the type of needle preferred it was unveiled that cent per cent respondents they 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 distance on the right side of the fabric. *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 by framing and then interlacing. 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.



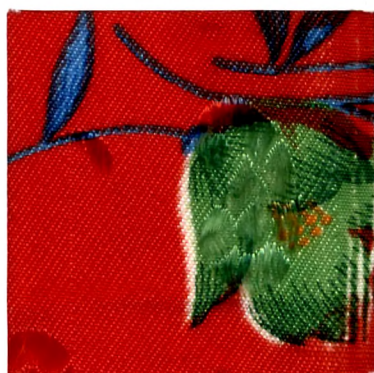
Replication of *Mamsai Gaj*



Replication of Tie- dye



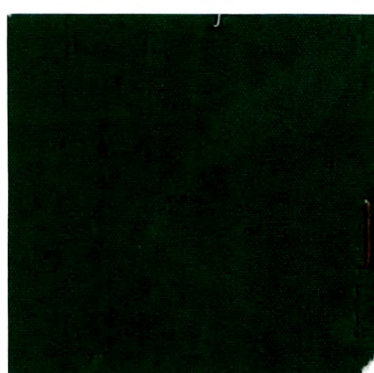
Chhint



Chhint



Casement



Polyester

Plate 4.180a. Fabrics used



Cotton thread



Cotton thread



Rayon twisted thread



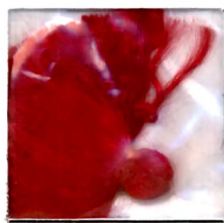
Rayon untwisted thread



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.

Grooms' face mask had an embroidered horizontal band of



Plate 4.183b. *Mod*

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 were 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 *Dardar* 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 *Zarzar* 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

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.

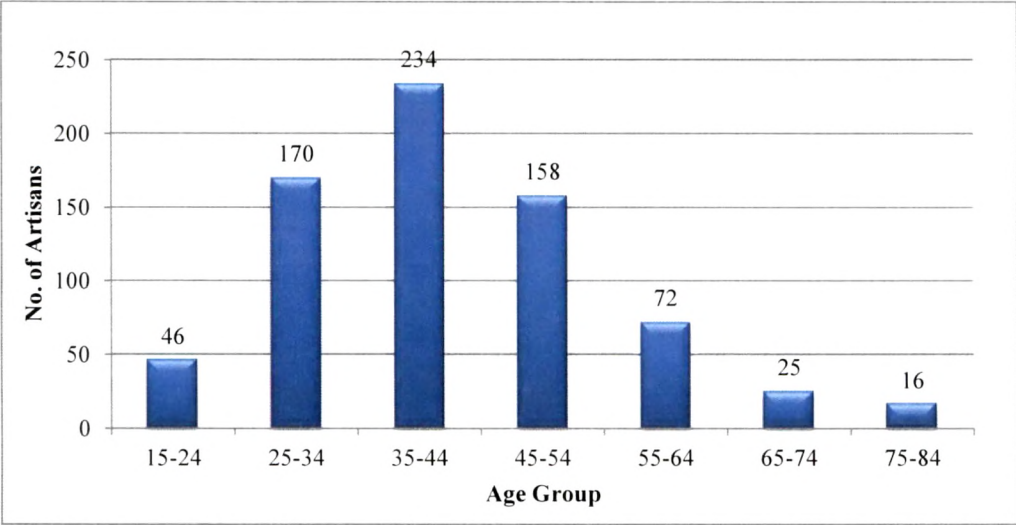
Kutchi Rabari adopted Machine embroidery and they also practiced embroidery for commercial purpose. Both *Kutchi* and *Dhebariya Rabaris* showed willingness to continue for commercial purpose. They also needed assistance from the GO to build up self reliant business. Similar to *Boricha Ahir*, *Vagadiya 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 ¹⁵15 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 ¹⁵~~16~~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 15 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, 50.67 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, 44.27 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

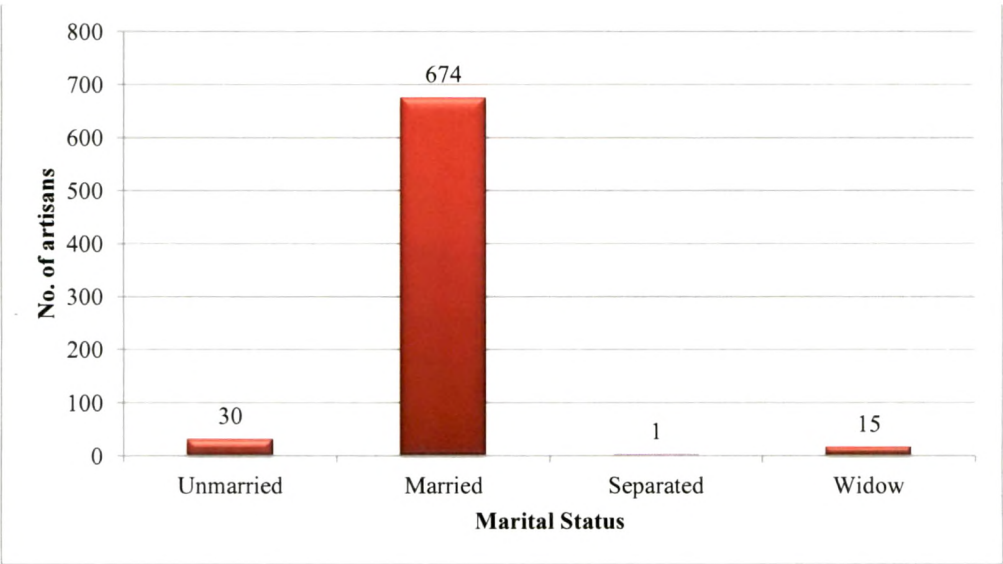
Community	Religion N = 720				Dialect N = 720					
	Hindu		Muslim		<i>Kutchi</i>		<i>Urdu Kutchi</i>		<i>Gujarati</i>	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
<i>Halaypotra</i>	-	-	36	5	-	-	36	5	-	-
<i>Pathan</i>	-	-	25	3.47	-	-	25	3.47	-	-
<i>Rayasipotra</i>	-	-	33	4.58	-	-	33	4.58	-	-
<i>Node</i>	-	-	38	5.27	-	-	38	5.27	-	-
<i>Darbar</i>	110	15.27	-	-	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 *Aamu vaalvu*. At the time of *Aamu*, 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~~ hesitated 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.

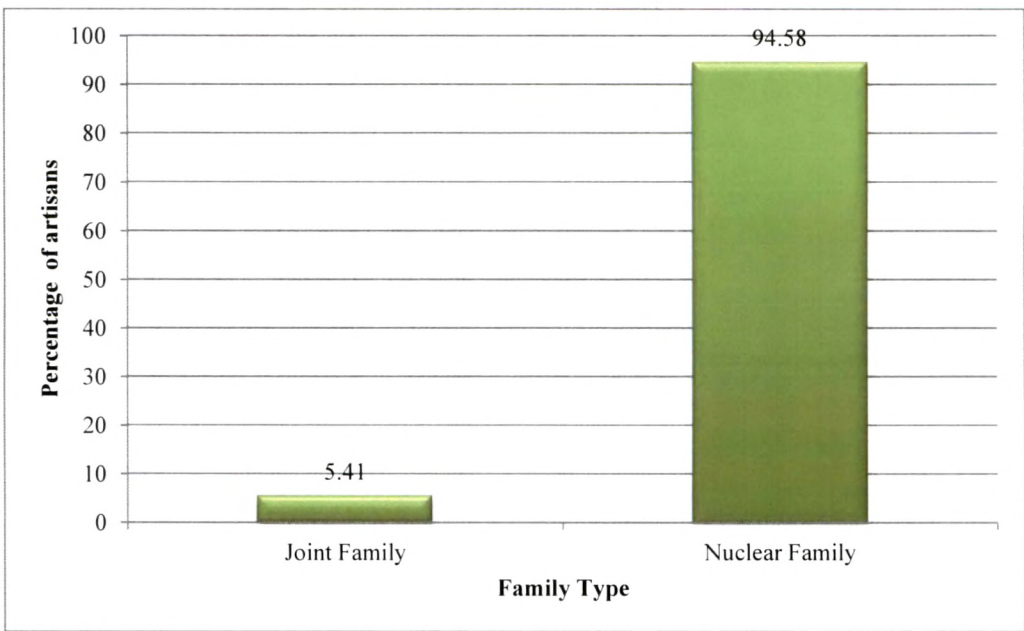


Graph 4.2 Distribution of artisans as per their marital status

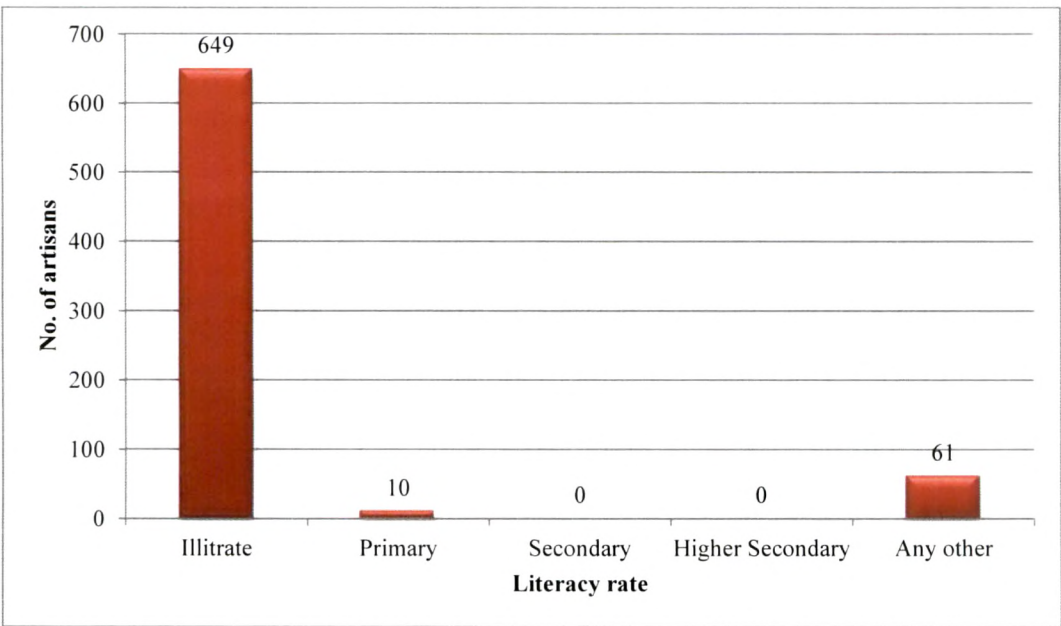
4.3.4 Family composition of the Artisans

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 *Madrasa* 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 Assests possessed by artisans

Assests 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*.

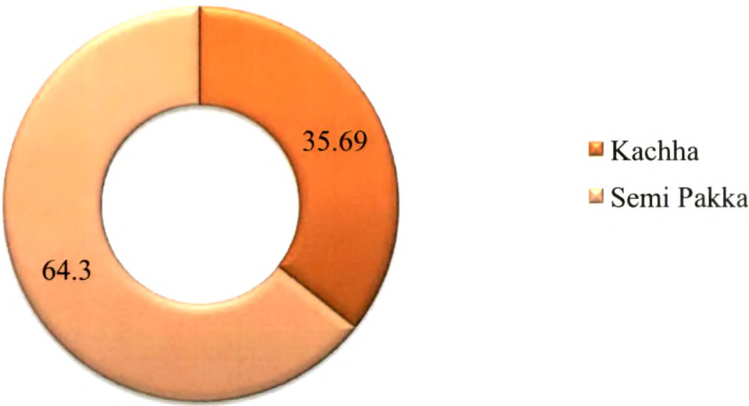
Majority of the artisans from all three *Ahir* sub communities responded that they possessed the land in past but, since past seven years land yielded good revenue and thus they sold off their land which was attributed to the on going urbanisation in the region.

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	%
Halaypotra	02	1.55	36	05	36	11.53	-	-	02	01.68
Pathan	-	-	25	03.47	25	8.01	-	-	03	02.52
Raysipotra	-	-	33	04.58	20	6.41	-	-	09	07.56
Node	-	-	38	05.27	38	12.17	-	-	02	01.68
Darbar	52	40.31	110	15.27	13	4.16	08	9.30	14	11.76
Meghwar	-	-	35	04.86	-	-	02	2.33	03	02.52
Mutwa	13	10.07	30	04.16	30	9.61	-	-	03	02.52
Sindhi memon	-	-	25	03.47	-	-	05	5.81	02	01.68
DahanetaJat	27	20.93	38	03.19	35	11.21	08	9.30	02	01.68
FakiraniJat	17	13.17	23	09.86	-	-	-	-	-	-
GaraciaJat	-	-	71	03.47	-	-	07	8.14	04	03.36
ParathariyaAhir	-	-	64	08.88	33	10.57	05	5.81	12	10.08
MachoyaAhir	18	13.95	33	04.58	-	-	12	13.95	07	05.88
BorichaAhir	-	-	34	04.72	14	4.48	11	12.79	03	02.52
KutchiRabari	-	-	54	07.5	32	10.25	12	13.95	24	20.16
DhebariyaRabari	-	-	35	04.86	16	5.12	11	12.79	16	13.44
VagadiyaRabari	-	-	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.

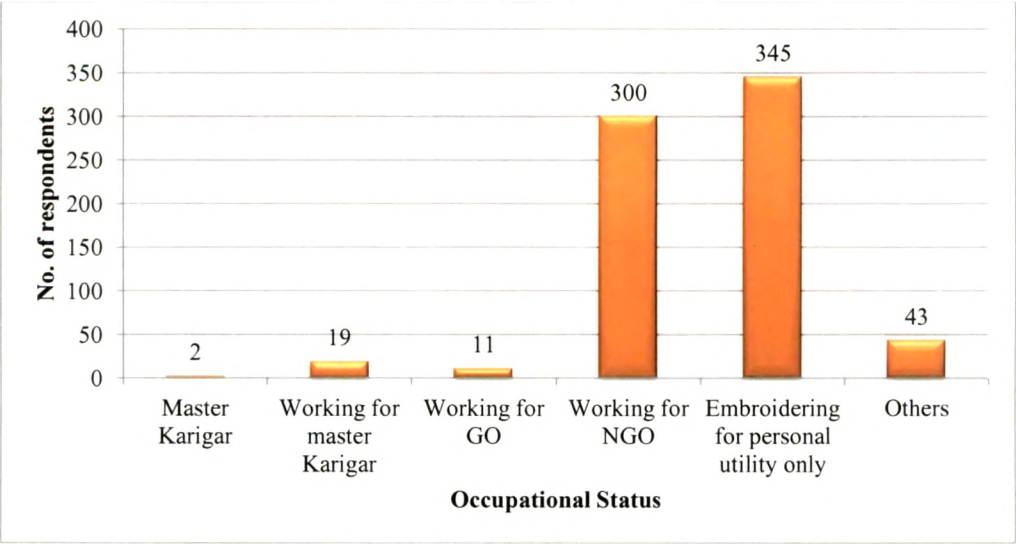
4.3.7 Occupational status

4.3.7.1 Occupational status of the artisans

Artisans practicing 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}4.5 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 occupational status

4.3.7.2 Occupational status 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 *Garaia 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 Community	Cattle breeding		Farming		Coal making		Driving		Labour work		Job		Transportation	
	N=233		N=108		N= 59		N=108		N=243		N= 48		N= 32	
	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



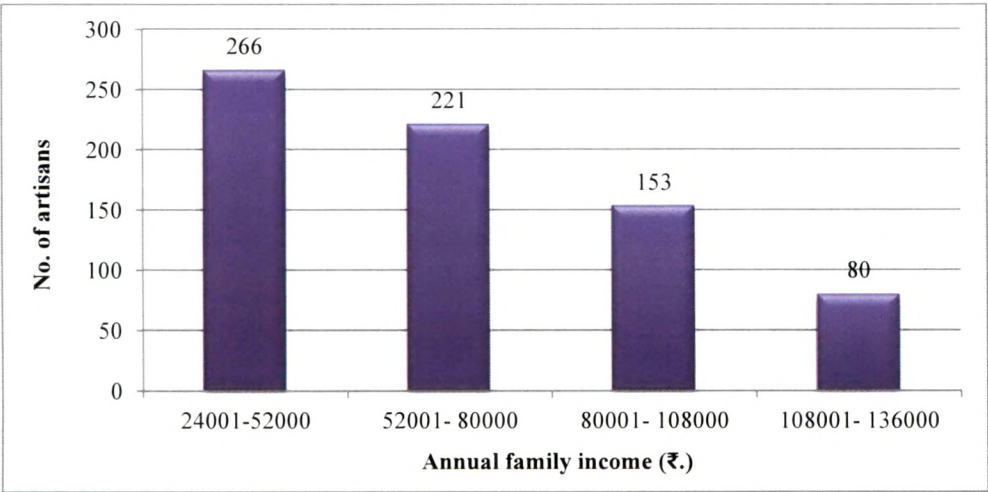
b. Coal making

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 ₹. 24,001 – ₹. 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 ₹. 52,001 – ₹. 80,000 p.a., 153 under ₹. 80,001 – ₹. 1,08,000 p.a. and only 80 were categorized under the income bracket of ₹. 1,08,001 – ₹. 1,36,000 p.a. In fourth category artisans' family members adopted other occupations along with cattle breeding and farming.

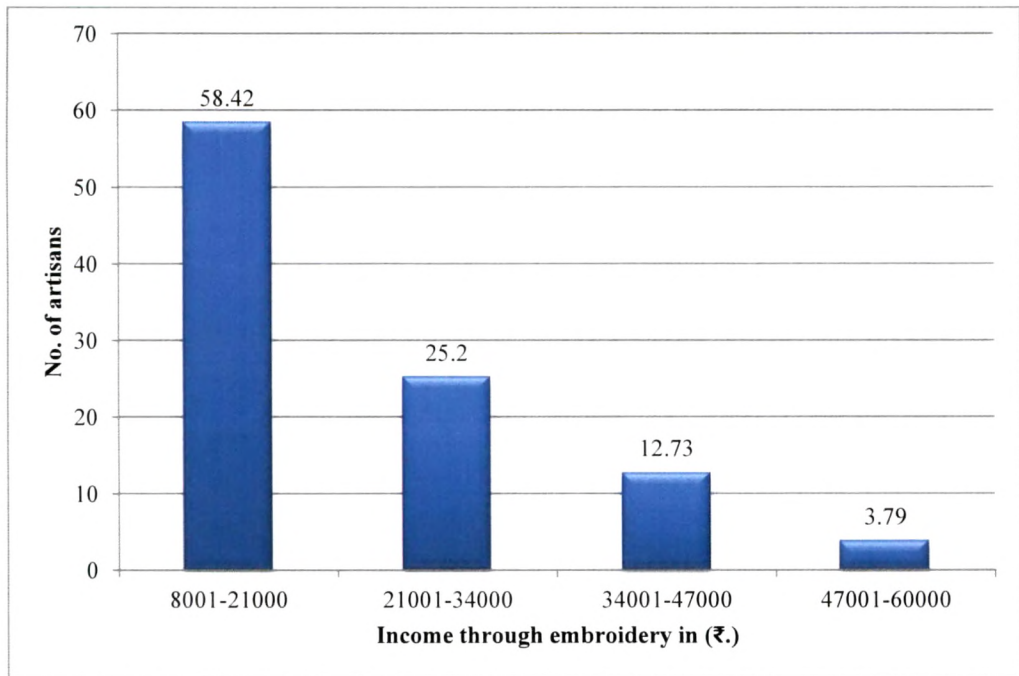


Graph 4.7 Distribution of artisans as per their annual family income

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

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

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 Rs. 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).



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.

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 was also collecting old pieces and generating 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

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, feed back 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. As per the grade artisans were paid, A grade pieces were paid full payment, B grade pieces were paid 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 the stationary like glass markers, pencils, sharpeners, rulers to draw straight

lines. The artisans were allowed to draw using traditional materials 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 at every three years or as per the change inflation rate. As stated by founder member, each community decide 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 are more valuable for *Meghwars* than for *Nerans* as a result, they will ask 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 (*bhavaai*), 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*, *Thelo* 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.