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# Gender, value, creativity and the marketplace

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## ABSTRACT

In the more than seven decades since Indian independence, the relationship between artisan and art in India has radically changed. Having lived in the Kutch region of Gujarat for thirty years and worked with traditional artisans there for fifty, the author presents a rich case study of the impact of commercialisation of textile traditions on artisan communities. The article examines changing patterns of patronage and production among textile artisan communities in Kutch. Drawing on extensive interviews with artisan graduates of a design education program that the author initiated in 2005, it documents how men as well as women tapped into creativity and gained individual recognition. But the success they sought ultimately entailed operation in a market beyond their social sphere. In the realm of the little-known market, men restrained their creativity. For women, persistent social constraints made familiarisation with the market much harder to achieve. However, women graduates who were able to consider crossing gender lines, similarly limited their creativity when they engaged with the market. The author argues that gender per se did not shape an artisan's traditional relationship to craft and creativity, but rather the relationship to the consumer, which had been determined by gender roles.

## KEYWORDS

Craft and creativity; artisans; gender; Kutch; textile ecosystem; commercialization; design education

## Introduction

I first came to Kutch as a student in 1970. Over the following two decades I returned to India regularly, studying textiles and textile artisans<sup>1</sup> of the region. With this research I completed undergraduate work and two masters' degrees in anthropology. After my second MA, I joined The Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. as Associate Curator. In 1990, I received a Fulbright grant to study suf embroidery, a counted satin stitch embroidery style incongruous in Kutch, and travelled again to India. After that research, I returned to Washington, completed the exhibition on which I was working, and then went back to India to spend the next three decades living in Kutch. During this time, I established Kala Raksha Trust, an income generation program based in Sumrasar Sheikh village, for women embroiderers of Kutch, the Kala Raksha Textile Museum, and then Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya, the first design school for men as well as women artisans, which today operates as Somaiya Kala Vidya. Over 50 years I had the opportunity to observe and participate in tradition-based societies evolving.

Tradition is an elusive term. However, for artisans of Kutch whose caste and hereditary profession is craft practice, the idea of tradition is central to their identity, and these artisans use the Gujarati term '*paramparagat*,' which translates to 'traditional,' often. While these artisans understand clearly that tradition evolves, what is important to their identity is the sense of honouring the craft practice that was passed to them by their elders. This includes knowledge, history, a repertoire of visual elements and a sense of aesthetics as well as skills. They understand themselves as custodians of tradition. They also understand that, as circumstances change, different aspects of their tradition become important.

Thus, they understand that custodianship entails responsibility for knowing which elements of tradition to retain at a given time in order to maintain identity. The relationship between artisan and what is understood as ‘traditional’ is what remains constant. For the most part, I use ‘tradition’ or ‘traditional’ to refer to the artisan communities’ idea of a cultural heritage that connects the past to the present, and ‘craft tradition’ to refer to the comprehensive understanding of craft that is described above. This paper presents previously unpublished field work that builds on the thesis of my 1995 book **Threads of Identity**, that tradition-based textiles narrate the lives of their creators- and that the relationship between artisan and creation is intrinsic to a sense of self-worth.

With that lens, I synthesise five decades of interpreting tradition-based textiles as narration of the impact of commercialisation of those textiles on gender, value, and creativity from the perspective of artisans. I describe gender roles in the traditional textile ecosystem of Kutch and changes precipitated by commercialisation, and then present a detailed analysis of the present state of hand craft. In Kutch, the artisans with whom I have worked are socially and economically marginalised. They are either Dalit,<sup>2</sup> Muslim minorities, pastoralists, or women of these communities. I have learned their languages, been honoured to gain their trust, and listened to their experiences expressed not as answers to questionnaires but as honest, heartfelt explorations. Taking this rare opportunity and utilising the anthropological perspective gained from my education, I relate the experiences of Kutch textile artisans as honestly and accurately as possible.

## The traditional textile ecosystem of Kutch

Kutch, a drought prone region of Gujarat in western India, bordering Pakistan, is a textile haven, with traditions of hand weaving, hand block printing, *bandhani* (tied resist dyeing), hand embroidery, patchwork and applique that have been practiced for at least ten generations continuing into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. All of these textile practices were historically, by custom, strictly gender delineated. Men of Meghval weaving castes wove, while the women of their families assisted with pre-loom and post-loom work: preparing yarns for warps, winding bobbins for wefts, and finishing weavings by stitching halves of blankets together and adding tassels. Men of the Khatri dyer community printed and dyed a range of fabrics, and they created tied resist *bandhani* fabrics. Khatri women assisted in printed resist dyeing by folding the cloth, bringing water to soak it overnight, and making the initial step *saj*- soaking cotton fabric in castor oil, camel dung and soda ash to prepare it to more easily absorb dyes. They cooked the paste that was used to thicken iron acetate for printing and prepared the mud and gum *gachh* paste for printing alum mordant. They also assisted in drying fabrics during the subsequent steps of printing and kept the fire burning for the final step of boiling in red colourant. Women were also essential in creation of *bandhani*. After men marked patterns on fabric, they tied the fabrics with small knots. Then men dyed the fabrics. In all of these textile practices, men interfaced with their traditional clients: pastoralists and agriculturists who lived in their immediate regions and who wore the textiles they created as expression of their ethnic identities.

In a range of pastoral, agricultural, and artisan communities, women stitched embroideries and appliques, and patched and appliqued quilts. They had the sole role in creating these textiles, which they made for themselves and their families.

All of these traditional textiles were created as essential elements of expression of the identities of their users. Indian societies comprise many strictly delineated endogamous castes/ethnic communities, and historically identification of community membership determined many facets of interaction. Just as the roles of producers were strictly defined, the fibres, colours, and patterns of textiles used for dress and home were specific markers of community identity and status within that community; textiles were a critical expression of cultural heritage.

## Roles, relationships and values

Artisans speak of history and culture in terms of generations. Most of the Meghval weavers, Khatri dyers and Rabari embroiderers (as well as clients of weavers and dyers) with whom I have worked

since the 1970s, and the Meghval suf embroiderers who migrated from Sindh in 1972, with whom I have worked since 1990, say that their traditions extend for 8 to 10 generations. However, as elders with whom I have interacted were born not earlier than the late 19<sup>th</sup> C. we can conservatively say that the traditional textile ecosystem of Kutch and Sindh that they describe dates to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps more important is that the shared ecosystem that they describe is consistent. Not only were roles in craft making strictly delineated by gender among traditional artisans; the way that men and women artisans related to their crafts clearly differed. Weavers and dyers had interdependent relationships, and the primary producers bartered their weavings and dyed fabrics directly to their end users for milk, animals, and grains. They knew their clients intimately, usually through hereditary relationships, passed down from generations. Weavers and dyers knew not only when births, marriages or deaths in their clients' communities required textiles to mark those occasions, but also the tastes of individuals and the allowable variations in styles as that slowly changed over time. Men produced their crafts for specific clients, with the desire to please them in addition to simply earning. The strong element of personal recognition was mutual. The clients recognised and appreciated the subtle personal signatures of artisans with whom they associated. For generations, while men's craft making was transactional, artisans did not work simply to earn, but to exchange.

Ramji Hirabhai Maheshwari describes the personal feelings inherent in traditional relationships between artisans and clients:

'Maldharis (pastoralists) gave us local sheep wool. We spun and wove and gave them cloth. It was like, this is my weaver; we also felt, we are making for Mejar so we will make it good.' ~Ramji Hirabhai Maheshwari, Weaver, Sumrasar Sheikh<sup>3</sup>

Although they worked for a known clientele that shared understanding and evaluation of products, for male artisans, innovation played a very minor role in creation and in fact was seen as risky. Two elder artisans recognised as community leaders articulate the conventional outlook on innovation:

'(Our clients) the Rabaris and Ahirs (Hindu pastoralist communities) are such people who want tradition. We couldn't change anything.' ~ Vishramji Valji Siju, Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>4</sup>

'For example, this motichur design is traditional. In the old days, if there was a little difference maybe they would accept it. But if we made it really different, they wouldn't accept it . . . In the field we'd make some little changes on our own. If the flower was sharp, they would like it. Otherwise, not.' ~Ismail M. Khatri, Ajrakh printer, Ajrakhpur<sup>5</sup>

The textiles that men traditionally made were identity markers, so clients did not want to wear textiles that significantly differed from those of their community members. Thus, the mutually agreed value for the hand craft of male textile artisans was centred in skill. Excellence was defined as replicating the traditional design as skilfully as possible. Molly Emma Aitken discusses a similar phenomenon of traditional formal devices limiting creative innovation in the context of Rajput painting.<sup>6</sup>

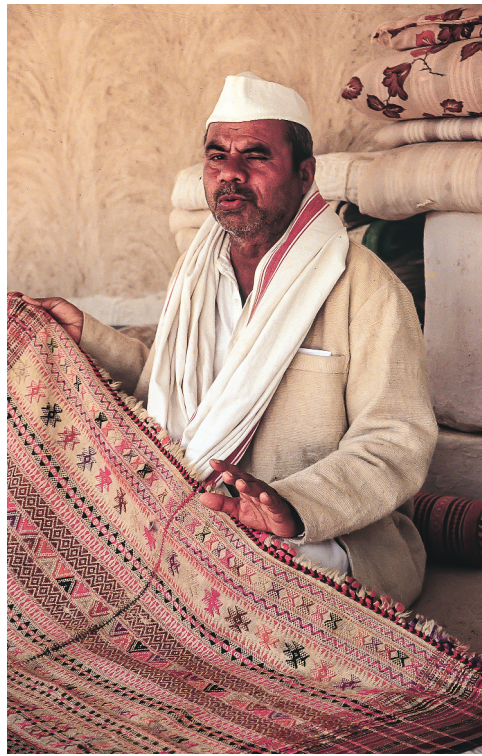
As Vishramji Valji Siju, a revered elder of the Meghval weavers explains,

'Our elders would call someone an artisan if he made a whole dhablo (traditional woolen blanket, [Figure 1](#)) and it had no faults. If design, colour and border are made according to measurement, this is craftsmanship, art and design.' ~Vishramji Valji Siju, Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>7</sup>

Although artisans speak of *karigari* (craftsmanship) as adding some special creativity, here, in the context of creating traditional work, Vishramjibhai emphasises that there was no distinction between *karigari* (craftsmanship), *kala* (art) and design (there is no Gujarati word for design; he used the English term). His point is that in creating a traditional *dhablo* the goal was simply to make an excellent rendition of what was expected.

In contrast, the embroidery, patchwork and applique that women traditionally crafted expressed their own identities. Each community practiced a style comprising a unique combination of stitch, colour, motif and pattern that clearly identified the user. Often subtle variations could further identify region or village. Embroidery was never made for exchange or sale. The point of creating was to





**Figure 1.** Vishramji Valji Siju, Weaver from Bhujodi, discusses his award winning dhablo, a traditional woolen blanket. Photo by Judy Frater, 2006.

express oneself. However, while it had no commercial value for the makers, embroidery had social value. Embroidery was wealth; women stitched their own festival garments as personal contributions to their dowries, and embroidered gifts for family and in-laws. In addition, embroidery was a measure of a woman's worth as a creative artist. Embroiderers never repeated designs exactly. They understood that tradition evolves and strived to innovate while retaining an essential identity that they as a community defined. Their work would be reviewed by peers, formally in dowry presentations in their natal villages and again in their in-laws' villages when they moved to their husbands' homes, and informally when they wore it. Creative innovation was an intrinsic element of value. Fellow embroiderers examined their work and rated it on the basis of uniqueness of rendition of traditional styles.

Harkhuben Bhojraj Rabari, age 61, describes the five blouses she made for her dowry over 40 years ago in detail:

'I made 5 kaanchali (blouses) (Figure 2) and all were different. I made one just like this, traditional, in orange and green with 4 nala (canal) motifs. I did a purple one with a half flower and kaagara tak (tear drop mirrors). Then, I did a black one with kaanch fuli (mirrored flowers). I did each of them different. Otherwise, people would think I only knew one thing!' ~Harkhuben Bhojraj Rabari, Kachhi Rabari Embroiderer, Tunda Vandh<sup>8</sup>

Traditionally, peer review was a main driver of innovation. Within the comfort of their community's shared perceptions, women knew that even a small change would be appreciated. They would admire each other's work but never copied because that would indicate lack of creativity. Instead, in the spirit of healthy competition, they would try to take the concept in their own direction. Innovation in embroidery was a key means of gaining personal recognition within the women's society. Lakhiben Vanka Rabari elucidates the difference between rote copying and innovating:



**Figure 2.** Harkhuben Bhojraj Rabari, Kachhi Rabari Embroiderer, Tunda Vandh, models her traditional kaanchali (blouse). Photo by Judy Frater, 2007.

‘We knew whose work was good. That has always been there. Looking, comparing, copying, that way embroidery increased and developed. Even today, it’s like that. I will see Devi has done something new and I’ll think, it looks good, and I’ll do something better,’ ~Lakhiben Vanka Rabari, Kachhi Rabari Embroiderer, Tunda Vandh<sup>9</sup>

Creative competition in women’s embroidery drove quality and ensured that the art remained vibrant, dynamic and exciting. In the traditional textile eco-system of Kutch, personal recognition was intrinsic to the value of creating textiles for all artisans. For men, this was based on skill in realising tradition. For women, creative innovation was the basis of recognition in making embroidery.

### The advent of commercialization

In the 1950s, as India began nation building, the government focused on rapid industrialisation. Abigail McGowan discusses at length how craft was swept into this movement as a complementary means of production that could promise ‘to help toward the common goal of building India’s path to the future.’<sup>10</sup> With the influx of industrially produced goods, traditional clients began to prefer newly available mass-produced textiles over hand craft, and artisans were forced to look to more distant, unknown markets in urban metro centres. With industrialisation, the concept of design as an entity was also introduced. Designers were actively encouraged to intervene in commercialising craft, both as an inspiration to developing an Indian style as distinct from western aesthetics, and to help artisans adapt to new markets. As McGowan elaborates, while early twentieth century reformers saw crafts as important, national, declining, ‘Almost everyone agreed that crafts were a distinct sector of the economy characterized by traditional styles, technologies, labor, and organization. It was precisely this definition by tradition that provided outsiders the excuse to intervene. For all agreed that, while change was inevitable, artisans as a group were too tradition bound to handle it on their own.’<sup>11</sup>

Industrial driven design used an industrial model, which assumed that the goals are to manufacture faster, cheaper and in a more standardised way. Men's hand-crafted products had always been exchanged as part of livelihoods, but in the traditional textile ecosystem, textiles were not evaluated in terms of the cost of materials and labour. When I asked Irfan Anwar Khatri how the community had ensured that the exchange of goats, milk or grain was equal to that of Ajrakh textiles, he answered simply, 'We didn't.' The exchange was in terms of needs and capabilities.

When artisans began to aspire to new, distant markets, it became necessary to re-value the weaving, printing and *bandhani* that had been culturally valued, recognised and appreciated for the subtle personal signatures of artisans with whom clients associated as commodities in a market economy. Commodities are defined as unspecialised products that are sold on the basis of price rather than quality or style and can be traded in large quantities. The market treats them as equivalent or nearly so with no regard to who produced them. In contrast, differentiated products, are *different* than those of their competitors.<sup>12</sup> If traditional textiles were considered products at all, they were differentiated products.

Moreover, whereas the traditional focus of textile craft had been on creating the best, longest-lasting product for a known and respected user, the industrial focus was efficiency, and time emerged as an entity. Vishramjibhai, an elder weaver succinctly describes the impact of industrialisation and subsequent commercialisation:

'We used to be able to discern the work of different villages, to see the individual's hands. The feeling in making was different then. it wasn't about wages but pride in our work, our name. Now we work for wages. Once it was about wages the whole thing was finished.' ~Vishramji Valji Siju, Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>13</sup>

Clearly, for Vishramjibhai and his community of weavers, the value of their weaving tradition ('the whole thing') was in recognition, not monetary return.

## The impact of commercialization on male artisans

Struggling to survive, most male artisans welcomed the guidance of professional designers, outsider men and women deemed experts. Key inputs to Kutch came from the Central Government Handicrafts and Handlooms Export Corporation (HHEC), Gujarat State Handloom and Handicraft Department, and especially designer Prabhaben Shah from Mumbai. In 1965 Shah worked for extended periods in Kutch, innovating on traditional blankets and veils to create a line of shawls, carpets and other urban-appropriate products that retained the Kutch aesthetic. Naran Mandan Siju, who began weaving flat-weave carpets based on traditional turbans and blankets after Shah's intervention relates,

'Prabhaben Shah introduced new products to the village in 1965. It was not a difficult transition because the carpets were also derived from traditional products.' ~Naran Mandan Siju, Carpet Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>14</sup>

To participate in commercial markets, artisans had to scale up production and develop business skills. While this did not significantly change gender delineated roles in craft, it altered methods of production and eventually the structures of communities. Those artisans who could meet demands for scale and business orientation started workshops like mini factories. Slowly they gained access to new materials. Weavers were trained by government agencies, and the fly shuttle<sup>15</sup> was introduced to increase speed of production. Around 1980 handspun soft merino wool was imported by wool suppliers and introduced to weavers by designers and clients. Later, machine spun merino was similarly introduced, followed by acrylic yarn in the early 1980s. Synthetic acrylic yarn was easy to use, and production further increased. As customers found acrylic soft and inexpensive, demand in turn grew. This marked a major shift in the concept and practice of weaving. Weavers who had the means to scale production began to hire those who did not, and to focus on interfacing with customers. Puroshottam Premji Siju relates the impact of these changes on his family's livelihood:

'When acrylic came, we lost our contact with clients. My grandfather began to work for Master Weavers -not because of acrylic but because he had worked with the local market. He had no experience with the outside world. From 1986-1997 truckloads of shawls went to Delhi. Weavers were buying so much acrylic yarn from Ludhiana that people started power looms to increase production of "Bhujodi shawls."<sup>16</sup> That devastated our handloom business. Then in 2001 there was an earthquake that destroyed our homes and looms.<sup>17</sup> Master Weavers went to sell in Delhi. They began to introduce new materials and designs that could not be copied by power looms, so they brought business back.' ~Puroshottam Premji Siju, Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>18</sup>

In Kutch, and elsewhere in India, the term 'Master Weavers/Master Artisans' has ambiguous definition. On one hand, it connotes artisans who have achieved a certain level of skill, recognition, and success. On the other hand, it more commonly refers to big producers, who usually no longer practice their craft but get it made through other artisans. The duality of definition evolved from the major changes in production of craft that were catalysed by industrialisation.

Wool *bandhani* artisans worked with weavers to create shawls in the 1960s. The truckloads of shawls leaving Kutch precipitated expanding the *bandhani* workforce by teaching women outside the Khatri community to tie for wages. But with the introduction of acrylic, the Khatris suffered; they could not dye the synthetic fibre. They joined *bandhani* artists who worked in cotton and silk. With the commercialisation and scaling of production of craft, cotton and silk *bandhani* dyers began to work for wholesalers in Ahmedabad and Mumbai. Many did 'job work,' which refers to producing for someone else as part of a chain of production- a factory production concept, rather than creating entire products themselves. Many traditional *bandhanis* are first tied on white, dyed yellow, tied again and then dyed the background colour. This results in white and yellow dot patterns on a ground of a third colour. *Bandhani* job work entailed tying the white and yellow dots on saris, *dupattas* (women's shawls) and yardage provided by merchants. The merchants completed the products by having the background dyed to client orders. Artisans who had the means to do larger scale production took their own products to exhibition/sales in major cities of India and learned the tastes in product, fabric, pattern and colour of urban clients.

Hand block printers similarly began to work for urban markets in the mid 1960s. At first, they produced bedsheets and yardage designed by designers from the Gujarat government and HHEC. Through government exhibition/sales, and wholesalers in Ahmedabad, the distinct Kutchi Ajrakh print<sup>19</sup> became known. After the Kutch earthquake in 2001, the community built a new village, Ajrakhpur, near Bhuj and many families relocated there. Proximity to the district capital coupled with interest in natural dyes exponentially increased demand for Ajrakh. As with weavers and *bandhani* artisans, printers with capital became Master Artisans, employing those with weaker financial status to print and dye hundreds of metres of yardage a day. Master Ajrakh Artisans also began to connect directly to customers by selling in exhibitions in Indian metro centres. This stimulated experimenting with a wide range of fabrics and developing fashion lines, such as saris, *dupattas* and stoles.

When craft was commodified, weavers and dyers began making for an unknown clientele and earning in cash rather than kind. Their work remained transactional, but they lost the personal recognition of traditional systems. A more significant change came with large scale production. Industrial based 'design intervention,' a term coined for the practice of professionally trained designers working with traditional artisans, began a process of separating concept and execution, resulting in the perception of artisan as worker. The term 'intervention' inevitably applied to design for craft further helped to reinforce a widely perceived value hierarchy: that designers, who supply the concept, have valuable knowledge, while artisans, who provide the execution, have less valuable technical skills. The identity and value of an artisan changed. No longer autonomous creators, artisans became either businessmen or workers, resulting in a new stratification of communities that were previously largely of common social status. The incentive of shared understanding and value for excellent renditions of traditional products was superseded by calculations of materials and time.



## The impact of commercialization on women artisans

For women embroiderers, the commodification of what was understood as not only cultural heritage but also art was even more dramatic. As embroidery was traditionally never made for sale nor for consumers outside the community, industrialisation did not immediately impact its creation. But by the 1970s, periodic droughts and spiralling inflation forced rural communities to seek supplements to the meagre earnings of pastoralist, agriculturist, and professional male artisan incomes. The myriad of mirrored embroidery styles of rural communities of Gujarat, discovered by urban India and patrons abroad, came into fashion. Traders, designers, and other middlemen saw the business potential of embroidery. Women began to sell old embroidery no longer useful to them. As contact with market economies increased, economics leveraged culture. Rural women began to embroider for wages to contribute to their family livelihoods.

Commercialization of a domestic textile art held mutual appeal. In the 1970s village women rarely left the home and could earn without disturbing the social order. At first, they worked in the unorganised sector, embroidering for shopkeepers or local intermediaries. In rare instances, women leaders went out of the village, picking up enough work for a group of women. They worked on 'labour' embroidery, whatever was given to them, regardless of material and style. With the goals of faster, cheaper, and more standard production, designs were printed onto fabric and threads were provided by clients. All artisans had to do was fill in the patterns. Women had no experience of transactional production of embroidery. They had no contact with markets for craft and no experience in commercial valuation of their work. As women artisans have consistently related, pay was extremely low, even when clients or agents promised more.

Women of communities in which cultural restrictions on leaving the confines of the village were less severe explored their options. They found more lucrative seasonal work as agricultural labourers, in government drought relief projects, or even in construction. Women in whose community norms it was not socially acceptable to leave the village without a male relative escort had little choice but to earn by embroidering in the village at substandard rates.

By the 1980s new opportunities in embroidering for wages began to come in the form of NGOs and urban professional designers. Rates improved, but even when women were allowed to set their own wages, they rarely earned as much as they could by other means of manual labour, because the accepted perceived value for handwork was still low. Women of many communities still had few options to earn, and the rates for work that they could do- manual labour in government drought relief projects, for example- set the standards. Women would thus embroider for whatever wages were offered. Personal recognition was out of the question in production embroidery work. Embroidery artisans who graduated from the design education program recall their early experiences of doing commercial embroidery:

'We were in their limits. They gave us work and we did it. We had no name, and we didn't get the value for our work. Still we did it because we didn't have any other work,' ~Tulsiben Puroshottam Puvar, Suf Embroiderer, Faradi<sup>20</sup>

'We just had to embroider. We didn't think about what we were going to do. They would give work and they would sell it. Even they didn't know whose work it was. They knew it was an artisan's work; they didn't know the artisan's name.' ~ Varshaben Uttam Bhanani, Suf Embroiderer, Sumrasar<sup>21</sup>

These comments illuminate the artisans' fundamental value for recognition. Transactional embroidery affected women's self-worth as artisans and as members of their society. The primary impact of commercial work was the separation of design, or art, and craft, or labour. Artisans were asked to make what someone else told them to make, rather than work from their own sense of aesthetics- polar opposition to their innovative highly individual traditional embroidery. Commercial work further disempowered them because it was given without explanation or means of access. When artisans were reduced to labourers, they assessed that there was no difference between construction work and commercial embroidery. They used the same term for both jobs: *majuri kam* (labour work).

Working commercially, women became acutely conscious of labour, time, and the connection between them. In the workplace, they learned to value time over aesthetic, and to analyse their own work in order to maximise their efforts and extend their capacity to earn.

However they chose to earn, women worked. But they managed to continue their own creative work. They made a clear bifurcation between commercial and traditional hand embroidery. The two were different entities and did not directly overlap. Rules and standards for each were distinct. Commercial work was dictated; it had to be produced as specified using as little effort as possible. Traditional work had to be as beautiful, technologically and aesthetically innovative as possible within the essential identity of the style that they as a community defined. Artisans continued to push the boundaries of their own shared aesthetic.

The main impact of commercial work on traditional embroidery was that women had limited time to embroider for themselves and their families. Ironically, increased cash income precipitated increased societal demands for dowry and a newly emerging sense of fashion in which young women of communities, as a group, changed the fabrics and colours of their dress much more quickly than dress had historically evolved. Women now had to balance multiple demands on limited time, and time became a critical issue.

Commercial production, striving for speed and consistency to keep the price down and meet market needs, had addressed the issue of time with an industrial solution: producing patterns professionally, printing them onto fabric, and having artisans fill them in. Significantly, communities did not choose this option for their own work but found alternatives that allowed them to be creative and maintain personal recognition as well as create. Among some communities such as Maru Meghvals and Garasia Jats, certain objects traditionally embroidered were made obsolete and a woman invested personal efforts on fewer essential masterpieces: her own garments, and pieces presented to her fiancé. Women of the Kachhi subgroup of Rabaris creatively innovated on their tradition: they had blouses, skirts, *torans* (doorway decorations) and bags machine embroidered in traditional patterns by professional artisans and added hand stitched mirrors and details. Later, they learned machine embroidery and created the outlining themselves, regaining creative agency (Figure 3).



**Figure 3.** Rabari women's time saving innovations in traditional embroidery: left, Dhebaria rabari 'Hari Jari,' machine applied ribbons and trims; right, Kachhi rabari combination of hand and machine embroidery. Judy Frater, 2004.

In 1995, the *nath*<sup>22</sup> of the Dhebaria subgroup of Rabaris, banned the use of hand work in their community completely in an effort to reduce the time between engagement and marriage.<sup>23</sup> Dhebaria women responded by inventing a new art form: elaborate machine application of commercially produced ribbons and trims to emulate their rich hand work traditions (Figure 3). Subsequently, other communities found this an excellent idea, and the use of ribbons and trims to substitute or supplement hand work became fashion throughout embroidering communities of Kutch. But in nearly all cases, women lost the experience of working without constraint of time, focused on expression of personal aesthetics that characterised traditional embroidery. In traditional work, created with an artisan's best skill to satisfy her own sensibility, time could never be a factor.

Women artisans themselves predicted that only if a girl's father was well off and she did not have to work to earn would she be able to afford to do her own embroidery; otherwise, there was little hope of preserving traditional work. Eventually, their prediction was realised. When women had to earn from embroidery, the role and perception of embroidery changed. As women's lives focused outward and time became limited, creativity in embroidery lost relevance.

By the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, traditional embroidery has virtually lost cultural viability. For young women fashion has overtaken tradition. They want fast and frequent variations in their dress. They want to wear traditional garments with different embellishment for each ceremonial occasion. Girls now attend schools and colleges and do not have the time or patience to sit and hand embroider. In Kutch, girls today are beginning to adopt urban wear, saris, salwar-kamiz and T-shirt and jeans, as girls in less provincial regions have done. Hand embroidery is no longer an important cultural marker. Women today do not need to hand embroider garments nor household decoration to express their identity. If women embroider, it is largely to earn for their families. Commercial embroidery is the hand embroidery that remains. Lachhuben Raja Rabari, once a staunch advocate of her embroidery tradition, justifies the evolution:

'My granddaughter won't embroider. She will study. Maybe she will get a job. How could she do embroidery too?' ~ Lachhuben Raja Rabari, Kachhi Rabari Embroiderer, Tunda Vandh<sup>24</sup>

## Design education and creativity

While craft has been thriving in the contemporary urban market, ironically traditional artisans have been steadily abandoning craft. An estimated 15% of artisan communities leave traditional crafts as a source of livelihood every year.<sup>25</sup>

Concerned that commercialisation was changing the fundamental identity of craft, devaluing it for the artisans who made it, and devaluing the artisans themselves, in 2005 I began a program of design education for artisans. Having a close association with artisans, primarily women, spanning over 30 years, I believed that, given that the personal factor was intrinsic to the value of craft, the reason for attrition of artisans was that from their perspective, contemporary craft production does not generate enough income, nor enough personal recognition for the effort that it requires. The intention of the education program was to enable artisans to regain agency as creative artists and operate successfully in contemporary markets. Assessing contemporary craft production, I felt that skill would no longer be enough to easily establish recognition, but that focus on the traditional aspect of craft, and creativity in innovation could activate recognition and revive value. The year-long course teaches traditional artisans to recognise and value their cultural heritage, and to innovate within its parameters as they define them.



In 2014, I added a year-long graduate course in Business and Management for Artisans (BMA). From 2005–2013 the program operated as Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya, and from 2014 to the present it operates as Somaiya Kala Vidya in Adipur, Kutch. As of 2019, 181 artisans had graduated from the design program, and 16 had graduated from the BMA. Of these, 47 are weavers, 34 are Ajrakh printers, 2 are batik artists, 38 are *bandhani* artists, and 76 are embroidery artists. Among the graduates, 82 are women and 115 are men.

As creative innovation was the basis of value in women's traditional crafts, when women embroidery artisans had the opportunity to take the year-long course in design, they exercised remarkable, effortless, and enthusiastic creativity. Valuing innovation and understanding tradition as ever evolving, they were able to quickly and imaginatively create theme-based collections that expressed individual styles yet still clearly retained their traditional identity. Frequently, students would evaluate their own and classmates' work as, 'It is new, but it is still Rabari.'

Sajnuben Pachan Rabari evaluates her experience of learning design at Kala Raksha Vidhyalaya:

'I liked that we worked in tradition. We learned which colours other markets will like, and we learned the value of our work. Rabari work is good, but it is elaborate. In class we learned to simplify. Traditionally we would have felt this simple work is incomplete. But we did less work and it looked good.' ~ Sajnuben Pachan Rabari, Dhebaria Rabari Embroiderer (Figure 4), Kukadsar<sup>26</sup>

Through 2013, when the design education program was under the administration of Kala Raksha, an NGO providing income generation to women through tradition-based embroidery, all of the embroidery artisan students were members of Kala Raksha. When they graduated, they continued to work for the organisation, producing on orders and earning, but they were rarely able to utilise



**Figure 4.** Sajnuben Pachan Rabari, a Dhebaria Rabari embroiderer, shows an embroidered neck ornament, part of her final collection in the design course. Judy Frater, 2010.

the creativity that they had developed. Periodically small groups were hired as designers to develop new collections for the contemporary urban Indian market. Many of their designs were commercially successful.

After the program came under administration of the K.J. Somaiya Gujarat Trust in 2014, women from traditionally male-controlled textile traditions, *bandhani* and weaving, began to also take the year-long design course. Although in these craft traditions innovation was not highly valued as a skill, these women also demonstrated noteworthy creativity, productivity, and enthusiasm. The *bandhani* artists took the craft in completely fresh directions. Muskanben created a pattern from a doodle that elder artisans said was not possible in *bandhani*. Tainabanu (Figure 5) used the technological innovation of small and large dots together. The latter is challenging and had never been attempted before because artisans for the two techniques are different, so the work in process must be transported from one village to another for tying, and the artisans must learn to work with a partially tied piece. Krishnaben (Figures 6, 7) wove innovative abstract patterns in extra weft technique to evoke the traffic jams, skylines and people toasting that she imagined as city life.



**Figure 5.** Tainabanu Aziz Khatri, a *bandhani* artist, presents her innovative multi-sized dot design in the jury of her design course. Ketan Harshad Pomal, Studio L.M. Bhuj, 2018. Image courtesy of Judy Frater.



**Figure 6.** Krishnaben Velji Vankar, a Weaver, presents her innovative collection depicting city life in the jury of her design course. Ketan Harshad Pomal, Studio L.M. Bhuj, 2018. Image courtesy of Judy Frater.



**Figure 7.** a-b. Details of celebration and traffic, from the final collection *City Life* by Krishnaben Velji Vankar Ketan Harshad Pomal, Studio L.M. Bhuj, 2018. Image courtesy of Judy Frater.

### Men artisans learning creative design

The design education program at Somaiya Kala Vidya is open to traditional men artisans as well as women. Respecting social norms of Kutch, men's and women's classes are held separately. There are no age restrictions for admission, so men's classes comprise weavers and dyers ranging in age from 17 to 45. The impact of four decades of commercial production in Kutch was that the men born in the mid 1980s or later were conscious of the importance of craft skills but had little cognisance of other aspects of their traditions.

Tradition as artisans define it, the sense of cultural heritage, is a foundation of the design and business courses, as a source of identity and inspiration. So the year-long design course begins with a session conducted by elder Artisan Advisors in which students examine traditional textiles and the advisors discuss traditional practices, relationships, and value along with traditional aesthetics. Throughout the year, professional visiting design faculty work in tandem with local faculty, artisan design graduates chosen for their knowledge of both tradition and design. Throughout the fifteen years that I directed the program, I observed that within the year male students reconnected to their traditions and grew to value them to the extent that they would use traditional reference as a key point in evaluating new work.

Weaver and dyer students also grew to value the creative innovation that was not intrinsic to their traditions or normative gendered textile production. Within the protected time and space of the course, regardless of age, male students enthusiastically experimented, often with labour intensive techniques to achieve new and extraordinary designs. Dilipbhai, a young weaver, created a stole dramatically patterned with painstaking interlocking technique, traditionally used in borders of *dhablo* blankets, throughout the piece (Figure 8). Jabbarbhai, a middle aged Ajrakh printer who had printed running yardage all of his career, engineered a double bedsheet with numerous patterns drawn and angled. (Figure 9) When questioned about the production friendliness<sup>27</sup> of his design, he





**Figure 8.** Dilipbhai Dahyalal Kudecha, a Weaver, presents his interlocked design stole in the jury of his design course. Ketan Harshad Pomal, Studio L.M. Bhuj, 2017 Image courtesy of Judy Frater.



**Figure 9.** Jabbarbhai Habib Khatri, an Ajrakh artist, presents his multi cornered bedsheet in the jury of his design course. Ketan Harshad Pomal, Studio L.M. Bhuj, 2019 Image courtesy of Judy Frater.

answered, ‘I made it to last.’ For these students, within the context of their course the value of creating work to endure that was held by their forbears superseded the industrial/commercial values of faster and cheaper. Both students won professional jury awards for their final collections.

### Artisan design graduates and recognition 2022

Among men design graduates, virtually all continue to practice their craft traditions, many of them operating independent businesses, others contracting to bigger producers. However, among many of those who have their own enterprises, the creative innovations that they demonstrated in the design course are diminished. Students work very hard to create unique, theme-based, market-oriented collections. Yet, when they go to an urban exhibition – even the one organised by the institute specifically to launch the new collections, they bring ‘regular’ work (what is already in the market, sometimes for many years).

Adilbhai and Zakiyaben, husband and wife, both graduates of the design and BMA programs, explain:

‘The Market wants traditional work. No matter what we bring, they ask for red and black.’ Adilbhai Mustak Khatri, Bandhani artist, Bhuj<sup>28</sup>

‘Artisans think practically, so they limit themselves. They always think in terms of their technique, and in terms of marketability- as they know it.’ ~ Zakiyaben Adil Khatri, Bandhani Artist, Bhuj<sup>29</sup>

The market segments to which Adilbhai, Zakiyaben and other graduates currently have access are shops and pop-up exhibitions that draw consumers of moderate means who want to patronise craft. Not unlike the traditional consumers of craft, they want what they expect, what they have already seen. Consumers who value design, on the other hand, shop in different market segments offering designer goods, to which artisans rarely have access.

Women artisan graduates face other challenges. Normative gender roles persist and continue to be rigorously enforced in India, in urban as well as rural sectors.<sup>30</sup> Kutch, particularly within artisan communities of the region, remains staunchly patriarchal. As in craft production, in society gender roles are strictly defined. A man’s primary responsibility is to earn for the family. A woman’s primary role is to maintain the family and home. Abdulaziz Khatri, a 42-year-old graduate of the design program whose father was an elder Artisan Advisor from the program’s inception, is also the father of Tainabanu (Figure 5), a talented and ambitious woman who graduated from the design course. He has actively encouraged his daughter. Yet, he strongly articulates the prevailing opposition to women working after marriage:

“Women who are doing their own work, design, etc. don’t have time to take care of children. No one can do two things. Women used to work part time. If they weren’t married, they could do more. But after marriage they didn’t have time. This is our culture. We can’t leave our duties. It will ruin our culture. Men and women both work for a luxury life. For satisfaction, men work and women run the home.” ~ Abdulaziz Khatri, bandhani artist, Bhadli<sup>31</sup>

Despite the challenges of societal constraints, and of opposition to education, 75 women artisans graduated from the design course. Of these, seven women determined to start their own businesses took the 2014 Business and Management for Artisans post graduate course. All seven created innovative new collections for the BMA course, and on graduation all began independent enterprises, working within their particular social constraints.

Hariyaben, a matriarch from the conservative Maru Meghval community of Dalit refugees from Pakistan after the 1971 Indo-Pak war, although barely literate and culturally constrained to her village, began making quilts for tourists who frequent the village during winter months. She enlisted help from her daughter Varshaben, also a design graduate, her son Ranjit, who is literate, and an enterprising male weaver from the village who also graduated from the BMA course and managed to employ several other women of the village. Significantly, she did not give the women fixed designs but themes for inspiration, so that they could be creative in their work. Tragically, she passed away just a few years after she graduated. Her daughter married, moved out of the district and was unable to continue the business as a young wife.

As of 2022, Varshaben has a son who is old enough that she can divide her attention between home and business. Hariyaben’s son Ranjit has left his job, and together Varshaben and Ranjit are starting a craft-based business in their mother’s name.

Monghiben, a courageous and ambitious Kachhi Rabari woman, also restrained from leaving her village alone, similarly managed to begin a business of custom embroidery for designers she had met while attending her graduate exhibition in Mumbai, or who came to Kutch in search of artisans. She has her own social media accounts. However, once she married and moved from her natal village, she found her obligations to her husband’s family overwhelming and paused her business. She details her situation,

Now I know it all; my journey til now was good. If I want to increase my work in the future I can. People still know me and find me. But after marriage it’s not possible; I have to take care of our home. I have stopped work now. I want to continue but it’s not possible now.

~ Monghiben Rana Rabari, Kachhi Rabari embroiderer, Tunda Vandh<sup>32</sup>

As of 2022, Monghiben also has a son who does not demand all of her attention, and she has determinedly re-started her business.

Sajnuben, a middle aged Rabari embroiderer from the Dhebaria subgroup (Figure 4), has fewer social restrictions on travel and although, as previously explained, in 1995 hand embroidery was banned for personal use by the Dhebaria Rabari *nath*, this Dhebaria governing council allows commercial embroidery as income generation. However, Sajnuben had to struggle to leave her family for periods of time in order to take both design and BMA courses as well as to learn despite complete illiteracy. She remains hindered by a painful fixation on her illiteracy. In addition, her remote village has very limited internet connection. Her son started social media accounts for her. But she does not have the access to clients that her classmates have utilised.

As of 2022, Sajnuben's son, while working, is devoting significant effort to building her presence on social media. Tapping contacts with design school classmates and social media influencers in the Rabari community, Sajnuben is fielding orders and has now employed a small group of women embroiderers from her village.

Laxmiben, Tulsiben and Taraben, cousins from the Maru Meghval community who practice *suf*, a style of counted, satin stitch embroidery (Figure 10), assessed their strengths and weaknesses and began a joint enterprise. All have been faculty at Somaiya Kala Vidya, managing to travel in pairs as even today in the norms of their community, in terms of safely and honour it is not socially acceptable for women to travel alone. They have utilised contacts made at exhibitions and are adept at social media. They have managed sufficient orders for six years. Laxmiben married a man who supports her doing business. However, when she had her first child she found the constraint of childcare frustrating. Tulsiben and Taraben compensated for a year, but both have recently married. Their ability to continue in the business will depend almost entirely on in-law approval.



**Figure 10.** Suf embroidered sari by the team of Laxmiben Dinesh Parmar, Tulsiben Puroshottam Puvar and Taraben Vijay Puvar. They used innovative layouts for Lakme Fashion Week. Pearl Academy Mumbai, 2017. Image courtesy of Judy Frater.

As of 2022, Laxmiben's son is old enough to afford her time to devote to her business. She has teamed up with a former mentor at Somaiya Kala Vidya to create a collection of embroidered garments and sells her work on social media and at pop-up sales. Both Tulsiben and Taraben's in-laws have welcomed additions to family income and they have continued their embroidery businesses, for the most part independently using social media.

Zakiyaben, a Khatri *bandhani* artist, educated and highly ambitious, married her classmate Adilbhai, also a *bandhani* artist. Together, they are running a very successful small scale, creative *bandhani* business. However, Zakiyaben carefully prioritises her family obligations, which limits her ability to create.

As of 2022, she has begun to develop a line of *bandhani* garments.

Monghiben, Sajnuben, Laxmiben, Tulsiben, Taraben and Zakiyaben, the balance of women BMA graduates, have overcome considerable social restrictions and expectations and currently operate independent enterprises. Significantly, closer examination of their current work reveals moderation of creative innovation. The women entrepreneurs work to order, and mostly use conventional motifs, colours and layouts.

For women, traditionally craft was their art, their personal space and their avenue to personal recognition among the women of their community. As they crossed conventional gender lines to emerge into the market, they faced the challenge of all artisan entrepreneurs in India: perception of craft as manufacturing. The valuation standards of commodities and art are very different. Consumers evaluate commodities in terms of production cost, while they evaluate art in terms of aesthetics and stylistic expression. Attempting to establish a viable livelihood, these women entrepreneurs had to prioritise the need to generate income above creativity, which had not been the case previously. Daunted by the additional challenges of social restrictions and the labour intensity of their work, they responded by reverting to the known: creating work that was very similar to what was already in the market.

### Gender and value in tradition-based craft

Gender roles shape artisans' relationships to their craft traditions, and their values. The strictly observed gender roles of Kutch closely conform to conventional gender roles throughout much of the world. Men's work is associated with the public sphere of paid labour, economic power and political influence. Women's work is associated with the private sphere, the domestic world of home, children and reproduction.<sup>33</sup>

In the traditional textile ecosystem of Kutch, for both men and women artisans, personal recognition was essential to the value of practicing craft. Men and women worked within restrictions and were recognised within their known spheres. The definition and realisation of recognition was determined by socially sanctioned gender roles. Men received recognition from their public sphere. Clients were known, sharing their understanding and standards of evaluation of textile traditions, but they were from outside their own communities. Dealing with a known other, men took limited calculated creative risks. Recognition was accorded based on technical expertise in realising the agreed upon standards. Women inhabited the private sphere, a microcosm defined by mutually accepted social constraints. They created for themselves and their families and developed parameters and standards for their hand craft. Within the comfort of shared sensibilities of the community they creatively innovated and were rewarded by their peers. Creativity is encouraged by both constraint and familiarity.<sup>34</sup> For women artisans, creativity was valued, and recognition was realised through creative innovation.

Industrialization disrupted the craft ecosystem. With the shift to distant unknown clients and a market economy, craft became livelihood more than lifestyle. Men lost shared understanding that enabled recognition.

They became businessmen or wage earners, their values shifted to revenue, and recognition was based on economic status. When women were compelled to earn, partially taking on the normative



masculine role in addition to their own, they were forced to value income with neither creativity nor recognition. However, they maintained the craft of their private sphere, within which they could be recognised, and exercised creativity to do so, vividly demonstrated by Dhebaria Rabari women inventing a new art form when their existing one was banned. Finally, time limits and consciousness of time forced them to abandon their traditions and their key source of recognition.

The limited time and space of a year-long course in design offered both constraints and familiarity. As students, men as well as women were exempted from the responsibilities of earning a livelihood and evaluated by peers from the design sphere: course alumni and design jurors, so they could venture in imagination and risk. Women responded by easily tapping into their creativity. Men artisan students clearly developed and exercised creative innovation within this context.

## Market forces

After graduating, men began to use creative innovation to achieve recognition and commercial success in the market. However, when craft is monetised and linked to livelihood, artisans focus on 'practicality.' The perceived practicalities of business, market expectations, and the push to scale up pre-empt the risks of innovation. Artisans assess creativity as risky or not practical and revert to minimising innovation.

Women embroiderer students re-connected to creativity in the design course. However, after graduating they could not use the new creative innovation in their private sphere. The work they created in the course was not intended for their own use. Nor did they consider it theirs to sell. Socially acceptable venues for women earning were limited; most earning women were wage earners and had minimal interfacing with the public sphere. The new creative work yielded little increase in income and very limited recognition within the community or in the outside world. The seven women BMA graduates who managed to enter the public sphere as entrepreneurs did so with respect for mutually accepted social constraints and faced nearly insurmountable obstacles. Further, they had extremely limited experience with the outside world. With even less familiarity with the market than men, they similarly saw creativity as risky.

For the most part, for both men and women artisan design and BMA graduates, creativity became instrumental, an end to the goal of earning. The issue is perception of the market. Far beyond the community, the market remains unknown. Degrees of unknown can be managed by experience, but in the traditional ecosystem men deemed even the little unknown of hereditary clients risky.

The focus of the education program on creativity as an avenue to value and recognition was informed by initial work with women artisans. However, gender per se did not shape an artisan's traditional relationship to craft and creativity, but rather the relationship to the consumer, which was determined by traditional gender roles.

The question now is, how to leverage creative capacity to negotiate value in the unknown realm of the market?

Men design graduates understand the value of creative innovation (Figure 11). As Prakashbhai notes,

'We have brands, specialties. Before, in an exhibition all of the weavers would have the same designs so there was competition. Now if there are eight of us in an exhibition, each has his own specialty.' ~ Prakashbhai Naran Siju, Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>35</sup>

As they gain experience and make the market familiar, artisans can effectively utilise creativity to gain recognition as well as increased income, and they regain recognition as a value. Dahyalal Atmaram Kudecha relates his value for recognition, gained through education and experience,



**Figure 11.** A new Bhujodi stole (left), inspired by the long popular acrylic 'Bhujodi' shawl (right) was designed and woven in fine Merino wool by Artisan Design graduate Puroshottambhai Premji Siju. Judy Frater, 2018.

'Money is important. But there is another part. Money isn't everything SKV and education brought a lot of change in my life, not just money but respect. Now I am known and invited by other NGOs. Even in our society I gained respect.' ~Dahyalal Atmaram Kudecha, Weaver, Bhujodi<sup>36</sup>

The persistent social constraints on women make familiarisation with the market much harder to achieve and recognition more elusive. As women nonetheless aspire to practice craft traditions as livelihood, and gender roles and relationships to craft traditions begin to blur, we are left with two questions, for women artisans:

Does commerce usurp creativity?

And, is creativity in hand craft now a luxury?

## Notes

1. "Artisans" refers to craft practitioners. It is more honorific and less awkward than 'craftsmen and women' or 'craftspeople'.
2. The lowest Hindu social caste/formerly "Untouchables".
3. Evaluation interview 12 November 2019.
4. Personal interview 4 July 2008.
5. Personal interview 13 July 2008.
6. Aitken, Molly Emma, 2010.
7. Personal interview 4 July 2008.
8. Personal interview July 2008.
9. Personal interview July 2008.
10. McGowan, Abigail, 2009, p.199.
11. Ibid., 203.
12. Hofstrand, Don. File C5-203 p.1
13. Personal interview 4 July 2008.
14. Personal interview 19 August 2020.
15. A fly shuttle, or flying shuttle, employs a board, called the 'race,' at each end of which is a box which catches the shuttle at the end of its journey. A mechanism controlled by the weaver propels the shuttle in both directions.
16. Bhujodi village became so renowned for shawl production during this time that shawls produced in Kutch or resembling them were dubbed 'Bhujodi shawls'.
17. On January 26, 2001 an earthquake of 7.7 on the moment magnitude scale, and Extreme Mercalli intensity scale decimated much of Kutch District.
18. Evaluation interview 3 November 2019.
19. Ajrakh is a specific resist printed textile with a specific composition and repertoire of patterns and motifs dyed in alizarin and indigo, traditionally worn by Islamic pastoralist Maldharis as a lungi, turban and shoulder

cloth. The term came to be applied to a range of resist printed textiles from Kutch dyed originally in natural dyes and later in synthetic dyes of a similar colour palette.

20. Evaluation interview 13 November 2019.
21. Evaluation interview 12 November 2019.
22. Elder male leaders of the Rabari community who decree community rules.
23. Embroidery was an important element of dowry, and Dhebaria Rabari women were increasing the requirements of their self-determined contributions. They could not relocate to their in-laws' homes until they had finished their dowries. Thus they were prolonging their time in their natal homes.
24. Evaluation interview 13 November 2019.
25. Laila Tyabji, The 5th International Textiles and Costume Congress, Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda, 3–5 October 2019.
26. Evaluation interview 11 November 2019.
27. This is an industrial design term that refers to ease of production and therefore cost effectiveness.
28. Personal communication June 2019.
29. Personal communication 5 April 2018.
30. Reena Patel and Mary Jane C. Parmentier, "The Persistence of Traditional Gender Roles in the Information Technology Sector: A Study of Female Engineers in India." *The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Information Technologies and International Development*, Vol. 2, No. 3, S1–30 (Spring 2005) 29–46. Usha Ram et al, Gender Socialization: Difference between Male and Female Youth in India and Associations with Mental Health." *Hindawi Publishing Corp. International Journal of Population Research*, Vol. 2014, Article ID 357,145.
31. Evaluation interview 14 November 2019.
32. Evaluation interview 13 November 2019.
33. Juliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism: Freud, Reich, Laing, and Women* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).
34. Jack Goncalo et al, "Creativity from Constraint? How the Political Correctness Norm Influences Creativity in Mixed-sex Work Groups," *Johnson Cornell University Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 60 (1) (2015). Acar et al, "Why Constraints are Good for Innovation," *Harvard Business Review* (November 22, 2019).
35. Evaluation interview 3 November 2019.
36. Evaluation interview 3 November 2019.

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