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CRAFT, CULTURE AND ENTREPRENEURSHIP: WEAVING TRADITION IN CHANDERI

Annotation

The art of weaving has been one of the oldest occupations in the +world over and is deeply associated with the culture of production in terms of both material and non-material dimensions. This traditional craft combines both the utilitarian and aesthetics aspects rather intrinsically often providing a vantage point in the study of modernization of tradition. In this article an effort has been made to locate the intersection of culture and business in a rural setting thus exploring the ambit of business anthropology in Indian context. The study highlights the tradition of craft, the life-world and worldviews of weavers, their trade, toil and transforming lifestyles. It also highlights their impoverishment, exploitation and the wind of change brought through by globalization that is slowly and surely changing the dynamics of market and man-management skill even in the hinterlands.

Key words: weavers, master weavers, culture, globalization, and market.

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РЕМЕСЛО, КУЛЬТУРА И ПРЕДПРИНИМАТЕЛЬСТВО: ТКАЦКИЕ ТРАДИЦИИ В ЧАНДЕРИ

Аннотация

Искусство ткачества было одним из древнейших занятий во всем мире и глубоко связано с культурой производства как в материальном, так и в нематериальном измерениях. Это традиционное ремесло довольно органично сочетает в себе как утилитарные, так и эстетические аспекты, часто обеспечивая выгодную позицию при изучении модернизации традиций. В предлагаемой статье совершена попытка определить локус пересечения культуры и бизнеса в сельской местности, и таким образом исследовать сферу бизнес-антропологии в индийском контексте. В работе освещаются профессиональные традиции, жизненный уклад и мировоззрение ткачей, их торговля, тяжелый труд и меняющийся образ жизни. Последний факт также подчеркивает их обнищание, эксплуатацию и перемены, вызванные глобализацией, которая медленно и верно меняет динамику рынка и навыки управления людьми даже в отдаленных районах.

Ключевые слова: ткачи, мастера-ткачи, культура, глобализация, рынок.

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ҚОЛӨНЕР, МӘДЕНИЕТ ЖӘНЕ КӘСІПКЕРЛІК: ЧАНДЕРИДЕ ТОҚУ ДӘСТҮРЛЕРІ

Аннотация

Тоқу өнері бүкіл әлемдегі ең көне кәсіптердің бірі болып танылады және де өндіріс мәдениетімен тығыз байланысты. Бұл дәстүрлі қолөнер утилитарлық және эстетикалық аспектілерді органикалық түрде біріктіреді, көбінесе дәстүрді модернизациялауды зерттеуде тиімді позицияны ұсынады. Ұсынылған мақалада үнді контекстіндегі бизнес-антропология саласын зерттей отырып, ауылдық жерлерде мәдениет пен бизнестің қиылысу орнын анықтауға әрекет жасалды. Зерттеу жұмысында тоқушылардың кәсіби дәстүрлері, өмір салты мен тұрмыс-тіршілігі, дүниетанымы және де олардың сауда-саттығы, ауыр жұмысы толықтай қарастырылған. Сондай-ақ, олардың кедейлігін, эксплуатациясын және жаһанданудан туындаған өзгерістерді баса көрсетеді.

Түйінді сөздер: тоқушылар, шебер тоқушылар, мәдениет, жаһандану, нарық.

Introduction. India once boasted a glorious tradition of trade and commerce and was major power in the trading and transportation of spices, finest brand of muslins, jewelleryes, ivory and a host of exotic products. In the passage of time the hallowed tradition has turned into a hollow. Yet one can see the effort to recount this glorious era in certain pockets of the country, symbolically expressed in terms of festivals, folksongs and sports. Though the laurels of lighthouse and the lyrics of luxury had been lost in the cacophony of colonialism, the remnants can still be found in the ruins and ravages of looms, desolated havelis, and defunct workshops. However, a dedicated pursuance of the matter may still take one to find the last vestige of these living traditions in villages, communities as well as in few centers of localized excellence. One of vestige of this glorious tradition is weaving, the magic of crafting embroidery and the perfection of expressing life and imagination in the texture of cotton, silk and muslin.

Marx forcefully argued that the distinction between human and other species lies in productive capacities, which he had promptly associated with labour. But the fact remains that the basic requirements of man though usually derived from nature get refined in human hands. This anthropogenic alteration is defined as culture. This impressive definition of culture pays rich tribute to human endeavour, imagination and expression. If culture is the handiwork of man, then arts and artifacts are cultural emblems and artisans are its reigning deity. One such art is the art of weaving, the ultimate expression of designing and decorating the textile, which has come to be known as ‘haute couture’ in recent literature on fashion designing.

The Tradition of Trade. India and weaving, the association goes long back, perhaps to the days of evolution of homo-fabre. In fact, Indian legends and myths are full of stories on art, artisans and their virtuosity. The most universal and general dress of Indian women is their saree and most of designs or to say the entirety of Indian couture is based on Saree. From Kashmir to

Kanya Kumari and from Malegaon to Maniabandh the saree industry has a universal presence. The Benarasi, Kanchipuram, Kota, Sambalpuri, Chanderi are brand names of sarees available across the length and breadth of India.

Chanderi needs no introduction to the people of Madhya Pradesh or for that matter to India. Chaderi is famous for the silk sarees that its efficient craftsmen produce. It is a small town located in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh and approximately thirty kilometers away from Lalitpur, the nearest railway station and town of neighbouring Uttar Pradesh. It is also around hundred kilometers away from Gwalior. Chanderi can be defined as place of historical significance, one that had a glorious past, precarious present and an uncertain future.

Chanderi is famous for its beautifully designed translucent silk sarees and distinct from other brands of sarees on the basis of its texture, design, and fineness. Weaving is the alpha and omega of life in Chanderi, from the silhouetted structure of old stone buildings at the one end to the busy market place at the other the spectre of looms writ large. The sound of looms reverberates the homes, bazaars and the open meadows. In a sense people breathe, live and entangled in the craft of weaving. It of course, does not mean that Chanderi has no other occupation rather the bustling streets and congested by-lanes reek of urbane divergence. Lawyers, government officials, doctors, traders and host of people live and frequent this historical habitation. But Chanderi is known only as the city of weavers.

The Craft and the Craftsmen. Chanderi has a population of a little over 30 thousand and has around five thousand odd household. Interestingly there are nearly 3, 500 functioning handlooms. The number of looms itself suggests the dependence on the occupation. Almost 60 per cent people of Chanderi depend on saree industry directly or indirectly (www.aiacaonline.org/pdf), however, due to lack of patronage and fast disintegration of the trade the dependency on craft industry has considerably declined. To cap it all in the ravages of time Chanderi has lost most of its features as a town except population and density. The huge and mesmerizing gateways are tumbling down, once a signpost of prosperity and hub of activities, the defaced and deserted *Havelies* are standing like sentries dispossessed of arms and waiting to be hanged, the stone plated lanes and by lanes once spread across the city like a nervous system now reeks of decadence, dirt and filth.

There are two sets of weavers one can identify from the multitude of craftsmen and myriad traders. One is the class of weavers and the other is the class of master weavers. It is not exactly a Marxian mutually exclusive and hostile category though some element of exploitation and appropriation of surplus value is too perceptible to ignore. Master weavers are independent traders and weavers who own the looms (usually more than one) rather substantial number of looms, the number can go as high as 170. They also have their own mechanism to sell their products largely in terms of shops and

emporia besides having other merchandising skills. Maheswaris and Jains have dominated this trade though one can find a few Muslims and lower castes in the business. It is important to note that in our analysis we have used the term master weaver not as the complete craftsman or the expert in the craft of weaving rather the owner of the looms who may or may not take part in active weaving. Weavers are generally belonging to the lower class and lower caste and as happens irrespective of time and space and have led a highly impoverished life. Interviews with weavers revealed the depth of poverty and deprivation as well as hopelessness that has insidiously crept into their mind. Iqbal Ansari, a forty-four-year-old craftsman bemoans the lack of patronage and the failure of government in promoting this craft. So was the case with Tulsi Ram, a known exponent of the craft, which was recognized by government of India while honouring his skills. The case of Muzzafer Alam popularly known as Kalle painter explains the plight of weavers rather neatly. He is one of the few residents of Chanderi who has chosen multiple trades to support his family and has been in the forefront of a mission for putting Chanderi in proper perspective. He is a weaver first, then a tourist guide, an owner of a call center, and least of all a local painter in a sense a man for all works and in all seasons. He has little hesitation in describing the lines of despondency that has etched the face of many faceless men in the sleepy suburb. Though there is no caste and class barrier as far as joining in the craft is concerned but two sections of people have dominated the trade, they are Kolis (low caste Hindu) and Momins and Ansaris (lowly ranked Muslims). Ninety percent of the total weavers belong to these communities only.

Studies on India's exports in the T&C sector, published prior to 2005, mainly investigated the impact of MFA phase-out on the export performance of India's T&C. The competition in the global T&C market was expected to intensify after the MFA phase-out, significantly impacting India's exports (Hashim 2005). Research showed that in a competitive market, deregulation and labour reforms were required to improve export performance (Kathuria and Bhardwaj, 1998). Research findings also showed that developing countries with lower labour costs, such as India and China, benefitted from the MFA phase-out (Nordas, 2004). Various studies analysed the probable post MFA implications on Indian textile exports. But there is no consensus among the researchers regarding the effect of quota removal on Indian textile exports. Few studies pointed at a higher potential gain for the developing countries, especially India in the post MFA period (Mehta, 1997, Chadha et al., 1999, Exim Bank, 2005 and Chaudhary, 2011). However some researchers argued that even though India's textile exports showed an improved position in the post MFA period, there was a need to strengthen the policy measures to meet the global challenges in the changed scenario (Chaudhary, 2016).

Research studies have also focused on India's strength in textile sector in terms of abundant raw materials, low labour costs, and vertically

integrated production facilities. As T&C is a labour-intensive industry, labour cost is a crucial factor in competitiveness and productivity. India's labour cost is much lower compared to those of China and other countries, which makes India's T&C attractive (Anthony and Joseph, 2014).

Competitiveness of India's textiles exports has also been analysed in detail by the researchers. Most studies analysed export competitiveness using revealed comparative advantage (RCA), which was developed by Balassa (1965). These studies have concluded that India maintained competitiveness in textile products from 1995 to 2003. However, Kannan (2018) found that India's comparative advantage in T&C deteriorated from 1995 to 2007. Further, India was found to have a comparative advantage in most textile products based on an RCA analysis from 2010 to 2014 (Kathuria 2013, 2018; Dhiman and Sharma 2017; Kannan 2018). Analysis of export competitiveness of Indian textile industry vis-à-vis twelve major players of the world textile trade has found that India benefitted the most after China after elimination of ATC, i.e., after January 1, 2005, in terms of percentage share in world exports (Gupta and Khan, 2017).

Trade agreements have also affected apparel trade flows. Key exporters and importers of apparels have seen increased trade in apparels over the decade due to the signing of several bilateral and regional trade agreements (Brenton and Hoppe, 2017). However, while China does not have any FTA with the US and the EU, a number of global brands are sourcing from China due to its capabilities to do bulk production at competitive rates (Pfohl and Shen, 2008). Chinese firms in the export business are much larger as compared to Indian firms and they enjoy large economies of scale (Minian, Martinez and Ibanez, 2016).

Thus, the conclusion drawn by the researchers has varied with some concluding that India's textile exports are competitive while some studies have derived contrarian results.

Another area of research has been the factors driving the competitiveness of India's textile exports and India's position in the global value chains. A number of studies have shown that there is low level of investment in R&D and laggard adoption of advanced technology by Indian firms vis-à-vis their global competitors (Varukolu, 2007). Firms in countries such as China invest heavily in automation and R&D, leading to increased productivity and improvement in quality. Further, the fragmented nature of the apparel sector with a pre-dominance of small and mid-sized firms adversely affects its competitiveness (Lopez-Acevedo and Robertson, 2016). By contrast, in Turkey, apparel firms are represented at all levels of the value-chain.

Thus research studies on India's apparel exports have primarily focused on analysis of comparative advantage and the impact of MFA phase out. However, in recent times the stagnation in India's apparel exports cannot be attributed entirely to loss of competitive strength of the domestic textile

sector. An important factor leading to this loss of competitive strength is the differential tariff structure facing each of the major apparel exporters and how that has emerged as a major contributory factor in determining their relative positioning.

This aspect has been highlighted by researchers analysing the export performance of India's major competitor countries. Chen, et al., (2017) analysed the effects of trade cost on the textile and apparel market using a panel data of Asian countries. Using the gravity model with a trade cost function, they found that applied tariffs and most favored nations' tariffs significantly reduced the trade between countries.

Bhattacharya and Rahman (2000) while analysing the export performance of Bangladesh concluded that one important stimulator of the growth of apparel exports in Bangladesh is the tariff and import quota-free access in the European Union (EU) under the Generalised System of Preference (GSP) scheme, which contributed to the expansion of apparel export in the EU market provided that Bangladesh meets the rules of origin (ROO) requirement. The GSP scheme allows EU importers to claim full tariff drawback on their imports from Bangladesh. On average the tariff rate of apparel products in the EU is 12.5 per cent, which becomes zero for Bangladesh under the GSP. Such a preferential treatment has offered comparatively greater market access for Bangladesh in the EU and has made the EU the largest apparel export market of Bangladesh.

Similarly, Vietnam has also benefitted from preferential tariff treatment in case of apparel exports. The Free Trade Agreements provide wide market access to Vietnam proving to be a major growth driver for the industry. Its bilateral and multilateral FTAs are a strength to industry's growth (Valarmathi, 2019). The Bilateral Trade Agreement (BTA) between Vietnam and the U.S. gives benefits to Vietnam export products which get tariff reduction from about 40 per cent to only 3 per cent. The impact of this lower tariff is highly significant (Setyorini and Budiono, 2020).

Thus tariffs facing a country's exports have emerged as a major determining factor in the performance of a country's textile exports. This paper attempts to investigate this significant factor and the next section provides the descriptive statistical analysis alongwith the econometric evaluation of the same.

Past, Patronage and Peril: A Brief Historiography. The history of modern Chanderi is the history of silk weaving though one can trace the lineage of weaving tradition back to the medieval era. Rocky and mountainous terrain, low rainfall and lack of irrigation have made this virtually bereft of agriculture but this place is strategically located right at the epic centre of trade, commerce and business. No wonder that Jains have a sizeable population in this locality. It is in this context one can look at the cultural heritage of weaving in Chanderi. Like most weaving centres of India Chanderi too had its share of misfortune during British reign but somehow

the indomitable spirit and saga of cultural sovereignty ensured the survival of the art despite a hostile government. Independent India did not took the art to the seventh firmament either but it was not hostile either rather the governments of the day were supportive. However, the large chunk of help came to the Royal families of Gwalior. Traditionally royal family had been the chief patron of the trade but late Madhav Rao Sindia, the scion of Maratha politics showed enthusiasm and interest in the trade and helped towards its growth and development. The governments at the centre, state and public sector enterprises were persuaded to facilitate the trade. Cooperatives were formed and funds were made available for the promotion of this trade. The business suddenly took wings and everything appeared bright and beautiful. But the tryst of Chanderi with summer days came to an abrupt end and things went drastically wrong. The royal patronage, government support, cooperative effort slowly and surely dried up leaving its craft and craftsmen in lurch. Mismanagement, inter cine conflict, corruption proved to be the nemesis of these investments and enterprises. In a way the paradigm shift in Indian economy has also been responsible for the declining state of affairs as well as for the plight of this trade. The growth of MNCs, aggressive marketing of brand names and high cost of labour made the life difficult for the common weaver.

Conceptualizing Entrepreneurship. Most economists would agree that any well-rounded analysis of economic development should include some appraisal of the role of entrepreneurship. On the other hand, they have differed in their concepts of the functions of entrepreneurship. It was Richard Cantillon (1975) who perhaps, first of all drew attention to entrepreneur as a technical term. Except for princes, landowners and salaried workers, he fled that the entrepreneur applied to those whose essence of functioning was to bear uncertainty.

Indeed, the word entrepreneur itself has an interesting history and it appeared first in French according to Encyclopedia Britannica, long before there was any general concept of an entrepreneurial expedition were referred to as entrepreneurs. From this usage it was easy to move to applying the word 'entrepreneur' to other types of adventures. After 1700, 'entrepreneur' was a word which was frequently applied by the French to government road, bridge, harbor and fortification contractors. The same term was later applied to architects. Bernard F. de Bolidor, says Hoselitz, defined it as buying labor and material at uncertain prices and selling the resultant product at a contracted price. In economic literature, consequently, there are many different answers to the question: Who is the entrepreneur and what functions is he supposed to perform?

In general economists have stressed three functions: (1) the beginning of risk and uncertainty, (2) innovation, and (3) the organizational and management of a business enterprise. Frank H. Knight is perhaps the best-known proponent of the notion that entrepreneurs are a specialized group of

people who bear risks and deal with uncertainty.¹⁹² Schumpeter argued that innovation is the primary function of entrepreneurship and that one is an entrepreneur only when he carries out new combinations of factors of production and distribution.¹⁹³ Some of the classical economist, however, had broader concepts of entrepreneurship. To Adam Smith the entrepreneur was a proprietary capitalist – a supplier of capital and at the same time a manager who intervenes between the laborer and the consumer, while Alfred Marshall assigned to the entrepreneur all three functions: risk-bearing, innovation, and management. Writing in 1890 Marshall described the functions of entrepreneurs in this way:

The task of directing production so that a given effort may be most effective in supplying wants is so difficult under the complex conditions of modern life, that it has to be broken up and given into hands of a specialized body of employers, or to use a more general term, of businessmen; who “adventure” or “undertake” its risks; who bring together the capital and labour required for the work; who arrange or “engineer” its general plan, and who superintend its minor details.¹⁹⁴

Marshall’s concept, because of its comprehensiveness, is probably the most realistic in explaining the activities of present-day complex business enterprises. Its principal weakness is the implicit assumption that the entrepreneur is an individual person, for only in a very small firm can a single individual perform all of Marshall’s entrepreneurial functions. In most enterprises, a hierarchy of individuals is required to perform them. Thus, the entrepreneur is in essence an organization which comprises all of the people required to perform entrepreneurial functions. Entrepreneurship should be treated as a resource which has both qualitative and quantitative attributes. It should be possible to make empirical studies of such entrepreneurial recourses as they are related to other factors of production. In this research an effort has been made to follow these lines.

The functions of the modern entrepreneurial organization, whether it be privately or publicly owned and operated, may be categorized as follows; (1) the undertaking or managing of risk and the handling of economic uncertainty; (2) planning and innovation; (3) coordination, administration, and control; and (4) routine supervision in the very small enterprise, of course these functions may all be performed by a single person-the proprietor. In larger establishment, there may be a division of functions among a complex hierarchy of individuals. Ownership may be separated from management, and management itself may be subdivided into top, middle and lower level. Obviously, the larger organizations require more managerial functionaries-

¹⁹² Frank H. Knight, *Risk Uncertainty and Profit* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1921)

¹⁹³ Joseph A. Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1934)

¹⁹⁴ Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, 1st edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), pp.334-335.

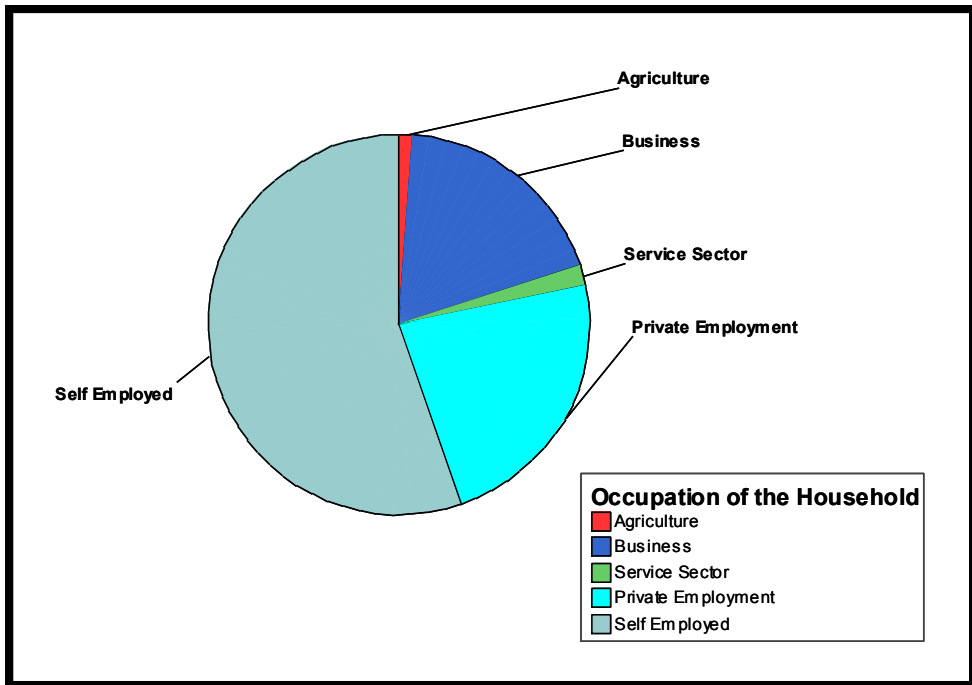
and perhaps different types and combination of people-than the small or medium-sized firms. Organizations can be quite simple or very complex depending upon the nature of the business activity, the size of the firm, and the technology employed (Okun et al. 1962).

Census of Handloom in India. The Textile policy of June, 1985, enjoins on the Central Government to undertake a Census of Handloom sector. Accordingly, a National Handloom Census was carried out under the aegis of the Office of Development Commissioner for Handlooms, Ministry of Textiles, Government of India. The need of the census was felt for strengthening the data base of the handloom sector for better planning and execution of handloom development programme. The data available so far consisted of the estimates prepared by the sub-group on handlooms for the Seventh Five Year Plan. Some information was also available from the surveys carried out by different state governments at different points of time. These data, however, lacked uniformity with regard to period, coverage and concept. The present census, carried out under the supervision and technical guidance of the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), is a maiden attempt towards providing a sound data base for handloom sector at All India level. It is useful to know about the importance of handloom industry in Indian economy.

The general development design has been criticized for its lack of human face and disrespect for nature, as is evident in the pauperization of artisans and exclusion of poor from the paradigm. The developmental model that is prevalent in Chanderi is not something new or unique to the place rather it is part of that pan-Indian process. As a result, it shows the same facet of development i.e., urbanization, mechanization of production, creation of civil and social infrastructure and modernization of values. One of the important indicators of urbanization and by extension development is the decline of the percent of population from agriculture. In fact, development is often defined as movement from traditional mode of production (read agrarian) to an industrial mode of production. However, in the context of manufacturing and presence of artisan class in rural India refers to the coexistence of agriculture and artisanship as complementary class in contrast to classical Marxism. A look into the occupation profile of respondents would support the argument.

Table: 3.1 Occupation of the Household

Occupation of the household	Frequency	Percent
Agriculture	2	1.2
Business	32	18.8
Service Sector	3	1.8
Private Employment	39	22.9
Self Employed	94	55.3
Total	170	100.0



As the table reflect there is only one percent respondents (1.2) were involved in agriculture which is only a supplementary to the main occupation of the household. On the contrary more than 55 percent of population is self-employed which clearly indicates the preoccupation of people of Chanderi in handloom sector. This also attests to the fact that in terms of occupational division of space Chanderi neither confirm to the definition of village or a town. The higher percentage of people having their own source of income also indicates lack of organized employment structure as well as entrance of mechanized means of production. In this there has been no industrialization in Chanderi and hence not much economic growth. However, development has other indicators. For example, if access to modern gadgets like radio, television and other electronic items (including mobile phone) is an indicator of development then one can say it is in the way to development as a significant number of Chanderi's population use them. Similarly, current generations of Chanderi have more access to and opportunity of education than the previous one (see table-5).

Table 3.7: Cross tabulation of “Type of work” and “caste”

Type of Work	Caste				Total
	Higher	Middle	Lower	Others	
Weaver	18	21	49	51	139
	10.6%	12.4%	28.8%	30.0%	81.8%
Master Weaver	5	0	0	6	11
	2.9%	.0%	.0%	3.5%	6.5%
Trader	10	4	0	6	20
	5.9%	2.4%	.0%	3.5%	11.8%
Total	33	25	49	63	170
	19.4%	14.7%	28.8%	37.1%	100.0%

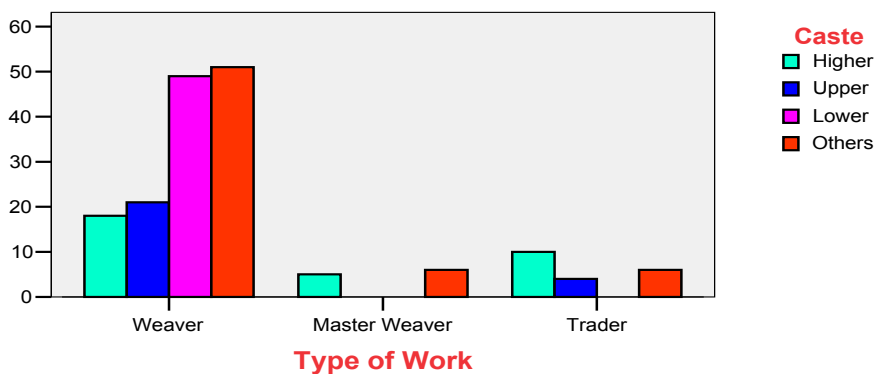


There has been plenty of literature that depicts the relationship between caste and development at the one end and education and development at the other. It would be out of context to highlight those studies and research here. Researchers of sociology of social stratification constantly remind us about the importance of caste in Indian society despite decolonization and democratization. This in turn reiterates the belief that economic benefits of development have an uneven and fragmented reach and this table shows how upper castes have dominated the silk trade in Chanderi as master weavers and traders. Similarly education plays a significant role in ensuring access to opportunities rather to borrow a word from Bourdieu social capital. The transformative value of education in providing equity, equity and excellence in terms of entering, strengthening and flourishing in market economy cannot be undermined. Education helps in developing skills and hence provides a better occupation choice. The table (3.2) demonstrates that quite clearly.

Table 3.8: Cross tabulation of “Educational qualification” and

“type of work”

Educational Qualification	Type of work			Total
	Weaver	Master Weaver	Trader	
Illiterate	38	0	0	38
	22.4%	.0%	.0%	22.4%
Literate	18	0	2	20
	10.6%	.0%	1.2%	11.8%
Under Matriculation	54	8	4	66
	31.8%	4.7%	2.4%	38.8%
HSC	18	0	3	21
	10.6%	.0%	1.8%	12.4%
Graduation	4	3	7	14
	2.4%	1.8%	4.1%	8.2%
Professional	2	0	4	6
	1.2%	.0%	2.4%	3.5%
Any Other	5	0	0	5
	2.9%	.0%	.0%	2.9%
Total	139	11	20	170
	81.8%	6.5%	11.8%	100.0%



Inadequate dissemination of information and deterring effect of numerous formalities and complex procedures tend to favour relatively larger urban units within the small scale sector as these units are better connected to the government machinery and expected to possess the required expertise to deal with the complicated procedures. Virtual absence of inter-institutional coordination and technical competence and industry knowledge of the staff

contribute faith toward the ineffectiveness of the stated promotional policy measures.

Different aspects of modernity contribute differently to entrepreneurship. Among the respondents in formal education (and the westernization which it implies in the present instance) actually makes a higher contribution to entrepreneurship as people with higher educational attained have a preference for entrepreneurship in comparison to their less educated counterparts. However, access to education in India is not always related to abilities.

Caste continues to be an overpowering influence in the social, economic and political life of the country in spite of constant admonitions by politicians and intellectuals that narrow, parochial loyalties should be set aside. In case of Chanderi, as demonstrated in the above diagram entrepreneurship is often restricted to people belonging to higher caste. It would be wrong to say only higher caste simply because there are a substantial number of Muslim entrepreneurs. But then these Muslim entrepreneurs are of noble class rather than lowly Momins and Ansaris. One of the realities of Chanderi as observed by the researcher was that though a significant number of people are involved in weaving but the trading and entrepreneurship is dominated by upper caste and upper-class people. This comes as a contrast to the theorists of industrial society such as Inkeles and Kerr, who have argued that the logic of industrialism transcended cultural barriers, and that as societies industrialize, they will move rapidly away from tradition.

Like caste religious also plays an important role in socio-economic life of people in India. In fact, Weber’s whole thesis focused on role of religion in determining economic pursuits in general and entrepreneurship in particular but this does not stand in case of Chanderi as the following table reveals. It shows almost equal percentage of Hindu and Muslim entrepreneurs in Chanderi.

Table 3.9 Cross Tabulation of “Occupation of the Household” and “Religion”

Occupation of the Household	Religion			Total
	Hindu	Muslim	Any Other	
Agriculture	0	0	2	2
	.0%	.0%	1.2%	1.2%
Business	8	15	9	32
	4.7%	8.8%	5.3%	18.8%
Service Sector	3	0	0	3
	1.8%	.0%	.0%	1.8%
Private Employment	25	14	0	39
	14.7%	8.2%	.0%	22.9%
Self Employed	43	51	0	94

	25.3%	30.0%	.0%	55.3%
Total	79	80	11	170
	46.5%	47.1%	6.5%	100.0%

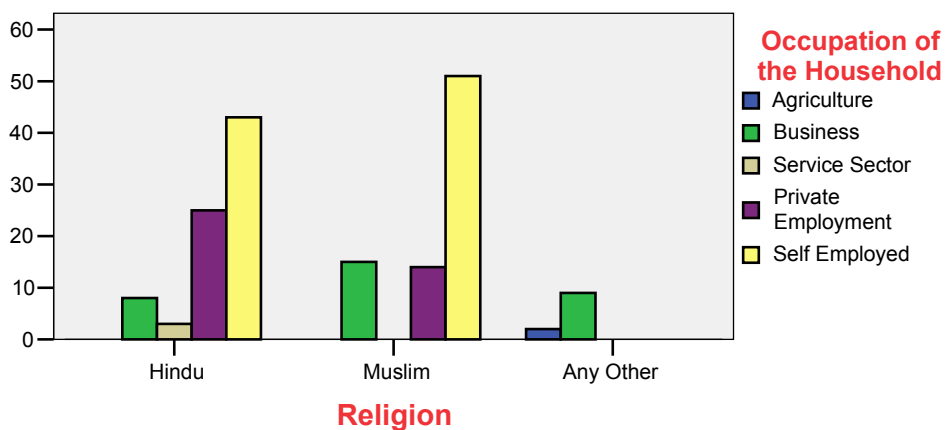
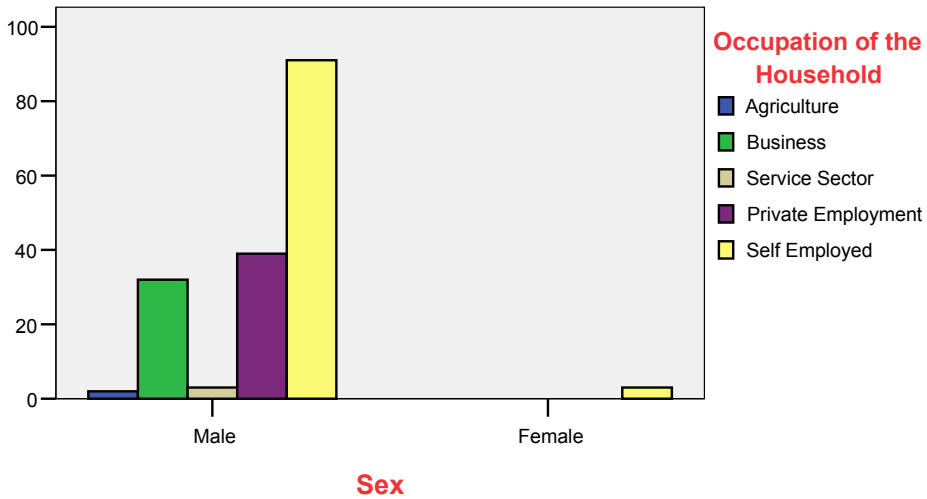


Table 3.10: Cross Tabulation of “Occupation of the Household” and “Gender”

Occupation of the Household	Male	Female	Total
Agriculture	2	0	2
	1.2%	.0%	1.2%
Business	32	0	32
	18.8%	.0%	18.8%
Service Sector	3	0	3
	1.8%	.0%	1.8%
Private Employment	39	0	39
	22.9%	.0%	22.9%
Self Employed	91	3	94
	53.5%	1.8%	55.3%
Total	167	3	170
	98.2%	1.8%	100.0%



Like caste, of late, gender has emerged as an important parameter of defining discrimination and exclusion. The above table depicts the correlation between gender and occupation. It unfailingly shows what is assumed that only a miniscule minority i.e. (1.8 percent) women are self-employed and by extension are entrepreneurs. This attests to the prevalence of gender discrimination and poor access of women to the economically beneficial career choices and occupational streams.

Some of the early commentators on the Indian labor scene have taken conflict stands on this question. They have either asserted the dominance the caste or argued the opposite both stands being unsubstantiated by empirical evidence. More recently, Holmstrom has argued that in the industrial situation caste identities tend to get submerged. Caste may differ in terms of their customs and institutions and people may readily use caste links to get jobs and move up. But moral thinking tends to become universalistic. It is not that there are no inequalities based on caste status, but that people feel compelled to justify this inequality instead of merely assuming it. Seth's study of a factory in Western India conveys a somewhat different picture. He shows that the worker used the caste idioms to explain away others successes and rationalize their own failure.

But he admits that he is unable to show how far the caste loyalty of managers and workers really affect the functioning of the factory. E. A. Ramaswamy, in his analyses shows that the recruitments of workers to the industry and the workers choice of unions are unaffected by caste loyalties. However, his analyses stop at the factory and the trade union, and does not extend to the social life of workers. In so far as the cottage and village industries are concerned the nation has a very high stake not just in their moribund survival but in transforming them into a source of creative

employment and decent income. Persons and communities currently employed in them- the so-called backward classes, Scheduled Castes/Tribes and women- are too numerous to be driven into the ranks of landless manual laborers.

There is reason to believe that the cottage and village industries have inherent potential to provide gainful employment and become a self-reliant integral part of the country's industrial structure. To achieve this status what they need is a new policy frame, dedicated leadership and a package of innovative approaches. This conviction is based on the experience of several highly successful endeavors of individuals and voluntary groups. We shall cite a few examples of successful experiments.

Potters in Bhadravati, a small township 60 km from Chandrapur in Maharashtra, slogged, at time working 16 hours a day, but they earned barely Rs 20 to 25 per week, with large families to feed. There was neither a school nor a primary health centre. As a result of persistent efforts of Sarvodaya worker, Krishnamurthy Mirmira, to revive the industry, the same potters now exhibit every year at the Bajaj Arts Gallery in Bombay their decorative and ceramic wares and utility articles like roofing tiles and glazed earthenware. In 30 years the Kumbhar Cooperative Society has an annual turnover of Rs 8 lakh. The social transformation is equally remarkable. There is Balwadi and the students get free textbooks from the profits of the Society. Moin Qazi reports: 'The Bhadravati project is a synthesis of tradition and modernity and aims at refining the traditional craftsmanship of the local population for making a valuable medium of permanent livelihood (The Times of India, 28 November 1986).

Better known than the potters of Bhadravati are the craftsman of Tilonia, near Ajmer in Rajasthan. Set up some 20 years ago by Bunker Roy, the Social Work Research Centre (SWRC) has been interacting with artisans and working out with them ways of adapting their products to the taste of the urban consumers. Shri K.P. Singh of SWRC says: 'Five activities – patchwork, leather craft, weaving, wooden chair and parrot mobiles which are a popular export item-fetch us a turnover of Rs. 10,000 a day.'

In Pabal, a village 60 km from Pune in the drought-prone region of Western Ghats, Dr S.S. Kalbag is training schoolchildren in the 9th and 10th standards to perform tasks involving sophisticated technology such as 'land surveys' using plane tables, dumpy levels and theodolites. Students are trained to use vertical electric soundings for prospective ground water. All the construction on the campus, residential, office, workshop, etc. has been done by the trainees. They have also made sinks, wash basins, W.C. pans and water tanks and fibrocement. They get jobs of repairing bicycles, tractors, trucks, agricultural implements, poultry cages, feeders, etc. They have fabricated racks, tables, chairs, stools, school desks, window frames and grills.

In agriculture, Kalbag is concentrating on drip irrigation for high value crops (example, seedless grapes), pest management and social forestry. He is

advocating a Rural Technology Course for the 8th, 9th and 10th standards in technical school located in the rural areas. The entire effort is to build a prototype institutional structures that will integrate the educational and development activities (Kalbag, 1989).

The technical/development education centers will be the most appropriate agencies for the transfer of new technologies and bringing feedback for development proposals based on local perception and needs. There is an assured demand for all these enterprises. Their capital requirement is modest and the requisite skills are not difficult to impart. The children of the artisans would surely prefer skilled self-employment to joining the ranks of wage-seekers on public works.

Technological innovations can become more effective when they are supported by a responsive extension and delivery system. Here again the stereotype departmental agencies have disappointing performance record. Hence, diversification of rural economy through decentralized industrialization needs innovative approaches. In this connection, the Block Adoption Programme initiated by the Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) is worth noting. The IDBI, in cooperation with some other financial agencies like IFCI and ICICI, has set up State Technical Consultancy Organization (TCOs) with the purpose of providing professional consultancy services to medium and small industries. They undertake on professional tasks on behalf of the entrepreneurs viz. market survey, supply market intelligence, preparation of feasibility studies and project profiles etc. The IDBI decided to utilize the services of the TCOs were permitted to appoint specialized professional teams to assist them as they function in diverse economic and social environment. In 1989, the IDBI assigned the task of evaluating this programme to the Centre for Studies in Decentralized industries. The Center conducted a survey in twelve blocks and its Report has been published under the title 'Rural Industrialization: A Catalyst in Action' (Acharya, 1990:22). The survey found that the block development programme initiated by the IDBI has succeeded in a large measure in augmenting the existing delivery system and blending it with professional temper and dedicated approach. The small professional team at the block level, acting as an effective intermediary, was able to bring together different organization such as financial institutions, DRDAs, DICs, etc, for delivering a well-integrated package of schemes and services for rural enterprises in backward areas where no governmental or non-governmental agencies had made effort.

Not that there were no shortcomings in their approach, organization or working but these could be easily remedied (for details see Acharya, 1990: 72). It is heartening to find that "The stimulus to growth came from rural youth and women in majority of blocks" (Acharya, 1990: 74). The Nehru Yuvak Sanghs in Borigumma block in Koraput district of Orissa took the lead role in the effort to impart new skills and diversify rural enterprises. As a

consequence, not only in Borigumma but in few other blocks also, women, both young and old, formed a sizeable proportion of the beneficiaries.

Our purpose in citing this example of an innovative approach is to dispel to some extent the prevalent pessimism about the scope for the revival of cottage industries. There is ample dormant talent, mainly amongst women, even in distant tribal villages, but in our zeal for rapid industrialization through modern large-scale industries, we have ignored indigenous traditional enterprises. Large-scale industries have undoubtedly necessary, but while encouraging their establishment, we should have attended with equal zeal to the task of upgradation of skills and technology in the traditional enterprises and their institutional infrastructure. There is, no doubt, a plethora of income and employment-generation programmes. Substantial financial allocations are made, supplemented by subsidies, rebates, and reservation for these programmes. But as we have seen, these interventions have failed to stem the decline of household industries. Indiscriminate, if not excessive, protection has perhaps done more harm than good to the traditional sector. What is needed now is more dedication and some innovative ideas.

The innovative approaches we are talking about comprise many components of an integrated package. Adopted in isolation, each component can make some contribution to the effectiveness of the preferred patterns of employment generation, but it's worth will be considerably enhanced when linked to other components. For example, training under TRYSEM (training of rural youth for self-employment) will be of no use if the jobs for which the persons are trained produce goods or services for which there is inadequate demand.

The components of the new approach include market survey, product diversification, technological up gradation, extension geared to elicit workers' participation in decision-making, training in skill-formation, in design orientation, entrepreneurship and management, cost reduction through elimination of exploitative intermediaries and their substitution by institutional agencies for credit, marketing and input supply and establishment of community service centers. The existing agencies like Khadi and village Industries Commission, Centre for Development of Rural Technology, Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (CAPART), District Industrial Centers (DICS) should be persuaded to adopt such a comprehensive approach, constitute coordination and consultative committees and mutually support each other's work.

In case of Chanderi there was also widespread distress and disappointment but all that changed for better due to the intervention of various international, national and civil social intervention. In 2003 things changed with UNIDO's facilitation, when SHGs (Self-Help Groups) of the weavers were organized and Bunkar Vikas Sanstha (BVS) was established. The mission was to enhance the capacities of the weavers and streamline production and marketing. Today BVS has an executive committee

comprising 13 members from the traditional weaving communities, out of which three are women. With enhanced skills, expanded credit options through their own micro credit programme called Apna Kosh, extended market linkages and new product lines, the members of BVS enjoy regular work and better incomes. In their own words, “More than anything else, it is our independence we cherish (an unnamed respondent)”.

Hope Amidst Despair: Some Reflections. Globalization has been often derided as reigning deity of capitalism and has only benefited the rich and privileged but in actuality it is not so. Like many other theories and concepts globalization too has seeds of benefits. Globalization can be defined as a synthesis of integration and differentiation. The roadmap to globalization is essentially culture. The reason of American domination is not just about economics but also about culture. Hollywood is as important as the harbinger of globalization as that of Wall Street, but we seldom realize the progress of culture through our myopic understanding of situation. In the era of rapid transformation places like Chanderi are not deadwoods rather they offer plentitude of opportunity and numerous avenues. The potential of Chanderi in redefining couture is immense and the people have shown unequivocally their desire to embrace change. They have shifted from mere saree weaving to weave dress materials, have changed the designs according to the demands of market and have used cottons to bring down the cost so that they poor can afford. The global acceptability of Chanderi sarees and their marketability is beyond doubt as in 1995 in the International Festival in Paris Chanderi sarees came first in terms of design and quality. The foray of local traders and cooperatives selling Chanderi sarees in various fairs organized by governmental and non-governmental organizations have also drawn favourable response as confided by the Secretary of a local cooperative. In my interaction with the leading masters weavers of Chanderi like Mr. K. L. Bharati, Mr. Jaju, Mr. A. C. Jain and Allahabadi brothers revealed that though state of the trade has not sunk to its lowest ebb yet masters weavers particularly those are in fringe are reluctant to pursue the trade as the profit margin is slowly and surely sinking. Further, in the absence of strategic advertisement and aggressive marketing the growth of the trade has stunted over the years. But they all agree with one view that the fate of craft has wriggled with uncertainty and without outside it is difficult bring it back on rail though it has tremendous potential and I do concur with them. I am sure that if the benefits of globalization can be tapped and its machinery can be used effectively in linking the local to the global and channelizing global resources to buttress the local cause then we can change the face of impoverished rural India. The tremendous capacity of global market and its mandarins of management can certainly help us in transforming the countryside and community by eradicating poverty, increasing employment potentials and endearing education but only with a little bit of support and human ingenuity. The Community and culture do not require the sympathy

of suave, urbane and articulate donors, it will be too much for their pride but they need their empathy and support to revive their promise and transform it into performance. Chanderi can be beautiful example for us from another point of view i.e. it composite culture and here I do not mean the craft or commerce but bond of conscience and community sentiment. It a place where one can find an amalgamation of Hindu, Jain, and Islamic culture, each one resplendent in it own glory and lofty tenets, a cultural mosaic. It is where one can get up early morning with the mystical yet magical incantation of ‘Azan’ (morning prayer of Muslims) as well as mellifluous ‘Supravatam’ majestically rendered by M. S. Subhalakshmi. Despite the threat of communalism haunting virtually every nook and corner of India, Chanderi has remained as calm as an autumn sky. It has maintained its tradition of communal amity, fellow felling and love for religious diversity.

The current research was an endeavor to study the linkage between culture, development and entrepreneurship. In order to examine the link through empirical verification a fieldwork was conducted in a small town named Chanderi. In course of the study many other significant aspects of social reality and variable were confronted and at times were analyzed depending upon their relevance and importance to the study. Some of the issues studied and analyzed were the social composition of small towns, the question of rural industrialization, the perspective of globalization and the emergence of IPR regime and its impact on silk trade of Chanderi, the cultural context of the silk trade and relations of production built around it.

In a broader sense the story of Chanderi is the story of modern India, the story of globalization and discourse of tradition and modernity. Viewed from the Marxist perspective it affirms to the theory of dialectical materialism sans a bloodied revolution and economic interpretation of history. The control of means of production by a particular class (master weavers) to a large extent and the social relationship built around it confirms the economic determinism of Marxist theory. However, the level of exploitation, deprivation and class antagonism depicted in Marxism is far from the reality in Chanderi. There is an existence of class and a degree of class exploitation but certainly no class conflict to the extent prophesized by Marx. But a perspective of dialectical materialism does add an important dimension to the analysis.

The study of sociology of social stratification and social change has immensely contributed to the understanding of social structure and dynamics of Indian society especially the context of social relationship and the impact of new technology and the subsequent change in attitude and aptitude. It is true that technological modernization has ushered a new set of values among the people who were essentially governed by customs and traditions. It is was not just modernization but a set of indigenous and exogenous factors of change viz. democratization of society, industrialization, westernization, urbanization to name a few which modulated the course of Indian society during the early 1950s-80s. These processes affected the social structure and

function in most of Indian society simultaneously and often sequentially. The impact of modernization was felt on choices of people, their language, values, education and economic aspirations. It is in this context, the study of Chanderi remain valuable simple because the craft of clothing in Chanderi and lifestyle and worldview woven around it saw a significant transformation. The decline of traditional elite and connoisseurs of fine silk (the traditional patrons of the cloth) in the event of India's independence and subsequent support of government through cooperative besides the declining preference for traditional cloth in the event of modernity affected the very mode of production and the relations of production built around it. This perspective provides an insight into the transformation of Indian society based on a micro-structural analysis albeit with an emphasis on entrepreneurship.

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