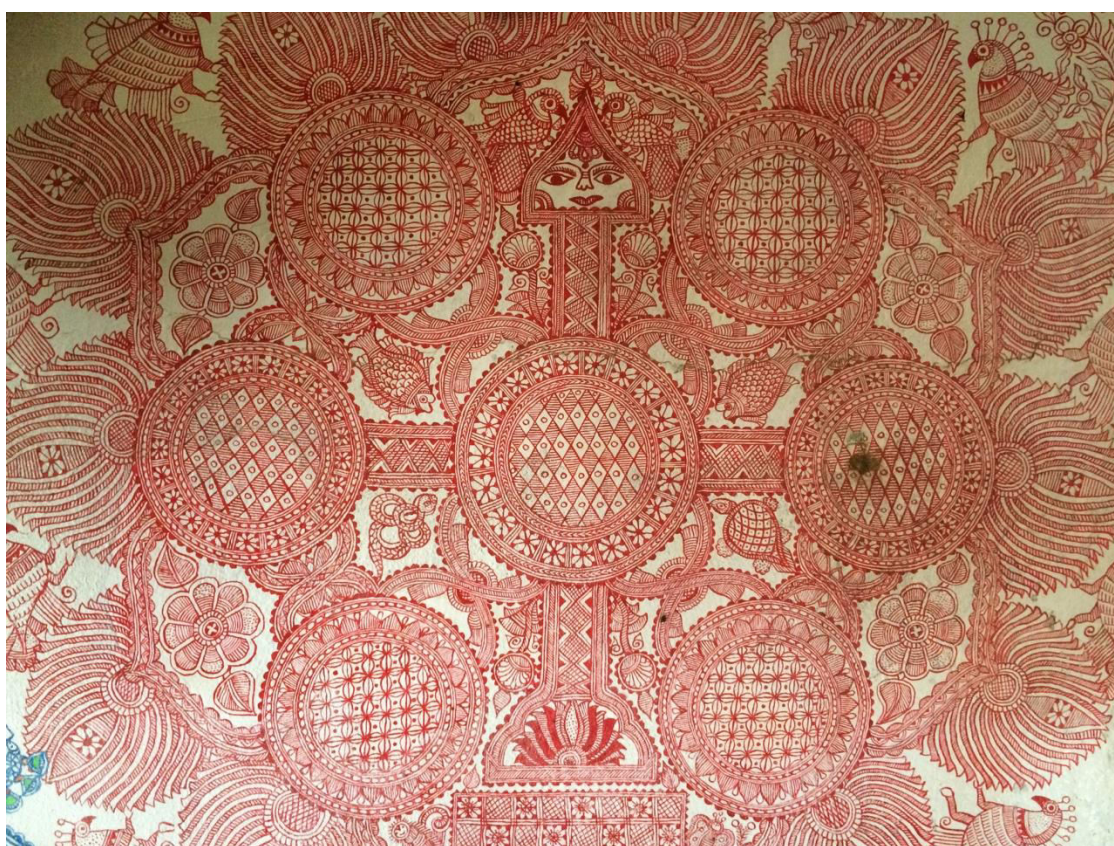ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

CEE MASTER THESIS 2015-16
THESIS TITLE: 'In stock' on Amazon: The Cultural Globalisation and Deterritorialisation of Madhubani

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Image: Kohbar painted on the walls of the conjugal room of newly weds

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ABSTRACT

Master Thesis Title: 'In Stock' on Amazon: The cultural globalization and deterritorialisation of Madhubani.

RQ: How has globalization affected the development of Madhubani paintings?
Sub-questions:
1. What has been the impact on production for the artists?
2. What are the implications of the developments in the distribution of Madhubani?
3. Who are the different intermediaries involved in the exchange and promotion of Madhubani?

Keywords: Globalisation, deterritorialisation, commodification, circuits, India

This study is an investigation into the journey of Madhubani from India to Amazon has reconfigured and reconstructed the art form itself. Hence, determining the 'circuits of commerce' (Zelizer, 2004) will be indispensable to understanding the infrastructure that has aided the flow of Madhubani from the local to the global art market and responsible for the modification and repositioning of traditional Indian art from its ceremonial, traditional moorings, to its now decorative or commodified use.Their sale on Amazon signals its deterritorialisation (Tomlinson, 1999) wherein as Appadurai (1990, 1996) elaborates, it affects the loyalties of groups, the manipulation of currencies and other forms of wealth, which can fundamentally alter the basis of cultural reproduction; the art then no longer remains bound to the same territory or is culturally homogeneous. The Madhubani paintings adorning the walls of a house have been stripped off their original meanings, serving merely as an aesthetic addition to a house's décor. Hence, as Crane (2002) asserts, it becomes necessary to question what is 'local' in this era of globalisation.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Sections:

- Introduction
- Background and motivation
- Societal and policy relevance

At Santosh Das's residence

1. INTRODUCTION

Congruent to the globalization and liberalization of India in the 1990s, and the subsequent opening up of its domestic markets, the Indian contemporary art market too witnessed a steady growth. This is evident by the demand for the works of artists such as MF Hussain, Tyeb Mehta, SH Raza and Subodh Gupta in the international art market and the prices they command at art auctions. Similarly, the presence of traditional Indian art forms like the Madhubani on Amazon, which is the world's largest online retailer, implies an active consumer base who demand such artworks. Yet, as Shaban and Vermeylen (2015) opine, the Indian governmental support for the arts through holistic policy measures and cross-sectoral linkages is lacking, in addition to a paucity of systematic collection of data assessing its size and contribution to the Indian economy. This begs the question on how traditional Indian art forms like the Madhubani are up for sale on Amazon. What are then the circuits of commerce in operation, which have been pivotal in facilitating exposure and identification of traditional Indian art forms in the global art market?

2. BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

It all started with a casual conversation with Prof.Filip Vermeylen that he had been gifted a Madhubani painting and he had been mulling about how the painting managed to reach the international shores. Interestingly enough, I remember years ago when with my mother I brought home a multitude of Madhubani paintings from Dilli Haat (a government supported marketplace for craftsmen from different Indian states to sell their wares). All I was aware was the fact that Madhubani belongs to the state of Bihar, and that the paintings after we hung them in our house added a nice visual aesthetic feel to the domestic atmosphere. Clearly at that time I had not realized that my mother and I had actively taken part in a clear case of stripping off of the original meanings of the paintings, thereby contributing to its deterritorialisation.

Perhaps the above mentioned personal awakening was a key reason why I decided to pursue a research on Madhubani. Before I begin outlining the research, I want to recount how it was a curious coincidence, that around the month of November 2015, when I picked up Indian author Amitav Ghosh's much feted Sea of Poppies novel, the first of the Ibis Trilogy, I did not realize that much like the turbulent journey of the protagonists of the novel, I too would be undertaking a journey running parallel to the trilogy. In the novels one of the main characters is named Deeti, who is a poor woman living in the village of Ghazipur in Bihar. She hails from Madhubani, yes, you read that right, Deeti in the book hails from Madhubani and learns the art of painting from her mother and grandmother. Throughout the book she paints on whichever surface she finds, important events in her life, all in the technique and style of Madhubani.

So much like Deeti, who begins her journey on the Ibis ship, I first started with a detailed online journey into scourging all historical and latest information on Madhubani, attempting to map out the main patterns and events in the course of the evolution of Madhubani. With that I realized that there were some key actors or intermediaries who had been responsible for the popularization of Madhubani, both nationally and internationally. Hence the initial research and sub-questions were as follows:

RQ: How have different intermediaries affected the distribution of Madhubani paintings?
Sub-questions:
1. Who are the different types of intermediaries?
2. What are the implications of the changes in distribution for the transformation of Madhubani?

However, parallel to Deeti having to shed off her previous caste affiliations, forging new bonds and doing all that she could to survive, in the process of my ethnographic and exploratory field research, I too realized that the focus of my research had shifted. Largely due to the data collected, the profile of the respondents and the probes substantiated, the new research and sub-questions became the following:

RQ: How has globalization affected the development of Madhubani paintings?
Sub-questions:
4. What has been the impact on production for the artists?
5. What are the implications of the developments in the distribution of Madhubani?
6. Who are the different intermediaries involved in the exchange and promotion of Madhubani?

The above questions I felt did more justice in light of my data collected, and also provides a more holistic view on the development of Madhubani. Thereby, the chapter on Literature Reviews contains a detailed explanation and exploration of the requisite theories on globalization, deterritorialisation and commodification, relevant to the research. The subsequent chapters on research methodology, data analysis and results and finally the conclusion contain the main bulk of the research, where the ethnographic field research is explained, the data collected analysed, coded and finally the results and conclusions written down.

When Deeti finally lands in Mauritius, free from the casteist and patriarchal shackles of the Indian society, she decides to paint her journey on a cave wall. Similarly, this research is not only my own journey into discovering a rich traditional cultural heritage of India, but as you read, and as I too discovered, Madhubani too has had a similar fate as Deeti. The painting hanging in Prof. Filip Vermeylen's house too has been freed from any caste distinctions, and also a powerful economic independence tool for the artists involved.

7. SOCIETAL AND POLICY RELEVANCE

This research has societal relevance since it can be an important guide for the formulation of government policies on art and implementation of promotional strategies for other regional art forms in India. Such policies can have a positive impact on the livelihood of the artists involved. Moreover, an in-depth analysis on the prevailing infrastructure and practices in the local art market will be an important insight into determining its sustainability in the long run.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Master Thesis Title: 'In Stock' on Amazon: The cultural globalization and deterritorialisation of Madhubani.

RQ: How has globalization affected the development of Madhubani paintings?

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1. What has been the impact on production for the artists?

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Sections

- Brief history

- Form and content

- The social life of Madhubani

- Construction of cultural identity

- Cultural globalization

- Cultural heritage and its deterritorialisation

- Network system and intermediaries

- Conclusion

1. BRIEF HISTORY

Madhubani painting is an umbrella term for the ritualistic paintings that have been practiced by the women of the Dusadh, Kayasth and Brahmin castes of the Mithila region in the northern part of the Indian state Bihar. Hence, the Madhubani paintings might often be referred to as Mithila paintings. Practiced mainly by the womenfolk, its origins are often traced back to the age of Ramayana (a Hindu mythological epic), when one of the rulers named Janaka who was ruling Mithila commissioned an artist to make a painting of his daughter (ijsrp). Madhubani paintings are unique in the sense that they symbolize domestic religious observances. Using bold colours and geometric patterns, the paintings are an expression of day-to-day experiences and beliefs. Davis (1994) elaborates how during the annual festival of Durga goddess, the women would paint their kitchen walls with that of the goddess, and importantly he states, that the women would put their artistic efforts the most on painting the wedding chamber of a newlywed. The women considered it an auspicious event, wherein a virgin woman would be transformed into a productive and reproductive woman. The paintings in the wedding chamber was to symbolize this productivity and prosperity of the newly weds. As such, most of the paintings on the inner walls were meant for private consumption and purposes, and hence unbeknownst to most people outside. This changed when Mithila was struck by an earthquake in 1934.

In 1934 after the earthquake, when art historian W.B.Archer, who was the sub-divisional officer in Mithila was doing his rounds of the villages to evaluate how much damage had been incurred, he was awestruck by the paintings in the inner walls of the houses which had become exposed due to the earthquake. As an avid student in post-Impressionist art at Cambridge, he immediately recognized the significance of the paintings and recognized it for its modernistic approach. He was subsequently able to conduct a broader survey of the Madhubani paintings and wrote up his findings in an article titled 'Maithil Painting' which appeared in the 1949 issue of Marg, a journal which was devoted to Indian arts. After the 1934 earthquake, another natural disaster was to prove decisive for the Madhubani. In 1966-67, a severe drought struck the state of Bihar. Davis (1994) explains how Pupul Jayakar, then the chair of the All Indian Handicrafts Board, recalled Archer's article and decided to supply

the women artists of Madhubani with paper and encouraged them to paint their traditional designs so as to make them marketable. The Handicrafts board would then arrange for them to be sold and the funds would be used in the famine relief fund. This scheme was to set in motion the commercial success of the Madhubani paintings and adorned in the galleries of Delhi, Mumbai and even Toronto and London. Ten years later after the drought and the commercial success of the paintings, an American anthropologist called Raymond Owens while conducting his research in Madhubani was distraught on finding out that the commercial dealers were grossly underpaying the artists. He offered to buy the paintings for five to ten times the dealer's prices and on his return to the US he showed the paintings to his fellow anthropologist David Szanton. In 1980, together they established the Ethnic Arts Foundation, a non-profit organization which is dedicated to the sustenance and preservation of the Madhubani painting tradition. The foundation now mounts exhibitions and sales of the paintings and returns the profits to the painters. The foundation also established a free Mithila Art Institute in Mithila in 2003 to train the next generation of Madhubani painters.

At the residence of Santosh Das, a bride and groom painted during a wedding ceremony

The famous Kohbar which is painted at the conjugal room of a newly wed couple. This is at Godavari Dutta's residence

2. FORM AND CONTENT

If earlier the paintings were meant only for familial or private consumption and a community affair, today they are being mass produced and an important livelihood for the painters. The story of Madhubani has now been reconfigured and reconstructed. The 'form' and 'content' of the Madhubani have drastically transformed over the intervening years between when it was discovered by W. B. Archer in 1934 to now its availability on websites like the Amazon or online auction websites like the Saffronart. The inseparability of form and content is as old as Aristotle, and according to Kant (1770), 'form' without 'content' is empty; and 'content' without 'form' is 'blind'. Simply put, 'content' means what's being said, and 'form' means how's it being said. For instance, before Madhubani became popular, its 'content' depicted day to day activities, ceremonies like weddings or a ritualistic story of Gods and Goddesses, within the 'form' of a wall or a floor. Today the 'form' is a frame size or even the clothing being produced with Madhubani designs, and the 'content' varies from

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socially relevant issues to distinctive styles developed by individual artists such as Ganga Devi and Sita Devi.

The concept of form and content borrows largely from language, when scholars tried understanding how the form, structure and rules of a language can govern the content. The school of formalism view form and content as inseparable, and consider form to be determined by the taste of the society. Ferdinand de Saussure, the founding father of 'structuralism' and considered the first 'formalist' held that all elements of the human culture are parts of a system of signs that can only be comprehended when set against the larger backdrop of a social context. Hence as Rekha (2010) writes, Archer in his research on Madhubani instead of consulting the women artists on what the local motifs in the Madhubani paintings connote, turned to the 17th century poet Herrick's for his understanding. Hence, this led to the motifs of lotus and bamboo being concluded as representative of human sex organs, forming the basis of interpretation for many scholarly work later on. This interpretation was later reworked and challenged by other researchers, of which will be discussed later. However, this example illustrates Saussure's and other formalist's approach in foregrounding the importance of social context while attempting to comprehend the form and content. Ransom (1970), while elaborating on the form, content, structure and texture of a poem, puts forth the term 'ontological criticism'. Ransom (1970) gives an image of room as that of a poem; walls of the room constitute 'structure'; paint and paper on the wall form 'texture'. Similarly, 'structure' or 'logical meaning', and 'texture' or 'local meaning' go into the making of the poet's meaning. This explanation can be reversed for the Madhubani painting. The erstwhile ceremonial moorings of the Madhubani dictated the form and the content, i.e. within the the walls of a room or within the boundaries of a floor, paints derived from local and natural material were put in a structure or a logical meaning, that were relevant to local customs.

A Marxist approach on form and content throws up the argument of 'form' being based largely on man's relation and history to his/her society, i.e. 'form' is an offshoot of 'content'. If the formalists advocated the 'content' determining the 'form', herein 'form' is merely a manifestation of the 'content'. According to Eagleton (2002), faulty form arises out of faulty content, form is changed, transformed, and broken down amidst the ephemeral changes in content. In the Marxist tradition, it is the world-view which dominates the writer's and in this case the painter's or artist's both content and form. However, the writer or artist

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might not be conscious of how the dynamic, ever changing world-view affects his/her output. Or as Jameson (1971) might argue, that 'form' is only 'the working out of the content' in the realm of superstructure. A brief search of the keyword Madhubani on Amazon reveals not only paintings, but also sarees, dig further and e-retailing websites like the emithilahaat.com also throw up Madhubani inspired jewellery and other decorative items. From a village in Bihar, to becoming a source of livelihood during droughts, to becoming a form of assertion for various caste groups, in this current post-modern age of globalisation and consumerism, the content of Madhubani has been transforming in sync with the changes in world-view.

Rekha (2010) elaborates on two important developments post W.B Archer which brought about distinct changes in Madhubani; 'the arrival of western scholars in Mithila and the international travel of artists'. She states this brought about incorporation of outside subjects and market demands. Rekha (2010) explains that scholars like Erika Moser, a German folklorist, Yves Vequad, a French journalist and Raymond Owens, an American anthropologist were instrumental in changing the focus of Madhubani paintings from traditional ritualistic imagery to popular images from epics and local legends. Gradually, earlier when Madhubani was a sole resort of the upper castes and dominated by their themes, encouraged by Moser and Owens, artists belonging to the lower castes (Harijan) developed distinct styles such as Gobar and Godana. Lower caste deities became prominent, in addition to other castes utilising popular mythological stories from Ramayana (one of the two most important epics of Hinduism) in their visual repertoire. A number of men too have entered the fray, and contemporary themes like feminism, environmental pollution, national and international events have also been portrayed by the painters. Efforts by the Ethnic Arts Foundation and Mithilasmita have drawn attention to such changes over the years.

3. THE SOCIAL LIFE OF MADHUBANI

The changes brought forth by natural calamities and various actors into Madhubani's pictorial and visual repertoire however begs an important question about the status and exchange value of Madhubani. In Appadurai's (1996) seminal work on the 'social life of

things' he proceeds in treating objects as living beings, acquiring and losing value, or gaining signification. Drawing from Simmel's (1978) claim, Appadurai (1996) argues that in following the paths via which objects get exchanged, it provides an insight into how 'desire, demand and power interact to create economic value in specific social conditions'. The path or the trajectory of an object might be understood as the object's life history or social biography (Kopytoff, 1996). In it Appadurai (1996) claims one can approach an object's life from a narrative point of view, taking into consideration all the socio-economic dimensions. He calls for a 'methodological fetishism' because, he claims it is only through the analysis of the 'lives' of things that the social context can be illuminated in a new way; 'we have to follow the things themselves, for their meanings are inscribed in their forms, their uses, their trajectories' (pg. 5). Even though 'from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context' (pg. 5). Commodities are not exchanged as isolated goods, rather they are exchanged via paths and diversions, with politics of relations, powers and assumptions creating links between exchange and value. Politics examines the demand-side of the commodities rather than the production-side to describe their value. Within the paths of exchange, commodities are agents. Hence for Appadurai (1996) questions on how do objects circulate and under what circumstances do they become exchangeable and gain value become important.

Appadurai (1996) argues that the commodity situation 'in the social life of any 'thing' be defined as the situation in which exchangeability (past, present, or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature' (pg. 13). The commodity situation can be broken into three features. 1) The commodity phase, which is the idea that commodities can move in and out of the commodity state. The movements can be fast and slow, reversible or terminal. Things may not always be commodities. 2) The commodity candidacy, which is a conceptual feature. It refers to the 'standards and criteria (symbolic, classificatory, and moral) that define the exchangeability of things in any particular social and historical context' (pg. 14). Commodity candidacy can refer to a price set by humans or the conditions under which humans exchange things. 3) The commodity context, which refers to the 'variety of *social* arenas, within or between *cultural* units, that help link the commodity candidacy of a thing to the commodity phase of its career' (pg. 15).

Hence, as elaborated earlier, to the women painting Madhubani in their walls and floor and the community acquainted and participating in the rituals, before the earthquake of 1934 the art work could not have been envisioned as a commodity. At that instant, the commodity state of Madhubani was negligible. When the earthquake struck the region of Madhubani in 1934, it provided for an important circumstance where the value of the Madhubani was suddenly alleviated. An art form which was traditionally meant only for local festivities and domestic consumption, gained traction and value due to W.B.Archer's keen eye. At that instant then Madhubani had entered the commodity state. During the 1966-67 drought, Pupul Jayakar's intervention entailed the transformation of the Madhubani form; i.e. she encouraged the women artists to paint their creations on paper so as to sell them and use the proceeds for the upliftment of the drought ridden regions. It set forth the foundation for Madhubani to acquire the commodity candidacy. The standards and criteria here, i.e the standards of painting on paper and the need to earn livelihood for the drought ridden region, made the art form eligible for an exchange. Such an intervention set in motion for the paintings to be exchanged, thereby becoming a valuable object. Furthermore, later Owen's intervention to bring about a positive change in the lives of the Madhubani artists lead to the circulation of the paintings in the international art market. Owen's setting up of the Ethnic Arts Foundation encoded the Madhubani paintings with significance, signalling to others the importance of the painting. The symbolisms and parallels which Archer drew from western counterparts acted as an important tool for promoters to raise the value of Madhubani in the eyes of the western audiences. So in addition to Jayakar and Owen's intervention, exhibitions in international and national museums, online retailers like the Amazon and emithilahaat, or a gallery like Mithilasmita and distribution centres like the Dilli Haat in Delhi, have provided Madhubani the required commodity context necessary to link the commodity candidacy of a thing to the commodity phase of its career' (Appadurai, 1996)).

Strategies to promote Madhubani by promoters included projecting the spirituality of the artists through the 'presence of gods and goddesses' (Rekha, 2010) and association with daily rituals. This Rekha (2010) asserts suited regional sentiments as well and the regional elite hailing from the upper castes 'welcomed this interpretation, as it enhanced their self-esteem'. Simultaneously, this also provided the women artists to channel their frustrations of the patriarchal set up through the medium of their art. Inspired by interactions and contacts with the outside world and people, various caste groups soon developed their own pictorial vocabulary (Rekha, 2010).

Appadurai (1990, 1996) in his discussion about global ethnoscape talks about the changing nature of group identity in their social, territorial and cultural reproduction. He explains that as groups 'migrate, regroup, reconstruct their histories and reconfigure their ethnic projects' groups are no longer then bound together in the same territory or are culturally homogeneous. Madhubani painting became an important form of caste identity for the artists producing them. If earlier the paintings were meant only for familial or private consumption and a community affair, today they are being mass produced and an important livelihood for the painters. Moreover, for some painters it has become an important form of asserting their identity, which is not culturally homogeneous. The story of Madhubani has now been reconfigured and reconstructed individually. Davis (1994) traces the journey of a well known Madhubani painter named Ganga Devi. Belonging to a Kayasth family (one of the caste involved in painting the Madhubani), she left her husband's home after he married a second time, and sought her friend Shakti Devi who had made a name as painter and was also a supplier of the paintings. Yves Vequaud, author of 'Women painters of Mithila' often bought paintings from Shakti Devi and spotted Ganga Devi's talent. And through Vequad's patronage, Ganga Devi gained recognition as an outstanding practitioner of Madhubani painting and in 1976 received a National Award for Master Craftspersons. She started travelling abroad for exhibiting her works and the Festival of India in the United States. In one of these trips, she was inspired to produce the 'American Series' paintings, wherein she adapted her Madhubani style of painting to reflect her understanding of America. She portrayed themes like the Disneyland and the Washington. This Davis (1994) claims could never have been envisioned within the earlier confines of the Madhubani paintings.

The example of Ganga Devi's might be explained by Appadurai (1990, 1996) as a rejection of the localized and bounded cultures into a reconfiguration of 'cultural forms in today's world as fundamentally fractal, that is, as possessing no Euclidean boundaries, structures or regularities' (pg.46). Ganga Devi's deviation from painting the previously regular symbols of Madhubani to painting a Disneyland can be seen as a reconfiguration of the Madhubani painting as a form, getting fragmented from its past. Similarly, Madhubani paintings being available for sale on Amazon is a signal of its deterritorialisation (Tomlinson, 1999). Heyman (2009) says that this reconstitution of form and space is not just deterritorialisation, but also reterritorialisation. Appadurai (1990, 1996) applies deterritorialisation to not only transnational corporations and money markets, but also to

identify groups and sectarian movements, which frequently transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities. He further elaborates that it affects the loyalties of groups, their manipulation of currencies and other forms of wealth, which can fundamentally alter the basis of cultural reproduction. For instance, Pupul Jayakar's intervention during the droughts in Mithila fundamentally changed the way Madhubani was being produced and distributed. And as Appadurai (1990, 1996) explains, deterritorialisation creates new markets, when the Madhubani painters started painting on the paper provided by Pupul Jayakar and subsequently sold in markets in cities like Delhi and Mumbai, it created a demand for such paintings. Post Pupul Jayakar, when Raymond Owens bought and took back a few paintings to the United States, the populace of America was acquainted with this form of traditional Indian art.

Urmila Devi with her painted canvas

4. CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

According to Tomlinson (2003), cultural identity is something that 'people simply had as an undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional long dwelling, of continuity with the past. Identity, then, like language, was not just a description of cultural belonging; it was a sort of collective treasure of local communities and the need to protect and preserve it' (pg. 270). As mentioned earlier, Madhubani is considered the birthplace of King Janak's daughter Sita, and Sita is a pivotal character in one of Hinduism's important mythological epic, the Ramayana. Hence the region in its entirety and in particular the artists, like to draw on the stories, fables and moralities around the Ramayana, and other similar mythological characters. It is an important marker, a pertinent piece of history and heritage to hold onto, and to pass it down the younger generation. According to Coomaraswamy (1956), Indian folklore speaks exclusively in the voice of the holy and sacred, and must therefore embody universal and eternal values. The district of Madhubani in Bihar consists of many artist villages, and Chatterji (2005) writes that village India, and in particular the domestic spheres represent an autonomous inner space, where untouched by modern times and colonialism, the people inhabiting such a domestic space are considered inheritors of a discontinuous tradition. To this, Coomaraswamy (1956) adds that it is 'folk memory' which serves as the wisdom for future generations, to continue a lived tradition.

As elaborated, Madhubani was initially painted within the walls of domesticity, and later as discovered in the interviews, a prime vocation of women who were not allowed to go beyond their courtyards, and hence most would inevitably learn the tradition of painting Madhubani from the womenfolk in their homes from childhood. In this regard, Dutt's (1990) conceptualization of folk traditions is an important study. According to him, the folk and traditional culture of Bengal represented the national culture of Bengal, and shaped by local powers in force and the religion of the local. If Dutt (1990) posits the distinctiveness of regional identity in India's folk and traditional practices, Mullick's (1991) study foregrounds the importance of caste distinctions and inequality. In his case study he speaks particularly about the tribal groups of Central India, inhabiting the Chota Nagpur plateau. According to him the movement for a separate tribal state was in conjunction with their separate tribal and cultural identity. Similarly, in Madhubani, the development of different styles later on by the lower caste groups was a strong action in their part to assert their unique cultural heritage and identity. Chatterji (2005) writes that post the independence of India in 1947, many Indian states invested considerable resources in reviving Indian traditions, and often such traditions were recast as 'classical'. It was also the time that many states in India were being

reorganized on the basis of linguistic identity. Hence, in this regard the production of locality by Appadurai (1997) and the production of culture by Peterson and Anand become pertinent.

For Appadurai (1997), locality is something contextual, instead of being a physical space. Locality is essentially constituted of shared ideas and beliefs. He argues that locality is inherently a fragile social set-up, which needs to be continuously monitored, or be threatened by modern societies. Often localities are maintained through local subjects, sharing or passing on their beliefs and ideas. According to him, much of what is deemed local knowledge is actually knowledge on how to produce and reproduce locality under conditions of flux. Madhubani as a traditional form of art, which is passed down from daughter to daughter (now even men have entered the fray, details are discussed in results), is the knowledge of reproduction of Madhubani. However, as Tomlinson (2003) writes, often the threat of modern societies, and in this case globalization can be considered a threat to cultural identity.

5. CULTURAL GLOBALISATION

Tomlinson (2003) argues for a more complex view of globalization process than is usually adopted. Globalisation, according to Albrow (1990), 'refers to all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single global society'. In economics globalization refers to spread of capitalist market relations, in international relations it is the development of global politics, in sociology it is the emergence of a world society and in cultural studies it is the cultural standardization of global communication. Tomlinson (2003) posits a more complex and multidimensional conceptualization, wherein globalization is 'operating simultaneously and interrelatedly in the economic, technological-communicational, political and cultural spheres of human life' (pg. 272). He asserts that globalization not only involves the simplified view of forced dissemination of a particular western culture, but a complicated two way and circuitous flow of cultural modernity. Such cultural modernity then institutionalized and regulates cultural practices and rallies around political differentiations of gender, religion, race, nationality and class.

In this regard, Peterson and Anand's (2004) production of culture becomes an important point of discussion. This perspective focuses on how content within a culture is shaped by the systems 'within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught and

preserved'. This becomes especially relevant, since as theorized by Appadurai's (1996, 2000), the cultural flows due to mediascapes, ideoscapes and ethnoscapes, can have a significant impact on the symbolic elements of a local culture being produced. Scholars with the viewpoint of producing culture focus on the expression and production of cultural goods such as popular culture, religious practices, art works and journalism. Hence with regard to Madhubani paintings, an important exploration is also the evolution of meanings of several motifs in the paintings. Not only have the paintings been an important vehicle for assertion of caste differentiation and cultural identity, but also a significant platform for women of Madhubani to assert their independence from the patriarchal shackles of the society. Moreover, keeping in mind Tomlinson's (2003) definition of globalization, it is important to map out key developments in the development of Madhubani due to local and foreign actors (Raymond Owens and Pupul Jayakar). Importantly, the initiation into understanding the key market participants (local, national and international), is useful in understanding the both the economic and symbolic market of the Madhubani paintings. As discovered later during the interviews and fieldwork, and which has been discussed in later chapters in detail, an important mark of Madhubani'c cultural globalization has been its transition into becoming a medium for artists to depict contemporary themes and their own individual style, a significant departure from its locality, and also highlighting Appadurai's (1996, 2000) argument on how the locality is under constant threat from modern societies.

6. CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ITS DETERRITORIALISATION

However, as elaborated above, the Madhubani has evolved much from its earlier ceremonious and private use to now a predominantly decorative or commodified use. The Madhubani paintings in my house have been stripped off their original meanings, adorning the walls of my house they now serve more as an aesthetic addition to my house's décor. Hence, as Crane (2002) asserts, it becomes important to question what is 'local' in this era of globalisation. Should the local be equated to a specific geographical location? In the case of Madhubani, even though geographically it belongs to India, its earlier local essence has evolved, and some might concur even lost. Tomlinson (1999), who coined the term 'deterritorialisation' rejects the geo-political conception of cultural influences, and rather would consider certain types of cultural phenomena as having transcended their identification

with natural cultures and becoming part of the global culture, that are mediated in part via communication technologies. The growing interest in traditional art forms like the Madhubani can be viewed as a global movement wherein local cultures are making use of technology and the globalized world to sustain and popularize local art forms. For instance, the e-retailer eMithilaHaat.com is an initiative by a young entrepreneur, who moved by his aunt's dismal financial state and the neglect of the Madhubani painting decided to establish an online retailing service for Madhubani paintings and similar products. Castell (1996) would define this as 'a space of flows', wherein the managerial and entrepreneurial elites function and spans cities and continents. He argues that networks form the basis of an internal organization of business and for relationships between businesses. According to Castell (1996), the network society becomes the dominant factor as opposed to the flow of power.

Browsing through Amazon or eMithilaHaat's collection on Madhubani paintings, one also comes across Madhubani inspired jewellery and clothing. Scholar would opine this as a form of hybridization, which Pieterse (1995) describes as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Pg.49). In the era of globalization with increasing inter-cultural flows of information and knowledge, Bhabha (1994) explains the phenomena of hybridization as an inconsistent way of production that produces conflicting meanings. Crane asserts that national borders become important sites of hybridization since in those areas ethnic cultures becomes dislodged from their national territories and become influenced by their counterparts in other countries. Canclini (2001) rightly points out that cultures today are border cultures, since they lose their exclusive relationship to a specific territory. In the context of global cultural flows, Appadurai (1990, 1996) talks of the 'production of locality', wherein he views locality as a series of links between 'the sense of social immediacy, the technologies of interactivity, and the relativity of contexts'. According to him, a locality is a result of rituals and ceremonies of naming, scarification, segregation, circumcision and depravation, which form boundaries and rules of organization, production and distribution. Moreover, Appadurai (1990, 1996) explains that, even in the smallest of societies, the relationship between production of local subjects and the neighbourhoods in which such subjects can be produced is a historical and dialectical relationship. He says that the long-term reproduction and sustenance of a neighbourhood is only plausible if a seamless interaction between localities exist. This brings us back to Castell's (1996) assertion on the importance of a network system, and in the case

of the Madhubani painting, the sustained flow from its locality to its neighbourhood (in this case the global art market), is due to the presence of a certain network system and intermediaries.
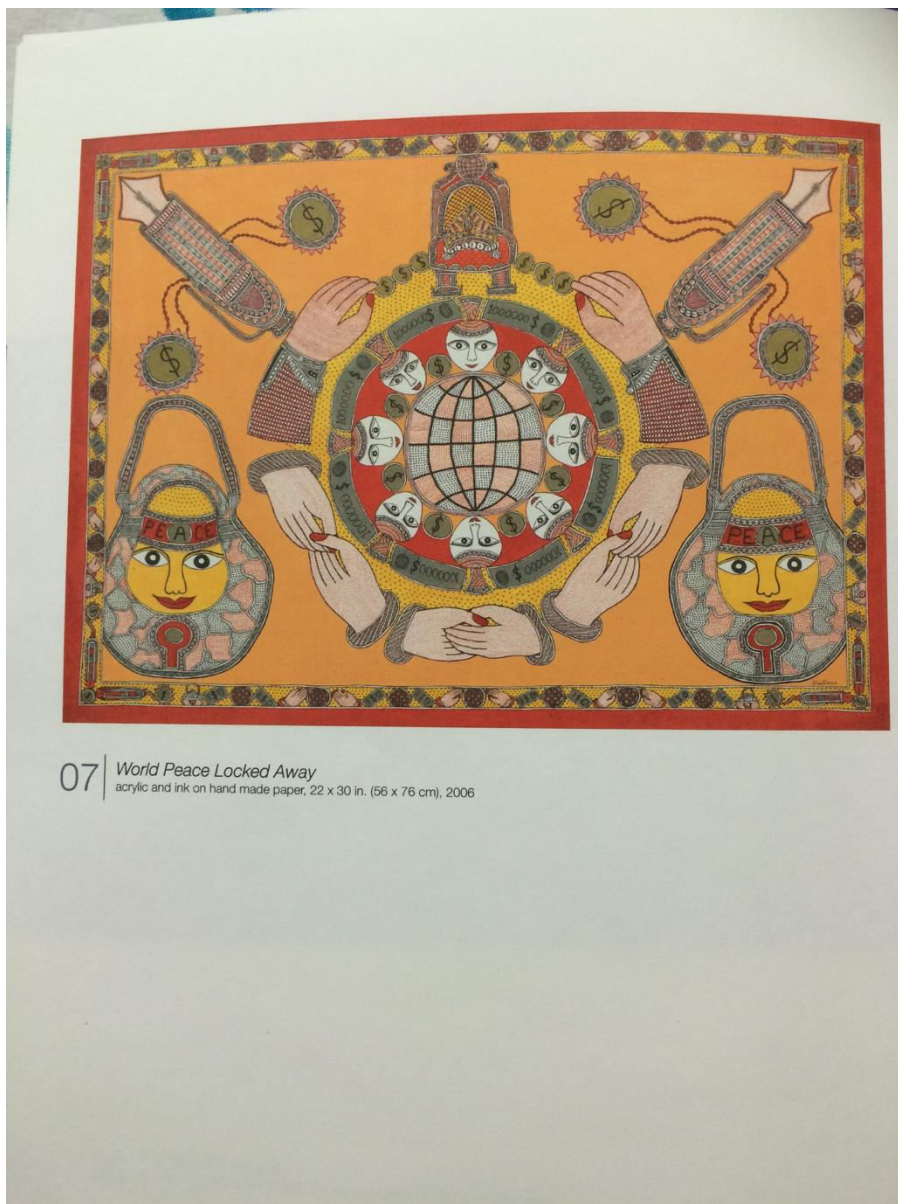
World Peace Locked away by Shalinee Kumari. Catalogue picture

7. NETWORK SYSTEM AND INTERMEDIARIES

Alexander (2011) in his paper that describes market as a character, enumerates how cultural economic sociology has determined that social networks and processes is what endows a commodity with an economic value. He further demonstrates that the 'market itself depends

on cultural meanings'. Earlier scholars in the field of economics, for instance Marx, (1962) considered 'commodity as an object outside of us', and that commodification in the midst of mass production stripped off goods of any subjective and cultural meaning. The market was thereby reduced to discrete, economic units, with only objective use values, discounting the importance of narratives and symbolisms. Hence, as Marx (1962) famously reiterated, 'commodity fetishism' ensured that alienation ruled over market capitalism. Simmel (1978) too emphasized how money embodied modern objectivity, denying any expression of subjectivity or personality.

However, Zelizer (2001) calls for an analysis of differentiated ties, wherein 'all sorts of social settings, from intimate to impersonal, people differentiate strongly among different kinds of interpersonal relations, marking them with distinctive names, symbols, practices, and media of exchange.'(pg.4), i.e. every network system consists of a continuous set of negotiated transactions in a social setting, amongst individuals, households and organisations. She expands on a phenomenon noted in Smelser's (1959) analysis of social change in the industrial revolution: the development of differentiated ties that cross household boundaries and involve household members in distinct forms of exchange. The ties can be personal or impersonal, vary in terms of the objects or service being exchanged, but each tie results in a circuit of movement of objects, people and symbols. Collins (2000) terms these differentiated ties as the 'Zelizer circuits'. Whereas Zelizer (2001), goes further and coins the term 'circuits of commerce', where commerce means conversation, intercourse, interchange and mutual shaping. Within the broad concept of circuits of commerce, she identifies three types of differentiated tie: local currencies, corporate circuits, and intimate circuits. In each of these circuits are examples of the personal mixed with regularized media and transfers and ties that differ in intensity, scope, and durability. Zelizer (2001) analyses how individuals bridge the unbridgeable gap between social solidarity and monetized transactions as well as the complex interplay of monetary transfers and social ties. She rejects the incompatibility which is believed to exist between the world of intimacy and impersonal rationality. It also rejects the reductionist view that this presumed separation is simply a special case of some more general principle, whether rationality, culture or politics. Zelizer (2001) offers a distinctive vision of economic activity that brings out the hidden meanings and social actions behind the supposedly impersonal worlds of production, consumption, and asset transfer. Circuits of commerce become important in light of the transformation and circulation of Madhubani because it ties in neatly with Appadurai's (1996) social life of things, where the life history of

an object becomes endowed with meaning, signification and value due to its exchange and circulation. The intervention by various western scholars and Indian actors have been responsible for the current popularity and transformation of the Madhubani painting. Importantly, it is important to note, as in Zelizer's (2001) concept of circuits of commerce, behind the economic activity of producing and selling the paintings, lies significant social action and meaning. Interventions from people like Raymond Owens and Pupul Jayakar was to alleviate the conditions of the people and region involved in the painting of Madhubani, in addition to bringing to attention the traditional form of art to the world, thereby trying to ensure its sustenance. Two important institutions in the circuit of Madhubani make for an important study into the differentiated ties and the social or monetary transactions of the art form. One, an art gallery and organisation called Mithilasmita based in Bengaluru, India, solely for the purpose of promoting and preserving the art form of Madhubani, and second the Mithila Art Institute, a free Madhubani art institute set up under the aegis of the Ethnic Arts Foundation, which was established by Raymond Owens.

Ethnic Arts Foundation and Mithila Art Institute

Raymond Owens when becoming aware of how the artists were being grossly underpaid for the kind of work they were producing, would buy the paintings at five to ten times the price offered by dealers. On his return to the USA, on sharing the paintings with fellow anthropologist David Szanton, both agreed to buy more paintings, sell them in the USA and also exhibit them. The proceeds would then be used to encourage the artists to develop their own styles and bring out their best works. In 1980, Owens and Szanton along with other colleagues established the Ethnic Arts Foundation (EAF) a non-profit organisation dedicated to the preservation and sustenance of the Madhubani paintings. In the early 1980s, Owens also made two documentaries on the history and evolution of the paintings. In early 2000s, it became apparent that the younger generation of older artists were not into learning the traditional art form, and the tradition was being threatened. Hence under the guidance of EAF, it was decided to set up a free Mithila Art Institute (MAI) in 2003 to help develop the next generation of Madhubani painters. Now 12 years later, it has graduated over 180 students, many having received national and even international recognition.

Mithilasmita

Mithilasmita was founded by a team of social entrepreneurs and changed from being a registered organisation under the Karnataka Shops and Commercial Establishments Act, 1961 to being a private limited firm in 2012. The organisation's focus remains on the traditional art and artists of Madhubani and as such strives to preserve as well as promote the themes of Madhubani paintings. A gallery was also established in 2010, featuring paintings, clothing and accessories featuring Madhubani art. Ihitashri Shandilya, the founder of Mithilasmita had been exposed to the world of Madhubani owing to her parents working with Gauri Mishra (also Shandilya's grandmother), who was involved in the promotion of Madhubani paintings. She had been particularly perturbed by the significant changes taking place in Madhubani in the form of use of artificial colours and support of mechanical devices. Wanting to preserve the original aesthetics of the art form, Shandilya who had been working in the supply chain industry before establishing Mithilasmita.

The Mithila Art Institute in Madhubani

8. CONCLUSION

Appadurai (1990, 1996) elaborates that in the face of an explosive growth of advanced communication tools, commodity networks and chains are reinvigorating and capitalizing on older commodity chains. Platforms like the Amazon and eMithilaHaat are a result of intermediaries capitalizing on new communication tools. According to Velthuis (2005), even though a comprehensive typology or literature on various intermediaries is still lacking in the art markets, it is understood that intermediaries like art dealers, critics, gallerists, artists and officials have performed a crucial function in the distribution and popularization of many artworks. Weyers and Ginsburgh (2005) discuss the importance of art historians in the canonisation of certain artists or artworks. They question if Vasari was a 'symbolic agent' who could influence subsequent art historians. Montias (1988) in his paper discusses the importance of art dealers in 17th century Netherlands as those who helped consumers in establishing the authenticity of the artworks and looking for artworks which the consumers preferred. By travelling to other towns, dealers would scour markets on the consumer's behalf and once they had a stock-in-trade would invite them to examine and compare artworks. Thereby in order to attempt to understand the 'social life' or the 'life history' of Madhubani, it then becomes imperative to factor in the role and interventions of intermediaries. Importantly, in trying to comprehend the commodity context of Madhubani, the various social arenas within which it is exchanged, the endowment of symbolic exchange and use values, and the intermediaries responsible for such symbolic exchanges to take place need to be studied and analysed. Institutions like the Mithila Art Institute and Mithilasmita can be understood as symbolic agents or intermediaries. They can be understood as Appadurai's (1990, 1996) local subjects within Castell's (1996) network system, and hence become important intermediaries; intermediaries who are not only responsible for the global cultural flow of the Madhubani painting, but also key to understanding the evolution of the art form.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Sections:

- Basic research concept
- Data collection
- Sample
- Ethical considerations
- Research methods
- Data evaluation
- Analytical methods
- Appendices
- Initial indicators

National Awardee Godavari Dutta at her residence

1. Basic research concept

Since my research entailed ascertaining the development of a network or a series of patterns by observing elements, events and people in the evolution of the Madhubani paintings, the research was a qualitative one, rooted in grounded theory. Grounded theory is an inductive methodology, which enables a researcher to seek out and conceptualise on the existing social patterns and structures on the chosen area of research.

2. Data collection

The data was collected via qualitative field research consisting of semi - structured interviews especially since a semi-structured interview is open, allowing new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what the interviewee says, and at the same time being able to stick to the core of the research.

As briefly explained earlier, the qualitative research would be rooted in grounded theory. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that such an approach allows the researcher to be scientific and creative simultaneously if certain guidelines are followed, such as:

- Thinking comparatively - comparing events to avoid biases
- Obtain multiple viewpoints - different perspectives of different participants
- Periodically stepping back - based on data accumulation, interpretations can be derived, however it is important to keep checking it against theory
- Maintain an attitude of skepticism - as one begins to interpret data, the interpretations should be regarded as provisional, testing new observations against interpretation

3. Sample

Non-probability purposive sampling, since the people/institutions selected for the interview are deliberate and thought out.

- Artists/students –

  ➢ The extent to which the popularity of Madhubani has affected its technique and form
  ➢ To what extent the popularity has positively affected the artist community especially with regards to women empowerment.
  ➢ If the role of artist solely as an artist or both as an artist and promoter.
  ➢ The extent of relevance of institutes like the Mithila Art Institute in encouraging artists and sustenance of Madhubani.

- <u>Mithila Art Institute (MAI)</u> –
  - ➢ To what extent has the institute's existence firmly establishing the popularity and sustenance of Madhubani.
  - ➢ Understanding the extent of the institute's role as an intermediary
  - ➢ To what end has the government supported the institute
  - ➢ To what extent has the popularity and rules of demand affected the objectives of the institute.

- Mithilasmita (Ihitashri Shandilya) –
  - ➢ To what extent is the role of social entrepreneurs important in the sustenance and preservation of Madhubani.
  - ➢ To what extent can Mithilasmita's unique hybrid profit/non-profit business model provide new departures on how promotion of traditional art forms can be pursued.

- <u>Ethnic Arts Foundation (David Szanton)</u> –
  - ➢ The role of the foundation as an international intermediary
  - ➢ To what extent was the role of the foundation instrumental in building international linkages that catapulted Madhubani into the global art market.

4. Ethical considerations

An important consideration to be taken into account while conducting the field research is a problem of 'reactivity'. It is when subjects or my sample with whom I am conducting my interviews, might react differently to the fact that they are being studied, as opposed to their normal behaviour in any other circumstance. Additionally, there can be a danger of my own biases creeping into the data analysis.
Note: permissions to record the interviews and take photographs would be taken beforehand. Most of the images used in the paper have been taken by me, unless otherwise mentioned.

5. Research Methods

The paper is based on the following 17 qualitative interviews and one via email correspondence

1. 13 artists, one of which is both an artist and seller of Madhubani paintings
2. Ihitashri Shandilya, the founder of Mithilasmita, a Madhubani painting gallery based in Bangalore, India
3. Kaushik Jha, administrative-in-charge of Mithila Art Institute
4. Narendra Narayan Singh Nirala, secretary of Mithila Art Institute

5. David Szanton, founding member of Ethnic Arts Foundation based on a questionnaire
Note: except for the interview with Ihitashri Shandilya and David Szanton's response to the questionnaire, all the interviews were conducted in Hindi, which were later translated and transcribed.

The initial aim of the research was to get an equal number of respondents from each group of people classified in sampling, i.e the artists/students and the founding members of the Ethnic Arts Foundation and Mithilasmita. However, due to lack of any previous ethnographic based research on the topic, I ended up pursuing an exploratory route while conducting the interviews. The main bulk of the interviews were conducted between 4th April 2016 to 8th April 2016. For the same I travelled to the district of Madhubani in Bihar from Delhi and spent a week there, visiting the Mithila Art Institute regularly, in addition to the artist villages of Ranti and Jitwarpur.

Kaushik Kumar Jha, the administrative incharge of Mithila Art Institute, on learning about the research focus of my thesis made valuable recommendations on which artists I should and could interview. He provided me with their detailed addresses and telephone numbers so that I could visit them and interview them. Hence, I am much indebted to his recommendations. It was important though to first establish a friendly rapport with the artists that I visited. The villages I visited were quite rural, where English is hardly spoken and the only language spoken is either Maithili or Hindi. Even though I had anticipated conducting the interviews in Hindi, I had not anticipated that the detailed questionnaire that I had made would have to be done away with. Keeping in mind the main points of probe, I would let the artists talk about themselves, how they started painting, how Madhubani has impacted their lives and the current developments. On hearing something of note to my research, I would ask them to elaborate more on it. Interestingly though, allowing the artists to talk what they felt like provided me with other important insights, which ultimately led me to change the focus of my research. Another important point of note is that due to my interview sample containing mostly artists, the research coding, analysis and results have been mainly arrived at from an artist's outlook and perception. A lot of the insights gained have been via the artist's struggles and their take on how Madhubani has developed. Because my initial focus was on exploring the intermediaries of Madhubani, the sample I narrowed down on, mainly the Ethnic Arts Foundation and Mithilasmita, interviews with the concerned people from these two intermediaries either served to be in sync with what the artists told me, or they had a different take on the same issues. This juxtaposition however was important for me as a researcher to comprehend a viewpoint from different sides and then try and understand them under the wider underpinnings of cultural globalization theories.

Furthermore, I was constantly making observations and taking notes. Going to the artist's homes did not only entail just swiftly entering, recording the interview and leaving. Indian hospitality requires that guests are served with food and whatever is at home to eat, this meant that in addition to interviewing the artists, I would spend considerable amount sitting with their families and talking to them about myself as well. In this way I was also able to locate a few interesting artists whose interviews turned out to be useful for my

research. For instance, the artist named Santosh Das, was a rare Madhubani artist who had been trained in fine arts at the Baroda Art Institute and spoke impeccable English. He told me for ten years he had practiced only drawing lines, so as to be able to master the line and then bring it out in his paintings. His paintings hence drew from the techniques and traditions of Madhubani, but the end result was a distinct fine art painting, unique only to Santosh Das as an artist. Talking to him in general was a sheer pleasure.

In the one week that I was staying at the Madhubani district, I also made it a point to talk to the locals around and in general understand the position of Madhubani paintings in its region of origin. In large parts even though most were aware of it, most were however unaware of its history and the local famous artists. Additionally, I also had the opportunity to go through valuable literature and brochures available at the Mithila Art Institute, which I later use for my analysis and results. As a result of my ethnographic, exploratory approach, I was constantly analyzing, making associations, adding new information and coding. The coding process was therefore constant, accompanied with regular readings and analyzing, re-analyzing the interview transcripts.

6. Data evaluation

The interviews conducted were of interpretive nature and consists of interview transcripts and field notes from observations. Three processes are blended throughout the study: collection, coding, and analysis of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It allowed me to be flexible and change my line of inquiry or move in another direction as new information and data are gathered. All interviews were tape-recorded and were semi- structured, informal and carried out in a conversational style.

Field notes were written in conjunction with the interviews, follow-up interviews, observations, and casual encounters with subjects. In addition to the interviews, I was also able to obtain other data throughout the study, such as comments from administrative and teaching colleagues, papers or other materials subjects given to me, and ongoing literature review.. All of the taped interviews, memoranda, and field notes were entered into computer files.

7. Analytical Methods

Even though the process of coding was constant from the beginning of research, post the interviews, each of them were transcribed and coded manually according to the guidelines established by the Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers by Saldana (2015). The initial coding entailed extensive open coding, which was done by making notes on the common questions that I had asked in the interviews and the responses to it. Post the initial open coding, transcribed notes and passages were linked to common themes or ideas in order to establish a "framework of thematic ideas about it" (Gibbs, 2007). A thematic based coding was then established, which has been discussed and explained in detail in data analysis and

results. Since the research was undertaken using a grounded theory approach, the subsequent ethnographic and exploratory research thus necessitated a second level of coding, wherein the thematic coding's were identified for several overarching theories, in order to understand how Madhubani had evolved and developed. Data was thus analyzed from a larger scale, to connect all the discourses on the interviews and arrive at a larger picture. The theoretical based coding too has been discussed and explained in detail in data analysis and results.

8. Appendices

Before continuing on with the chapters proceeding the research methodology, it would be useful to have a look at appendices since it puts in context geographically where the research was conducted, classification of National and State awards, details like differences between different Madhubani styles and castes, in addition to the interview guides. They will aid in understanding the data analysis and results much better.

9. Initial indicators

Cultural literacy
- Importance of creating awareness about Madhubani and its traditions
- Encouraging cultural literacy amongst the youth
- Projects, promotions and initiatives to market

Commercialisation/commodification
- Sale of Madhubani and related products via galleries, shops etc.
- Online retailing
- Some Madhubani styles becoming more popular as a result of its demand
- Puts pressure on artists/students

Government/private role
- Presence or lack of government support
- Private social entrepreneurship
- Personal motivations of private individuals

International outreach
- Activities which promoted Madhubani in the international market
- Demand by international clients who have made Madhubani popular
- Collaborations with institutions or clients abroad
- International media coverage

Madhubani from a folk form to an art
- Development of individual style
- Signing of paintings by artists

- Role of artists as promoter
- Innovation in the artform

Preservation and sustenance
- Future challenges
- Strive to preserve the traditional way of painting
- Encouraging more youth to join the tradition

Artist community
- Benefit to the local community
- Upliftment of artists, especially women
- Source of livelihood
- Women empowerment

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

1. DATA ANALYSIS

THIS SECTION DETAILS PRIMARILY THE CODING PROCESS AND EXPLAINS THE VARIOUS CODES IN RELATION TO SEVERAL THEORIES AND LITERATURE REVIEW.

SECTIONS:
- CODING PROCESS
- BRIEF EXPLANATION OF THEORIES

2. DATA RESULTS

THIS SECTION CONTAINS THE APPLICATION OF THE CODES TO THE DATA GATHERED.

SECTIONS:
- HUMDRUM INPUTS
- PRICING STRATEGIES
- COMMODIFICATION AND DIVERSIFICATION
- DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL STYLE AND CONTEMPORARY THEMES
- WOMEN EMPOWERMENT
- MARKETING AND PROMOTION
- DETERRITORIALISATION
- IDEOSCAPES AND MEDIASCAPES

- HYBRIDIZATION
- CULTURAL GLOBALIZATION AND INTERMEDIARIES

DATA ANALYSIS

CODING PROCESS

THEMATIC CODING	THEORETICAL CODING
Humdrum inputs	Deterritorialisation
Pricing strategies	Ideoscapes and Mediascapes
Commodification and diversification	Cultural globalization and intermediaries
Development of individual style and contemporary themes	Hybridization
Women empowerment	
Marketing and promotion	

Humdrum inputs

Marketing and promotion

+

Pricing strategies

Commodification and diversification

=

Cultural globalisation and intermediaries

Humdrum inputs

Marketing and promotion

+

Development of individual style and contemporary themes

=

Deterritorialisation

Women empowerment

Marketing and promotion

+

Development of individual style and contemporary themes

=

Ideaoscapes and Mediascapes

Pricing strategies

Marketing and promotion

+

Commodification and diversification

=

Hybridization

BRIEF EXPLANATION OF CODES

1. Humdrum inputs

According to Caves (2000), humdrum inputs are those activities which are combined with artistic inputs, in order to deliver the creative goods to the consumers. He makes a clear distinction between the creative and non-creative inputs or the humdrum inputs. He states that, 'Simple creative activities involve a single artist (source of creative input) dealing with one agent or enterprise that combines the artist's input with humdrum inputs and distributes (perhaps through intermediaries) the creative good to consumers.' For instance, for a book to be realized as a finished product, humdum inputs like printing, binding, packaging and designing go into it. Caves (2000) also explains how this seemingly simple relationship between the artistic and humdrum inputs might be the cause of several organisational issues. He illustrates that a 'humdrum entrepreneur might represent the artist or take part in a joint venture to develop and distribute the artist's product (talent), or the entrepreneur might hire the artist and assume decision rights over her creative activities.' Examples include a literary agent representing an author or a movie production house contracting an actor for a limited number of movies.

2. Pricing strategies

Caves (2000) states that 'cultural products differ unpredictably in the quality levels that consumers see in them'. Moreover, the artists who supply the creative or cultural products differ in skill, talent and originality. He illustrates the example of Hollywood's screenwriters, directors and producers who will agree to an A list and B list of actors. In economics terminology this refers to creative products being vertically differentiated, this Caves asserts is the A list/B list characteristic of creative goods. When explaining the differential rent in the A and B list category, Caves (2000) states that in a movie industry, an A list star is able to command more price for a film, as opposed to a B list star in the same movie. The differential rent is the maximum that an A list star can command. Moreover, Caves (2000) explains that in applying the rent concept, one is able to understand that no matter how cheaply a B list star sells his/her services, there won't be enough customers, and the star or the movie producers will find it difficult to cover the cost of the movie.

3. Marketing and promotion

In the context of creative and cultural industries, Caves (2000) exclusively discusses the relationship between an artist and a dealer. He explains that a dealer is much more than an order taker, a buyer or a customer might not be aware of which trends or artists in vogue, whereas a collector might be concerned about an artwork's future financial worth. Hence, a

dealer acts as a broker for both the artist and a buyer or collector, helping to alleviate an artist's worth and at the same time adding value to a collector's collection. Caves (2000) further elaborates on unattainable contracts between an artist and a dealer. Owing to the nobody knows characteristic of creative goods, it prevents both the artist and dealer from coming up with a fixed market valuation of the artwork. Additionally, the arts for art's sake prevents the artist from committing to a fixed value of the artwork. Thereby, according to Caves (2000), at best the relationship evolves on the basis of informal understanding, faith and trust. He states that 'anecdotal evidence on art dealers' background suggest that a taste for art plays a great role, and so does entrepreneurial skills'. Caves (2000) hence emphasizes that a common combination in a dealer is then of a taste in art and personal wealth from family or a previous occupation.

4. Commodification and diversification

A major characteristic of creative or artistic goods is their uniqueness. No two products are in the strict sense homogeneous. For instance, no two songs of the same artist are the same. Hence, this characteristic gives rise to monopoly rent, (Harvey, 2009) since artists are able to achieve monopoly status due to their exclusive control over the creative good, owing to its non-replicability. At the same time, monopoly rent also gives rise to a monopoly price. Harvey (2009) gives the example of a Picasso which can be purchased for capital gain, and then later leased out to someone for a monopoly price. However, as Harvey (2009) explains, owing to the tradability criteria of a good in a market, a good cannot be so unique so as to render it unsaleable. Hence, many a time creative goods under pressure from the market have to resort themselves to commodification or transforming into generic items to become tradable. For further discussion on commodification, commodity candidacy and rents, please refer to the literature review.

5. Deterritorialisation

Deterritorialization is considered a central theme in the discussion of cultural globalisation. It concerns the growing social presence of contact and involvement beyond the precincts of a local territory and social relations (Giddens, 1990). Such a process generates a closer involvement with the external, and a relative distancing from what is close at hand. Some key vehicles or carriers of this deterritorialization are a multitude of media and communicative network, which causes a profound transformation amongst the local nodes. Hence in this way globalisation transforms the relations between places we live, our cultural experiences and identities.

6. Mediascapes

Coined by anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1990, 1996), 'mediascape' refers to 'the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information" and "the images of the world created by these media.'It is particularly used in the field of media or information

sphere to account for the cultural flows of narratives, images and the fragmented media reality as a result of intensified global flows.

7. Hybridisation

With the emergence of communication technologies and media networks, which allow for swift transfer of knowledge, information and people, the outcome is that of a culturally hybridized space. National cultural and identity undergo a distancing from their origins. Homi Bhabha (1994), employs the term third space which signifies the 'in-between' location, wherein the minority seeks to preserve their strengths. He places hybridity in this 'in between' location, where local traditions and culture competes against the flow of outside influences. And often this competition results in a cross of separate traditions and culture. Thereby, according to Bhabha (1994), cultural hybridity gets constructed in a self-perpetuating circuitous power, where traditions and culture get routinely negotiated and modified.

DATA RESULTS

1. **Humdrum inputs**

A common caveat running in all the interviews with the artists was the dependence on the middlemen for the sale of their paintings. Madhubani district, which comprises of a number of villages are primarily villages constituting of Madhubani artists. The village of Jitwarpur, where I interviewed a few artists, one of them (Ranjan Paswan, 2016) remarked how the village contained a minimum of 85 (as mentioned in the interview) award winning artists. Entire generations of family have grown up learning this traditional form of art. For instance, in my interview of a father and a son artist duo, they explained that Madhubani was like agriculture to them (Ranjan Paswan, 2016) and their education, thereby becoming their sole source of income. However, the money earned from the paintings did not provide enough for them to physically travel to metropolitan cities like Delhi, Bangalore, Kolkata and Mumbai to market or sell their paintings. This, and their livelihood being solely tied to how many of their paintings get sold, was a decisive factor in them becoming dependent on the middlemen. This also means that their dependence opens up ample opportunities for exploitation by the middlemen, who can get away by getting a large cut from the paintings that they sell. And as mentioned by several artists in their interviews (Dulari Devi, Sushila Devi and Saroj Kumar Jha, 2016), entire families are run on the income earned by selling the paintings, so artists many a times are compelled to sell their paintings at any price. Hence, borrowing from Caves' (2000) concept of the humdrum inputs, the middlemen thus becomes an important humdrum and an intermediary.

As mentioned earlier, the villages in Madhubani are artist villages, where chronic oversupply of the paintings implies that not only the price of the painting reduces, but the middlemen also becomes the gatekeeper. Dilli Haat, an open air food, art and craft plaza located in Delhi is one of the popular markets where middlemen selling Madhubani paintings in hordes can be found. Sellers or middlemen can rent out space in Dilli Haat for a certain duration and sell the artworks. In my interview with one such seller named Saroj Kumar Jha, who has been selling Madhubani paintings since 20 years (Saroj Kumar Jha, 2016), enumerated that how he has in his roster nearly 60 artists from Madhubani. He physically travels to the villages, gathers all the paintings from the artists, and then proceeds to sell them in the metropolitan cities. To my question on how does he filter or select which artist's paintings to sell, he explained that if an artist provides him with 10 paintings, and if none of the artist's paintings get sold, then the next time onwards, he would not take any painting from that particular artist. On the other hand, if out of 10 paintings, 4 paintings get sold, then the next time he will buy only 4 paintings from that particular artist. Unbeknownst to Saroj

Kumar Jha, he has then been performing the role of a gatekeeper as illustrated by Caves (2000).

Saroj Kumar Jha selling at Dilli Haat

Sushila Devi, who is around the age of 45 and came to Jitwarpur when she got married at an early age, recalled that she learnt how to paint Madhubani by closely observing her mother-in-law. With no regular supply of electricity, she would paint under a lamplight. Her eldest son who has now finished his Bachelor's degree in science resides in Delhi and exclusively acts as a supplier of Madhubani paintings in various markets of Delhi. Based in Delhi, as Sushila Devi explained in her interview, her son is able to gauge which themes are the most popular when selling the Madhubani paintings, information of which he relays to his mother, and then Sushila Devi and the rest of her family paint accordingly. Sushila Devi also made an interesting point about how since her son was now educated he was more aware and informed. Similarly, when interviewing Saroj Kumar Jha at Dilli Haat, he mentioned that after completing his bachelor's education, he decided to use this knowledge to market the

Madhubani paintings. He got introduced to the paintings since his wife was an artist, and in the 20 years that he has been selling the paintings, he too learnt the art form from his wife, and is an awardee as well. Amidst these interlinkages and the merging of the role of an artist and a seller, one can also see the emergence of a humdrum entrepreneur, who a) represents an artist or various artists b) develops a joint venture like that of Sushila Devi and her son or Saroj Kumar Jha and his wife c) and finally represent a multitude of artists like Saroj Kumar Jha does.

2. Pricing strategies

In the interviews with several artists, some were state awardees and some national. Amidst the information gathered, there was a clear hierarchy amongst the artists, which had a direct impact on the price that they could demand. For instance, Godavari Dutta, an artist who is now aged close to 85 years old, won the National Award in 1980, and the Shilp Guru Award in 2006. Having visited Japan 7 times to demonstrate her skill in Madhubani painting, she commands huge respect amidst her peers and for her extremely detailed line painting. On asking her about how she prices her paintings, she said she was always firm with quoting a price from the beginning. She would quote a price depending upon the quality and hours of effort put into a painting by her. According to her, those who would understand the value of the art would immediately agree to the price quoted by her. She also felt that an artist's firm stance on pricing has an impact on the eventual valuation of a painting. Similarly, Dulari Devi, who has come a long way from being a maid in a renowned Madhubani artist's house to becoming a renowned artist herself, is able to quote a price which she sees fit for her paintings. She recounts in her interview that David Szanton, one of the founding members of the Ethnic Arts Foundation, encouraged her to be firm when it came to quoting a price for her paintings. Today, due to her fame and the income earned from her paintings, she is able to independently run her house.

However not all artists are in a position like that of Godavari Dutta or Dulari Devi. For instance, artists like Sushila Devi, Ranjan Paswan and Rajkumar Paswan in Jitwarpur are often unable to get their paintings worth. And because their livelihood and household expenses are inextricably tied to the income earned from the paintings, they often sell it any price. When explaining the differential rent in the A and B list category, Caves (2000) states that in a movie industry, an A list star is able to command more price for a film, as opposed to a B list star in the same movie. The differential rent is the maximum that an A list star can command. Moreover, Caves (2000) explains that in applying the rent concept, one is able to understand that no matter how cheaply a B list star sells his/her services, there won't be enough customers, and the star or the movie producers will find it difficult to cover the cost of the movie. Similarly, artists like Godavari Dutta, Dulari Devi and Rani Jha are A list artists. They are able to demand a high differential rent for their paintings, and thus not completely dependent on the middlemen or humdrum inputs. Whereas artists like Sushila Devi, Ranjan Paswan and Rajkumar Paswan, who also produce paintings in bulk, have to

resort to selling their paintings at any price, and are also more susceptible to exploitation by the middlemen.

Another economic consideration into the A and B list of Madhubani artists, is the visible phenomenon of the superstar effect. The model can be applied to the established artists like Godavari Dutta, Dulari Devi and Rani Jha, whereas emerging artists, but in our case artists like Sushila Devi are not emerging ones, but rather have not been able to gain a higher recognition as opposed to others. Caves (2000) questions if economic superstars arise solely due to talent? However, economics has no way of measuring intrinsic talent, and one way of understanding the phenomenon of superstars Caves (2000) says is to understand consumer behaviour like fads and bandwagon effects. Part of Dulari Devi's fame can be attributed to the fact that by happenstance she got employed as a maid in Mata Sundari Devi's house, who was already a renowned Madhubani artist. Under the tutelage of Mata Sundari Devi, Dulari Devi learnt how to paint and became famous. Importantly, a common refrain in all the artist's interviews where that those who understood the value of art would readily pay the price quoted by the artists. Many artists also mention buyers or consumers coming directly to their houses or villages after hearing their names, and buying their paintings. Moreover, the artists too employed price discrimination based on the profile of the buyer. For instance, paintings were sold at a higher price to non- Indians. This implies that from the demand and consumer's side, there is knowledge and information in the hands of the consumer about which artist is known. As a consumer myself, I would be willing to pay any price for a Godavari Dutta painting. However, because of the limited scope of this research, the demand side and consumer's information regarding Madhubani paintings has not been explored.
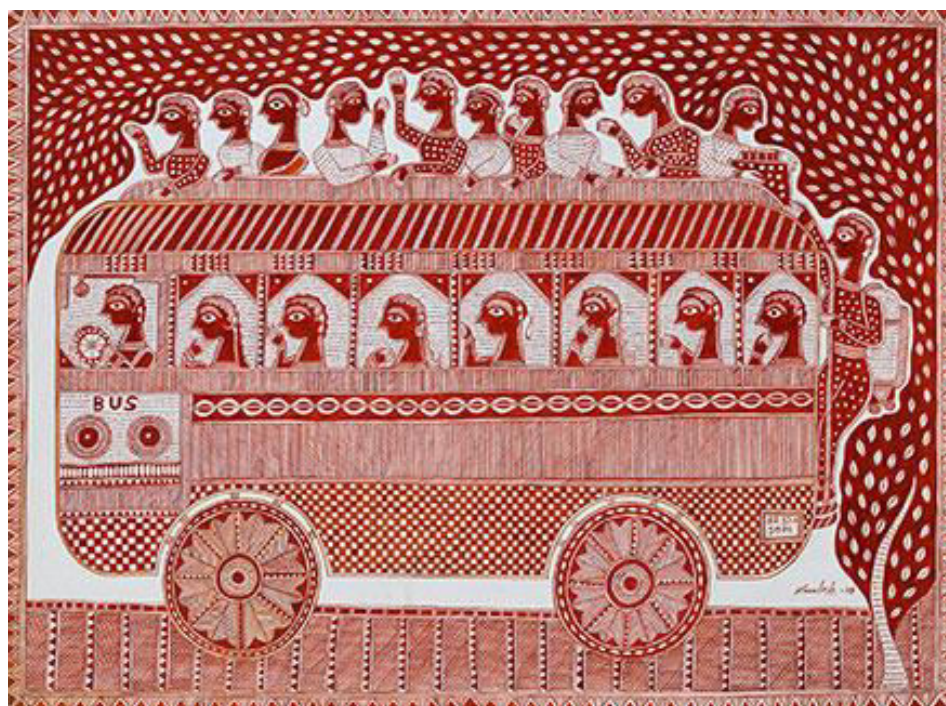
Kamlesh Roy painting titled 'The Bus' sold for Rs. 21, 450 at Folk and Tribal Auction of Story LTD in 2015, Source: LTD website

3. Commodification and diversification

Intertwined with price discrimination amidst the A and B list of artists is also the commodification of the art form. Sarwan Paswan, son of national awardee Urmila Devi, who learnt the art from his mother since childhood earns also by painting Madhubani motifs on ceramics and clothing items, in addition to creating canvases and paintings as well. Entering the workshop of artist Kamlesh Roy, one could see that his students were busy painting Madhubani motifs and symbols and stoles based on an order from a boutique in Delhi. On questioning him on this aspect of Madhubani, he explained that it is difficult to survive solely based on the earnings of the 2-3 paintings he manages to sell in one year. In order to supplement his income, the commodified aspect cannot be ignored. He gave the example of Kavidas, a renowned Hindi poet, who despite being known for his writing, was also known to be a tailor to earn an income, hence according to Kamlesh Roy, going commercial is inevitable. But he reiterated, that just like Kavidas's tailoring was of a certain quality and finesse, while dabbling in commercial forms of Madhubani, like sarees, stoles, crockery and many more, artists did not leave their art and techniques behind, only the medium had changed.

Kamlesh Roy's workshop, a girl painting a dupatta

Godavari Dutta too mentioned in her interviews how all her nieces based in Delhi earned a major part of their income through regular order from boutiques. However, she also cautioned how many artists would sell themselves short due to the popularity of the paintings. She explains that around 20-25 years ago (from interview transcripts), the value of Madhubani had reduced a lot. Once it became popular and artists started earning an income, especially since Madhubani is primarily a women's vocation and helps them to run their families, they thought that involving multiple people in the family to say paint 4 paintings in 10 days, instead of one painting in 10 days, will get them an even higher income. In this way there was an oversupply of paintings, so if a buyer or middleman placed an order for 10 paintings, the artist in order to get rid of so many paintings would sell 100 paintings for the price of 10! Hence the prices of Madhubani got extremely devalued. Ihitashri Shandilya, founder of the folk art gallery Mithilasmita had discovered that mass production of the paintings was rampant, and artists had started using scales and pencils to produce multiple paintings with the same patterns and motifs. Post the production of the paintings, 100 would be carted off to Dilli Haat, 100 to Surajkund Mela (an annual arts and crafts event held in Delhi), and similar such places. She felt this had polluted the art form, degrading the Madhubani paintings from being art to becoming a mere commodity. Another national award

winning artist, Shashi Kala Devi in her interview reiterated the fact that places like Dilli Haat, were literally a 'haat', since in the Indian context, a 'haat' signifies a weekly conglomeration of buyers and sellers exchanging groceries and daily necessities. Thereby the selling of the Madhubani paintings in spaces like Dilli Haat devalues the art further.

Eventually Godavari Dutta said, bigger well known artists convened a meeting to discuss the devaluation of the art form and how to tackle it. The situation now is better she says, as even though artists have started painting on sarees, stoles and bedsheets, the artists have stuck to the freehand style technique of painting Madhubani. Moreover, the secretary of Mithila Art Institute further stated that for a Madhubani artist to solely rely on earnings from the paintings is impractical and inconceivable. Income by Madhubani paintings earned can best be a supplementary one according to him. This line of argument is in sync with Caves' (2000) explanation regarding the supply of artist labour. He states that due to the elastic supply of artists, 'their competition will depress the average wage earned from creative work below the wage of humdrum labour, by an amount reflecting the strength of their preferences for creative labour' (Caves, 2000, pg. 78). Caves (2000) explains further that given the role of arts for arts sake when it comes to production by the artists, their pay would average less, and hence emerging of fledging artists resort to other forms of employment to earn an income, and in this case most Madhubani artists have had to venture into commercial output of the paintings.

4. Development of individual style

Before discussing the development of individual style of painting amidst the Madhubani painters, it is important to foreground that the early Madhubani (Davis, 1994) was painted on walls by the womenfolk as a community undertaking. Hence as is the practice in the western canon of artistic movements, painters signing their names on their paintings, walls painted with Madhubani were never signed by the woman or women who painted it. Yet in current times it is common for the national and state governments to routinely award individual Madhubani artists. Post the 1960s, with the intervention of Raymond Lee Owens, Tokio Hasegawa, Pupul Jayakar and Bhaskar Kulkarni, individual artists, with individual artists have emerged. Godavari Dutta for instance is not only known for traveling to Japan seven times in order to demonstrate her art, aiding Tokio Hasegawa in establishing the Mithila Museum, but also for her detailed line paintings. Within Madhubani, several styles of painting are observed owing to different caste affiliations. Belonging to the Kayastha caste, Godavari Dutta exclusively dabbles in Kacchni or line painting, drawing freehand paintings with black ink. Similarly, Urmila Devi belonging to the Dusadh caste is famous for her Godana or tattoo paintings.

Sushila Devi's signature in Hindi on the right corner

On questioning Dulari Devi on her individual style and what is the unique characteristic which might allow a viewer, customer or buyer to recognise it as her painting, she said that the jhumkas or earrings that she drew for her females in the paintings were extremely detailed and unique. On the other hand, Rani Jha, whose paintings have been exhibited and promoted by Syracuse University and is currently a teacher at Mithila Art Institute, chooses to focus on the eyes of her characters in her paintings. According to her, eyes are the windows to one's soul, and they reveal the inner inhibitions of a person, and hence her paintings are characteristic of big, detailed eyes. Additionally, an important development has also been the emergence of contemporary themes in the Madhubani paintings.

Signing names is also important for recognition and to avoid exploitation. Ihitashri Shandilya elaborates that for her folk art gallery to keep a track of which artists' paintings are selling well, so that the artists can also benefit from the increased income, artists from whom she buys her paintings sign their names. She cited the example of Ganga Devi, who for the longest time was exploited since her employer would sign her own name on Ganga Devi's paintings. Not until a french collector happened to discover the deception, did Ganga Devi's fame rose for her uniquely detailed line paintings. She later travelled to many countries and was awarded the National Padma Shri award in 1984.

However, signing their own name is not as straightforward for most artists. Saroj Kumar Jha, the Madhubani seller in Dilli Haat would stock paintings without any signature. His argument being that if the artists signed their names and wrote down their contacts, then buyers could directly go to the artist's house and buy the paintings. In such a scenario, marketers or sellers like Saroj Kumar Jha fall short, since then their role is eliminated. Hence for someone like Saroj Kumar Jha, an artist signing their name on their painting reaps no benefits. Raj Kumar Paswan, the artist residing in Jitwarpur had the same rationale to give, that while selling to cottage industry outlets or emporiums, the artists are dissuaded from signing their names and contact information on the paintings. Hence, this tension still exists, and also brings into sharp focus again the privilege of A list Madhubani painters to be able to better command both a price and recognition for their paintings.

5. Women empowerment and emergence of contemporary themes

Tied to the development of individual style is the emergence of contemporary themes among many Madhubani painters. Rani Jha, influenced by the hardships being faced by women in the society, including herself, has painted several paintings with the core theme being of women emancipation. She eloquently described the theme of her painting titled Pinjara (jail). In it there is a parrot inside a cage and a woman looking outside the window. Both are in a dialogue with each other, and both are trapped, albeit in a different type of cage. Similarly, she painted another painting with the theme of female infanticide. Going through the catalogue (Published by EAF) of Shalinee Kumari, who has distinguished herself in the current crop of painters and has to her credit a solo exhibition at Frey Norris Gallery in San Francisco, paints on a range of themes. In addition to focusing on the role of women in an Indian society, she also dabbles with issues on terrorism, capitalism and environmentalism. Similarly, Kamlesh Roy showed me his tree of life painting and a work in progress painting on the current prime minister of India. The students studying at the Mithila Art Institute have also ventured into themes depicting earthquakes and tsunami.

Painting by Shalinee Kumari, Catalogue picture
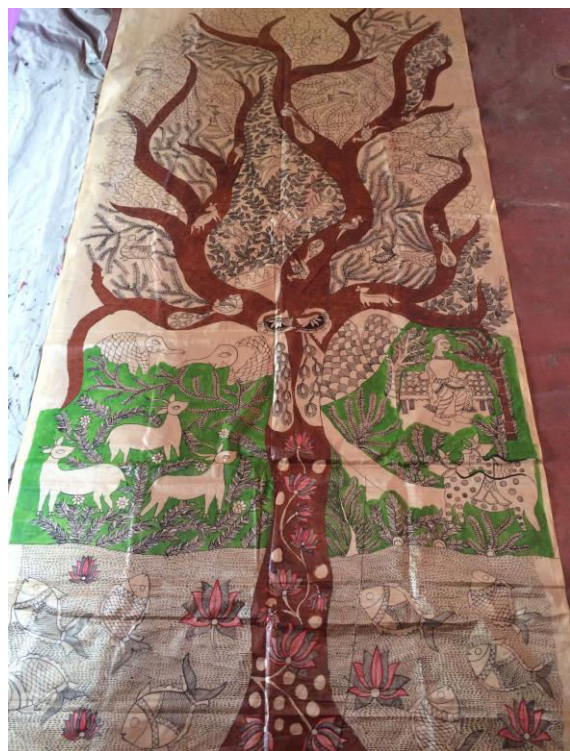

Tree of Life by Kamlesh Roy

An important recurring strain has also been that through the medium of Madhubani paintings, most women artists have been able to empower themselves and support their families. Rani Jha emotionally recounted that the only way she is able to express her desires and wants is through the paintings. She poignantly also stated that for many widows,

Madhubani was the only outlet to paint their aspirations and hopes (usually in the Hindu society, widows are forbidden from practising any leisure activities, eating meat and wearing colourful clothes). Godavari Dutta and Shashi Kala both narrated that owing to a conservative society, women earlier were not allowed to step beyond their house courtyards. The purdah (veil) system was strict, and women could only restrict themselves within the walls of their homes and amongst themselves. Urmila Devi had to for sometime give up painting since her husband would not allow it, fearing that outsiders will take her away abroad. Owing to the popularity of the paintings and many artists being awarded national or state awards, women were able to step out of their courtyards and eventually travel to several countries. Godavari Dutta now proudly says that she owes much to the tradition of Madhubani painting, since it allowed her to gain respect in her family. For artists like Dulari Devi, who are illiterate, the painting has turned out to be a boon for an entire family's standards of living. So if earlier Madhubani was merely a form of ritualistic painting, it is now an important tool for women empowerment and independence. For instance, Shalinee Kumari refused to marry and decided to pursue a career in art (EAF catalogue), and now frequently exhibits and lectures in Delhi.

6. Marketing and promotion

In light of this research, an important cultural intermediary has been the Ethnic Arts Foundation (role as a cultural intermediary discussed in detail in a later section). The prominent role of its founders Raymond Lee Owens and David Szanton (both Americans) was repeatedly mentioned in all the interviews conducted. Interviewing the administrative in charge of Mithila Art Institute, he explained how David Szanton travels to Madhubani annually, scours all artist's houses, buys the best ones, and then exhibits them worldwide. In this way Madhubani has been popularised in the USA, Canada and Europe. Once the paintings get sold abroad, the foundation then sends back the money to the respective artists. In an important example that Kaushik Kumar Jha (admin in charge of MAI) illustrated, a painting by artist Kamlesh Roy had been exhibited by the Ethnic Arts Foundation in the United States, which then got later commissioned by a hotel based in Vancouver for display in its restaurant. Similarly, Rani Jha's collaboration with Syracuse University and Shalinee Kumari's solo exhibition at Frey Norris Gallery were a result of Ethnic Arts Foundation efforts. Moreover, the foundation routinely applies for funds for the functioning of the Mithila Art Institute, and in the past has managed to get funds from Tata and an organisation in Luxembourg.
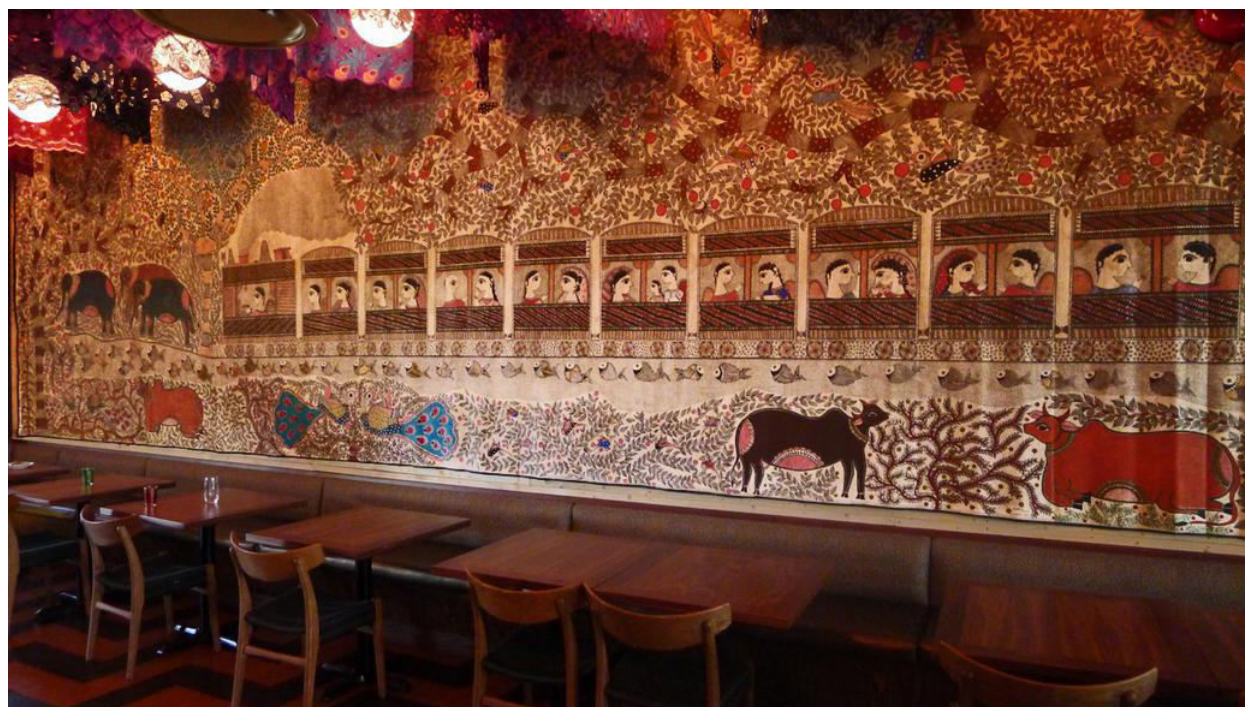
Kamlesh Roy's painting displayed in a hotel based in Vancouver, Source:MAI website

In particular, the establishment of the Mithila Art Institute by the Ethnic Arts Foundation goes beyond a mere artist dealer relationship. Started in 2003, the institute provides free training to 30 students each year in the skills and techniques of Madhubani. The institute's primary aim has been to encourage the young generation to take up Madhubani painting as a hobby, promote awareness about it and facilitate innovation. Students are selected after an entrance test, and out of the 30, the best 8 then proceed to the second year. During the first year the traditional techniques of painting Madhubani are taught, whereas in the second year, students are encouraged to innovate and paint on contemporary themes. Furthermore, the institute also endeavours to sell the paintings of the students, both independently and when David Szanton comes annually to buy the paintings. Both Shalinee Kumari and Kamlesh Roy had been students at the institute, before embarking on a career in Madhubani painting.

Another intermediary who repeatedly featured in the interviews was a Japanese national by the name of Tokio Hasegawa. Godavari Dutta in her interview elaborated the important role played by him in the popularisation of Madhubani art beyond the borders of India. Initially only exhibiting and selling works of Madhubani in Japan, soon with the help of funding from various sources, he was able to bring to Japan a contingent of women artists. The aim was to demonstrate to the Japanese and international public as to how the paintings are created. Godavari Dutta states that they were asked to dress in their traditional attire, and use traditional items to showcase how they painted. She is perhaps the only one to have visited Japan 7 times, for a duration of 6 months each, wherein she would give various

workshops, visit many Japanese schools and explain the history of Madhubani. This she said strengthened the popularity and attraction of Madhubani further in foreign shores.

The role of Ihitashri Shandilya and her folk art gallery called Mithilasmita fits more within the ambit of Caves' description of an artist-dealer relationship. Shandilya's grandmother Gauri Mishra used to run SEWA Mithila, and hence she had a childhood connection with Madhubani. Her grandmother's demise was followed by the end of SEWA Mithila as well. On seeing the overt commercialisation of Madhubani and the poor state of the artists, Shandilya from her private savings started the folk art gallery in Bangalore. Via her gallery she is able fulfill multiple objectives. Firstly, she is able to create awareness about Madhubani among the urban population of Bangalore, in particular tie-ups with educational institutes have ensured that the young generation gets culturally literate as well. Secondly, owing to her selection as an Acumen fellow, she has been able to build global linkages with international bodies, enabling her to put Madhubani on a global market. Furthermore, by approaching corporates to include Madhubani as corporate gifts for both national and international purposes, the popularity of Madhubani has been bolstered. On the third front, via her gallery Mithilasmita, she not only runs a website and sells diversified products, but also runs multiple quality checks on the paintings provided to her by the artists. Owing to her grandmother's contacts, she has been able to develop a trust based relationship with many artists residing in Madhubani.

7. Deterritorialisation

In the context of Madhubani, a major sign of its globalisation and deterritorialisation is the emergence of contemporary themes in the new generation of Madhubani painters. The earlier canon of Urmila Devi, Karpuri Devi, Sita Devi, Shashi Kala Devi, Ganga Devi and Godavari Dutta, primarily dealt in painting the religious and ritualistic motifs or imagery. Rarely did they paint beyond mythical stories, birds and trees. An exception is Ganga Devi, who perhaps was the first one to go beyond, and painted several paintings about her impression about the United States when she visited the country to exhibit her paintings. In the present, artists like Shalinee Kumari, influenced by what she heard (catalogue) in the

BBC radio about current affairs, dabbles extensively on issues of terrorism,
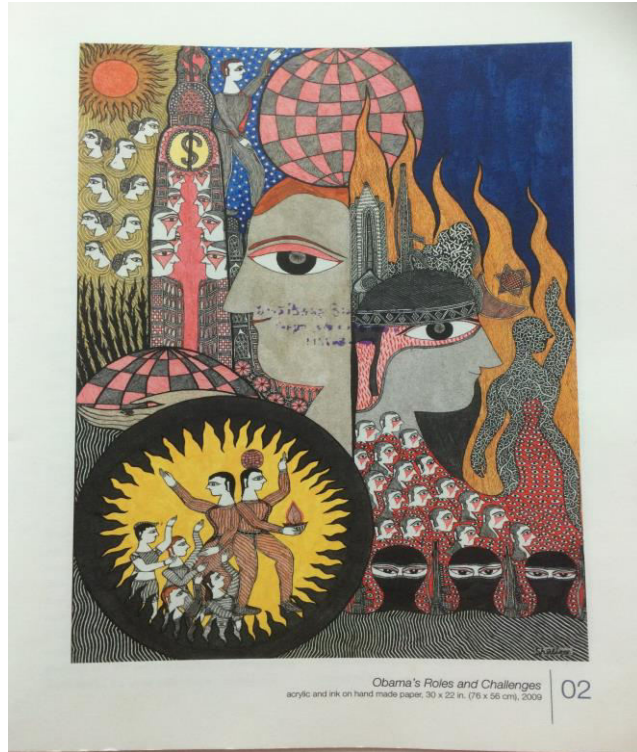
environmentalism and capitalism.

Painting by Shalinee Kumari, Catalogue picture
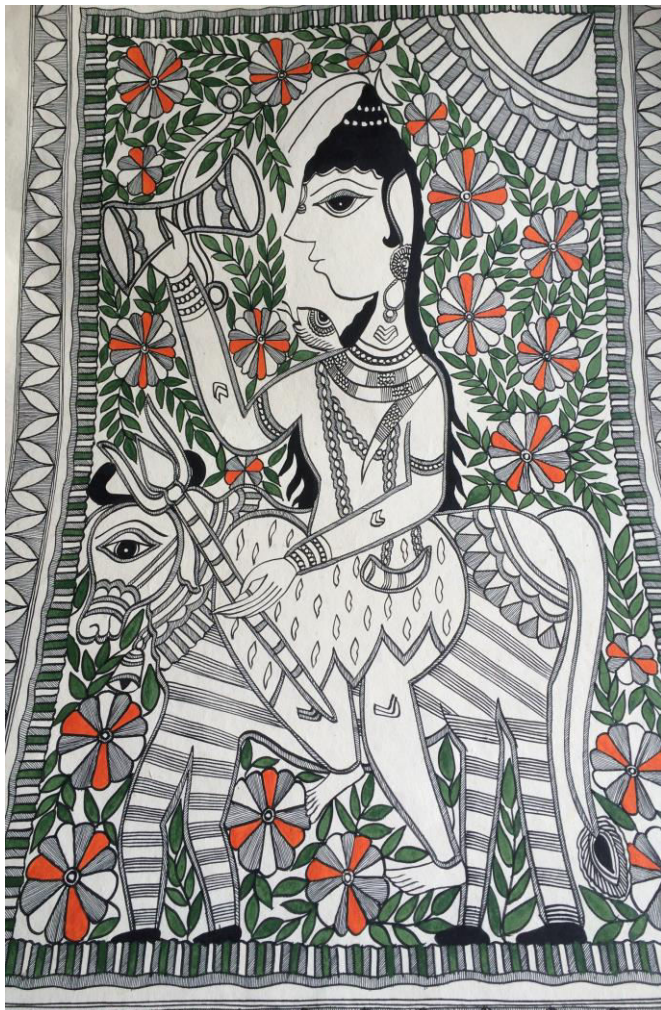
This painting depicts King Sailash of the Dusadh caste, a far cry from what Shalinee Kumari has decided to depict. Hence, even though deterritorialisation refers to a loss of a relation between the local culture and social territory (Cancline, 1990), which leads to a deep transformation of our relation to everyday local cultural experiences, it is a transformation which is inevitable in the face of the growing cultural transnationalism. Deleuze and Guattari define deterritorialisation as the movement by which one leaves a territory. So the Madhubani has not only started to deviate from its original paintings of rituals and mythologies, but has also shifted to a global habitat, i.e. Madhubani is now widely exhibited abroad (largely due to EAF's efforts) and has an entire museum to itself based in Japan. Moreover, an important criterion for deterritorialisation according to Deleuze and Guattari is the advent of mass communication, wherein it is not only the channels of communication, but also the communication of ideas and knowledge. As evidenced by the works of Shalinee Kumari, Dulari Devi and Rani Jha, they now use their paintings to communicate their take on current socio-economic crisis. In conjunction to deterritorialisation, the networks of economic trade that arise due globalization also physically move the paintings across borders. For instance, Kamlesh Roy's painting is now on display at a Vancouver based hotel's lobby. This Delueze and Guattari mention also signifies the reterritorialisation, since deterritorialisation is also connected to mass production which finally break up local craft based territories. In this way deterritorialisation also facilitates the revitalisation and transformation of cultural practices and experiences, and in this case, we can observe that the growing globalisation and transnationalism is enabling the reterritorialisation of Madhubani from a traditional form of art to a distinctive style of fine art.

8. Ideoscapes and Mediascapes

This transformation of Madhubani is also closely related to Appadurai's (1999) theorisation of 'Ideoscapes'. According to him, ''Ideoscapes' are concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it.' In light of Madhubani, the paintings have also been a means for many women artists to exert their freedom and independence. It is a curious paradox at play, since the predominant view is still that Madhubani is a women's art. Forced to stay within the walls of their home, the women's only outlet for expressing their desire and hopes was via Madhubani paintings on the walls or floor. With Madhubani becoming popular, the artists have turned the notion of the art being a women's vocation on its head, internalized it and now a dominant theme running in many paintings is of women emancipation in the Indian society. For example, the painting below is by Rani Jha, and depicts the illegal practice of female infanticide in the many clinics of India.

Source: Syracuse University website

If earlier women were not allowed outside the courtyards of their homes, due to rapid modernisation, popularity of Madhubani and influx of globalisation, artists of Madhubani no longer practice their art in isolation. Hence, when Appadurai (1990, 1999) talks of 'mediascapes', in the form of narratives or the images of the world created by media. Mediascapes are primarily image centred and based on narrative accounts of reality. This is pertinent because with the growth of communication networks worldwide, in addition to new telecommunication technologies, it has become easier to produce and disseminate images, visual and stories. They have become central, as Appadurai (1990, 1999) argues, in influencing people's perception of things around them. We observe the same in current Madhubani paintings. Kamlesh Roy talked of painting a huge canvas on India's current Prime Minister Narendra Modi, whereas you have students of Mithila Art Institute practising to paint the earthquake which devastated Nepal two years ago. As was also observed at the Mithila Art Institute, students painted wide ranging topics, from earthquakes to tsunamis to terrorism. This also signals the cultural distancing of Madhubani, from its traditional moors and motifs of mythological stories, trees and flowers, to now slowly transitioning into a more transnational form of art, albeit remaining faithful to its traditional techniques.

9. Hybridisation

However, the revitalisation and re-intepretation of local products also sets forth conditions for hybridization to take place. With respect to cultural forms, hybridization can be defined as 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe and Schelling, 1991). Homi Bhabha

(1994) in his essay, 'The commitment to theory' states that a hybrid 'though unrepresentable in itself, ensures that the meaning and symbols of culture have primordial unity or fixity'. And although the intrinsic nature of hybridity is built on the existence of pure cultural categories, it also simultaneously rejects the criteria of pure identity. As mentioned earlier, Bhabha (1994) places hybridity in a liminal or 'in between' space, where local traditions and culture compete against the flow of outside influence. In the case of Madhubani, hybridization is observed as part of the artist's endeavour to earn extra income by painting on bedsheets, sarees, bangles and stoles. Moreover, the artist's venture into painting Madhubani on different mediums is not only motivated by the need to earn more, but also the need to make Madhubani more popular and tradable. Objects like bangles, stoles and bedsheets make for a more widespread commodity, than a Madhubani painting. Hybridization signifies a fusion or synthesis of varied cultural practices, affected by both local and international cultural flows. For instance, artists like Kamlesh Roy receive frequent orders from designer boutiques based in Delhi, Mumbai and Kolkata.

Lampshade   *Handkerchief*

Bangles
Source: http://www.madhubaniart.co.in/index.aspx

As much as the artists have diversified into painting Madhubani onto different mediums, which also signals a certain degree of commercialisation and commodification, trying to understand this within the larger context of deterritorialization, the hybridization reflects a more complex cultural space, characterised a multitude of cultural effects or tendencies. Due to mediatisation and communication networks, local individuals become familiar with landscapes and cultural products alien to their immediate local environs. In this way the individuals are able to revitalise and re-interpret local cultural products into a transnational one. Bhabha (1994) largely talks of hybridity in the context of post-colonialism and the emergence of marginalized voices, and like explained in the section regarding women empowerment, the diversification and hybridization of Madhubani has allowed many women artists to independently support their families and assert their identity. This also, as Appadurai (1997) might explain, assumes a space of symbolic disputes and negotiations, through which individuals and groups try to annex practices of global value, and facilitated even more so by the movement of people.

10. Cultural globalization and intermediaries

Also relevant in light of the cultural globalisation of Madhubani is its diffusion beyond local and national borders of India. Appadurai (1990, 1999) in the 'social life of things' delves deeply into the exchange value of a commodity and the taxonomic structure governing such exchanges. Ideally he explains, in a stable society it should be easy to discern the meanings and values attached to commodities, and also discover in existence a basis for rules and practices governing the circulation of the commodities. However, Appadurai (1990, 1999) illustrates two situations wherein such a taxonomic structure seems virtually absent. The first is when transactions agreed across cultural boundaries are based on a minimum set of conventions, whereas the second is when transactions occur based on a deeply divergent set of values for the commodities to be exchanged. To illustrate the second scenario of exchange, Appadurai (1990, 1999) gives the example of a husband abandoning his wife to prostitution in exchange of a meal. In the case of Madhubani, when drought struck Bihar in 1966-67, for the womenfolk of Madhubani, the exchange of Madhubani paintings provided for an attractive source of income, irrespective of the fact whether they were receiving its true pecuniary value or not. When the Ethnic Arts Foundation was established by Raymond Lee Owens, it was with the aim to alleviate the cultural value of Madhubani and also to ensure it sustains in the long run. An important initiative in this regard was to encourage the artists to use nibs while painting since it was more durable than the bamboo sticks used, and also persuading the artists to use for artificial colours, as it lasted longer than natural colours (Godavari Dutta, 2016). Importantly, the foundation has been instrumental in forging global market linkages for Madhubani. As enumerated in the literature review, Castell (1996) would define this as 'a space of flows', wherein the managerial and entrepreneurial elites function

and spans cities and continents. He argues that networks form the basis of an internal organization of business and for relationships between businesses. According to Castell (1996), the network society becomes the dominant factor as opposed to the flow of power. And here, the network created or forged by the Ethnic Arts Foundation has helped to place Madhubani in the global arts market, in addition to Tokio Hasegawa's extensive efforts to popularise Madhubani in Japan.

The roles of both Tokio Hasegawa and Ethnic Arts Foundation (EAF) extends beyond Caves' (2000) description of an artist dealer relationship. Herein, Bourdieu's (1984) enumeration of a cultural intermediary can be utilised to understand the kind of intervention that both Hasegawa and EAF brought about in Madhubani. According to Bourdieu (1984), the role of a cultural intermediary is not only to facilitate exchange of a commodity, but also to increase awareness of cultural product and encourage its consumption amongst a target consumer base. Maybe that is why cultural intermediaries are seen as carrying out a broader pedagogic function (Maguire and Matthews, 2010). For instance, in advertising, the role of an advertisor is not only to sell a product, but also to mould new tastes and fads amongst its customers, so as to facilitate a need and want for the product. Similarly, both Hasegawa and EAF, by buying paintings from Madhubani and extensively exhibiting and selling them in Japan, US and other countries respectively, brought to the global forefront the existence of Madhubani paintings. Cultural intermediaries thereby act as representatives of the society to which the cultural item belongs to, and in line with Maguire and Matthews' (2010) pedagogic view, can also be seen to act as 'acculturational intermediaries', serving to increase the 'cultural catchment' of a given cultural item.

In view of Mithila Art Institute's (MAI) establishment by the Ethnic Arts Foundation (EAF), it can be see as the EAF's endeavour to increase the cultural catchment of Madhubani for the future generation. After ensuring the commodity candidacy of Madhubani paintings, the function of the institute has also been to promote innovation in the traditional tropes of Madhubani paintings. Various styles of Madhubani paintings are now being merged by students being trained there (merging of line, colour and tattoo painting). Importantly, as the MAI secretary mentioned, caste barriers have broken down, students from different villages, belonging to different castes are now actively pursuing Madhubani painting as a career, and a remarkable change has also been the entry of men in the vocation. Even though it is primarily a women's vocation, it is no longer a taboo for men to pursue a career in Madhubani painting. It is also important to note, that it is due to the high commercialisation and attractive income provided by the paintings, that have also compelled both men and people from different castes to learn this traditional form of art. Hence, the EAF has been a dominant factor in asset and meaning transfer in the cultural flow of Madhubani and the circuit of commerce (Zelizer, 2001), wherein the economic activity generated via the sale and exhibition of Madhubani is not merely pecuniary, but also encompasses social actions and cultural meanings.

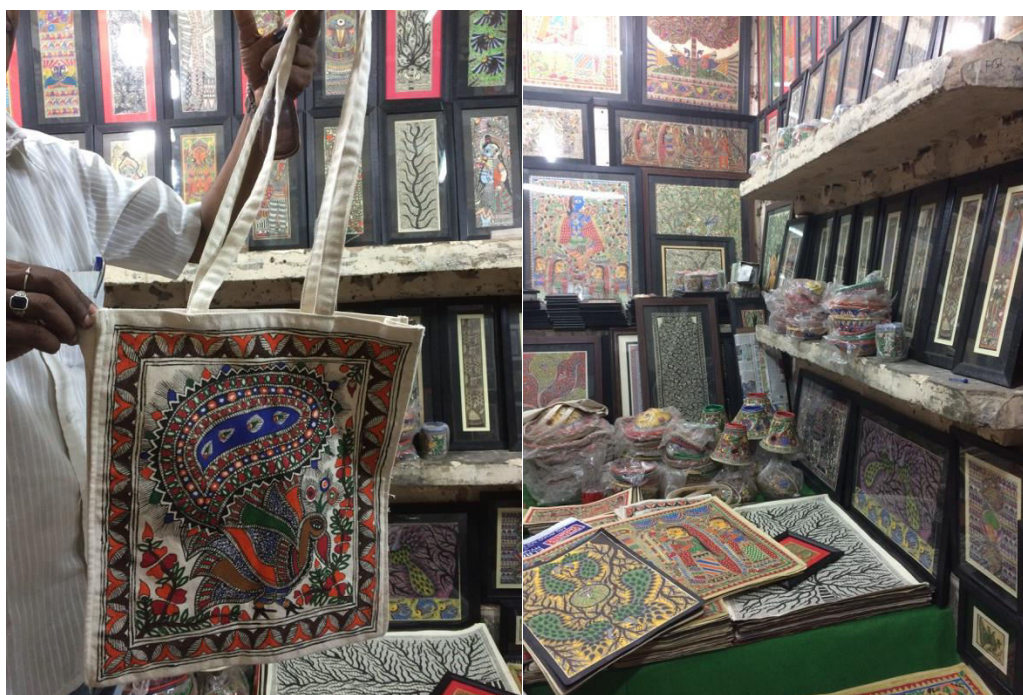*A student at Mithila Art Institute painting on the Nepal earthquake*

A painting nearing completion by 4 students at the Mithila Art Institute

CONCLUSION: PRODUCTION OF MADHUBANI IN A FLUX

SECTIONS:

- THE CIRCUITS OF COMMERCE IN OPERATION
- LOCATIONAL EVOLUTION
- CONCLUDING REMARKS AND AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Saroj Kumar Jha's stall at Dilli Haat

1. THE CIRCUITS OF COMMERCE IN OPERATION

Peterson and Anand (2004) had posed an approach wherein culture becomes a form of capital, i.e. deviating from earlier economist scholars, they propose a 'production of culture' approach wherein they suggest that 'the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the systems within which they are created and distributed'. Similarly, Zelizer's (1994, 2005) 'circuits of commerce' study poses the same line of thought, that money is not transparent or neutral, rather it is a medium which is marked with significant culturally significant meanings and symbolisms. She implies that markets are meaningful conduits, wherein economic value is ascertained by sentiments and cultural value. Applying the 'production of culture' and 'circuits of commerce' approach to Madhubani, we can observe that the market for this traditional form of art in India operates on its own set of terms. As evidenced by the previous chapters on data analysis and results, the lack of holistic government support has been significant in the emergence of individual actors or institutions operating in the production, distribution and promotion of Madhubani. Despite the inclusion of Madhubani paintings under the Geographical Indications of Goods Act, 1999 in 2012 and frequent national and state level awards for Madhubani artists, there is no substantial support to the artform in terms of helping to establish a formal market structure, with an accountable chain of production and supply. Peterson and Anand (2004) posit that there are three forms of organisations which are characteristic of a cultural industry - a) a bureaucratic structure with a clear division of labour and hierarchy, b) the entrepreneurial form displaying no clear division of labour and hierarchy and lastly c) a variegated form of large firm that take advantage of the bureaucratic form, but without losing central control of creative services. In the case of organisational structure of the market for Madhubani the second structure fits best as illustrated by Peterson and Anand (2004), and in particular two major circuits of commerce are in function.

The first being individual actors taking an active entrepreneurial role for the distribution and promotion of Madhubani. In this respect I am talking of Ihitashri Shandilya of Mithilasmita, who runs a Madhubani painting gallery in Bangalore, and second, of David Szanton and his organisation Ethnic Arts Foundation and the Mithila Art Institute. From the point of view of how their organisations function, it is not merely selling of the artworks and ensuring that the artists get the right value for their works, but both actively involve the artists in the long term sustainability of Madhubani, creating awareness and also encouraging innovation. Within both the organisations even though there is a hierarchy, i.e. the founder members and then the rest of the team, the flow of ideas and decisions is multi-layered and flexible. However importantly, the kind of circuits which operate within both the organisations is unique for both. Mithilasmita functions on a hybrid model of an NGO and a profit motive gallery, wherein the highlight is of social entrepreneurship to preserve one of India's tangible cultural heritage. On the other hand, Ethnic Arts Foundation and Mithila Art Institute function more as a cultural centre, striving to bring into its fold the younger generation, encouraging innovation and promoting Madhubani in the international arena. Both however function as discrete circuits of commerce. As evidenced by the questionnaire

answered by David Szanton, he clearly writes that there has never been any kind of contact from Mithilasmita. Hence, both operate independently.

The second major circuit of commerce in operation, and which is largely fragmented is the circuit of artists and middlemen. As has been detailed earlier in data analysis and results, most of the artists have had to resort to selling their paintings via the middlemen. There are multiple middlemen operating in the artist villages of Ranti and Jitwarpur (the two villages I visited and conducted the artist interviews), who represent a said number of artists, and then sell those paintings in the markets of Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai and Bangalore. As Mears (2011) mentions, members of such distinct forms of market form mutual trust, relationships, reciprocity and then arrive at a commonly acceptable economic value of exchange. Herein, the middlemen and the artists have developed mutually beneficial (in many cases beneficial mostly to the middlemen) relationships for the distribution and sale of the Madhubani paintings. Like any other market, where there is competition amongst sellers, sometimes an oversupply of the good and arriving at a given price, this circuit operates on those principles of economics, however due to lack of a streamlined support from the government, the market is highly unregulated, and thus provides scope for exploitation of the artists.

2. LOCATIONAL EVOLUTION

A common assertion amidst the research was the difficulty in evaluating the price of a Madhubani painting, and as many cultural economists have often struggled with, valuing an artwork is never easy, and hence valuing a Madhubani painting for its true worth is not an easy task either. Intertwined with this struggle to price the paintings was also a strong emotion of pride in Madhubani being an important cultural heritage of the state of Bihar. As the seller in Dilli Haat had explained, the artist's identity arises from their association with Madhubani, and not vice-versa, importantly since it is a tradition which has been passed down since ages, its economic value can never rise as high as that of an MF Hussain or a Picasso painting. If viewed from a purely economic perspective, it is reasonable to say that a Madhubani painting with ritualistic designs and motifs is replicable, and hence tradeable on an agreed pecuniary value, as opposed to a unique painting by MF Hussain or Picasso. In that respect then, the development of individual style of painting, and emergence of contemporary themes in the oeuvre of Madhubani is an important discussion to have.

Hence, Appadurai's (1996, 2000) 'ethnoscapes' becomes an important perspective from which to understand the developments taking place in Madhubani paintings. As discussed in the literature review, Appadurai's (1996, 2000) ethnoscapes refers to 'directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter-ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power and include a diaspora of key words, political ideas and values' (1996, pg. 36). Furthermore, he states that ethnoscapes are

constantly shifting landscapes of people, 'tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals who appear to affect the politics of nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree' (2000, pg. 95). The distinct forms or styles of Madhubani were highly characterised by caste affiliations. Ranti which is dominated by higher castes is known for its detailed line paintings, whereas Jitwarpur, which is resided by lower castes is known for tattoo and coloured paintings. The paintings of King Sailash of Jitwarpur, a popular God amongst the lower castes, and the development of the tattoo paintings was in part due to the caste's assertion of their unique identity and to come out under the shadow of the detailed line paintings of Ranti's higher castes. And however, even though such caste distinctions are employed now to differentiate the history of different styles, and sometimes even necessary, in current times which artist dabbles in which style is now increasingly becoming blurred. This can be understood in part due to the popularity of Madhubani and as a cultural pride of Bihar, but importantly also the efforts by the Ethnic Arts Foundation and its Mithila Art Institute. The foundation and the institute have been instrumental in breaking caste barriers, allowing for entries of people from different spectrums. Even though this statement is at the cost of high generalisation, and the effects of globalisation cannot be discounted, the establishment of the Mithila Art Institute played a key role in promoting innovation and mixing of different Madhubani styles.

As the administrative in charge of Mithila Art Institute clearly stated, the students coming to learn Madhubani were no longer restricted to certain castes, villages or even gender. The popularity, globalisation and pride were key factors which bring in keen students every year. Thereby, from the prism of ethnoscapes, caste based alliances and distinctions have shifted, artists no longer ally themselves to first caste and then the form or style of Madhubani that they practice, but rather the fidelity has shifted to art practice and the continuation of a cultural heritage. A breaking down of casteist ideology has been in parallel with the assertion of women's rights and independence. Despite being considered a 'women's' art, in a major irony, Madhubani has become an important tool for women artists to declare their voices against strict patriarchal norms. This assertion can perhaps be viewed from a larger prism and understood to be in sync with the current vigorous feminist movements, that have been fuelled by increasing globalisation and interconnectedness of social media platforms. And in the same breadth, Appadurai's (1996, 2000), 'mediascapes' also becomes an important tool to understand the transfer of images and narratives, which have resulted in the current crop of Madhubani artists delving in contemporary themes (discussed in detail in data results).

All the above enumerated can be succinctly described as a locality in flux. When Appadurai (1990) states the production of locality and how it is always threatened by modern societies, in the case of Madhubani, its production and distribution, which has been influenced by globalisation and intervention from outside characters, the flux currently in motion at Madhubani is a natural consequence, and in some aspects necessary. The drought of 1964 necessitated the transfer of Madhubani from the walls to the paper, and the current need to sustain the cultural heritage necessitates that Madhubani is painted in different mediums. As Peterson and Anand (2004) enumerate, cultural products have a tendency to

change and evolve slowly over a period of time, and sometimes such changes might lead to altering of the 'aesthetic structure of a cultural expression' (pg. 313). They give the example of White and White's (1965) study on the transformation of the 19th century French art world and the study of re-institutionalisation of popular music by Peterson and Berger (1975). In particular, they delve into the case of cassettes in India and the popularisation of popular Bollywood music. The technological led revolution transformed the production and distribution networks of Indian commercial music. Such technological led revolution is now evident in almost all aspects of cultural production. In the case of Madhubani, the flux in its locality began when W.B. Archer first spotted the wall paintings on the eve of the 1934 earthquake, that set forth the conditions for the current status of Madhubani, wherein it has been transported from its local habitat to say a Vancouver based hotel lobby. In addition to the physical flow of the paintings, which is both between different states and different nations, the cultural flow of ideas and narrations is also an indication of the current flux in the evolution of Madhubani.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This paper has put forth an ethnographic and sociological perspective towards the study of a cultural industry. And in our case, the study has explored how market for a highly local and traditional form of art operates. Importantly, the research has foregrounded the importance of grasping the meanings behind practices of artists, dealers and marketers in an art market. The research has been useful in highlighting the intertwined nature of local cultural and market forces. Going back to our main research and sub-questions, which are

RQ: How has globalization affected the development of Madhubani paintings?
Sub-questions:
1. What has been the impact on production for the artists?
2. What are the implications of the developments in the distribution of Madhubani?
3. Who are the different intermediaries involved in the exchange and promotion of Madhubani?

The research has sufficiently been able to answer all the above questions, and even though the increasing commodification and commercialisation raises the argument posited by Adorno and Horkheimer's cultural industries treatise that such a development strips off meanings and any socially subjective symbolisms of mass produced goods; the trend of Madhubani being painted on different mediums is relatively recent, and is an important source of income for many artists, hence the shift in mass produced items like bangles, lamps, sarees etc. and its impact on the overall evolution of Madhubani is yet to be ascertained. As such the evolution of Madhubani displays certain post-modern characteristics, such as fragmentation, i.e a dissolution of caste barriers, in addition to the art form's deterritorialisation from the local to a global habitat (Jameson, 1992). Furthermore, aspects of pastiche, kitsch and hybridization are observed when Madhubani is painted on different mediums. On the other hand, when Deleuze and Guattari (1980) talk of rhizomes,

wherein there is no start and end point to an object, the assimilation of themes like the Nepal earthquake and Obama's challenges in the USA in contemporary Madhubani paintings, signals not only its cultural globalisation, but also the inclusion or transition of Madhubani into the movement of arts which borrows from global events surrounding it.

The current research primarily dealt with the supply side of the Madhubani paintings and its heterogenous circuits of commerce involved in the production, distribution and promotion. An important future research would also entail examination into the demand side, wherein the profile of customers buying the paintings, the patrons and the collectors can be explored. Perhaps as an offshoot to the findings of this research, a practical application of it could entail that how the two types of circuits in operation can be all linked together into a cohesive network, which is mutually beneficial to all those involved, and especially the artists. An important caveat running through the entire research, on both a personal and research level is the complete lack of government support and general apathetic attitude towards the traditional arts in general. Owing to the intervention of outside actors or elements, Madhubani today is much cherished and popular, as Godavari Dutt recounted in her interview, she had not realised the value of her paintings till someone from outside created instilled that consciousness in her. I would finally like to conclude by the following Hindi phrase, which a co-passenger in the train retorted in when I was asking him about Madhubani.

'Ghar ki murgi, dal barabar'

The literal translation is that a chicken bred in the house is equivalent to lentils! The deeper meaning though is that one's own possessions are never valued as much as others are.

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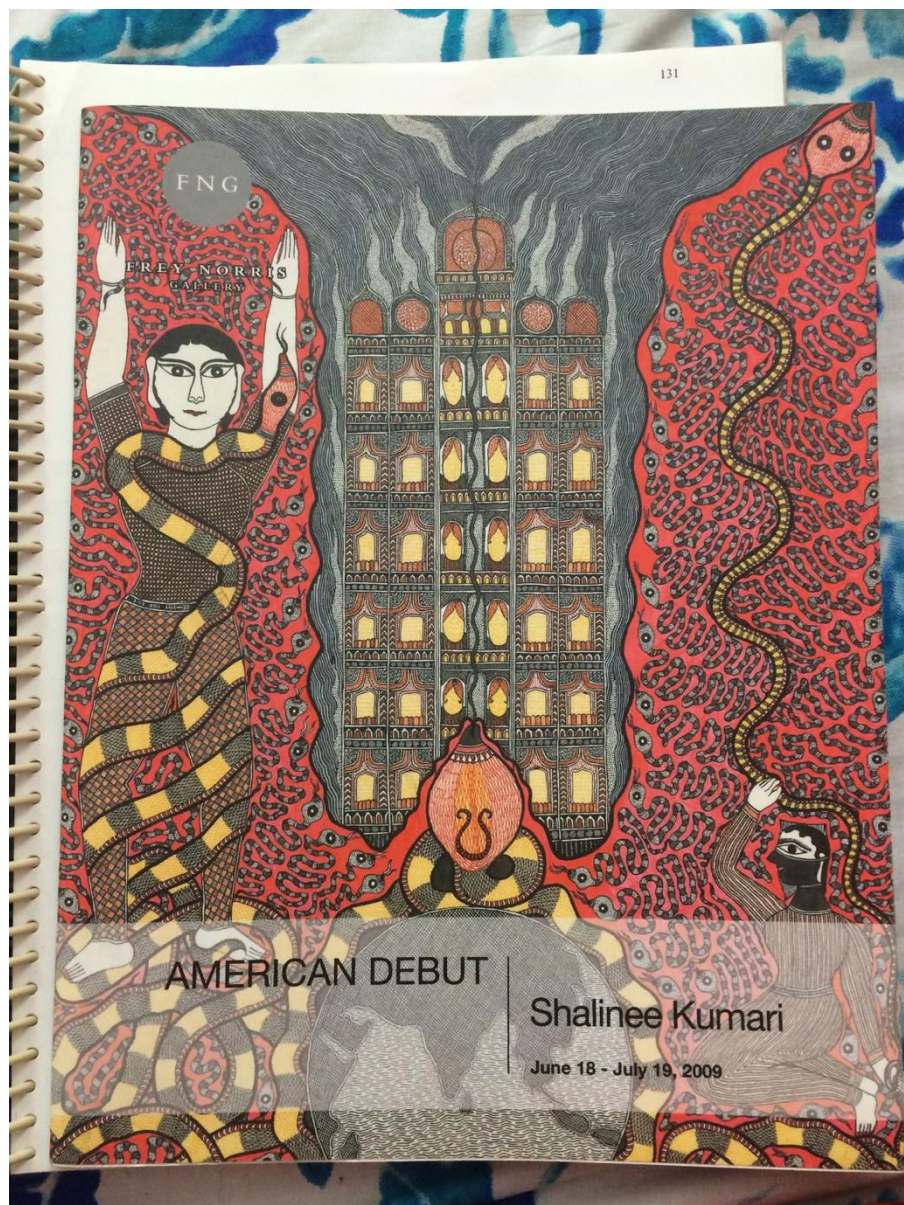
Catalogue of Shalinee Kumari published by the Ethnic Arts Foundation

Photographic copies were made of this with due permission from the Mithila Art Institute

APPENDIX I

Region in focus during the ethnographic field research

Madhubani district

The district of Madhubani was carved out of the old Darbhanga district in the year 1972 as a result of reorganisation of the districts in the State. This was formerly the northern subdivision of Darbhanga district. It consists of 21 Development Blocks. Bounded on the north by a hill region of Nepal and extending to the border of its parent district Darbhanga in the south, Sitamarhi in the west and Supaul in the east, Madhubani fairly represents the centre of the territory once known as Mithila and the district has maintained a distinct individuality of its own.

Source: http://madhubani.bih.nic.in, www.veethi.com
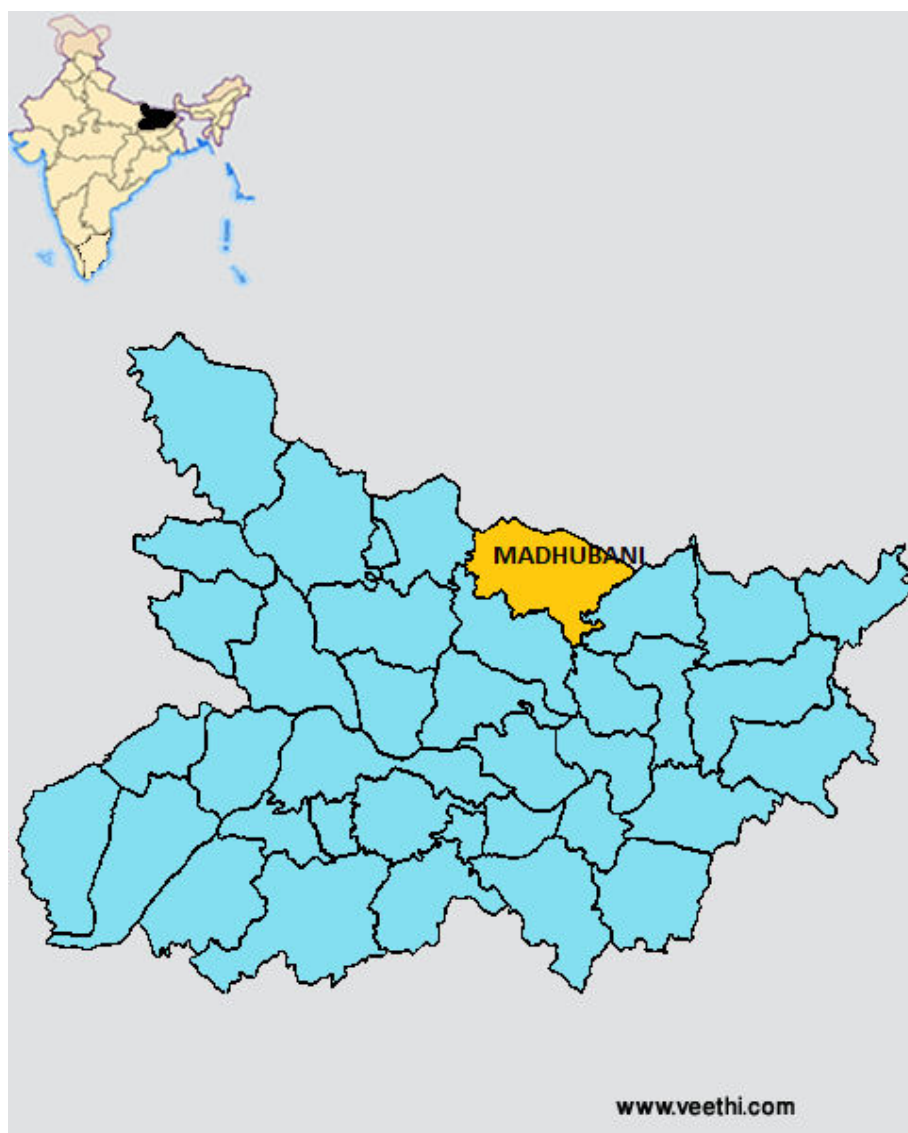
Classification of Madhubani

Based on style and technique

Madhubani painting is basically differentiated into four styles of painting in current times. The Geru style of painting, .i.e using only red colour has now disappeared (Rekha, 2010). The main four styles are as follows:
1. Colour/Bharni painting
2. Line/ Kacchni painting
3. Tattoo/Godana painting
4. Tantric style of painting

The colour painting as the name suggests uses various colours while the line painting is done with strokes of black ink. The Tattoo or Godhna painting is generally paintings of different symbols. "Tantric painting" is distinguished from other style of Madhubani paintings mainly for the subject it depicts, such as manifestations of Goddesses like Maha Kali, Presently, Krishna Nanda Jha and his son Sanjib kr. Jha are the sole practitioners of this Tantric art in Madhubani. The different styles of painting are mastered by different artists.

Based on caste

Classification of painting is also based on the caste. While the Brahmins (higher castes) are more popular for their colour paintings, the Kayasthas are popular for their line painting and the Dusadhs and Harijans (lower castes) are known for their Godhna style of painting. Notwithstanding the above traditional classification, these days, painters seem to practice different forms of paintings regardless of caste. Painters also paint on diverse mediums like cloth, glass, paper mache etc.

An untitled Bharni/Colour painting. This was clicked at the circuit house I was residing at for the duration of my stay in Madhubani.

Kacchni/Line painting by Godavari Dutta. This was clicked at her residence.
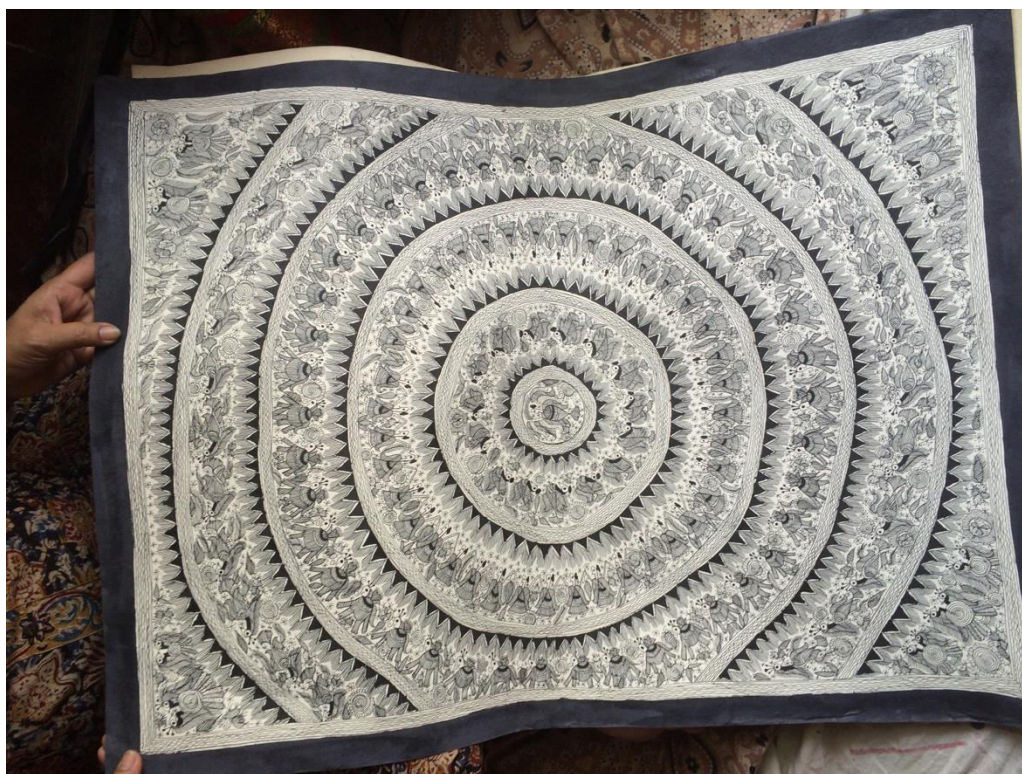
Godana/Tattoo painting by Sarwan Paswan. This was clicked at his residence.

Tantric painting. Source
http://www.madhubaniart.co.in/ArtFormDetails.aspx?search=hlStyles

APPENDIX 2

National Awards of India

Bharat Ratna
It Is India's highest civilian award given for exceptional service towards the advancement of Art. Bharat Ratna translates to Jewel of India or Gem of India in English is India's highest civilian award. It is awarded for the highest degrees of national service. This service includes artistic, literary, and scientific achievements, as well as recognition of public service of the highest order.

Padma Vibhushan
It is a second highest civilian honour of India is given for exceptional and distinguished service in any field including service rendered by the government servants.

Param Vir Chakra
It is the highest award for military services.

Padma Bhushan
It is to recognize distinguished service of a high order to the nation.

Padma Shri
It is given by distinguished service in any field including service rendered by the Government servants.

Arjuna Award
The award given by the Government of India to recognize outstanding achievement in National sports.

Dada Saheb Phalke Awards
The Dada Saheb Phalke Award is India's highest award in cinema given annually by the Government of India for lifetime contribution to Indian cinema.

Ashok Chakra
The Ashok Chakra is an Indian military decoration awarded for valour, courageous action or self-sacrifice away from the battlefield.

Source: http://indiatoday.intoday.in/education/story/8-major-awards-given-by-the-government/1/430839.html

Shilp Guru Award

The Shilp Guru awards are conferred by Government of India every year on legendary master crafts persons of handicrafts whose work and dedication have contributed not only to the preservation of rich and diverse craft heritage of the country but also to the resurgence of handicrafts sector as a whole. Each award consists of one mounted gold coin, one shawl, certificate and a 'tamrapatra'. In addition, financial assistance is also given to each awardee to innovate and create five new products of high level of excellence, high aesthetic value and high quality befitting the stature of the Guru.

Source: http://www.gktoday.in/shilp-guru-and-sant-kabir-awards/
http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=132810

State Awards

In addition to the National awards, which are conferred by the Central Government of India, each state of India has their own classification of state awards, which recognizes achievements by people belonging to their respective state. The awards and their name vary to to vary state to state. The state of Bihar too has its own list of awards to be presented every year. Many Madhubani artists have been conferred with such state awards.

APPENDIX 3

Names and number of people interviewed, clocking to 10 hours of interviews in total. Of 17, 8 are females and males.
(F- female, M- male)

List of artist names

1. Anamika Biswas, F, Age 20
   Student at Mithila Art Institute
2. Dulari Devi, F
   National and State awardee
3. Godavari Dutta, F, Age – above 80
   National awardee
4. Kamlesh Roy, M
   State Awardee
5. Rani Jha, F
   State Awardee
6. Ranjan Paswan, M
   State Awardee
7. Ranjan Paswan, M
   State Awardee
8. Saroj Kumar Jha, M Age 40-45
   Seller at Dilli Haat and State Awardee
9. Santosh Das, M
10. Sarwan Paswan, M
    State Awardee
11. Shashi Kala Devi, F, Age – above 80
    National and State Awardee
12. Sushila Devi, F, Age 40-45
13. Urmila Devi, F
    National and State Awardee

   Note: 1. Both Ranjan Paswan's are a father- son duo
   2. Sarwan Paswan and Urmila Devi are a mother- son duo
   3. With most, ascertaining the age was problematic since the times in which they were born, exact birth-dates were never noted. My educated guess would be that except for Godavari Dutta and Shashi Kala Devi, rest of the women artist's age ranges from 40-50 and not more, since all of them got married at a very early age.

Artists of Ranti
1. Godavari Dutta
2. Santosh Das
3. Shashi Kala Devi

Artists of Jitwarpur
1. Ranjan Paswan
2. Ranjan Paswan
3. Santosh Das
4. Sarwan Paswan
5. Sushila Devi
6. Urmila Devi

Artists interviewed at Mithila Art Institute
1. Anamika Biswas
2. Dulari Devi
3. Rani Jha
4. Shashi Kala Devi

Note: Kamlesh Roy was interviewed at his workshop in Madhubani and Saroj Kumar Jha at his stall in Dilli Haat

Ethnic Arts Foundation (EAF) and Mithila Art Institute (MAI)
1. Dr. David Szanton, M, founding member of EAF
2. Kaushik Kumar Jha, M, administrative in charge at MAI
3. Narendra Narayan Singh Nirala, M, MAI secretary

Note: Dr. David Szanton only responded via questionnaire emailed to him.

Mithilasmita
1. Ihitashri Shandilya, F, founder of Mithilasmita

APPENDIX 4

Consent to Participate in Research

Working Master Thesis Title: 'In Stock' on Amazon: The intermediaries, networks and globalisation of Madhubani.

Introduction and Purpose

My name is Anubha Sarkar. I am a graduate student (2015-16) at Erasmus University Rotterdam working with my faculty advisor, Professor Filip Vermeylen in the Department of Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication. I would like to invite you to take part in my research study, which concerns identifying different intermediaries such as individuals and organisations responsible for the repositioning and continuing popularity of Madhubani.

Procedures

With your permission, I will record the audio and take notes during the interview. The recording is to accurately record the information you provide, and will be used for transcription purposes only. If you agree to being recorded but feel uncomfortable at any time during the interview, I can stop recording at your request. Or if you don't wish to continue, you can stop the interview at any time.

I expect to conduct only one interview; however, follow-ups may be needed for added clarification. If so, I will contact you by mail/phone to request this.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you from taking part in this study. It is hoped that the research can provide important insights into the network of intermediaries involved in the evolution of Madhubani as an artform.

Confidentiality

Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. However, since my research entails identifying key intermediaries, I need to take your permission to use your name and Mithilasmita to elaborate on my research and explain how you and Mithilasmita are important intermediaries in the dissemination, popularization and preservation of Madhubani.

When the research is completed, I may save the tapes and notes for use in future research done by myself.

Rights

Participation in research is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to take part in the project. You can decline to answer any questions and are free to stop taking part in the project at any time. Whether or not you choose to participate in the research and whether or not you choose to answer a question or continue participating in the project, there will be no penalty to you or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Questions

If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact me. I can be reached at anubhasarkar@gmail.com

****

CONSENT

If you wish to participate in this study, please sign and date below.

Personal details

1. Age
....
2. Gender
....
3. Nationality
....
4. Place of residence
....
5. Occupation
....
6. Educational background (degree / diploma)
....

_____
Participant's Name (digital signature)

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

[Optional/If applicable]

If you agree to allow your name or other identifying information to be included in all final reports, publications, and/or presentations resulting from this research, please sign and date below.

_____   _____

Participant's Signature   Date

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW GUIDE 1

MITHILASMITA

1. <u>When and why did you start Mithilasmita?</u>

Probe: personal motivation

- *Sub-probe: SEWA Mithila*

Probe: what is her role

2. <u>What are the main objectives of Mithilasmita?</u>

Probe: preserving the artform of Madhubani?

- *Sub -probe: how do you go about ensuring the traditions are maintained?*

Probe: how does it connect different actors involved in Madhubani

3. <u>How would you say the Madhubani has transformed from its traditional roots?</u>

Probe: commercialisation of the artform

- *Sub-probe: use of materials, symbols*

4. <u>What are the main activities of Mithilasmita?</u>

Probe: education and awareness of Madhubani

Probe: how are the young generation involved

- *Sub-Probe: 7 live projects for students of MDI*

5. <u>How are the artists involved with Mithilasmita?</u>

Probe: database of artists

Probe: what benefits do the artists receive

6. <u>Can you talk about your business model?</u>

Probe: hybrid model, profit/non-profit

- *Sub-Probe: blueprint for other similar sustainable business models for other artworks?*

Probe: how is it beneficial for Madhubani itself

Probe: different stakeholders that have become involved

7. <u>How successful do you think Mithilasmita has been since its inception?</u>

Probe: been able to maintain the traditional roots of Madhubani?

- *Sub-Probe: future plans and activities?*
- *Sub-probe: international outreach*

Probe: sustainability

8. <u>What can you say about the role of government in the promotion of Madhubani and the likes?</u>

Probe: Significant role? If yes, why?

- *Sub-Probe: what kind of support has she received from the government?*

9. <u>What would you say is the role of social entrepreneurs like yourself?</u>

Probe: How did her background in supply chain management was beneficial for Mithilasmita

- *Sub-Probe: role of entrepreneurs*

INTERVIEW GUIDE 2

ARTISTS/STUDENTS

1. <u>What compelled them to take up training in Madhubani art?</u>

Probe: personal motivation

- *Sub-probe: career prospects/ambitions*
- *Sub-probe: view it as livelihood/hobby*

2. <u>What are the different styles of Madhubani that are taught at the institute?</u>

Probe: favourite style?

- *Sub-probe: the popular or dominant styles*
- *Sub-probe: why is a particular style popular? Demand?*
- *Sub-probe: impact of artists like Sita Devi and Ganga Devi?*

Probe: are innovations and individual style encouraged?

- *Sub-probe: If yes? How? Example?*
- *Sub-probe: If no? Why? Example?*

Probe: If the old/traditional style or painting is still maintained?

- *Sub-probe: If yes? How and why?*
- *Sub-probe: If no? How and why?*

3. <u>What are the materials and colors used to paint Madhubani?</u>

Probe: the change in use and quality of materials over time?

- *Sub-probe: If there has been a change then why?*
- *Sub-probe: Change due to demand?*
- *Sub-probe: quality of materials has improved?*

4. <u>How is the quality of training provided to the students?</u>

Probe: quality of teachers

Probe: support from the institute for the students

Probe: project, activities or incubation initiatives

5. <u>How do they view the role of MIA as?</u>

Probe: important role in creating awareness about Madhubani?

- *Sub-probe: If yes? How do they do it?*
- *Sub-probe: If no? Why not? Suggestions on what can the institute do?*

Probe: preservation and sustenance of Madhubani

- *Sub-probe: how successful it has been?*

6. <u>What do you think has been the impact of galleries, shops and websites on Madhubani?</u>

Probe: If the impact is positive?

- *Sub-probe: If yes, why?*
- *Sub-probe: If no, why?*

Probe: effect on demand

- *Sub-probe: commercialisation, sale of Madhubani inspired products*
- *Sub-probe: dominance of a certain style*
- *Sub-probe: feel pressured as students/artists*

7. <u>How important is it to develop an individual style?</u>

Probe: innovativeness and depicting current issues

Probe: helps fetch better market prices?

- *Sub-probe: makes Madhubani more competitive*
- *Sub-probe: allows artists to get their rightful price*
- *Sub-probe: does Madhubani gets it fair price*

Probe: gives Madhubani a distinct identity as an artform?

8. <u>What do you think is the role of the artist?</u>

Probe: should only remain an artist

- *Sub-probe: If yes, why?*
- *Sub-probe: If no, why?*

Probe: the artist should also promote the artform

- *Sub-probe: If yes, why? More credibility, more competitive?*
- *Sub-probe: If no, why? Art and marketing gets mixed and conflicted?*

9. <u>What do they think about government support to Madhubani?</u>

Probe: is it sufficient and significant?

- *Sub-probe: If yes, how? The measures taken*
- *Sub-probe: If no, why?*

Probe: what can the government do?

10. <u>How does Madhubani benefit the community?</u>

Probe: women empowerment

- *Sub-probe- If entry of men is a good sign?*

Probe: how does it contribute to the community? Examples

Probe: future sustenance and preservation

- *Sub-probe: how to encourage the young generation of the community*

INTERVIEW GUIDE 3

MITHILA ART INSTITUTE (MAI)

1. <u>How did MAI begin?</u>

Probe: founder's motivation

Probe: initial struggles/challenges

Probe: stakeholders involved

- *Sub-probe: local community involvement*

Probe: current growth

- *Sub-probe: benefited the artists*
- *Sub-probe: women empowerment*

2. <u>What is MAI's role within the Ethnic Arts Foundation?</u>

Probe: different functions

Probe: the support it receives from EAF

- *Sub-probe: the international outreach*
- *Sub-probe: international sponsors and network*
- *Sub-probe: international clients*

Probe: regular appraisals

3. <u>What are the main objectives of MAI?</u>

Probe: preserving the artform?

- *Sub-probe: measures taken to preserve*
- *Sub-probe: innovation and individual style promoted?*

Probe: training, education and awareness

- *Sub-probe: training the students*
- *Sub-probe: student selection*
- *Sub-probe: benefitting the local community*

4. <u>How does MAI support the artists and students?</u>

Probe: career/financial support

Probe: promotion and distribution of their work

Probe: linking them to buyers/clients, galleries etc.

- *Sub-probe: activities to attract national/international buyers/clients*
- *Sub-probe: exhibitions of student paintings*
- *Sub-probe: competitions or field trips*

5. <u>What changes have they observed in the popularity of Madhubani since MAI's inception?</u>

Probe: commercialisation

- *Sub-probe: affecting quality of Madhubani*
- *Sub-probe: puts pressure on students to paint in a certain way*
- *Sub-probe: necessitated change in curriculum*
- *Sub-probe: increase in student enrolment*

Probe: digitisation

- *Sub-probe: digital retailing*
- *Sub-probe: Madhubani inspired products*

6. <u>What can you say about the role of government in the promotion of Madhubani and the likes?</u>

Probe: Significant role? If yes, why?

- *Sub-Probe: what kind of support has she received from the government?*

Probe: Support to MAI, examples?

7. <u>What are the future aims of MAI?</u>

Probe: expansion and challenges

Probe: ensuring the sustenance and popularity of Madhubani

- *Sub-probe: more stakeholders to be added?*

INTERVIEW GUIDE 4

ETHNIC ARTS FOUNDATION (David Szanton, since he agreed only for a questionnaire)

1. What is the history and motivation behind the formation of Ethnic Arts Foundation?

2. What have been the foundation's critical challenges and achievements since its inception?

3. What are the main objectives of the foundation? How does it view its role as instrumental in preserving and creating awareness about Madhubani in an international arena?

- Has the foundation been instrumental in acquainting the USA with Madhubani?

4. What was the motivation behind establishing the Mithila Art Institute? Has it succeeded in its objective?

5. In over many years of trying to promote and preserve the artform, what have been the profound changes to the meaning of Madhubani itself? Did the form have to change or transform so as to remain relevant and marketable?

- Has it now transitioned from being a folk art to an established form of art?

6. How have the Ethnic Art Foundation and Mithila Art Institute impacted the local community of Madhubani? Particularly with regards to positive developments in the livelihood of the artists and women empowerment.

7. How has the inclusion of Madhubani paintings under the Geographical Indications of Goods Act, 1999 since 2012 impacted the development of Madhubani?

8. How substantial has the support of Indian government been in preservation and promotion of Madhubani, if any?

9. What do you think of Madhubani being sold on Amazon and Saffronart (A Mumbai based online auction house)? Do you view it as a positive development?

10. As of now it seems it is largely individual actors taking initiatives to popularise and preserve Madhubani. For instance, Mithilasmita is a private folk art gallery based in Bangalore, India. Yet there seems to be a lack of cooperation amongst individuals or foundations like yourself and Mithilasmita. What is your opinion on the same?

- Will a formal network not be beneficial for Madhubani in the long run?

11. What is the future role and development strategy of Ethnic Arts Foundation?

Consent to Participate in Research

Working Master Thesis Title: 'In Stock' on Amazon: The intermediaries, networks and globalisation of Madhubani.

Introduction and Purpose
My name is Anubha Sarkar. I am a graduate student (2015-16) at Erasmus University Rotterdam working with my faculty advisor, Professor Filip Vermeylen in the Department of Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication. I would like to invite you to take part in my research study, which concerns identifying different intermediaries such as individuals and organisations responsible for the repositioning and continuing popularity of Madhubani.

Confidentiality
Your study data will be handled as confidentially as possible. However, since my research entails identifying key intermediaries, I need to take your permission to use your name and Ethnic Arts Foundation to elaborate on my research and explain how you and the foundation are important intermediaries in the dissemination, popularization and preservation of Madhubani.

Questions
If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact me. I can be reached at anubhasarkar@gmail.com

****

CONSENT

If you wish to participate in this study, please sign and date below.

Personal details

1. Age 77
....
2. Gender m
....
3. Nationality USA
....
4. Place of residence Berkeley, California
....
5. Occupation retired

....
6. Educational background (degree / diploma) BA Haravrd

                                          MA and PhD U. of Chicago

....

___David Szanton
Participant's Name (digital signature)

____David Szanton_____ _____
Participant's Signature   Date

[Optional/If applicable]
If you agree to allow your name or other identifying information to be included in all final reports, publications, and/or presentations resulting from this research, please sign and date below.
David Szanton

_____ _____
Participant's Signature   Date

QUESTIONNAIRE

DAVID SZANTON, ETHNIC ARTS FOUNDATION

1. What is the history and motivation behind the formation of Ethnic Arts Foundation? SEE BRIEF HISTORY
2. What have been the foundation's critical challenges and achievements since its inception? SEE BRIEF HISTORY

3. What are the main objectives of the foundation? How does it view its role as instrumental in preserving and creating awareness about Madhubani in an international arena? DITTO
• Has the foundation been instrumental in acquainting the USA with Madhubani? YES
4. What was the motivation behind establishing the Mithila Art Institute? Has it succeeded in its objective? SEE BRIEF HISTORY

5. In over many years of trying to promote and preserve the artform, what have been the profound changes to the meaning of Madhubani itself? Did the form have to change or transform so as to remain relevant and marketable? THE ARTISTS EXPANDED THE REPERTOIRE. THE STYLE AND ICONOGRPAHY HAS REMAINED MUCH THE SAME
• Has it now transitioned from being a folk art to an established form of art? TO A DEGREE

6. How have the Ethnic Art Foundation and Mithila Art Institute impacted the local community of Madhubani? Particularly with regards to positive developments in the livelihood of the artists and women empowerment. SEE BRIEF HISTORY

7. How has the inclusion of Madhubani paintings under the Geographical Indications of Goods Act, 1999 since 2012 impacted the development of Madhubani? NOT AT ALL

8. How substantial has the support of Indian government been in preservation and promotion of Madhubani, if any? THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROVIDED NOT SUPPORT AT ALL.

9.
10. What do you think of Madhubani being sold on Amazon and Saffronart (A Mumbai based online auction house)? Do you view it as a positive development? POSSIBLY, TOO SOON TO TELL.

11. As of now it seems it is largely individual actors taking initiatives to popularise and preserve Madhubani. For instance, Mithilasmita is a private folk art gallery based in Bangalore, India. Yet there seems to be a lack of cooperation amongst individuals or foundations like yourself and Mithilasmita. What is your opinion on the same? I HAVE NEVER HEAD OF MITHILASMITA AND IT HAS NEVER CONTACTED THE EAF OR THE MAI

12.
• Will a formal network not be beneficial for Madhubani in the long run? OUR CONCERN IS SUSTAINING THE ART AND GETTNG DECENT INCOME TO THE ARTISTS. MOST GALLERIES ARE CONCERNED WITH MAXIMIZING PROFITS FOR THEIR OWNERS. THIS COULD BE A SOURCE OF CONFLICT

13. What is the future role and development strategy of Ethnic Arts Foundation? MAINTAINING THE MAI, AND CONTINUING TO DEVELOP AUDIENCE, APPRECIATION AND MARKET FOR THE PAINTINGS IN INDIA – AS WELL AS BEYOND. PERHAPS SOME DAY CREATING A MITHILA CULTUREA CENTER