

Review of Contact Base's Art for Life Development Model among Baul, Chau and Patachitra communities

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Executive summary

As a starting point for the HIPAMS India project, this review provides an assessment of Contact Base's Art for Life (AFL) flagship programme for socio-economic development, market outreach and intangible cultural heritage (ICH) safeguarding, implemented since 2004. The focus of our review has been on the work done in three communities that are the main subject of HIPAMS interventions; the Patachitra community in Naya village in Pingla, Paschim Medinipur district, Chau mask makers and dancers in Purulia district, and the Baul-Fakiri community in Gorbhanga, Nadia District starting 2005 (and subsequently with Bauls in Birbhum, Murshidabad and Bardhaman districts starting 2016). This review is intended to help us understand the work that has been done by Contact Base (CB) in these communities in its broader socio-economic, cultural and institutional context, and identify the overlaps and differences between the work of CB and the work of the project. Thus, it aims to help identify areas where existing CB activity could benefit from the HIPAMS India project, and vice versa. This will inform the design and implementation of HIPAMS proposals as well as the academic reflection, education and policy interventions from the project.

Our review of ten reports and evaluations (one unpublished) compiled between 2008 and 2018 indicates the extensive work done by CB in the last 15 years. These reports show the broad and beneficial impact of CB's work on livelihoods across a range of socio-economic indicators, and its strong role in helping communities revitalising and safeguarding ICH. We have identified three areas in which Heritage Sensitive Intellectual Property and Marketing Strategies (HIPAMS) could add value. The HIPAMS approach will build on CB's expertise in the revival of traditional forms to identify heritage attributes through community consultation. This could be used to identify what aspects of the heritage the community wishes to continue practising and transmitting, and where disputes might arise. Focusing on the maintenance of a range of attributes, making up heritage skills repertoires in the community over time, allows the HIPAMS method to help CB promote heritage-sensitive innovation, valorising both new and older products that carry heritage attributes. This will help prevent 'freezing' in the post-revitalization stage of safeguarding.

On marketing, CB has instituted a range of ways in which the communities have reached out to new markets and audiences to great effect. This review has shown that there are ways in which these strategies can be strengthened and, in some cases, re-shaped, keeping the ICH at the core. These include high

quality digital storytelling focusing on the community as subject and on the ICH, concentrating effort on representative organisations for Patachitra and Chau, and mostly on the individual for the Baul community (with some focus on the community at Gorbhanga and Akhras) while at the same time supporting digital skills for community members. This marketing approach would be supported by intellectual property in a heritage sensitive way, both reinforcing and elaborating on the work already carried out by CB on geographical indications, and introducing new ways to use trademarks, copyright and performers rights, thus supporting communities in ICH safeguarding.

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Introduction

About the HIPAMS India project

The HIPAMS India project, 'Celebrating Local Stewardship in a Global Market: Community Heritage, Intellectual Property Protection and Sustainable Development in India', is funded by the British Academy (2018-2021). It is a collaboration between three communities in India working with an NGO called Contact Base (CB, uses banglanatak dot com as trading style) and a team of Europe-based experts in heritage, intellectual property law and marketing.

The three communities involved in the HIPAMS India project are:

1. the Baul community from the districts of Nadia, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Bardhaman;
2. the Chau dance and mask-making community in Purulia, and Charida respectively in Purulia district; and
3. the Patachitra storytelling and scroll painting community in Naya village, Pingla in Paschim Medinipur district.

The HIPAMS India project team will co-create 'heritage-sensitive' intellectual property (IP) and marketing strategies (HIPAMS) with practitioner communities to give greater control over the commercialisation of their heritage while contributing to its safeguarding (i.e. ongoing viability). It aims to co-create effective, replicable and scalable HIPAMS, and assess the impact of implementing them on socio-economic development, ICH safeguarding and market penetration. The findings generated by the project will be widely disseminated so the approach can be used in other contexts, and influence policy-makers where appropriate.

About this review

As a starting point for the HIPAMS India project, this review provides an assessment of CB's Art for Life (AFL) flagship programme for socio-economic development, market outreach and ICH safeguarding in the three identified communities, implemented since 2004. We have interpreted this programme broadly to include various associated projects, such as those on Developing Rural Craft Hubs, Developing Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs, working with the same communities.

Purpose of the review

1. Understand the work that has been done by CB in the three identified communities in its broader socio-economic, cultural and institutional context.
2. Consider the overlaps and differences between the work of CB and the work of the project.
3. Identify areas where existing CB activity could benefit from the HIPAMS India project, and vice versa.
4. Consider how HIPAMS, within the context in which they are to be implemented, can respond to existing challenges and new opportunities.

The review will be made available open access on the project website. It will be disseminated to the communities, and to other NGOs working in the field using media appropriate for them.

Methodology of the review

This review, written by the team in Europe with research assistant Kavya Ramalingam, is based on an overview of existing evaluations of CB's work and a field visit in December 2018. We collated data from the following evaluations to create this review:

1. Banglanatak dot com, 'Safeguarding of Living Heritages: working paper on methodology for the revival of folk art as sustainable livelihood' (2008)
2. Banglanatak dot com, 'Revival and Revitalisation of Folk Art and Culture as a Means for Sustainable Livelihood among Rural/Tribal Artisans in West Bengal: final project report' supported by Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, Ministry of Culture, Government of India(2005 -2009).
3. Banglanatak dot com, 'Project Ethnomagic Going Global" Final Narrative report Dec2009 – Sep2011' supported by the European Union (2011).
4. UNESCO New Delhi, 'Art for Livelihood Project Summary Assessment Report' (2011).
5. Banglanatak dot com, 'Rural craft hub Patachitra of Naya: Baseline study brief' (2014).
6. Department of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises & Textiles (MSME&T), Government of West Bengal, UNESCO and Banglanatak dot com, 'International Consultation on Rural Craft Hub Project, 18-23 February 2016' (2016).
7. Banglanatak dot com, 'Rural Craft Hubs of Bengal: overall report September 2016' (2016).
8. Banglanatak dot com, 'Developing Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs of West Bengal: activity report November 2016-August 2017' (2017).
9. Banglanatak dot com, 'Developing Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs of West Bengal: activity report year 2, December 2018' (2018).
10. UNESCO, Report of Internal Mid-Term Review, Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs (UNESCO,November 2018)

It must be noted here that in most of the evaluation reports listed above, the data collated is on a more general level such that the impact and outcomes are usually discussed at the level of an entire district or an intervention for the same art form across districts rather than each, individual community. Thus, the review is based on abstractions from these broader, overall results and not necessarily only on the HIPAMS-concerned groups unless specified otherwise. These results have been beneficial in developing a more detailed, holistic picture.

During the field visit in December 2018, we interviewed CB staff and members from the communities of Baul, Chau and Patachitra artists. Selection of community members was done through CB, and the language interpretation was provided by CB. This likely affected the commentary made by community members. The review is thus not presented as a fully independent or in-depth evaluation of CB's work with the communities concerned, but will nevertheless serve as a guiding document for the implementation of the HIPAMS project.

The work of Contact Base in West Bengal

CB is a large NGO established in 2002, based in Kolkata with an office in Goa since 2014. It currently has 102 full time staff and has worked in 25 states of India.¹ CB is engaged in five key project areas related to culture:

1. Communication for development using cultural and digital media (starting in 2002);
2. Art for Life (starting in 2004);
3. Folk music promotion for rural and urban artists through MusiCal and establishing the World Peace Music Festival Sufi Sutra – now Sur Jahan- in 2011;
4. Cultural tourism, for example through the TourEast initiative and a partnership with UNWTO since 2015; and
5. Promotion of entrepreneurship as a social movement since 2018.

This review will focus on the Art for Life programme, broadly understood as incorporating a range of different projects, but focusing mainly on the three communities in the HIPAMS India project. AFL has been financed by Central and State Governments of India, EU, and UNESCO under the following projects, which we have divided into two phases for ease of analysis:

Phase 1: Establishment

Here, the focus was on reviving the endangered folk forms, improving livelihood, improving basic living conditions for artists, and providing skills for creative entrepreneurship, e.g. financial management skills, community organizations, craft or performance skills training and marketing assistance.

1. **Art for Livelihood(2004-2009)**assisted 3200 artists in 6 threatened art forms in the 6 most economically deprived districts of West Bengal aiming to improve the livelihood of traditional rural artist communities. Among others, it covered Chau dancers in Purulia, Patachitra artists in East and West Medinipur and Baul-Fakiri singers in Nadia, which are relevant to this project. It was funded by the Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre (EZCC) with support of Ministry of Rural Development, Govt. of India (2005-2009, Rs. 2.6 Crore) and the European Union (2009-2011, Rs. 5.4 Crore).² The intended outcome was to help create direct market opportunities for the artists, with a vision of better living standards and overall development in the long term. Two evaluation reports, the first by Contact Base (Banglanatak dot com, 2010) and the second by UNESCO New Delhi (UNESCO, 2011) will be used to outline the activities and outcomes of this project.

¹ Further information on CB's work is provided on the websites www.banglanatak.com (see the YouTube video [Art for Life](#)), www.rcchbengal.com,www.ruralcraftthub.com, www.madurofbengal.com and www.naturallybengal.com.

²The former phase (2005-2009) was supported by the Ministry of Rural development, Government of India as a Special project under the Swarna Jayanti Grameen Swarojgar Yojana Scheme (SGSY). In West Bengal, the project was also supported by the Departments of Panchayat and Rural Development and Information and Cultural Affairs of the Government of West Bengal.

2. **Project Ethnomagic Going Global (2009-2011)** assisted 3233 folk artists, their families and associated communities in 6 districts of West Bengal, aiming to promote rural creative industries. Funded by the European Union and in collaboration with the International Institute for Culture, Tourism and Development (IICTD) under the London Metropolitan University, Planet Art Exchange (in Liverpool) and the UNESCO New Delhi Office, the interventions designed by CB were focused on the same artist communities as the AFL project above. Actions taken under the project include development of new dance and drama productions, workshops on diversification training, textual and video documentation, participation in festivals and performances, initiating village festivals, international exposure, cultural exchanges, research to develop ICH based tourism and development of folk art centres in the artists' villages. Creation of World Peace Music Festival Sufi Sutra (presently named Sur Jahan) created a platform for national artists to share the same stage with international artists, creating exchange and collaboration opportunities and further possibilities of Bengal artists to travel to international festivals.

Phase 2: Expansion

Here, after basic living conditions had improved, the focus was on further development of community infrastructure, developing craft or performance skills through more advanced training and setting up additional measures such as intellectual property protection or new avenues to market.

3. **Rural Craft Hubs of West Bengal (2013-2016)** aimed at the development and promotion of village enterprise using traditional crafts of Bengal. This was funded by the Department of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises and Textiles (MSME&T) Govt. of West Bengal, to the amount of (about Rs. 7 crores) who has a MOU with UNESCO for developing ICH based livelihood. The project, led by Contact Base, mobilised 3000 handicraft artists across 11 locations. Apart from its primary objective of setting up 10 Crafts Hubs and improving access to markets along with skill upgradation and providing exposure, it also aimed to use ICT (information and communication technology) to create databases to help design broader policies. This covered, among other crafts, Patachitra artists from Pingla in West Medinipur district and Chau mask makers from Charida in Purulia district.
4. **Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs of West Bengal (2016-2019)** aimed at assisting over 12000 practitioners, covering 19 ICH elements (craft and performing arts) in 15 districts of West Bengal. Funded by MSME&T Department in collaboration with UNESCO, to the amount of 1.6 million GBP (about Rs. 14 crore), the project used CB's flagship three-pronged strategy of skills training and capacity-building, providing direct market linkage to artists, and facilitating exchange-collaborations. Among several other elements, the project also covered Chau dancers, Patachitra artists (but from Majramura in Purulia and Chandipur in East Medinipur district, not Naya as in the HIPAMS project) and Baul-Fakiri singers from various districts including Nadia. Two interim reports on the RCCH (Banglanatak dot com 2017,2018) will be used in this report, along with the Mid-Term Review by UNESCO (UNESCO, November 2018).

Contact Base with the support of West Bengal Khadi and Village Industries Board (WBKVIB) has led an initiative to develop skill, capacity and institutions of around 4000 Madurkathi artisans, facilitate market linkage in order to augment their earnings and provide machines and infrastructural support in Purba and Paschim Medinipur. The fund allocated for this project was 4.4 crore INR (0.4 million GBP). WBKVIB has supported in a similar initiative involving 4000 women Sabai artists with 3.3 crore INR (0.3 million GBP). A weaving cluster of around 1000 artists were revived at Kenjakura, a village in the Bankura district of West Bengal with a funding of around 2 crore INR (0.2 million GBP) by WBKVIB.

WBKVIB has also provided the artist communities with hardware support to build community museums, resource centres and helped in evolving the villages to cultural hubs.

Overall evaluations of Art for Life

Detailed summaries and outcomes or impacts of AFL initiatives in each community are provided in the tables below. In this section, we make some general comments on the context for this work and the overall successes and challenges faced.

AFL is presented by CB as a tool for rural development through culture, linking art, artist and village. It does this by improving livelihoods for rural artists, specifically by building skills capacity and improving direct marketing channels for artistic and creative products based on local heritage such as village festivals. The project has also helped communities to document folk songs, dance, visual arts and crafts, and promoted awareness-raising about the value of the heritage.

The World Bank makes the following observations on the context of West Bengal in which CB works:

West Bengal is India's 4th most populous state in India with 91 million people, a fifth of who[m] are poor. Although poverty reduction in the state was faster after 2005, pockets of high poverty still persist within the state. What's more, after 2005, the state's economic growth, which is driven mainly by services, has been weak. So much so that West Bengal grew at an even slower pace than the country's other low income states. Furthermore, consumption inequality, which increased marginally after 2005, is close to the national average.³

West Bengal has created many new jobs in the non-farm sector. However, these are mainly casual jobs, and female labor force participation remains low. West Bengal's performance in closing gender gaps is mixed. ... Schooling and maternal health have improved. Yet, the child sex ratio is declining, and secondary school completion rates are lower than in most other states. ... There is sharp contrast between social

³<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/315791504252302097/pdf/119344-BRI-P157572-West-Bengal-Poverty.pdf>

groups in West Bengal. The Scheduled Tribes record higher levels of poverty than others. And, both Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes lag others in schooling and access to basic services.⁴

In the period since 2005, there has been a general increase in living standards within West Bengal, as World Bank figures suggest (Figure 1), the rural poverty rate for example decreasing from 38% in 2005 to 23% in 2012, rural electrification increasing from 34% to 70% of households and open defecation decreasing from 42% to 40%. Moreover, a sector most relevant to CB's work, that of works and jobs, saw a rise from 49% to 61% in terms of non-farm job creation. In 2012, West Bengal's average non-farm employment (61%) was higher than the national average (51%) (Figure 3). However, poverty reduction and provision of sanitation for marginalized social groups (see Figure 2) has been much slower. The interventions by CB were in the most deprived communities of West Bengal, and some of the improvements in living standards within beneficiary communities (for example in respect to latrines, see below) exceeded even the national figures. Over the period 2005 to 2012, West Bengal had a growth rate of 5.1% real GSDP per capita, slightly higher than the previous decade but lower than India as a whole which was 6.7%. Reported increases in average artist incomes in the 2011 UNESCO evaluation for the three communities in the current study were considerably higher than this, some being greater than tenfold.⁵

Overall, the 2011 UNESCO evaluation of Phase 1 found that an investment of Rs.8 crore, with a cost per artist over 6 years between 2005-2010 at Rs.25,000 led to a general increase in individual artist income of about Rs.1,600 or more per month. AFL was thus proposed as a viable development model for rural India, as well as 'an efficient tool for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage' because more young people wanted to take part in the art forms as commercial successes suggested it could be a career choice. The reported outcomes and impacts of the AFL programme (at least in Phase 1) in regard to living standards and income thus represent very striking improvements on general trends in similar rural communities.

There has not yet been a final evaluation of Phase 2, but some indicative reviews have been done. For example, the international consultation carried out from 18th – 23rd February 2016 for the RCH project (2013-2016) noted valuable observations about the Patachitra Hub in Pingla. They commended the focus on women empowerment, the development of Patachitra as a 'new product' through its branding as handicraft as well as storytelling tradition, the practice of 'family collectives'. They suggested improvements in areas such as creative entrepreneurship and inclusive decision-making processes, while recommending the development of a coherent business model, individual portfolios of artworks and so on. They observed increases in net incomes, lower outward migration, greater interest in education and an overall improvement in village and family lives owing to the socio-economic benefits accrued as result of the project (MSME&T, Government of West Bengal, UNESCO and Banglanatak dot com 2016,p.29-30).More generally, the team of experts proposed

⁴<http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/india/brief/india-states-briefs-west-bengal>

⁵ While this is a significant achievement, some authors like Bradley et.al (2013) have also pointed out to shortcomings of such interventions, based on their study of the work done with the Baul groups. These include the failure of the 'trickle down' effect, the creation of social differentiation between 'high' and 'low' artists, perpetuation of gender hierarchies and manipulation of the art form by more popular artists due to market demands (p.97-100).

recommendations on topics of safeguarding ICH for sustainable development, social innovations for community empowerment using ICH and ICH based tourism in a globalised world.

With respect to the RCCH project (2016-2019), a midterm evaluation was undertaken from 31st August to 5th September, 2018, where experts interacted with practitioners, and had the opportunity of witnessing performances as well as craft objects at the project sites. This included Baul musicians from Birbhum and Chau and Patachitra artists from Purulia among others. The Mid-Term RCCH evaluation report that followed claimed that the greatest achievements of the project which was visible at that stage were the training activities, access to Government schemes and infrastructure development. In conclusion, it made recommendations in the areas of training and transmission, publication and dissemination, livelihood versus safeguarding, IP rights, community participation, networking, government schemes, documentation and awareness raising (UNESCO 2018,p.4-5).

In general, CB's work has been most influential in terms of economic development and higher incomes for artists along with the safeguarding of the concerned ICH elements. Some of its initiatives such as facilitating the local management of festivals, promoting and including women in livelihoods, the use of local products for the arts and crafts, ability to diversify and collaborate, creating opportunities for performance and sale through network building, the building of resource centres, enabling the use of IT and English, promoting heritage tourism, widespread awareness and visibility along with appreciation of arts and crafts among the masses and conducting programmes of heritage education with younger generations have had wide financial, social, political, educational and cultural implications for the communities. While the benefits are highest for the direct beneficiaries, other dependent family members and the broader society have also profited from CB's work, albeit in different ways and to differing degrees. Future evaluations could consider studying these overall effects in more detail to make more well-informed analyses. For instance, the international consultation on the RCH project (2016, p.30) noted that in Pingla, the Patachitra hub, there was an enhancement of village and family life, the village was evolving as a cultural destination and there was in general, a greater interest in education among the population.

Other considerations

Access to Government Assistance Schemes

An important task that CB has accomplished is the facilitation of access to various Government schemes for the artists. For example, under the Rural Craft Hubs project (2013-2016, p.8), artists were made aware of entitlements under various Government and Bank schemes and linked to schemes for craft and enterprise development. Most of the artists in the hubs were issued Artisan Cards as indicated in this Compendium of Handicraft Schemes for the 12th Five

Year Plan (p.15 and p.68).⁶ Moreover, CB has facilitated 200 artisans to have an EM-II or Entrepreneur's Memorandum for Existing enterprises registration as part of RCH (2013-2016, p.8).⁷ While skills training and international competitiveness are key goals that CB has for the artists it works with, enabling access to such schemes also highlights its aims of enhancing the self-sufficiency and tapping into the entrepreneurial potential of the actors. CB has also assisted artists, for example in Purulia (Chau mask makers) and in Pingla (Patachitra artists) in West Bengal, to register geographical indications and Craftmarks.

The work of CB outside West Bengal

Apart from West Bengal, CB works in many other States of India with varying outreach. It is most active in Bihar, Odisha, Goa and West Bengal but also has projects implemented in states like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Punjab and countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan (www.banglanatak.com). For example, it has implemented AFL in nine districts of Bihar in partnership with JEEViKA, Bihar Rural Livelihoods Promotion Society under State Rural Livelihood Mission, Government of Bihar from 2011-2013, Planning Commission of India and US Department of State. Moreover, apart from the Art for Life work, CB specialises in two other areas, namely C4D (Communication for Development) and Development Consulting. For instance, as part of the former, it is now working on the issues of building safe communities and safe work space at the tea estates in Udalgiri in Assam, supported by UNWOMEN. It has worked in Jharkhand in 2016-2019 for empowering adolescents and prevention of child labour and child marriage with the support of UNICEF. Under its consulting work, the organisation has been involved in projects such as family planning in Bihar, mapping South Asia's ICH, promoting green entrepreneurship in Jhargram, West Bengal among many others.⁸

The work of other organisations in this sector

The cultural sector in West Bengal has seen a burgeoning number of initiatives, not just by CB but many other organisations and enterprises that have similar objectives. For example, in the case of Patachitra, the Crafts Council of West Bengal (CCWB) (www.artisanaccwb.org.in) helps crafts community in India to upgrade designs for new products. CCWB has a store, Artisana, in Kolkata that sells Patachitra and other folk art products, thus providing direct market access for patuas. The CCWB has a dedicated website, under the Artisana shop name, and a (limited) presence on social media. Patachitra products (textiles, etc.) are showcased together with others in similar product categories, but without any specific background information. The Daricha Foundation (DF) (www.daricha.org) documents, disseminates and promotes public awareness of India's folk art and culture starting with West Bengal. They connect artists

⁶ It is a document released by the Office of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts), Govt. of India.

⁷ See <http://www.msmedimumbai.gov.in/html/emreg.html> for details on the scheme.

⁸ All information for this section was taken from www.banglanatak.com.

with researchers, the media, buyers, and cultural institutions and event organizers, but focus on promoting rather than directly selling folk and tribal crafts through their portal. Organizations like Sahajiya Foundation, and Shyamsakha work with Baul communities in West Bengal. SangeetNatakAkademi and the Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, under the Ministry of Culture work to promote the Chau and Baul communities in various fairs and festivals. The universities like SidhoKanhoBirsha University and Rabindra Bharati University have included Chau dance in their curriculum.

The work of individuals in this sector

A number of researchers, authors, film-makers and private entrepreneurs have devoted their efforts to safeguard and promote the ICH elements covered under this project through various media and platforms. For example, Nandita Palchoudhuri, a craft curator from Bengal was part of an effort with David Gere from UCLA to help improve the health of rural Indians through the arts. She facilitated workshops in which doctors and patuas worked together to create pats about the realities and tragedy of HIV in rural communities. Likewise, *Purulia Chau* was a documentary directed by RitwikGhatak. This documentary explores the traditional heritage of Chau which could be seen as a culturally rich alternative to the other widely known classical Indian dance forms. Similarly, the book *BaulGaan* by Wakil Ahmed was published in 2000 by the Bangladesh Shilpakala Academy. It explored the many facets of Baul music on both sides of the Indo-Bangladesh border, covering Baul philosophy, theory, musical notes and areas where Baul music has spread.

Publications, films, graphic novels, books etc. have been released and circulated which have added to the popularity and preservation of these art forms.⁹

⁹ See the document titled 'Interventions' for more details.

Patachitra (storytelling and scroll painting) community in Naya, Pingla

This community based in Naya, Pingla in the West Medinipur district has been working with CB since 2004.

Note: In most cases, it has been hard to get data on the targeted communities since the data is at a district level. The tables pertain to such general data and not to the specific communities

Phase	Actions undertaken	Outcomes and impact
Phase 1 (2004 – 2009)	<i>Revival and Revitalisation of Folk Art and Culture as a Means for Sustainable Livelihood among Rural/Tribal Artisans in West Bengal, EZCC (2010) (Number of Beneficiaries :311 in East and West Medinipur)</i>	
	<p>Mobilisation of folk artists to form SHGs and training to follow SHG norms</p> <p>Capacity building of master trainers</p> <p>Strengthening of basic skills in art forms for artists</p> <p>Facilitation of exposure to traditional and contemporary trends</p> <p>Specialised training provided in areas such as diversification of products, product pricing, English speaking, framing and painting on new media (p.21)</p> <p>Development of 'Pater Panchali' a documentary on Patachitra and Pata songs in 2009 (p.25)</p> <p>Establishment of international exchanges and collaborations¹⁰</p>	<p>Increase in number of artists. In 2005, younger people had lost interest in learning the art. In 2010, Chitrakars who had given up painting and were earning mostly through daily labour took up their art as a full time livelihood. Younger people especially women started learning the art form with great interest (p.51).</p> <p>Increased knowledge of basic skills. Among the Patuas, around two third of the artists were novices or had given up painting. They were not using natural colours. Many women knew only to make clay dolls. Mythological songs on abduction of Sita, Manasa Mangal, Chandi Mangal, Ramayana were taught to the students. They were trained on conceptualising new themes and writing songs on them. In general, every day two hours were dedicated to skill development in drawing and painting while in the rest of the sessions they were taught about traditional themes, singing Pater Gaan etc. As drawing and colouring skills improved, the artists were trained to paint on apparel, silk, leather etc. (p.19).</p> <p>Improved skills and product diversification. In 2005, Pater Gaan was known only to a few. By 2010, besides strengthening of traditional skills in painting & singing, the Patuas started making diversified products. They made utility and decorative items with their traditional motifs and painted on leather, terracotta, acrylic, wrought iron and other media. They also campaigned on social issues (p.51).</p>

¹⁰ An example of this is 'POTential: An effort to explore'. It was a unique interdisciplinary art initiative undertaken in January, 2009 that created a platform for exchange, assimilation and innovation where the traditional folk painters of Bengal met seven contemporary new media artists from UK (see p.24 of the report for details).

	<p>Development of a multi-stakeholder approach to assess market potential, identify locations for folk business hubs and promotion of community-led heritage tourism</p> <p>Participation in domestic and international festivals</p> <p>Development of new partnerships and patrons as well as media partnerships</p> <p>Awareness built on the art forms among children and youth</p> <p>Conduction of three month-training program by an NGO Shelter for Her Empowerment (SHE)¹¹ on Spoken English</p> <p>Foundations laid for the formation of an activity cluster (Chitrataru) in the community to ensure sustainability of the efforts (p.32)</p>	<p>New income opportunities. The art form was dying due to lack of income opportunities. By 2010, Patuas were earning more by making apparel and decorative items and organising awareness campaigns (p.51). At the time of this report, Pingla had the largest concentration of Patuas and the folk painters in this area achieved greatest success. 23% of Patuas in Pingla started earning above Rs.5000 per month while 14% started earning between Rs.3000-5000 (p.50).</p> <p>New promoters. From a complete lack of promoters, Patachitra artists started being supported by organisations such as the District Industries Centre, Development Commissioner of Handicrafts, galleries, the district administration, NGOs, handicraft retailers like Sasha and Weavers Studio (p.51).</p> <p>Women Empowerment. Initially, the women primarily assisted the men in the family in painting. But by 2010, women were painting, singing and traveling themselves across the country and earning well (p.51).</p> <p>Improved living conditions. By 2010, most of the Patuas had sanitary latrines at home. 60% had access to electricity. The leading Patuas started affording brick houses. They also received health insurance (ICICI-Lombard scheme) (p.51).</p>
<p>Phase 1 (2004 – 2011)</p>	<p>UNESCO 2011 Evaluation (Number of beneficiaries: 311 in East and West Medinipur)¹²</p>	
	<p>Development of Self Help Groups (SHGs), provision of bank accounts and training on how to run SHGs</p> <p>Basic life-skill workshops for artists including working together, sharing benefits, maintaining a bank account, etc.</p>	<p>Improved financial literacy for artists.</p> <p>Improved standard of living for artists. From lack of basic infrastructure such as electricity and sanitation in 2005, most artists have latrines and 60% have electricity by 2010. Leading artists have brick homes by 2010.</p>

¹¹This included various programs such as vocational training, computer, literacy, spoken English training and building awareness on women’s rights (p.23).

¹² All data taken from Section 3 and Section 4 (under Patachitra).

	<p>Provision of health insurance to all the members of the SHGs and their family members</p> <p>Development of a community resource centre in the district for storage, display, practice and meet-ups</p> <p>Organisation of local guru-shishya (teacher-student) trainings for capacity building</p> <p>Organisation of domestic and international exchange programs and local village festivals</p> <p>Documentation of art forms</p> <p>Development of fliers with names and contact details of the artists</p>	<p>Improved access to healthcare.</p> <p>Improved income for artists. Monthly average income of Rs.500 in 2005 increased to Rs.7,000. 40% of Patuas earned Rs.15,000 by 2010.</p> <p>Increased market exposure for goods. In 2005, 10% of the artists had never attended craft fairs. 50% of them attended 1 – 5 fairs a year. By 2010 40% of artists attend 10 –15 fairs; another 35% attend 5 – 10 fairs. The least successful artists still attend 1 – 5 fairs a year.</p> <p>Increased demand for art. Whereas the art had been in decline in 2005, artists had new orders for apparel and decorative items as well as awareness campaign materials by 2010.</p> <p>Increased number of promoters. Whereas there had been no regular promoters in 2005, by 2010 the products were promoted by the District Industries Centre, Development Commissioner of Handicrafts, Galleries, District administration, NGOs, and Handicraft retailers like Sasha, Weavers Studio.</p>
<p>Phase 1 (2009 – 2011)</p>	<p><i>Project EGG Narrative Report, 2011 (Number of beneficiaries: 279 in East and West Medinipur)</i></p> <p>Making of new folk productions combining various heritage elements</p> <p>Interaction and exchange with foreign visual artists</p> <p>Provision of health insurance to beneficiaries and their dependent family members</p> <p>Participation in training workshops for diversification of products</p>	<p>New usage of Patachitra scrolls. Scroll designs were used as backgrounds in the production sets of Chau performances (p.8).</p> <p>New ideas for installations. The Patuas found a new area of interest - creating installations using Patachitra, photography and video. They used their learnings to make graphic novels and illustrations in story books for children (p.15).</p> <p>Increased outreach and demand for diverse products. Patachitra artists developed new skills to produce diverse products that have high demand in boutiques, ethnic shops, lifestyle shops and festivals (p.17).¹³</p>

¹³ These include engagement in new avenues such as interior decorations for modern houses, Puja pandals, t-shirts, various stationary products, accessories, decorative items and props in contemporary plays.

	<p>Participation in international workshops, festivals and exhibitions in France, China, and the UK as well as local folk festivals across India</p> <p>Exchange programmes, residencies and workshops with project partners on art and cultural tourism</p> <p>Recording of 40 Patachitra songs (titled Pater Gaan) and oral knowledge on making natural dyes</p> <p>Building of a resource centre in Pingla</p> <p>Organisation of the 3-day POTMaya Festival in November 2010 in Naya, Pingla</p>	<p>Market development and capacity building.The exhibition in France saw a sale of 500 scrolls for Rs.0.55 million. Artists gained confidence and learned to cater to diverse tastes. Around 50% of their demand became international (p.27).</p> <p>Improved intercultural dialogue and development of tourism plans. Patuas mapped their family tree and developed a chart describing the entire process of colour extraction from natural sources. Villagers were oriented in tourist management and maintenance of cleanliness and hygiene (p.23).</p> <p>Better incomes and more opportunities for display and sales.Average income for Patachitra artists in Pingla was Rs.12,000-Rs.15,000 in 2011 in comparison to Rs.5000 in 2009. In Naya, the income of around 80% of artists have risen 4-5 times. The Patuas are also exhibiting and selling at about 8-10 festivals in a month. Income of leading 30-40 Patuas has increased 3-5 times from an average of Rs.7,000 - 10,000 per month in 2009 to Rs.30,000 - Rs.50,000 per month in 2011 (p.54).</p> <p>Improved documentation of folk art forms and traditional knowledge.(p.33)</p> <p>New seats of learning and educational tourism.This improved transmission of skills to younger members. Local schools, photographers, media and other tourists visited the centres to learn about the painting process, and songs sung by the Patuas (p.31).</p> <p>Local popularisation of art form and overall benefit to community. Patuas held workshops on painting, Pata songs and the extraction process of natural colours. Patachitra items worth Rs.0.6 million were sold. The local community benefitted from the influx of visitors from nearby villages and other cities (p.39).¹⁴</p>
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¹⁴ As per additional information about POTMaya from CB, some of the highlights of the festival include the increase in sale values for artists from around 3-6 lakhs in the initial years to 9-11 lakhs in 2017-18. The number of visitors has gone up to 6000 per day including people from within and outside West Bengal and students from local schools and colleges. The number of overnight guests staying for the festival has increased to 40-60 guests over the last three years. They are accommodated in guest houses made by the local population and charged Rs.1000 per night per room for a family. Such locally sourced initiatives with respect to logistics, decorations, cleanliness, food and hospitality have financially benefitted the whole community. In recent years, Chitrataru (a community organisation) has taken charge of all organisational tasks with the help of volunteer groups, instilling a sense of ownership and participation in the village. The festival is promoted through posters, invitation cards, social media platforms,

	<p>Filming of short film titled 'Painting the Road to Empowerment' telling the story of women Patuas at Pingla</p>	<p>Recognition and award for women patuas. The film won an award in a global contest called Project Inspire organised by UN WOMEN, Singapore in collaboration with MasterCard in August, 2011 for the Most Creative Community Outreach Project. The women Patuas of Pingla received 10000 Singapore dollars for making more marketable products (p.47).</p>
<p>Phase 2 (2013 – 2019)</p>	<p><i>Rural Craft Hubs of Bengal Overall Report, 2016 (Number of beneficiaries: 230 in West Medinipur)</i></p>	
	<p>Workshop in January 2014</p> <p>Skill development workshops conducted by experts from the Indian Institute of Craft Design, National Institute of Fashion technology, Kala Bhavan, Government Art College, Kolkata</p> <p>Facilitation of access to government schemes</p>	<p>Participatory planning of activities with crafts persons.</p> <p>Revitalization of processes. Activities focused on professionalization of skills while keeping core traditions intact (p.4). Products were diversified to meet the demands of emerging markets and production processes were streamlined keeping in mind concerns like durability and eco-friendliness (p.6).¹⁵ Patuas also started painting on contemporary themes ranging from tsunamis and 9/11 to violence against women and human trafficking (p.30).</p> <p>Improved access to entitlements. Working capital support was provided to artist collectives by WBKVIB¹⁶ worth Rs.5 lakhs (p.31). Crafts persons were made aware of entitlements under various Government and Bank schemes and linked to schemes for craft and enterprise development. All the artists in the hubs have Artisan Cards (p.8).</p> <p>Improved entrepreneurial capacities. Various enterprise development, English-speaking and computer skills workshops were held from 2014 – 2016. Training was also provided on the management of the Folk Art Centre.</p>

installations and mike-on-vans. Many popular websites (such as NatGeo Traveller, The Better India, and The Wire etc.) have started featuring the festival on their pages too. Media coverage in Bengali and English has been widespread in newspapers online and offline including travel and tourism magazines.

¹⁵Introduction of simple techniques, like that of softening the finished work of art or the use of improved materials like natural dye helped accelerate the popularity of the art form. The cluster makes a wide range of value added products ranging from apparel and accessories to painted crockery and decorative items (p.30).

¹⁶ This stands for The West Bengal Khadi & Village Industries Board.

	<p>Establishment of Folk Art Centre in Pingla by WBKVIB as a space for work, practice, storage and exhibition (p.10)</p> <p>Capacity building in various sectors</p> <p>Community organisation, Chitrataru established in 2007</p> <p>Craft expositions in UK, France, USA, Taiwan and Bahrain, Germany, Denmark, Oman as well as across India</p> <p>Strategies undertaken for instituting villages as cultural destinations such as an annual village festival called POTMaya since 2010</p> <p>Promotion of the form through heritage education</p> <p>Promotion through diverse communication materials and social media</p> <p>Specific opportunities created for women Patuas</p>	<p>Improved institutional capacity. Formal organisation brought about greater bargaining power, reduced exploitation, opened up possibilities of collaborative production, introduced specialization through the division of labour and made access to institutional credit easier based on group collaterals (p.10).</p> <p>Increased market exposure and recognition. Exposure has led to greater understanding of market needs leading to product diversification and better realisation. All the hubs now enjoy direct market linkage with premier boutiques and e-retail businesses like Novica, Jaypore etc. Linkages have also been established with large retailers like FabIndia, Sasha, Byloom, Biswa Bangla, Heart for Art and Manjusha (p.13).</p> <p>Improved financial gains. The average family income of the 70 concerned families became as high as Rs.18,000 per month. Star artists started earning as high as Rs.50,000 per month. The Hub has seen a sale of Rs.1.7 Crores in 2018-2019 (p.31).</p> <p>Increase in tourist footfall at the village festival and throughout the year. Cleanliness and hygienic environment stressed by the community.</p> <p>Greater interaction with schools and design institutes. (p.15)</p> <p>Increased visibility. Brochures, leaflets, films, website, photographs, invitation cards were created to disseminate knowledge about the Craft Hubs, fairs and festivals, both online and offline (p.17).</p> <p>Increased freedom and mobility for women crafts persons. Women Patuas travelled to France, UK, Taiwan and Bahrain to showcase their works (p.31). Such visits empowered the women producers with zeal and confidence.</p>
<p>Phase 2 (2013 – 2019)</p>	<p><i>Report on International Consultation on the RCH Project (2016)</i></p>	
	<p>Patachitra developed as a 'new product' by branding it in its entirety of as a handicraft as well as a musical tradition</p>	<p>The experts made some of the following observations regarding the outcomes of the project (2016, p.29-30):</p>

	<p>Families worked as collectives</p> <p>Community members worked as a collective on a need basis</p> <p>Naya, Pingla envisioned as a ‘cultural destination’</p> <p>Collaboration of international artists with local artists like Swarna Chitrakar on projects at her residence in Naya (p.17)</p> <p>Living community museum instituted by artists like Bahadur Chitrakar¹⁷</p> <p>Partnership with Universities like Grinell College, Milan University, Italy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The intervention was successful in safeguarding the Patachitra tradition ▪ Good initiatives were undertaken for local, regional, national and international marketing ▪ Artists enjoyed social and economic benefits ▪ Village and family life qualities were enhanced ▪ Artists had learnt the art of selling to visitors ▪ Artists were getting national and international recognition ▪ Net income and livelihood had improved considerably ▪ Outward migration had lowered ▪ There was greater interest in education amongst the community ▪ There were measures taken to ensure women empowerment ▪ All age groups and genders were equally involved at household levels ▪ Regular sessions to transmit the heritage to younger generation ▪ Orientation on the art of hospitality
<p>Phase 2 (2013 – 2019)</p>	<p><i>Miscellaneous interventions</i></p>	
	<p>Artist Swarna Chitrakar from Naya, Pingla invited to the UNESCO General Assembly in June 2018</p> <p>GI registered for ‘Patachitra of Bengal’ in 2018¹⁸</p>	<p>Improved international exposure for women Patuas.</p> <p>Attainment of formal, standardised label for marketing and consumer awareness.</p>

¹⁷ Bahadur Chitrakar opened his museum called Patachitra Sangrahasala for public display in 2010-2011. Prior to that he has been collecting artefacts for the last 27 years. Among other things he has more than 5000 old Patachitras, equal number of books and manuscripts and many other handicraft items from across India. With wide publicity his museum has become quite popular. Around 2000 persons including students from different colleges and universities come to visit the museum every year. There is no charge for visiting the museum. However, Bahadur accepts donations from visitors.

¹⁸ The application can be found [here](#).

	<p>Community organization Chitrataru certified Patachitra of Pingla with Craftmark in 2015¹⁹</p> <p>Interventions for Patachitra artists in other communities²⁰</p>	<p>Expansion of CB's work to other Patachitra communities. While these communities are not directly under the HIPAMS project, the Majhramura region falls under the recent GI registration that has been obtained for Bengal Patachitra.²¹</p>
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Current concerns/challenges

These are points of concerns raised by the villagers themselves as seen and heard during the field visits and interviews. Some of the challenges have also been sourced from other existing reports.

- **Use of natural dyes on new kinds of materials:** After the diversification of products, villagers are keen on making new products such as t-shirts. But they prefer to buy cheaper t-shirts and dress products to use as the base where the designs are painted more easily with acrylic paint rather than natural dyes. However, this renders the material very stiff. Although they use natural colours while painting on paper the same is not used on such garments due to lack of knowledge and technique. The crafts persons would like to be trained on using natural colour on garments and other textiles, such as jute and leather (Banglanatak dot com, 2014).
- **Competition from urban artists:** Urban artists use the Patachitra aesthetic in their modern art. While village artists are proud and grateful for the exposure, they seek proper acknowledgement for their tradition (Deacon, 4th Dec 2018).
- **Combining potential of the songs and the paintings.** Not all artists can sing well at this stage. There are around 20-25 Patachitra artists in Pingla who are excellent singers and around 50-60 singers whose singing skills are average. Only 4-5 artists can compose songs on their own (Contact Base 2019, QnA). Senior artists believe that there has been a shift to seeing it as fine art and a loss of the link to story through songs.

¹⁹The Craftmark initiative is an effort by the All India Artisans and Craft workers Welfare Association (AIACA) to help in denoting genuine Indian handicrafts, developing sector-wide minimum standards and norms for labelling a product as a handicrafts product, and increase consumer awareness of distinct handicraft traditions. Under this initiative, AIACA licenses the Craftmark logo for use by craft-based businesses, cooperatives and NGOs for use on product tickets and labels.

²⁰ Under the RCCH project, 7 basic skill trainings were held for 336 Patachitra artists in Majhramura (in Purulia) and Chandipur (in EastMedinipur) for 90 women and 246 men. Skills involved making meticulous depictions, narrating new stories, ensuring creation of products that are more market-friendly and painting smaller scrolls that enjoy higher demand.

²¹ As per the Mid-Term evaluation (UNESCO 2018, p.15-16), the training in Majhramurawas aimed at encouraging the use of traditional colours and not synthetic colours, reviving the process of making colours and making of smaller panels which take lesser time to paint and are more attractive to the urban buyer.

- **Unequal gains.** Like many development interventions, the outcomes have not always been equally distributed. Some artisans feel that in the village the art tends to be focused in specific families that dominate the practice (Deacon, 4th Dec 2018).
- **Intergenerational difference in viewpoints.** When pop songs copy or borrow elements from *pater gaan*, the Gurus often see it as something negative but the younger, local artists appreciate the visibility that comes with such efforts (Deacon, 4th Dec 2018).
- **Effect on other heritage elements.** Focus on Patachitra has been associated with a reduction of some other ICH practices and a merging of other local traditions such as bamboo product making in neighbouring villages where Patachitra themes are painted on them (Deacon, 4th Dec 2018).

Review of the work of CB

While CB's work with the Patachitra artist community has been quite diverse, the majority of the focus has been on training (with particular emphasis on the use of natural colour and learning the songs) and diversification of products and themes. CB has tried to support and enhance the entrepreneurial capabilities of the artists through formation of SHGs in the initial phase and later forming societies, access to Government schemes and life skills workshops. While the focus has been on reviving the art form to improve livelihoods, other basic concerns such as health insurance, and financial literacy have also been addressed through these interventions. The interventions have been directly linked to better local incomes and living standards, access to new markets and increased exposure nationally and internationally.

Challenges faced during implementation, and how they were addressed

As with many interventions in the development sector, CB's work had to focus on specific groups and communities due to practical constraints such as resources or finances or in other cases due to a lack of interest. Thus, it was not always possible to include all artists, whether in the broader project or in specific workshops and trainings. This in some cases has created tensions of inclusion and exclusion that can affect trust and co-operation within the community. CB seems to have managed this problem fairly well in Naya, as a relatively small village with a functioning community organization.

Considerable emphasis has been placed on the inclusion of women Patuas and marginalised communities in the projects. For example, organisation of specific training programs for women or showcasing their work in global contests have encouraged women to actively pursue Patachitra. As part of the RCH, 60% of the beneficiaries were women and 90% belonged to other backward classes, other minority communities (p.2). Even in the RCCH project, the participation of women in workshops and trainings saw a significant rise. Enabling women to travel abroad and present their work at prestigious events have also been important measures.

Similarly, striking a balance between individual and collective benefits is always tricky. By virtue of talent and ability to learn, some artists pick up skills faster than others, which could lead to better opportunities for a select few. If the cycle continues, these artists who become more popular are the ones who

advance further (say due to international exposure or calls to festivals etc.) while others are left behind. In terms of evaluation, most data are presented as averages which renders it hard to comment on differential benefits. While absolute equality is hard to achieve in any development project (Bradley et.al, 2013), identifying those groups in need of greater support within a community, will be ongoing work in the future. The front stalls at POTMaya are, for example, given to struggling artists to support them better.

As regards routes to market, some traders sell Patachitra products to buyers, but do not always recompense the artists fairly. The creation and promotion of new marketing channels that directly connect producers and buyers, and/or the development of more equitable interfaces between producers and middlemen, is a challenge. CB has been trying to help artists to interact with buyers themselves, and creating more platforms (online and offline) and festivals where artists would have direct opportunities to showcase their artworks. Once established, festival organisation is taken on by the community themselves. CB has transferred the organisation of the POTMaya festival to Chitrataru (the local community organisation) in recent years which has promoted inter-generational dialogue, participatory methods, and a sense of ownership and involvement of the community as a whole in Patachitra initiatives.

Environmental sustainability has also been an issue. Training sessions to make more durable and sustainable scrolls and products have been coupled with emphasis on the sustainable use of natural colour from widely available natural resources. Attention to continued sustainability of these resources should be ongoing.

Seeing the advancement of the Patuas local and district administration have come forward.

Gap analysis

Considering the existing work that has been done (as well as ongoing initiatives),HIPAMS could particularly address the following:

- **Consider the relationship between heritage, competencies or skills, products and markets.** HIPAMS focuses on ensuring the ongoing practice and transmission of a heritage skills repertoire over time, rather than insisting that only some of the products are ‘authentic’ or requiring the exercise of the full repertoire of skills in relation to every product. Thus, products that are not ‘traditional’ in their entirety can help maintain aspects of the ICH - a range of different products and performances can contribute to safeguarding. This approach is aligned with what CB has been doing in product diversification in Naya including training in developing scrolls and songs on new themes. This aspect, and the reasons for it, can be made more explicit potentially extending the repertoire. In so doing HIPAMS could help provide a more holistic theoretical framework for CB’s work in Naya.
- **Consider how diversification of products can be part of safeguarding.** Promoted by the revival of Patachitra scroll making (using traditional substrates, natural dyes) and singing of pater gaan (songs of patachitra), traditionally-made scrolls have a higher ‘heritage status’, because of their link to the past, than the diversified products created under the AFL programme. Since they take considerable time and are expressing the full heritage skills repertoire, scrolls made in the ‘traditional’ way (Long scrolls) are expensive and sold mainly to city based consumers,

however. Local consumers and some urban visitors prefer cheaper diversified products, which were introduced as a way of promoting artist livelihoods by expanding their market. Thus, critics could argue that locals have been 'priced out' of their own tradition - further marketing efforts might exacerbate this. This critique is however based on an essentialised view of what the heritage is, and a focus on products rather than skills and meaning. The HIPAMS approach, based on consideration of skills and meaning-related attributes, as well as repertoire, may offer an opportunity to consider how continued local access to their heritage can be ensured, not just for artists but for local consumers. Making diversified products provides training opportunities for patuas, but it can also communicate stories through art on kettles and bamboo. This approach might encourage artists to make diversified products more heritage-sensitive, or suggest other kinds of diversification that are driven not only by the market but by a heritage analysis.

- **Help communities develop more effective and high quality locally-driven marketing of Bengal Patachitra.** At present, much (although not all) of the marketing of Naya and Patachitra (apart from POTMaya) is done by other organisations, not the villagers themselves (although some villagers do contact buyers directly). It is variable in quality and emphasis. Villagers, and artists in particular, could be assisted to play a larger role in marketing both individually and through Chitrataru. This could involve developing skills in digital marketing tools, coupled with some high-quality professional marketing of Bengal Patachitra in general. This will help to raise broader market awareness of Bengal Patachitra as opposed to Odisha Patachitra, which is more widely known, and to position Naya at the centre of this marketing effort through POTMaya.
- **Help the local community develop a better understanding of IPRs and how to use them effectively.** Consideration of copyright and performers rights, as well as other kinds of IP such as trade marks and geographical indications, are currently not a priority in training and marketing efforts. Implementation of IP strategies should be accompanied by an understanding by communities, middlemen and the consumers of what the IP rights are designed to achieve, and how to use them or control their use by others. The relationship between communal and individual IPR needs some discussion. While the Bengal Patachitra GI has been registered, and the Craftmark label obtained, they are not yet used very effectively. There is a lack of clarity as to what products would be covered by the GI, registered users can now be identified as part of the implementation of the GI, and no standard for Bengal Patachitra has been published on the Craftmark site. There seems to be at best a vague awareness of copyright which can be seen in a disquiet from time to time of works being copied. That said, artists are keen on instructing others in their art. At times artists sign their works, often when asked to by a gallery exhibiting the work, but at present they might not be aware of the consequences of these decisions. Performers rights, such as when the artists are involved on television or radio seem not to feature highly.
- **Consider various dimensions along which IP and marketing strategies can be differentiated.** Usually, strategies are differentiated in relation to different markets, or products. It could also be relevant to consider different kinds of heritage in diversification of strategies. There are three main types of Patachitra art practised in Naya: Bengal style, Tribal/Indigenous style and (contemporary) Kalighat style, which emerge from slightly different histories, locations and traditions. At present, they are being marketed under the same umbrella, and artists working

in these different styles attend the same training interventions (some practice multiple style). Do these different styles (and diversified products) need tailored safeguarding, marketing or IP strategies?

Chau mask makers and dancers (Purulia)

This community consists of dancers and mask-makers in the Purulia district.

Note: Most reports refer to Purulia as a whole – data on the Balarampur community alone is scarce.

Phase	Actions undertaken	Outcomes and impact
Phase 1 (2004 – 2009)	Revival and Revitalisation of Folk Art and Culture as a Means for Sustainable Livelihood among Rural/Tribal Artisans in West Bengal, EZCC (2010) (Project Beneficiaries : 1837 Chau dancers in Purulia)	
	<p>Mobilisation of folk artists to form SHGs and training to follow SHG norms</p> <p>Capacity building of master trainers</p> <p>Strengthening of basic skills in art forms for artists</p> <p>Facilitation of exposure to traditional and contemporary trends</p> <p>Specialised training provided in areas such as developing compact productions of 15-30 minutes, developing costumes and masks at lower cost, reviving lost dance styles and movements, stage presence, developing productions based on works of Tagore & Shakespeare, holding campaigns on Education for all, Consumer Rights and Reproductive health (p.21)</p> <p>Encouraging innovation in new Chau productions²²</p>	<p>Increase in incomes. In 2005, the groups hardly earned from performance. Average payment received for a show was Rs.1800-3000 which barely met production costs. In 2010, payment per show went up to the range of Rs.3000–Rs.15,500. Nearly 40% mentioned that minimum income from shows was Rs.4000 or more. The acclaimed groups got around Rs.7000 when they performed within the district, around Rs.15,000 in Kolkata and around Rs.25,000 outside the state. The artists earned about Rs.3000 per month on an average (p.35).</p> <p>Increase in number of permanent groups. Initially, because of lack of regular programs most groups were ad hoc in nature. Temporary groups were formed when invitations were received. Post-intervention, the SHGs started practising regularly and received regular invitations as a group (p.35).</p> <p>Improved market outreach. At baseline, the market was limited to Purulia and occasionally Jharkhand. With time, Chau groups started being invited by Puja organisers across West Bengal and festivals organised by Government as well as private organisers in Maharashtra, New Delhi, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Karnataka and Arunachal Pradesh (p.35).</p> <p>Increased opportunities for shows. From showcases only in local fairs, Chau dance became an attraction for tourists in Purulia. At Murguma for example, a local SHG ran a tourism resort and performed regularly. Festivals like Palash Parban and Basanta Utsav showcasing</p>

²² Chau productions were developed based on Tagore's Chitrangada and Kalmrigaya and Shakespeare's Macbeth. This convergence of folk and mainstream literary works perhaps happened for the first time in the history of Chau (see p.23 of the report for more details).

	<p>Documentation through videos of Chau dance productions developed as part of the project, performances of artists in key cultural events and productions developed as campaign tools etc. (p.25)</p> <p>Development of a multi-stakeholder approach to assess market potential, identify locations for folk business hubs and promotion of community-led heritage tourism</p> <p>Development of new styles of masks for to increase attraction, but also reduce expenditure</p> <p>Participation in domestic festivals</p> <p>Development of new patrons as well as media partnerships</p> <p>Awareness built on the art forms among children and youth</p> <p>Foundations laid for the formation of an activity cluster (Bamnia Chau Jhumur Sangha) in the community to ensure sustainability of efforts (p.32)</p>	<p>folk performance drew tourists. The average number of shows per year went from 10-12 to 25 (p.35).</p> <p>Improved skills. Chau productions lacked variety and old steps (<i>Chaal</i>) were getting lost. New styles were revived and the groups obtained a wider repertoire (p.35). The Chau Gurus worked on various shortcomings of the dancers like lack of formal training in dance, lack of fitness and lack of knowledge on the dance form. The Gurus trained the dancers on musical beats and rhythm. They were even taught the basics of Yoga for improving fitness. The process led to improvement in dancing skills and use of body language (p.19). Audio visual documentation was developed as a learning tool</p> <p>New promoters. Clubs, college festival organisers, Durga Puja organisers across West Bengal became regular patrons (p.35).</p> <p>Cost effective designs for Chau masks and accessories. Workshops were held with mask makers of Charida and local tailors who make Chau costumes to devise ways of reducing costs.²³ Locally available material like feathers were used instead of plastic embellishments sourced from Kolkata. The lighter masks then lasted for at least twelve shows. The costs borne out towards costumes and masks then came to Rs.15,000 per group of 15 members or only Rs.1000 per head instead of Rs.2700. The new masks and costumes designed in the workshops could be used for 8 shows continuously without damage (p.23).</p> <p>Improved social status. There was lack of cooperation between Chau groups run by Mahatos, Kumars and Kalindis. The groups learned to work together by overcoming caste differences and eventually helped each other in getting shows (p.35).</p> <p>Improved living conditions. Except for Arsha, Bandwan and Purulia-II, in all other blocks it was found that 30-40% of the Chau groups had electricity at home while practically none had electricity at home when the project had commenced (p.35).</p>
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²³Each member of a troupe of 15-20 dancers needs masks and costumes. Earlier, a mask costed around Rs.1200 and could be used only for 3-4 shows. A costume lasted for a season and costed around Rs.1200. Beads and trimmings for masks and costumes were sourced from Kolkata. Thus, Chau dancers were hardly able to profit from their earnings from shows.

Phase 1 (2004 – 2011)	UNESCO 2011 Evaluation (Number of beneficiaries: 1256 in all of Purulia)²⁴	
	<p>Development of Self Help Groups (SHGs) during the EZCC project , provision of bank accounts and training on how to run SHGs</p> <p>Provision of health insurance to all the members of the SHGs and their family members</p> <p>Basic life-skill workshops for identified group leaders on working together, sharing benefits, maintaining a bank account, etc.</p> <p>Development of a community resource centre in the district for storage, display, practice and meet-ups</p> <p>Organisation of domestic and international exchange programs and local village festivals.</p> <p>Participation in international festivals.</p> <p>Recording and documentation of the art form</p> <p>Training from local gurus at Nimdih, Jharkhand</p> <p>Fliers developed with names and contact details of the artists</p>	<p>Improved financial literacy for artists.</p> <p>Improved access to healthcare.</p> <p>Improved standard of living for artists.30-40% artists had access to electricity in homes compared to none earlier.</p> <p>Increased income for artists. Payment per show for artists increased from an average of Rs.1,800 - 3,000 in 2005 to Rs.3,000 –15,500 in 2010. Dancers earned about Rs.3,000 per month on average by 2010. Average number of shows in a year was around 25 in 2010, compared to 10-12 in 2005. Leading 30 groups got over 150 shows in a year in 2010.</p> <p>Greater variety of productions. 23 new Chau productions developed between 2005 and 2010.</p> <p>Increased reach of performances. From limited performances in the Purulia areas (and a few at Jharkhand) in 2005, by 2010 the Chau groups were invited by Puja organisers across West Bengal and festivals organised by the Government as well as private organisers. They performed in New Delhi, Mumbai, Goa, Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, Karnataka and West Bengal, and in the UK and Bangladesh.</p> <p>Increased number of patrons from outside the district. While most patrons came from Purulia in 2005, clubs, college festival organisers, Durga Puja organisers beyond Purulia became regular patrons by 2010.</p>

²⁴ All data taken from Section 3 and Section 4 (under Chau).

Phase 1 (2009 – 2011)	Project EGG Narrative Report, 2011 (Number of beneficiaries: 1203 Chau artists in all of Purulia)	
	<p>Making of new folk productions combining various heritage elements</p> <p>Provision of health insurance to beneficiaries and their dependent family members</p> <p>Use of new mask making material</p> <p>Participation in international workshops and festivals and performances in various cities in the UKas well as local folk festivals across India</p> <p>Exchange programs, residencies and workshops with project partners on art and cultural tourism</p>	<p>Increased innovation, richer repertoire and adoption of theatre techniques. Six new Chau productions including elements from Patachitra, Pater Gaan, Baul-Fakiri, Gambhira and Domni were created. Use of customised lighting, vertical space and reduction of performance times (from 2-3 hours to 15-45 minutes) attracted bigger audiences. Artists were oriented about more contemporary plays by Tagore and Shakespeare, in comparison to only mythological tales (p.8 & 9).</p> <p>Improved health status for artists and families.</p> <p>Lower production costs. Designers worked with mask makers to make masks with gypsum bandage and locally available embellishments. This reduced the cost and time involved in mask-production significantly and also added to the longevity of the masks (p.9).</p> <p>Market development and capacity building. Artists gained confidence and learned to cater to diverse tastes. New links were established with museums, galleries and festival organisers for future work (p.11).</p> <p>Better incomes and opportunities for performance. The average increase in income for Chau artists was about Rs.2000-Rs.3000 per month.²⁵ The renowned groups performed in about 20 shows per month while the less renowned did 5-10 shows per month. Some groups (like that of Binadhar Kumar) started doing 125 to 150 shows per year. The leading groups earned Rs.0.7 to Rs.0.8 million during the peak season (p.56). This also reduced migration and bringing in people out of hazardous jobs like Biri binding leading to TB</p>

²⁵ Monthly income for the leading artist rose to Rs.20,000-22,000 from performances and about Rs.9,000-10,000 from other sources of livelihood like agriculture.

	<p>Building of resource centres in Bamnia and Chelyama villages in the Purulia district</p> <p>Audio-visual documentation of the different varieties of Chau</p> <p>Organisation of the 3-day Basanta (Spring) Festival in Chelyama in 2010 and Kashipur Rajbari in 2011</p> <p>Organisation of the 5-day Chau Dance Festival in Bamnia, Purulia in February, 2011</p>	<p>Enhanced intercultural dialogue, interdisciplinary work and media attention. Folk artists worked with international experts in the fields of photography, multimedia, costume design, music and theatre that enabled mutual exploration in an East-West context. The innovative outputs attracted more media attention (p.19-20).</p> <p>Identification of tourism trails. The researchers developed a draft master plan for development of cultural tourism trails in Purulia(p.23).²⁶</p> <p>New seats of learning and educational tourism. These centres facilitated the preservation, promotion and transmission of the form both to tourists and locals who learned about the process of production, training, composing, mask-making etc. They served as spaces for improved practice sessions, libraries, exhibitions and workshops (p.31-32).</p> <p>Improved documentation of folk art forms. A DVD titled 'Chau dance of Purulia, A Visual Article' was released. Chau Palas (plays) were also documented.</p> <p>Community capacity building and promotion of resource centres. At Chelyama, the event around Bandhar Deul was managed by the local community and saw the performances of Chau, Natua and Jhumur artists from Purulia, Bauls and Fakirs from Nadia and Patachitra artists of West Medinipore. 200 people visited the village (p.38). At Kashipur Rajbari, Baul singers from all over Bengal and Chau dance troupes from Purulia showcased their work, among others. About 50,000 visitors including 1500 from Kolkata attended the event (p.38).</p> <p>New promotional opportunities. In Bamnia, Chau Jhumur Utsav was organised from 2013. Six Chau performances were staged each day by different dance troupes from Purulia in the 6 days festival. 700 performers presented 31 performances. The villagers managed the tourism services ranging from putting up tents, managing security, organizing food, ensuring hygiene and cleanliness to offering educational tourism products. The flow of visitors to the resource centres gained momentum (p.42).</p>
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²⁶ This was done taking into account the architectural heritage of temples and palaces, natural heritages, forests and landscapes. A thorough study of the available accommodations, transportation facility and places of interest was conducted.

<p>Phase 2 (2013 – 2019)</p>	<p>Rural Craft Hubs of Bengal Overall Report, 2016 (Number of beneficiaries: 308 mask makers in Charida, Purulia)²⁷</p> <p>Workshop in January 2014</p> <p>Conduction of skill development workshops by experts from the Indian Institute of Craft Design, National Institute of Fashion technology, Kala Bhavan, Government Art College, Kolkata with mask-makers</p> <p>Facilitation of access to government schemes</p> <p>Establishment of Folk Art Centre in Charida by WBKVIB as a space for work, practice, storage and exhibition (p.10)</p> <p>Artist collective, Chau Mukhosh Shilpi Sutradhar Samity formed with mask makers in 2018</p> <p>Strategies undertaken for instituting villages as cultural destinations such as the annual village fair called Chau Mukhosh Mela</p> <p>Promotion through diverse communication materials and social media</p>	<p>Participatory planning of activities with crafts persons.</p> <p>Revitalization of processes. Activities focused on professionalization of skills while keeping core traditions intact with respect to Chau mask-making (p.4).</p> <p>Improved access to entitlements. Crafts persons were made aware of entitlements under various Government and Bank schemes and linked to schemes for craft and enterprise development. All the artists in the hubs have Artisan Cards (p.8).</p> <p>Improved capacities. Various enterprise development, English-speaking and computer skills workshops were held from 2014 – 2016. Training was also provided on the management of the Folk Art Centre.</p> <p>Improved governance. Formal organisation brought about greater bargaining power, reduced exploitation, opened up possibilities of collaborative production, introduced specialization through the division of labour and made access to institutional credit easier based on group collaterals (p.10).</p> <p>Improved financial gains. Chau mask makers have witnessed an almost three fold increase in their productivity which has resulted in an increase of about 45-50 % in their monthly incomes. From average monthly incomes of Rs.5,500 per family in 2013, they have gone up to about Rs.40,000 per month (p.28).</p> <p>Increased visibility. Brochures, leaflets, films, website, photographs, invitation cards were created to disseminate knowledge about the Craft Hubs and annual fairs, both</p>
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²⁷ This project did not include the dancers.

Phase 2 (2013 – 2019)	<p>Opportunities created for new actors such as women and families through the establishment of Chau Mukhosh Shilpi Sanghain 2012 with women of households as members</p>	<p>online and offline (p.17). Charida, a popular natural heritage destination, also experienced increased tourist footfall of tourists due to the visibility initiatives</p> <p>Increased participation. Women and young people from the artist families are increasingly involved in the production process (p.28).</p>
	Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs of West Bengal (Activity reports 2017 and 2018)	
	<p>Basic skills training at Nimdih in Purulia</p> <p>a. 2017: 1973 artists were trained through 13 trainings, involving 5 gurus (p.6).</p> <p>b. 2018: 212, all male Chau artists underwent training during two, 5-day long residential sessions (p.20).</p> <p>International collaborations were organised with artists of Australia, urban artists also collaborated with the Chau dancers</p> <p>Folk art centre was established and a regular heritage transmission programme was established at Balarampur.</p>	<p>Knowledge of stage techniques and dancing skills. Chau artists learned stage performance skills like proper entry and exit, positioning of artists on stage, proper use of microphones etc. (2017, p.8). Psycho-physical games were organized for the artists to develop their dancing skills. A video shown during training, was extremely helpful to identify the faults in performance and to improve the performance level of the artists (2017, p.8). Chau artists learned the gestures, postures and movements of different animals and different Gods and Goddesses from the Masters.</p> <p>Revitalisation of the guru-shishya parampara. Contact with other Chau groups improved and access to teachers increased as artists interacted with Master Chau dancers like Kartik Singh Mura, Binadhar Kumar and Anil Mahato (ibid).</p> <p>Innovations for new audiences. The artists learned the process of developing shorter, smarter and more attractive productions keeping important elements of the play intact so that audiences could grasp the storyline. They learned the application of smaller and bigger masks and the importance of including the traditional steps in their presentations (2018, p.20).</p> <p>Inclusion of views of artist communities. In the folk dance and music sessions of the workshops, artists shared their requirements to revitalize their folk art forms and their experience of the trainings. Artists presented brief scenes from their traditional <i>Pala</i> and learnt to spread social messages through their art forms (2017, p.12).</p>

	<p>Organisation of State-level consultations workshops to chalk out future plans based on artists' views and concerns</p> <p>Advanced skills training in Nimdih, Purulia</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2017: 83 artists received a training session 2018: 9 training sessions were held including 805 participants (686 men and 199 women) 2019: : 1 session was held with 60 artists <p>Participation in local (2017, p.27-28) and international festivals in Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Czech Republic and USA (ibid, p.30-32), Norway and Germany (2018, p.60)</p> <p>Graphic novel 'Dekhe Elam Chau' on Chau published for promotion and documentation (2018, p.41)</p> <p>Facilitation of access to Lok PrasarPrakalpa (LPP) cards for performing artists(2018, p.43)</p>	<p>Inclusion of Jhumur songs. The workshop encouraged Chau participants to practise those Jhumur songs which were part of the <i>Pala</i> in olden times and increase the value of the story of Chau dance and associated characters. They were taught to compose Jhumur songs which would complement the plots and characters with appropriate lyrics and language and diminish the use of dialogues (2017, p.139-142).</p> <p>Shortening of Chau productions. Developing Chau productions of shorter duration (from 2 hours to 15 minutes) keeping urban audiences in mind and imbibing and reviving the traditional steps were the main objectives. Artists were also made aware of the traditional stories on which the plays are based (2018, p.24).</p> <p>Increased exposure, establishment of new networks and future opportunities for collaboration. The Chau groups received increased support from governmental and non-governmental groups to tour (UNESCO 2018,p.17).</p> <p>Materials produced for documentation and dissemination. Online presence through www.rcchbengal.com website. Access to monetary assistance.Under LPP, scheme of Government of West Bengalfolk artists between the ages of 18-60 receive Rs.1000 per month as retainer fee. Senior artists (above 60 years of age) receive Rs.1000 as pension. Active performers receive Rs.1000 as performance fee per programme.²⁸</p> <p>Creation of cultural destinations, market linkages and recognition. An open stage was designed for the performance around which the audience gathered to see the shows. 33 Chau teams and 7 Jhumur song and dance groups from Bankura and Purulia districts performed in the festival. More than 10,000 people were present. Apart from local audiences many people from Kolkata and other nearby cities attended the festival. Event organizers from Jharkhand attended all the days of the festival and selected teams for future performances. Government officials also attended the event (2017, p.36).</p>
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²⁸ For more information, see <https://wblpp.in/index.html>.

	<p>Organisation of village festivals</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. 22-28th Dec, 2016: Chau Jhumur Utsav in Bamnia, Purulia b. 2017: Chau Jhumur Utsav in Bamnia, Purulia and Chau Mask Festival in Charida, Purulia <p>Organisation of multi-city fairs and exhibitions</p> <p>Conduction of heritage education program titled 'Seed the Mind' at 34 govt. and govt. sponsored schools in Kolkata</p>	<p>Improved sustainability through market linkages. Chau dance groups and mask makers took part in a number of exhibitions organised across India such as the Chau Mask Mela, Khadi Mela, Folk Festival (Biswa Bengal Haat) etc. among others (2017, p.26-28). Similarly in 2018, Chau artists were involved in the State Khadi Mela, Habitat Centre in New Delhi, Bengal Goa Folk Mela etc. (p.52-54).</p> <p>Opportunities for interaction with students. The workshops were well received by enthusiastic students which added value both to the artists and the participants (2017, p.39).</p>
	<p><i>Miscellaneous interventions</i></p> <p>'Chau dance' inscribed in 2010 on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity</p> <p>GI registered in 2016 for Chau masks from Charida, Purulia (for which the certificate was awarded in 2018)</p> <p>Chau dance taught in universities(UNESCO 2018, p.15)</p>	<p>Institutionalised transmission of the practice. The universities like Sidho Kanho Birsha University and Rabindra Bharati University have included Chau dance in their curriculum. The traditional Chau mask makers of Charida village, Purulia also participated in mask making workshops with students of Fine Arts of Visva Bharati in December, 2018.</p> <p>Enthusied by the training and finding the artform a viable source of income many new Chau groups were formed.</p> <p>Gurus and leading artists learned the art of designing new productions</p> <p>International exposure increased. Artists visited Germany, Sweden, USA etc. to participate in the festivals.</p> <p>Heritage transmission to younger generation in Balarampur</p>

Current concerns/challenges

These are points of concerns raised by artists during the field visits and interviews. Some of the challenges have also been sourced from other existing reports.

- **Need for differentiation from other forms of Chau.** Given that there exist three different kinds of Chau, the artists expressed their wish to ensure audiences could differentiate Purulia Chau from other forms of Chau dancing (Mayurbhanj and Seraikella).
- **Aid for costumes and instruments.** The artists voiced the need for more support for costumes and instruments. Given that a good production requires many such resources which result in extra costs, the community requested more support for the same (Banglanatak dot com 2010,p.36).During the course of the RCCH project Chau groups were given musical instruments and costumes to meet needs.
- **Reducing negative effects of on-selling²⁹.** There have been reports of some buyers on-selling Chau masks in other states without the benefits actually accruing to the craftsmen. The community feels that it negatively affects their business (Ubertazzi, 3rd Dec 2018).
- **Limited knowledge on the use of IP and other instruments.** Artists in the community were unaware of how the GI logo for Purulia Chau masks could be used, despite knowing about its existence. Similarly, they know that they are inscribed on the UNESCO ICH list but they do not understand its significance.
- **Increasingly spectacular masks.** Purulia Chau dance masks have increased in grandeur and size so as to attract audiences. Some experts believe that this affects the movements, agility and overall aesthetic of the dance form.
- **Use of Chau masks and steps by the film industry.** Dancers and mask-makers of Purulia Chau want better acknowledgment for, and some control over, the use of the art form in Indian movies and other social media platforms. They are not opposed to the dance form being portrayed in films, but would like to perform it in the 'original' style with 'original' costumes, without mixing it with other styles.

Additional concerns, expressed mainly by experts, include the following:

- **Changing focus and content of performances.** Performances have become more acrobatic and less focused on narrative elements, in order to appeal to new audiences who don't understand the mythological stories. Some dance postures which are suitable for one kind of character (the demons) are being used instead to denote other (the Gods) as these are deemed more attractive.
- **Changing music and songs.** *Jhumur* singers are not as widely used in Chau performances today as skilled singers prefer doing specialised *Jhumur* performances as this gives them greater visibility and higher pay than singing for Chau dancers.³⁰ It was increasingly difficult to find skilled players of

²⁹On selling involves selling (an asset, especially one recently acquired) on to a third party, usually for a profit.

³⁰ In order to encourage more singers to pursue the art, CB has conducted trainings in the Jhumur communities as well.

the traditional instruments, so dance groups often employed musicians using more accessible, modern instruments such as the Casio. Since CB conducted music training the number of musicians has increased from around 800 to 4000 decreasing the difficulty in finding musicians for performances. Now Casios are used for 'vanity' purposes.

Review of the work of CB

CB has worked extensively with Chau dancers and mask-makers on a range of issues, with a major focus on training and workshops, international and national market linkage, exposure and exchange. For the dancers, these have involved revitalisation of traditional steps, stage production, making compact performances and embracing new themes. For the mask-makers, these have included making masks with lighter, locally sourced material. CB has also supported and enhanced the entrepreneurial capabilities of the artists through formation of SHGs in the initial phase under EZCC supported initiative, access to Government schemes and life skills workshops. Other basic concerns such as health insurance, and financial literacy have also been considered given that many Chau dancers come from some of the poorest and most marginalised sections of society. The effects of the interventions have been significant in terms of better incomes and living standards along with greater opportunities for performances. It has also helped in reviving the Guru-Shishya tradition of transmission and improved documentation of the art form.³¹The organisation of festivals like the Basanta Festival, Chau Dance Festival and Chau Mukhosh Mela in recent years have promoted inter-generational dialogue, widespread community participation, and a sense of ownership and involvement regarding Purulia Chau initiatives. The villagers manage all the tourism services ranging from putting up tents, managing security, organizing food, ensuring hygiene and cleanliness to offering educational tourism products which is an important measure towards socio-economic development of the entire community. Some of the Chau productions have embraced contemporary themes with social messages such as health and sanitation, issues of dowry, India-Pakistan relationships, the Santhal rebellion etc. which have improved community awareness. Chau mask-making has been taught as part of a university course, which reflects the growing interest in continued transmission of the art form in society(UNESCO 2018,p.17).

Challenges faced during implementation, and how they were addressed

- Chau still remains one of those dance forms which does not invite much female participation. A training programme was organised for girls in 2014. As of 2019 there is an all-girls Chau team called Mitali Chau with 15 members in Balarampur and two other girls' Chau teams in Purulia-II block (Deacon, 7th Dec 2018). Moreover, as part of RCH, 100 women were involved in the initiative as part of the Chau mask-making community in Charida (2016, p.2).

Gap analysis

Considering the existing work that has been done (as well as ongoing initiatives), HIPAMS could particularly address the following:

³¹ As part of community development initiative taken by German patron in 2013, the young members of the community were trained under senior artists.

- **Consider the relationship between heritage, competencies or skills, products and markets.** Openness to diversification is aligned with what CB has been doing in supporting Chau dancers and mask-makers, but is not explicitly theorised in their work; this could result in too much attention being paid to supporting traditional performances alone, thus potentially contributing to ‘freezing’. HIPAMS could help provide a more holistic theoretical framework for CB’s work in regard to Purulia Chau and open up a space for discussions about innovation as a safeguarding measure. HIPAMS focuses on the goal of making marketing and associated IP strategies heritage sensitive in the sense that they help to ensure the ongoing practice and transmission of a heritage skills repertoire. This does not necessarily involve creating only purely ‘authentic’ performances or the exercise of the full repertoire of skills in relation to every performance of Chau, but ensuring that the heritage attributes identified by the community are understood and maintained over time through a range of different products or performances.
- **Consider the relationship between repertoire and performance.** Training, mainly for singers and dancers, has mostly focused on revitalizing the art of making a Chau performance although there has also been training on new/different themes and stories including the work of Tagore and Shakespeare. Challenges identified pertain to changes in the ideal performance style and format (to appeal to audiences who want to see Bollywood-inspired steps or hear synthesised music, for example), or lack of knowledge or availability of skilled dancers and musicians to perform in this way. Maintaining the repertoire of heritage skills within the community, and thus safeguarding the heritage, does not imply that every performance has to be done in the most ‘traditional’ way. Staged performances have already moved into a new context beyond the festival. It may be helpful to explore additional ways of safeguarding the heritage of Chau dance by commenting on these changes within performances through the HIPAMS process.
- **Consider the artist ecosystem in relation to the market.** Purulia Chau encompasses three different groups that contribute to a regular production: the Chau dancers, the mask makers and the Jhumur singers. In general, CB training interventions have considered their relationships to each other in terms of setting up productions but it might be important to consider their interrelationships in the market as well. For example, given that the market for Chau masks is flourishing independently of the demand from dancers, this could have consequences for the dancers in the long term.³²While innovation in Chau mask-making is welcome, it is important to meet the needs of dancers. Training of Jhumur singers could focus not only on revitalising the Jhumur heritage but also on their involvement in Chau productions following on the RCCH training organized with Chau group leads and Jhumur singers to include Jhumur songs in the productions.
- **Support artists and their organisations to address structural challenges.** CB interventions have focused on basic and advanced skills training. The training has mostly been designed to improve the ability of dancers to create traditional performances (for example using traditional music and steps), and to adjust performance length and topics to attract audiences. This has been positive from a safeguarding and transmission perspective, but some underlying problems remain that are not easily addressed by training, for example, the availability of Jhumur singers for Chau performances, dancer safety, and access to appropriate stages and materials. Some of CB’s work is already tackling questions of safety and insurance. HIPAMS can include

³² For example, the Mid Term evaluation (UNESCO 2018, p.17) highlights, ‘the flourishing business seems to be that of souvenirs and small masks oriented to the tourist trade. However, what was most disturbing was that perhaps the largest type of mask souvenirs are those that purport to be of Kathakali’.

additional measures such as guidelines for organisers of events and festivals about hosting Chau dancers, special stage requirements, and promoting knowledge sharing about the very recent trend towards more elaborate masks. It can also help identify the need for other, similar interventions.

- **Improve social media marketing for/by the artist community.** A few Chau dancers have started using social media to promote their work, for example by uploading videos of their performances on YouTube along with contact details. Although there are some excellent videos created by third parties as well, and some promotion by CB and other agencies, more needs to be done both to raise awareness about Purulia Chau as a whole, and to link individual artists (both dancers and mask makers) with potential customers. This needs to be accompanied by a dedicated IP strategy that recognises the marketing and promotional potential of high-quality images of masks and performances and uses these effectively to encourage attendance at live performances while ensuring that they are properly attributed to the artists. Training needs to be given to ensure that the community members understand what the IP rights are seeking to achieve, and how they can be used to promote them in the market.
- **Help dancers and mask makers understand and manage their IPRs more effectively.** Mask-makers are not very aware of how to use the GI that has been registered for Charida Chau masks and how it benefits them. Training on its usage and application could be valuable. A copyright strategy could be developed that underpins the dissemination of digital works to raise awareness of the art form while encouraging circulation of high quality audio visual material, while reserving rights to tangible copies (posters; CDs) to prevent copying. IP and ethical guidelines for use of Chau in films, and information about performers' rights for artists, may be useful given the reference made to their tradition (Chau dance steps/masks) in the local film industry. Considering there are few signatures or labels on masks, copyright or design rights training may be valuable to mask makers.

The Baul-Fakiri community

This community of artists is based in Gorbhanga, Nadia District, representing a poor and marginalised sector of society. CB has been working from 2004 in Nadia and in the other districts from 2016.

Phase	Actions undertaken	Outcomes and impact
<p>Phase 1: 2004-2011</p>	<p>Revival and Revitalisation of Folk Art and Culture as a Means for Sustainable Livelihood among Rural/Tribal Artisans in West Bengal, EZCC (2010)</p> <p>Mobilisation of folk artists to form SHGs and training to follow SHG norms</p> <p>Strengthening of basic skills in art forms for artists</p> <p>Facilitation of exposure to traditional and contemporary trends</p> <p>Development of a multi-stakeholder approach to assess market potential, identify locations for folk business hubs and promotion of community-led heritage tourism</p> <p>Specialised training provided in areas such the use of mikes, making performances for video CD, recording songs in a studio, hold campaigns on Pulse Polio Immunisation, perform with different categories and styles of vocal and instrumental music (p.21)</p> <p>Development of new patrons as well as media partnerships</p>	<p>Increase in incomes. In 2005, Most of the Bauls and Fakirs received Rs.40-500 per show. Many never received opportunities for paid performance. In 2010, average income from shows went up to the range of Rs.1600-7600 (p.43).</p> <p>Improved skills. At first, the artists did not have the opportunity to learn from the masters. The artists were not aware of the use of mikes. Post-intervention, groups benefited from training programs on singing, use of mike and recording (p.44).</p> <p>Improved market outreach. At baseline, one fourth groups had no market reach, and others performed mostly in Baul Melas and Akhras in Nadia and fairs in Birbhum & Murshidabad. By 2010, 70% of the groups had performed in different districts across West Bengal. Five groups have performed at Delhi, Jaipur, Dehradun and Bangalore while four Bauls& Fakirs went to the Ananda Utsav 2010 in London. The artists performed for TV and radio channels like Tara, Akaash, Zee Bangla, 24 Ghanta and All India Radio (p.43).</p> <p>Increased opportunities for shows. In 2005, average number of shows in a year was 8-10. By 2010, average number of shows in a year went up to around 30. Groups which had no shows reported an average of 10-15 shows a year (p.43).</p> <p>New promoters. Percussionist Tanmoy Bose played a key role in promoting Baul&Fakiri art form as part of his group Taal Tantra’s programs. Film maker Gautam Ghosh’s film on Lalan Shah Fakir involved Golam Fakir, Armaan Fakir and others. Television channels like Tara music, Akash Bangla, Kolkata TV, Channel 10, NE Bangla and 24 Ghanta telecasted</p>

	<p>Foundations laid for the formation of an activity cluster (Gourbhanga Baul Fakiri Sangha) in the community to ensure sustainability of efforts (p.32)</p> <p>Awareness built on the art forms among children and youth</p> <p>Participation in domestic events and festivals such as the India International Trade Fair, Alliance Francaise, campaigns on climate change, SaktigarhMela, Gobordanga Lok Utsav, Jadavpur University and the Hazarduari Utsav</p> <p>Textual documentation and Promotion of audio and video documentation of Baul/Fakiri songs on various platforms</p>	<p>Baul&Fakiri programmes. Times Music& UD productions launched CDs featuring them (p.43).</p> <p>Improved access to resources. In 2005, the groups lacked instruments. They did not have access to books on lyrics. As part of the programme, all the groups received the book on Baul&Fakiri songs. They also received costumes and musical instruments (p.44).</p> <p>Improved social status. The children of Baul and Fakiri singers were not allowed to enter school by orthodox sections who questioned various practices followed by these sects. After the intervention, the singers acknowledged that they were enjoying respect from the community (p.44).</p> <p>Improved living conditions. The singers developed the means to repair their houses. Many installed latrines. Leaders were able to afford mobile phones and some bought television sets (p.44).</p> <p>Improved documentation and promotion. 740 Baul/Fakiri songs were documented into a collection called 'Sahaj Geeti' in 2008. Another collection of Baul and Fakiri songs 'GaicheBaulGaicheFakiri' was released commercially by UD Industries in the name 'Bhabnagar'. A collection of Baul&Fakiri songs in MP3 format was released under the title 'Lokjan' in 2009. In 2008 video documentation of Baul&Fakiri songs was received with much appreciation from viewers on YouTube (p.25).</p>
<p>Phase 1: 2004-2011</p>	<p>UNESCO 2011 Evaluation (Number of beneficiaries: 272 in all of Nadia)³³</p> <p>Development of Self Help Groups (SHGs), provision of bank accounts and training on how to run SHGs</p> <p>Basic life-skill workshops for artists including working together, sharing benefits, maintaining a bank account, etc.</p>	<p>Improved financial literacy for artists.</p> <p>Improved standard of living for artists. From lack of basic infrastructure such as electricity and sanitation in 2005, most artists have latrines and 60% have electricity by 2010. Leading artists have brick homes by 2010.</p>

³³ All data taken from Section 3 and Section 4 (under Baul).

	<p>Provision of health insurance to all the members of the SHGs and their family members</p> <p>Development of a community resource centre in the district for storage, display, practice and meet-ups</p> <p>Organisation of local guru-shishya trainings for capacity building</p> <p>Organisation of domestic and international exchange programs and local village festivals</p> <p>Documentation of art forms</p> <p>Development of fliers with names and contact details of the artists</p>	<p>Improved access to healthcare.</p> <p>Improved standards of living. For example, most singers were able to make improvements to their houses, install latrines. Leaders possessed mobile phones and some could afford to buy televisions.</p> <p>Increased number of young practitioners. Average age of Bau IFakiri singers decreased from 62 to 43 between 2005 and 2010.</p> <p>Increased income for artists. Individual income per show increased from Rs.40-500 per person per show in 2005 to Rs.500-2,000 per person per show in 2010 (based on figures of Rs.2,500-10,000 per group of 4-6). The average number of shows increased from 8-10 per year in 2005 to 60-80 in 2010 (leading artists have over 200 shows per annum).</p> <p>Increased reach of performances. In 2005, 25% of the groups had no market reach, others performed mostly in Baul Melas and Akhras in Nadia and a few had been to fairs in Birbhum & Murshidabad. By 2010, 70% of the groups performed in different districts across West Bengal, and other Indian cities such as Delhi, Jaipur, Dehradun, Goa, Rajasthan, Mumbai and Bangalore. The artists performed for TV channels like Tara, Akaash, Zee Bangla, 24 Ghanta, Star Jalsa, Mahua TV and All India Radio. Singers visited China, Bangladesh and UK. They performed at the International Sufi Festival, Virasat& events like Commonwealth Games.</p>
<p>Phase 1: 2000-2011</p>	<p>Project EGG Narrative Report, 2011 (Number of beneficiaries: 297 in all of Nadia)</p>	
	<p>Recording and making of audio CDs of Baul-Fakiri songs³⁴</p>	<p>Improved safeguarding, access and availability. A digital repository of Baul&Fakiri songs, available at the web address: www.folklibrary.com was created. CDs were made available</p>

³⁴750 Baul and Fakiri songs were recorded between December 2009 and December 2010. Nine audio CDs featuring performances of 70 singers and musicians was released. 'Asannagar', 'Gorbhanga I' & 'Gorbhanga II' feature songs of Bauls and Fakirs from these villages. Album 'Nadia' features songs by Bauls & Fakirs from across the district.

	<p>'BaulanirGaan' songs by the Baulanis – women singers was released</p> <p>Organisation of 20 folk festivals in India (10 in West Bengal and 10 in other cities), where folks artists shared the stage with leading singers³⁵</p>	<p>for sale at leading music stores in Kolkata (p.6 & 7). Sale of CDs were also facilitated at various festivals and exhibitions organized. Distribution of the CDs among patrons of art and culture in Kolkata, Delhi and at the international level has created new audiences (p.7).</p> <p>New identities. Though Baul music has enjoyed global fame since the 1970s, Nadia district's role as the cradle of the Bhakti movement in India was not well-known. Bauls from Birbhum were more popular. The project led to popularity of artists from Nadia (p.6).</p> <p>Income from CDs. The singers benefitted by selling their own CDs. 10-100 free CDs were distributed to the singers for sale (p.7).</p> <p>Partnership building. UD Industries came forward for commercial distribution. They provided CDs for sale to folk artists at 50% of cost. The remaining proceeds from sale went to the artists (p.7).</p> <p>Capacity building. Artists gained confidence and learned to cater to diverse tastes. Bauls gained an understanding on which songs inspired people who did not follow the language. The festivals created opportunities for their interaction with other modern and traditional musicians, singers, dancers and choreographers (p.11).</p>
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Separate collections have been published for songs by lyricists Bijoy Sarkar and Lalan Shah. Separate CDs have been released for some of the singers like Biren Das Baul & Arjun Khyapa (p.6).

³⁵*PranerBhashaPranerGaan* celebrated International Mother Language Day in 2009. 2010-2011, the 150th birth anniversary of the poet laureate Rabindranath Tagore, saw the organisation of festivals like *LokerChokhe Rabindranath*, *Rabir Aloe*, *Tagore Through the eyes of Folk Artists and Rabiscope that* showcased how Tagore was inspired by folk music and vice versa. *Dui BanglarBaul Sanga* and the festival at Joka created platforms for performance and exchange by Bauls and Fakirs of Nadia, Birbhum and Bangladesh (p.11). The Bauls and Fakirs performed with leading singers of Rabindrasangeet like Lopamudra, Indrani Sen, RiddhiBandopadhyay, Saheb Bandopadhyay and Bhaskar Sen. The Bauls and the Jhumur artists performed with internationally popular AnushehAnadil from Bangladesh, renowned percussionist Tanmoy Bose, popular jazz bands like Kendraka and Remo Fernandes.

	<p>Exchanges with Western music artists to develop a musical score³⁶</p> <p>Exchange programs, residencies and workshops with project partners on art and cultural tourism</p> <p>Participation in international workshops and festivals and performances globally as well as local folk festivals across India</p>	<p>Increased market links. The festivals forged new partnerships with governmental as well as private organizations. ³⁸The partners became regular patrons and facilitated opportunities of performance for the folk artists in diverse programmes (p.11).</p> <p>Market development and testing. Folk orchestra – a melange of Santhali, Baul/Fakiri songs and indigenous instrumental music (Baul. & Tagore) gained popularity. Folk Orchestras were performed at renowned pubs/night clubs like Blue Frog at Mumbai, Some Place Else and Big Ben at Kolkata (p.12).</p> <p>Improved scope for innovation. A unique piece of orchestra blending folk tunes from across the world was created. A video and audio CD were published and made available for sale. The folk instrument players discovered a new niche market for themselves, expanding their performances in Kolkata, Mumbai, Delhi, Goa, Bangalore, Liverpool, Dundee, London, Shenzhen and at various places in Japan. (p.16).</p> <p>Enhanced intercultural dialogue, interdisciplinary work and media attention. Folk artists worked with international experts in the fields of photography, multimedia, costume design, music and theatre that enabled mutual exploration in an East-West context. The innovative outputs attracted more media (p.19-20).</p> <p>Improved infrastructure and capacity building for tourism. Involvement of Public Works led to creative inputs for designing resource centres as per the needs of the art form. The resource centre at Gorbhanga for example has an open hall which doubles as a stage (p.21).The researchers developed a draft master plan for development of cultural tourism trails in Nadia and villagers were oriented in tourist management and maintenance of cleanliness and hygiene (p.23).</p>
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³⁶Folk artists from Bengal, Kendraka (a Kolkata based Rock Band) and instrumentalists from UK and USA created a medley of music. 22 folk musicians who played the Dotara, Madol, Khol, flute, clarinet, Tabla, Dhol, Dhamsa and Khamak came from Nadia, Purulia, Malda and Bankura to participate in the workshop. More than 600 people attended the final performance at GD Birla Sabhagar, Kolkata in 2010 (p.16).

³⁸Links were established with ICCR, Department of Tourism, Kala Academy of Goa, Impressario India, India Habitat Centre and Alliance Française.

	<p>Organisation of the Sufi Sutra Festival in Kolkata in February 2011³⁷</p> <p>Organisation of FakiriUtsab in Gorbhanga in January 2011</p> <p>Building of a resource centre in Gorbhanga in Nadia district</p>	<p>New markets and exchange links. Artists performed in various locations in front of diverse audiences. New links were created with cultural organisations, universities, producers and festival organisers. World Music Network published a CD on Lalan Fakir’s songs by the Bauls and Fakirs of Nadia that is part of a set on Sufi Music launched globally (p.26).</p> <p>Better incomes and opportunities for performance. Bauls & Fakirs earned an average ofRs.7000-Rs.15000. 60% of the artists enjoyed 20-30 shows per month during the festival seasons (October-March) and 10-12 shows in other months. 40% performed about 5-10 shows in a month. Monthly incomes increased to Rs.1000-Rs.5000 per person in the last two years. Leading singers earned about Rs.20,000 per month (p.53).</p> <p>Improved cultural exchange. Sufi Sutra was a peace concert that established a closer collaboration among nations. The Bauls and Fakirs – the Sufis of Bengal shared a platform with Sufis from other countries. Audio visual documentation was released of the public performances in the evening (a set of two DVDs) and also on the music workshops and interactions during the day (The Journey of Sufi Sutra, Sufi Sutra) (p.36-37).</p> <p>Increased publicity and new market links. Sufi Sutra was attended by 31000 people, including leading musicians and producers. Leading national, vernacular and international dailies and magazines covered the events. The folk songs caught the imagination of contemporary musicians and they are experimenting with a variety of fusion between folk and contemporary (p.36-37).</p> <p>Improved collaboration, participation and recognition. More than 50 Fakirs of Gorbhanga together with Bauls from other places of Bengal participated in the festival. The village of Gorbhanga hosted tourists from all over the globe. The festival attracted about 30000 people including 1000 from Kolkata (p.41). The artists commented that their recognition in the Panchayat was enhanced following the festival (p.54).</p>
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³⁷ More than one hundred Sufi singers, dancers and musicians from Egypt, Tajikistan, Syria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iran and the Indian states of Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, UP, Delhi, Manipur and West Bengal participated for 3 days (p.35).

		<p>New seats of learning and educational tourism. The centre facilitates the preservation, promotion and transmission of the form both to tourists and locals. They serve as spaces for improved practice sessions, libraries, exhibitions and workshops (p.31-32).</p>
<p>Phase 2: 2016-2019</p>	<p>Rural Craft and Cultural Hubs of West Bengal (Activity reports 2017 and 2018)</p> <p>Basic skills training in Nadia</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. 2017: 1157 artists were trained through 10 trainings, involving 6 gurus (p.6). b. 2018- 622 artists were trained through 11 trainings <p>Organisation of State-level consultations workshops to chalk out future plans based on artists' views and concerns</p> <p>Advanced skills training³⁹</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. 2017: 211 artists received 3 training sessions in Tepantar, Bardhaman 	<p>Improved networks among musicians and musical and lifestyle training. The workshops facilitated exchange between Bauls of five different districts so that they could learn different styles of singing and instrument playing from each other. Participants had the opportunity to learn new <i>Mahajani Padas</i>, new songs along with lyrics and rhythm from gurus like Tarak Das Baul.</p> <p>Reaffirmation of the philosophy and spiritual aspects of the tradition, and the guru-shishya parampara. Artists realised the essence of the true <i>Baul</i> lifestyle through sessions of <i>Prabhati</i>, morning walks and breathing exercise (2017, p.7).The workshops created opportunities of formal training for many participants and attempted to fill the gap of traditional ways of skill transmission.</p> <p>Inclusion of views of artist communities. In the folk music sessions of the workshops, artists shared their requirements to revitalize their folk art forms and their experience of the trainings. They were given some technical points to improve their performance skills and to collaborate with other music genres (2017, p.12).</p> <p>Improved performance skills. Participants were guided on planning, selection and presentation of songs, interaction with fellow musicians as well as the audience and body language which can significantly improve stage performance. Artists understood the meaning of the songs and learnt to tune their instruments. They were divided and trained under assistant Gurus. Every participant got more attention to correct their pronunciation and their quality of performance was improved (2017, p.4).</p>

³⁹ These sessions included Baul-Fakiri singers from Nadia as well.

	<p>b. 2018: 8 training sessions were held including 401 participants (338 men and 63 women) in Bardhaman and Kolkata</p> <p>c. 2019: An advanced training was held with 76 artists.</p>	<p>The participants were taught to fine-tune their skills to national and international levels and distinguish between colloquial and correct lyrics, to understand the real meaning of the lyrics and the philosophy of the songs and their composers. The workshops also focused on training them in learning new songs and expanding their repertoire of Baul songs (2018, p.32).</p> <p>Improved skills for instrument players. Workshops for flute, Dotara and Dhol musicians trained them in more engaging ways of presentation, introducing them to the concept of various scales and improvisations, and familiarizing them with music arrangements and experimental soundscape designing within the scope of traditional folk music (2018, p.32).</p> <p>Increased exposure, establishment of new networks and future opportunities for collaboration. Teams of Baul artists were invited to esteemed festivals such as the Copenhagen World Music Festival, Transform Festival, Urkult Festival, and Crossroads Festivals among others, both to perform and share the Baul philosophy.</p> <p>Development of music repositories and improved access. A music app titled Folks of Bengal was launched with a repository of more than 1100 songs by Baul, Bhawaiya, Bhatiyali, Jhumur and urban folk musicians. An app titled Unique Bengal was launched to kindle interest about the cultural heritage of West Bengal among students and youth (2018, p.2).</p> <p>Access to monetary assistance. Under this Government Scheme, folk artists between the ages of 18-60 receive Rs.1000 per month as retainer fee. Senior artists (above 60 years of age) receive Rs.1000 as pension. Active performers receive Rs.1000 as performance fee per programme.⁴⁰</p> <p>Creation of cultural destinations, and improved recognition. 300 Baul and Fakiri artists from Birbhum, Bardhaman and Murshidabad attended the festival in 2016. Renowned Baul singers Rina Baulani, Dibakar Das Baul, LalonDebanshi, PinkiDebanshi, Sumanta Das</p>
	<p>Participation in local (2017, p.27-28) and international festivals in Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, Czech Republic and USA (ibid, p.30-32), Denmark, Norway, France, Hungary, USA and Germany (2018, p.60)</p>	
	<p>Use of IT to create repositories of songs and improve access among the youth</p>	

⁴⁰ For more information, see <https://wblpp.in/index.html>.

	<p>Facilitation of access to Lok PrasarPrakalpa (LPP) cards for performing artists (p.43)</p> <p>Organisation of village festivals</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. 18-20thNov, 2016: BaulFakiri Utsav in Gorbhanga, Nadia b. 2017:BaulFakiriUtsavs in Gorbhanga, Nadia and Tepantar, Bardhaman c. 2018: Baul Fakiri utsav held at Tepantar, Bardhaman. <p>Organisation of multi-city fairs and exhibitions</p> <p>Conduction of heritage education program titled ‘Seed the Mind’ at 34 govt. and govt. sponsored schools in Kolkata</p> <p>music collaborations organized with international musical teams and the traditional folk performing artists from France, Argentina, Czech Republic, Northern Ireland, Switzerland, Hungary and Portugal (2018, p.37)</p> <p>CD albums published and released with songs sung by Baul artists (2017, p.2); 6 CDs with 46 songs by 16 folk singers recorded and released (2018, p.44)</p>	<p>Bauland international musical exponents from Switzerland, Poffet and Poffet also participated. The open space adjoining the Resource Centre was the main stage surrounded by 4 smaller spaces where different performances were held simultaneously from 10 am to 5pm. Locals, visitors from Kolkata and other places stayed back in tents to enjoy the music for all the three days, with a total of 10,000 people attending the festival (2017, p.35).</p> <p>Improved sustainability through market linkages. Bauls and Fakirs performed in more than 100 festivals. Baul-Fakiri singers took part in a number of exhibitions organised across India such as the Art Acre, Folk Festival and BaulMela (Biswa Bengal Haat), Art and women – BaulanirGaan etc. among others (2017, p.26-28). Similarly in 2018, Baul artists were involved in the Silk River Project exhibition, Lokotsav Goa, Surjahan Festival etc. (2018, p.52-54).</p> <p>Opportunities for interaction with students. The workshops were well received by enthusiastic students which added value both to the artists and the participants (2017, p.39).</p> <p>Exchange of best practices and honing of artistic skills.</p> <p>Regular training sessions to involve the youth in Gorbhanga Confluence and exchange of different genres of song, increase in repertoire (Nadia vis-a-vis other districts) Online presence through www.rcchbengal.com</p> <p>Documentation and dissemination of works. The CDs were widely circulated among artist communities as well as music lovers as promotional tools.</p> <p>People can easily access Baul Fakiri music through their mobile phone and this helps to popularise Baul Fakiri.</p>
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	<p>Establishment of Folk Art centres at Hariharpara A music app named "Folks of Bengal" has been developed which has an collection of Baul and Fakiri music.</p>	
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Current concerns/challenges

These are points of concerns raised by the villagers themselves as seen and heard during the field visits and interviews. Some of the challenges have also been sourced from elsewhere.

- **Unequal benefits.** While some artists (and some districts) have benefited from increased popularity of the art, others struggle. Bradley et. al (2013) noted how the absence of equal opportunities and wealth in the Baul community often led to social tensions between ‘high’ and ‘low’ artists. The singers believe that a wider representation of Bauls need to get opportunities to perform (UNESCO 2018, p.13).
- **Concerns about ‘fake’ or ‘wrong’ Bauls.** Some suggest that the reputation of the Baul community is compromised when individuals who are not ordained Bauls attached to a Guru and *akhra* misrepresent themselves as Bauls, dressing like Bauls, learning songs from recordings and performing as Bauls (UNESCO 2018, p.13). Representations of Bauls simply as singers or entertainers for tourists or urban clientele cheapen the public view of Bauls because they ignore the ‘sadhana’ or spiritual aspects (UNESCO 2018, p.13).
- **Questions of gender.** Women Bauls, whose social position both among the Bauls, and in the broader community, is difficult and complex, need support (UNESCO 2018, p.13).
- **Local resources needed.** In villages, the artists need a few spaces for regular practice so that they would not have to come Tepantar for training. They want to learn locally from Gurus, and Gurus need space and resources to broaden the number of students they can cater to. Generally, people are no longer as sympathetic to Bauls asking for alms as they were in the past even in urban areas.
- **Cases of appropriation.** Many urban people are taking up Baul lyrics and remixing them, adding Western music and forming bands to play in Indian cities and villages. The villagers have seen it copied in movies and given a remixed tune which affects local interest in their traditional music. Gurus are also not happy that people can now simply learn Baul music from YouTube rather than the ‘traditional’ way. Some believe that money is made by third parties through uploading videos on YouTube and profiting from ‘pay per click’. Some also believe that musicians are poorly paid by comparison with singers.

Review of the work of CB

CB has worked with the Baul-Fakiri community on a range of issues, with a major focus on documentation, training and promotion. The training has mainly covered the use of correct lyrics and pronunciation, singing techniques, improvisation and performing in front of large audiences and training on musical instruments, beats and rhythm. Documentation has involved publishing songs, creating music/video collections and creating and distributing CDs. CB has also supported and enhanced the entrepreneurial capabilities of the artists through access to Government schemes and life skills workshops. Other basic concerns such as health insurance, and financial literacy have also been considered given that many Bauls belong to poor and marginalised sections of society. Promotional activities targeted audiences and potential patrons both within the country and abroad. The interventions have raised incomes and living

standards and created greater opportunities for performances. The national and international exposure received along with opportunities for collaboration have enriched the Baul repertoire. A music app named Folks of Bengal has been launched to make Baul Fakiri music easily accessible.

Challenges faced during implementation, and how they were addressed

With the Baul community, the kind of challenges faced by CB were varied. Some Bauls preferred not to attend the workshops organised by CB as they wanted to pursue their Baul way of life, rather than become performing artists. Within the training workshops, the artists were divided based on skills, and in some cases, the artists from lower skill categories, or other community members felt left out of important discussions.⁴¹ Some felt that the resource centre, village tours and other initiatives in the community were always reserved only for a select few (Bradley et.al 2013, p.96). The establishment of the resource centre, and the promotion of *akhra* based teaching has rejuvenated the Guru-Shishya process of transmission with a view to sustain the practice in the long term, which may enable wider distribution of benefits. CB has also encouraged the collaboration of singers with various national and international artists from other genres, leading to the creation of new types of music such as the folk orchestra. This kind of exposure has led to greater intercultural dialogue, while also bringing in bigger audiences who appreciate Baul music. This contributes to broadening and sustaining the practice in the long term.

Maintaining a balance between individual versus collective benefits is often challenging. Baul from the Nadia region started becoming well-known only recently (since 2004). In some regions, individual Bauls benefited from patrons, became more visible and the traditional Guru-Shishya system collapsed.⁴² Moreover, when certain artists started earning higher incomes, some resorted to alcohol abuse; some say channelling this money to the women of the family instead might help (Deacon, 8th Dec 2018). Some initiatives have been taken specifically to benefit Baul women. As part of the RCCH, 63 female participants were involved in the advanced skills training (Banglanatak dot com 2018, p.23). A special collection called 'Baulanir Gaan' was released as part of Project Ethnomagic Going Global (2011).

Gap analysis

Considering the existing work that has been done (as well as ongoing initiatives), HIPAMS could particularly address the following:

- **Consider the relationship between heritage, competencies or skills, products and markets** . Bauls and their heritage could be characterised in many different ways, as musicians and entertainers, esoteric philosophers, spiritual beings, mendicants and so on. CB's work has mostly chosen to focus on

⁴¹ The categorisation was done based on the quality of performance of the artists, such that a good artist and a not-so-good artist do not attend the same training session. The trainings were designed in such a way that an artist belonging to Category "C" (C being the lowest in quality) scales up to C+ or Category B.

⁴² Lalan Fakir was from Kushtia (the same district as Nadia, before 1947), making Nadia's Baul practice the oldest. Due to Tagore, educated Bengali came to know of Baul of Birbhum. But Baul was largely individual patron based in terms of which individual skill was patronised. Birbhum Bardhaman Bauls became popular in Kolkata with urban audiences. A few individual Bauls from Nadia like Mansur Fakir, Sasthi Khyapa and Tinkari were also popular. The practice tended to be individual rather than community based due at least in part to the promotion of art by the urban educated elite through a top performer/ artist, rather than looking to village/ artists' life.

their skills as performers and singers, as do many Bauls. There remains significant disagreement within the community and among audiences and experts about what heritage should be foregrounded, what aspects of the heritage should be publicly communicated, how Bauls should be represented to the public and who are the 'real Bauls'.⁴³ There is also no strong community organisation, and the nature of the community suggests that this will not change. HIPAMS focuses on the goal of making marketing and associated IP strategies heritage sensitive in the sense that they help to ensure the ongoing practice and transmission of a heritage skills repertoire. This does not necessarily involve creating only purely 'authentic' performances or the exercise of the full repertoire of skills in relation to every performance, but ensuring that the full heritage repertoire is promoted, understood and maintained over time. Therefore, some performances of Baul music (even by the same Bauls) might be more traditional than others, but cumulatively over time the range of performances can still safeguard the heritage. This approach, focusing on music, could help provide a more holistic theoretical framework for supporting Bauls that remains agnostic on what a 'real' Baul is, while the community remains free to choose and debate. The focus of any HIPAMS intervention would thus be to provide a set of information and marketing tools for Bauls to choose from as individuals or small groups, rather than suggesting that Bauls as a community should try and develop a common view on their heritage, and a common IP and marketing strategy.

- **Improve skills for digital marketing, and distribution of existing products, as desired by individual Bauls.** Digital marketing skills, (and possibly a common marketing platform), are required so that individual Bauls can benefit more equitably from available opportunities. One of the evaluations (UNESCO 2018, p.20), suggests that the CDs, song compilations, and graphic books could be made more widely available for sale, providing royalties or profit sharing for performer groups, and offering education about the Baul community to a broader specialist audience. It could increase audiences for live performances: new channels and online platforms could be used for the purpose, supported by an appropriate IP strategy. Thought here should be given as to what digital creative works (songs, images etc.) should be accessible for non-commercial distribution rather than being sold, weighing up the likelihood of possible enforcement against drawing audiences to live performances.
- **Improve the ability of Bauls to understand and exercise their IP rights in relation to film-makers, researchers and other third parties.** There is limited understanding among Bauls about IPR, but some concern about misappropriation and misrepresentation. The Baul philosophy includes some esoteric practices and secret beliefs that they do not necessarily want circulated and popularised, and that audiences may not fully appreciate or understand. Bauls may benefit from information about their rights in engaging with researchers, and about what to do when their performances Bauls are represented in films. To this end IP and ethical guidelines can be developed that are sufficiently broad yet meaningful to be relevant to a range of individual and collective interests.

⁴³ Baul is a music and a philosophy. At present there are likely to be fewer than 40 people following the philosophy out of circa 2500 practicing Bauls. That said, whether there are 40 is debatable since people of one genre don't consider others as serious ones.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to review the work of Contact Base's Art for Life (AFL) programme with a view to identifying both gaps in the work carried out by CB where HIPAMS could prove beneficial to the community, and areas where HIPAMS could add value to work already done by CB. The focus on our review has been on the work done in three communities that are the main subject of HIPAMS interventions; the Patachitra community in Naya, Pingla, Chau mask makers and dancers in Purulia, and the Baul-Fakiri community in Gorbhanga, Nadia District.

Our review of ten reports and evaluations (one unpublished) compiled between 2008 and 2018 indicates the extensive work done by CB in the last 15 years. These reports show the broad and beneficial impact of CB's work on livelihoods across a range of socio-economic indicators. The focus has been on enabling the communities to earn a livelihood through inter alia the sale of products and audience attendance at performances rooted in intangible cultural heritage (ICH) skills and practices. CBs work has in part focused on reviving and strengthening this ICH, and on finding avenues to showcase artefacts and performances. These have included community hosting and attendance at festivals, encouraging the use of traditional materials, building resources centres, opportunities for foreign travel and participation in cultural activities, promoting the use of IT for a range of initiatives and promoting heritage tourism. These interventions were coupled, especially in their initial stages, with programmes helping communities to set up local organisations and self-help groups, and access financial services, health care insurance and government support for artists.

While its many successes have been acknowledged, CB has also faced challenges in its work, which have not all been resolved. For instance, CB has necessarily had to focus on certain communities to the exclusion of others, and within those communities some individuals have felt marginalised as others have found greater traction for their contributions among audiences. Some of these challenges are not easily resolved. It is difficult to provide ongoing, interstitial support on the basis of short-term grants for a wide range of communities to develop sustained long-term strategies that take both heritage and development into account. It is also difficult for communities (or indeed those who wish to help them) to find the most beneficial path between heritage safeguarding and market promotion of products in a changing and complex environment, balancing individual and collective needs, wishes and responsibilities. Bringing in specialist support on specific issues does not necessarily address problems of coordination between, for example, an intellectual property strategy and a heritage safeguarding strategy.

This review has identified some areas where HIPAMS can address identified gaps in CBs work, and areas of existing work where HIPAMS can add value. CB has focused much of its attention to date on reviving threatened traditional forms of art in the three identified communities through training and community-based transmission. This important and ongoing task has helped safeguard the ICH elements, and should continue. However, in the longer term, to avoid 'freezing' recently revived traditional forms, it could be helpful to encourage a deeper conversation about innovation as part of the heritage practice. While CB also promotes innovation in diversified products, these kinds of products might easily be devalued as simply commercial, and relatively ignored as a safeguarding measure. Yet in many cases they are very important to local communities. The HIPAMS approach will build on CB's expertise in the revival of traditional forms to identify heritage attributes through community consultation. This could be used to identify what aspects of the heritage the community wishes to continue practising and transmitting, and where disputes might arise. Focusing on the maintenance of a range of attributes, making up heritage

skills repertoires in the community over time, allows the HIPAMS method to help CB promote heritage-sensitive innovation, valorising both new and older products that carry heritage attributes.

On marketing, CB has instituted a range of ways in which the communities have reached out to new markets and audiences to great effect. This review has shown that there are ways in which these strategies can be strengthened and, in some cases, re-shaped, keeping the ICH at the core. These include high quality digital storytelling focusing on the community as subject and on the ICH, concentrating effort on representative organisations for Patachitra and Chau, and on the individual for the Baul community while at the same time supporting digital skills for community members. This marketing is supported by intellectual property in a heritage sensitive way, both reinforcing and elaborating on the work already carried out by CB on geographical indications, and introducing new ways (for the communities) to use copyright, performers rights and trade marks, thereby supporting communities in ICH safeguarding.

The next stage of the project is to develop HIPAMS proposals for the communities, agree strategies with the communities, and then work to implement these over the second half of 2019 and early 2020. Evaluation criteria will be developed and agreed amongst the whole team which will seek to measure HIPAMS interventions to enable an assessment of the extent to which the work contributes to the sustainable development goals on economic uplift and women's empowerment.

Appendix

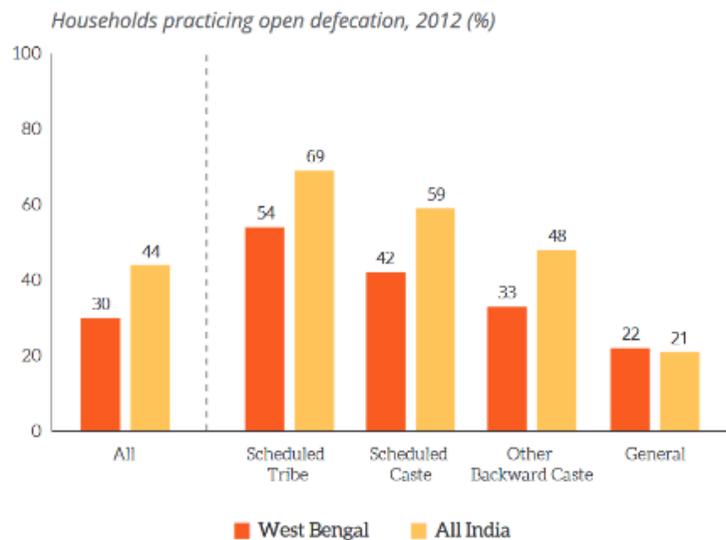
	WEST BENGAL			ALL INDIA
 POPULATION				
	1991	2001	2011	2011
Total population (million)	68	80	91	1211
Urban share (%)	27	28	32	31
Share of adults (% age 15+)	64	69	73	70
Child sex ratio (age 0-6)	967	960	956	919
 POVERTY & INEQUALITY				
	1994	2005	2012	2012
Poor (million)	28	29	19	270
Poverty rate (%)				
<i>All</i>	40	35	20	22
<i>Rural</i>	42	38	23	25
<i>Urban</i>	31	24	15	14
Gini coefficient	<i>All</i> 0.27	0.31	0.32	0.32
 INFRASTRUCTURE & AMENITIES				
 Power	1994	2005	2012	2012
Electrification (% households)				
<i>All</i>	28	49	78	80
<i>Rural</i>	11	34	70	73
<i>Urban</i>	71	87	96	96
 Water and sanitation		2008	2012	2012
Drinking water on premises (% households)				
<i>All</i>		35	36	56
<i>Rural</i>		28	30	46
<i>Urban</i>		53	49	77
Open defecation (% households)				
<i>All</i>		32	30	44
<i>Rural</i>		42	40	60
<i>Urban</i>		6	5	9
Annual growth rate of real GDP per capita (%)	1994 to 2005	2005 to 2012		2005 to 2012
	4.8	5.1		6.7

Figure 1: West Bengal Indicators at a Glance, 1991-2011

Source: World Bank

(<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/224521504251159864/pdf/119335-BRI-P157572-West-Bengal-AtAGlance.pdf>)

While open defecation is low on average in West Bengal, it is high among some social groups



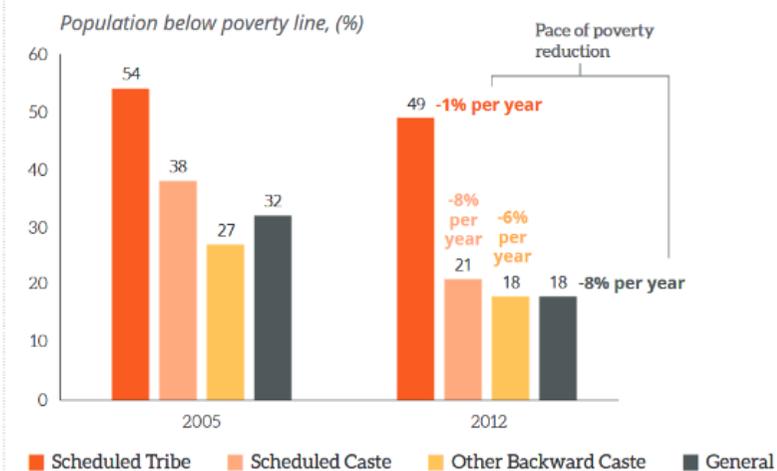
Households by Social Group, 2012 (%)		
	All India	West Bengal
Scheduled Tribe	9	5
Scheduled Caste	19	27
Other Backward Caste	43	9
General	29	59

Figure 2: Poverty reduction and lack of sanitation facilities among Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal, 2005-2012

Source: World Bank

(<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/382741504252542549/pdf/119345-BRI-P157572-West-Bengal-Social.pdf>)

High poverty and slow poverty reduction for the Scheduled Tribes in West Bengal



Many more non-farm jobs in West Bengal after 2005

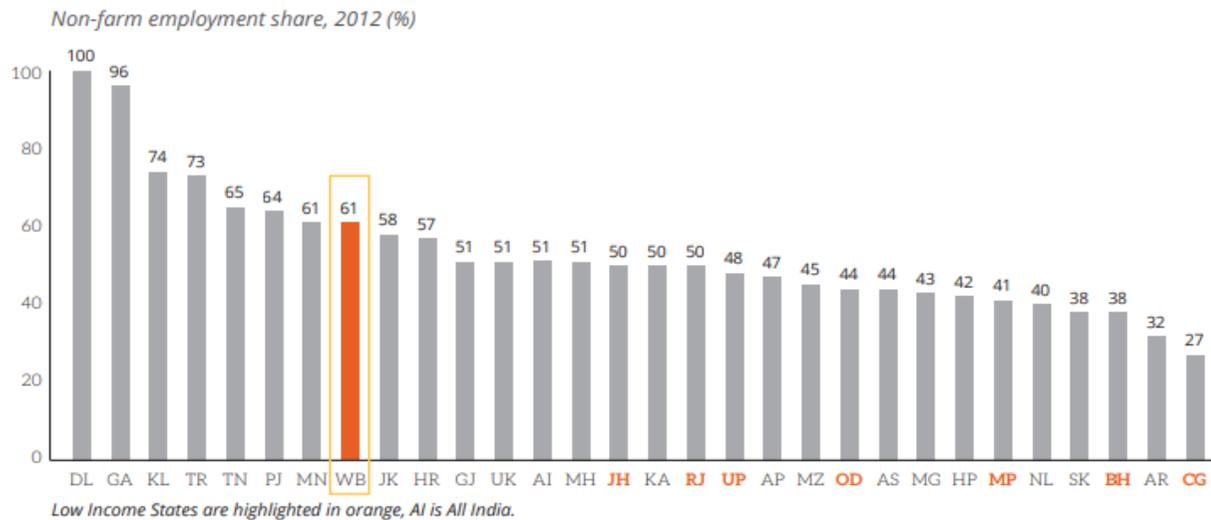


Figure 3. Job creation and non-farm employment in WB after 2005

Source: World Bank

(<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/706921504251904391/pdf/119341-BRI-P157572-West-Bengal-Jobs.pdf>)

West Bengal's share of non-farm employment is higher than the national average



1 June 20, 2017

