Co-creating an art-based livelihood development in West Bengal: an actor-oriented ethnographic approach.

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Abstract

Despite the convergence of international development actors around cultural and creative industries as agents of dynamic change, a tool for innovation, wealth creation, and poverty alleviation, few studies have investigated the role of social enterprises in developing tourism. Social enterprises are relatively new actors in the tourism sector, developing innovative models using market-based approaches to address social issues. Consequently, there are few studies that have investigated the underlying processes of social enterprises in developing tourism models, which includes the role of social enterprises and actors from their enabling environment in developing tourism and their impact on development.

This thesis aims to address these gaps by providing an understanding of the processes, that is, the actors, resources, convergence of interests, and impact of a tourism-based livelihood development model in West Bengal, India, which provides an alternative focus on understanding social enterprises as change agents. To understand how a model, a road map for community-led cultural tourism, was co-created, it is important to trace the pre-production (community capacity building) and post-production (marketing and promotion) activities. By following the actors and resources that were brought together, how these emerging inputs were configured, how stability was maintained through material inscriptions, and how the outcomes of each action steered the future actions, this actor-oriented ethnographic analysis reveals the underlying framework of social enterprises innovation.

A key result of this study is that being positioned in between local and global networks means that social enterprises are well positioned to act as social change agents; however, co-created models reinforce top-down development structures rather than challenging them. The findings from this study make several contributions to the current literature. First, the study shed new light on the role of social enterprises as change agents in the tourism sector and their impacts on local and global networks. The insights gained enhance our understanding of what impacts social enterprises and their networks have in implementing and scaling community-based festivals. Not only does the analysis of a tourism-based livelihood development model demonstrate that social enterprises transform destinations through creating value, but it also reinforces top-down development structures rather than challenging them.

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1   Introduction

This thesis is an exploration into the process of, that is, the actors, resources, convergence of interests, and impact of an arts-based *livelihood development model* by a social enterprise network, which engages in market-based solutions to address social problems, alleviate poverty and revive and revitalise cultural heritage. The findings provide a meaningful and holistic understanding the processes of art livelihood development models and uncover the ability of these models to deliver on their promises to build the capacity of rural communities that translates into empowerment. This first chapter presents an introduction to the research.

The main purpose of this introductory chapter is to set the scene – introducing the theoretical and practical contexts within which this research is situated. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents the background rationale to the study. The second section then presents the flagship initiative, providing some contextual background introducing its beneficiaries, pre-production and post-production processes of its development. This section presents Art for Livelihood, an arts-based livelihood development model, as a 'black box', as its underlying processes, the actors, resources, convergence of interest and impacts, remain 'hidden'. The third section briefly introduces the conceptual framework, the actor-network theory, which will be used to trace the trajectory of this models' development – which will make the hidden visible. After this, the structure of the thesis will be outlined before the literature is reviewed in Chapter 2.

1.1   Research Rationale

Internationally, the creative economy[1] is gaining importance, as cultural and creative industries (CCIs) have been recognized as drivers of development. As such, CCIs were recognized in strategies for human development through the adoption of UNESCO's Convention on the Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005, and its subsequent endorsement by the United Nations General Assembly (UNESCO, 2005). Across the Asia Pacific region, recognizing CCIs as 'capital assets' for economic, social and cultural development is a significant challenge (UNESCO, 2015). However, the Jodhpur Consensus

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[1] According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the creative economy is an emerging "concept dealing with the interface between creativity, culture, economics and technology in a contemporary world dominated by images, sounds, texts and symbols". (UNCTAD, 2014: http://unctad.org/en/Pages/DITC/CreativeEconomy/Creative-Economy.aspx). The creative economy will be further outlined in the literature review, see Chapter 2, for a discussion on creative economy and cultural and creative industries.

identified the economic and social development potential of CCIs, a vision of UNESCO that emphasized the importance of cultural activities in the Asia Pacific region as assets for economic, social and cultural development (UNESCO, 2008; European Commission, 2007). By shifting attention to CCIs' economic potential to become "agents of dynamic economic growth and prosperity, tools for innovation, wealth creation and poverty alleviation", the Jodhpur Consensus focuses on mobilizing these assets that previously remained mainly untapped (UNESCO, 2008).

Awareness of the CCIs' economic value, however, is growing and governments are increasingly focusing their attention on cultural industries as a vector for development. In 2010, the Creative Economy Report (UNESCO, 2013) established the importance of CCIs as engines of growth, employment and as generators of earnings. At the global level, the United Nations (UN) family of agencies, "re-focused programming efforts to take into account the role of culture and the cultural industries as instrumental in achieving the Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs) (UNESCO, 2007, p.iii). The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, for instance, recognized that the creative industries are feasible development options for the Global South, since they are drivers for job creation, innovation and social inclusion. The mainstreaming of culture into development policies and strategies was embedded by a United Nations General Assembly Resolution on Culture and Development in 2010, then reiterated in 2011, which underscored culture's intrinsic contribution to sustainable development.

Similarly, tourism as a driver for economic development, poverty reduction, community empowerment, and capacity building, is also widely recognized (UNDP, 2008; UNWTO, 2014). Cultural tourism relies on tangible and intangible cultural assets and "accounts for 40% of world tourism revenues" (UNWTO, 2018, p.74). Creativity supports the development of cultural tourism, as it links different actors, structures, and networks, such as cultural industries and the tourism sector. Investment in CCIs has been demonstrated as a means for revitalizing the economies of cities, such as Bilbao (Richards, 2000; UNWTO, 2015) and can build, form and boost a destination's image when combined with place marketing. Cities utilize cultural events, such as festivals, as economic opportunities and catalysts for urban renewal and as a way to attract cultural tourists (Sharpe, 2008). The growth and reinvention of festival events, such as the Edinburgh Festival or the Basant Sufi Festival, are recognized to "deliver a series of development outcomes from economic development and revitalization, destination repositioning, inward investment and tourism revenue generation" (Quinn, 2009, p.490). It is no wonder that festivals and events are

increasingly being employed to revitalize local rural communities and traditions (Irshad, 2011). The active participation in rural festivals and events provides platforms for cultural manifestations, initiating a dialogue between creative people, and facilitates cross-cultural interactions across diverse cultures (UNESCO, 2013). Cultural tourism thus encourages the visibility and appeal of intangible cultural manifestations such as dance, performance, music, rituals, et cetera. Thus, using culture as a vehicle for tourism development has continued to emerge as an essential priority of public policy planners, governments, and non-government agencies (UNCTAD, World Tourism Organization, et cetera.) due to cultures' perceived ability to address widespread socio-economic problems.

Even though creative industries and cultural tourism are recognized by multiple international and regional actors for their income-generating ability, they often remain isolated activities (UNESCO, 2013). In the Asia Pacific Region, arts and craft industries and cultural tourism are often the focus of individual projects or components of development projects funded by governments and external international development organizations (including NGOs) (Kreps, 2012). Individual craft projects, for instance, have often been designed based on harnessing a cultural tradition as an economic resource to revitalize and preserve intangible cultural traditions, while raising artists' standard of living (Kreps, 2012). These individual cultural and creative development projects, funded by external actors, often fail, due to their inability to maintain economic growth once the project is complete (Rondinelli, 1976; UNESCO New Delhi, 2011, informal interview, March). Project failure can be attributed to a limited supporting ecosystem, inadequate funding, infrastructure constraints, and inadequate market linkages (Goodwin and Font, 2014; Mosse, 2005b). This may also be attributed to a highly fragmented enabling environment that consists of multiple donor agencies (government and non-government) working in uncoordinated ways, complicating implementation (de Haan, 2010).

As the traditional aid-based model has come under increasing criticism for lack of effectiveness and real impact, social enterprises[2] have emerged using market-based solutions to address social problems. As *change agents,* social entrepreneurs mobilise networks to innovatively combine and recombine resources to develop models that improve the lives of their beneficiaries. Whether it is introducing solar power in Cambodia, providing access to

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[2] Social enterprises are organizations created by entrepreneurs as private, semi-private organizations or foundation dedicated to solving social problems in a destination or region. A full discussion of social entrepreneurship and social enterprises will be provided in the literature review, Chapter 2.

financial services and credit in India, or bridging the market between rural Indian artisans and global consumers, the role of social enterprises in development is on the rise (Prahalad, 2009). Social enterprises are seen to deliver services more effectively than the public sector, thus they are alternatives to direct aid that has been criticized for ineffective distribution, the creation of dependence, and the disempowerment of locals through political conditionalities (Mosse, 2005a; Moyo, 2009). Social enterprises, however, are now seen as key players in ending global poverty by reversing the cycle of dependency through a cycle of self-sufficiency and employment (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013; Prahalad, 2009). Despite the growth in social enterprises within the global development sector, there is very little critical research exploring the impact of this model, which raises questions about the extent to which they deliver on their promises and represent a viable alternative to direct aid.

For policy makers and international development actors, social enterprise models are attractive as there is a perceived capacity and ability of these agents of social change to be able to deliver and tackle persistent social problems through innovative solutions, but also in their capacity to create new kinds of connections between actors, with the aim of changing institutional systems. In 2011, the UK's Department of International Development (DFID) unveiled a new aid strategy of investing in social enterprise schemes, which focused on investing heavily in "wealth creation" in poor states by tapping into the private sector by strengthening development partnerships (The Guardian, Friday, October 21st, 2011). Two years later (2013), at the Global Development Innovation Ventures fund, both DFID and USAid announced they would be investing in "innovative solutions to world poverty" (Datta and Miles, 2012, p.62). It can be argued that the DFID and USAid's decisions to end their aid commitments to India are partly founded on the premise that social enterprises can do more to help India than traditional forms of development (Datta and Miles, 2012). So, by transforming social problems through market-based solutions in developing countries into manageable problems, social enterprises have attracted the attention of global policymakers, development organisations, and governments. Thus, social enterprises are now at the centre of numerous social and economic debates (Wilson and Post, 2013).

Fostering CCIs will, however, require the convergence of development stakeholders across India's enabling environment to support aligned policies, programmes, models and the innovation processes of social enterprises. The innovation process consists of multiple activities from supporting early development, identifying markets (CCIs), implementing actions, measurement and evaluation of actions – where different actors (artists, social

enterprises, folk art experts, etc.) interact and mobilize different resources (folk arts, funding, knowledge et cetera.), that converge around actions, moulding it and steering its subsequent phases (Dasra, 2013; Peredo and McLean, 2006; Wankel and Pate, 2013).

In India, a critical challenge in the cultural and creative sector is achieving convergence of policies and schemes as the sector is under-defined and highly fragmented across 17 governmental ministries, ranging from the Ministry of Rural Development to the Ministry of Culture, amongst others (Craft Council of India, 2011, interview; Dasra, 2013). Moreover, a majority of India's rural folk artists suffer severe limitations in accessing capital, have limited understanding of adapting to new markets, and work in unorganized sectors (Craft Council of India, 2011, interview; Dasra, 2013). Optimizing the production and markets of CCIs will, therefore, require the convergence of multiple actors – artists, planners, policy makers, patrons, international development organizations, national governments, et cetera, around supportive policies, practices, and programmes. Thus, there is a need to support innovative approaches where different actors interact and mobilize different resources, that come together around aligned actions and policies, moulding the process and steering its subsequent phases.

Livelihood development enterprises have identified opportunities for creating social value across the CCIs, including performing arts, cultural heritage, visual arts, design, tourism, et cetera, through collaborating with multiple actors, recombining mobilized resources, developing new products, and implementing new processes (Robert, 2005). The non-farming livelihood sector is now the third largest sector in India, behind clean energy and agri-business, however, the processes social enterprises use to assist folk artists integrate into new markets is not well understood. Despite this, a majority of India's rural folk artists suffer severe limitation in accessing funds, have limited understanding of adapting to new markets, and work in an unorganized sector (Craft Council of India, 2011, interview; Dasra, 2013; IBase, 2011c).

1.2 Context of the Study: The flagship initiative

> In 2004 we initiated an experimental "Art for Livelihood" project, targeting 3200 folk artists (Patachitra - singing stories painted on scrolls, Bāul Fakiri – Sufi music of Bengal, Jhumur – tribal lifestyle music and dance, Chau – tribal masked dance involving martial arts , Gambhira and Domni – folk theatre forms) in six economically backward districts of West Bengal. The

project primarily aims at enhancing the livelihood basis of the artists, while providing a new positive identity to their localities as creative hubs, rather than that of impoverished rural villages. The emergence of such new rural creative hubs is in turn gradually leading to the development of new tourism destinations, bringing additional income opportunities to the so-far economically marginalized areas (IBase Vice President (V.P)., 2011, p.697).

Festivals are effective in promoting the art forms and creating new contexts for practice and performance. Our cultural heritage festivals have led to appreciation of subaltern culture and lifestyle and strengthened community identity and pride. With exposure, the artist communities are overcoming caste and gender barriers. Success of national and international festivals has created new partnerships. Partners include World Music Network and Songlines of UK, Maison des Cultures du Monde & Zaman Productions of France, and Mithila Museum of Japan. Our Cultural Heritage Festivals are now included in the state tourism calendar (IBase, V.P., 2015, p.6).

The development narratives above present Art for Livelihood as a 'black box'[3], rendering invisible the phases and processes of its development (Heeks and Heeks, 2013; Latour, 1987; Rhodes, 2009). This 'model' for development, however, has evolved and matured through various stages of conceptualisation and implementation across "six backward districts of West Bengal", over a period of seven years (A4L Material Inscription, 2011). In 2010, the initiative, *Art for Livelihood (A4L[4]),* worked with 3200 folk artists across six districts of West Bengal covering the following art forms: Chau, Jhumur, Gambhira, Domni, Patachitra and Bāul-Fakiri. By 2013, this social enterprise vision was to synergise cultural and economic development. A4L, the 'flagship' initiative, aims "at utilising the potential of heritage skills, like knowledge of nature, performing arts and crafts for creating sustainable livelihood opportunities for people" (Social Enterprise Website, 2017[5]). According to the circulating inscriptions - reports, pamphlets, videos, et cetera – inscribed by the social enterprise, between 2005 to 2013, A4L has been 'successfully' implemented with 5000 artists in rural West Bengal, reviving and rejuvenating more than 20 traditional performing and visual arts.

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[3] Black boxes are "things that are taken for granted and need no explanation" (Rhodes, 2009, p.7); they are facts or components of a network that have been punctualised within the network. For instance, with the Art for Livelihood network, a cultural hub is a building. When we open the black box to look behind the façade, a cultural hub is a religious centre (ashram) and a place that links artisans with external stakeholders. When a black box is opened, we see the network rather than just the actor. A further discussion of actor-network theory is provided in Chapter 3 (Heeks, 2013; Latour, 1987, 1993).

[4] The name of the model has been changed. Throughout the research the name of the model changed on three occasions, in relationships to the evolution of the model. In this research the model throughout its two phases examined will only be referred to as A4L to avoid any confusion (Field Notes, 2010, 2011).

[5] (Accessed: June 17, 2017). For confidentiality purposes the website URL is not provided.

West Bengal's numerous tribes and ethnic groups have their own distinctive folk arts forms (Kalighat, Patachitra, Batik, terracotta pottery, Shitalpati mats), folk songs (Bāul Fakiri, Tushu, Jhumur, Gajan), and dances (Purulia Chhau, Ranapa, Kukri Nritya, Santhalia, Natua, et cetera). From across West Bengal, which stretches from the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal, A4L engaged 3200 artists from 6 districts from 2004 until the end of 2011 (See Figure 1.1, below), including the Gambhira, Domni, Jhumur, Purulia Chau, Patachitra and Bāul & Fakiri. A brief introduction of each folk art form follows:

> *Gambhira* is a folk form that is primarily a component of a socio-religious festival at the end of the Bengali year, that celebrates the worship of Shiva with a view to attaining particular blessings. The term, Gambhira, has become synonymous with Pala Gambhira, a popular component of the festivities which is a dramatized musical sketch, combining songs, dance and satire (A4L Project Literature, 2010; Gambhira Artist B, informal interview, October 2010).

> *Domni* is a form of folk drama, also popular in the district of Malda, in which performers' characters may include husbands, wives, greedy moneylenders and so on. The folk drama is composed taking extracts from small events of everyday life, which are then presented in a satirical manner. *Jhumur* folk songs and dance is an ancient artistic form in the Western frontiers of West Bengal – Purulia, Bankura, Bardhaman, Birbum and West Medinipur (IBase, 2010a). Jhumur dance is performed by young girls and accompanied by a few male artists who maintain the rhythm with musical instruments such as the *dhol* (a percussion instrument made of hollow wood with goat skin stretched over the sides), the harmonium, table, *madol*, mandira and flute (Jhumur Artists, 2010, informal interview, 9 March 2011).

> *Purulia Chau* is an energetic and vibrant folk-dance form of Eastern India. Emerging from a martial practice, Purulia Chau is a vigorous dance drama that draws its theme from two of the great Indian epics, such as The Ramayana. Dancers wear masks and elaborate headgear, the ornamental apparel that assists audiences in identifying each different character (Chau Expert, 2010, interview, 10th September; Field Observations, 2010; IBase, 2010a). Communication between the performers and the audience, through the elaborate masks, costumes and dance movements, are significant features of Purulia Chau.

> *Patachitra* are scroll painters of West Bengal, known as *Patuas*, *Chitrakar* or *Patikars*. The scrolls are characterised by religious and social motifs and images painted on cloth. The word *pata (pot)* is derived from the Sanskrit word, *patta*, meaning a kind of fabric or silk cloth (Chitrakar F, 2010, informal interview, October; Chakrabarti, 2008). Traditionally, Patuas were itinerant entertainers, traveling from village to village, a performative oral tradition (storytelling). Patachitra, the style of art, is handed down over

generations and consists of set patterns, lines, and vibrant colours (often natural) (Chakrabarti,, 2008; Patachitra Interviews, 2010; 2011[6]).

Bāul and *Fakiri* are rich, vibrant and living musical folk traditions in Bengal. Known for their highly spiritual singing over the last 700 years, the *Bāuls* of Bengal is a collective name for followers from both major communities – Hindus and Muslims. The songs of the Bāuls focus on the separation between the souls of man and spiritual ground, normally accompanied by a variety of indigenous musical instruments to embellish their compositions, including an *ektara* (a one-string instrument), *dougi* (small, hand-held drum), *dutara* (four-stringed lute), *kol* (two-skinned drum), *kartal* and *mandira* (cymbals), and bamboo flute (Bhattacharya, 1999; Field Notes, 2010). The Bāul tradition has inspired many successful poets (e.g. Rabindranath Tagore), playwrights, and songwriters of the 19th and 20th centuries (Bhattacharya, 1999; Knight, 2011).

Figure 1:1.   **The six folk forms of Art for Livelihood**

As the A4L model evolved, new components continually emerged into a shifting network of actors: - people, groups, organisations, objects, and places. Even though a 'new model' may emerge, components of the old model (that came before it) may not have totally disappeared, but rather outcomes of the 'first' model may be adopted, modified, rejected, or simply renamed.

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[6] Patachitra Artist 5, field interview, 2010. Patachitra Artist 6, field interview 2011.

The objectives of the first phase of A4L, *Making Art a Livelihood*, supported by the Ministry of Culture (MoC) and the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD), were to:

- preserve living cultural heritage, like performing arts, oral traditions, and rituals;
- promote cultural diversity;
- facilitate inter-regional and international exchanges, collaborations, and partnerships; and
- raise awareness of the role of culture in social inclusion and economic empowerment (IBase, 2010c).

A4L was to "aspire to make oral tradition and performing arts a means of sustainable livelihood, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and forge multi-regional partnerships for the revitalisation and promotion in innovative ways" (European Commission, 2010, p.83). Its vision was to "synergise cultural and economic development, leading not only to the preservation of cultural heritage and diversity, but also facilitating sustainable development of people" (IBase V.P., 2011, p.698). Therefore, this model aimed at utilising the potential of a community's intangible cultural skills to create opportunities to enhance the livelihoods of rural communities.

The second phase of A4L, entitled *Going Global (A4L)*, supported by the European Union in partnership with national and global network partners (See Chapter 7, for a full discussion), aimed to "contribute to the sustainable development and structuring of cultural industries and operators, and promote cultural diversity, cooperation and exchanges" (European Commission, 2010, p. 6). The expected results of this project were:

> [For] six performing folk art forms of Bengal to be strengthened and preserved. Folk artists will run creative industries based on their traditional skills. Cultural exchange, festivals and heritage tourism trails will take folk art and culture from eastern India to a national/global audience. Six local resource centres will be developed (European Commission, 2010, p.83).

These new emerging actions created new opportunities and enabled the possibility of creating something new; the introduction of a new product, scaling workshop schemes, the opening of new markets that lead to a new model for development A4L, and a road map for community-led tourism development, as illustrated below, in Figure 1.2.

Phase I

Cultural Mapping (Year 1)
Mapping artist communities
Baseline study
Knowledge-Attitude- Practice (KAP) Study
Organising artists into Common Interest Groups / Self Help Groups

Phase II

Capacity building (Year 1- 2)
Art skills training (3-4 months)
Specialised skill training of folk artists
Product diversification and innovation
Develop new productions/repertories
Financial literacy
Equipping with instrument/costume/mask
Health Insurance

Preserving Oral Heritage (Year 1- 3)
Document /record art forms
Publish books & audio visual products
Develop resource centres

Phase III

Marketing & Promotion (Year 1-3)
Publish Brochures, Catalogues, Website
Disseminate Audio Visual products
Direct market linkage
Media partnerships
Organize Festivals

Exchange & Interaction (Year 2-3)
Collaborative art workshops
Cross cultural exchange
Research

Linkages and Partnerships (Year 2-3)
Media partnership
Dovetailing with Govt. Schemes
Linkage with art promoters
Academic partnerships

Phase IV

Ethno tourism (Year 2-3)
Infrastructure development
Capacity building for tourism
Village festivals
Publicity & linkage with Travel & Tourism organisations

Develop Creative Industries (Year 2-3)
Creation of Business entities (Clusters/Federations)
Infrastructure
Credit linkage
Market linkage

Figure 1:2   Art for Livelihood Road Map (IBase, 2011a)

In 2011, the social enterprise, (IBase[7]), began replicating the A4L model in the neighbouring state of Bihar with 1500 artists, supported by Bihar State Rural Livelihood Project, JEEVika (IBase Director, 2011, personal communication, November 2011). According to the Director of IBase, "in less than 18 months' time, we had extremely encouraging results" (IBase, 2014). The development narratives circulated by A4L highlighted that key outcomes were social inclusion, new livelihood opportunities, which motivated the youth to continue learning these folk traditions and that the model has strengthened identities. As of 2013, the impacts of A4L in West Bengal included, but were not limited to, the following:

- Expanded from 3200 people to about 4500 people.

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[7] IBase is a pseudonym used to attempt to hide the identity of the social enterprise. Pseudonyms are also used for all research participants, and, in some instances, additional identifying features have been removed to ensure confidentiality to ensure the general welfare of the respondents, as discussed in Section 4.4, in more detail.

- Average monthly income of 3200 artists has gone up from Rs. 500 (8 Euro) in 2005 to Rs. 4000 (approx. 50 Euro) in 2013, with 10% earning above Rs. 12000 (150 Euro) per month.
- For 40% of people, it is a primary livelihood, for another 40%, it's an important secondary livelihood.
- Quality of life has improved; more artists have brick houses, toilets at home and enjoying land ownership. Sanitation has gone up from less than 10% to above 80%.
- 50 artists travelled internationally, 500 artists travelled to National festivals,
- 2500 participated in local ones.
- None of the 5000 artists across West Bengal and Bihar has migrated from village to city.
- Average age of folk artist has gone down from above 40 to around 30 years youth and women are participating.[8]
- Marginalized villages evolve as cultural tourism destinations (Tourism Dept, GoWB[9] have started promotion and support). All the village festivals created by us in 2009-10 have continued, and are now community owned/ managed (IBase, 2014).

The extract from one of A4L's development narrative above, demonstrates that this models' development process, measurements, and outputs have continually been collected and disseminated in order to convey social value creation, and A4L's ability to address social problems. These established facts, which are full of taken-for-granted facts, have been further circulated through external evaluations conducted by UNESCO New Delhi and Northern Institute of Integrated Learning in Management – Centre for Management Studies (NIILM) University, India, which stabilised this models' creation value and closed the network.

In April 2013, IBase signed an agreement with UNESCO New Delhi to promote the A4L across India and, shortly after, they were accredited with Special Advisory Status to the UN Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC) (IBase, 2014; IBase V.P., 2015). By the end of 2013, IBase continued to work across West Bengal, developing 10 rural craft hubs in West Bengal, with support of UNESCO and the Government of West Bengal (GoWB) (IBase V.P., 2015; Roy, 2015). The aim of these rural craft hubs is to strengthen 'creative entrepreneurship at grassroots, helping the rural artists to reach out to the global markets, strengthening livelihood of the handicraft artists and developing the craft villages as cultural

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[8] When reviewing and comparing all the social enterprise documentation in Nvivo, it was clear that established facts within the circulating materials (inscriptions – reports, documents et cetera) were not always consistent. For instance, another report in 2013 states: "Average age of folk artists has gone down from 41 to 28 years – youth and women are participating". It is recognised that within an actor-network, established facts may change over time as well are tailored for specific audiences, as will be highlighted in Chapter 8.

tourism destinations' (IBase website; 2014, 20 January[9]). Even though cultural tourism development "was not the primary goal" of the social enterprise at the beginning of this initiative, "it has emerged as one element of the A4L project", a tool for development that can revitalise the art forms by providing a platform that promotes rural destinations through building market linkages (IBase V.P., 2011, p. 706). In 2014, IBase officially announced a new vertical, for-profit-travel division, which "promotes cultural tourism destinations of rural Bengal, which offers authentic experiences of heritage and traditions and the simplicity of rural life. We aim at engaging local communities in promoting cultural tourism, thus ensuring economic benefits to the local people, strengthening community identity and pride and increasing local ownership on natural and cultural resources" (IBase website; 2014, 20 January).

1.2.1 Research Rationale & Focus

Recently, interest in social entrepreneurship and tourism has emerged in literature, with edited volumes on *Social Entrepreneurship and Tourism* (Sheldon and Daniele, 2017), as well as several case studies (Atlinay, Sigala and Waligo, 2016; Sigala, 2016). Previous literature in the field has often replicated existing knowledge by examining the operations and motives of social entrepreneurs (e.g., Von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012), profit-making entrepreneurial activities (e.g., Perrini, Vurro and Costanzo, 2010), and social value creation (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006; Mair and Marti, 2006). Researchers, such as Hjalager (2010), have called for research into entrepreneurial innovators' motivation, the knowledge they bring with them, and the strategies they apply to fulfil their ambitions, and question how social entrepreneurs get things done (Venkatesan and Yarrow, 2012). As a result, there is limited knowledge of the relationships between social enterprises and their enabling environment[10]. Jóhannesson (2005) draws attention to the fact that few studies have investigated the heterogenous relations of tourism development models. In line with Jóhannesson, Getz et al. (2010) also highlight that the role of social enterprises in developing festivals, and the impact these festivals have, has received little attention in literature. Much

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[9] I have not provided the URL for IBase's website to ensure that the organisation's identity remains hidden. Please see appendix A for images of the documentation for the Rural Craft Hubs of West Bengal.

[10] Social enterprises all work in a political, social and economic context and are subjected to regulatory and institutional constraints. A social enterprise enabling environment therefore consists of other actors (governments, public-private organisations etc.) whether local or global as well as policies, environment constraints etc. in which they work.

uncertainty still exists about the relations between social enterprises and their enabling environments and their impact on development models.

Consequently, this thesis aims to *understand the processes that social enterprises utilise in developing tourism and how this model impacts on the beneficiaries and their communities* by tracing the growth of an arts-based livelihood development model in West Bengal. This thesis follows an actor-oriented case-study design, with an in-depth analysis of A4L, to investigate the complexities that underly the development of an arts-based livelihood development model by actors that had little understanding of the skills and knowledge required for tourism development.

The research questions emerged from a review of the literature (Chapter 2), the field interactions (Chapter 4), and the researcher's interest in following tourism development questions:

1. *What processes were mobilised to build capacity for tourism development?*
2. *How and why did collaborations come together?*
3. *How do social enterprises link social capital across networks to develop new markets?*
4. *How do development narratives influence or constrain social enterprises in meeting their core social mission?*
5. *What are the impacts of an arts-based livelihood development model on the local communities?*

There are three primary purposes of this investigation. The first purpose is to explore the relationship between social enterprises and their enabling environments in the improvement of a livelihood development, in which tourism emerged, , which will explain how A4L pre-production phase (design, technical skills, entrepreneurial development) actions targeted the professionalisation of traditional art skills as employable skills, influenced its post-production (market engagement, creation) activities and evolved into a "roadmap for developing community-led cultural tourism" (IBase, 2011a; IBase V.P., 2011). The next purpose is to ascertain how social enterprises leverage actors and resources from within their enabling environment to address social problems and create large-scale impact. As at the end of the pre-production phase, IBase was looking to expand into three diverse areas. These areas were; growing handicraft self-help groups, improving the folk artists' direct linkages to external markets, and becoming international consultants for the development sector (IBase Director, 2008, interview, September). Lastly, the third purpose is to understand the

impacts of this model on the beneficiaries and their communities. Opening this model's black boxes, reveals the controversies (tensions) between the 'public' and 'hidden narratives' that contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes social enterprises use to develop and disseminate a successful project.

1.3 The Research Processes: An actor-oriented approach

Although coined the actor-network theory (ANT), the theory is a methodological orientation or approach (Jóhannesson, 2005; Latour, 2004). ANT is an approach concerned with studying the construction and maintenance of actor networks, which are made up of both human and non-human actors; thus, it focuses on tracing the transformations of heterogeneous networks (Law, 1992) that are made up of people, institutions, artefacts, media, infrastructure, and many other non-human actors. ANT explores the ways that network relations were composed, how they emerged and came into being, how inputs steer outputs, how actor networks are built and stabilized, how they compete with other networks, and how they are stabilized over time (Murdoch, 1998; Scott-Smith, 2013). ANT examines how actors enlist other actors into their actor networks, how they utilise facts to sustain circulating narratives, how established facts are punctualised into networks and then taken for granted.

As Law and Callon (1988, p.285) stated, "our object, then, is to trace the interconnections built up by technologists as they propose projects and then seek the resources required to bring these projects into fruition". The early works of ANT by its founders Latour, Callon and Law, focused on scientific and technological innovation (e.g., Latour, 1987; Law and Callon, 1988). In the decades since, ANT has been applied to development project and policy-making (e.g., Mosse, 2004; Tsing, 2005); state formation and governance (e.g., Carroll, 2006; Mukerji, 2009); geography and spatial politics (e.g., Müller, 2012); economics and markets (e.g., Hawkins, 2011) and tourism (e.g., van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2012), to name but a few. In addition, ANT has influenced ethnographies in anthropology, geography, and cultural studies (Farias and Bender, 2010; Mosse, 2004; Tsing, 2005). Mosse (2005a), in the first anthropology of development, *Cultivating Development*, showed the value of ethnographic research to development, particularly highlighting Latour's notion of translation of interest and identities in an indirect way in which networks were supported and meaning created (Lewis and Mosse, 2006a; Mosse, 2005a). Despite ANT's contribution to understanding the processes and institutions that occupy international development-

enabling environments, ANT studies within development and social entrepreneurship are limited, but emerging (Heeks, 2013; Sheldon and Daniele, 2017).

This conceptual approach provides multiple opportunities for new perspectives on the trajectories of development projects, especially as international development, such as A4L, represents a junction between local and global networks. These types of models bring together heterogenous actors from national and global networks to work at various scales to solve social problems. Scott-Smith (2013) illustrates that ANT traces how development success and failure is related to the extent and durability of network alliances. He notes that "such an approach is particularly welcome in development studies, which tend to be divided between the adherents of an economic approach that reduced the world to rational choice, and post-development approach that reduced everything to discourse and culture" (Scott-Smith, 2013, p,7). As this approach to tracing development models involves following the actors and their everyday practice of development, it allows us to generate detailed accounts of the activities of *(inter)mediaries,* and their practices of collaborating with donors and other actors, human and non-human, from within their enabling environment (Long and Long, 1992; Vorholter, 2012). Therefore, ANT provides a framework for tracing multiple actors, human and non-human, across geographical boundaries and tracing their various forms and functions, which are continuously being enrolled into multiple networks.

The relevance of applying an ANT approach to our study, a tourism-based livelihood development model, is outlined further in Chapter 3, which introduces ANT, clarifies critical key concepts, outlines why ANT was adopted for this study, and, finally, presents the blueprint that guides the analysis of A4L: – the case study.

1.4 Structure of this thesis

This chapter has set the scene, providing a background to the study, and introducing the context of the research, its aims, and objectives. After this, a brief introduction to the conceptual framework, ANT, and its relevance to this study was presented. The structure of the rest of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 2; the literature review presents the relevant research that converge into *livelihood development,* focusing on social enterprises, cultural and creative industries, and market-based approaches. This chapter seeks to provide a wide-ranging examination of the issues

and debates represented in the literature, and identify some weaknesses and omissions, some of which this thesis aims to address. Chapter 3 presents the conceptual framework, ANT, and describes the blueprint for this analysis: ANT's chains of innovation. The field methodology is presented in Chapter 4, where it describes the implications of my dual role as a researcher and *acting in* the network, which required me to adopt a particularly reflective methodological approach. Chapter 5 then introduces the two art forms of this case study analysis, the Patachitra and Bāul Fakirs, their villages, their cultural heritage, and networks.

After this background is presented, the analysis of all the data begins. Chapter 6 traces an arts-based livelihood development model, *Art for Livelihood* (A4L), through its pre-production (design, technical skills, entrepreneurial development) activities to uncover and explain the processes that were assembled to create social value in order to revive and revitalise folk art as a means of sustainable livelihood. Chapter 7 continues to trace A4L's development trajectory, focusing on how outcomes and emerging inputs were combined to create new markets. In separating out the actions of A4L in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, the researcher does not suggest that they are in fact separate from, or independent of, other actions as illustrated in Figure 1.2. A4L Road Map, above. Chapter 8 then examines the tensions of this models' public and hidden narratives, to gain a critical perspective on the lived complexity, experiences, and social impacts of this models' implementation. The concluding chapter presents the main findings by answering the research questions and then discusses the implications. This is followed by the explanations of the limitations of this study, and in the conclusion of the thesis are recommendations for future research.

2   A Literature Review

Even though governments, private organisations, and non-governmental organisations have invested billions of dollars in development initiatives that address social problems, such as poverty alleviation and rural livelihoods[11], the results have been inadequate in terms of effectiveness and sustainability, let alone their capacity to scale their impacts for meaningful change (UNDESA, 2013). It is argued that to ensure the poor benefit from economic growth, it is essential to address structural barriers, including social, market and institutional ones, as policy shifts alone may be inadequate. Consequently, direct interventions that create new economic opportunities are required, as increased opportunities can bring about changes to local, national, and international work, providing spaces where the poor are active participants. Rural livelihood interventions therefore aim to uplift rural people through better access to assets (economic, natural, human, et cetera), and services, and control over productive capital that enables them to improve their livelihoods on a sustainable and equitable basis (Hancock and Bauman, 2012).

In India since the 1940s, the Government of India (GoI) has been a major actor involved in rural livelihood development models, across various sectors. However, despite this there are still large inequalities, high levels of poverty, and significant barriers to markets, goods, and services (Craft Council of India, 2011, interview; Datta, Mahajan and Thakur, 2009). Consequently, the GoI has encouraged public-private partnerships for all-round development due to heavy budgetary deficits and shortages of its managerial resources (Barowalia, 2010). This shift has however received criticism by scholars such as Aggarwal (2012) and Narayan (2010), as it has contributed to uneven development. Despite the criticism, India's development landscape remains complex, with a large range of *(inter)mediaries* that connect people, ideas, and resources across networks to address social problems (Datta and Miles, 2012).

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[11] The most widely used definition across the literature put forward by Chambers and Conway (1992, p.7) is: "a livelihood comprises the capabilities (including both material and social resources) and activities for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base". Rural livelihoods are therefore complex structures comprising of agriculture (farming, raising livestock), non-farm activities (trading, handicrafts, labour etc.).

Despite the continuous efforts of development actors in India, there is still a growing need as various social problems have not been adequately or effectively addressed. Ghosh (2009) argues that there is a need to look for other viable solutions in spite of the relevance of government and public sector interventions. Consequently, there is a need to find and implement better quality alternatives to the prevailing impasse for all-inclusive and sustainable development across the country. Capital is not a 'silver bullet' for alleviating poverty in developing countries; rather, innovation is critical as it can contribute to increasing income and standards of living in both developed and developing countries (Bradley, Chakravarti, and Rowan, 2013). Social enterprises have thus emerged using market-based approaches to address social problems through innovation – creatively combining and recombining resources that they have mobilised from their professional and personal networks to achieve their social mission.

To ensure that the livelihood development models are not presented as 'black boxes' in this thesis, this chapter provides the reader with a focused account, discussing how and in what ways these different fields – tourism, social entrepreneurship, and creative industries – converge within this study, as each perspective, and the knowledge it produces, relates to this thesis. The relationships between these research areas are essential in framing and contextualising livelihood development. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section deals with describing the convergence of global development actors around tourism, as a catalyst for development. The second part moves on to define social enterprises (SEs) and their ability to act as change agents through employing market-based solutions. The third section discusses the relationship between SEs market-based approaches and creative industries, as non-farming livelihood developments are the third largest sectors in India, and this includes the development of tourism. Having unpacked livelihood development for this thesis in the first three sections, the final section presents the literature behind the methods SEs utilise to scale impact before concluding the chapter.

2.1   Convergence of Networks around Tourism as a Catalyst for Development

Tourism has been increasingly advocated for, by a broad range of actors, as a development strategy to reduce poverty (Harrison and Schipani, 2009), as it is recognised as a key revenue source for many developed and developing countries. Consequently, there is a constant search

for ways of ensuring that a greater share of the economic and social benefits of tourism are spread across the communities involved (Ashley and Mitchell, 2009). Moscardo (2014, p.354) states, "tourism is often proposed as a development strategy for rural regions based on assumptions made about the ability of tourists to generate employment and income for local residents and businesses". To obtain socio-economic change and be regarded as an agent of development, there has been a shift in tourism development from 'top-down' approaches to relying on 'bottom-up' approaches (Harrison and Schipani, 2009; Mowforth, Charlton and Munt, 2008). This 'alternative development approach' emerged in the 1980s and acknowledged grassroot initiatives by calling for bottom-up approaches, which have now become a dominant approach in development (Sharpley, 2000).

After the first international seminar on tourism and development, which was organised by the World Bank and UNESCO, there were concerns on the impact of tourism development (de Kadt, 1979; Hawkins and Mann, 2007), which linked tourism to 'dependency theory', arguing that tourism can increase inequalities between developed and developing countries (Hardy, Beeton and Pearson, 2002; Britton, 1982; Hawkins and Mann, 2007). Other studies emphasised that tourism development has led to the over-exploitation of natural and cultural resources (Britton, 1982; Dieke, 1991). Scheyvens (2007) highlights that social scientists began discussing how poor and marginalised individuals were often excluded by 'top-down' development initiatives. Due to the increasing concerns globally about environmental deterioration and degradation caused by unharnessed economic growth, sustainable development[12] was conceptualised in the Bruntland report of 1987. This development concept was the result of the convergence of international actors and networks around balanced growth, long-term development objectives, and social inclusion. However, sustainable development, as a concept, has continued to evolve, from an emphasis on environmental issues, to include new vectors focusing on inclusive development for 'all social groups' such as community development, poverty reduction, and pro-poor development to effectively address sustainable development globally (Ashley, 2000; Hall, 2008).

Whether it is ecotourism, community-based tourism, or pro-poor tourism, all these subsets have evolved as strategies for rural development: outcomes of international practice, debates, and developments (de Kadt, 1979; Hardy, Beeton and Pearson, 2002). Ecotourism

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[12] Sustainable development is defined as: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Hall, 2008, p.20)

was the buzzword in the 1980s and 1990s (Hummel, 2015; Scheyvens, 2007), then attention steered to sustainable development, which led to an increased interest in achieving development goals and the diversification of communities' livelihood options (Hardy, Beeton and Pearson, 2002). Community-based tourism and small-scale, locally-owned development appeared in response to criticism that tourism interventions were not focusing on rural livelihoods and poverty reduction, but rather concentrated on tourism development (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001; Lucchetti and Font, 2013; UNWTO, 2004). Concepts of sustainable tourism, including community tourism, had not sufficiently addressed poverty reduction; thus, tourism development shifted its focus to poverty reduction and impact areas (Hummel, 2015).

This shift in focus sparked new interest in the relationship between tourism development and pro-poor strategies (Hall, 2007), which put "poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda" (Ashley and Goodwin, 2007, p.80). The concept of *pro-poor tourism* sought to harness the tourism industry as a whole, by harnessing markets and delivering impact at scale, thus contributing to wider development objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals (Goodwin, 2008; Hall, 2007). Central constraints that pro-poor tourism addressed included increasing market access for the poor, maximising multi-stakeholder and public-private partnerships, incorporation of tourism planning into broader policies, providing access to finance, upgrading skills and maximising the social and economic impact of interventions (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001). This approach required a shift in focus from isolated projects to *market-based approaches*, which focus on "people as consumers and producers and on solutions that can make markets more efficient, competitive, and inclusive" (ICF, 2007 cited in Gifford, 2007, p.1).

Multilateral organisations such as the Asian Development Bank, UNCTAD and the UNWTO, have also increased their focus on tourism as a development mechanism; similarly, bilateral donor organisations like Dutch SNV have also adopted this approach (Hawkins and Mann, 2007; Redman, 2009; UNWTO, 2004). The Hummel (2015) study entitled *'The rise and fall of tourism for poverty reduction within SNV Netherlands Development Organisation'* traced Dutch SNV's adoption and evolution of implementing pro-poor sustainable tourism actions within its operational countries. This actor-oriented ethnographic study highlights that:

> when tourism was selected as a corporate practice area, other SNV countries eagerly studied the possibility of including tourism in their country's

portfolios. The number of tourism advisers jumped from around 10 working in six countries in 2000, to over 40 advisers in around 26 countries at the end of 2005 (Hummel, 2015, p.40).

The convergence of interests in tourism as a development mechanism across SNV was attributed to the incorporation of the MDGs, the organisational shift to development impact, and SNV's adoption, the focus on the concept of pro-poor tourism, and a partnership with UNWTO (Hummel, 2015). This study clearly demonstrates that external influences, such as the conceptual shift of tourism and development or partnerships with development organisations, provided new opportunities for SNV, and steered, and "consequently influenced the tourism development practices" (Hummel, 2015, p.192). International development organisation and national governments have converged around tourism as an ideal tool for social change.

At a broad level, tourism as a sector has, however, been criticised for creating dependency rather than empowering local communities (Goodwin, 2008; Höckert, 2011). Moscardo (2014, p.366) argues that, in the development of communities based around tourism, "there is a strong tendency in tourism planning literature to treat destination communities and regions as resources for tourism rather than tourism as a resource or tool for wider development". Even though poverty alleviation through tourism development is often addressed through the promotion of market-based approaches, which expect a 'trickle-down effect' to poorer beneficiaries, there is a lack of solid evidence that trickle-down socio-economics actually benefit the very poor, isolated, and marginalised (Garrette and Karnani, 2009; Kolk, Rivera-Santos, and Rufín, 2014; Thorpe, 2017). The benefits of tourism development, as Moscardo (2014, p.353) argues, have "been slow to emerge, modest at best and usually restricted to certain groups within the community". A critical question emerges from the literature, which is, can market-based approaches to tourism development reach everyone, leaving no person behind? As Garrette and Karnani (2009, p.3) state: "the real challenge is to design market-based solutions for alleviating poverty, which implies profitable businesses that provide socially beneficial products or services to the poor that genuinely improve the quality of their lives". Unfortunately, there are very few positive examples here.

In India, ever since the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1985-1990), tourism has been recognised by the GoI as an industry for accelerated growth, as it can create employment opportunities,

, generate income and foreign currency, and contributes to human development (GoI[13]). In the Ninth Five-Year Plan (1997-2002), tourism development as a coordinated effort between the public, private and governmental sectors, concentrated on rural and village tourism, pilgrim tourism, adventure, and heritage tourism to ensure that diversity of products across the country were jointly developed and promoted (GoI[14]). Realising the growing importance of tourism, the GoI has given ample thrust to cultural tourism spearheading promotional efforts with the Ministry of Tourism, such as Made in India and Incredible India!, which highlight India's cultural heritage from dance, music, festivals, traditional customs, food, and rituals (NITI Aayog 2015; West Bengal Tourism Board, 2010, interview, 12th November). By the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012-2017), the approach for development of tourism emphasised the need to adopt a 'pro-poor tourism' approach, which aims at increasing the net benefits to the poor from tourism, thus ensuring that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction (GoI[15]; UNESCO, 2013). The approach, therefore, is aligned with the international conceptualisation of tourism, as highlighted above, as strategies for India's tourism development are focused on micro-level interventions from the grassroots, which required the collaboration across development networks, with the States taking a leading role.

Despite the convergence of actors around tourism as a catalyst for development, SEs are relatively new actors, developing innovative models using tourism to address social issues. There are few studies investigating the underlying organisations – local and national level actors and processes – that converge to develop and implement tourism interventions (Jóhannesson, 2005). Instead, studies focus on the individual characteristics of social entrepreneurs (Korsgaard, 2011; Von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012). As a result, the following section traces the underlying relationships between heterogenous actors-networks that develop livelihood development models. Tracing the relations and then describing the connections between local and global actors provides an alternative focus in understanding social entrepreneurs as change agents. As a result, this thesis aims to contribute to increasing our understanding of how SEs interact with their enabling environment to become change agents.

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[13] Planning Commission, Government of India Five Year Plans. Available from: http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/index7.html

[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.

2.2 Catalysts for Social Change: Explicating the term Social Enterprises

Despite a long history of social entrepreneurship in India (Drayton, 2013), social entrepreneurs as development actors only came into prominence in the recent decade when the term 'social entrepreneurship' was championed by Ashoka, a non-profit organisation that identifies and supports leading entrepreneurs, globally, in an effort to support social change. For Ashoka, social entrepreneurs are "individuals with innovative solutions to society's most pressing social, cultural and environmental challenges. They are ambitious and persistent – tackling serious social issues and offering new ideas for system-level change" (Ashoka[16]). To understand SEs, the organisation form that entrepreneurs adopt, we need to better understand the term *entrepreneurship*, which is the identification and exploitation of economic opportunities, which arise from inefficient resource allocation in the market (Peredo and McLean, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2005). Entrepreneurs create value and change in the economy by identifying and then developing solutions to address the shortcomings of the market, whether it is failure to provide public services or private market shortcomings (Urban, 2015). The essence of entrepreneurship for Shane and Venkataraman (2000) is about discovering and exploiting opportunities in new sectors. Moscardo (2014, p.355) defines an entrepreneur as "a risk-taking individual who actively searches for innovations and market opportunities, and identifies and organises resources and other people to pursue these opportunities".

There is no prevailing definition of social entrepreneurship, as the term has evolved across the literature, which has made the concept a phenomenon that tends to be analysed from multiple perspectives (Mair and Marti, 2006; Seelos & Mair, 2005). For instance, some have framed social entrepreneurship as relying on combining commercial enterprises with social impacts (e.g., Battilana and Lee, 2014); some emphasize innovation for social impact (e.g., Dees, 1998; Drucker, 1985), while others argue that SEs are changemakers (e.g., Dees, 1998; Schumpeter, 1934; Waddock and Post, 1991) and, for others, a social entrepreneur is anyone who starts a non-profit organisation. While all the approaches to social entrepreneurship are applicable, this thesis is interested in the perspective that emphasizes social entrepreneurship as a catalyst for social change, as the broad aim of this thesis is to understand the underlying

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[16] https://www.ashoka.org/en/focus/social-entrepreneurship (First accessed 13 December 2010)

processes – the actors, resources and converge of interests – that SEs utilise to develop tourism for social change.

Various definitions of social entrepreneurship have been used in literature (see Table 1 in Seelos & Mair, 2005); however, there is a consensus that SEs address social issues (Fowler, 2000; Waddock and Post, 1991; Zahra et al., 2009). A key distinguishing feature of social entrepreneurs is that they focus on the creation of social value through the "pursuit of opportunities to catalyse social change and/or address social needs" (Mair and Marti, 2004, p.3). From this perspective, social entrepreneurship is a way to catalyse social transformation well beyond the solution of the social problem. Therefore, a critical factor vital to social entrepreneurs is their ability to act as change agents, as highlighted by Ashoka's statement that "social entrepreneurs are not content to just give a fish, or teach how to fish. They will not rest until they have revolutionised the fishing industry" (Ashoka[17]). In literature, social entrepreneurs are often conceptualised as change agents who relentlessly seize opportunities others have missed to pursue their mission and improve the system by innovation, adaptation and creatively combining resources to advance society by creating social value.

Mair and Marti (2006) are of the opinion that social entrepreneurs can be catalysts for social change as they address important needs by creatively combining resources that they often do not possess, to address social problems on a large scale. They define social entrepreneurship firstly as

> "a process of creating value by combining resources in a new way. Second, these resource combinations are intended primarily to explore and exploit opportunities to create social value by stimulating social change or meeting social needs. Third, when viewed as a process, social entrepreneurship involves offering services and products but can also refer to the creation of new organisations" (Mair and Marti, 2006, p.37).

For Mair and Marti (2006), SEs can occur in established organisations through the process of entrepreneurial innovation (new verticals) or emerge through a new venture creation. Therefore, like business entrepreneurs, social entrepreneurs look to create something new, experiment with innovative ideas and techniques, build new operational modes of production, or even create new markets; although "a social entrepreneur comes up with

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[18] Ibid.

innovative solutions to social problems and then implements them on a large scale" (Ashoka[18]).

This thesis adopts the conceptualisation of SEs as change agents, as it is through social innovations that these organisations look to implement new and better ways of addressing social problems or meeting social needs (Dees and Anderson, 2006). This conceptualisation recognises Schumpeter's (1934) definition of entrepreneurs as 'agents of change in the economy', as value is created by "serving new markets or creating new ways of doing things, they move the economy forward" (Dees, 1998, p.1). This conceptualisation is also in line with Mair and Marti (2006), who define tourism social entrepreneurs as change agents in destinations, as they bring vision, characteristics, and ideas to solve social problems, thus bringing about transformations in tourism destinations. As a result, the innovative characteristic in the processes of creating value can result from creatively combining resources to form a new model, as will be traced in Chapter 4 using ANT's chains of innovation, as outlined in Section 3.5. (Mair and Marti, 2006; Schumpeter, 1934). Social entrepreneurs do not need to invent something new; rather they can apply an existing idea to a new situation or apply it in a new form (Peredo and McLean, 2006). Social entrepreneurs, therefore, aim to create lasting systematic change through the introduction of innovative ideas, methodologies, and changes in attitudes (Kramer, 2005).

2.2.1 Creating Markets: Stimulating Global Change by Acting Locally

Regardless of the diverse views on what social entrepreneurship is and its importance, there is an increasing prevalence of entrepreneurs adopting hybrid forms that combine social and market-based solutions to pursue their social missions (Battilana and Lee, 2014; Short, Moss and Lumpkin, 2009). While some authors do not always consider earned-income creation as a characteristic of social entrepreneurship (Dees, 1998), many recognise that economic value creation through generating earned-income approaches is key to organisational sustainability, higher efficiency, and sources of innovation, due to SEs independence from grants and donations (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006; Peredo and Mclean, 2006). This is highlighted in Battilana et al. (2015, p.1658) in their description of hybrid SEs, as their organisation structures follow a "social mission while also engaging in commercial activities to sustain their operations through sales of products and/or services". The wider

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[18] https://www.ashoka.org/en/focus/social-entrepreneurship (First accessed 13 December 2010)

literature on social entrepreneurship has identified that social entrepreneurs scale impact by engaging in new actions (Mair and Marti, 2006; Tracey and Jarvis, 2007) and/or the external growth of their networks or by adding new verticals. In line with Mair and Marti's (2006) definition of social entrepreneurship above, the literature is increasingly recognising that SEs adopt hybrid organisational forms, as this allows them to sustain their ability to continue delivering social impact while offering possibilities to scale impact (financial sustainability). Similarly, some for-profit organisations are also creating non-profit verticals to address social issues, and increase corporate social responsibility. Market-based solutions have, therefore, received considerable attention, particularly from the private sector, social entrepreneurship sector and non-governmental organisations (Allen et al., 2012; Gifford, 2007); in part, this is due to the reduction of social funding, withdrawal of state funding, lack of efficiency of the state, external conditionalities of foreign actors, and the success of microfinance (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013; Prahalad, 2009).

In India, for instance, for the Grameen Bank, whose mission is to change the lives of the poorest of the poor by providing loans, creating economic value was essential to ensure that it was able to continue its mission (Prahalad, 2009). Meanwhile, for Bangalore-based Waste Water Trust, adopting a hybrid model to scale its operation as the "for-profit entity - Waste Wise Corporation - garners revenues from the recycling of waste and also technical consultancy, such as waste audits, or on-site waste management services" (Kably, 2013). SEs mobilise various strategies to meet different market failures and inadequacies that are prevalent across various social sectors (Peredo and Chrisman, 2006). Sheldon and Daniele (2017, p.3) highlight that the tourism sector is 'ripe with opportunities' for SEs to "move the industry forward and impact destinations in transformative ways by uniting the profit motives with the mission to change the world for the better".

Market-based tourism models include setting up a hybrid social enterprise in which tourism actions support the business enterprise while simultaneously supporting the sister charity to deliver its social impact, such as in the case of the Moving Mountains Trust, Nepal (Sheldon and Daniele, 2017). Other models, such as cooperatives, can foster local economic development by assisting local cooperatives to build comprehensive products and services, such as accommodation, catering, and tours (Moscardo, 2008; Sheldon and Daniele, 2017). These market-based strategies simultaneously target economic and social value creation. Therefore, from a local perspective, SEs act as 'catalysts' for development (Drayton, 2006), as they create social value by strengthening the capacities of beneficiaries, and developing

and implementing models that enable them to produce, sell or manufacture products for local and global markets.

Whereas, from a global perspective, Longo (2013) frames social entrepreneurs in the development sector as actors that connect international stakeholders, integrate cultures and traditions and promote knowledge transfer. To be effective change agents in rural economies and social development requires innovative ideas to be moved across networks to find external support from actors within their enabling ecosystem by appealing to shared interests (Fligstein and McAdama, 2012, p.18). By adopting market-based solutions, SEs act as commercial intermediaries between rural beneficiaries and external networks. In India, for instance, SEs are intermediaries as they are often the implementing agencies for government development schemes (see Chapter 6 in this thesis). Introducing the concept of intermediaries is critical as it describes SEs' role within livelihood development models, including tourism, as most community-based tourism initiatives are both implemented, funded, and, thus, initiated exclusively by external actors (Höckert, 2011).

According to Howells (2006, p.720), an intermediary is "an organisation or body that acts as an agent or broker in any aspect of the innovation process between two or more parties". In the anthropological literature, intermediaries are defined as 'cultural brokers' – a term adopted by Cohen (1985) to fit tourism studies to describe tour operators, and this was subsequently changed to the term mediators by Smith (1989). Recent ethnographic accounts of development have theorized this set of relationships differently, from different theoretical perspectives. For instance, Schuller (2009) used 'intermediaries' to explain why power-wielding by the NGO class and semi-elites aligns with transnational interests. Rossi's (2006) ethnographic account of a rural development initiative in Niger demonstrated how local populations are 'active' recipients of external top-down interventions that can shift the contours of international aid. Meanwhile, Lewis and Mosse (2006a) drew on ANT and Long's (1992 cited in Lewis and Mosse, 2006a) actor-oriented approach to develop and change in order to investigate the roles NGOs play as 'brokers and translators'. This approach improved our understanding of human agency, especially of aid recipients and NGO fieldworkers, who have been neglected within the critique of development. In tracing the processes through which SEs interact with other heterogenous actors and networks in developing livelihood development models, we gain insight into the interplay between SEs and their enabling environment, which is still an under-researched area in both social entrepreneurship and tourism literature (Lang & Fink, 2016; Hjalager, 2010). Insight into

SEs' relationships with their enabling ecosystem – actors, resources, policies, convergence of interests, et cetera – will provide us with new understanding of how SEs' innovation processes are co-created. This insight may inform policies and practices of development, contributing to the ongoing dialogue of social entrepreneurship in tourism development.

This section has provided a background on the literature relating to SEs, the focal point actor, within this study. SEs are conceptualised as change agents, (inter)mediaries, that employ market-based solutions and form connections across local and global networks to solve social problems. The following section will discuss the relationship between SEs, tourism, and creative industries. Divided into two sections, the next section's entry point is to outline how SEs and creative industries (tourism) are intertwined in livelihood development models. It will then go on to introduce the concepts of cultural tourism before moving on to examine festival tourism and its conceptualisation as a development mechanism for rural development.

2.3 Livelihood development: Innovation through the Creative Industries

Social entrepreneurs using market-based approaches to create economic and social value are increasingly engaging in *tourism*, whether it was deliberate, planned or evolved into a new organisation form that engaged in tourism (Von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012). As highlighted above, *tourism* is widely seen as an instrument of development, a driver of economic progress, and has been acknowledged as a tool for poverty reduction, community empowerment and capacity building (Manyara and Jones, 2007 cited in Zhao, Ritchie and Echtner; UNWTO 2014, Wood, 2008). However, tourism is a difficult concept to define; at a broad level it is a whole range of individuals, organisations, and places that combine in some way to deliver a travel experience (Flecther et al., 2013; Hall, 2008). Tourism is a multidimensional, multifaceted activity, which touches many lives and different economic activities" (Leiper, 1979; Richards, 2003). Sheldon and Daniele (2017) and Situmorang and Mirzanti (2012) highlight that tourism, and its alternative forms, such as cultural tourism, community-based tourism, and ecotourism, are fields 'ripe' for SEs' engagement as multiple opportunities for creating social value exist. Day and Mody (2017, p.58) argue that the "examination of social entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurship in tourism is still in its infancy", although, many SEs are using tourism to address important social and environmental problems. Consequently, there is a need to understand this new relationship,

and specifically *what processes are utilised by social enterprises to developing tourism and its impacts,* the broad aim of this thesis. Tracing the underlying processes, the actors, the resources, and convergence of interests of livelihood development models in which tourism evolved, will contribute to understanding how SEs engage with tourism.

In India, livelihood development models which promote non-farming activities such as tourism, comprise the third largest sector for social entrepreneurship across the country (Allen et al., 2012). Livelihood development models, innovated by organisations like Shiva India, the Blue Yonder, Fab India and IBase (our case study), have identified and engaged with, and in, non-farming actions by supporting various cultural and creative sector[19] producers and artisans, throughout India. Despite various regional and national interventions by multiple development actors[20], a considerable proportion of India's 169,000 craftsmen 'remain engaged either in agriculture or other vocations' due to inadequate or ineffective initiatives (Craft Council of India, 2011, interview; Dasra, 2013). India's performing arts and handicrafts industries face significant challenges, including a lack of funds (access to credit), inadequate infrastructure, shrinking audience size, and increasing competition, which are impacting artisans' livelihoods (Dasra, 2013; Ernst and Young, 2016). In addition, CCIs have only recently been widely recognised as 'capital assets' that can contribute to economic, social, and cultural development by national development actors, including SEs, that recognise CCIs as 'agents of dynamic economic growth' and cultural development (UNESCO, 2008; UNESCO, 2013).

The concept of *creative industries* is relatively new, and like the conceptualisation of social entrepreneurship and tourism, it remains in flux. It emerged in the late 1990s, primarily as a policy discourse, and subsequently academics, industry experts, policy debaters and global development stakeholders have continued to discuss the utility of CCIs in relation to their abilities to generate economic wealth. In the UK, for instance, the creative industries are "those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of

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[19] According to UNESCO (2013), the cultural domains within the cultural and creative economy include the following domains: cultural and natural heritage, performance and celebration, visual arts and crafts, books and press, audio-visual and interactive media, and design and creative services, although tourism and sports and recreation are related domains.

[20] The Government of India, private corporations, foundations, trusts and international non-governmental organizations have all been involved in development initiatives within the cultural and creative industries – crafts, performing arts et cetera.

intellectual property" (Department for Culture, Media, and Sport, 1998). The importance of creativity is highlighted within this definition; however, for other international actors, such as China, Korea and UNESCO, cultural industries that are 'artistic-centred' have been added to the concept of creativity for the integration of culture, economics, and technology; thus, hybrid forms of cultural and creative industries emerged (Keane, 2007). Even UNESCO's definition of creative industries captures the strong connection between cultural industries, as it states that creative industries are "organised activities whose principal purpose is the production or reproduction, promotion, distribution and/or commercialisation of goods, services, and activities of a cultural, artistic, or heritage-related nature" (UNESCO, 2017).

Similar to the convergence of development actors around tourism, there is a convergence of international and development actors around CCIs, due to their potential to be powerful sources of sustainable economic and social development (European Commission, 2010; UNESCO, 2008).

In India, creative industries have been given importance due to their ability to 'foster economic and development gains' for the country (Indian Planning Commission, 2006, 2007[21]). Although creative industries have been recognised in India as resources for economic growth, there has recently been a shift of interest in harnessing CCIs to foster innovation and entrepreneurship. The National Institution for Transforming India, GoI Aayog Report extract below illustrates this shift in policy at the national level. It says that:

> the committee also proposes a number of measures to change cultural biases and attitudes towards entrepreneurship in the long-term, including attaching entrepreneurship to large scale economic and social programs, promoting new high-potential sectors via the government's "Make in India" campaign, fostering a culture of coordination and collaboration, attempting to redefine cultural notions of success, and typing entrepreneurship with the social inclusion agenda (NITI Aayog 2015, p.5).

Thus, governmental policies have laid the groundwork for the emergence of the relationships between social entrepreneurship, livelihoods, and CCIs, all of which are intertwined. The re-emergence of India's cultural arts as 'capital assets' is in part due to the increased internationalrecognition of *creative industries* as drivers of   development

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[21] Government of Indian Planning Commission Annual Report 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 were reviewed using www.planning commission.gov.in. [Downloaded: January 2012].

(European Commission, 2008), but can also be attributed to the increase in international interest in cultural tourism, as the Secretary General of the UNWTO states:

> an increased interest in cultural tourism in all its forms is a current growing movement. Travelers are looking for more local and authentic experiences by engaging directly in, and with, local art forms, heritage sites, festivals and traditions which has led to a growing diversification of the tourism market. Internationally we are also seeing more social enterprises engaging with and establishing creative tourism experiences (models) that aim to enhance social development, empowerment, and stability (Rifia, 2014, interview[22]).

This quote highlights that cultural tourists' interests are shifting, but also that SEs are increasingly entering the cultural tourism sector as a market that can address social problems. In India, social enterprises such as Help Tourism and the Blue Yonder, are combining cultural heritage, including handicrafts, festivals, music, dance, folk arts et cetera, as tourism 'assets' that can be leveraged to address social, economic, and environmental problems (Help Tourism, 2010, interview 2010; Richards, 1996; UNWTO, 2014). In India, since the 1980s, the GoI has recognised festivals as important drivers and components of a destination's tourism portfolio (Munjal and Jauhari, 2015; West Bengal Tourism Executive, 2011, interview, 19 October), which can contribute to cultural revitalisation (urban and rural), economic development, and other social aspects. Thus, a more detail account of the relationship between cultural tourism and festivals as a catalyst for development is provided below.

2.3.1 Cultural Tourism: Festivals as Catalysts for Development

Cultural tourism is a very complex concept and there have been long debates within the literature about its definition and conceptualisation (see Richards, 2003), therefore there are numerous definitions. According to MacCannell (1993), all 'tourism is a cultural experience'. The World Tourism Organisation, a specialised agency of the United Nations (UNWTO), recognises that there is no internationally agreed definition of cultural tourism; however, models of cultural tourism are either based on tangible heritage or more 'experiential' cultural tourism based on intangible culture (Rifia, 2014 personal interview[23]). For Zeppel and Hall (1992), cultural tourism is a form of special interest tourism, where culture forms the basis of either attracting tourists or motivating people to travel. As a result,

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[22] Personal Interview with T. Rifia on Festival Tourism and Culture & Development, at WTO, Madrid, September 2014
[23] Ibid.

cultural tourism involves the interrelationships between people, places, and cultural heritage, either tangible or intangible (Zeppel and Hall, 1992). This conceptualisation of cultural tourism is in line with the UNWTO, that sees tourists being motivated by culture including festivals, the folklore of art, pilgrimages, et cetera. There is a consensus across the wider literature that cultural tourism involves the "consumption of culture by tourists, in which culture comprises what people think (attitudes, ideas, values), what people do (a way of life), and what people make (culture, artefacts, artworks et cetera)" (Littrell, 1997 cited in Richards, 2003, p.188). Consequently, various niche categories of tourism, such as ethnic, art, festivals, urban, and community tourism, can all be classified as cultural tourism (Smith, 2015). However, a central element to cultural tourism therefore is 'experience'. As Borley's definition highlights, creative activities "enable people to explore or experience the different ways of life of other people, reflecting the social customs, religious traditions and the intellectual ideas of a cultural heritage which may be unfamiliar" (cited in Meethan, 2001, p.128). This understanding of cultural tourism is relevant to this thesis, as it does not limit cultural tourism to a specific activity or niche experience, but rather is in line with the conceptualisation of creative tourism, as a form of cultural tourism.

Creative tourism is "travel directed towards an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage, or special character of place, and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this living culture" (UNESCO, 2006, p.3). The term was first conceptualised by Richards and Raymond (2000) as a type of travel based on experiencing and active participation in the host communities and their cultures through learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination. This conceptualisation emerged from contributions from the wider literature – "Florida's 'Creative class', Landry's 'Creative cities', Pine and Gilmore's 'Experience economy' and the commoditization of culture" (Ferreira and Figueira, 2016, p.1076). Within the wider literature on creative tourism, a form of cultural tourism (Ohridska-Olson, 2010), it is apparent that there is an intense relationship between tourism and creativity, which has been examined by several scholars including Richards (2011), Richards and Wilson (2007), and Carvalho, Ferreira and Figueira (2016). In line with these scholars, this thesis recognises that CCIs are critical components in the development of tourism experiences, especially experiential activity, which is the consumption of experiences that are co-produced, through active skill development, participation, and building new relationships with the everyday life of a destination (Richard and Wilson, 2007).

Festivals and Events

Festivals[24] and performing arts events play a critical role in creative tourism. Globally, special events and festivals have grown in number, diversity, and popularity, as emphasized by Crompton (1993), Crompton and McKay (1997), and Getz (1991). The growth of performing arts and other festivals is attributed to multiple factors including supply factors (tourism development, cultural planning) and increased demand for leisure, experiential and 'authentic' experiences, and educational experiences, et cetera.). Festivals, as creative tourism experiences, provide multiple opportunities for interaction between the audience and culture, by providing a platform for complete sharing experiences between artists, their culture, and the spectators (Cohen, 1982). Festivals offer a partial glimpse into the artists' traditional and cultural lives, as each festival form (e.g., music, crafts or performing arts) embodies distinct experiences. In addition, for artisans and rural producers, festivals are opportunities for increased cultural interactions and productions, as festivals rely on both the integration of tourism and creative productions such as dance, music, performing arts, et cetera. (Getz, 2010; Moscardo, 2007).

It is only recently that scholars have examined festivals for various issues including their roles in establishing place and group identity (social cohesion), the creation of social and cultural capital through festivals, and how festival tourism acts as a catalyst for other forms of development (Getz, Andersson and Larson, 2007; Getz, 2010, Sharpe, 2008; Quinn, 2006). Very little is known about SEs in festivals, including the understanding of festival growth and sustainability strategies, the influence of policies on festivals' processes, and how multi-stakeholders assess the goals, meanings, and impacts of festivals (Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006; Getz, 2010). Moreover, Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern. (2006) stress that few studies have been carried out on SEs' tourism development processes in developing countries. Tracing the interconnections between SEs and their external networks, while developing a livelihood development model that leveraged festival tourism in India, contributes to addressing both these gaps within the literature.

As previously mentioned, there is a growing interest in social entrepreneurship and tourism, as evidenced by the edited volume on *Social Entrepreneurship and Tourism* (Sheldon and Daniele, 2017) and several case studies (e.g., Sigala, 2016;). One such case study in

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[24] Festivals are defined by Getz (1991) as themed public celebrations which are held periodically in different locations or held regularly and annually in the same location.

Mozambique, by Altinay, Sigala and Waligo (2016), identified strategies associated with resource mobilisation leading to social value creation that comprised a review of stakeholder involvement and collaboration, relationship building, and local community empowerment. To date, the emphasis has been on identifying the motivations of social entrepreneurs, and their involvement in social and economic development (e.g., Boluk, 2011, Venkatesan and Yarrow, 2012; Wankel and Pate, 2013). However, few studies deal with the relationship between SEs and actors within their enabling environment and their impacts on tourism development (Clausen, 2016 in Sheldon and Daniele, 2017). According to Koh and Hatten (2002), the issue of tourism entrepreneurs as change agents in tourism development has been overlooked within the literature. In addition, SEs' roles in developing festivals, and how SEs act within festival networks, has also received little attention in literature (Getz, Andersson and Carlsen, 2010). By answering research questions 1, 2 and 3, this thesis offers some important insights into the role and impact of SEs and their networks in initiating, implementing, and scaling community-based festivals.

2.3.2 Why are Festivals considered Agents for Change?

Globally, festivals are increasingly being used to promote tourism and grow the regional economy, even though it is difficult to assess the extent of the economic impact of festivals beyond the multiplier impact (Moscardo, 2007; Quinn, 2009). O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002) highlight how festivals lend themselves to long-term economic development, while Cela, Knowles-Lankford and Lankford (2007), Brannas and Nordstrom (2006) draw attention to the contribution of festivals to local economic development. Previous research on festivals has demonstrated the positive impact festivals can have on tourism, such as attracting new audiences, tourists' expenditure, the creation of employment opportunities, contributions to economic and regional development, and encouraging new business development (Crompton and McKay, 1997; Dwyer et al., 2005; Moscardo, 2007). Getz (2007, p.415) points out that "the anthropological literature on cultural celebrations is vast, with tourism sometimes being viewed as an agent of change, thus giving rise to declining cultural authenticity". Viewing festivals as a strategy for economic growth changes their relationship with their communities due to the intensified commodification, and festivals and events are created for commercial and exploitative reasons (e.g., Chew, 2009, Greenwood, 1972; Picard & Robinson, 2006; Sofield, 1991; Xie, 2004).

With an increase in market-based organisations entering the festival sectors as sponsors and, more recently, as developers and producers, there is a heightened need to understand the festival's role and ability to serve as vehicles for economic and social change, which has been questioned in the literature (Waterman, 1998, p.57), especially as festival organisers are the main 'gatekeepers' that control, coordinate, and develop these collaborative tourism experiences (Getz, 2007). As there is the challenge of balancing external market interests with community needs (Moscardo, 2007), Sharpe's (2008, p.219) study on the relationship between politics and pleasure at music festivals highlights that "festivals often poorly represent their interest and values of the communities they purport to represent". This view is supported by Waterman (1998) and Quinn (2006) who report that, often, the segment of the community which is represented as the dominant elite often organises the festivals in alignment with the cultural values of the elite, or align interest with external actors (social or political interests). A broader perspective has been highlighted by Klaic who demonstrates that, when festivals strive to develop international dimensions – whether it be programming, directors, audiences, repute et cetera, they 'risk neglecting local resources and cultural processes" (Klaic, in Quinn, 2006, p.290). Similarly, Hall draws attention to how community identities can get lost as festivals are scaled up, "therefore, event organizers have to find ways to guide growth while still maintaining the features" of the original events (1992, 120, cited in Getz, 2002).

There is another perspective appearing in literature that suggests that the sociocultural impacts of festivals may have an even more profound effect on communities than the economic impacts. Studies such as Hannam and Halewood (2006), Matheson, (2005) and Rao (2001) highlight that festivals can build social cohesion by reinforcing communities' identity within and across communities. In line with these three studies, other studies on cultural festivals also argue that festivals are mechanisms that can revitalise local communities by reinforcing identity and destination image, preserve culture, and improve quality of life (Getz, 2010, see figure 4, p.13), while others argue that including community members in the planning, running, and organisation of festival activities builds community capacity, allowing them to learn new skills or enhance existing skills; thus, festivals are a mechanism to enhance development activities by preventing dependency (Moscardo, 2007). However, for festivals' capacity-building to be effective, the "coordinating group needs to be community-based and the local community needs to retain control over the event" (Moscardo, 2007, p.29). Aref and Redzuan's (2009) assessment of community capacity-building levels in tourism development demonstrates that knowledge on tourism is critical

to enabling local people to participate in tourism development. Meanwhile, Moscardo (2008) takes this further, arguing that a community's lack of knowledge has been used to justify excluding actors from being involved in tourism development decisions, especially in developing countries. That is why Moscardo (2008; 2014) continually argues that, for tourism development to be successful, it is necessary that tourism initiatives are developed in accordance with the local communities and that information on tourism and its impacts be provided to the communities.

As mentioned above, the GoI has been sponsoring festivals since the 1980s, with the objective of instilling greater awareness of the diversity of 'tribal traditions', as well as promoting the integration of these communities into the modern nation (Basu, 2008, p.175). Munjal and Jauhari's (2015, p.422) recent study of festival literature in India highlighted that "key challenges are the deficiencies in infrastructure elements, lack of funding for facilities and service enhancements and, lastly, non-integrated stakeholder's engagement to manage fairs and festivals in a manner that protects cultural authenticity". Other challenges in leveraging the cultural and economic value of festivals in India included the 'lack of basic travel-related infrastructure', 'carrying capacity determination and management', 'economic leakages', 'role of stakeholder engagement and local community participation' and 'cultural commodification and loss of authenticity' (Munjal and Jauhari, 2015).

These challenges are in line with the wider literature on tourism development in developing countries, which suggests that participatory approaches in developing tourism face obstacles including the lack of coordination between involved parties, centralization of public ministries, lack of knowledge of tourism development, and cultural factors (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Tosun, 2000). Simpson (2008) brings attention to additional problems that occur where communities are involved in tourism development and initiatives that are initiated by external actors; he states:

> Communities may become subject to external pressures, issues of governance and structure, conflicting stakeholder agendas, jealousies and internal power struggles, and the growth of artificial hierarchies and elites may occur, diminishing or undermining potential benefits to the community (Simpson, 2008, p.3).

The impact of the festival-actor network and the role key actors play in establishing, promoting, and scaling festivals remains under-researched. As festivals are not developed in isolation (Atlinay, Sigala and Waligo, 2016; Getz, 2007), it is necessary to understand how

the support or resistance of key stakeholders can determine the 'success' of festivals, its ability to achieve the organisations' objectives, and empower communities (Atlinay, Sigala and Waligo, 2016; Getz, 2010; Quinn, 2009). Having previously discussed the intertwined relationships between SEs, market-based solutions, creative industries, and tourism, the final section of this chapter briefly focuses on the literature behind how, and in what ways, SEs demonstrate social impact to create 'success'.

2.4 Scaling Impact by Building Strong Aligned Narratives

In India, more than ever, it is critical for SEs to be able to demonstrate impact, especially since competition within the enabling environment has increased (Allen et al., 2012; Miles and Datta, 2012). However, social impact measurement tools vary significantly, as identified by Maas and Liket (2011), to include methods such as social return on investment, social cost-benefit analysis, poverty social impact assessment, local economic multiplier, et cetera (Maas and Liket, 2011), and social value creation, as identified by Kroerger and Weber (2014). Therefore, one challenge for SEs is selecting a measurement method which appropriately demonstrates social impact, as measuring economic and social impact not only provides quantitative but also qualitative facts that can demonstrate value.

According to Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern (2006), the types of methods of measuring social impact in the social entrepreneurship literature are nascent. Consequently, very little is known about the *development narratives* SEs employ to represent and promote their initiatives (Chandra, 2018). Richardson (2011) highlights that investigating how SEs use narratives about their beneficiaries to persuade other actors has also been neglected, despite the fact that SEs need to effectively communicate their impact to targeted audiences in order to create, mobilise and scale support for their interventions and organisations. Development narratives provide accounts of what an organisation does and reflects the effects that an organisation creates (Chandra, 2018; Taylor and Van Every, 2010). Development narratives utilise quantitative and qualitative data to tell a story on the processes (inputs) and outcomes (results) of development initiatives; thus, the story is a black box of a complex sequence of events (Dey and Steyaert, 2010; Mackellar, 2013). Communicating social impact allows SEs to unite actors by convincing them of 'development success', which strengthens the legitimacy and credibility of the enterprise (Miles and Datta, 2012; Porac, Mishina and Pollock, 2002). As storytelling is an effective way to transfer knowledge, it is a powerful tool in stabilising networks as it conveys a clear mission and vision, builds bonds between

actors, and can differentiate one model from others in the market (Fletcher, 2007; Hjorth, 2007).

By tracing how SEs' development narratives move across networks, through answering research question 2: *How social enterprises link social capital across networks to develop markets*, this thesis addresses the gap identified by Richards, which will contribute to widening our understanding of SEs' processes. Answering this question will also respond to van der Duim, Ren and Johannsson's (2012) call for more case studies and development narratives within the tourism development literature, as analysis and comparisons of tourism case studies can strengthen our understanding of tourism in development and its relationships with poverty reduction. As it is through *development narratives* that SEs highlight their relationships with inputs (what was invested, what resources were mobilised), the processes (actions used to accomplish their mission), the outputs (the results produced), and the outcome (impacts and consequences of each action), so it is that these stories can explain how value was created and demonstrate how much value was created (Sengupta and Sahay, 2018) as they mobilise the quantitative data collected by the SEs. Moreover, development narratives can stabilise SEs' networks as they circulate meaningful measures that capture the impacts of the networks' pursued objectives (Mair and Marti, 2006). Eccles (1991, p.131) notes that "what gets measured gets attention", so the interpretation of whether sufficient value is generated is directly related to the relationship between the resources that went into the process and the reported outcomes. These narratives steer the public narratives. A critical question is who inscribes the public transcripts that circulate across networks, and do they protect specific interests?

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter has tried to give an account on the different perspectives that exist in the field and are intertwined to form the theoretical background of tourism-based livelihood development models. First, the convergence of networks around tourism as a catalyst for development was outlined. In reviewing this relationship, it was found that the conceptualisation of tourism and development, like all other actor-networks are not stable, but are continually in flux – steered by the outcomes of international debates, development paradigms, and the actions of global actors. Despite the changing contexts of tourism and development, global development actors including the GoI, and more recently SEs, have converged around tourism as a strategy for economic and social development, despite the

criticism within literature that tourism can create dependency rather than the empowerment of rural communities.

After this, the term social entrepreneurship and its operational form, social enterprises, were explicated. This discussion outlined the importance of social enterprises as change agents, that mobilise heterogenous networks from local and global environments, then innovate new models to address social problems. As such, social enterprises are (inter)mediators at the junction between local and global networks; a distinctive feature of social entrepreneur models. It is also recognised that the landscape of social entrepreneurship in India is shifting, as social entrepreneurs are addressing various social problems and adopting an 'earned income' to scale impact and ensure long-term social and economic sustainability. After this, the discussion moved on to how SEs are identifying and connecting cultural capital assets from within the CCIs through tourism. The links between creative industries and cultural tourism were discussed, followed by a review of festival tourism and its ability to act as a catalyst for regional development through strengthening markets and building capacity. It was shown from this review of the literature, that although the development of tourism models by SEs in India is an emerging field of study, there has been limited investigation on the social enterprises as change agents in tourism development.

If arts-based livelihood development models aim to mobilise small-scale producers through capacity-building strategies and enhance market constraints by engaging new markets, two critical questions appear: *What components and strategies are used by a social enterprise in reviving performing arts traditions through training, exposure, and promotion? And what are the impacts?* These support the broad aim of this thesis, which is to understand the processes that SEs utilise in developing tourism and its impacts. To remind the reader, the research questions this thesis aims to address are:

1. *What processes and functions were mobilised to build capacity for tourism development? How and why did collaborations come together?*
2. *How do social enterprises link social capital across networks to develop markets?*
3. *Does the adoption of specific performance and measurement influence or constrain social enterprises in meeting their core social mission?*
4. *What are the impacts of a arts-based livelihood development model on the local communities?*

3   The Conceptual Framework

Having explored the differing perspectives that underlie how social enterprises develop tourism livelihood development models above, this chapter returns to discussing the actor-network theory, the conceptual framework used in this thesis. As explained in Section 1.3 above, ANT is a relevant conceptual framework used to investigate development networks, as it allows us to trace the processes and emerging features throughout its development. The chapter opens with a discussion of ANT, then it clarifies the multiple concepts and terminology that make up this theory; the terms *in italics* are those that are relevant to this thesis. The second part of this chapter moves on to describe in further detail why an ANT approach is relevant to this study, including how ANT and ethnographic research share fundamental principles. The next section introduces the blueprint for this thesis, ANT's chains of innovation, which guides the analysis presented in Chapter 6 and 7, respectively.

3.1 Actor-Network Theory

Actor-network theory is a collection of theoretical and methodological principles that emerged from the field of 'science studies' developed by Bruno Latour (2005), Mines Michel Callon (1986), and John Law (1987). Although ANT emerged in the 1980s, with its origins in the sociology of science and technology, it has since diffused into other areas including the environment (e.g., Jakku, 2004; Kitchen, 2000 cited in Moore and Newsome, 2009), rural issues (e.g., Woods, 1997) and, more recently, development (e.g., Mosse, 2005a; Venkatesan and Yarrow, 2012) and tourism (e.g., Arnaboldi and Spiller, 2011; van der Duim et al., 2012). ANT is a methodological orientation or approach, rather than a theory (Latour, 2004 cited in Jóhannesson, 2005; Law, 2007), which focuses particularly on describing how complex relationships and interactions between human and non-human actors create actor-networks. Actor-networks emerge through a series of transformations that links heterogenous actants, human and non-human together; through a series of translations where ideas and concepts emerge, dis-engage, re-engage, or are rejected, long before a recognisable network is finalised. For Monteiro (2000, p.76), the ANT approach maps out "the set of elements that influence, shape, or determine an action. But each of these elements is, in turn, part of another actor-network and so forth". ANT therefore tries to see how actants interact, while trying to trace and explain the processes whereby stable networks of aligned interests are created and maintained.

It must be noted that actors in an actor-network may be enrolled in a new complete actor-network, may collapse due to actors disengaging from a network, can be combined into sub-networks, or simplified, black-boxed, to look like a single actor (Law, 1992). When a network is simplified, or black-boxed, actors are considered only in terms of their input and output, seen as just a single node or point in the wider network. At any point, however, a black box can be opened to see what is behind the façade, reconsidering the contents (Callon, 1986). As a result, ANT is not concerned with why a network takes its form; rather, it is concerned with how entities emerge and evolve from the process of building an actor-network, and how they are maintained as a result of actor-network building activities (Castree and MacMillian, 2001; Linde, Linderoth and Räisänen, 2003).

Therefore, ANT is all about associations. Even though actors are interconnected, it is the movement, flow, and changes that are of interest (Latour, 2005). As actors are connected, associations emerge and become assembled into larger chains of innovations or networks. The creation of an actor-network occurs through the accumulation of multiple translation points – a process that configures heterogenous entities (Callon, 1986) together by "attracting" and "convincing" them that each actor has an interest in connecting, associating, and relating to one another (Barnes, 2005, p.71). Latour (1987) describes this process as a chain of translations in which different elements are brought together, to act as one, with each element giving meaning to the adjoining elements in a series. In each link of this chain of translation, actors work to "modify, displace and translate their own various and contradictory interests" (Latour, 1999, p.311).

However, tracing networks is complex, especially with multi-stakeholder initiatives, such as development projects that bring together networks across different scales (micro and macro, local and global). Latour (1993) has argued that researchers of actor-networks need to follow networks wherever they lead, further up or down the chain of action, and refrain from a shift in scale between the local, regional, national, global, et cetera. However, Law and Callon (1992) argue that the dynamics of a network can be described more precisely by isolating local and global networks along with their negotiating spaces where key decisions are made. As focusing on network formations, the internal and external interactions, the connections and flows of human and non-human actors in and across networks, are made visible, so ANT is interested in understanding how associations come into existence, what sustains them, how they came to be configured this way, what is circulating, and how we can explain a network's

success or failure. Exploring a process employing ANT is therefore about the 'trajectory' of an innovation – mapping how each chain of innovation in a wider network evolved and shaped the outcome – the trajectory of a project.

Within the above introduction to the ANT, it is apparent that this approach draws upon a multitude of concepts and components. As a result, the following sub-section (3.1.1) outlines the core concepts that were introduced above in italics, then the researcher will explain why ANT is used within this study and describe the components of ANT that are relevant to the conceptual framework used in this study: chains of innovation and local/global networks.

3.1.1 Actor Network Theory: Key Concepts

Actors or *actants* are interchangeable terms, which refer to human or non-human entities that can be endowed with interests, projects, strategies, reflexes, and afterthoughts, and which can also enrol other relevant actors. Actors are perceived, in this approach, as relational effects, or "a pattern network of heterogeneous relations" (Law, 1992, p.384). Therefore, actors would not exist without network relations. The number of connections that an actor has within different networks defines the actor, what he, she or it can do, as configured by a series of actor negotiations. Thus, power and agency emerge from the performance of network relations (Jóhannesson, 2005). Consequently, power is connected to the presence and/or absence of actors within a network as power occurs in an actor's ability to mobilize and effect change, in their ability to strengthen and intensify connections, and in how actors extend their impacts (Law and Mol, 2001). Within the ANT literature, the terms 'actor' and 'actant' are used interchangeably; however, in this thesis, the term 'actor' is used to refer to both human and non-human entities, unless otherwise specified.

Actor-network theory adheres to the *principle of symmetry*, a distinctive principle in that there is "no prior conception of which materials will act, and which will function as a simple intermediary for the actions of others" (Murdoch, 1998, p.367). So, networks are always actor-networks, as they cannot be condensed to actors alone, or simply a network (van der Duim, 2007). Actor-networks, therefore, rely on people, technology, narratives, and texts to describe the way things inhabit specific spaces and are a set of assumptions about how relations are organised and networked. Actor-networks emerge through a series of transformations, which link heterogeneous actors and their multiple sub-networks together. Successful actor-networks come about where aligned interests are created through the

enrolment of allies and where actor-networks are maintained through the translation of interests, which bind all actors.

The process of translation, developed by Callon (1986), is broken down into four key moments: problematisation, intéressement, enrolment, and mobilisation. It is the relational process of actors becoming involved in actor-networks, which refers to the "processes of negotiation, representation and displacement, which establishes relations between actors, entities and places" (Murdoch, 1998, p.362). Translation involves showing how actors' interests may become aligned; this is often established through *material inscriptions*, such as reports, documents, texts, and videos. Inscriptions are a direct outcome of translation interests into material forms; they "are converted by being sent out, received, acted upon, reacted to, and sent back" (Callon, 1991, p.143). A significant question to keep in mind, therefore, is who inscribes material inscriptions? How do they protect specific interests? Material inscriptions are therefore enactments of reality, as Nimmo (2011, p. 114) states, they are "means by which some things are made present and others absent, so that specific ontologies are performed into being and others made visible".

When socially-constructed facts are established through strong network associations, they become '*black boxes.*' According to Latour (1987), black boxes are formed when the inner workings (processes, interactions, and outcomes) of a network are accepted and taken for granted; thus, no explanation is needed. Building a black box means enrolling and controlling others. The stronger and more extensive the actor-network becomes, the more robust a fact becomes. Black boxes are, however, effects of translation, enacted through heterogeneous networks of different actors. An actor-network is the formation of actors that leave traces in their wake, although Law (1992, p.384) questions, "why is it that we are sometimes but only sometimes aware of networks that lie behind and make up actors, an object or an institution?" Translation can explain how actors are mobilized into networks and are changed by the actions of others; actions often remain invisible unless the controversies of the network are examined, as the assemblage of established actor-networks often remain mute and invisible (Latour, 2005). Consequently, Latour (1987) suggests innovation should be studied in action, focusing on the dynamics or instability, rather than the stability of relationships.

ANT networks are always in flux, as each component of the network is continually negotiating and renegotiating with one another, forming temporary associations that are continuously being reformed. The instability of a network can be precipitated by changes in

how the network is constructed, the result of new information, inscriptions, policy shifts, or changes in the actors (new actors, dis-engaging actors, et cetera). Analysing the controversies and disagreements between actants allows for social connections to become traceable (Latour, 2005, p.3). It is only when controversies are examined that the black boxes begin to open and show the dynamics of the actor-network formations, which are usually concealed through the black-box effect, taken as a matter of fact or not given any explanations. What Latour (1987, p.2-3) refers to as the internal chains of innovation, are often too difficult to outline beyond what is immediately visible (their inputs and outputs). To open the black boxes of a stabilised network, such as A4L, attention needs to focus on how the network emerged, how associations were formed, and how the roles and functions of actors are attributed and maintained (van der Duim, 2007). Such attention can uncover how micro-processes and decisions are arrived at by actors, the most active of whom are positioned at the junction between various networks, where innovation, the new combination of resources or entities, evolves.

Fenwich and Edwards (2010, p.12) describe translation "as the happenings at each micro-connection in a network". Some connections and configurations will generate stable actor-networks across geographical locations and various timescales (short term and/or long-term), while other networks are momentary associations. Although ANT addresses the separation between local and global actants, by posing an ontology that 'flattens the social' that rejects any prior attribution of the size of social actors, micro and macro, local or global (Scott-Smith, 2013), it proposes that actants are local and globalised only by the accounts made of them. Latour (2005, p.204) states that "no place dominates enough to be global and no place is self-contained enough to be local". The global, the national, the organisational and the individual levels are, therefore, heterogeneous network elements that become larger or smaller, depending on their range of associations. Thus, networks are not comparable in size, but rather in intensity and the strength of their connections. It is through analysing network associations that ANT can be used to describe how actors come to be larger and influential, how they become more durable through the enrolment of other actants, and how 'power' is derived and exerted.

Power, within the ANT approach, depends upon the action of others in the network (Latour 1986). According to Weber (1964 in van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson 2012), power is the ability of one actor in an actor-network to be in a position to carry out their will, despite the resistance of others. Within the translation model of power, Callon (1986) highlights that

a successful command results from the actions of a chain of agents, each of whom translates and shapes the emerging inputs according to their own goals. Therefore, those who are powerful are those who define and redefine what holds everything together. As Latour (1986, p.265) states, "when you simply have power – in potential – nothing happens, and you are powerless; when you exert power – in actu – others are performing the action and not you…[power] as an effect, but never as a cause". Therefore, power is embedded in connectivity and consequently intertwined. Power is not related directly to an individual actor; instead, it is related through their ability to create and maintain associations through connections. Size and power are outcomes of the strength and intensity of associations, which are directly related to an actor's presence and absence within a network, not necessarily if a network is stronger than another.

> Innovation is a result of a dynamic formation of alliances in which material things also pay a role. ANT assigns agency to non-human actors regards technology and society as fundamentally equal entities in ontological terms, subject to symmetrical treatment; actants (Latour, 1987; Law and Hassard, 1999).

ANT addresses the demarcation between humans (social) and the material (physical things) through the adaptation of the principle of *'generalized symmetry'*. A symmetrical approach highlights how human and non-human actors are part of what defines identities, aspirations of individuals, and how people's actions and interactions are part of what stabilises objects, processes, texts, and ideas to become 'things'. Latour (2001) asserts that the divide between nature and society is irrelevant for understanding human interactions (Latour, 2001). Full symmetry, as proposed by ANT scholars (e.g., Latour, 2005), gives agency to objects; thus, social relations and actions are not determined by traditional social categories but are mediated through people, objects, and texts. Thus, interactions are also configured by non-human actors, such as material resources and structures. Materials act as resources or may become constraints; "they are said to be passive; to be active only when they are mobilised by flesh and blood actors" (Callon and Law, 1997, p.168). Although there are differences between materials such as conversations, texts, and brochures, we should "not start out by assuming that some of these have no active role to play in social dynamics" (Callon and Law, 1997, p.168).

By considering human and non-human elements as equal actors within networks, ANT distinguishes itself, and the process of analysis (Ashmore et al., 1994). This perspective is emerging within literature as an important concept (e.g., Radcliffe, 2005; Sneddon, 2007).

For instance, Voeten's (2012) study on rural cluster groups in Vietnam illustrates that non-human actors (low-quality silk) play a significant role in the creation and disintegration of networks. Thus, ANT calls for the material effects of both objects and intentional behaviour of people to be analysed symmetrically, as part of 'translation' in which "the identity of actors, the possibility of interaction, and the margins of manoeuvring are negotiated and delimited" (Callon, 1986, p. 203; see also Law, 1986).

Even though we have introduced the fundamental concepts of ANT (above), we also need to briefly introduce some essential aspects that exist between actor-networks that are within the broader network: *intermediaries and mediators*, *boundary objects* and *negotiation space*. An intermediary, from an ANT perspective, is anything that passes from, and stands between, actors (Callon, 1991). These artefacts could be technical; a text (a pamphlet or evaluation report), money or a person. As intermediaries, these actors do not translate, as Latour (2005, p.39) states that intermediaries "transport meaning without transformation". Whereas, when these elements are mediators, they "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning of elements they are supposed to carry" (Latour, 2005, p.39). Therefore, an actor can be an intermediary in one network, and a mediator in another. In an ANT approach, therefore, social enterprises are both intermediaries and mediators, as they not only connect actors with external markets, but also aim to act as change agents, through innovative models, as outlined above in Section 2.2.

Boundary objects are non-human actors that 'act' between networks, having different roles and meanings in each (Star, 1989). Their ability to influence actors is determined by their connections as they coordinate collaborative activities across and between networks; thus, they are intermediaries (Star, 1989; Star and Griesemer, 1989). In defining local and global networks, negotiation is created between these networks. A negotiating space is a concept developed by Law and Callon (1988), as a private area, physical and/or metaphorical space where plans, ideas and designs are generated, explored, and tested which are inaccessible to those outside of the network: closures. From an ANT perspective, SEs are intermediaries in these negotiation spaces, a boundary actor, that enrols and mobilises both local and global actors, their resources, policies, and ideas.

3.2 Relevance of Actor-Network Theory to this Study

> ANT offers a new perspective on all aspects of development: its concepts,
> structures and processes. It is a view that disputes linear and objectivist
> visions of development and which moves beyond the dualities of technology
> vs. society, macro vs. micro; instead offering a more complex and emergent
> view that, arguably, adheres more closely to the lived experiences of
> development projects and processes (Heeks and Heeks, 2013, p.2).

ANT is a relevant conceptual framework used to investigate development projects, as it helps us understand the processes of its development and its emergent features (Heeks and Heeks, 2013; Mosse, 2005a; Scott-Smith, 2013). A characteristic of many international development projects, such as A4L, is that they represent a junction of *local* and *global* networks, bringing together multiple actors from within the wider enabling environment to work at various scales. Several recent ethnographies of development demonstrated that development is a complex and messy business involving diverse actors (e.g., Mosse, 2005a; Venkatesan and Yarrow, 2012). Outcomes are therefore unpredictable (Long and Long, 1992). Consequently, top-down development structures of governments and international donors are being replaced by more complex patterns (Murdoch, 2000), such as the emergence of social enterprises (as discussed in Chapter 2).

Multi-stakeholder models attract numerous and diverse groups of human and non-human actors from their enabling environment into webs of relationships. *Local networks* comprise actants that implement and participate in local project actions; whereas, *national networks* support the project through national policies, money, expertise, schemes et cetera, and *global networks* are 'outside' of the project's framework providing spaces and resources (funding, political support, frameworks et cetera). In our case, A4L occupied a multi-geographical scale (local, national, and global), enrolling multiple networks of actors (local communities, national governments, international researchers, and artists), which had short-term and long-term objectives (timescales); thus, it was a shifting network of actants that were being translated in diverse ways, at different times, by different actors.

Although Law and Callon (1992) proposed a local and global framework, it has been used on a limited basis to understand actor-networks (e.g. Heeks and Stanforth, 2014). It is however appropriate to distinguish local and global processes and actants within this thesis for the following reasons.

A. *Livelihood development models* represent an intersection of local and global networks, as they bring together networks of actors from across regional, national, and international scales.

B. Distinguishing between types of networks in the pre-production and post-production phases provides insight into which actors, resources or interests shaped and steered the network developments the most, thus contributing to answering several research questions.

C. Identifying local and global networks within ANT's chains of innovation (our framework, see Section 3.5 below) allows us to identify the competing demands of networks, which contributes to answering: *How do development narratives influence or constrain social enterprises in meeting their core social mission?*

D. Lastly, the distinction between *networks* can support us in expanding our understanding of SEs as change agents, how they are positioned, how they move and link social capital across networks, and how *negotiating space* of materials inscriptions influences and steers systematic change.

Few theories used to understand and investigate development initiatives have been adept at analysing these growing complexities; however, as described above, ANT's approach aims to unravel and explain the intricate ways that local, national, and global scales are linked.

3.2.1 Actor-Network Theory and Ethnographic Research

Ethnographic research methods, in a wide sense, seem to be best suited to ANT orientation. They provide considerable flexibility, with the emphasis put on observations and qualitative interviews. Ethnography is also open to different techniques for exploration, so the researcher is not constrained to only one set of tools. Not least of all, ethnography stresses description and explicitly recognizes the role of the author in the production of any knowledge (Jóhannesson, 2005, p.140).

As the above quote by Jóhannesson highlights, ANT shares these fundamental principles with other qualitative approaches, including ethnography. Qualitative research methods put emphasis on participant observation and interviews, although it employs other field methods to understand how lived experiences interact with wider social processes. Tracing the complex nature of social processes in the field involves weaving together various actors and places across multiple localities; as a result, fieldwork is no longer limited to a specific locality. Many ethnographers have discarded the idea of a bounded field; rather the '*field*' is fluid, it's a series of connections and 'shifting locations' relevant to the study itself (Clifford, 1997).

The *field* is, therefore, multi-sited as the researcher follows people, connections, and associations across spatially dispersed fields. Haldrup and Larsen (2010) argued that multi-sited ethnography is less about sustained dwelling in one field than it is about following the flow of human and non-humans in and across a particular field, or several fields, so ethnographers need to travel a great deal, physically and through communications: it is mobile ethnography par excellence. In ANT terms, a multi-sited approach consists of the tracing of associations (Latour, 2005, p.8), which requires the researcher to travel along with them (Hannerz, 2003; Marcus, 1995). How the author of this thesis achieved this objective will be outlined in Section 3.3, where the manner in which the fieldwork unfolded will be discussed.

Ethnography has been a natural method of choice for ANT-influenced researchers, such as van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson (2012), whose volume investigates the relationship between actor-network theory and tourism studies. For instance, authors of extant studies in tourism that employed ANT typically used ethnographic methods, as they allow detailed empirical investigations (often in a case study approach) through which "actors and their relations, strength, importance and ability to speak, act and represent are established" (van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2012, p. 19). According to Law (2009, p.141), ANT thinking is grounded in practical case studies, such as ethnographies, in which "the ethnographer seeks to understand the multiple and overlapping worlds of their subjects or a social phenomenon". The value of ANT in ethnographic research, focusing on development, has been demonstrated by Mosse (2005a) and Lewis and Mosse (2006a), who used Latour's (1999) notion of translation of interests and identities to highlight "how coherent policies and programmes emerge through unscripted actions of heterogeneous actors" (Venkatesan and Yarrow, 2012, p. 8). Mosse and Lewis (2005) and Venkatesan and Yarrow (2012) all contend that anthropologists need to reveal the 'hidden transcripts' that coexist alongside the 'public transcripts', instead of focusing on the shortcoming of development policies, as the ethnographies "examine the complex set of large concealed personal, community, and institutional 'system goals' that exist as 'hidden transcripts' with official goals, or 'public transcripts'" (Lewis and Mosse, 2006b, p.16). Thus, combining ANT with ethnographic research allows in-depth examination of the complexities of development practices, especially areas of practice that are hidden, absent, or silenced by narratives that are produced, built, and maintain social or professional identities (Kothari and Minohue, 2002; Lewis and Mosse, 2006b).

A central commonality between ANT and ethnography is their shared emphasis on practices—people's everyday actions, activities, interactions, and behaviours. Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson (2012, p.20) opined, "actors and their relations, strength, importance, and ability to speak, act and represent" are established through detailed descriptions. These approaches allow researchers to study the complexity of social life by tracing the complex nature of network connections among actors, places, events, and objects—the active process by which people give meaning to their world, their activities, and lives. Ethnographic fieldwork allows ethnographers to closely trace network developments over time, rather than simply relying on short-term field visits or 'rituals of verification', that are highly coordinated field visits which restrict the ability of actors to follow the complexities of networks (Power, 1997 cited in Mosse, D, 2005a, p.165).

Ethnographers are, therefore, not reliant on strategic representations that are invariably circulated by the dominant or official narrative which can reinstate policy ambitions and conceal divergent contradictions. As demonstrated by Mosse (2005a), combining ANT and ethnography can establish a deeper understanding of project practice, including how practices influence project performance. In addition, actor-oriented ethnography can elucidate why beneficiaries "often reinforce and so further legitimate interventions by playing along while appropriating the intervention for their own ends" (Hummel, 2015, p. 15). Therefore, actor-oriented approaches can reopen the established and dominant narratives (Hjorth, 2007; Latour, 1987) of development initiatives, as well as generating narratives of how social enterprises' processes of innovation unfold in relation to their interactions with others. As introduced in Chapter 2, like actor-networks, SEs do not work in isolation, but rely on strategic partnerships to leverage resources to deliver on their social mission. Even though social entrepreneurship has often been considered a homogenous group with a focus on individual engagement, an actor-oriented approach can establish the processes that social enterprises utilise to implement new innovative models that aim to alleviate poverty. Within an ANT approach, there is no single actor-network; rather, multiple actor-networks are intertwined, rendering the translation process complex, whereby multiple realties both converge and diverge. An actor-oriented ethnographic research therefore enables researchers to follow the multiple, interlocking networks, through which ideas, knowledge, resources, and material inscriptions are exchanged, organised, and transformed (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Sheldon and Daniele, 2017). ANT, therefore, allows researchers in the field to recognises the multiple, often intersecting entanglements among human and non-human entities within a network.

Simplified networks and their narratives are a result of complex negotiations. In order to make sense of what has happened and elucidate SEs' development narrative, actor-oriented researchers follow actions both downstream and upstream, tracing the network wherever it may lead (Latour, 1993). This strategy allows the researcher to be part of "a time and place when opportunity was still in the process of becoming and no one knew where it would end up, where multiple voices were still audible and trying to send the opportunity off in many directions" (Korsgaard, 2011, p.670). However, it facilitates tracing the effects of closure, the *post hoc* narratives offered by the SEs, which are influenced by their social objectives and have silenced marginal voices (Fletcher, 2007; Latour, 1993). An actor-oriented ethnographic approach, therefore, allows the reconstruction of *development narratives* through tracing actants through their network, including within their negotiation spaces.

Therefore the study of an SE is never a study of one individual organisation or actor; rather, it involves tracing and reconstructing the multiple worlds SEs engage with, move across, or organise. Using an actor-oriented ethnographic approach within this thesis therefore allows the counter-narratives that co-created this network to be traced. Additionally, the approach allows us to explore the processes that enable SEs to engage with, shape or create markets that can solve market failures. From an ANT perspective, the market does not exist independently of the actions of actors; rather, new market opportunities can be created through the local or international mobilisation and stabilisation of a network (Korsgaard, 2011), as will be presented in Chapter 7, below.

Social enterprises can, therefore, create markets through identifying opportunities, mobilising resources, and stabilising the actor-networks; thus, they are all effects of the same network and need to be considered as part of ANT's chains of innovation. To address a social problem, the actions and outcomes of SEs' innovation processes create new actor-networks, as will be traced in Chapter 6 by following A4L's pre-production processes, and in Chapter 7, its post-production processes.

## 3.3 The Blueprint: Actor-Network Theory's Chains of innovation

The use of Callon's four-step process can be seen in the literature to enable the documentation of this process in a way that enables the comparison of different networks. These networks may be built to achieve opposing

outcomes or the same outcome. The conceptual framework may enable greater understanding that not only are actor-networks different, but may provide a deeper insight into why this is so (O'Connell, Ciccotosto and De Lange, 2014, p. 23-24).

Several studies (Callon, 1986; Horowitz, 2012) have indicated that not every process involves the four points of translation; - problematisation, intéressement, enrolment, and mobilisation, but often co-evolves instead of occurring in sequence. Networks are complex as they involve the introduction of numerous emerging components, often simultaneously, that can be adapted, modified, rejected, or moved through a network by multiple actors throughout the process of production, reproduction, marketing and distribution and use (Rhodes, 2009; Routledge, 2008). As a result, focus needs to be on the actions that actors are involved in, how they link together, and how they react to emerging components (Arndt and Kierzkowski, 2001). In other words, we need to be able to examine the dynamics of the network process – the actors (human and non-human), the resources and the alignment of missions.

In line with others (e.g., Horowitz, 2012; Latour, 1996), I have adopted translation as an ongoing process and illustrated this continuous process as *chains of innovation*, as highlighted in Figure 3.1., below. Latour (1996) points out that 'chains of translation' are ongoing effects through which actors modify, displace, and translate their various and contradictory interests. What counts is how emerging components are adopted, modified, or rejected by a network, how they are moved by an interest group 'across' networks, and how emerging components steer future actions. In this thesis, the SE's network is constantly in flux as the outcome of each parallel action drives, influences, and shapes the societal process along its chain of innovation. Figure 3.1, below, is a blueprint for this thesis, as it guides the analysis of this study. An outline of each step of this process, the guide, is explained as follows:
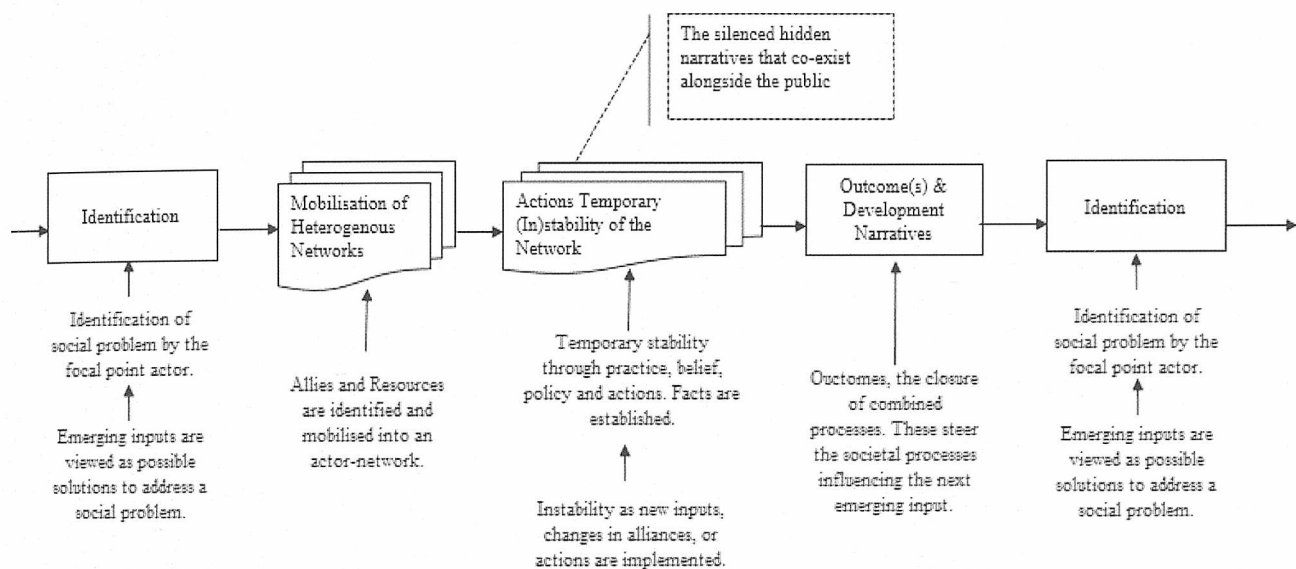
Figure 3:1   Actor-network theory: Chains of innovation[25]

In this process, the *identification of a problem* defines the starting issues within the network, the identification of the social problem in which actors set out the problem so that other actors recognise it as their problem. The *emerging input* is viewed as a possible solution to addressing the social problem, identified by the focal point actor. Within our analysis, the identification of an *emerging input* can occur either by tracing the outcome 'downstream' after the closure of a process, or it can occur by tracing actions 'upstream' when opportunities are still in the process of being created (Fletcher, 2007; Korsgaard, 2011). Latour (1993) suggests that innovation needs to be studied in action (downstream or upstream) and that researchers should follow actor-networks wherever they lead (see Chapter 4 below). New inputs into a network can impact future alliance and the resources needed to achieve its objectives.

However, social enterprises do not act alone; they need to mobilise different actants and resources required to deliver their actions. The *mobilisation of allies* traces how different actants are enrolled into an SE's network, whether by employing inscriptions and/or through appealing to collective goals. In addition, it is also important to understand how emerging inputs are accepted or modified by individual actors, sub-networks, or the actor-network. If we trace these actions downstream, many of the black boxes remain closed; nevertheless,

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[25] The blueprint is also in Appendix B.

following the public narratives demonstrates how emerging inputs were adopted and by whom, thus illustrating how each emerging input had an effect on future actions (Fletcher, 2007; Simoni, 2012).

Networks are formed of heterogenous networks, so understanding how networks are *stabilised* through belief, practice, policies, and actions is therefore the next phase of the framework. Very little is known, however, about the type of, and how, development narratives' social enterprises are employed to represent, convince, and promote their models to others (Chandra, 2018). Individual actants can become important 'representative spokespersons' for an actor-network, as they maintain and contribute to building the 'facts' of the network that then become taken for granted. Therefore, actor-networks are never fully stabilised; rather, they are vulnerable to new emerging inputs, changing alliances, or can be manipulated by enrolled actors. The *instability of the network* highlights that actor-networks are never fully stabilised. Understanding the changing contexts, the emergence of new actants (human and non-human), how these new actants announce themselves, and if they are allowed or rejected by individual actors, sub-networks, or by the network itself, is critical in understanding the underlying processes of actor-networks. These complexities can trigger uncertainty and continuous instability; however, ANT can examine these dynamics by exploring the controversies (tensions) by questioning the 'established facts' that have been punctualised into the network as the 'truth'.

Opening a network's black boxes can reveal the *hidden controversies (transcripts)* that coexist with, and alongside, the public narratives of the actor-network that have been inscribed by the representative spokespersons and kept outside the realm of discussion. Therefore, these controversies are concealed; however, tracing the changing contexts of the network can shine light on the societal changes that were perceived as harmful by enrolled actors. Tracing a network's trajectory can also identify actors that have disengaged from the network, while actor-oriented ethnographic research allows the 'hidden transcripts' to be discovered by the researcher. A networks' *outcome* is the closure of each process, the combined result of each emerging input that has been mobilised, stabilised, and moved forward in a network by actors. When an outcome moves forward in a network, it influences and steers the subsequent societal processes that follows.

No single theory or outline can provide us with a comprehensive analytical framework that captures the dynamic of societal processes, including the interactions of human and non-

human entities within livelihood development models (Allen et al., 2012). Analysing the changing periods of the network utilising the above framework (as outlined above) will deepen our understanding of how a social enterprise model emerged, evolved, and was maintained. By focusing on how networks emerged, what actors (human and non-human) were brought into proximity to each other, how they were configured, what is or is not circulating, and how outcomes steered outcomes, we can begin to understand how A4L was co-created. This study contributes to the social entrepreneur and development literature by extending our knowledge of development interventions by recognising that the materiality of development - infrastructure, documents, contracts, et cetera - are critical actors in steering innovation. Tracing the trajectory of A4L with an ANT approach will also make a major contribution to the social entrepreneurship and tourism literature, which has overlooked the roles of tourism enterprises, including insights into how they interact with others in their enabling environments to develop tourism. Insight gained from this study could help existing local and global actors, which are directly or indirectly involved in tourism, adopt more suitable policies, strategies, or structures to manage the emerging impacts of tourism more effectively.

3.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the conceptual approach of this study, and why this approach is appropriate for the analysis of A4L, a case study in West Bengal. It explains the approach highlighting that ANT is all about associations, how human or non-human actors interact, move, attract, and convince others to adapt, modify and reject actions. Having introduced the conceptual approach, key concepts were discussed including principles of symmetry, translation, black boxes, controversies, intermediaries, boundary objects, and so on, as these terms are commonly referred to throughout the thesis. Of particularly interest is the understanding that power in ANT is not directly related to an individual; rather it is created through their ability to create and maintain associations. Thus, the strength of an association is directly related to an actors' presence or absence in a network, including within the materiality of a project. Even though an actor may be absent from public development narratives it does not mean these 'hidden' actors have not influenced network innovation, as will be discussed in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

The relevance of the ANT approach to analysis of a arts-based livelihood development model was outlined. Even though many ANT studies do not distinguish between local and global networks, I demonstrated why this distinction is an appropriate approach when analysing a arts-based livelihood development model, as they exist on a multi-geographical scale, have multiple actors (local, national, and international), and have multiple deadlines (timescales). Understanding how local and global actors interact may contribute to clarifying our understanding of which actors and what type of narratives are critical for SEs in becoming *change agents*.

As the research approach is actor-oriented ethnography, the relationship between ANT and ethnography was introduced, which highlighted that it is the choice method for ANT research. The commonalities between these approaches complement one another as ANT focuses on tracing networks and ethnography on understanding people's everyday actions, which traces their connections to other people, things, and the social (culture, environments et cetera).

The closing section of this chapter introduced the blueprint for this thesis, ANT's chains of innovation, which serve as a guide that builds and supports the analysis within this study. The conceptualisation of ANT, within this study, is in line with Latour (2005), who recognises that network emerging inputs and outcomes steer the processes of innovation. Outlining the steps of this process included describing the identification of a problem, the mobilisation of allies, the instability of networks, the outcomes, and the hidden narratives that make up this translation process. ANT's chains of innovation will help us demonstrate that the societal processes of SE's livelihood development model are emerging, multi-actor oriented, and an experience-based process characteristic of interactions that evolve and become networks. Thus, livelihood development interventions are dynamic configurations that are modified and adapted to the changing contexts that announce themselves throughout its development process.

To begin to understand the trajectory of A4L, a network of which I [the researcher] was part, I needed to become familiar with the processes, that is, the actors, resources, convergence of interests, and controversies of this tourism-based livelihood development model. Therefore, in the next chapter, *Methodology*, I use a reflective ethnographic approach to demonstrate the dynamics of the field by reflecting on and answering the following questions:

- *How did the researcher come to select the field? Including the two art forms?*
- *How did the researcher 'act' in the network?*
- *How did the researcher follow the actors within A4L actor-networks?*
- *Where does the network end?*

This not only allows me to reflect on the series of decisions I made which co-created my understanding of this actor-network, but also how associations are generated through the practice of proximity. So, what follows is an account of my position in the field; a highly reflective account of how I was in, and part of, the field.

4   The Methodology

This chapter reflects on the 14 months of ethnographic fieldwork, by using ANT's chains of innovation (discussed in Chapter 3, above) to demonstrate the dynamic nature of the field, as it allows the researcher opportunities to reflect on the series of decisions which built and shaped the data collection and narratives produced. Acting in A4L networks required the researcher to engage with A4L network actants (human and non-human), but also with other actors, organisations, and things[26] which co-created the network that endured beyond the period of the research. By answering the following broad questions, this chapter describes how this narrative has been co-created.

- *How did the researcher come to select the field? Including the two art forms?*
- *How did the researcher 'act' in the network?*
- *How did the researcher follow the actors within A4L actor-networks?*
- *Where does the network end?*

Even though the voice of the researcher is dominant in speaking for the network actants in this thesis, the knowledge production is a result of the researcher actively applying analytical tools to the field accounts which were co-created within the A4L actor-network. ANT enables the researcher to give actors a voice, and to trace alternative viewpoints and perspectives of the artists; in this case, how A4L affected them and their living cultural heritage. A case-study approach was chosen to capture the complexities of the A4L actor-network as well as address the gaps in the literature which were outlined in Chapter 2, above.

Before moving on to answer this chapter's broad questions, as outlined above, a brief account on the researcher's own positionality and reflexivity is introduced. Routledge (2008, p. 203) contends that ANT researchers should ask questions about their own role, "which takes them beyond reflectivity to 'acting in the network'", as researchers are also *'actors'* in the network making decisions and choices that shape, build and steer material generation and narratives as we go. If a researcher is an actor in the network, then as Latour would argue, we also need to be 'followed', but how? Using the first-person narrative (I) in the subsequent chapters below will support this reflective stance as my actions, my participation as an *actor* in A4L

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[26] It is necessary here to clarify exactly what is meant by things. In this context *things* are any object, article, item that supported A4L from outside the main network – such as newspaper articles, blogs posts, or international spaces.

actor-networks becomes visible, offering an in-depth account of how I (a researcher) was mobilised, acted in, influenced and steered A4L outputs within this co-created narrative.

This reflective approach is consistent with shifts in the ontological stance taken by other ethnographers over the past decade (Gertz, 1983; Routledge, 2008), including those in tourism research (Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan, 2007; Ren, Jóhannesson and van Duim, 2012). Moreover, this approach requires the researcher to be doubly reflective, looking inwards and outwards to the research relationships that were created while also acknowledging 'entanglements' that shaped the outcomes of this research (Ateljevic, Pritchard and Morgan, 2007). In reflectively discussing the methodological approach, drawing on actor-network theory in presenting the engagements between network actors, which includes myself, interviewees, community members and other network actors including festival organizers and journalists, this chapter not only answers the questions about, but also produces a co-created narrative that incorporates, the research sites, the researcher and A4L's actor-network in the analysis.

4.1 How did the researcher come to select the field?

> Actors associate with other actors, thus forming a network in which they are all made into "actors" as the associations allow each of them to act. Actors are enacted, enabled, and adapted by their associations, while in their turn enacting, enabling and adapting these (Mol, 2010, p.260).

To build a narrative from the multiple perspectives of the different actors taking part, I trace their various stories. However, as all actants are part and participants of many continuous networks, a question emerges; what is the best point of entry into the network for this narrative? A4L's actor-network can be investigated from multiple entry points; for instance, from the marginal actors who have been made silent within the public narratives, or from the perspective of UNESCO as the associate partner that recognised the potential of this model to contribute to the Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in India.

This chapter's entry point starts with the *International Institute for Culture, Tourism and Development PhD Research Brief* (from now on referred to as *PhD Brief*). This emerging input is one outcome of a successful application for a European Union (EU) Call for Proposals on the theme of *Investing in People – Access to local culture, protection, and promotion of cultural diversity* (European Commission, 2010).

Since the *PhD Brief* is one outcome of *Investing in People's (IIP)* call to action; we first need to understand what happened further down the chain of innovation before we can recognise its role upstream. Latour (2005, p.237) argues that "objects and subjects might exist, but everything interesting happens upstream and downstream". *Investing in People (IIP)*, a material inscription[27], was already in place, connecting actors and resources globally before I was mobilised into the partnership by the *PhD Brief*, so we need to first trace how this *intermediary* generated different associations across the network connections by attracting and assembling other actors into the network; notably the researcher.

4.1.1 Investing in People – Access to local culture, protection, and promotion of cultural diversity

This thematic programme, implemented by the EU, aimed to support cultural initiatives across partner regions, promote access to local culture, foster cultural diversity and support capacity-building (European Commission, 2008). The call had a specific objective to fund proposals that:

- strengthened local culture, access to culture and dissemination of culture and, in exceptional cases, supported protection of cultural heritage in imminent danger;

- promoted all forms of cultural expression which contribute to the fight against discrimination, be it gender-based, ethnic, religious, as well as discrimination recognised in traditional and customary practices;

- strengthened capacities of cultural actors for the development of a dynamic cultural sector, contributing to economic growth and sustainable development (European Commission, 2008, p.4).

The objective above was the result of past experience gained from EU programmes which continued to demonstrate that developing countries still had "limited capacity to respond to high demand on a variety of areas and the need to increase impact and effectiveness of actions at national levels" (European Commission 2008, p.4). By targeting the creative and cultural industries, the EU was focusing on a sector it contended had a higher potential for

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[27] A material inscription in ANT refers to an action that has been inscribed into an artefact: - material objects. Material inscriptions can assemble, shape, connect, and mobilise actors into alliances.

job creation, economic impact, and sustainable development. This *material global inscription* reinforced the broader conceptualisation that culture is a mechanism for economic development and poverty reduction.

Investing in People's call received over 750 concept notes, and 53 projects received funding from the EU, of which one was A4L Going Global (A4L) – one emerging component of this thesis case study. The objective of the action was to "aspire to make oral traditions and performing arts a means of sustainable livelihood, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and forging multi-regional partnerships for revitalisation and promotion in innovative ways" (European Commission, 2010, p.83). The actor-network partnership that developed and submitted A4L's proposal to the Investing in People Committee comprised of the following actors:

- *Applicant*: IBase, a social enterprise based in West Bengal, was the organisation responsible for submitting the application and the *principal actor* implementing the action.

- *Partners*: International Institute for Culture, Tourism and Development (IICTD), based in London Metropolitan University in the United Kingdom; and, Planet Art eXchange (PAX), based in Liverpool

- *Associate*: UNESCO India, New Delhi Office within the partnership *which* plays an active role in the action but which cannot benefit from funding under the grant.

So, how did this collection of actants come to be assembled? *IIP Guidelines for Grant Applications* outlines the requirements for the submission of the application including, but not limited to, the following criteria:

- Actions must involve a partnership of at least two partners (in addition to the applicant);

- The European Commission will attach particular importance to the quality of the partnership. In this context, the applicant should clearly demonstrate in Annex A, Part A, Section II.2.1 the expected benefits and added value of the proposed partnership;

- Actions must take place in one or more beneficiary countries or territories eligible under the Development Cooperation Instrument as listed in Annex F to present guidelines;

- The action must comply with the rules on the visibility of the EU-financing [...];

- All actions submitted by applicants will be assessed according to the following steps and criteria" (European Commission, 2008,).

The *Guidelines for Grant Applications* was a global material actor that steered all applications, including the A4L application, to build and mobilise international partnerships around aligned activities that were designed to respond to the IIP's list of actions (European Commission, 2008).

In this case study, *the applicant* – a social enterprise – utilised personal and business networks to mobilise the above partners and their resources to design A4L action activities in India and the United Kingdom. Broadly, the activities under the action included the documentation of art forms (recordings), developing new markets (organising folk festivals et cetera), cross-cultural exchanges (including capacity-building) and cultural heritage tourism development (research and building resource centres). The application, *a material inscription*, prepared by the social enterprise and the partners and associates in collaboration, was able to demonstrate the eligibility of each partner including their competencies, expertise and technical knowledge in relation to the proposed actions (IBase V.P., 2010, interview, September).

For instance, the *Guidelines for the Grant Application* outlines that at least one of the local partners must have experience as a cultural actor (European Commission, 2008, section 2.1.2) within the core art and cultural industries. IBase's experience in developing and scaling their *Theatre for Development* model was evidence that they had the relevant expertise working across rural India. Meanwhile, IICTD's experience in developing, implementing, and managing Mediterranean Voices: Oral History and Culture Practice, a programme funded by the EU, established that they had sufficient professional competence and capacity to be 'eligible partners' in the field of intangible cultural heritage and tourism. Similarly, PAX's expertise in implementing, developing, and running multi-regional and international cross-disciplinary exchanges gave them the appropriate capacity and technical expertise to coordinate various artistic exchange programmes. The project proposal, a response to IIP's Guidelines, was granted, therefore it successfully demonstrated the eligibility of the applicants, the partners, and the action's activities; thus, their interest converged around the grant and project objectives.

A new temporary actor-network, A4L, was stabilised when the EU approved (granted the funds et cetera) the project and its actions. At this point the applicant, IBase, was solely

responsible for following up the delivery of the activities (European Commission, 2008); therefore, they would need to control and coordinate each action of the network so that all actors could achieve their goals (Latour, 1987). Consequently, IBase needed to not only begin implementing actions, but also stabilise parts of the *chains of innovation* so that actors could rely on getting a stable output. Each individual approved action, such as cultural tourism research, needed to be accepted, implemented, and stabilised across the network. Each activity was therefore embedded into a more extensive model, as illustrated within A4L's approved workplan (see Appendix C). IBase became the *principle actor* driving this process, although from the observer's perspective, even from the principle actor's perspective, a network's formation is complex as *mediators'* outcomes are unpredictable, and boundary objects have multiple meaning; thus, identifying the principle actor can be difficult as it shifts throughout the development process.

4.1.2 PhD brief; an outcome and actor of Investing in People

One outcome of the Investing in People actor-network, after its temporary stabilisation, was the *PhD Brief*. This material inscription was a call, inscribed by IICTD, to mobilise two PhD candidates into conducting 'primarily qualitative ethnographic' research across six districts of West Bengal as part of their agreed role under A4L. As a *boundary object*, this inscription has multiple functions and meanings across the network which coordinated activities across A4L and its sub-networks.

In the A4L actor-network, it circulated *established facts* reinforcing the partnership. Inscribed in consultation with IBase[28], the *PhD Brief* was a representative spokesperson, 'sent out' by IICTD with facts about the project including its objective, its expected results, and specified that the project was devised "in direct consultation with the affected local communities" (IICTD, 2010, see appendix D). Despite the acceptance and circulation of some of the established facts, it also challenged them by stating "the researcher should aim at a critical analysis of the material practice of tourism, development and project implementation, which will have wider applicability beyond this specific project" (IICTD PhD Brief, 2010, p.1). This boundary object was created with the assumption that all partners, especially the social enterprise, were on board with agreed actions, as agreed within

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[28] It should be noted that IBase is directed by a group of ex-corporate professionals – engineers from IIT, electrical engineer from Jadavpur University, journalists, business development and literature, sustainable development, and civil engineering. The directors of IBase believe that their business skills, acquired working for large multinationals such as IBM and Price Waterhouse Cooper, are transferrable to culture and development sector.

A4L negotiation spaces. Mobilising researchers would provide IBase with opportunities to improve and modify their model as well as places to disseminate and promote their initiative. Actors in a network may, however, remain in the network they initially join, may refuse to allow principle actors to control affairs, and may disengage or modify their collaboration. As will be highlighted in Chapter 8, although the PhD Brief provided the A4L network with a clear framework that connected international and local actors, it was only temporary and often was rejected by the focal point actor.

The *PhD Brief* simultaneously transformed the developing network as it constructed a new actor (within A4L's chain), *IICTD-Researcher*, mobilising two PhD Candidates to conduct fieldwork across six districts of West Bengal, India, part of their negotiated role within the A4L actor-network. By sending out this actant, IICTD established its network which enabled them to meet their organisational criteria of conducting academic research. The partnership further contributed to the University's funding and academic status; also, it provided a space for IICTD students to conduct fieldwork, et cetera. This *boundary object*, an intermediary, actively shaped the network, first by outlining the length of the ethnographic research which was to be 'conducted over an extended period' and, secondly, that the "international and local travel plus all local expenses in India will be organised in liaison with the coordinating NGO in Kolkata" (PhD Brief, 2010, p.1). So, there was an active mediator enrolling and guiding the PhD researchers into the network initially.

Although an intended outcome of the PhD research is a thesis, the outputs were unpredictable in advance as each researcher, if enrolled, would need to join, negotiate, and re-negotiate the field. As will be discussed in the following section of this chapter, the field, consisting of local and global networks, is complex, as actors were continuously influencing others, either overtly or covertly.

I, as a researcher, *acted upon* the *PhD Brief*, by applying as it aligned with my interest of furthering my career in international development (focusing on tourism), my interest in cultural and community development and building on my previous experiences conducting ethnographic research in Asia. At the time of accepting the PhD offer, I was a *marginal actor* in the network, falling outside the 'principle chains of innovation' having not yet entered the field in India.

4.2 Selecting the Field

By accepting the PhD offer, I accepted and aligned to its conditions of conducting fieldwork in India. As Figure 1.1 illustrates, the six art forms of A4L in West Bengal are spread across the state, covering a considerable geographical distance (over 361 km), and thus it would be impossible to follow every single network throughout the fieldwork. Having visited Purulia, Naya and Gorbhanga previously, the IICTD supervisors suggested that 'it might be a good idea to go in July for a shorter time, and then go out again after some library work and supervision in London' (IICTD PhD Meeting, 2010, May). Consequently, my first three months, from August – November 2010, was an exploratory period, wherein I gained knowledge about the project, its actants and activities to identify and locate my research within the A4L project. Even though the PhD guided the research field location and influenced the methodology chosen (qualitative ethnography), this field, my interests and academic background, A4L scheduled actions, access to key informants such as the artists, the social enterprise and events, also affected this study.

Through ethnographic methods, I collected data about the project from all six districts, travelling alongside a group of the IICTD actors[29] already in the field conducting research, other project partners, and often with a field representative from IBase to each field site (See Appendix E). Field observations and informal interviews were conducted with key informants in A4L at the time to allow me to understand the relationship between the social enterprise, the project activities, the artisans and other local stakeholders (government et cetera). It was through participant observation and semi-structured and informal interviews that I was able to record, in detail, the connections between human actors and non-human actors, and how objects and materials also influenced the relationships within A4L's actor-network (Lamers, van der Duim, and Spaargaren, 2017). This allowed me to become more familiar with communities, their art forms and allowed the complexities of the network to begin to emerge as I mapped these connections.

After the first three months in the field, I returned to the United Kingdom to attend face-to-face supervision meetings and conducted further library research, attended UK events, and, in consultation with my supervisors, narrowed the 'field'. Even though A4L worked with

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[29] IICTD has three sets of students in the field: a) 2 PhD students, b) 7 postgraduate students that were conducting shorter periods of research, d) IICTD Master students field trip, and one Architecture & Spatial Design student assisting in the design and function of the resource centres (IICTD PhD Brief, 2010).

folk forms across the six districts of West Bengal, I identified that two art forms, the *Patachitra* and *Bāul Fakiri*, were more 'present' in A4L, activities such as evening folk festivals, skills development workshops and cross-cultural exchanges (Field Observations, 2010). I decided to focus on these two communities and art forms for the following reasons: interactions in the field with the director of IBase revealed that these folk forms were the 'most economically prosperous art forms of A4L, along with the Chau, as they had the greatest audience appeal' (IBase Director, 2010, interview); after traveling through West Bengal, I realised these two communities were the closest geographically to Kolkata, my base of operation; these folk forms were featured at events throughout the field period, which included the inaugural Pot Maya festival and Fakiri Utsav which I attended; and artists frequently travelled to Kolkata for events and were traveling to the United Kingdom between November 2010 and December 2010, which aligned with my own movements, creating more opportunities to engage with them on the local and global processes of A4L.

Following supervisory meetings in London, two extended field periods, January – May 2011 and August 2011 – January 2012, were agreed to continue the ethnographic field research. Returning to the field allowed me to continue tracing the actor-network which revealed the strength and importance of these actors within the network and their ability to speak, act, and represent (Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2012). Tracing the association of A4L networks required the researcher to *act in the field* as well as to *follow the actors* across geographical boundaries, over a period of time. As a result, the fieldwork was multi-sited, the boundaries of the field being fluid, as the associations were not bounded within a specific field location (Latour, 2005). It is beyond the scope of this study [one researcher] to examine all six art forms and their communities through the fieldwork, however impacts on the Chau and Domni will be brought into the discussion as appropriate, since they were relevant actors, and part of the A4L events.

4.3   Acting in and Following the Network

> One observes, follows themes and trails, identifies patterns, has those patterns disconfirmed or verified by further data, and the process moves on (Pettigrew, 1990, p.277)

Having discussed how I selected the field and adopted a qualitative ethnographic approach, the quote above highlights that actor-oriented ethnographic researchers observe, follow, identify, and continually review observational notes to verify previous observations. A question emerges; *how did the researcher 'act' in the network?* This will describe how I

engaged with the other actants in A4L's network, but also with the people, organisations, and objects that constitute A4L. This thesis is a representative spokesperson of the network which was created and endured throughout the 14 months of the ethnographic research.

Another question that this section discusses; *How did the researcher follow the actors within the A4L actor-network?* As will be described, I followed A4L model actions by being part of it – by going with and being part of the interactions, communications, and events that were all interconnected within the field. 'Acting in the network' consists of listing the practices I utilised in the field to gather data as well as 'following the actors', the process of generating associations, as, in the field, I was influenced and affected the unfolding networks.

4.3.1 'Acting In' the Network

The coordination of the A4L actor-network was determined by multiple actions that assumed diverse forms - festivals, conferences, workshops – through national and international locations over a two-year period. It was always in process: being constructed and deconstructed, operating by expansion and with changing alliances which comprised a multiplicity of interconnections, actions and meeting points. So, *how did I 'act' in the network?* When I first arrived in Kolkata (in 2010), it was my intention to follow parts of the network flows, interactions, and actors (human and non-human) to obtain a sense of A4L's network, and how it was configured and structured as I was entering the field as an embedded researcher. I was, however, both inside and outside of the network: a foreign ethnographic researcher and part of IICTD and A4L's actor-network.

As explained above, in Section 3.1.1, the PhD Brief indicated that the primary research method would preferably be a qualitative ethnographic method. Qualitative ethnography is the "art and science of describing a group of culture" (Fetterman, 208, p288), and within fieldwork this is a tool that helps the ethnographer understand a culture, a group, and its networks. In the field, I decided to employ an actor-oriented ethnographic framework which aligned with my research objectives, the field of study (ANT and festivals), and with my academic background in anthropology and international development. I conducted 14 months of in-depth fieldwork applying participant observation – a combination of participation, conversations, primary and secondary materials with observations (Creswell, 2003; Patton, 2002). Participant observation is a technique for gathering data involving

extended field visits, living, or working with the target actors for an extended period of time, and participating in local activities during which I observed and following their daily work and training (Creswell, 2003; Mackellar, 2013). This field technique is suited to many aspects of festival events as well as understanding networks, as Jorgensen (1989, p.12) argues "the methodology of participant observation is exceptional for studying processes, relationships among people and events, the organisation of people and events, continuities over time, patterns, as well as the immediate sociocultural contexts in which existence unfolds".

Participant observation 'requires the researcher to become involved', as a participant, while also making descriptive reflections of themselves, and observations of other participants, which include the social setting (Mackellar, 2013). The level of involvement throughout my fieldwork shifted depending on the events, as some situations offered few opportunities for engagement; others allowed for co-performance. For instance, attending a *Shadu Shongo* in Murshidabad provided opportunities to observe as a spectator and engage in informal interviews. On the other hand, at the 1st Fakiri Utsav, my co-performance just happened when one Bāul discovered me singing along with a song (on an MP3 player) while walking towards the paddy field alone. It was later that evening, that he (the artist) invited me to sing saying: "*Jane gan gaibo*" (Jane you sing) (Fieldnotes, 2011, January). I was surprised, a little taken back at the request. With only one other artist around I decided to sing along with both of them. It was not planned in advance, as I was aware of the potential conflict that may arise in role allocation as both a participant and an observer. Co-performance, where the 'ethnographer dances, sings, or even acts with the local group, is considered basic in unveiling embodied knowledge about the performance traditions' (Mottin, 2016); thus, co-performance encourages relationships, especially ones of mutual respect and trust. The first co-performance moment was an 'ice-breaking' moment that led to increased rapport between myself and many of the artists and their communities, as one Fakir artist stated: 'you are the first foreigner from the office to learn our songs, our language. There is much to see and learn if you have time; just ask' (Field Notes, 2011, January).

The degree of participation and observation changed through the research period and between events. I sometimes had to decide on the extent of my participation. For instance, at the second Pot Maya, some Bāuls Fakirs were performing with several Patachitra and gestured for me to join them on stage. I was hesitant and declined as, at the time, my relationship with IBase was strained. I was concerned as to how my active participation

would be interpreted at such a public event, so I declined, as co-performance exposed me to the public gaze, especially when at public performances or events, including IBase's directors who began to 'perceive' my increased acceptance and movements among the artists as a risk to the stabilisation of the network. A key informant working at the social enterprise stated that 'the directors are very sceptical of the researchers. Your movements are being closely monitored and the field officers report back the questions being asked, your interactions with the artists are noted, and your travel outside to see other people has also been noted' (IBase Employee B, 2011, informal interview, 6 March). Even though I was an embedded researcher working within the organisation and grasping the challenges faced by the SEs, presence alone is not always enough (Lewis and Russel, 2011). Embeddedness lies in the quality of, and types of, relationships that emerged between actors and these relationships were continually negotiated throughout the researcher, as will be further discussed within this chapter.

Despite this, I cannot claim that I always understood more about the folk art performances and practices whilst co-performing; in several cases the 'backstage' performances and interactions revealed many hidden narratives that previously were taken for granted. This is certainly true in the case of a performance[30] in Berhampore, where I observed two artists preventing another artist from performing on stage, despite the lead artist's statement that 'each artist will sing two songs' (Field Notes, 2011, October). After the performance the artist was visibly upset and told me 'they do not always give me a chance to perform' (Fakir 7, 2011, personal conversation, October). This dynamic was not observed at local Bāul Fakiri Melas or even *Shadu Songos,* in which everyone had opportunities to perform; however, the 'selection of artists' was a key input of the Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) scheme, an emerging input that A4L dovetailed (see Section 6.2, for a discussion and Chapter 8, for the impacts). These co-performance experiences allowed me to increase my familiarity with the artists, the folk forms and actions that occurred 'backstage'. As a result, they were no longer 'black-boxed', but became part of the narrative. In addition, these co-performance events were quickly remembered and referred back to by actors (artists) helping to maintain rapport throughout the fieldwork period.

Even when I attended events as a passive spectator, I became a participant in the event as I was taking part in the social setting. I regularly made observations by using field notes,

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[30] [30] This performance in Berhampore was organized directly with the artists through their personal networks (fakir 1, 2011, informal interview, October).

photographic and video images, artefacts, and collected programmes and other sources that were available at the events. Attending events also allowed me to gather data through casual conversations, in-depth, informal and unstructured interviews (Jorgensen, 1989; Moscardo, 2007). Informal discussions provided a more 'realistic' account by the informants as they took place in relaxed circumstances, allowing the informants to be more candid, not directed (Gobo, 2008; Mackellar, 2013). Although I was still present, these conversations emerged more naturally between us allowing me to listen, observe, and pick up on important cues (body language, tone of voice, et cetera) which confirmed data that was observed previously. For instance, informal conversations and semi-structured interviews in Naya revealed they were unfamiliar with tourism and tourist expectations, so I conducted two drawing workshops on 'What is a Tourist' (Sammy, 2008). The purpose of this was to "create an understanding of tourism from within the local context by illustrating the similarities and differences between tourists and community members" (Sammy, 2008, p. 82). Semi-structured interviews with each Patachitra artist who completed a 'What is a Tourist' drawing confirmed previous statements, observations, and were then cross-referenced with other field notes collected throughout the fieldwork to identify connections (see appendix F). Informal conversations, semi-structured interviews with external informants[31] revealed unforeseen narratives, connections and perspectives that, once reviewed, were followed up on later visits.

To conduct this research and follow the network, I relied upon a variety of techniques and things. As A4L is a network of association of actors and resources that are continually put into circulation, I had to engage and also follow non-human actors throughout the field. Throughout the field research, however, I was called upon to decide not only whether, but also on how to follow actors, decisions which ultimately shaped the field and data results. First, this research could not have been conducted without access to A4L, however, access was never simply granted but was negotiated on a continuous basis, as I emerged and re-emerged within the 'local' field of Kolkata, as previously discussed above.

When I first arrived in Kolkata, access was given by the social enterprise management. During our initial meeting, I informed IBase director about my proposed research, objectives and ethnographic approach and clarified some initial questions having read a few briefs about

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[31] In relation to the Patachitra, I conducted interviews (informal or semi-structured) with several external academics that were involved in long-term studies – ethnographic, visual and audio – of the Patachitra either in Naya or in Kolkata.

the project. The director of IBase informed me that 'a series of visits were scheduled for me along with the other IICTD researchers, so I could understand the project actions'.

It is necessary here to briefly clarify the role of the IICTD postgraduate students who were already in the field working on the following inputs:

- Researching, planning and implementing tourism heritage trails across the districts involved in the project

- Running a series of workshops with folk artists, exposing them to a range of examples and experiences in order to provide a greater understanding of the dynamics of culture, place and society in different environments

- Collecting, documenting and presenting, in a variety of audio, visual and other formats, the range of art and cultural forms expressed across the six districts, through field research and additional workshops

- Assisting in the organisation and delivery of an international seminar entitled: "Creative Economies based on Indigenous Art and Culture (IICTD, PhD Research Brief, 2010)

The IICTD postgraduate students were involved in developing Master Tourism Plans for input A described above, and documenting and presenting the Patachitra art forms in the Colour Chart of Naya, and participating in 'residency workshops':- cross cultural exchanges and village visits, with the artists. After our meeting, the senior managers informed me they were interested in enhancing the experiential tourism experiences in relation to the A4L model. Access was granted to the SEs' theatre director, key informants in Kolkata (artistic director, workshop experts et cetera), various events in Kolkata and multiple field trips arranged to Nadia, East Medinipur, Purulia and Malda as highlighted in Appendix G – a schedule of a field excursion with IICTD field researchers and an external festival coordinator from Europe.

I was confronted early on by IBase's outcome-oriented expectation as a tour of Malda was arranged so I could "develop a detail research document, as had been done for Purulia by the IICTD postgraduate students, on how to develop cultural-based tourism. It will then be presented to the Government of West Bengal" (IBase Email Correspondence, 2010, September). I was also asked to contribute to the development of tourism itineraries in Nadia and East Medinipur. The tour of West Bengal included a seven-day tour of Malda, where I was to develop a "detailed research document (like [the one on] Purulia) on what can be done more to develop cultural-based tourism, that will then be presented to Govt. of West

Bengal" (Field Correspondence, 2010). Also, "you [the researcher] could contribute to the development of tourism itineraries as well as capacity-building productions in collaboration with the theatre manager" (IBase, 2010, email correspondence, September). In the beginning, therefore, I was allowing IBase to show me where to look, what materials were being mobilised to develop A4L's model, and how each of these elements became related to one another (Murdoch, 1994).

As I did not know any actors within the network before arriving in West Bengal, I followed the social enterprise – letting them lead me through the network. This made access easier as the researcher was not a complete outsider. Being introduced by IBase went a long way towards providing some credibility with internal and external actors. In the village, for instance, the researcher was initially seen (assumed) to be working with IBase, in spite of several explanations about my role. Eventually, the beneficiaries within the villages came to understand that my research objectives were 'independent' and confidential. In Kolkata, I was introduced to representatives from UNESCO, France de Monde, the Ministry of West Bengal Tourism et cetera by IBase employees at various A4L events, which widened my network and understanding of the network processes.

Although, I followed IBase through completing a report for Malda and developed a workshop to 'enhance the understanding of the communities on the dynamics of tourism' as requested, both were rejected by the IBase directors. The capacity-building sessions were rejected as the vice-president of IBase stated: 'we do not want to scare the communities with the negative impact of tourism and activities. Let them start hosting tourists first before we mention any of the negative impacts. Can you please make sure they are taken out of the final outline for the theatre director' (IBase Vice President, November 2010). Despite presenting an argument for the need for both capacity-building sessions, including highlighting that a local Kolkata tour operator had stated that despite knowing the Patachitra well, 'they would not bring tourists to village until the competitiveness is addressed, as often tourists feel under pressure to make a purchase as everyone is asking them to buy' (Kolkata Tour Operator, 2011, interview, December). IICTD actors had brought this to IBase's attention on several occasions, however IBase was adamant that the potential negative impacts of tourism "were not useful" (IICTD Research Student 5, 2010, personal communication). My reluctance to comply was perceived as not contributing to IBase's objectives, therefore alignment of interests diverged. From an ANT perspective, this

divergence of interest threatened the stability of this relationship which could lead to the gradual dissolution of the alliance.

4.4 Following the Actors in the Field

Following the actors in an ethnographic setting requires moving around the network of actors. I followed A4L activities, which involved travelling with A4L across multiple sites in West Bengal (Kolkata, Nadia, Delhi, East Medinipur, Siliguri et cetera), and Europe (London and France), which helped me map the actor-network perceptions and actions while also observing their negotiations with one another within and outside A4L actions. As a result, my field was multi-sited as it was concerned with the movement of A4L – its ideas, people, and products locally, nationally, and internationally (Hannerz, 2003; Marcus, 1995).

Participant observation as a method required me to immerse myself in the day-to-day activities of my informants, by following them, in an attempt to understand these activities (Hannerz, 2003; Lewis and Russell, 2011). This multi-sited approach is closely related to *following the actors* (Latour, 1987); tracing how actors, discourses, and artefacts are brought into circulation or assemblage to construct a network. As highlighted previously, practical considerations made it impossible to constantly, or simultaneously, follow every actor and object of A4L, and so I concentrated on attending events and festivals.

As time passed, I recognised that I was in danger of "erecting walls and neglecting connections and movements in and out of the site" (Haldrup and Larsen, 2010, p.40), so I moved beyond the confines of the bounded ethnographic field. I went where the action was with A4L in West Bengal, but also increasingly followed other actors, especially artists that were engaged and disengaged from A4L actions, to events, performances, workshops et cetera, which offered me unanticipated opportunities to collect material in alignment with my ethnographic objectives of 'following the network' (Latour, 2005). Even though a close relationship with IBase was accessible in the beginning, access was imperfect, and my access was reduced over time, until by the end of the field research it was highly restricted; although I moved freely between the villages and communities with an external interpreter planning directly with the artists, it was essential for my research to get the perspective of the communities, i.e. the beneficiaries, who were part of the A4L network, especially as they offered a mechanism to check the process and impacts of A4L components and verify the

public narratives that were inscribed by IBase and other representative spokespersons. The frequent contrast between the IBase and communities' alternative accounts provided evidence of the disconnect between the discourse (circulating narratives) and actual impacts at the grassroots level.

Access was also affected by logistical concerns, as travelling in and around rural India as a foreigner is never easily done. When I first arrived in India, I was unfamiliar with the area, and the language[32], and only had one local contact outside of the social enterprise. As described previously, in the beginning of my research I followed IBase travel arrangements throughout West Bengal. Although the field arrangements and logistical requirements were outlined on several occasions to the director of IBase (in emails, in two meetings with the PhD supervisors et cetera), negotiating access to the field was often unsuccessful. In spite of the researcher's explanations, both written and verbal, including trip outlines to the vice-president and senior manager, interpreters/field staff provided by IBase could not always translate adequately. In addition, they were often called back to the office hours into the field visit, would be reposted to other locations the day before, or on several occasions no one would be available. These logistical problems were also experienced by the other IICTD researchers who stated:

> when we first went to the field sites the field staff provided by IBase were very good at translating our questions, but these field officers are not always available. When we ask for one of these field officers who can translate our questions for our A4L research such as the Purulia Tourism Trails which will be presented to the Ministry, we are always told by the director that they speak good English, so don't worry. But they don't speak good English. (Field Notes, Informal Conversation IICTD Researcher, 2010).

Logistical access during key A4L activities for international actors (IICTD supervisors, UNESCO Representatives, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute[33]) was never a problem, as observed at A4L events and festivals or during village tours when I accompanied the UNESCO Representative or France Festival Organisers. These highly visible spokespersons were influential actors and supported IBase socio-economic objectives. For instance, the UNESCO Programme Specialist conducted an independent evaluation of A4L, despite UNESCO being an associate partner in A4L under IIP. In an ANT perspective, even

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[32] I began taking Bengali lessons while in Kolkata and continued throughout my research.
[33] A group of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Architecture and Development Master Students participated on an international exchange tour, including attending the Fakiri Utsav. Informal field interviews with the student and observation revealed they had excellent interpreters throughout the experience (Field Notes, 2011).

supportive actors that have an immediate belief in the social enterprise model must continually be stabilised; often they are provided taken-for-granted facts, which they accept and then transform into fact. For instance, the UNESCO New Delhi representative was provided access to measurement reports, collected, and inscribed by IBase, on the outcomes of A4L actions for internal and external reports while field visits were highly coordinated. As stabilisation is never fixed, it must always be maintained.

Interviews with a field officer revealed that the director, or one of the other 'officials' always accompanies high officials so they ensure the right information is circulating (Field Officer 2, 2011 personal interview, 20 September). Another field officer, working for IBase, corroborated the previous statement saying:

> when we accompany any researcher, we are told what questions to answer, what not to disclose and what to assist or not assist with. All the employees were advised at the Pot Maya and Fakiri Utsav not to assist with translating and not to support the IICTD researchers, unless it was absolutely necessary.

> But we can assist the international officials with specific information, if they ask us. But the directors were managing those interactions to ensure the right story is circulating (IBase Employee F, 2011, interview, 18 October).

The quote above highlights that official field visits were occasions to "explicate the assumption of the project model" (Mosse, 2005, p.126). As Mosse highlights, 'official' field visits that are highly coordinated, structured, and constrained by focal point actors often "tactically conspire to misrepresent" (2005, p.231). Thus, external actors were being managed, persuaded, and being provided with the 'established facts' that would align, maintain and stabilise the relationships. A statement from an external representative from UNESCO highlighted "the field visits have allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the model and its impacts". Official visits are therefore an important mechanism to demonstrate the success of project innovations.

At a certain stage, I attributed the reduction of field support by IBase to anxiety about their inability to control the results of my work that could challenge A4L 'black boxes', which then could destabilise the network (Gobo, 2008). Frequently, anthropologists are "treated with suspicion within groups of development professionals. In their efforts to empathise with and understand 'the other', they are viewed as becoming too close to the beneficiaries'" (Crewe and Axelby, 2012, p. 28). Ethnographers and fieldworkers can also, according to some anthropologist, such as Hastrup (2004), Brettell (1993) cited in Mosse (2006),, be regarded as spies, someone who betrays confidences or reveals secrets. This was

substantiated during my fieldwork by statements from two employees (field officers) including:

- once a researcher starts asking serious questions that may be seen as leading to criticism, even if constructive, then the field support is reduced significantly. Remember, when you asked the questions to Mahuli about her grant for her house or about Giri's previous occupation, these were flagged by the directors; and,

- the last two times you went to the field, I was in the office and could have gone with you. If you had asked me directly, I was told by the director to tell you I was out of station (IBase Employee 6, 2011, personal communication).

Within an ANT perspective, therefore, my field methodology and the questions I asked failed to align with the SE's development narratives, thus they were not 'accepted' as they could destabilise the network by challenging the existing narratives that were used within A4L development narratives which aimed to stabilise, mobilise and scale A4L. According to Mosse (2005), although there is an impression that development organisations feel that they have something to hide, this is wrong, as they deal with criticism and questions regarding the impacts. They are however "less tolerant of research that fall outside of design frameworks, that do not appear to be of practical relevance, is wasteful of time or adds complexity and makes the task of management harder (see discussion in Mosse 1998a)" (Mosse, 2005a, p.12). As discussed above, the director of IBase perceived my research as falling outside of the design frame, that it was not useful to the structure which they were implementing, and that the PhD outcome was not a measurable objective under A4L (IICTD Supervisor E, 2011, personal communication). Although the PhD was not itself a quantifiable activity under A4L actions as outlined in Appendix C, it was an agreed action between IICTD-IBase, but was punctualised in formal documents as an "exchange with international actors for increased exposure and collaboration" (IBase, 2010, activity report). The presence of the IICTD PhD students in the field, despite their outputs, therefore aligned with IIP criteria, stabilised the relationship between IICTD-IBase and created a platform for knowledgeexchange and the enhancement of networks in tourism, which IBase did not have previously.

Sustaining long-term participant observation with a 'goal oriented' development organisation was difficult in the absence of a measurable contribution (Mosse, 2005a). However, after my fieldwork ended, an international researcher with the A4L project contacted me to discuss access issues she/he encountered in Kolkata, stating:

they are more than controlling and are calling me 5-6 times a day demanding to hear my field recordings and interviews, see all my videos, read all my survey questions and I'm concerned they are stalking me. The interviews reveal that IBase is basically exploiting these musicians – making 2 crores and giving them 20 rupees and sometimes nothing at all. They have done a few concerts in Kolkata when they've received no food or even been provided tea as there is no business in that. I'm worried that if they get their hands on this data, the artists will be negatively reprimanded due to their openness (Independent Researcher, 2012, email correspondence, 16 November 2012)

Even though IBase actively promoted and enrolled researchers, it can be argued that they had concerns about the 'hidden narratives' that, if inscribed and circulated, could destabilise the A4L actor-network, as building and maintaining a compelling reputation and legitimacy for the model is a scarce resource for SEs, national and international actors in the network (Korsgaard, 2011; Nimmo, 2011). Claims of success are always fragile, and, like the actor-network itself, need to be constantly managed in order to maintain stability and durability (Mosse, 2005a).

Despite these field restrictions, I was able to break from the 'embedded researcher position', described earlier, by hiring external interpreters[34] to accompany me to the field, even as my Bengali was improving[35]. This increased the consistency of my work, allowing me to further engage with the beneficiaries and follow up on previous interviews and extended field visits. Although I was aware that 'informants' had backgrounds that I was unaware of, I would argue that I was not without insight, as I had informants outside of the A4L actor-network (MacKellar, 2013; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). In addition, several of the artists commented that I was more interested in understanding them than other researchers, including the social enterprise, as illustrated by the following interview excerpt:

She asks just the right questions, just the actual question. For two days she has been asking, and now I see! Her head is thinking as one of us, someone who understands our philosophy, our community. From the time she spends with us, she understands us (Fakir 1, 2011, interview).

[34] I hired three external interpreters while in India. It must be mentioned that one of these interpreters was a previous employee with the social enterprise, although during her time at the social enterprise she mostly worked on other projects or with different artists than the Patachitra and Bāul Fakiri. She replaced another interpreter who became ill, as she was available and had very good English skills. The other two were independent of the social enterprise from the local University.
[35] Throughout my stay in West Bengal I had been taking Bengali lessons and purchased Learn Bengali CD to maintain and improve my skills throughout the fieldwork. By the end of the fieldwork I was much more confident with my skills and could participate in basic conversations without a field interpreter. For interviews, I still relied on an interpreter as the discussions was more complex.

By travelling throughout Nadia district to various Bāul Fakiri communities, including those that rejected A4L (as will be discussed in Chapter 8, section 8.5) as well as East Medinipur with external support, I was able to uncover additional processes of A4L's development and hidden circulating narratives. I had the relative freedom to follow the network wherever I chose to travel. This immersion into the field is a critical aspect of ethnography, especially as I wanted to learn enough about the communities and their folk forms so as to present an authentic interpretation of their experiences: how they are part of the co-creation of the A4L model and its impact on them as 'beneficiaries'.

My independence in the field increased my ability to maintain trust in the field especially when establishing new connections with artists that were 'hidden' from A4L's circulating narratives or not included in the controlled field visits. Informants in the field confided and revealed aspects of their personal lives, including introducing me to other actors such as their gurus or external network actors involved in the documentation and preservation of folk forms in West Bengal. Because of this, my level of concern about sharing research findings with IBase and other network actors increased, as I feared it may threaten the livelihood and networking of some of the beneficiaries involved in the research. I had ethical responsibilities towards the general welfare of the respondents, therefore their identities are hidden, and pseudonyms used wherever necessary throughout the thesis. The dilemmas relating to how much of the observed data is to be revealed and how to ensure the least possible damage to the A4L beneficiaries and the communities were also points of concern that continuously challenged me throughout my writing (Mosse, 2005a).

Similarly, I was also aware that within the thesis it is important that the critique of the organisation be analysed constructively within a theoretical framework, such as the anthropology of development. Venkatesan and Yarrow (2012, p.i) argue that "over the last two decades, anthropological studies highlight the problems of 'development' as a discursive regime, arguing that international initiatives are paradoxically used to consolidate inequality and perpetuate poverty". This ethnographic study, therefore, uses ANT's chains of innovation, as outlined in Section 3.5, to highlight how apparently coherent policies and programmes emerge through actions – the multiple processes of heterogenous actors – whilst also revealing the 'hidden transcripts' (Chapter 8) that coexist alongside A4L's circulating narratives (Mosse 2005a; Venkatesan & Yarrow, 2012).

4.5 Data Follows you Home

After the fieldwork, a new phase began. The shift from the field to the desk to start writing my thesis was not an easy one. Throughout my time in the field I had compiled notes and interviews, collected articles, built relationships, and begun to reflect on how to make sense of the study; but to do so in a manner that was transparent and communicable to others. This required the data to be organised so that it could be examined and interpreted. After my return to the UK, I finished writing up the remaining field notes, had the last interviews transcribed and loaded all the data into Nvivo, which started to bring order to the data. Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis computer software specifically designed for working with rich text-based data, was selected as it had features such as character-based coding, rich text capabilities and multimedia functions which are crucial for qualitative data management (Altinay, Sigala and Waligo, 2016). In addition, this software met the researchers' requirements, and it was available through the University Research office free of charge.

The analysis of the qualitative data began following established ethnographic techniques, as mentioned above. The intention was to develop explanations direct from the data, following a grounded theory approach (Corbin and Strauss; 1990; Goulding, 2005). Grounded theory seeks to "uncover relevant conditions, but also determine how the actors respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions" (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p. 5). This is done through beginning the systematic analysis of data while collecting the data in the field. Although, I only entered all my data into Nvivo after it was all collected, my analysis of the data began during my first field visits. As information emerged, it directed the next interviews, observations, and, where possible, the following field visits. As a result, I was able to process and capture all the relevant aspects of the topic, process, interactions, and relationships as they presented themselves. This research process as an actor-oriented ethnographic researcher guided me towards examining all the possibilities of the actor-network which emerged in the field.

Analysis in Nvivo started with the creation of a new project 'India Field Analysis', which had over 100 sources from the project: 35 interview transcripts in PDF, 30 field notes in Word, nine London Metropolitan University Reports in PDF, and 28 newspaper articles, et cetera. After all the sources were transferred, the interview transcripts were read, re-read, and coded under keywords generated from the field data, a process sometimes referred to as 'open coding' (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Categories and themes that were important in

breaking down and understanding the text emerged - tourism, social enterprise, poverty, networks, pre-production et cetera- and then excerpts were extracted across sources and put into their respective nodes – that allowed me to gather related material in one place, so I could identify emerging patterns. I had identified node categories in the cross-examination of the field data and literature review in relation to the emerging field question. I then clustered different nodes together to identify the emerging patterns across multiple nodes, such as social enterprise and tourism, which reduced the data down into more manageable extracts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Throughout the process, the content of the nodes was reviewed continuously by looking over the data by simply double-clicking on the appropriate node. Afterwards, nodes were organised into subcategories to form a more complete and precise explanation of the dynamics of interrelationships between categories. For instance, the clustering of observed incidents under the node 'workshops', allowed me to discover why network relationships were formed, and interactions between the structure (why), processes (how) and impacts (with what result). The analysis served as a basis for developing an overarching framework, in connection with ANT. Critical components included the 'inputs' and 'emerging components', 'actions' (strategic or non-strategic), and consequences (responses – public and private) of actor-networks. It must be noted that throughout the data analysis, the multiple readings and re-readings of the field and secondary data, in association with the ANT approach, meant it had become a new 'actor' in the network, as the data analysis is an intermediary, facilitating the PhD researcher in bringing together different knowledge from within A4L's process of development which, when analysed in relation to one another, generated new knowledge of livelihood development processes.

Analysis in Nvivo allowed me to rearrange, connect and cross-reference all the field data. As the analysis of these data streams advanced, I realised how the processes, operations, and stability of A4L was achieved by an incredibly complex set of interactions between human and non-human factors. I recognised that the broad aim of the research, as formulated in 2010, was 'to examine the challenges involved in capacity development for cultural tourism development', needed to evolve. It would have been "unacceptable for both ethical and practical reasons" (Richards, 2005, p.14), within the academic actor-network, not to have an initial research question and sub-questions. As Creswell (2007, p.107) suggests, qualitative questions are 'evolving'. The first research question was therefore tentative and exploratory. As time progressed, as more literature emerged and as the fieldwork unfolded (as described above), the questions 'evolved' from the data. As a result, the broad aim of this thesis was

adapted to understand the processes that SEs utilise in developing tourism and its impacts (see Section 1.2.1 above), reflecting an increased awareness and understanding of the social interactions involved in co-creating A4L's network. Once the central theme came out of the data, the decisions concerning the inclusion and exclusion of material were often difficult as the data was generated in the field through personal interactions between actants in A4L's actor-network, and as such it is much more than a story: it became 'our' story; one version of the A4L actor-network (Latour, 2005).

Networks are never stable: new actors emerge, some lose their effect, some disengage from the activities, et cetera. Consequently, the A4L networks described within this thesis do not represent the full list of permanent actors in A4L's network; rather these shifting actors were relevant at the time. There were more actors and certainly more activities, but due to the fieldwork constraints (discussed above, in section 4.3 and 4.4), they continued to develop and possibly steer the A4L actor-network. Critical questions that came out of the analysis of the data and writing up regarded where and how to cut the network, and where the network ends, as on reflection not all the ethnographic data collected would be useful for the writing of this PhD thesis (the intended outcome of the PhD Candidate and PhD Brief).

Deciding what to include and exclude in the final version of the written thesis is subjective (Latour, 2005) and was a source of frequent review. According to Latour (2005), one must start by describing the network before making any judgements or decisions. Tracing a network is seemingly, and perhaps actually, an endless task. As 'networks' link different actors together, each grouping of actors can involve a multiplicity of relationships and levels of analysis which can then be described. For instance, the Patachitra network could be depicted by the government events they attend, the workshops they partake in, the creation of their pata scrolls or the performances they give et cetera. Similarly, the interpretation of the Bāul Fakiri networks can be traced through individual-guru relationships, group or community networks, Utsav (festival) networks, or through the songs they perform. Each of these 'networks' relationships could be used to describe a network, although some may be more significant than others. For instance, the Bāul Fakiri network involved taking part and attending A4L workshops, events, and festivals beyond the main village that will be described in section 5.2.1. below, to include the district of Murshidabad, where regular *sādhu*

seva's[36] and *sādhu shongos*[37] occur. Several *sādhu seva* which I attended in Murshidabad discussed 'how to deal with the influence of A4L on their musical impacts, its impacts on the Guru-student relationships, the lack of livelihood income after workshops' on multiple occasions (Fakir 2, 2012, informal interview, 12 March; Fakir 18, 2012, informal interview, 14 March). Consequently, many Bāul Fakirs within this community disengaged from A4L activities as an individual and collective approach to dealing with its effects on their relationship with their music and/or students (as will be discussed further 8.3). Even though it is up to the researcher (human actor) as to which networks to focus on when writing up, 'cutting the network' (Strathern, 1996) is steered by the field observations (a non-human actor) of the primary and secondary data, the conceptual framework, and the focus of the thesis.

When writing up this thesis, I therefore had to make strategic choices over which emerging inputs (including networks) to follow and which black boxes to leave unopened, due to the importance of the shifting actors and practical constraints of the word limit of the thesis. As Latour states, there is no final answer to a question (Latour, 2005). In a recorded dialogue with a PhD student, Latour stated "you stop when you have written your 50,000 words or whatever is the format here, I always forget" in response to the question of "How do you know when to stop your network tracing activity?" (Latour, 2005, p.148). In the field, I did not stop collecting data even when I had limited access to specific actors, availability of time or field translators. Even weeks and months after leaving the field I continued to collect data on the Bāul, Patachitra and A4L actors by maintaining contact with network actors, attending events in France and London and routinely reviewing the social enterprise website. In July 2012, after the official end of my 'fieldwork', I attended Les Orientals festival in France along with five Fakiri artists, as I had maintained contact with the actors in our network. The negotiations and discussions surrounding the invitation of the artists, the festival in France and post-event discussions in Kolkata re-enforced some of the field observations while in the field; interacting with the artists provided further insights into the dynamics of the artists and their associations; thus, it is included in the analysis of the network. As a result, the selected path to 'cut the network' was based on the analysis of the data in relation to the thesis question. I ignored the data that could not be substantiated from the field observations,

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[36] *Sādhu Seva* literally refers to the ritual hand movement and blessing by which fakirs greet one another when they gather. See also appendix H, for a glossary of terms for the Bāuls.

[37] *Sādhu shongos* are gatherings where philosophical debates, discussions and social issues are explored by the Fakirs who are the intellectuals of their village communities.

and in so doing followed the assemblages which emerged based on A4L network, which includes my 'acting in the network'.

4.6   Chapter Summary

This chapter demonstrated the dynamic nature of the field by posing and answering broad questions on how this narrative was co-created. First, answering *How did the researcher come to select the field? Including the two art forms?* I traced the processes – the actors, the resources and the convergence of interests by looking at the connections between each network, each actor that converged to form A4L. Tracing how I was enrolled into A4L's partnerships began first by reviewing the connections between *Investing in People - Access to local culture, protection, and promotion of cultural diversity* and its actors – IBase, the applicant, IICTD and PAX, the partners, and UNESCO, an associate partner. It was revealed that the PhD Brief was one outcome of the IIP A4L partnership and it moved across local and global networks through the convergence of interests around cultural development and tourism.

Having made these connections, I moved on to answering *How did the researcher 'act' in the network?* I followed the actors in the field as we were coordinated around multiple actions including conferences, workshops, festivals and independent events across West Bengal, UK and France. Conducting ethnographic fieldwork allowed for longer in-depth fieldwork through participant observations, a field technique that is suited not only to ANT but also to studying festivals, as it allows the researcher to study the processes and relationships among people and non-human objects as it unfolds. Moreover, this technique allowed me to co-perform, which gave me access to the 'backstage' spaces of performances, and these interactions revealed hidden narratives that previously were taken for granted, including how artists were selected to perform at A4L, in independent and local events (Sādhu Songos et cetera). Throughout the research I was called upon to follow not only human actors but also non-human actors, such as the Resource Centre (RC) or brochures which, through combining ethnographic techniques with observations, allowed me to make additional connections across networks. As outlined above, following the actors in the A4L network was complex, not only because it involved travelling, but also managing relationships with multiple heterogenous networks and actors.

The last question answered was *Where does the network end?* Although Latour referred to the network ending when a researcher reaches their word limit, I decided to 'cut the network' based on the analysis of the data in relation to the thesis questions. Ignoring the data that could not be substantiated from only the field observations, I used Nvivo to assemble the data into clusters around key themes which had emerged from acting in the field, following the actors and reviewing the literature. Having outlined the methodology from a reflective ANT perspective, the next chapter provides a more detailed account of the two folk communities which I 'acted in' and 'followed' in the field. These two folk art communities and their living cultural heritage may be unknown to the reader, so the next chapter establishes the background to each folk art and their communities.

5 The Artists of West Bengal

Before moving on to analyse the fieldwork data, a more detailed account of the Patachitra and Bāul Fakiri communities, their living cultural heritage, and social networks is given below. In this chapter, I return to describing the two folk art communities: - the beneficiaries of A4L's actions. As explained in Chapter 4, I 'acted in' and 'followed' these artists throughout the fieldwork in West Bengal, London, and after the official fieldwork, in France for an international music festival. In order to explain the background to each of the folk art beneficiaries, the entry point to this chapter starts with answering the following questions: - Who are the Patachitra of East Medinipur? Who are the Bāul Fakirs of Nadia?

The chapter is divided into two sections. First, a brief overview of the primary village research locations will be presented, after which the artisans' historical background and art forms will be described. The final sections of each background will introduce these artists' local and global networks, which will illustrate the larger markets in which these artists are engaged. Finally, the chapter summary gives a brief summation of each art form. I then draw attention to several differences between these beneficiaries as these actants, human and non-human, have influenced interactions in the network (see Chapter 8).

5.1 The Patachitra of East Medinipur

5.1.1 The Village

Naya, in Pingla block in East Medinapore, is home to 311 Patachitra beneficiaries. They are a group of *Patuas* artists who paint colourful scrolls to accompany songs which they sing to relate historic, current, religious, and cultural events to audiences (Field Notes, 2010). Although not all Patua households in Naya rely on painting and singing as their primary source of income, many do, and both men and women are economically engaged in the production and dissemination of their collective art form. Almost every house in Naya has at least one member involved in this traditional caste occupation, if not more, including the younger generation (Field Observation, 2010; 2011). Those who have left their traditional craft work predominantly as agricultural labourers, or rickshaw drivers and a few have migrated to Kolkata.

Many of the families in Naya live in abject poverty in small mud huts, traditional waddle or thatched houses near the roadside without indoor plumbing and, for several houses, no electricity or proper sewage. There are others that are more fortunate, living in concrete houses that have essentials like private tube wells, outhouses, indoor electricity, and in two cases, indoor toilets.

This cluster of Patua families living in Naya, a self-contained hamlet, known as *patuapara* (Patua neighbourhood), is illustrated below in Figure 5.1. The *Colours of Patachitra* is a map of the hamlet and illustrates the physical dynamics of this actor – Naya Village.
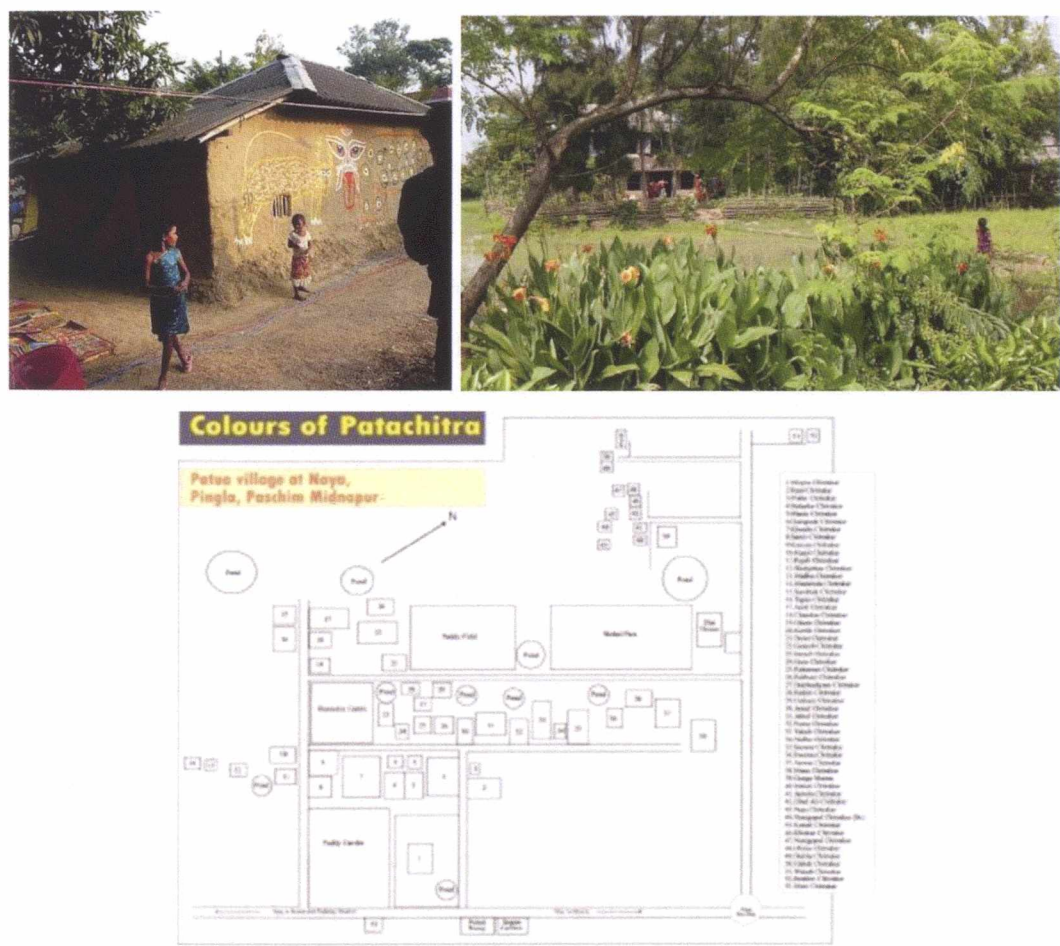
Figure 5:1   **Patachitra Village and Map**

(Field Photos and Map, 2010)

5.1.2 Who are the Patachitra?

The Patuas, also known as *chitrakars*, are an indigenous group of Bengalis specialising in the production of painted narratives scrolls (*pata*) that are unrolled accompanied by a song (*pata gān*). Storytelling, expressed through painted scrolls, is mentioned in sacred texts such as the

Brahmavaivarta Purana, which first entered the academic discourse through the writings of Gurusaday Dutt (1882-1941) (Chakrabarti, 2008).

Historical information regarding the Patuas dates back to 200 B.C., when Patanjali mentioned the chitrakara tribe in his writings (Chakrabarti, 2008). However, it was not until the 8th Century A.D. that Chitralekha and Chitradarshana, i.e., scroll painting and exhibitions, gained importance, when they were inscribed in some mediaeval literature including the Parashuramasmriti and Rupa Goswami's Vidagdha Madhaba drama among others (Chakrabarti, 2008). There is consensus among researchers that the Patuas have been engaged in their trade since at least the eleventh century, as 'Chitrakaras', or the scroll painters, were mentioned in the 10th Chapter of Brahmavaivarta Purana, written in around the 11th or 12th century A.D., if not prior to that (Chakrabarti, 2008; Korom 2006).

In the East Medinipur district of West Bengal, generations of hereditary painter-singers, Patachitra, have practised their craft, an oral tradition inherited by each successive generation. In West Bengal, Patachitra are not only an artisan caste, but whilst the Kumhars (potters) or Shutradhans (carpenters) also paint similar pictures, the Patachitra artists are the only ones who display *patas* and sing *pata gān*, thus making them multi-media performers (Ray, 1953).

Mythological accounts suggest that the Patuas were originally Hindu. Texts such as the Shilpashastra (Code of Art: I.0.96), however, read that "Chitrakars have just been expelled [from society] by angry Brahmans" for painting pictures untraditionally, as paintings often did not conform to the aesthetic canons of Hindu iconography (Hauser, 2002, p.115). Korom's (2006) ethnographic account of the Patuas in Village of Painters: Narrative Scrolls from West Bengal, details this ambiguous social status in history and mythology (Ostor, Fruzzeti and Sarkar, 2005). Korom (2006, p.40) states that the Patuas are either "betwixt or between two realms; or to be more accurate, two religious worlds: Muslim and Hindu". My field interactions with the Patuas support Korom's observations, as many Patuas claimed that they are neither Muslim nor Hindu 'na Hindu, na Musalman' (neither Hindu nor Muslim) (Field Notes, 2010; 2011). In addition, while attending a young Patua's marriage, the ceremony followed Bengali Hindu marriage customs including the blessing (*Ashirbaad*), turmeric massage ceremony (*gayer halud puja*), and *Bou Bhaat*, while an Islamic religious practitioner performed the actual wedding ceremony. Therefore, the Patuas of Naya straddle

the ideological border between two faiths, as further asserted by Dukhushyam Chitrakar, who states:

> .. But just because I'm Muslim doesn't mean I won't paint and sing. This is my livelihood. Allah says that one's trade is sacred. 'Practise your trade but don't get too attached'. Patuas are like Lalan, the beloved poet. We're like Sufis and Fakirs. They have no caste, and Patuas recognise no caste. Just humans. Lalan sang: people ask what is Lalan's caste? Lalan asks: what does caste look like? I have not seen it yet. Some carry Muslim prayer beads. Some wear a Hindu necklace. That's the difference. Lalan says: I've yet to see the mark of caste...... More or less, the Patua is a mix of all. A scroll is a song. The picture I make is from my innermost thoughts. Without that, the picture will not stand. Painting, singing and scroll-making is the original calling of the Patuas. (Songs of a Sorrowful Man, 2009).

In the 1930s many Patuas gave up their traditional occupation in an attempt to achieve higher social and economic status (Chakrabarti, 2008). In West Bengal, apart from the inhabitants of Naya, Medinipur, very few scroll painters are active, as many Patuas gave up their traditional occupation, treating painting as simply a subsidiary occupation. Patachitra artisans began to face hard times at the beginning of the 20th century and drifted gradually into other professions, whereas some of them returned to their villages. It is believed that a large number of Patachitra resettled in the village called Naya, in East Medinipur district.

Elders of Naya spoke of a terrible famine and war years of the 1940s, when families were broken up by starvation and wandered from village to village, sometimes managing to reunite themselves when relative stability returned to West Bengal after 1947 (Chitrakar D, 2011, personal interview). It was about then that more Chitrakar families migrated to Naya, a village where they knew "rice would be plentiful" (Chitrakar C, 2010, personal interview). In *Village of Painters*, Korom (2006, p.47) depicts Naya and its environs in detail, including how it was settled by two elder Chitrakar, whose presence and financial assistance "allowed for chain migration to occur as other related families of Patuas moved to the village from different areas of Medinipur" (Korom, 2006, p.50).

5.1.3 Patachitra Singing Scrolls

Due to the historical and mythological confluences discussed above, many Patuas attend Mosque like Muslims and draw on the Hindu deities, intricately depicting their images and singing the episodes presented on the scrolls: - *patas*. The *pata* is, therefore, an expression

of many complex matters, such as the Ramayana story, in simple ways through the application of a few bold, skilled, and emotional line drawings, highlighted through primary colours. The *patas* represent an artistic repertoire, a lengthy canvas divided into demarcated frames, that cover Hindu topics about the sacred and secular themes, but they also sing the praises of Muslim saints, such as the Satya Pir (Singing Pictures, 2005; Field Observations 2010, 2011).

Patas are not utilised completely until they have been unravelled, one frame at a time, accompanied by *pata gān* (song). These 'narratives' are constructed from fragments of information that circulate throughout the community gathered from newspapers, television reports, or from popular media like *jatra* (a form of Bengali folk theatre). As one Patua put it: 'I paint traditional patas which deal with the grand subjects of the ancient times. I also compose new songs on contemporary issues from information I've seen on TV, in the newspaper or discussions with people at workshops' (Chitrakar D, 2011 personal interview). The message is communicated through the theme (*rasas*[38]) each Patua chooses to display; a good performer will highlight selected images or moral messages that evoke complex emotions throughout the performance (Chitrakar D, 2011, personal interview).

Traditionally, the draw of a *pata* performance lay in its emotional appeal through the combination of *rasas* or based on the song's ability to evoke. As the *rasas* are embodied in particular characters in the story or in the description of the events, each Patua performance context is always emergent. This suggests that performances work on the basis of inclination, not habit alone, as viewed in the field observations when different Patuas pointed to different images or frames, while other simply unravelled the scrolls and sang, which can impact how audiences coordinate the singing to the scroll imagery (Field Notes, 2010; 2011). *Pata* themes cover a variety of topics: mythological and religious, social, and women's issues or contemporary local or world news – simply changing over the years, encompassing what is culturally appealing at the time or responding to patron's desires.

The Patachitra have been adapting and responding to changing market circumstances since the late 19th century, modifying their traditional scrolls and transforming them to the depiction of single images "without detailed delineation of specific settings" (Ghosh, 2009). There are three varieties of Bengali Patachitra – 1) *jarano* (rolled scrolls), 2) *chaukosh*

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[38] Patas are generally drawn from one theme (rasa) of the inspired memory of a Patachitra', or narrative from other sources as discussed.

(square or rectangular), and 3) *kalighat* (Chitrakar A, 2010 personal interview; Chakrabarti, 2008). For instance, *kalighat* emerged under the influence of a British style that was popular at the time (in the late 19th century) by Patuas who migrated to Kolkata, which led to the development of an urban sellers' market (Gurusaday Museum, 2011, interview, 17 October). In the 1830s, visitors to the Kalighat temple included tourists and pilgrims, who encountered the Patuas and bought their paintings, which led to them becoming popular as they were easy to transport. An example of one such collector was Maxwell Sommerville, an American from Philadelphia, who "travelled extensively in the 1860s, collecting 57 Kalighat paintings, most of which were of Hindu deities" (Ghosh, 2007, p.14). The decline of patrons coming to the Patuas had a significant impact on their patas; in particular, the long scrolls were no longer efficient for this new market, so popular images were separated from their larger pata narratives.

One elder Patua of Naya commented to me that the 'commercial pata was named by local people as Kalighat pata and so now its demand is very high, now it's all Kalighat…Kalighat! But 500 years back to 1000 years back there were patas, but no Kalighat' (Chitrakar E, 2011 personal interview). Singh's (1995, p.93) research highlights that the Patuas of Naya have a predisposition to appropriating new subjects while preserving their artistic style; however, changes included the use of paper instead of traditional medium, cloth (patta), the increasing use of commercial brushes, and the preference for quick-drying watercolours in place of organic and vegetable dyes. One Patua interviewee said that:

> Bangla pot (*pata*) has become different from what it was previously. Previously, squirrel tail brushes or goat hair were used to paint, but now ready-made brushes available in the market are used. The height of pots (*pata*) has increased to 10ft-15ft et cetera. In 7 feet, the entire story has to be shown in one, but previously the songs were more important, everything has changed now. I have also changed according to the market (Chitrakar A, 2011, personal interview).

In 2002, Hauser quoted a 1951 census report, which stated that "the present Chitrakars cannot tell us what ingredients their forefathers used to collect for making the paintings" (quoted in Hauser, 2002, p.116). Talking about this issue he said that traditionally women assisted in preparing colours: indigo for blue, undried turmeric as a base for yellow, extract of betel leaves, limes and catechu (acacia catechu) for shades of yellow, orange or brown, vermilion which creates bright red, and hibiscus blossoms to create red and pinks.

In a recent newspaper article, Swarna, a female Patua, commented on her use of "traditional" colours: "Buying colours from the market will make things easier. But then we would not be sticking to our tradition. We hold it very dear. Preparing colours is a part of the art. I am sure my children will carry on this traditional way" (Yengkhom, 2010). Chemical colours have, however, replaced natural colours as they are more stable, have brighter hues, and are more convenient as they do not require preparation (Chitrakar B and G, 2011[39]). As will be discussed in Chapter 8, the change in the Patuas' means of production (i.e. natural versus commercial colours) can be in part attributed to their extensive social networks, the processes of development, and livelihood development model targets. This discussion will contribute to the question of *What challenges arise from blending social and commercial goals?*

5.1.4 Patachitra Local and Global Networks

Patachitra artists are engaged and enrolled in multiple local and global networks. The first workshops held in Naya were in 1986 and 1991, conducted by the Handicraft Board of West Bengal, which attempted to infuse new life into what was perceived by urban 'elites' to be a dying traditional folk art (Korom, 2006). According to one female Patua who previously had no formal role in the performance traditions, 'the workshops were a welcomed opportunity to learn the trade of their husbands and fathers' (Chitrakar J, 2011, interview, April). Commenting on the struggles to learn the artform, another female Patua said, 'When I asked my husband about learning how to paint, he told me, I won't teach you. You will never go out to sing or show scrolls, so there is no need to learn' (Chitrakar L, 2011, interview, April). In addition, another female artist recalled her father saying 'not to be silly – a woman, singing?' (Chitrakar I, 2011, informal interview, February). Therefore, these workshops allowed them to learn new skills, strengthen existing ones and improve their network connections.

In 1992, an NGO, in partnership with the Craft Council of West Bengal, organised a one-month workshop, at a university museum located in Kolkata, to train the impoverished artisans in new techniques, with the aim of revitalising the tradition (performance and pata painting). The Craft Council of India also arranged several workshops involving the Patachitra of Naya, in which 30 artists learned about storyline composition and use of natural

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[39] Field interview with Chitrakar B and G on Patachitra colours, West Bengal, 2011.

dyes (Craft Council of India, 2011, interview). Creative outputs from these interactive workshops led to new forms of the tradition, such as painting non-narrative motifs, patterns on pata borders, lampshades, t-shirts, and other alternative materials, which led to increased market exposure, awareness and platforms for the artists. Meanwhile, successful performances at workshops often led to invitations to perform at other venues, thus providing opportunities for increased market exposure, increased artistic recognition (status) and economic opportunities (IBase Vice President, 2011, personal communication).

Patachitra have been hired to paint scrolls and compose songs on diverse topics such as forest planning, literacy, population control, gender equality, disease prevention, malaria, adverse effects of drugs and alcohol and the AIDS epidemic (Chitrakar G, 2011, interview; Panda, Palchoudhuri and Gere, 2004; Ostor, 2011, interview, 23 November). Several Patuas created pata scrolls and composed songs on more modern themes, such as the Titanic or 9/11, after hearing about the movie or events from others (Field Observations, 2010, 2011; Korom, 2006). Engaging in diverse networks has allowed the Patuas to think more broadly about the world outside of their immediate environment. This thinking has led to newer compositions on themes such as the World Trade Centre, the war in Afghanistan, the 2004 Tsunami, and the peasant struggle to regain land taken for construction of an automobile plant in nearby Singur (Chitrakar H, 2010, interview, 12 September). As Korom (2006, p.84) argues, "the most successful Patuas have been able to negotiate their artistic tradition in modern times, the same way they have negotiated their identities over the centuries. That is, they allow innovation to creep into their tradition by traditionalising it". Many Patachitra artists have travelled internationally, invited by external organisations to events such as the North American Bengali Conference in Philadelphia, and Santa Fe and Sweden for exhibitions, while others have travelled to Europe, Asia and New Zealand. Korom notes that the international exposure has encouraged many artists to continue experimenting with their art forms, but also, "inspired jealousy in those less fortunate Patuas who have not received international invitations" (2006, p.82).

At the local level, Korom (2011, p.182) argues that, "Naya has attained somewhat of a celebrity status in recent years due to the attention that the place has received from anthropologists and filmmakers, not to mention a variety of NGOs that have used it as a base to spread their message to rural Bengali audiences". Within the last decade and half, two books (Hauser 1998, Korom 2006) and five films (Gone to Pat, 2005; Mulaqat, 2010; Singing Pictures, 2005; Songs of a Sorrowful Man, 2009; Women Patuas of West Bengal,

2004), not to mention a host of international museum exhibitions in several countries across Europe and North America, have expanded Naya's market linkages. As a result, commodification has occurred and has led to economic diversification and empowerment, which has allowed some of Naya's Patuas to improve their living conditions such as upgrading their houses, building outhouses, buying televisions and DVD players, et cetera. Using their creativity, innovation and adaptation skills, and collaborating with others, have allowed Patuas to expand their markets, so that pata scrolls and their living cultural heritage remain relevant to both local and global audiences. Having presented the Patachitra to the reader, the next section first briefly introduces the Bāul Fakiri villages, then the Bāul Fakiri are introduced, followed by their living cultural heritage, and social networks.

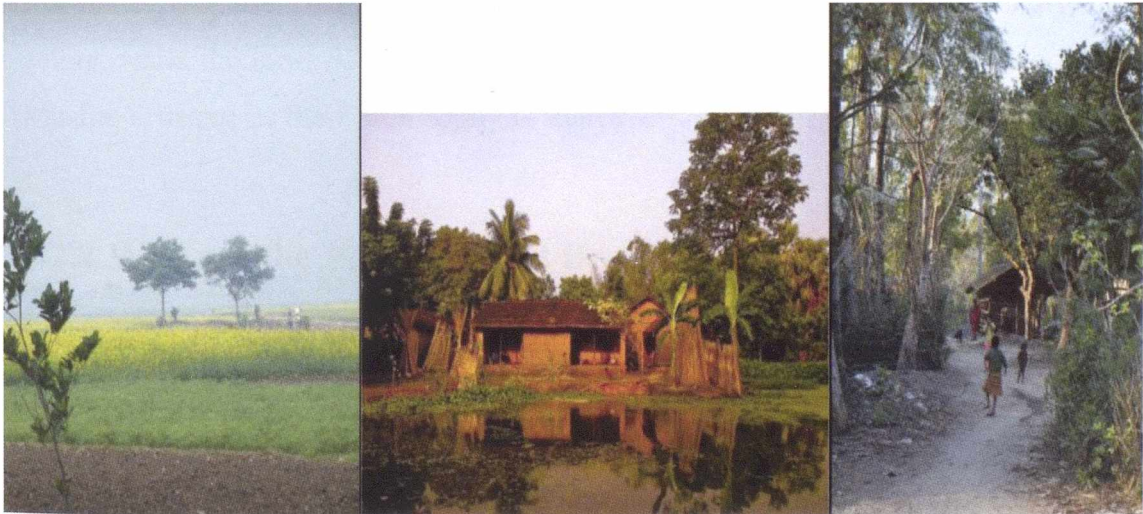## 5.2   The Bāul Fakirs of Nadia

5.2.1 The Villages

As introduced briefly in section 1.2, the Bāul and Fakiri are a rich, vibrant and living musical folk tradition grounded in a syncretic religious sect. Their teachings aim to deconstruct what is viewed as problematic about normative religions, while their music celebrates celestial love and the many-splendored bonds of the heart, subtly revealing the mystery of life, the laws of nature, the decree of destiny and union with the divine (Capwell, 1986; Openshaw, 2002). The 272 Bāul Fakiri beneficiaries of A4L live in 23 villages across the Nadia and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal, located between 3.5 to 7 hours from Kolkata. Community events were concentrated in Gorbhanga, situated in Nadia district, home to approximately 100 artists and the new community RC, which, as will be discussed later in this thesis, is a boundary object which is present and active in this network.

Gorbhanga's population is between 1,500 – 2,000 people, and it is located approximately 6 hours' drive from Kolkata. Within this rural community, there are over 100 ponds, several plantations (rice, jute, mustard, and lentils), and it is home to 4 Akhras, each of which host their own small *Sādhu Seva* each year (Field Notes, 2010). Similar to the Patuas, not all Bāul Fakiri households rely on their singing as their primary source of livelihood; however, several artists do rely on it as they do not own agricultural lands. For instance, several Fakirs in one village own agricultural lands and therefore devote more time to their music practice as they can employee others to work the fields. Those who do not own land and work as

general labourers outside the village struggle to obtain a sustainable livelihood and have less time to practice (Bāuls, 2010, 2011, interviews[40]). There are other artists such as Gopi, who along with music and agriculture, is also an entrepreneur producing honey (Field Notes, 2010). Agriculture is still, however, the main livelihood strategy across the villages in Nadia district.

Many of the Bāul Fakirs live in abject poverty in small, mud-thatched houses, in communities with limited indoor plumbing, water sanitation or proper sewage. The more fortunate artists, including those who own land, have concrete houses equipped with essentials. As the Bāul Fakir artists are spread across Nadia district and areas in Murshidabad, not all villages have the same amenities or developments as Gorbhanga (the main village promoted by A4L). In other communities such as Asannagar, access to tube wells and electricity is limited for many houses, especially those that are located farther from the centre (Chakravarti, 2011, interview, April; Field Observations, 2011, 2012).

Figure 5:2   **Bāul Fakiri villages of Nadia**

Before introducing the Bāuls of West Bengal, it is necessary to clarify how the 'generic' term 'Bāul', which describes highly spiritual individuals, is a contested term (Knight 2011; Openshaw 2002). The term 'Bāul' suggests boundedness rather than the actual fluidity of beliefs and practices. It can be used as an adjective describing the behaviour, as well as a noun referring to an unattainable goal (Openshaw, 2002). During my field experience the terms 'Bāul' and 'Fakir' were occasionally used amongst the artists themselves in their

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[40] Field interviews with Bāuls N5 and N8 in Nadia district, West Bengal in 2010. Field interviews with Bāuls N2 and N9, in Nadia district West Bengal, 2011.

everyday life in describing their identity[41]. Talking about this issue with several artists, one said:

> [I]f I do not identify myself as 'Bāul', nobody would invite me to perform"; she went on to say "It is us who have created the categories of 'Hindu' and 'Mussalman', 'Bāul' and 'Fakir'. It is ironic that people who have critiqued and questioned the notions and boundaries of caste and religion are being forced back by us into those very same boxes owing to the imposition of the categories of 'Bāul' and 'Fakir' (Bāul R, 2011, informal interview, October).

As a result, it was only before some audiences, at large local festivals (*melas*)or performing events in Kolkata that artists were introduced by their names, for instance, Arjun Khyapa, Babu Fakir, Ronjit Goshai, Gour Khyapa, Rani Das Bāul, et cetera. On the other hand, when the researcher was introduced to new artists in India, it was on a first name basis – Shyamsunder, Uma, Tinkori et cetera – or occasionally they were introduced by their 'stage names' such as Choto Golam. Although the term is contested, from this point onwards, the researcher will use Bāul (Hindu) or Fakir (Muslim) when referring to individual human actors, while the term *Bāul* will refer to the cultural tradition that includes both Hindu and Muslim artisans, as their philosophy is shared.

5.2.2 Who are the *Bāuls* of West Bengal?

The *Bāuls* of West Bengal are grounded in a syncretic religious sect and their teaching aims to deconstruct what is viewed as problematic about normative religion; in particular they reject caste and creed (Capwell, 2010; Knight, 2011). Instead they believe in humanity - an idealised 'inner being' (*moner manush*) – "an unattainable state since the idealized person does not exist; however it is used to compare to the realistic theme in folk literature and songs" (Āẏuiba, Ā, 1995, p.114); themes that include love with the divine, loss, gain and wealth (Bāul 19, 2011, informal interview, April; Fakir 2, 2010, interview, October 2011; Fakir 9, 2011, informal interview, 20 March). *Bāul* music celebrates celestial love and the many-splendored bonds of the heart, subtly revealing the mystery of life, the laws of nature, the decree of destiny and the union with the divine (Openshaw 2002, Sen 2010).

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[41] At performances outside of the AAL events, artists are introduced by their names such as Arman Fakir, Babu Fakir, Arjun Khyapa, Ranjit Goshai, Subhadra Sharma, Mohan Patra, Sibshankar Kalindi, et cetera. The only visible distinction, which is not always present, is the clothing that the artists wear. Bāuls wear saffron or multi-coloured attire et cetera. While Fakirs predominantly wear white, although is this not always the case.

Historically artists were referred to as "godless and debased entertainers of the common folk" but this judgment has evolved to their "apotheoses as bearers of a glorious indigenous heritage" (Openshaw 2004, p.19). While numerous studies found four subsets within the *Bāul* tradition, according to Bhattacharya (1993) the Aul and *Bāul* subsects are Hindu oriented, while the Sain and Darbesh subsects are Muslim-inclined (Openshaw, 2004). Muslim Bāuls are commonly known as Fakirs, "meaning itinerant mendicants; or they may be called *Darbeshes*, the Bengali version of the word "dervishes" (Bhattacharyya, 1993, p.12 emphases in original). It must be noted that not all *Bāuls*, either self-identifying or identified by others, are practising mystics (Bāul, 2011, personal communication, 10 November; Sen, 2010).

The *Bāul* tradition draws followers from both Hindu and Muslim communities of West Bengal (India) and Bangladesh (Bhattcharyya, 1993; Knight, 2011). This thesis is not able to present an in-depth historical account of the subsects of the *Bāul* tradition. According to interviews with the Bāul and Fakiri practitioners in the field, there are differences only in the 'realm of language and rhetoric deployed by the philosophy' (Fakir 2, 2012, personal interview, March; Bāul 8, 2011, interview, 25 January). This was corroborated with various Bāuls and Fakirs within this case study, in statements such as the following:

> Both faiths are the same, the *sādhus*[42] are the same, their mannerisms are the same, and the air, water, and food they partake of are the same. (…). We merely deploy different rhetoric to mark out who Bāul is, and who is a Fakir. We often hyphenate these identities, but in reality, we share philosophical proximity and are not different from one another (Bāul 20, 2011, interview, 20 February).

A collective spirit thus unites them – the spirit of freedom and their love for humanity. "What determines their spiritual approach is, in reality, a basic truth of human religious pursuits: the fact that the divinity worshipped by man rests within man" (Bāula and Thielemann, 2003, p.17). Bāuls focus on their spiritual lives, realising the Divine, which they believe resides within man, uniting the male and female through sexo-yogic practices (Bāula and Thielemann, 2003; Capwell, 1974; Openshaw, 2002). *Bāuls* contend that truth is not found in texts, such as the Vedas or the Qu'ran, in empty rituals or within temples or mosques. This was reinforced by several Fakirs during the fieldwork, as expressed below:

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[42] *Sādhus*, "generally means a sannyāsī (renouncer) in South Asia, but for *bartamān-panthī* the meaning is generally wider. In some contexts, 'sādhus; may take on the 'intentional meaning' of 'women' (in general), or 'women suitable for esoteric practice'" (Openshaw, 2002, p.259).

> there are two scriptures in the world of Ma'rifat; one is made of paper, the other is Man. What is written on paper does not help one understand anything, as what is written in the books, one will not comprehend until one has searched out the philosophy of Man. Everything that is known is written down and talked about, but secret knowledge is in the veins. It is not written down but handed down by a *murśid*[43] (Fakir 8, 2012 personal interview, April).

Similar to other South Asian mystical traditions that follow an esoteric path, *Bāul* membership is attained through initiation by a *gosain* (Hindu) or *murśid* (Muslim), their sole spiritual authority (Knight, 2011). Unlike many other Tantric traditions, *Bāuls* focus on realising love, thus resembling Sufis, Vaishnava and Sahajiyas, who long for experiential knowledge of God and try to imitate the love experienced by Radha and Krishna, respectively (Capwell, 1986; Knight, 2011; Openshaw, 2002).

Another commonality amongst the *Bāuls* of Nadia is said to be "asceticism—the process of purification leading to a spiritual philosophical goal" (Oman, 1903). It is a system of thought that emphasises praxis as a means of learning by the rejection of material desires (whether it is the human body or wealth and private property (Sen, 2010) for the attainment of spiritual and philosophical goals. Historically, *Bāuls* used to wander from village to village and sing for people who would give them alms. It is said that *Bāuls* would accept only what they needed and refuse anything more than the strict minimum (Openshaw, 2002). By widely renouncing any notion of 'material desire', the *Bāul* tradition also openly critiqued the dominant culture (casteism). This struggle against the existing system was deeply rooted, and they carried their struggle against society and authority of the scriptures through their music, but more especially through their philosophy and way of life. According to scholars, this philosophy and its attitude have caused the *Bāuls* to be attacked by religious authorities as well as by scholars (Capwell. 2010; Knight, 2011). Bāul and Fakir have therefore historically struggled for acceptance. Openshaw remarks that there is an "enormous gulf between the urban life of Calcutta and rural Bengal" (Openshaw, 2002, p.25) especially as *Bāuls* are excluded from *bhadralok*, a term still used today within Bengali society that means "gentleman" or "well-mannered person", indicating members of the upper-middle and middle classes (Openshaw, 2002, p.19).

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[43] A *murśid* is a Sufi team for a guru (Knight, .2011; Fakir Interview, 2011 personal interview). Personal interview with Fakir artist 6 and 8 on musical cultural heritage.

The nature of their praxis is based on experiential knowledge which plays a significant role in their oral tradition. "The core significance of the term *Bāul* is not music but *sādhanā*[44], the quest for self-realisation, the search for spiritual accomplishment. 'Bāul' implies *sādhanā*, and *sādhanā* is the prime object in the life of the Bāul" (Bāula, Thielemann 2003, p.1; emphasis in original). As highlighted in the following quote by Bāula and Thielemann (2003, p.2), below:

> The human soul is the Immortal Being; it is the infinite within man, the inner extension of the illimitable cosmic presence – the mirror of the universe contained inside the heart of man. And to strive for this cosmic reality that abides within the human heart constitutes the central quest of Bāul sādhanā.

Consequently, the only way for one to obtain knowledge is by practice; becoming an artist of the *Bāul* tradition through engaging deeply in the praxis of *sādhanā*, which can only be done through valuing the spiritual goals which *sādhanā* pursues (Bāul 7, 2011, personal interview, 18 April; Bāul 11, personal interview, March). *Bāul* music is a prominent and indispensable component of *Bāul sādhanā*. As a result, the term *Bāul* is a complex philosophical concept that involves much more than merely singing, as artists strive for the spiritual essence that requires *sādhanā* to be aware of the spiritual substance at the heart of songs.

5.2.3 Songs of the *Bāuls* of Nadia

Bāul music is often described as a unique genre of folk music that emerges out of the distinctive lifestyle and philosophy of their communities, which are depicted as non-conformist, in that they seem to reject traditional social norms. The *Bāul* tradition represents a distinct sect characterised and sustained by their religion and music, but despite this uniqueness, their music is similar to that of Northern India as it follows the same melodies, models, and rhythmic patterns of northern Indian classical music (Bāul 9, 2010, interview, 10 October; Bhattacharyya, 1993). *Bāuls* are often accompanied by a simple instrument such as the *ektara* (one-stringed instrument), with or without a small kettle drum (*duggi*) and claim that they perform from their hearts, pouring out their emotions and feelings through their

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[44] The term *sādhanā* is the process of 'seeking and becoming knowledge' (Fakir Interview 6 and 8, 2011). Openshaw (2011, p.259) defines *sādhanā* as "a systematic and austere practice towards a goal". There was a consensus with all my informants that *sādhanā* is an esoteric practice whose knowledge is accessed only through praxis.

songs. Consequently, there is considerable improvisational freedom and embellishment in their renditions (Field Observations, 2010).

The *Bāul*s of Nadia also stated that a significant amount of their music is improvised, motivated, and inspired by God; the music in turn energises them and evokes a sense of well-being (Bāul expert, 2010, interview, 16 October). My fieldwork revealed that *Bāul* performances are often based on their emotions, especially when they are off stage, in smaller gatherings or during '*palla gān*'[45] sessions. In 2012, when I returned to India for a short visit, one moment captured musical freedom and improvisation as an excerpt from my fieldnotes highlights:

> I arrived in the early evening, just after the sun had set, to the musical sounds of someone strumming a *doktara* and a rich voice echoed off the rooftop. I greeted the family and then was shown upstairs. I made my way up the new staircase to the rooftop to see three Bāul sitting playing the *ektara* and *doktara*. When Gopi saw me, he jumped to his feet, *ektara* in hand and began singing with a smile that exuded happiness (to me). He slowly made his way over to me (still singing), with his arms wide open for an embrace. I noticed that along with a smile there were also tears. ...A lady from Kolkata, who was there introduced herself then said: 'there is a powerful connection here'. When I asked about the significance of this song, as I'd never heard it previously despite spending significant time with these individuals, Gopi replied: 'I am feeling extreme happiness to see you again my friend, but sadness too as I know you will be leaving soon'. The song is an old *Bhattiali* (river song) about sailing down the river; the boatman can see the river bank, but he's unable to reach the banks of the river as the current is too fast". After this brief explanation, the artists broke out into another song, a song he remembered I could sing … (Researcher's Diary, 2012).

Bāul lyrics are philosophical and take the form of allegories on the state of disconnection between earthly souls and the spiritual worlds (Knight, 2011; Openshaw, 2002). Their emphasis lies on the importance of a person's physical body as the place where God resides *sādhanā*. In this way, music, songs, and dance are all means for *Bāuls* to use for their vocation, but all these forms of expression are devoted to enquiring into man's relationship with God, the purpose of existence as a human being.

As understood and explained in this thesis, the *Bāuls* of West Bengal have their roots in both the Hindu and Sufi traditions, yet both worship the human body. Yet, both the Bāuls and Fakirs of Bengal sing songs celebrating the body. These songs reveal a different aspect of

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[45] *palla gān* are teaching songs. Experiential learning sessions between Bāul and Fakiri gurus and villagers, including students (Shishya).

folklore, and the highly allusive language points to a practice that is entirely unfamiliar to everyday rural life (Openshaw, 2002; Sen, 2010), since they speak of a different philosophy and way of being in the world that is not singular, by means of a highly-coded language that celebrates the body and emphasises Eros and sexual practices. As one Fakir interviewee put it: 'among common people, say what they understand, among kindred spirits, talk our shared language' (Fakir 8, 2011, personal interview, April). Hence, only the initiated, whether a guru or student (*sishya*), can 'truly' understand the meanings of the stories they tell through their songs (Bāul 11, personal interview, March; Fakir 2, 2011, personal interview, 20 March). An implication of this is that those unaware of, or unfamiliar with, the Bāul philosophy and praxis will have difficulty understanding their songs, which often challenge the official culture and authority of the dominant scriptures of Bengali society.

Fakirs within this case study confirmed other accounts in the literature (Das and Theliemann 2003; Haq 1975; Openshaw 2002) according to which *sādhanā* is a central focus in their life. It is seen as an unfolding praxis of learning in which there are four initiated stages, which were sometimes called the 'four worlds'; within them are three types of songs, which are explained in Appendix H. The primary ontology of music is conceptualised and practised as an intimate part of *sādhanā*. Rather than the songs being singular, they are intimately connected within the praxis and process *sādhanā*. These songs make up a seminal genre in Bengali folk music, which has been handed down by the gurus to their disciples and is primarily disseminated through oral transmission. For instance, one Fakir I met in the field spoke fondly of his brother as a well-known musician who knew over two hundred songs, and who had taught him the songs and verses. The musical praxis of the Fakir artists works within the stages of *sādhanā*, within the pursuits of its spiritual goals.

As mentioned above, it should not be assumed that all of those who engage in the philosophy and its practices reach the *Shiddu* stage (Pers. Comm. Fakir A 2011). Other researchers and *sishya* (students) testified, 'It's really tough to know who is *sādhu* and who have reached the higher stages. You must spend a significant amount of time with them to attempt to find out' (Bāul Expert F, 2012, informal interview, 6 January). When one artist was asked about his/her experience of being a Fakir, he/she smiled, paused and stated;

> I have traversed a long road, but my journey is not over; the eyes have beheld much, but there is something yet to be seen. […]. When I die, the state of being I am in will continue to resonate beyond this life. I keep myself prepared. Lalon said, you are Allah, and you name Allah as Allah; who can comprehend Allah´s sublime work? My practice is to find Allah within me. I am still searching for him (Fakir B, 2011, interview, November).

While another stated that 'even if you read a whole book about our philosophy, you still will not be able to obtain the knowledge required to understand the deeper meanings of our songs' (Fakir E, 2011, interview, September). A female artist stated, 'if you are searching for a jewel, if I give you one, it is just a jewel, but if you have to search for it – the journey makes the jewel much brighter' (Bāul 6, 2011, interview, October). The process of seeking and experiencing knowledge and becoming it, is therefore directly associated with attainment of behavioural attributes or 'powers' similar to Tantrism. Banerji (1978) argues that the impact of Tantrism "can still be seen in the philosophy and practices of the Bāuls and Fakirs today". Although a diverse group of Bāuls and Fakirs were interviewed during the field research, a consensus among them was that one could not gain the knowledge of the *Bāul* tradition through written scripts, as knowledge is deeply rooted in its practices.

5.2.4 The Local and Global Networks of the *Bāuls* of Nadia

Despite the fact that Bāuls and Fakirs comprise a small fraction of the Bengali population, their influence on culture has been considerable. As introduced above, *Bāul* poetry, music, songs, and dance can be traced back to the fifteenth century when they first appeared in Bengali literature (Bhattacharya, 1999; Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013). *Bāul* culture peaked in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; however, it has now regained popularity among the rural populations of Bangladesh and India (Knight, 2011; Sen, 2010). Within Asia, *Bāul* music and poetry influenced the compositions of Bengal's most celebrated poet, the Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) (Bhattacharya 1999; Openshaw 2004). Tagore encountered Lalon Fakir, a mystic poet praised as the most famous *Bāul*, born into a Hindu community but who later came under the influence of Sufi teachings. For Tagore, *Bāul* songs represented a classic element of Bengali culture. He valued their poetic diction and musical qualities and used them as a stimulus for his artistic inspiration, incorporating *Bāul* philosophy (images and ideas) into his plays as well as poetry (Bāula and Thielemann, 2003). Tagore (Rabindranath Tagore, Gitabitan, I, 216) described the *Bāul* path in one of his poems; it states:

> The man of my heart is in my heart; because of this, I see him everywhere...
> I wandered everywhere, in search of him-
> I would have listened to the words of his mouth, but I did not hear – I could not hear
> Today, I returned to my own country, and now I hear. I hear his flute in my own songs,

Why then do you search, like beggars, from door to door?
You will not find him.
But come to me – look into my heart, look onto my two eyes, and you will
see him there.

Dimock (1996, p.253) highlights that the noble laureate Rabindranath Tagore's praise of their songs and spirit, "his proud acknowledgement of his own poetic debt to them", put *Bāul* on a higher-than-respectable level in Bengali society. Due to the attention and admiration of Tagore, Lalon Fakir rose to public prominence inspiring other successful poets, playwrights, and songwriters of the 19th and 20th centuries (Bāul, 2012, interview, 5 January; Dimock, 1996;). Consequently, this musical tradition is not confined to Asia, but can be heard outside of the local festivals (*melas or Utsav*) through the world music scene.

Purna Das Bāul introduced *Bāul* songs to the West in 1965, during an eight-month-long tour of the United States after an invitation from Albert Grossman, Bob Dylan's manager, who organized concerts with other performers such as Paul Robeson, Mick Jagger, Tina Turner, and others. (Lorea, 2016; Sen, 2010). By 1984, Purna Das Bāul was dubbed 'India's Bob Dylan' by the New York Times, while Parvathy Bāul - one of the very few females currently broadening this traditional folk music – performed and recorded albums in India, Japan, the United States of America, France, and other European countries (Bāul 25, 2011, personal interview, 12 December). These connections, although not part of the 'mass' music scene, have enabled *Bāul* music to expand beyond Bengal (Bāul 25, 2011, personal interview, 12 December; Lorea, 2016). Although few of the Bāuls or Fakirs in our case study have been abroad before, they all have local network connections.

Several artists had participated in training workshops or performances at EZCC, the West Bengal Backward Classes Development and Finance Corporation, or other organisations such as Alliance Française; thus, they had multiple livelihood opportunities through local networks. Two artists performed with Tanmoy Bose's *Taaltantra* and acted in Moner Mansush, a film by Gautam Ghosh based on the life of Lalon Fakir (Bāul expert, 2010, interview, 12 January). Several of the artists had strong personal connections with individuals within the promotion and dissemination of artistic forms in India; often these established their networks at Melas or Utsavs in Bangladesh and West Bengal. Jaydev Mela, on the occasion of Makar Sankranti, in the month of *Poush* (December -January), is the most significant Mela in West Bengal and, thus, a meaningful event for the Bāuls to 'engage with their own' community and audiences (Field Notes, 2011). In Kolkata, the Bāul Fakiri Utsav is another unique event that allows Bāuls from several districts of West Bengal and

Bangladesh to perform continuously for 48 hours to urban audiences, thus engaging a broader market.

Throughout the field research period, it was observed that, especially in Murshidabad, the Bāul and Fakir artists have a strong relationship to their village environments, through the transmission of the living cultural heritage through interactions at their *'ashram'*, *'sādhu seva'*, *'sādhu shongos'* and *'palla gān'*. It is necessary to clarify what these terms mean. *Ashram* refers to the physical place where the Bāuls and Fakirs meet to play together; although it may also refer to shared resources of the community. These shared resources of the ashram act as security, particularly for any struggling members who are in need of basic materials; if available, assistance will be given to them (Bāul 8, 2011, interview, 25 January; Fakir 9, 2011, informal interview, 20 March). *Sādhu Seva* literally refers to the ritual hand movement and blessing by which Fakirs greet one another when they gather. Depending on the capacity of the specific Fakir community, this can be small-scale to large-scale gatherings where *Sādhus* teach their students through musical practices. These gatherings are open to villagers who want to come and participate in the music or ask questions regarding the Fakir philosophy. In contrast, *Sādhu shongos*, are gatherings where philosophical debates, discussions and social issues are explored by the Fakirs who are the intellectuals of their village communities. Organized by the Fakirs, *Sādhu shongos* have considerable influence in building the relationships between the Fakir communities and their surroundings areas, from which the Fakirs were historically ostracised for their radical philosophy. Chapter 8, section 8.3 will discuss how A4L has impacted these engagements among the *Bāul* community, contributing to answering the thesis question; w*hat are the impacts that tourism livelihood promotion have on the local communities?*

5.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the two folk art communities that were followed in the field in detail, presenting insights into their villages, cultural heritage, and local and global networks. As explained in the chapter above, the Patachitra or *chitrakars* are artisans specialising in the production of painted narrative scrolls (*pata*), who live in a hamlet in East Medinipur, West Bengal. Traditional performances of explaining *pata* scrolls through songs is emergent, based on the inclination and not habit alone, as observed in the field. Many Patachitra have extensive local, and global networks, although not all, having collaborated with the Craft Council of West Bengal and other local organisations to strengthen their skills and reach new

audiences. These artisans have, however, had to negotiate artistic tradition with modern times. As a result, the pata scrolls have evolved over time, adapting and responding to the changing markets and circumstances since the 19th century, including how patas are produced.

For the second art form described in this chapter, the *Bāuls* of Nadia district are practitioners that live in rural communities across a much larger geographical reach than the Patachitra. This vibrant, oral and musical tradition is grounded in a syncretic religious sect whose teachings (songs), challenge the official culture and authority of the dominant scriptures of Bengali society. Bāul culture has been highly influential in Bengali literature, recognised by Nobel Laureate, Rabindranath Tagore, and internationally the alternative music industry has provided a platform for Bāul Fakir practitioners. Similar to the Patachitra, *Bāul* performances are emergent, motivated, and inspired by the enquiry into man's relationship with God, linked to *sādhanā* which is their unfolding praxis of learning.

When taken together, the descriptions of these communities highlight that there are several similarities and differences between these art forms. It is worth drawing attention to several differences between these two artistic folk forms and their living cultural heritage. First, *pata* scrolls are both tangible and intangible, while *Bāul* gān (music) is embedded in a religious praxis. Secondly, the Patachitra artisans of Naya live in a small hamlet, whereas the Bāul Fakirs live in several villages across two districts, which has impacted their engagement with A4L actions (see Chapter 8). Lastly, the Bāul Fakirs have a strong relationship with their villages, which occurs through the transmission of their living cultural heritage in interactions at their *ashrams*, *sādhu seva*, *sādhu Songos* and *palla gān*. These points of difference between the Patachitra and Bāul Fakiri actants were important in tracing A4L's impacts as it influenced how they engaged with, and in, this tourism-based livelihood development model's actions.

The next two chapters trace A4L's development processes. Although the analysis of A4L could be conducted via various entry points, this analysis enters the network by looking at the pre-production actions using ANT's chains of innovation, as outlined in section 3.3 above. Thereafter, Chapter 7 moves on to A4L's post-production actions, which as will be demonstrated, were influenced and steered by A4L's pre-production outputs in combination with the identification of new 'innovations' - the combination and re-combination of outputs to generate new markets.

6   The Pre-Production Processes:

Introduced in Chapter 1, Section 1.2., the A4L model – *a road map for cultural heritage tourism development* – was presented to outline the context of this study. As explained, the model evolved as new components were adapted, modified, and combined through the amalgamation of policies, actors, resources, and interests to revive and revitalise folk art through professionalization. Hence, this model is not static but is constantly in flux, an on-going process in which human and non-human interactions and their outcomes were continuously affecting the societal processes. In this chapter, I trace the trajectory of this model's pre-production processes using ANT's chains of innovation (see section 3.4) which seeks to reveal how A4L was assembled.

The blueprint for Chapters 6 and 7, which traces the pre- and post-production phases of this model, is illustrated in Figure 6.1 below, which is my interpretation of the configuration of activities that emerged from the analysis of this data. The pre-production links can be traced from *Theatre for Development* through *to Art for Livelihood Going Global*, the first four links in this development chain. Chapter 7 begins from *Art for Livelihood Going Global* and continues to the outcome chain of A4L culture and development. Exposing the underlying relationships of this development model will increase our understanding of the complexities of this SE's arts-based livelihood development model by opening up its black boxes.
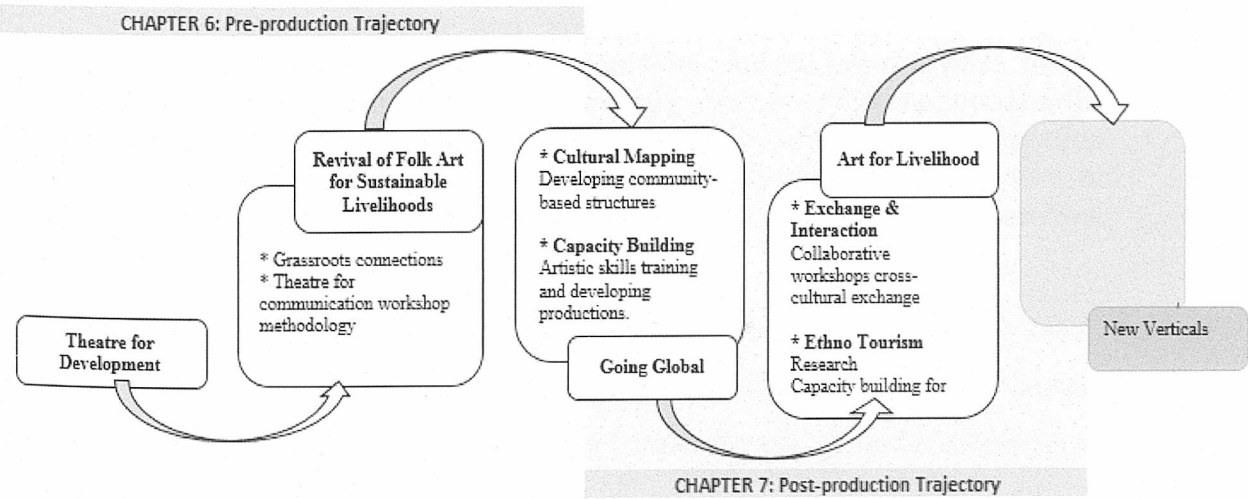

Figure 6:1   Art for Livelihood Pre-production Development Trajectory

Hjorth (2012) highlights that within the tourism development literature, organisations and their models are often presented as black boxes, which makes the emerging components, relationships, and processes invisible. This is certainly true in the case of the development narrative of *Revival and Revitalisation of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihoods,* inscribed by the Panchayat and Rural Development Department, a closure of the combined results of A4L's pre-productions processes. It states:

> [Revival and revitalisation of folk art for sustainable livelihood] has been taken up at the initiative of the Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre for sustainable livelihood among the rural/tribal artisans in West Bengal and Orissa and with the financial support of the GOI and the two State Governments. As reported by EZCC, some SHGs have been linked with bank credit and some beneficiaries have been involved in the programme by initially providing them training for six months. [...] Though in the traditional mode, but keeping in view the new taste of the new connoisseurs of arts and culture, they are now finding out marketing avenues of those art forms. In this respect the Project's promotional interventions have been contributing towards this rejuvenation effort. [...]. In order to implement this programme in six Districts, a total of 233 SHGs with Folk Artists have been formed and altogether 3203 beneficiaries have been mobilized. The EZCC is the sole-implementing agency while the concerned DRDCs are giving support to EZCC in various ways for implementation of this Special Project.
>
> The folk forms covered are Chau in Purulia, Jhumur in Purulia and Bankura, Bāul and Fakiri in Nadia, Gambhira and Domni in Malda and Patachitra in East Medinipore. 233 SHGs have been formed with 3203 folk artists across 38 blocks in six districts. There are 27 SHGs in Nadia, 24 SHGs in Malda, 31 SHGs in Bankura, 122 SHGs in Purulia, and 15 SHGs in East Medinipur. Skill building, marketing and promotional interventions have led to rejuvenation of the art forms and improved income opportunities of the artists. The project is to provide all necessary support so that traditional skills in performing arts can become a sustainable means of livelihood. Formation of self-help groups has facilitated collective effort by the folk artists to improve their own situation (Panchayat and Rural Development Department 2008-2009, p. 103[46]).

This simplified account of a arts-based livelihood development model is a black box of established facts that have been taken for granted, a closure of the multiple processes. The purpose of this chapter is to unpack A4L's black boxes by tracing its development, to ensure that A4L's emerging components, relationships, and processes are made visible. As such, this chapter contributes to answering question 1 and 2[47], respectively.

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[46] Panchayat and Rural Development Department 2008-2009 report was accessed in Kolkata at the National Library on October 15, 2012.
[47] *What processes were mobilised to build capacity for tourism development?* and *How and why did collaborations come together?*

Mapping this model's processes will also lead to new insights about how SEs are change agents in developing livelihood interventions. This chapter will help us move beyond the 'what' and 'how', to answer 'why' specific processes were mobilised to create social value. The trajectory within this chapter may describe multiple processes within one stage. For example, cultural mapping is illustrated below, as not every translation point involves all the steps illustrated in Figure 3.1. (Callon, 1986).

This chapter begins by looking downstream to understand how A4L emerged from the continuously changing network. By tracing the circulating narratives and field data through ANT's chains of innovation, this initial section demonstrates what outcomes from IBase's theatre for development were incorporated, adapted, and moved across into *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihoods*. The next section traces A4Ls pre-production processes using ANT chains of association identification of the social problem and its emerging inputs: - the identification of an emerging input, the mobilisation of allies and resources, the temporary stability of a network, and its outcomes. Tracing this model's pre-production actions using all the research data: - the materials inscriptions, the interview data, the participant observation, government documents, field notes, et cetera, aims to unpack A4L's pre-production development processes.

6.1　From Theatre for Development to Culture and Development

6.1.1 Identification of the Social Problem

In 2004, the director of IBase realised that their theatre for development model was not enough, as his understanding of development shifted from thinking that livelihood meant economic empowerment or improvement, to rather thinking that livelihood should also provide economic opportunities for all the artists and their communities (IBase Director, 2010, interview). The theatre for development model was not economically engaging the artists, nor was this model addressing the community as a whole (IBase Director, 2010, interview). So IBase "shifted from using culture (through interactive theatre) to convey the messages of development to try to see whether local culture could be used to fight poverty" (IBase General Manager, 2010, interview). That year, IBase's flagship model entitled '*Art for Sustainable Livelihood*' began to emerge, until it was rebranded as *Art as Life*, as their understanding of individual livelihoods continued to evolve. As the director put it:

> Earlier I used to think that livelihood meant economic empowerment or improvement. Now, with 17 years of experience, I realise livelihood also means economic engagement. Engagement with the world around you plays a great role in a community and can be even greater than empowerment (Roy, 2015).

These statements support that opportunities do not simply 'jump out', but are the result of an emerging process which turns into a series of actions over a period of time (Dimov, 2007).

It was within T4D negotiation spaces that IBase's field team began to explore if folk forms, such as the Chhau dance, Bāul Fakiri *sangeet* (music) or Patachitra *pata gān (s*croll songs), could be professionalised. As one of IBase's directors expressed it:

> From our field experiences working with theatre groups, we realised that there were other artists and folk forms in the villages that could be revitalised and revived through creating markets to provide a sustainable livelihood [for the artists]; as India's rural communities and folk forms are often disregarded, seen as sources of cheap labour instead of cultural assets (IBase Director B, 2010, informal interview, September).

The directors of IBase wanted to 'leave more of an impact in the villages, reach more people in these communities other than just the theatre groups or the targeted beneficiaries of short-term projects' (IBase Manager B, 2010, interview, 7 September).

The dentifications of these social gaps as opportunities thus influenced IBase's future work, which became concerned with addressing the poor economic conditions of rural artisans and their communities, as was highlighted in the literature review that social entrepreneurship is a process "involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue to catalyse social change and address social needs' (Mair and Marti, 2006, p.37). In this case, A4L adopted a step-by-step approach consisting of the following actions: 1) creating SHGs and opening bank accounts for each of the groups; 2) provided training in the quality of basic business life skills as well as productivity; and, 3) establishing forward and backward linkages with different markets (A4L Material Inscription, 2011; IBase Manager, 2010, personal interview). This model's development processes, which consisted of multiple parallel actions, therefore required the mobilisation of multiple networks and their resources through the convergence of interests around a given problem, in this case *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* (a government grant) which aligned multiple actors. As illustrated in the account of this model's beginnings below, it states:

The journey started in 2005 when EZCC [Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre[48]] carried out a pilot survey in order to revive and revitalize rural and tribal folk art forms in West Bengal and Orissa as a means of sustainable livelihood. The partners in the project were [the] Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, and the Departments of Panchayat and Rural Development and Information and Cultural Affairs of the Government of West Bengal (Chakravarti, 2011, pp.2).

The first action was to create a status report of all the art forms with EZCC throughout West Bengal, a database identifying all the dying art forms. After sharing this baseline information with the project partners, representatives from EZCC, Panchayat, sector experts and the artists, A4L identified six art forms that would be most appealing for the pilot project, *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* (IBase Director, 2010, interview). Grants and contracts, are often awarded through competition, and thus SEs are selected on their perceived ability to deliver on their actions. In an interview with an EZCC Cultural Representative (2010, 18 October), it was pointed out that a critical component of *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* was the ability of implementing agents to scale up the special project interventions, including national existing schemes. The contractual relationship that was established between the impact investor(s) and IBase is critical to the functioning of the 'grant' and its actions. There is, however, an inherent tension between accountability, and monitoring and evaluation.

For IBase to ensure that the rural artists' communities were organised and trained to earn their living out of their traditional artistic skills (IBase Director, 2010, interview), IBase needed to mobilise change in "the mindsets and attitudes of the folk artists to become cultural producers" (IBase Vice President, 2010) through developing community-based structures for decision-making and sharing income (IBase, 2010a). This required the implementation of parallel actions under *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* and is further evident from the following public narrative, inscribed by IBase:

> The AFL initiative began with the mapping of artist communities, a baseline study, Knowledge- Aptitude- Practice (KAP)study and organizing artists into common interest groups/ self-help groups. This was followed by basic skill development in their art skills by the local masters (Gurus) in an organized, disciplined way and then specialized skill training for introducing innovation and diversification in the art forms. The capacity-building phase also addressed development of marketing skills including financial literacy, entrepreneurial and communication skills. Parallel to skill building, professionalization of these skills and developing new productions/

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[48] Eastern Cultural Zonal Centre is an autonomous organization under the Ministry of Culture, GoI. They are the primary agencies in the field of promotion, preservation, and dissemination of culture in India

presentations, these folk forms were also documented in books and audio-visual outlets, not only for preserving these diminishing traditional skills but also for awareness of the generation through dissemination (IBase, 2011a, p.4).

IBase moved across their KAP methodology as well their grassroots knowledge, networks, and experiences to generate awareness and introduced the project vision to 4,000 artists through village meetings. Eventually, 3,200 folk artists would mobilise 3203 artists to form 233 self-help groups under A4L's actor-network (IBase Director, 2010, informal interview).

Having identified the social problem, the emerging components, and the black boxes above, the following sub-sections continue to unpack A4L's black box using ANT chains of innovation as the blueprint.

6.2 Building Community Structures: Mobilisation of Allies and Resources

The EZCC sent out its Swarnjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY) Call to Action: – a spokesperson for this 'integrated scheme', which provides opportunities of self-employment for the rural poor' through establishing self-help groups, based on the aptitude of skills of the individuals to nurture their potential (MoRD, 2008). This national scheme looked to revive folk art and culture in India as a means of sustainable livelihood among the rural and tribal artists. It emphasised that "rural artists should be covered in a significant manner" and that they "may require small doses of multiple credit over a period of time, coupled with an emphasis on awareness creation, training and capacity-building" (MoRD, 2008, p.2). SGSY, a national scheme in India initiated by the MORD and implemented at the state level by the Zonal Cultural Centres, lacked the human resources to implement a development intervention at the local level; thus, they rely on mobilising local implementing agencies.

The SGSY Call to Action, a *material spokesperson* for the EZCC and MORD, highlight that local implementing agencies have an active role in the implementation of the scheme, as outlined in Section VIII Para 8.7:

> The NGOs have also an important role to play. They can be used in the formation and nurturing of the SHGs, as well as in the monitoring of the progress of the Swarozgaris. Where feasible, their services can also be

utilized for provision of technology support, and quality control of the products. What the NGOs can do would depend on the nature of the NGO and its competence. Care must therefore be taken to ensure that only those NGOs are utilized in the programme as are capable of supporting the programme. At the same time, every effort must be made to ensure that all resources available in the district are made use of (MoRD, 2008, p. 28).

This *boundary actor*, the SGSY Call to Action inscribed by EZCC, was sent out to enrol local development-implementing agencies that could deliver their scheme by fulfilling their actions through achieving alignment between actors and actor-networks. Special proposals from local development-implementing agencies had to ensure that they included the following details:

> (i) Likely beneficiaries/families of beneficiaries and year-wise details of long-term and short-term benefits (financial & in the nature of assets created and self-employment) expected to flow to the beneficiaries.

> (ii) An analysis of the activities proposed to be undertaken and the possibility of its replicability elsewhere.

> (iii) The approach proposed to be adopted for achieving the objective and the activities selected under the project proposal in relation to the available resources.

> (iv) Details of integration with other on-going rural development programmes in the area and arrangements for dovetailing funds from non-SGSY resources. (MoRD, 2008, p.39)

SGSY Guidelines influenced the proposals by setting criteria, making EZCC objectives clear for all applicants, but also identified actors with similar backgrounds and interests, which would set in motion the decisions to join forces (MoRD, 2008). These Guidelines therefore aimed to enrol local implementing agencies from within India that could successfully deliver the scheme by fulfilling their actions through achieving alignment.

Working from contract to contract, IBase identified SGSY special project proposals as an opportunity to mobilise resources to create platforms enabling folk artists to earn a livelihood while also addressing the financial stability of the project (IBase Director, 2010, interview). In turn, this supports IBase's social and economic mission. Appealing to collective goals, IBase 'sent back' a special project tender application - *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* – an innovative approach to enhancing the capacity of the rural poor based on their T4D model and grassroot connections. One director of IBase envisaged that their innovative model would be able to address local barriers, such as the lack of formal

education and social isolation, allowing them to effectively deliver training and capacity-building (IBase Director, 2010, informal interview). This special project proposal was approved by EZCC representatives then sent on to the GoI Approval Committee representatives with a strong recommendation for further approval. It was these individual representatives of each national organisation that the proposal needed to convince. These two material inscriptions transformed this livelihood development model network, as it constructed a new actor, *Art for Livelihood*, and solidified a development partnership between national and local networks through the alignment of interests around specific objectives, as illustrated in Figure 6.2 below.
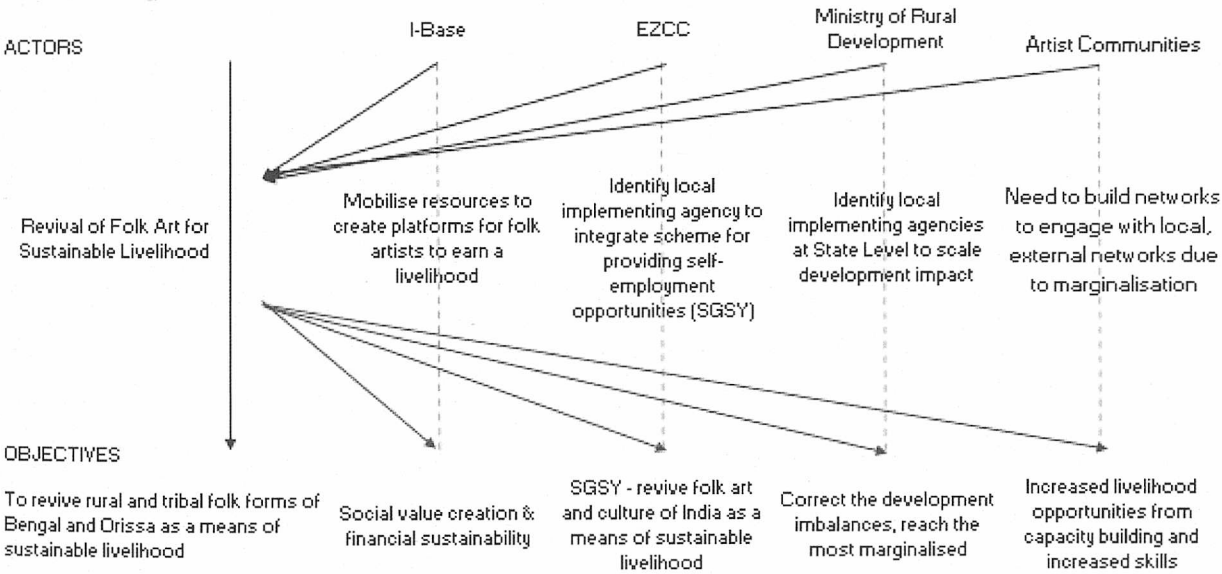
Figure 6:2   **Alignment of Actors: Building capacity for revival of folk art**

It was within these local-national negotiation spaces that *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* project outcomes were defined, processes clarified, and timeframes for the execution of building capacity and infrastructure were set. An alliance of actors was created to pursue the objectives of the focal point actor, IBase, after the other actors had been convinced of the benefits that they could gain from their involvement in the A4L actor-network (Callon, 1986). In addition, the direction of the actors and their roles within the proposed action were established: the government would finance EZCC, which would implement the scheme across West Bengal with the local assistance of the Department of Panchayat and Rural Development. Due to limited resources of EZCC, a local implementing agency's 'facilitator', in our case IBase, was responsible for delivery actions: - formation of the SHGs, delivering training and capacity-building (Field Notes, 2011; A4L Material Inscription, 2010). A network of aligned interests was therefore created, through the

enrolment of actors with common interests in the cultural sector; each actor within A4L's network was willing to take part. It is only after the roles of the actors within A4L's network had been determined, that the collaboration for its effective implementation could begin.

6.2.1 Mobilisation of Actors

Under the scheme, the district level committees selected potential activities based on local resources, skills, and markets for finished products. SHGs were mobilised based on skill, through the participation process. In the project negotiation spaces downstream from IBase, the District Committee and Panchayat negotiated the formation of the SHGs along with the villagers. In a series of village meetings, the director of IBase, fieldworkers, and district representatives enrolled artists by persuading them that A4L's actions would enhance their livelihoods with statements such as 'from now on you will never look back. You will go places'; 'with increased skills and capacity you will be able to provide for your family through only your art'; 'you will be able to earn a livelihood by using your artist's skills'; and, 'you will have opportunities to perform across India'(Artists Interviews, 2011[49]). The hidden narratives below from A4L artists, further illustrate the strategies used to engage Patachitra and Bāul Fakir artists into accepting the formation of the SHGs, an action under Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood:

- I got acquainted with IBase through Prosenjit, who came here to talk with people he knew, and then I met with him. He helped me. I told him that I am an artist who can draw and sing along with my family. After some time, we met IBase's director. They've got to know me over the last few years due to my hard work' (Chitrakar 2, 2011, interview, September).

- It was during the Poila Boishak [1st April – Bengali New Year] that Sudeepda and a lady from IBase came to the village to meet and interview musicians. They wanted to make a group to perform, and they took down ten names. Musicians came and went, and eventually we agreed on a three-month performance programme. That is how I got involved. I knew Pantho, Shotgoti, Partho and Arun [other artists] I have known for twenty-five years or so. In 2004 I joined IBase and met Pradhan where, after three months of discussions and meetings, I

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[49] Interview with Bāul A1 on Art for Livelihood model, Assanagar, Nadia, 2011; Interview with Chitrakar 11, Naya, East Medinipur, 2011; Interview with Fakir G4 on Art for Livelihood, Nadia.

> came to understand the situation and what was required of us. Instruments were also being taught at the centre (Fakir 11, 2011, interview).

These SHGs were formed around groups with common interests, based on geographical clusters, as emphasised within the SGSY Guidelines (MoRD, 2008). These were essential structures for the operation and development of micro-enterprises. In A4L these activity clusters were formed to create "professionally-managed and self-reliant community enterprises" (IBase, 2011d, p.700). Moreover, each activity cluster was provided with basic training in art forms, instruments, costumes, and accessories. For instance, in Malda, instruments were distributed to all the SHGs, while in Nadia, instruments were given to the 17 SHGs (A4L Final Report, 2010; Domni 2, 2010, personal communication). During the formation of these groups and training, IBase put each SHG group in touch with local bank branches through the SGSY partnership with the Department of Panchayat to open 'savings bank accounts' (MoRD, 2008), as highlighted by the following extract from an interview with one of the Fakirs:

> Yes, we had a small group for almost 18 years. After Sudeepda came we formed a new group with ten people and a bank account was opened with 6/7,000 rupees. The bank account was set up so that we could put money in. The money was for personal expenses needed to accommodate tours (Fakir 11, 2011, interview).

So, under the A4L model, artists were encouraged to open bank accounts for regular savings from future performances or sales of their art forms. Bank accounts were seen as a mechanism that could act as capital for small loans applications, aimed at improving the lives of the artists, including the broader community (AFL Final Report, 2010). For EZCC, under MORD, bank accounts were a critical mechanism of SGSY that could facilitate the clusters in collective action, earning interest, and provide capital for small loans, thus strengthening their financial inclusions: creating a 'trickle-down and -out effect' (EZCC Representative A, 2011, interview, November; MoRD, 2008). This model of wealth generation however, has had a limited effect on the social transformation of these artists, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, in part due to the segmentation of artists. The A4L model accepted the SGSY requirement that at the end of the SHG's formation stage, which was about six months, "it [was] necessary to subject each SHG to a test to assess whether it has evolved into a good group" (MoRD, 2008, p.10); only then could these SHGs be enrolled into the pilot project (IBase Director, 2010, interview).

Under SGSY, grading of artists was intended to identify weaknesses and determine if any weaknesses could be overcome with additional training, or capacity-building inputs (MoRD, 2008). Drawing on the expertise of leading folk gurus and contemporary artists, IBase selected artists for the SHGs formation, as evident from one expert's statement that the 'selection of artists for the activity clusters was done during the initial workshops and after the initial training sessions' (Artistic Expert B, 2010, informal interview, October). The experts' objective was to identify the most 'skilled' and 'talented' artists, suggesting the formation of SHGs based on their skill, talent, and complimentary styles. Once placed in SHGs, specialised training programmes were organised so that their skills could be 'fine-tuned for local performances and events' (Artistic Expert B, 2010, informal interview, October). For IBase, grading and segmenting artists allowed them to develop and nurture different artists to meet local, national, and international standards through specialised training that targeted specific weaknesses, as will be further discussed below (Field Notes, 2011[50]). Grading artists based on skills, therefore, responded to and also aligned with SGSY Guidelines, which would make these groups eligible for more substantial funds which would also support them in engaging in micro-enterprise actions (MoRD, 2008).

6.3 Instability of the Network

6.3.1 Developing Self-Help Groups

Despite A4L's formation of 15 clusters, 232 self-help groups with some 3,200 performing folk artists under the SGSY rural self-employment generation scheme, IBase and EZCC both recognised that the artists involved would need to earn a livelihood throughout the extended training period (IBase Director, 2010, interview). Consequently, EZCC's *Guru Shishya Parampara Scheme (GSPS)* was identified as a solution, as it not only provided financial support throughout the six-month training period, but also provided a dynamic training platform for empowering the next generation of artisans to improve productions and productivity, and adapt to changing trends in the market (IBase Director, 2010, interview; Training, GSPS). The acceptance of the GSPS scheme further responded to SGSY special project criteria, which required funded projects to integrate 'with other on-going rural development programmes in the area and arrangements for dovetailing funds from non-SGSY sources' (MoRD, 2008, p.39, criteria iv).

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[50] Informal field meeting with the Director and Manager of IBase and PAX in Kolkata, February 2011.

This emerging input stabilised A4L's actor-network by strengthening the alignment of actor goals, as illustrated in Figure 6.3., below. This figure illustrates how GSPS improved bonds between actants within the actor-network, particularly IBase and EZCC. For EZCC, dovetailing GSPS in West Bengal would allow them to deliver their objective of making "special efforts to encourage folk and tribal arts and to frame special programmes for the preservation and strengthening of the vanishing art forms" and continue nurturing rare folk forms through the master-to-pupil tradition (EZCC, 2012[51]). Within the A4L model, the GSPS facilitated the transfer of skills and knowledge to younger members of each target community, and other artists interested in learning or strengthening their oral and performing art traditions (IBase , 2013). This scheme received financial and non-financial support from the Ministry of Culture (MOC); its adoption into A4L design further supported the MOC's broad mission of maintaining, promoting, and conserving India's cultural heritage[52].
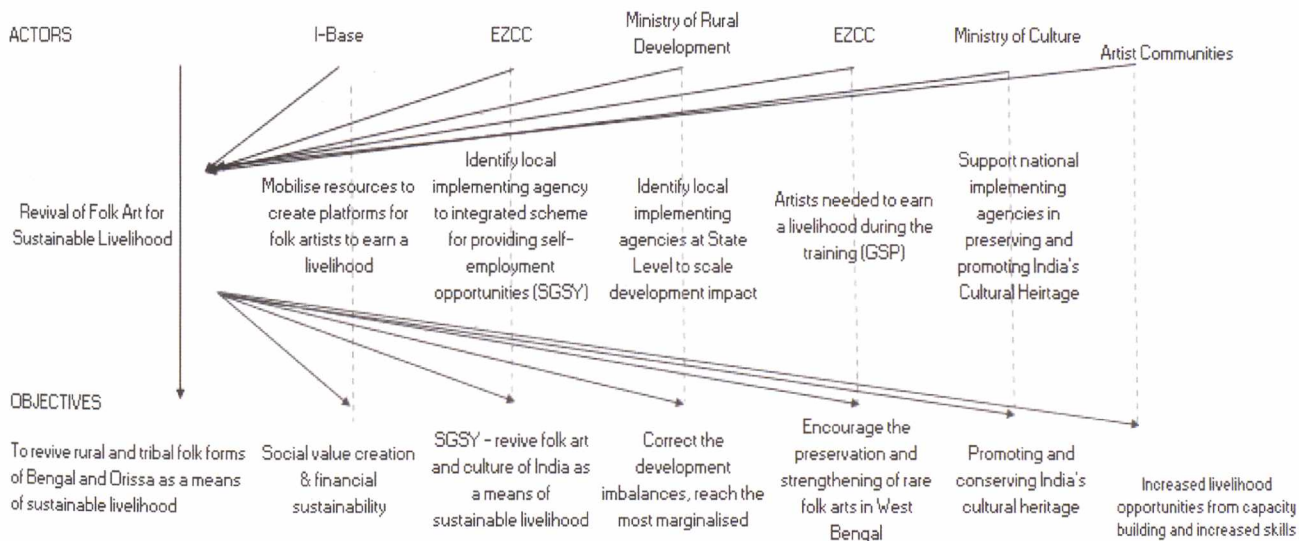
Figure 6:3   **Strengthening capacity for revival of folk art**

By enrolling GSPS into *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* action, a business model, A4L processes were slowly emerging through the acquisition and combination of resources that the director believed would achieve their social mission, including scaling up their model. By enrolling networks, including their resources, from the wider enabling environment including government schemes, this could, if done *successfully*, establish A4L

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[51] Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre (2011). Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre, Ministry of Culture, Government of India [Online] [First Accessed: September 2011]. Available from: http://ezccindia.org/home.html

[52] Ministry of Culture, Government of India https://indiaculture.nic.in/mission-statement

as a model to alleviate poverty and revive culture. Scaling up requires different types of resources and capabilities, but can also apply to several organisational strategies including disseminating the processes of innovation, adding new verticals, and also translating a small-scale initiative into a government policy (Kohl and Cooley, 2004).

6.3.2 Skill Building: Mobilising Allies & Resources

So far, this section has traced the underlying processes of *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood,* an opportunity to address the 'dying folk art forms of West Bengal' (A4L Final Report, 2010) through enrolling Theatre for Communication, SGSY special projects and GSPS, all actions they believed were required to successfully revive and revitalise folk art of West Bengal. The director of IBase recognised that they could scale up their theatre for development training methodology, which uses folk media for development communication, in delivering basic training workshops within this model (IBase Vice President, 2010, interview). Consequently, IBase's theatre for development methodology was moved across the network and combined with SGSY and GSPS to enrol six folk forms in 'general communication, maintaining bank accounts, and improving sanitation, et cetera'. (A4L Final Report, 2010; IBase Vice President, 2010, interview). Thereafter, training and capacity-building focused on strengthening artists' skills, which is highlighted in the following circulating development narrative:

> In the Art for Livelihood Project, decentralized training at the village level was conducted under the aegis of the living legends Guru (Teacher) of the art forms for widening and strengthening the skill base to the Shishya (Disciple) to establish a Parampara (Practice), where the knowledge and skills are passed on to the next generation. The folk artists are required to be equipped with new skills for performance. …Innovation was the key to creating new applications of traditional skills and thus creating new markets. The training and capacity building programmes addressed developing of productions on new themes, composing songs on contemporary issues and events, making diversified products, evolving models for using folk media as campaign tools, et cetera. (IBase V.P, 2011, p.700).

As the quote above highlights, this emerging business model focused on strengthening the basic skills of these folk artists through GSPS, which was required to improve their confidence and enable artists to diversify their productions and repertoires. Skill-building also focused on strengthening the artists' basic skills, including their financial literacy, communication skills and product pricings. The content of the training, however, varied for

each folk art; for the Chau, Gurus trained Chau dancers on musical beats and rhythms; the Patachitra were trained in sketching and colouring; the Jhumur, Bāul and Fakiri were taught the inner meanings and underlying philosophies of their songs; whereas the Gambhira received training in expression, language and interweaving songs with dialogue (A4L Final Report, 2010). The training plan was negotiated across local networks during a seven-day state level workshop with 35 Gurus, who interacted with folk artists, alternative contemporary artists, singers, and theatre personalities, in order to transmit and disseminate knowledge.

Once finalised, schedules were 'drawn up in consultation with the SHGs clusters' (A4L Final Report, 2010; IBase Field Notes, 2010, informal field communication). The convergence of all these actors around the workshops resulted in co-creation of new productions and transmission of skills through social innovation – the recombination of resources and processes. These outcomes increased the social value of each art form by mobilising different actors to share and exchange resources (Sigala, 2016).

Since IBase is run and managed by non-cultural professionals along with a small group of theatre specialists, 'experts on cultural art forms, including Gurus, were mobilised to deliver training across the six folk forms' (IBase Director, 2010, informal interview). The leading folk Gurus of each folk art were mobilised to become the 'process of change' or 'change-makers' within their communities. The director envisaged that 'if the wider community [could] see the benefits of the projects offered, then other artists will step forward and ask to become part of the action' (IBase Director, 2010, A4L partnership meeting notes). Gurus were active members of the planning and implementation of A4L training sessions which encouraged 'folk dancers, singers and painters at large to experiment and innovate' while preserving the heritage aspects of each art form (A4L Final Report, 2010). This fact circulated throughout the network inscriptions and was reinforced at the *International Seminar on Art for Livelihood* conference in Kolkata. As a representative spokesperson put it: "authenticity and quality of each art form were maintained in the Guru-Shishya training sessions, whereby the old masters passed on their knowledge to amateur artists, thus reinforcing dying styles and safeguarding heritage aspects" (IBase, 2011c, p.10).

Let us return briefly to the subject of grading the performance and progress of artists, a condition within SGSY, which was adopted and modified by IBase as a critical component of the A4L model. The quality of artists varied across each art form, so they were segregated,

based on skill level, into specialised groups by IBase with the assistance of experts. Grade A artists, numbering approximately 400, were provided with specialised skilled training to 'fine-tune their skills, provide new inputs and facilitate innovation, thus transforming their art forms into marketable productions so they can engage in different markets' (A4L Project Documentation Review Notes, 2010; 2011). For instance, Tanmoy Bose, a renowned percussionist, conducted training with a group of Bāul Fakiri, who were then also given opportunities to participate in local artistic exchanges and collaborations with other instrumentalists (A4L Final Report, 2010, p. 22). For the A4L actor-network, these 'exposure' visits "create better exposure, sharing best practices in order to facilitate developing innovations and expertise among the folk artists" (IBase , 2014, p.9). Gurus worked with grade B artists on their breathing techniques, training on performing various songs (methods) and classical techniques, while Grade C artists' workshops focused on improving instrument skills and musical techniques, including understanding the meaning of new songs (A4L Final Report, 2010; IBase Director, 2010, interview). According to one Guru, these workshops 'improved the thought processes in both the Gurus and students, while expanding their repertoire as some songs were new for them' (Bāul 1 2011, interview). The directors of IBase envisaged that the Grade A folk artists would become 'change makers' – leaders within their communities, as emphasised in the following statement: "if the wider community sees the leaders' monetary and social status increasing through the benefits of the project, it will bring others forward" (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013, p.91). These leading artists were therefore being 'groomed' for new local and international markets, to select songs from their wide repertoire to appeal to the audiences and to hold the mike away from their mouth when making the 'ph' sound (A4L Final Report, 2010; Bāul 9, 2011, interview). A4L's specialised training would better attune the artists to the demands of the market and open up a wider array of 'paid performances' (A4L Final Report, 2010). As a result, the artists' folk performances and productions were improved, which aligned with A4L's network objectives of assisting poor families sustain a level of income through social mobilisation, training and capacity building through the provision of income-generating assets.

Even though A4L dovetailed with GSPS, they modified the monetary structure to maximum impact, reducing payment from 10,000 rupees (Guru) and 5,000 rupees (Shishya) per month to 500 rupees per month for all the artists attending the workshop. The director argues that this 'ensured that the total expenditure remained consistent while intensifying the long-term impact of the government scheme through scale. Modifying the payment structure under

A4L supported more artists, providing them with a better monthly wage than they were earning as unskilled labourers' (IBase Director, 2010, interview). This modification did not have any impact on the 'reinstitution of the traditional GSPS way of learning, but rather led to the training of more youth', which has strengthened the preservation of each art form (IBase V.P, 2015). Instead, these decentralised training programmes were held across 36 blocks in 6 districts across West Bengal, 184 basic skill development programmes were conducted with the six folk art forms which involved 3100 beneficiaries (A4L Final Report, 2010). The modification of the GSPS payment structure thus contributed to A4L's ability to scale up the government's scheme, which increased the reach and productivity of the scheme, as was established in several reports, A4L Final Report 2010 and internal EZCC and MoRD Final Project Reports. These material inscriptions 'acted at a distance', strengthening the stability of the actor-network, the government scheme and the legitimacy of this culture and development model by demonstrating effectiveness and scale.

Moreover, this improved the basic performance skills of the folk artists enrolled in A4L, aligned with the EZCC objectives of reviving folk art and culture through increasing opportunities to perform (self-employment opportunities). Increasing the skills of rural folk artists so they could engage with wider markets also encourages them to preserve their art forms as their culture would now provide a means of sustainable livelihood. These actions also connect to MoRD's objective of correcting development imbalances, as the workshops enrolled the most marginalised artists' communities, as illustrated above in Figure 6.3. The integration of GSPS and its processes not only required the convergence of actors, but also the increased cooperation between state and national institutions, where previously there had been little.

6.3.3 Instability & Stability: Documentation, Productions and Development Narratives

Although the alignment of heterogenous networks is always in flux, they can achieve temporary stability through belief, practice, policies, and actions, as outlined above. In addition, they achieve stability through and within development narratives and material inscriptions. As was explained in section 2.4, development narratives comprised of qualitative and quantitative data which are combined into storylines, to provide an account of what tourism-based livelihood development models have done: - what social value was created.

From the beginning, the A4L model gave emphasis to creating textual and visual documentation for preserving oral knowledge, which was then commodified to increase awareness and widen each of the six art form's audiences. Under A4L the Bāul Fakiri, Jhumur, and Gambhira had identified the documentation of their oral traditions as a necessity, particularly as many of the Gurus were aging, thus their knowledge and skills were at risk (A4L Final Report, 2010). Oral traditions, the process by which knowledge is created and transmitted, should be of primary importance, as valuable information on these folk forms, their traditions, practices, memories, experiences, stories, and repertoire by its elderly members are in jeopardy of being lost with their demise. Thus, 'two unique collections were published in 2008 after collection of oral songs' (A4L Final Report, 2010) from the Jhumur (*Jhumur Katha*) and the Bāul/Fakiri (*Sahaj Geeti, Gaiche Bāul Gaiche Fakiri, Lokjan*) which were distributed widely among the folk artists, local musicians, and promoters of folk art (Field Observations, 2010 and 2011[53]). The documentation of oral (intangible) heritage of the folk forms had two distinctive functions under A4L, to preserve and promote through commodification, as the quote highlights:

> Audio visual recordings are carried out to safeguard heritage traditions and [restore] cultural memory as well as for dissemination. Dissemination helps to build awareness among potential consumers. These products may be commoditized allowing the artists to earn an alternative income (IBase, 2011b, p.8).

The documentation and production of these new products, such as Dakini Mangal or Lokjan, relied on the on-going engagement and mobilisation of Group A folk artists, those that were identified by the experts and director of IBase as having the 'skills, ability and stage presence' to successfully perform locally, nationally or at an international level. As discussed above, these artists' specialised skills training focused on 'fine tuning' their skills, including how to record performances in studio environments, how to use microphones and the utilisation of space et cetera, (IBase, 2010, activity report) which were assembled into new quality productions, such as Dakini Mangal and the Folk Orchestra. The effectiveness of the performance skill-building and 'fine tuning' has been exemplified by a statement from Tanmoy Bose, '[W]hen I started recording with the artists, I was surprised that they knew the techniques of the studio and microphone. It made it easier to record with them in the studio and produce a better final product. Also, during our cross-fusion performances they

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[53] Throughout the 14 months field period, it was observed at various events throughout Kolkata and West Bengal that the outcomes of A4L were promoted, distributed and used to highlight the project.

easily integrated with our contemporary style. I was very happy with the final products and have invited them again on stage with my group' (Bose, 2011, informal interview). Other new productions included, but were not limited to, two Bāul and Fakiri CDs that assembled 34 singers and 7 instrumentalists to record 444 songs that were then circulated amongst the artists, art connoisseurs, patrons of folk art, festival organisers, and folk researchers, using the networks, professional and personal networks (IBase, 2010a; IBase, 2011b). For IBase, the documentation of folk forms was seen as a vehicle for 'safeguarding' but also a solution to 'restoring cultural memory', as illustrated by the excerpt below:

> Audio visual as well as written documentation of these art forms have been done to preserve the songs and dance styles, including those that are no longer used at present, such as movements of wild animals and birds in Chau. These efforts have facilitated learning these styles by the younger artists and therefore sustaining them. Jhumur songs have been documented and published as a book. A video documentation has been made on aging Veterans, who are the living treasures, in order to capture the knowledge being passed on orally from generation to generation. Recorded knowledge has enabled better promotion and consequently sustained support from the patrons (IBase , 2011c, p.8).

The creation of these tangible outputs such as CDs, new productions, and pamphlets was an after-effect of the innovation process, which brought multiple local and national networks into proximity to one another to converge around Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood multiple objectives. These material outcomes were able, once created, to 'act at a distance', to help steer and influence the outcomes of this network's tourism-based livelihood development model, as will be discussed further in Chapter 7 below. As material inscriptions, such as printed documents, CDs and videos, not only influence others through development narratives, but also lead to the continuation and expansion of an innovation, as material stability requires heterogenous actors to maintain alignment. Stability is not inherent in the materials themselves; rather, stability is achieved through the configurations and relations of actors within networks that produce, circulate, and recirculate the materials (Law, 2007). This can be seen in three separate development narratives inscribed by IBase which reinforced the alignment of actors, moving these facts across local and national networks, such as:

> • [T]heir participation facilitated the implementation of A4L throughout the districts as they provided workspaces for capacity-building programmes, facilitated the formation of SHGs and bank linkages, and scaled our workshops across the Panchayat. This collaboration and support began the integration and mainstreaming of culture as a development tool across national levels of West Bengal (IBase Director, 2010, interview).

- The money has to come from local government (the Panchayat), explains [the Director], because then they become 'stakeholders' and start to appreciate what the artists are doing. "When regional officers sit in on a training session, they see the artistry involved and stop looking down on them. The magic happens by changing the old attitude of looking down on them as losers to recognising them as artists (Broughton, 2012, p.43).

- The Panchayats, as part of the three-tier elected representatives of the local governance system, have been key partners in the implementation of the project because they are closest to the grassroots. Their participation has facilitated infrastructure support (e.g., workspace for capacity building programs, improvement of sanitation et cetera) and use of governmental schemes for promotion of rural enterprise, development of women and backward tribes et cetera. The initiatives of developing local industries and cultural enterprises for tourism purposes have been specifically linked to the Rural Business Hubs Scheme of the Ministry of Panchayat, Government of India targeting inclusive and equitable growth of rural economy based on the model of Public- Private- Panchayat partnership (IBase , 2011c, p.6).

These circulating development narratives not only illustrate the convergence of heterogenous actors around aligned goals, but also provide an account of what organisations contributed, while the effectiveness of these combined inputs was established through combining qualitative and quantitative facts. By monitoring all A4L actions, in alignment with their grants, IBase was able to demonstrate the creation of value, such as for *Activity 1:Making of Audio CD of 740 Bāul /Fakiri songs* under A4L pre-production phase, aimed to record and create a digital archive of songs so they produced:

> […] 444 songs, from 41 artists it was the first opportunity to record songs in the studio environment' and that 'there are thirty-two songs by five singers'. At present efforts are underway to release two more CDs - 'Asannagar' containing Bāul Songs by artists and 'Bāulanir Gaan' containing songs by women Bāul singers" (A4L Final Report, 2010).

These dominant facts inscribed by IBase convinced internal and external actors. For instance, A4L facts were inscribed by UNESCO into their *Summary Assessment Report* (UNESCO New Delhi, 2011) and NIILM inscribed A4L facts in their evaluation report entitled *Rural Folk Art as Sustainable Livelihood: Study of the Impact of a Social Enterprise* (Chakravarti, 2011). For example, these two actors and their material inscriptions moved across various established facts, including those documentation and production facts, such as: "more than 1500 songs recorded. 25 DVD/CDs produced, 5 documentaries made" (Chakravarti, 2011, p.3), "fliers and CDs were developed for each art form with the name and contact information of each artists" (Chakravarti , 2011, p.3) and "more than 760 songs have been recorded. 12 audio CDs have been released" (Chakravarti, 2011, p.6; UNESCO New Delhi, 2011, p. 3).

The circulation of these facts stabilised the networks as they demonstrated the effectiveness of the model, its ability to effectively preserve intangible cultural heritage, and provide narrative of the smooth delivery of outputs to project donors and external impact investors.

Even though these final project and programme evaluations are often confidential and remain unpublished, the quantifiable facts are turned into multiple development narratives (storylines) that are used to inform reviews and convince donors, policymakers, journalists and wider audiences of 'development' success, as illustrated briefly in a *Time of India* interview where the Director answered:

> [W]hat is being done to document folk culture? Documenting oral traditions is a major part. We've compiled 740 Bāul-Fakiri songs in a book and now are working on audio documentation in CDs. We have Jhumur, another oral tradition, pater gaan, which are part of the Patachitra songs, and Bangla qawwali, a tradition we lost about 120 years ago. Did you know Fakirs sang Bangla qawwali? Also, Bāul-Fakiri, dhol, madol, clarinet and dhamsa, folk traditions from Purulia, Bankur and Nadia have been combined in an orchestra. IBase's Folk Orchestra is an attempt to get inter-forms. Typically, Bāul and Jhumur groups have six-seven members and Chau ones have 24. We are putting artistes from different folk forms together and have trained people to arrange this (Chowdhury, 2010).

6.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I traced A4L's pre-production actions, that is, the actors, the resources, and the convergence of interests of the heterogenous actors that became allies in delivering a special project entitled *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood*, demonstrating how A4L pre-production actions were co-created by a heterogenous network of actors and their resources.

This chapter has explored the underlying relationships of A4L's underlying structure by unpacking one *link* in its chain of innovation. So, *why were associations formed with specific actants*? Tracing this network with ANT's chains of innovation shows that in order to achieve their individual organisational objectives, each actor in A4L required the resources of others. After identifying that IBase's theatre for development model was not economically engaging artists within the communities where they worked, IBase re-problematized their model to increase their impact by developing a special project in response to *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood*, a national scheme to revive and revitalise folk forms in West Bengal.

The re-problematization of IBase's theatre for development required IBase to mobilised allies, resources, and new knowledge networks as they did not have all the technical resources at hand. Under *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood*, a group of heterogenous actors converged around a recognised problem. However this emerging input, a national grant, required the implementing agency to adhere to criteria as well as innovate to ensure the delivery of actions. Each emerging input, whether it was the theatre for development model, the contractual relationships of the SGSY or GSPS governmental schemes, influenced and steered the foundations which grew into a new development actor-network, Art for Livelihood. As highlighted above, material inscriptions constructed the networks as these representative spokespersons acted at a distance, including requiring the implementing agency to integrate another on-going rural development scheme to ensure funding and resources.

So, *why were associations formed with specific actants*? As illustrated in Figure 6.2 and 6.3, a network of aligned interests was created through the enrolment of actors with common interests, although tracing the pre-production links of A4L shows that associations were formed with specific actants for various reasons. The MoRD national scheme relied on state support. However EZCC lacked the capacity to deliver a grassroots scheme across six districts. Consequently, IBase and their grassroots skills were enrolled, as an implementing agency, to deliver a project in collaboration with other local agencies under the SGSY scheme. The call for special projects by MoRD/EZCC provided a platform for IBase to re-problematize their theatre for development model, to innovate an alternative strategy for poverty reduction, through participating in new alliances, dovetailing structures, combining resources, and exchanging knowledge. If successful, these new development models could then be scaled across different districts of India, as they would be capable of triggering growth (MoRD, 2008).

For IBase, the governmental scheme provided them a negotiation space to continue modifying their experiential model for development, but also this grant aligned with their dual organisational mission: scaling impact to artists and their communities and maintaining financial viability. The governmental schemes provided them the resources and structures to mobilise the communities into artistic clusters, strengthen their professional skills through capacity-building and training, to ensure the revival and revitalisation of folk traditions. In addition, as the implementing agency, IBase was positioned between state and national

networks as they needed to coordinate local actions while coordinating and reporting to national funders. The dissemination of knowledge through documentation and promotion of A4L pre-production outcomes was one method used to stabilise the network, as they demonstrated the relationship between inputs and outputs. This process ensured the continued alignment of investment actors, but also facilitated the beneficiaries in generating an income through expanding their local markets. However, the professionalization of rural folk artists through capacity-building and strengthening their means of productions does not ensure the creation of sustainable livelihoods or ensure market success. As highlighted by an excerpt from UNESCO New Delhi Summary Report:

> The next challenge consists of addressing the disparity within the folk artist communities. Not all the groups are equally talented and commercially successful. Still a limited number of opportunities do not allow all the artist groups to have the same level of market exposure. Efforts are being made to this end to promote the villages of folk artists as destinations for cultural/educational tourism to experience authentic folk cultures. This approach, bringing urban audiences to the villages, has an advantage of giving market exposure to a larger segment of artists' groups in comparison to conventional marketing strategy, consisting of sending artists to urban markets, which usually supports only a limited number of beneficiaries (UNESCO New Delhi, 2011).

Strengthening the skills of artists and developing new products does not ensure market success; rather, IBase identified that they needed to continue to engage markets but also generate new opportunities. The next chapter of this thesis continues to trace A4L's development trajectory as the model is re-problematized, due to the destabilisation of the actor-network as funding came to an end. Following A4L's post-production processes, that is, its market engagement and creation through ANT's chains of innovation, will continue to demonstrate how this innovative model has been co-created. The following chapter continues to answer Latour's question - *how did things come to be this way*?

7 Post-Production: Marketing and Promotion & Exchange Collaboration

In India, government schemes are primarily focused on enhancing livelihoods and income-generating outcomes by optimising production methods and improving work and living conditions for artists and their families. For the director of I-Base, however, "if schemes to preserve folk art do not benefit the communities or improve their economic conditions, then nothing will be achieved" (Field Notes, 2010). So, right from the beginning, the A4L model tried to create wider markets for the artists to engage in commercially, while capacity-building actions focused on strengthening their performance capital and innovation of new products. Although capacity-building may have played a vital role in bringing increased productivity without the proportional improvements in creating markets, productivity alone will not achieve A4L's actor-network objectives of sustainable livelihoods and poverty alleviation. In 2008, when the *Revival of Folk Art for Sustainable Livelihood* actor-network destabilised, when it came to its scheduled end, IBase envisaged that amplifying their market-based approach would improve the lives and livelihoods of these six artistic communities. This experiential model's initial problem was redefined (re-problematized) so that a new course of development actions could support their mission of expanding into three diverse areas, which were 'scaling the handicraft self-help groups, improving the folk artists' direct linkages into the entertainment sectors, and lastly becoming international consultants for the development sector using their grassroots-level knowledge' (Director IBase, 2008). For SEs that work contract to contract, problematization is never fixed, but continues to be redefined as new inputs emerge (Dey and Steyaert, 2010; Ernst and Young, 2016). Consequently, SEs are continuously exploring funding opportunities to mobilise resources to generate social impact and maintain organisational continuity as donors prefer financing short term, target driven projects (Goodwin and Font, 2014). IBase post-production actions therefore, aimed "to monetise culture as an asset so that traditional performers can improve their income, and earn a sustainable livelihood while their art forms are safeguarded' (Field Notes, 2011). Even though significant investment continues to be made into market-based solutions for addressing social challenges, understanding SE's market creation processes in the development literature is limited (Sigala, 2013).

So, in this chapter, I focus on answering research question 2: *How do social enterprises link social capital across networks to develop markets?* By tracing the post-production processes of A4L with ANT's chains of innovation, the blueprint for this analysis, this chapter aims to understand the processes SEs use to create new tourism markets. As Latour (1987) argues, the processes of innovation take a valued initial idea, shapes it, diverts it, or consolidates it to build up a network of allies who believe in, test, and carry forward its developments.

7.1 Identification of a Problem, its Emerging Inputs and Mobilisation of Allies

Driven by their dual organisational mission, to deliver social impact and maintain financial stability, IBase searched for new opportunities and complementary networks of actors to continue its mission. The director of IBase envisaged that multi-regional and international exchanges, such as events and cross-cultural skill workshops, would provide additional opportunities for the artists to innovate their products, expand their direct linkages, and diversify their markets, thus securing the artists a more sustainable livelihood based on their cultural heritage. As introduced in Chapter 4, IBase identified *Investing in People: Access to local culture, protection, and promotion of cultural diversity* as a tool to mobilise allies such as IICTD (see section 4.1), UNESCO New Delhi, and Planet Art eXchange (PAX)[54], to coordinate artistic exchange programmes, which they argued would 'unleash the previously unseen cultural traditions of West Bengal on new international audiences' (IBase, 2010a, Sheppard, 2011, informal interview, 11 March). A new temporary stabilised network emerged, *A4L Going Global* (A4L), which converged local and global actors, their resources, and expertise in cultural industries, performing arts, and tourism to respond to IIP's criteria, as IIP called for projects to "enhance skills and competence of cultural actors involved in creation, production, distribution, marketing and management of cultural goods and services", as illustrated in Figure 7.1 below.

[54] Planet Art eXchange organization is an NGO that explores the impact of cross-disciplinary contemporary culture on communities. PAX is a collaborative and interdisciplinary alliance formed of actors from multiple sub-networks including SMARTLab Digital Media based at University College London. The partnership with PAX enrolled a network of artists, composers, dancers, videographers and photographers.

Thus, the second phase of A4L aimed to 'empower the artists to become cultural entrepreneurs, and increase local and global partnerships while providing economic development for the host communities. (IBase Manager, 2011, personal communication; IBase , 2011c). This complemented IIP's broader goal of:

- strengthening local culture, access to culture and dissemination of culture and, in exceptional cases, supporting protection of cultural heritage in imminent danger;

- promoting all forms of cultural expression which contribute to the fight against discrimination, be it gender-based, ethnic, or religious, as well as discrimination recognised in traditional and customary practices (European Commission, 2008, p.3).

At this point, IBase was indispensable for addressing the human and social development needs of the beneficiaries, as it continued to raise finances, provide on-going skill training, and expand networks and resources, while they ensured that they aligned to international objectives. IBase's A4L actor-network was identified as a network that could 'contribute to the sustainable development and structure of cultural industries and operators, and promote cultural diversity, cooperation and exchange' (European Commission, 2010, p.6).
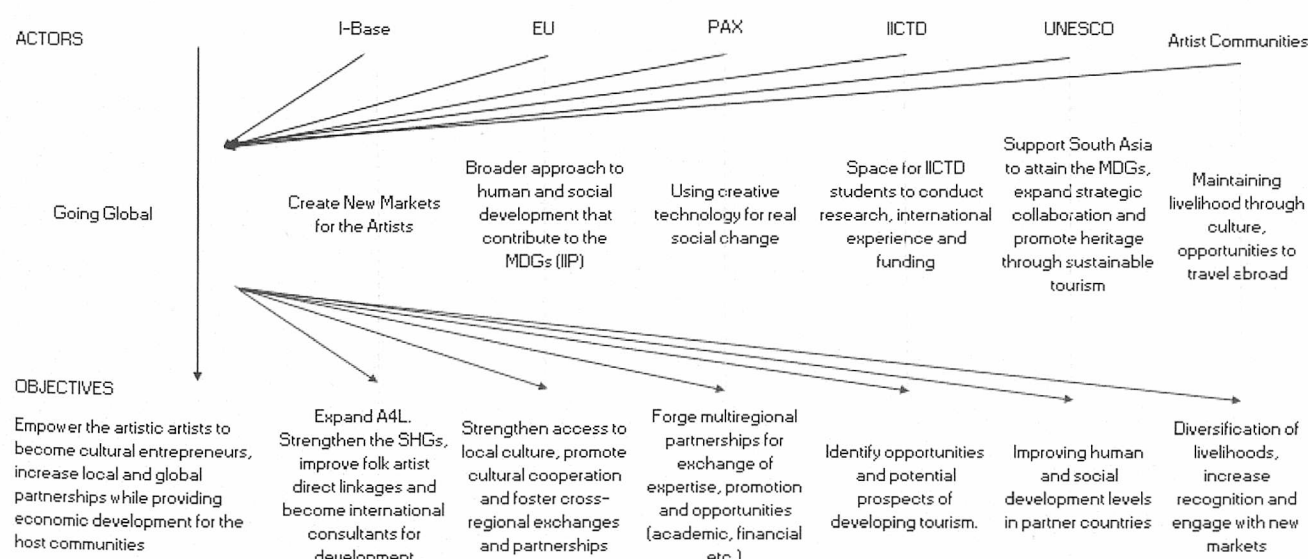
Figure 7:1   **The convergence of Investing in People**

The ability of this actor-network to deliver its objectives is highlighted by the extract below, a simplified account of the complex actions of this network.

> The project has strengthened the repertoire of the artists and skills to rejuvenate and innovate. Six productions were developed with 117 Chau dancers, Patachitra Artists, Bāuls, Gambhira and Domni artists. 50 Gurus participated in the training. 80 days of training with more than 400 Patuas and the skill-building workshops with new media artists helped them learn to

work on diverse media and gain new ideas and ways of expression, thus creating new markets. Masks and costumes were improvised to make the productions attractive and cost-effective. Thirty musicians, choreographers, music & theatre directors, designers, photographers, multimedia and digital art specialists from Europe visited West Bengal and interacted with the folk artists for exchange of ideas and creation of art installations, photo exhibitions, audio and video productions as part of partnership programme with PAX (IBase Annual Report 2010-2011).

This simplified account of A4L processes, which are the actors, resources and convergence of interests, however, remain hidden. In order to ensure this model's development processes do not remain black-boxed, this chapter traces A4L's model post-production actions under IIP, which does include some pre-production actions (capacity building). The following chapter and its sub-sections therefore give a description of A4L's chains of innovation. Before proceeding to examine these production actions, it is necessary to briefly draw attention to some of the outputs of A4L that were moved through the network by actors, as actants and resources may react to, modify or reject previous inputs.

7.1.1 Moving A4L Outcomes Across the Network

Actants that re-emerged in A4L pre-production actions include actors such as EZCC and the GoI; technical skills and productions (microphone use, campaign training, styles of performance et cetera) and the resource centre. Chau Macbeth (*Dakini Mangal*) is a good illustration of the movement of A4L pre-production outputs, which will be briefly outlined.

Chau Macbeth was one of six new productions 'endowed with unique masks and costumes and [using] obsolete dance steps like *Mayur Chaal, Harin Chaal, Bagh Chaal*' (IBase, 2010a). Also, it incorporated different folk art forms like the Patachitra (IBase, 2011c, p.6). According to the theatre choreographer a month-long workshop was held with 26 artists at the Santiniketan EZCC camps (Artistic Expert C, 2010, interview, September). The workshop focused on innovating Shakespeare's Macbeth into Chau form, reviving lost Chau steps with the assistance of the folk Gurus. The production length was reduced to increase its appeal for urban audiences, and new styles of masks, costumes and accessories with techniques from previous workshops were employed (Artistic Expert C, 2010, interview, September). For IBase, the enhancement of artist skills and the creation of new productions is an opportunity to create new social and economic capital, as folk artists have learned to apply technical theatre techniques for stage performances.

The continued acceptance of these technical and theatrical innovations by the artists, and their dissemination within A4L markets, such as the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) Kolkata (2009), the Basanta Utsav at Cheliama (2009), Golf Green Utsav in Kolkata (2011), PAX Liverpool Festival in 2010 and the Bamnia Utsav in 2011, increased the visibility of the product and network. As this new innovation is continually circulated during its performance, its facts are emphasised (punctualised) in annual reports, final reports, and media coverage et cetera, thus stabilising the network and its underlying ideas. This was confirmed by the director of the IBase in a statement that read:

> The success of these productions is based on our model, which strengthened social and cultural capital through training, exposure and promotion. Building new partnerships and improving existing ones with regional, local, and national organisations including the media has created better exposure, new opportunities for innovative productions and created platforms to share best practice for innovation and developing rural cultural industries (IBase Director, 2010, interview).

These artefacts of A4L actions were commercialised – marketed, distributed, and sold at local, national, and international events such as the Pot Maya in Naya, Sufi Sutra in Kolkata, and World Travel Market in London throughout A4L, in order to build awareness and promote the art forms. According to a senior manager of IBase, commodification of A4L outputs would 'increase patronage and economic stability' for the folk artists (IBase Manager, 2010, personal communication, December). At the Fakiri Utsav in January 2011, for instance, the Bāul Gaiche, Fakir Gaiche and Lokjan CDs were being sold for 60 rupees each (Field Observations, 2011). The revenue generated from the CD sales at the Fakiri Utsav, were 'put into the RC communal fund for the artists' (IBase Director, 2011, IICTD meeting). This view was echoed by another director of IBase, who stated that the revenue generated from the sales of the CDs was 'being ploughed into the communal resource centre account' (IBase Director, 2011, personal conversation). As a result, these recordings are boundary objects, as they are not only 'spokespersons' for the transmission of oral pieces and practices of these folk forms to a wider audience, but also material outcomes that demonstrate that cultural resources can create economic value (revenue streams) and social value (livelihood stability), thus contributing to the development process.

Figure 7:2   A4L's public narrative for the World Cultural Form and Creative and Cultural
Economic

We *(three PAX actors)* previously worked with the Chau team in London on three productions as part of a cultural exchange including Chau Macbeth. With the assistance of a translator, we developed, directed, and choreographed an interactive dance piece with a Chau. The performances were important, but the primary objective was establishing a formal exchange network for future interactions and opportunities. The London workshop established this relationship and this workshop will build on that foundation. We are making an installation piece for the social enterprise that the folk artists can use in the resource centres, an installation piece to increase public awareness by fuelling cultural innovation. We will use the installation to create a Hindustan nomadic art installation. The aim is to bring Western audiences a centuries-old West Bengal tradition in contemporary form, combining folk art with interactivity (Sheppard, 2011, informal interview, 11 March).

The cross-cultural exchange opportunities arising from forging 'multiregional partnerships for exchange of expertise, promotion and propagation with isolated communities" not only led to the productions of 'collaborative creations' such as *Mahishashur Mardini* and the premiere of *Thus Spoke Tagore* (an India-Western collaboration exploring Tagore Poems[55]), but also improved the folk artists' skills. These cross-cultural exchanges were opportunities for the folk artists to work with internationally renowned theatre artists which led to the innovation – "new ways to integrate elements of Patachitra and other folk forms as well as contemporary theatre practice into their performances" (IBase, 2010d). By building on A4L specialised skills training, these international cross-cultural workshops strengthened the folk artists' ability to 'perform on stage', 'develop artistic installations' and 'develop new productions' by focusing on the use of the body (movement), light, projections and sound to create 'living sculptures' that supported the folk artists in developing interactive performances (Field Notes, 2011). In addition, these cross-cultural exchanges were opportunities for the folk artists to work with internationally renowned theatre artists, which led to the innovation – "new ways to integrate elements of Patachitra and other folk forms, as well as contemporary theatre practice, into their performances" (IBase, 2010c, p.3).

The use of PAX technical skills and resources for the delivery of artistic exchange and capacity-building with experts stabilised the actor-network by aligning A4L actions to the IIP-outlined methodology of "academic and artistic exchanges"; "networking, training and

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[55] Thus Spoke Tagore Op. 48 music was choreographed by Richard and his Quartet as part of a multimedia commission by PAX featuring Chau Dancers & musicians of Purulia, dancer and choreographer Renata Sheppard, the Live-A-Music Quartet and film by Hambi Haralambous (Sheppard, 2011, interview, March).
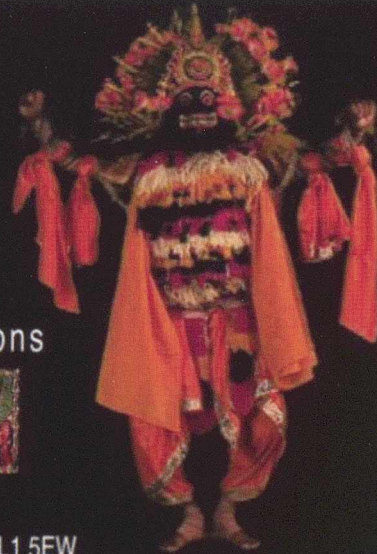
Figure 7:3   Black E, promotional poster

7.2.2 Stabilisation: Setting Up the Facts and Convergence

The established facts of A4L cross-cultural exchanges were punctualised in various material inscriptions, which stated that they were 'opportunities for the folk artists to perform at national and international events which led to improved skill, exposure to new traditions and new markets', as well as 'these workshops facilitated an understanding of the dynamics of culture, place, and society in different environments' (IBase 2010a, IBase V.P., 2011). Moreover, the 'multi-cultural exchanges led to the creation of new products like the Folk Orchestra, Folk Theatre and Patachitra installations' as the purpose of the workshops was to develop innovative ideas so as to increase the markets of these dying art forms of India (IBase, 2010a;   IBase   Director, 2010, personal communication, September)[57]. In the evaluation report inscribed by NIILM, the outcomes of the cross-cultural workshops were further stabilised by the development narrative below:

> In one of the Patachitra workshops, it was enlivening to see that rural artists from Bengal had deep interactions with western artists, in spite of the cultural and economic gap between them. The western artists had a first-hand experience of what Patachitra is and how it is created. After initial days of cultural exchange, innovations came out wherein new market perspectives were being developed. It was common for the Patachitra artists to paint on long scrolls. That practice had been coming down through generations together. But a long scroll is not that marketable because it would be difficult to accommodate in any household. Therefore, an idea was generated to paint Patachitra on scruffs and skirts to give a modern marketable benefit to the dying art form. Apart from this, Patachitra was also painted on Chinese paper lanterns to give a new market linkage to the art form (Chakravarti, 2011, p.5).

The implementation [adoption] of cross-cultural exchanges as part of A4L's model responded to the challenges of 'developing creative industries based on heritage', as it not only provided a platform for new innovation through the transfer of knowledge, but also created new market opportunities which contributed to the diversification of livelihoods. Cross-cultural exchange outputs, such as new productions like the Folk Orchestra or CD recordings, not only increased the visibility of the actor-network, and contributed to these folk arts preservation (documentation) but also provided A4L and the artists with new revenue streams through their commodification, as will be discussed further in section 7.1.1.

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[57] Artists learned to use video and photography and were empowered with confidence and ability to further develop and revitalize their art forms (IBase, 2010a; Chitrakar 5, 2011, interview, January).

The processes and outcomes of A4L workshops also aligned with global objectives contributing 'immensely to achieving MDG 8, fostering global partnerships', as inscribed in A4L An Opportunity for Investment, as they are excellent processes that developed a North-South linkage that has contributed to the stabilisation of this 'alternative development model using art and culture' (Jeretic, 2014; IBase, 2011b). Tracing A4L exchange networks through its development process, via ANT's Chains of innovation above, reveals that the A4L network not only mobilised outputs of A4L, but continued to identify and enrol actors with complementary skills and resources in order to deliver A4L's actions.

7.2.3 Marketing and Promotion: Cultural Tourism

During A4L's pre-production actions, "coloured brochures were developed on all six art forms" (IBase, 2010a, 2010, p.25). These individual material inscriptions were combined and distributed to local actors within the enabling environment from government officials, tourism stakeholders, event organisers, Durga Puja organisers et cetera, to explore and promote the folk forms with new stakeholders (IBase, 2010a; IBase Vice President, 2010, informal interview, October). While A4L actions identified the potential of developing tourism centres for local community festivals and rituals, the director of IBase stated that the 'organisation lacked the skills, knowledge, and resources to develop tourism', although he recognised the possibility of tourism as 'a potential to enhance the folk markets, after the first cross-cultural music exchange he organised between folk artists and a group of his musician friends' (IBase Director, 2010, IICTD meeting). As a result, they partnered with the International Institute for Culture, Tourism and Development (IICTD), to 'research the possibilities of developing cultural tourism' (IBase V.P., 2011, p.44; IICTD Supervisor, 2010, PhD meeting, July). This partnership was in part precipitated by IBase's identification of tourism as an opportunity. The partnership also emerged due to IICTD's ability to convince IBase that their expertise in cultural tourism and skills of implementing and managing an EU-funded programme would support IBase in meeting and delivering their objectives of 'developing sustainable models of tourism', as discussed previously.

As described in Chapter 4, the IBase actor-network mobilised the resources of IICTD, including a former BBC presenter, and Architecture and Spatial Design faculty, who all participated on the process of developing cultural tourism heritage that aimed to offer 'authentic folk experiences' (SE, IICTD, Field Notes, 2010). Under A4L, IICTD were

partners for delivering the following actions: a cross-cultural exchange program with PAX and IICTD on music, dance, drama, and cultural tourism, and building resources at six places (IBase, 2010a). As a result, A4L tourism actions were focused on identifying the opportunities and potential prospects of developing tourism, including the identification of tourism trails, designing promotional tools, and capacity-building strategies for community-led tourism.

In order to research, plan and implement cultural tourism heritage trails [an agreed action] under A4L, IICTD field actors (postgraduate students, academic experts) conducted field visits to collect data, identify assets, and collaborate with the communities in order to develop trails, design promotional materials and develop a plan for IBase. In Purulia for instance, a residency exchange with IICTD experts, a seven-member team "assessed the feasibility of cultural tourism and identified infrastructure and capacity-building to support the communities" and how these assets could be leveraged to develop a master plan for cultural tourism (IBase, 2010a). The postgraduate students were directed to research the feasibility of cultural tourism in the districts, with the aim of identifying the infrastructure and training needed to implement tourism, and to improve investigation of how folk artists could engage in cultural tourism to maximise their benefit (IICTD Postgraduate Students, 2011, informal meetings, 6-11 January).

7.2.4 Stabilisation: Setting Up the Facts and Convergence

A4L's cultural heritage tourism actions were stabilised through *material inscriptions,* which were organised and sent out to elicit involvement of political actors and tour operators. As one social director stated, 'we've sent information packages[58] to various tour operators, media and government offices, inviting them to attend the inaugural Pot Maya in Nadia' (IBase Director, 2010, personal conversation, October). These material outcomes of A4L were able, once created, to 'act at a distance, to help steer and influence the outcome of the network development as they circulate established facts that would be taken for granted' (van der Duim, Ren, and Jóhannesson, 2012).

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[58] The information packages included an introductory letter, tour pamphlets for Nadia Medinipur as well as an invitation for them to attend the 1st Pot Maya festival in Naya.

This is clear in 'Developing Cultural Tourism Trails: Purulia West Bengal', which was sent out as a joint draft proposal submitted to West Bengal Tourism State Secretary by IBase, UNESCO New Delhi, and the Indian Department of Culture and Tourism. The proposal increased A4L's methodology for tourism development, as it was endorsed by UNESCO's Heritage Passport Programme. For UNESCO, the Purulia cultural tourism trails aligned with its 'aim to promote heritage-based regional development through sustainable tourism as its itineraries linked lesser-known historic sites in India' (IBase and UNESCO New Delhi, 2011; UNESCO New Delhi, 2012, field correspondence, 17 January). This endorsement by UNESCO created wider visibility for A4L's model and IBase also provided templates on how to construct various tourism trails to maximise local cultural heritage.

The information packages included promotional materials, including the sample postcards for Purulia and Nadia, and were combined with A4L tourism pamphlets (see Appendix I). As a material outcome of A4L, these promotional materials aimed to improve the livelihoods by promoting cultural art forms, act as informational aids for tourists visiting the communities, and mobilise support for A4L events, such as the Pot Maya or Sufi Sutra. *The Colours of the Patua*, for instance, provided visitors information on the processes of making natural colours, as the Patachitra have difficulty communicating clearly with tourists in English (IICTD – IS Field Notes, 2010). For IBase, the Map of Naya and Colours of the Patua were tangible evidence of international partnerships and collaboration for tourism development, as is evident from its inclusion in the "*From Art for Livelihood to Village Tourism*" presentation for the UNWTO Seminar on Tourism Ethics for Asia and the Pacific, and its inclusion in the "*Culture for Poverty Alleviation & Sustainable Development*" presentation of A4L at the World Culture Forum, as illustrated in Figure 7.4 below:
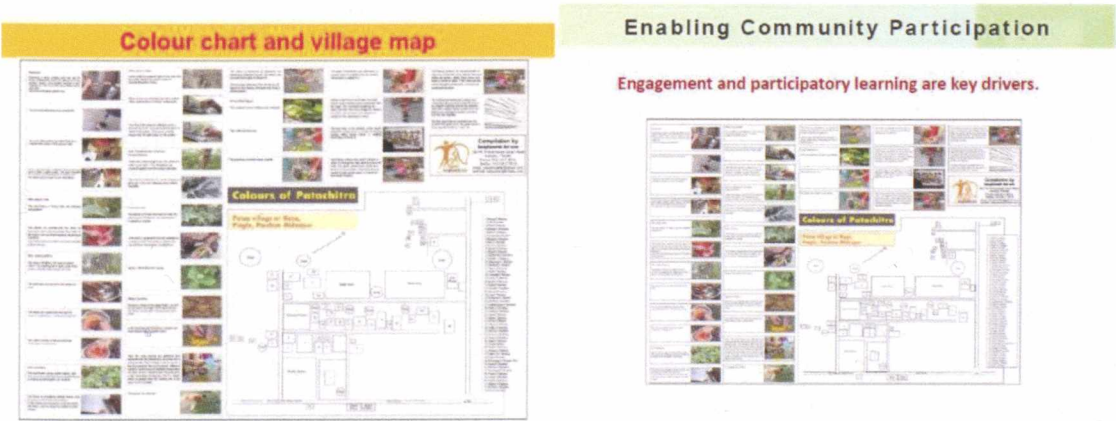
Figure 7:4   A4L's colour chart and village map.

(IBase, 2011d; IBase, 2013b)

7.3 Outcomes

7.3.1 From Cross Cultural Exchange to International Festivals

> Partnership with IICTD has strengthened the process of cultural tourism trails and development of community resource centres. Collaboration with PAX has strengthened linkages with artists from the UK. New partnerships that have been forged are with the Tagore Society of London, Asian Music Circuit, Milap Fest, Alliance Françoise and Impresario, Department of Tourism et cetera, for promotion and propagation. Discussions are now currently underway with various embassies, the Goethe Institute, India Habitat Centre, ICCR, international festival organisers like World Cultural Institute and Alain Weber (IBase, 2010a, p.57).

At the national level, the pre-production phase of A4L aimed at providing comprehensive training and capacity-building through dovetailing government schemes, as discussed in Chapter 4. Having recognised that promotional events organised in India throughout A4L capacity-building activities improved 'market demand and increased the income of the artists' (IBase, 2015), IBase, under A4L, aimed to scale impact by 'improving the folk artists' marketability' through going global (IBase Director, 2011, informal interview, November). Forging multi-regional partnerships for exchange, promotion, and propagation of these six art forms of West Bengal as part of A4L's activities objectives were intended to 'develop creative economies based on folk art and culture to preserve living heritage' (IBase, 2010b). By inviting Western musicians, visual artists, international tourism academics, and folk music artists to India to innovate, expose, facilitate interaction, disseminate, and scale impact, A4L reinforced IIP's objective of promoting "international cooperation to stimulate the contribution of cultural industries to the economic growth in developing countries" (European Commission, 2008, p. 2).

A4L's cross-cultural exchanges responded to the professionalization of cultural operations, and the development of economic and cooperative linkages, as well as improving the quality of cultural goods and services through increased production, promotion of multi-regional cultural events (as described above), networking, training, and experiences as well as 'promotion and dissemination' (European Commission, 2010). A critical aspect of A4L was to "forge multi-regional partnerships and promotion in innovative ways, as the above quotation suggests" (European Commission, 2010, p.83).

This scaling of A4L to include international activities was also perceived by the director of IBase as a solution to empowering the artists in becoming cultural entrepreneurs, increasing

their participation with different stakeholders while providing economic development for the communities. Scaling would utilise the new artefacts derived from A4L's capacity-building and exchange activities (Field Notes, 2010; 2011). As outlined in Chapter 4, the pre-production activities and exchanges led to the creation of new productions, such as the musical assemblage Folk Orchestra, the diversification of Patachitra products and new cross-cultural performances such as Dakini Mangal. These were critical attractions in promoting folk festivals in West Bengal and India, and fostering new networks with international cultural groups, as they mobilised new audiences by offering unique and diverse performances that even foreign audiences could enjoy (Field Notes, 2010). For instance, tracing the Folk Orchestra illustrates that this A4L artefact bridged the gap between actors that had vested interests in supporting IBase in promoting India's cultural heritage and cross-cultural experiences. Folk Orchestra was performed at Alliance Françoise as part of the World Music Day, and translated into increased networking opportunities with French cultural organisations and festival organisers in France (IBase, 2010a, 2010; IBase V.P., 2011, personal communication, April).

The Times of India Delhi (June 29, 2010) coverage of the event increased the visibility of IBase's cultural 'performance' which was translated into a deliverable of A4L. Similarly, the British Deputy High Commissioner's inauguration of the Folk Orchestra programme not only increased media promotion of the folk forms, A4L model and IBase, but also was a platform to release music CDs which became punctualised across A4L's material inscriptions, which aligned to meet IIP deliverables (activities & visibility) and propagation of oral traditions (European Commission, 2008). For IBase this relationship helped facilitate partnership development with various Scottish colleges which provided international cross-cultural performance platforms for the 'Sufi Singers of Bengal' when they next travelled to Scotland, and performed at the International Night at Dundee College (Field Notes, 2010; IBase, 2010a; IBase Director, 2010, interview). The international performances of Folk Orchestra in Scotland and later China (6th China International Cultural Industries Fair) were translated into deliverables – enhancing the visibility of A4L's network and ability to establish co-operative new partners for the 'promotion of inter-cultural dialogues' and 'cultural diversity' (IBase, 2010a; European Commission, 2008, p.2).

Innovative productions, outcomes of A4L's pre-production activities such as Dakini Mangal, were also performed in various places across India and the UK. Another A4L activity outcome, the Chau Macbeth (*Dakini Mangal*), was punctualised across A4L's material

inscriptions as a form of revitalisation and modernization of a 'dying folk art on the verge of extinction' ready for new cultural markets (Project Report, 2010). As discussed in Section 4.3.1, this innovative production involved the acceptance, modification and collaboration of the folk artists, theatre director, international artists, and musicians as well as a mix of folk art elements. This output moved across the pre-production actions by IBase and PAX, being promoted and showcased at various local festivals, as highlighted in the excerpt below:

> The production 'Dakini Mongal' has been highly appreciated in a seminar on Art and Social Change supported by West Bengal Civil Society Support Program at ICCR on 23rd Feb'09. The production has also been showcased in Rangpara Theatre Festival in Aurangabad, Umang, a national Youth festival organized by UNFPA at New Delhi, at Jadavpur University campus, Gobordanga Lok Utsav and in other places (IBase, 2010a, p.23).

Dakini Mangal was performed at Golf Green Utsav[59] for international and local audiences, which included the two IICTD PhD researchers, but was presented as 'Three Witches- an adaptation of Macbeth organised by IBase, supported by UNESCO and the European Union thus reinforcing the relationship' (SE, Project Literature, 2011), see appendix I. This was promoted through various means including private invitations to top officials (consulates), A4L personal and professional networks connections such as inviting Tanmoy Bose to perform, as well as through media and in associations with: The Telegraph, Tara Muzik, Anjali Jewellers, National Insurance, 91.9fm Friends (Field Notes, 2011). This festival in West Bengal was inscribed in A4L reports (IBase, 2010a; IBase, 2011a) as a programme that:

> showcased how Tagore's works have been enriched by folk songs and music and how folk artists have been influenced by the great poet, [and that] over 3000 people attended and enjoyed the two and a half hours of an extra ordinary evening of performances paying tribute to Tagore (IBase, 2010a, p.17).

Internationally, the Chau Macbeth was further moved across the A4L network, having performed and promoted this adaptation at Black-E Planet Art Exchange PAX festival alongside 'Thus Spoke Tagore' and 'Mahishashur Mardini' (IBase 2010a; Sheppard, 2011, informal interview, March). Both were innovative, cross-cultural performances between PAX and the Chau, under A4L. These adaptations, particularly the Dakini Mongal appeared as a "unique presentation combining two folk forms of Chau and Patachitra

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[59] A 5-day festival in Kolkata Golf Green district, has been organized by IBase for several years according to the directors. The programme was diverse - packed with music (classical, folk and percussion), dance (Chau, ballet, Kathak and Kathakali et cetera), readings of poems by Tagore, food stalls and craft products of India. It was the first festival event that the researcher attended.

painting" (Black-E, 2010). Dakini Mangal, through A4L workshops and post-production actions, generated social value, attracting national and international audiences through performances and development narratives inscribed in multiple inscriptions (IBase, 2010a; Sheppard, 2011, interview, March). The circulation of these new innovations through actions – events, festivals, community festivals – was illustrative of the alignment of local and global actors around outputs for increased market engagement.

These cross-cultural exchange outputs were successfully moved across the A4L network by multiple actors within the network, which successfully stabilised the network by being punctualised [taken-for-granted facts] and presented as deliverables, fulfilling multiple activities simultaneously (Activity 3: Festivals in West Bengal & abroad; Activity 6: Exchange with Western musical artists and folk musical instrument artists; Activity 7: Exchange Program with PAX and IICTD; Activity 8: International Workshops and Festivals) and also increasing the visibility of the folk forms. The project's partnerships and its performance revenue were measurable outcomes which were circulated through the international network of actors (UNESCO New Delhi, Planet Art Exchange, et cetera.), thus providing evidence of improving access to the art and culture of indigenous communities.

These international cultural events, whether held in India or abroad, received a wide range of media coverage, appealing to an audience looking for new or unique (one-off experiences). Building on the extensive media coverage of events, such as the community festivals, which IBase argued, enhanced the communities' image, increased demand for the destination and strengthened the communities' shared identities (Ekman, 1999 cited in Moscardo, 2007). 'Media coverage is sought as a way to expand our market linkages, and promote A4L as a business model as well as the ability of the organisation to deliver a new way of connecting culture and development' (Field Notes, SE 2011). The extensive media coverage of A4L's actions also maintained A4L visibility, which reinforced its actions, creating legitimacy as media coverage (see Figure 7.5, below) was used to demonstrate this model's effectiveness within IIP's interim and final reports, as well as internationally at conferences and events to mobilise new networks and audiences.

Figure 7:5   A4L's media coverage

(IBase, 2013a)

7.3.2 From Resource Centres to Cultural Spaces and Rural Craft Hubs

Primary attractions or a unique destination image play a critical role in shaping and influencing tourism, especially as festivals occur periodically and may last for a brief period of time. To promote A4L and create new markets, IBase established that community resource centres, maintained in excellent condition, and village festivals, were particularly important components of A4L's marketing strategy, transforming villages into popular cultural tourism destinations (IBase, 2010a; IBase Director, 2011, project meeting, 5 September). To retain support of a range of actors and to scale A4L, actors within the network continuously created relations and connected people and materials into a growing network.

For IBase, the Resources Centres (RCs) were a critical infrastructure that would become 'seats of local preservation, promotion and dissemination of local culture within the village' as they were used as libraries, learning spaces, rehearsal places and exhibition spaces. Many of the beneficiaries envisaged them as 'a community infrastructure that would help them store their Pats', 'community spaces that will help [and] are better for rehearsals and practising' as well as 'places to store our instruments as well as other items' and will 'be our new gathering space" (Beneficiaries Patachitra, Bāuls, Gambhira, Field Notes). UNESCO New Delhi considered the RCs as a 'valuable community infrastructure that supports transmission of oral history, launches community craft markets in each region, and ensures that these communities' intangible heritage is continually being performed (taught) which

will ensure its own existence' (UNESCO M.C, 2011, informal interview, January). Thus, the RCs aligned with the UNESCO New Delhi culture and development agenda, which aims to find solutions to "explore how to make the development process friendly for cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2016), as the RCs are a local infrastructure that boost local development processes, contributing to the preservation of cultural heritage that supports UNESCO's global mission.

In addition, the inauguration of the RCs by the Consul General of the US Consulate, and the visibility of the EC funding signage on each building, see Figure 7.6 below, has strengthened the stability of the network. A4L fulfilled the visibility requirements of the IIP Grant Guidelines that required applicants to describe and implement "planned activities in order to ensure the visibility of the actions and the EC funding" (European Commission, 2008, p.9). Consequently, the new A4L infrastructure – an output of previous capacity-building actions – was 'bankable' and therefore easily promoted to A4L and external network actors.

Figure 7:6   A4L's community resource centres in East Medinipur, Nadia, and Purulia.

In the next phase of A4L post-production, direct market linkages were created through circulating "brochures, catalogues, audio visual products and, most importantly, through organising festivals at schools, colleges, cultural institutions, local villages and cities" (IBase, 2011c, p.1). For IBase, local, national, and international festivals would create new

audiences and 'artists could reach larger world audiences on their own merits and skills' (IBase Director, 2011, personal communication). In developing new markets, the 'rural creative hubs (RCs) are in turn gradually leading to the development of new tourism destinations to bring additional income opportunities to the so-far economically marginalised areas' (IBase, 2011d, p. 697). The RCs were key intermediaries used to plan and implement the A4L cultural tourism model, which reconfigured tourism actions around the exhibition and performance spaces, as they were spaces to engage audiences and disseminate their oral and cultural traditions. The following extracts from the tour pamphlets, created by IBase for the Patachitra and Bāuls, demonstrated how these centres connected outcomes of A4L actions and new inputs to create an experience.

Pingla

A retreat in colours

An RC in Naya has been established with the support of IBase and the European Union and is managed by the Patuas themselves. The centre houses an exhibition of the diversity and evolution of Patachitra. Buying Patachitra has traditionally been the most common activity of tourists in Naya but today the repertoire of products includes apparel, stationary items and home décor products with Patachitra motifs. Products are sold at the RC and the price will be reasonable as you are buying directly from the artists.

Tour charge at Pingla includes a guided tour of the entire village, listening to Pater Gaan, making natural colours, painting a Patachitra, a tour of the RC exhibition area, a family chart of the Patuas, a natural colour chart and little souvenir. (IBase, 2011, see appendix I)

Bāul

to the Land of Music

An RC has been built with support of IBase and the European Union. You may sit with the Bāuls & Fakirs at the premises of the RC at Gorbhanga and get a lesson or two on Sufi philosophy or strumming the Dotara or collect the CDs and DVDs of their songs.

Tour charge at Gorbhanga includes a guided tour of the entire village, staying at RC or in any of the Fakir's houses, listening to Bāul-Fakiri songs, food including 2 breakfasts, 1 lunch, 1 evening snack and 1 dinner and packaged drinking water.

(IBase, 2011, see appendix I)

7.3.3 Organising an International Sufi Festival in Kolkata

Sufi Sutra, the first ever International Sufi festival in Eastern India, organised by IBase and the Department of Tourism, was an innovative 'deliverable' – an activity that is the combination of other inputs, which produced a cultural heritage tourism product through a series of interlinked stages between their production and use. As Latour (1987) suggested, innovation is a process of translation by which initial ideas are shaped, diverted and consolidated to build a network that continues to develop and innovate. The excerpt below, from the Times of India, highlights that the Global Sufi Sutra attracted thousands to experience, listen, and enjoy multiple global performances in Kolkata, including the little known 'Bangla Qawwali' of the Fakirs of Bengal; however, the facts of the process of its development were simplified, black-boxed as emphasised in the account below:

> Global Sufi fest attracts thousands – Kolkata: Soulful rendering of Sufi music by wandering minstrels from different parts of the world left the listeners spellbound here at the three-day 'Sufi Sutra' which ended on Sunday. Besides Indians, Sufi singers and musicians from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Iran, Syria and Tajikistan presented mystic Islam through songs, dance and poetry. Notwithstanding the current political turmoil back home, an eight-member Egyptian Mawlawyiah troupe enthralled the audience by an audio-visual of music and circular dervish dance whirling around singers in a circle. [....]. Another Bengal team led by Armaan Fakir presented the little-known 'Bangla Qawwali'. Traditionally performed at the Dargahs, the devotional songs had 'Dhol' and 'Khol' as percussions replacing Tabla. ...Besides musical performances, the festival included workshops and exhibitions to showcase the traditional culture, beliefs and music of the Sufi mystics (Times of India, 2011).

How then is Sufi Sutra an innovation of the IBase A4L model? As was mentioned previously, IBase received facilitation support from the Artistic Section of the French Embassy in India, meeting with various organisers of International Festivals including the Director of Festival Les Orientales and artistic director of the Fes Festival of World Sacred Music and the World Spirit Festival in Naguar, India. Within these local-global negotiation spaces, the director of IBase began exchanging ideas and getting advice, building their knowledge of international festival organisation through exchanges, within A4L global-local negotiation spaces as the following excerpt highlights:

> My meeting (with the directors of IBase) was good; he/she had a lot of questions about how to coordinate, develop and organise the artists programme (coordination) et cetera for the Sufi Sutra. I provided him some information about receiving support for national and international coordination, the development of festival programming, international team

coordination, and network support. The network support included contact information for artistic groups that we have worked with in the past. One of our group from Egypt and our contact in Tunisia would be a good fit for this Sufi Festival that he has planned. How it will all get coordinated in 3 to 4 months I don't know, but that isn't up to me. After that we talked about bringing some artists over for the Festival Les Orientales in France and other future events in Morocco et cetera. We're always looking for talented individual artists and our festival in France would be prefect as it's a small setting and open to new young and talented artists (Artistic Expert E, 2010, interview, 16 September).

Developing and maintaining this relationship for IBase not only provided them with 'insider knowledge' of how to organise (contracts, work permits, visas et cetera), develop, and market an international festival which supported them in executing Sufi Sutra. It also aligned objectives of these heterogeneous actors through collaboration. For the French artistic director, the alliance with IBase provided them a new artistic pool of talent for their international festival, a new international platform for Sufi music, and a local agency that could access EZCC and ICCR International Artistic Grants for a local French festival (thus reducing costs). This type of collaboration with international festival promoters has supported the "dissemination and participation of 100+ traditional artists in diverse forums in 10 countries" including attending the Fez World Sacred Music Festival (organised by the French Artistic Director) (IBase V.P., 2015, p.6). These collaborations not only strengthened IBase knowledge and skills, but demonstrated that they were able to participate in regional international cooperative activities, and develop a joint and interdisciplinary approach to promoting and marketing intangible cultural heritage, increasing their credibility with international stakeholders such as UNESCO.

Cultural innovation of Sufi Sutra further required internal changes that depended on the recombination of existing resources (Battilana and Lee, 2014; IBase 2014). To offer a diverse artistic programme of performers, IBase approached ICCR Cultural Exchange Programme and the Embassies to get financial and logistical support for the international travel costs of the groups from Jordan, Egypt, Turkey, Morocco, Iran, Syria, and Indonesia. Invitations and the coordination of national artists from the Indian States of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Punjab, and Delhi, were made through the Zonal Cultural Centres. The circulation of financial and logistical support for the Sufi Sutra artistic line-up is an illustration of the alignment of local and global actors around outputs. The reconfiguration of A4L's cross-cultural workshop 'jamming sessions' between artist groups during the day creates opportunities for multinational and multicultural exchanges. The artistic coordination of the Bāul and Fakiri

team was co-ordinated by Anusha Anadil from Bangladesh – a musician and entrepreneur who runs Jatra, a retail space that develops local arts and crafts through local partnerships – who re-emerged in the network, having previously coordinated another event in Kolkata (A4L Material Inscriptions, 2011; Artistic Expert E, 2010, interview, September; Field Notes, 2010, 2011; IBase Employee 5, 2011, February). The application of workshops and the re-enrolment of artistic directors from the A4L network actions demonstrates that actions, including support, were moved through the network across boundaries as this 'flagship' festival in Kolkata responded to multiple actors' objectives, especially strengthening the visibility of their art-forms.

To ensure that Sufi Sutra was well promoted, IBase connected with local media, organised TV press conferences, developed promotional materials, and coordinated the decorations of the festival grounds including inviting craft stalls (Field Observations, 2011, media press conference). Several Patachitra artists from Naya were promoting and selling their *pots*, 1000 Miles was promoting the cultural tourism trails of Nadia, Purulia and Naya along with other areas of West Bengal, and several craft stalls from Rajasthan were also present (Field Observations, 2011, Sufi Sutra attendance). Press coverage further circulated the established facts that 'IBase and the West Bengal Department of Tourism are jointly presenting Sufi Sutra in association with the European Union, Eastern Zonal Cultural Centre and the Indian Council for Cultural Relations' (IBase, 2011a; IBase, 2011c) and that "each day, the first half will feature interactions and workshops with musicians, and in the second half, there will be four 90-minute musical performances by teams from the participating countries" (Live Mint, Feb 03, 2011). Prior to Sufi Sutra, Tanmoy Bose promoted the event in the press stating:

> [IBase and] I started working on bringing in these artists for Sufi Sutra [and that] this three-day event, [is] starting every day at 11 am and going on till 11pm. There will be food stalls, shops, and Q&A corner where people can interact with the musicians from Azerbaijan, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Indonesia, Bangladesh and India. There will be an audio-visual section to screen films and an open stage where the artistes can take turns to jam all day. At 6pm, the main concert begins.
>
> Aparnadi (Sen) will inaugurate the show on February 4. Shantanu Moitra will introduce the show on February 5 and I'll do it myself on the final day. The state tourism department will provide around 10 buses connecting Nicco Park with the main city junctions for those three evenings. The show is not ticketed, and anyone can come in (Das, 2011)

After the assemblage of Sufi Sutra, the 'success' of the event was black-boxed throughout

various media channels in[60] Kolkata, with statements like: "[the] first ever International Sufi Festival in Eastern India presented by IBase and the Department of Tourism, Government of West Bengal has created SUFI Ka ALAM or a Sufi Ambience at Kolkata" (Dastidar, 2011) and that the "famous film personality and Director Aparna Sen officially inaugurated the festival on Feb 4, 2011 eve, in presence of a huge crowd of folk music lovers and folk artisans" (24 Ghanta, 2011[61]), thus illustrating the alignment of objectives and increasing the legitimacy of the festival by means of direct marketing, providing free publicity to all actors involved, which reached new audiences. Sufi Sutra was thus translated into an effective solution to support the preservation of local, intangible, cultural heritage as it propagated the art forms and created opportunities for the Fakir artists under A4L to disseminate their culture to a wider audience. Sufi Sutra is thus a cultural innovation, an idea that developed within a supportive enabling system, which provided the basis of innovation; the introduction of something new that created socio-economic value (Drucker, 1985; Kline and Rosenberg, 1986 cited in van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson 2012; Thether, 2003).

7.4   A4L Closure

This chapter presented A4L's post-production development trajectory, the second link in this process, which described how IBase linked social capital across local and global networks through multiple actions to development new markets. In order to address the challenges of disparity within the artists and their communities, IBase moved across and built on A4L pre-production outputs, developed new partnerships, and capitalised on new opportunities. Moving across A4L outputs, CDs and new productions, it supported the creation of new tourism products and experiences thus monetising culture as an asset, so that rural artisans could improve and sustain their incomes. This led to the continued preservation and revival of traditional cultural heritage.

It was in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively, that A4L processes, that is, the actor, resources, and convergence of interest, were traced, which demonstrated that A4L is a complex process that is the result of engaging in, and with, multiple networks from within their enabling

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[60] Media coverage of the Sufi Sutra included articles in the Telegraph, Hindustan Times, Herald, Bartaman, and Aajkaal (Field Notes).
[61] 24 Ghanta Bengali News Live TV had coverage of the Sufi Sutra broadcast on February 6th, 2011.

environment. By tracing the processes which were innovatively mobilised, combined, modified, and recombined to grow into the A4L model, a road map for community -led cultural tourism, these two chapters showed that this model arose from an alliance of heterogenous actors, first around Revival and Revitalisation of Folk Art and Culture, a national scheme to safeguard and protect cultural heritage and diversity in India (discussion in Chapter 6); after which a new set of heterogenous actors were mobilised around IIP, a global initiative that aimed to improve human and social development.

So, why were these specific associations formed? As illustrated in Figure 7.1, a network of heterogenous actors converged around IIP's call to empower the artists to become cultural entrepreneurs, and increase local and global partnerships while providing economic

development for the host communities. To improve the marketability and skills of the folk artists, IBase identified a global network of actors whose skills, resources, and knowledge would support them in meeting their triple bottom line: expanding the market linkages of the artists, maintaining financial viability to deliver impact, and developing a 'culture for development' model that could be scaled internationally. Global partnerships were therefore established to ensure the financial stability of A4L, but also to continue the professionalization of artists, and increase productions as well as creating new market linkages. The convergence of national and global networks created a knowledge-generating process in which expertise, networks connections, and ideas were shared across networks, providing new negotiation spaces in which innovation could occur. Associations with UNESCO New Delhi, for instance, not only strengthened IBase's knowledge-sharing network through the exchange of information, but enhanced A4L's legitimacy contributing to its successful scaling, as this sub-network (UNESCO-IBASE) is mutually supportive. For UNESCO New Delhi, the "project shows the possibility for a traditional art form to survive through creating its own market and to convert the conventional government "subsidy" and "patronage" to "investment"" (UNESCO New Delhi, 2011, p. 7); which directly aligns with their overarching global objectives. Whereas for IBase, stabilising this partnership through the 'successful' delivery of A4L has supported them in scaling their model and in becoming international consultants as in 2010, this development model was recognised by UNESCO and IBase accredited as an NGO in "advisory status for the Intergovernmental Committee of the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural heritage in 2010" (UNESCO New Delhi, 2011, p.7).

Social enterprises that work from contract to contract, like IBase, form associations to create social value, deliver and scale impact, to meet their financial goals of sustainability, but it is within these new negotiation spaces, as intermediaries, between local-national-global networks, where they seize opportunities to innovate, to change the system and create lasting systematic changes in attitudes. Although this position may mean that social enterprises are well-positioned to act as social change agents, their position in-between local, national, and global networks also means that their processes of innovation are influenced by external actors, as these two chapters demonstrated. The next chapter, therefore, moves on to present the controversies of this model by understanding how the implementation of this co-created model, which aimed to address a social problem, impacted the beneficiaries and their communities. As such, the next chapter contributes to answering research question 4: How do development narratives influence or constrain social enterprises in meeting their core social mission? and 5: *What are the impacts of an arts-based livelihood development model on the local communities?*

The next chapter will also contribute to answering research question 1: *What processes were mobilised to build capacity for tourism development?* as although these two chapters outlined the underlying processes used to build capacity, the established facts of the representative spokespersons are the closure of the network which silence the voices of others.

8. The Impact of Art for Livelihood on the Rural Poor in West Bengal

The previous two chapters traced the trajectory of A4L's development through its pre- and post-production processes, which aimed to answer Research Questions 1 and 2[62] respectively. As explained in the literature review, SEs inscribe and circulate *development narratives* that explain the connections between the project's inputs, processes, outputs, and outcomes into a story that explains *how* and *what type* of social value was created. One storyline is A4L as a model for 'Community Empowerment through Creative Industries', which 'uses culture as a vehicle to address poverty alleviation, foster social inclusion and to advance the empowerment of women. This model has succeeded in alleviating more than 10,000 families from poverty using their own traditional art and culture. In addition, more than 15 villages have evolved as cultural tourism destinations, where the communities are safeguarding different art forms themselves as they now realize their true values' (UNWTO, 2015).

This chapter identifies the controversies – tensions, that emerged from the hidden narratives collected throughout the fieldwork, that contradict and challenge A4L's development narratives. An actor-oriented ethnographic approach re-opens the established facts, as it allowed me to see what was present, but also what was made absent (Law and Singleton, 2005; Ren, 2011). We cannot fully appreciate A4L's processes and its impacts without establishing its set of absences, which as "an object is a pattern of presence and absences" (Law and Singleton, 2005, p.343). Focusing on the tensions between the public and hidden narratives can provide us with a distinct perspective on how success is produced in relation to the extent, durability, and convergence of alliances.

The perspectives presented in this chapter are from the key actors from A4L's actor-network; artists, community members, actors from the social enterprise, material inscriptions, as well as other key informants that were followed in the field. This chapter aims to throw light on the complexities of SEs' actor-networks that innovatively develop cultural tourism heritage

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[62] A reminder of the research questions 1: *What processes and actions were mobilized to build capacity for tourism development?* 2: *How do social enterprises link social capital across networks to develop markets?*

models in rural communities in West Bengal, thus answering Question 5: *What are the impacts of tourism promotions on the local communities, including the artists?* This chapter will contribute to a deeper understanding of how these SE actor-networks establish, promote, and scale festivals to achieve their organisational objections, and whether they empower communities.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Its entry point is A4L, a model for '*Community Empowerment through Creative Industries*', a storyline presented at ITB Berlin by IBase on this model, covering its impact, approach, key activities, new possibilities, challenges and linkages to the sustainable development goals. The first section introduces the public (present) and hidden (absent) narratives around how A4L builds artists' livelihoods by reducing poverty and increasing social inclusion. Section 8.2 introduces some of the tensions of monetising culture as an asset through festivals; again, it focuses on income generation and social inclusion, as they were the main themes which emerged from the field data. The third section (8.3) discusses the tensions surrounding A4L and the wider communities. *How has wealth trickled down, and how are the communities included in the development of festivals?* The final section (8.4) provides a more detailed account of A4L's impacts on the Bāul Fakir communities, as A4L inputs were seen as harmful to their cultural heritage, thus many disengaged. A summary of the chapter follows.

## 8.1 Cultural Tourism: A Game-changer for Social Inclusion

8.1.1 Public Narratives

The selected development narratives below communicate A4L's ability to build 'awareness on the traditional cultural heritage by promoting the art forms through exhibitions, festivals, and cultural programmes' resulting in 'improved income and livelihood opportunities' of each of the six folk forms (IBase, 2010a; IBase, 2010c; IBase, 2011c). The narratives below provide evidence to external actors of this model's ability to reduce poverty by demonstrating the artists' ability to 'earn a regular livelihood from their art performance and productions' (IBase, 2011c; IBase Director, 2010, interview), but also that A4L is a proven solution-provider in addressing MDG's Goal 3 of promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women, as demonstrated in A4L *An Opportunity for Investment* presentation slide below (see Figure 8.1).

- In 2005 when the project began, most of the Bāul-Fakiri in Nadia had stopped performing due to abject poverty. Many of them never had opportunities for paid shows and if they did so, they received marginal

fee of 40 to 500 rupees per show. In 2010, average number of shows has increased from 8 -10 times a year to 60-80 times a year. The leading singers have now more than 200 shows a year. Average income per show (for a group of 4 to 6 persons) has also increased and the artists now receive between 2500 to 10,000 rupees per show (IBase, 2011b, p.4); and,

- They (women Patuas) are traveling alone and have overcome barriers to women's mobility typical of rural Muslim communities in India. The women now earn USD350 - 600 per month (in comparison to 10 USD in 2005). There are now 200 women folk painters in the village. They have brick houses with modern sanitation facilities. Their children go to school. The village has turned into a tourist destination. Folk art lovers stay in village homes or the folk art resource centre. The annual village festival POT Maya, started two years back, draws hundreds. The story of women Patuas was also awarded the Most Creative Community Outreach Project in UN Women/Master Card, Singapore's Project Inspire contest in 2011 (, 2011c, p.2).
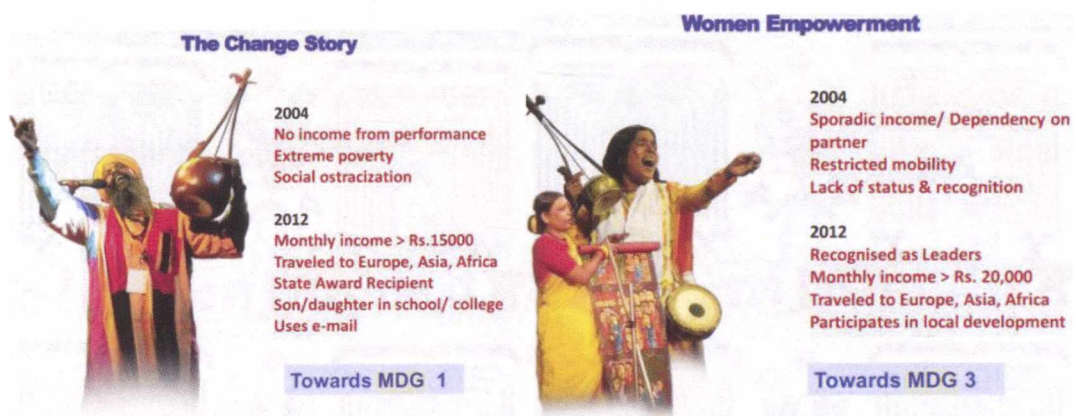
Figure 8:1   Intangible cultural heritage, a proven solution in addressing MDGs

(IBase, 2013c)

These dominant *development narratives* circulate established facts across local and global networks, which ensures the stability of the established facts, while simultaneously making invisible other actors and facts about whether locally or globally all actors in a network are present. Material inscriptions relied on the presence of IBase as the primary representative spokesperson, whose aim was to maintain material durability – the stabilisation of a particular interpretation of A4L's processes and impacts. IBase ensured that it continued to recruit support and so impose "… [their] growing coherence on those who argue about them or impose them" (Latour, 1996, p.78). The reiteration of A4L's established facts by other representative spokespersons, including UNESCO, NIILM, UNWTO and the media (newspapers et cetera), came through development narratives such as the "average monthly income has increased six-fold on average over a 3-year period for local artists (from Rs. 500 to Rs. 3000 per month) by better using communities' traditional skills (European

Commission, 2011)[63]"; 'for 311 Patachitra artists participating in the project, income was augmented, with the top Patuas "earning Rs. 25000 to Rs. 30,000 per month" compared to the baseline average of Rs. 500 (2005)' (Chakravarti, 2011, p.5; UNESCO New Delhi, 2011, p. 7); and, 'Ten years ago, Arjun Khyapa, a Bāul singer from a village in Nadia was not quite sure where his life was headed. His monthly income was about Rs. 400... On September 21 he leaves for London. ...When in the country, he earns between Rs 7,000 to Rs 10,000 a month now" (Das, September 19, 2011). These circulating development narratives provide proof for external actors that this model is achieving impact, its objectives and to what extent they signify a well-managed organisation that cares about improving its delivery (IBase, 2010d; Thomke, 1998)

It is naïve to assume that A4L development narratives produced to stabilise the network or its processes took place without the active resistance of some actors. The 'claims' of A4L are therefore not absolute; rather they are, and can be, contested, as in affect all these representations above are closures, which silence marginalised voices, and conceal various controversies (Fletcher, 2007). Thus, certain processes and impacts have been made absent.

8.1.2 Hidden Narratives: Workshop, Workshop, No Livelihood

Even though folk festivals and other events organised at local, state, regional and national levels create new markets through being equipped with new skills for performance on stage, in cross-cultural groups, and in the studio environment, not all the artists benefited from the A4L model and processes. There is a hidden narrative; A4L has created economic dependency rather that a sustainable economic livelihood. As discussed in Section 4.2, SGSY required the formation of SHGs, which meant that under A4L, artists were offered training in accordance to their skill levels. Discussions with the practitioners revealed that although all enrolled (3200) were offered, and participated in, various basic training and artistic workshops, an 'elite' group of artists emerged despite the director of the social enterprise saying "the specialised workshops targeted the most talented artists, those that can perform at high-level events across India and abroad (Field Notes, 2010).

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[63] It should be noted that A4L Outcome average monthly income fluctuates depending on the presentation and inscription, most likely due to the audience or for greater impact. For instance, A4L average monthly income was shown as 8USD (2004) → 60 USD (10% earning about 250 USD (2011, SE presentation). In 2013, a presentation A4L average monthly income was 10 USD in 2004 → 250 in 2013, no mention of top earners.

Other workshops are being conducted to raise the standard of the "C" artists to 'B" and 'B" artists to "A" to ensure community mobilisation (Field Notes, 2010). The hidden narratives reveal that a large majority of the artists felt very limited to any socio-economic benefit, as evident from the following hidden narratives:

- 'My name was selected as a group leader but not every name made it into a group or was even selected, even after long rehearsals (workshops), to go on tour. …When the new group was formed, we were able to travel to lots of other places. The earlier group split into two different groups. This was because of money, expenses and convenience and, of course, singing talent. This (selection) was done during the rehearsals. Prior commitments and family responsibilities had to be considered, and it was a difficult decision on who got into groups'. (Fakir SHG Leader, KF Field Interview 2012).

- 'Since the start of the project the amount of performances and workshops has decreased, which is not what we were told initially' (Patachitra, 2011).

- 'It [the social enterprise] has come for a few years but I have been performing with the help of workshops in different places. People call me. I go there and sell. IBase hasn't helped me to perform anywhere outside but I won't say it has not helped me, because through its campaigning, a few more of my patas has got to sell. …. In 2010-2011, I have gone to many places but not through IBase but personally. Privately, I have done exhibitions and workshops through both governments as well as non-governments' (Field Interview Fakir, 2011).

- 'In the two years…. We have had to take 3 years of training. …..Like, last year in pujas there were shows in Mumbai, Goa, Delhi and I earned around 10 to 12 thousand. And after 2011, I haven't been invited to perform in any programmes' (Bāul, 2011).

Many of the artists, especially, although not exclusively, those that were not considered 'elite', have become frustrated with A4L's actions, and thus disengaged, often deciding to reject it altogether. In discussion with these artists, it is clear their primary livelihoods have not changed; they are still day labourers, agricultural workers, et cetera. 'Workshop, Workshop, no performances, no livelihood, just workshops' was one young Bāul response when hearing about the 'Art for Livelihood' project (Fakir 19, 2011, informal interview, March). This artist went on to state that 'although there were many workshops in the beginning, he and many others where never selected to perform, so why attend the workshops when I am not called forward to other performances?' (Fakir 19, 2011, informal interview, March). In the Bāul Fakir community and for a group of Patachitra, it was evident that the model's selection of artists clearly contradicts A4L's overall aim of 'fostering

inclusion, challenging prejudice and increasing income' and livelihood standards. Further, it contradicts the director's statement that they want to ensure "community mobilisation rather than favouring individual artists" (IBase Director, 2012, project communication).

This can be attributed to several factors. For instance, female artists found it difficult to engage with A4L workshops, festivals, and performances due to domestic duties, distance, and cultural insensitivity. As one Bāul practitioner said: 'women artists in our village do not feel comfortable learning from a male teacher. Their families may object to this. Although the director of IBase told us we are welcome to visit Arman's Akhra, the resource centre, a female teacher was not arranged. Naturally, that offer did not mean anything to us' (Bāul Field Interview, 2011). Another female artist stated that: 'the workshops at the resource centre are almost 60km away. How can they expect me to travel such a long distance every day to attend a workshop or even practice sessions?' (Bāul, field interview, 2011). Unfortunately, the A4L model made few concessions and did not bring in additional measures to support the involvement of female practitioners.

After visiting the NIILM researchers in Delhi, one researcher informed me that when they proposed to the director to research and explore gender issues amongst the artists, his response was that 'women are not significant because they do not make any professional contribution' (NIILM, 2011, interview, April). It became evident throughout the fieldwork that A4L's actions did not challenge gender inequalities amongst the Bāul Fakirs, despite it being a key aim of the project. The female Bāul practitioners enrolled in A4L face the same challenges within the wider market; they are dependent on intermediaries (often men) for getting offers to perform at events and festivals (Field Notes, 2011; Knight, 2011). As highlighted in a statement by Mahuli:

> I used to say that if I could earn at least 1000 a month then I would manage comfortably. I have a lot of commitments and I donate to people who need help. … This year (2011) there is not that many programmes booked compared to the previous years. Maybe because of some financial demands, I don't know. When I get a call from the office for some event like the Fakiri Utsav, if I don't go then what will they think? This is a concern (Bāul 6, 2011, interview, November).

8.1.3 Livelihood vs. Dependency

Another important controversy, circulating tensions that predominated the hidden narratives, was that 'only the 'elite' few artists amid each art form were being repeatedly called forward for shows, especially those internationally' (Field Notes, 2011, 2012; Bāul 11, 2011, informal interview, March). As one Fakir interviewee stated, 'only 25 of us have really gotten any benefit' even though there are 272 official Bāul Fakiri artists enrolled in A4L in Nadia district (Fakir 3, 2011, interview, 2011). Despite the elite benefiting economically and socially from A4L actions, there is now a fundamental flaw; as the hidden narratives below suggest, they are now dependent on A4L for their livelihoods.

- I (and as a result my family) don't have any other means of income now. I want to leave but not until I can find something new – either another promotional organisation or something else (Bāul 5, 2012, interview, 6 January)

- Often, we are pressured into doing these shows. I was told that if I didn't sign to go perform in Delhi, I would be replaced by another person and my next performances would be cancelled. I didn't want to go, but I was very concerned that my future performance and connections would be blocked (Fakir 7, 2012, informal interview, 8 January).

During my fieldwork, one artist shared that after protesting about being 'underpaid' for a performance by approximately Rs 20,000, he/she was cancelled from the next two scheduled performances as he had asked 'What you are saying is not matching with reality. What are you guys trying to do to us?'. 'After this incident they also rejected me from the team' (Fakir 7, 2011, interview, September). In 2013, informal conversations with two other field researchers, as well as follow-up phone calls with several artists in West Bengal, revealed that these 'elite' beneficiaries are now only selectively working with, or have disengaged from working with, A4L. One external researcher stated that 'they are demanding better money especially as public demand is increasing and they have other sources of income (agriculture, other intermediaries), so they can be selective', unlike some of the other artists that have no other means of income (Field notes, 2013, personal conversations). This narrative reveals that the implementation of this model's component under SGSY and GSP has created an unbalanced power dynamic where the SEs have become these artists' sole 'broker' to the market. Consequently, it has become difficult for these beneficiaries to disengage from its actions, as they are dependent on this connection for direct market access.

8.2 Increased Income & Social Inclusion: Community-led Tourism

8.2.1 Public Narratives: Community-led Tourism

With regard to addressing the disparity of livelihood in the artist community, this model innovatively combined outputs – capital, social, material, and physical attractions and the pristine landscape, to create new cultural tourism products and destinations through making folk culture an asset, as traced in Chapter 6. The evidence of turning culture into an asset can be clearly seen in the following development narrative excerpt by one of IBase's Directors, who stated:

> The aim was to monetise culture as an asset so that traditional performers and craftsmen could earn decently and lead better lives. This is art and culture-led rural development which seeks to establish working models that help artists' communities gain recognition, safeguard their art forms, improve their incomes, and transform their marginalised villages into cultural destinations (Roy, 2015).

Turning these communities into cultural destinations through tourism was, according to A4L, a 'a game changer in social inclusion' as traditions are not only revived, but new contexts for performances are developed that attract new audiences, promote exchange and collaboration, and which strengthen inclusion, expression, and aspirations of these folk communities (IBase Director, 2013b, conference presentation).

As this model co-evolved through two contract phases, IBase identified new market-based opportunities in a niche market – festivals - 'as they are an extremely effective tool for promotion as they not only develop understanding and awareness but also create a ripple effect that can provide artists linkages to new markets, new contexts for performances, augment viability of the art forms, and generate revenue' (IBase Director, 2011, informal interview, February). The evidence of A4L festivals as a tool for community development can be clearly seen in the following circulating development narratives:

- Frequently visited by international tourists, several scroll painters (Patachitra) from the West Medinipur district, have learnt English and have the opportunity to exhibit their work abroad. Living standards have improved drastically, with average incomes rising from INR 500 (USD 9) per month in 2004 to INR 700 (USD 126) in 2010. Many brick houses with sanitary latrines have been built, and some 60% of the villagers now have access to electricity (UNWTO, 2012).

- We helped Patachitra artists to host their first ever Patachitra fair in their own village in Nov 2010, which was attended by over 5000 people and

they sold over 1500 USD of products in 3 days. All 53 Patachitra artist families in the village got excited by this fair. They manage their resource centre, keep the village extremely clean, and that has automatically resulted in developing a cultural tourism hub here attracting over 200 persons in the last 90 days and generating a business worth over 20,000 USD. Patachitra artists exhibited their painting in Paris (Chakravarti, 2011).

Production outcomes from A4L's specialised capacity-building in its pre-production phase were moved across the network, then mobilised for tourism "as soon as cultural tourism emerged" (Roy, 2015). Tourism-related capacity-building was added to 'sensitize the communities on responsible tourism, benefits and pitfalls' (IBase V.P., 2012). To "ensure that there was no imposition, the folk artists have been made active stakeholders in programme-planning, design and implementation, resulting in total ownership of the project processes and outcomes" (IBase , 2011c). As a result, the "folk artists gain confidence and improved ability to understand their own cultural context and to further innovate" (IBase, V.P., 2011, p. 700) while 'exposure visits with foreigners, artistic musicians, academics et cetera' were envisaged by the director of IBase to 'expose the community to the needs and expectations of foreign visitors' (IBase Director, 2011, personal communication). These festivals, whether locally in their villages or internationally in China, provided the artisans opportunities to market their products and exposed them to understanding the demands of new markets in terms of quality and variety of products and thus improved their self-confidence (IBase, 2010, activity report).

A strong festival development narrative used to demonstrate the effectiveness of this model, and IBase's ability to successfully develop and maintain relationships with international networks, is evident from the IBase NGO Accreditation application, which states:

> We actively promote exchange and collaboration between ICH artists in South Asia which has shared heritage through workshops and festivals with support of partners like British Council, American Centre, Alliance Francaise et cetera. We have participated in international forums like WOMEX jointly with our partner organisation in Bangladesh and presented shared heritage of Bengal. Our flagship annual festival Sufi Sutra (since 2011) is an international festival supported by ICCR, Ministry of Culture, Government of West Bengal, Goa and Bihar and Corporate. 19 countries and 29 teams have performed Sufi and traditional music and done collaborative workshops. In 2015 the festival travels to Bangladesh. The festival has created awareness of Bāul and Fakiri music among Sufi artists (IBase V.P., 2015, p.6).

This development narrative, in conjunction with other established facts (economic and social), was inscribed in various material inscriptions (reports, grant applications, et cetera)

to mobilise new resources (actors, resources, knowledge, networks, et cetera), such as the UNWTO, which recognised the model as a mechanism to safeguard intangible cultural heritage through tourism in 2014.

8.2.2 Hidden Narratives

> "It will be of no use as they are uneducated and won't know how to respond, so we are developing tourism for them" (IBase Director, 2011, personal communication, April)

The dominant narrative above emphasises that communities were active stakeholders in the Integration and recombination of outputs for the development of tourism. Tourism enhances heritage and living culture', 'provides equitable development including for marginalised groups' and 'provides public exposure to a larger segment of folk artists' (IBase, 2013a). The hidden narratives from the field, however, reveal that a majority of artists have limited knowledge of 'what tourism is', are not active stakeholders in tourism development, and have been socially and culturally excluded.

Having traced the processes, actors, the resources and convergence of interests of A4L's development, in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, it was evident that its pre-production capacity-building focused on strengthening basic skills, performance skills, development of new productions, and basic literature. Tourism capacity-building sessions were only inscribed under A4L, although they were rejected in the field, as when the IICTD post-graduate students asked IBase 'if they wanted us to develop capacity-building sessions before the 1st Pot Maya to enhance the awareness of the villagers of tourism' and after the festival reported back, the director stated, 'it was not useful; he's rejected all our ideas and suggestions' (IICTD Researcher, 2011, field correspondence, 22 October). As highlighted in Section 4.3, I encountered the same difficulty with the vice-president, who perceived the discussion of negative impacts of tourism to be irrelevant.

It was evident throughout the fieldwork that IBase inscribed all the material output of the project without the consultation of the communities, including the development of cultural tourism heritage trails. This was first exemplified in the hidden narratives of IICTD post-graduates, followed by the artists and their communities. The hidden narratives below illustrate this tension clearly.

- One IICTD postgraduate said '[W]e were called to the office to discuss the draft findings for Purulia's tourism trails. We were advised that in 15

minutes we were to present the tourism trails to representatives from the Ministry of Tourism and other industry actors, so we needed to finalise the presentation. We did not know what to do; what could we do? We tightened up the presentation and delivered our findings. We raised our concerns to our supervisors, that we were unable to consult and discuss the trails with the communities and that a director advised us consultations with the Chau artists would not be necessary as 'it will be of no use as they are uneducated and won't know how to respond, so we are developing tourism for them'(IICTD Researcher A, 2010, field meeting, 18 September).

- One artist, when asked 'if they had seen the brochure[64] of tours in their village and if they were consulted about it', said 'I have not seen that before; can I see it?' After reading the Bengali part of the brochure I asked if he would be assisting with the tours, but the response was 'No' (shaking his head)' (Fakir 2, 2011, personal communication).

- An informant asked if I could 'explain the pricing in the brochure. I've never seen it before. All the guests are booked through the office". (Fakir 10, 2011, personal communication). Another said 'No, no!' (Fakir 3, 2011, personal communication).

- While talking about this issue, one artist said: 'They are running a business, but we are not able to do this from here. We are doing it commercially. Suppose someone bought a Pot for 10,000 rupees from us but we are not able to know that he is selling it for how much there. So, between this they are making a profit out of it. It is happening for the last 10 years. Same thing is happening with the tours" (Fakir 7, 2011, interview, 2 November).

Even though A4L development narratives establish the fact that tourism capacity-building was conducted with the artists, the following hidden narratives demonstrate that the community's knowledge of tourism, its components, services, and management requirements, is limited. When I asked beneficiaries near the end of my fieldwork after all the capacity-building sessions had been conducted [w]hat type of tours will people coming to visit the village receive when they come here?, responses included:

- One artist in Nadia responded that 'I do not have that much knowledge of tourism but what I do know is that tourism has to have a pull (a place that attracts people to visit)'. *[This artist's experience of meeting a tourist was only that of meeting me].* (Fakir 6, 2011, interview).

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[64] For the Patachitra the brochure is *Pingla A retreat of Colours* and in Nadia the brochure is entitled *Gorbhanga To the Land of Music* (See Appendix 4.1). I had received copies of the brochure while in the office. They were also being given out at various events in India and abroad by IBase, including at World Travel Mart in London during A4L project.

- A Patachitra artist stated: 'We all will greet them. Talk about my lifestyle and pot skills, show them my pots. I can show the ingredients of my pictures, like brushes, and how to prepare our colours, and the resource centre' (Chitrakar N, 2011, interview, September).

- Another artist in Nadia district commented that 'singing is just always done. I'll show them the village around and mix them with us as much as possible. You can't understand the village or us by sitting in the resource centre' (Chitrakar P, 2011, interview, September).

- Commenting on how much the resource committee will charge tourists for staying, one resource committee member said 'I'm not sure; we will charge them only the basic amount to cover the food' (Chitrakar M.C., 2011, interview, February).

Interviews and interactions with artists (as outlined in Section 4.3) revealed that the level of understanding of tourism was limited, but did vary from 'people coming to buy paintings', 'people coming to attend festivals, they want us to perform', 'there are no negatives to tourism, we are happy when people come to buy', to 'all tourists are coming via IBase, so no one comes to us directly' (Field Notes, 2011). These hidden narratives above clearly demonstrate that the communities lack an understanding of what tourism is, including its packaging under A4L tours, which they are expected to deliver.

In line with Falk and Kilpatrick (2000), the director of IBase argues that shared participation in learning a new activity and cross-cultural interactions with the IICTD field researchers (foreigners) built individual and community capacity, including having a better understanding of what foreigners expect. It is recognised across literature that excluding beneficiaries constrains them from taking part in community development (Aref, Gill and Aref, 2010), which is further highlighted by the hidden narratives above. Cultural-led tourism, therefore, evolved throughout A4L's implementation, as confirmed by one director of IBase who stated: 'to get the communities tourism-ready and running we think it's a separate skill set we do not have, but we envisage that exposure tours to foreigners through our cross-cultural exchange programmes will enhance the communities' skills, knowledge, and ability to successful engage in offering tours' (IBase, 2010, IICTD meeting in Kolkata). What this model failed to acknowledge is that a lack of knowledge of the potential demands of tourism, of tourists and the changes associated can contribute to false expectations, increased economic leakages, and limited opportunities to expand benefits to other community members, as there "is no guarantee that the benefits of tourism will trickle down to the poorest groups; nor does tourism necessarily reduced inequalities" (Ayres, 2002 cited in Moscardo, 2008, p.64).

The concern expressed by the artists regarding the economic leakages was whether A4L commercialization of their culture, such as CDs and village tourism, were actually creating new revenue streams for them and their communities. Even though the public transcripts state that 'the folk artists are earning income from recording songs and CDs' (IBase, 2010a), field interviews were unable to verify the actual amount, if anything, that was being distributed to the artists. This is evident in a conversation between Bāul Fakir[65] artists:

- Artist A: "They are selling the music CDs and making a profit out of it. Why are they taking the royalty? They are not eligible to get that value.
- Artist B: You're right. I got the news from Ali. He told me that if we got the royalty of the CDs then we can earn 50,000/- rupees each per month. They sold our CDs in Switzerland.
- Artist C: They sold the CDs of Sufi Sutra at 500/- each
- Artist B: Later they increased the price. Last time they sold CDs at 5 pounds each in London, but this time sold those at 10-15 pounds each and the CDs of Sufi Sutra sold at 20 pounds.
- Artist D: IBase gave us CDs to sell or give away, but when they sell them at events – Sufi Sutra or in London, we get a small amount, if any"
- Artist B: After the London tour, even though they sold some CDs we did not get anything. I checked with Markhan and nothing extra was in the resource committee account. Each of us only got the fee from performing.

When asked to clarify 'a small amount', these artists[66] were unsure of the exact contribution as the money is supposed to go into the resource committee funds, as the CDs feature more than one artist (Bāul 10, 2011, group informal interview). When another Fakir was asked about the revenue generated from selling a CD that only feature him, he stated: 'I received payment for recording the CDs, a few days in the studio. Since then, I have not received anything other than 20-30 CDs to give away or sell. I don't know if I get money when they sell more at events, so far nothing' (Fakir 6, 2011, informal conversation). When discussing this topic one Fakir (8, 2011, informal conversation) stated:

- [That] 'if we can just get 10% of the profit instead of 20% then it will be enough for us. … If they will not steal our money; then how can they manage their salary from the project? We all know these facts. How they spent 5 crore we can't understand. They used us.'

- In all these hidden narratives, the extent to which wealth has been accumulated or is being accumulated through the commodification of

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[65] At an event, a structured interview with Fakir 7 turned into an informal conversation with three other Bāuls and Fakirs in attendance on the international events, payments and outputs of A4L programme
[66] It should be noted that one of the artists in this conversation is a resource committee member

> A4L outputs remains hidden. Even if it is measured by IBase, it has not
> been included in any of the development narratives.

These conflicting narratives raise significant questions, particularly in regard to 'ownership' and 'revenue-sharing', but also as to how revenue-sharing is done with the community-led tourism products; especially as none of the Patachitra, Bāuls and Fakirs were active stakeholders in the development of the tourism products and services, as demonstrated above. Taken together, the tensions between the development narratives (public) and hidden narratives of the field raise the question of whether *wealth is trickling down to the communities*? Community-led tourism was mobilised as one mechanism to address the disparity within the folk artists' communities, as not all groups were equally talented or commercially successful. *Did this market-based approach reach everyone, leaving no person behind*?

8.2.3 Community Tensions: Is wealth trickling down?

This tourism-based livelihood development model is built on the assumption that wealth generated by the most successful and entrepreneurial artist(s) in the community will be shared. The model, as described by one director, highlights this; 'we work with a select few artistic leaders in the community, after 4 to 6 months of capacity-building focusing on quality and basic life skills. After their monetary and social status increases, it will bring others forward' (IBase Director, 2010, interview, September). This view was echoed by another director, who stated: "once the artists start feeling secure in their increased livelihoods, they may begin to plough money back into their communities, expanding opportunities for others and developing better infrastructure" (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013, p.92). The hidden narratives of the communities are that they feel alienated and excluded, as this section will demonstrate through presenting these parallel narratives from the field.

Interviews in Nadia district in the village where the community RC was built revealed that "out of 125 people, only 28 people supported this intervention by the SE. At least 55 people said categorically that the SE had created clear-cut class/caste differentiation in the village. The rest were either non-committal or did not know much about the enterprise" (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013, p.96). In East Medinipur, interviews revealed that, although all the Patachitra in this community knew about the RC, many community members were frustrated with not being included in actions, thus were disengaging from this network. A recurrent theme in the interviews with non-elite artists, artists from the wider community,

and community members of A4L was not socially inclusive. The hidden narrative from the interactions with the Patachitra reveals these tensions:

- They say a village tour, no one ever comes out to my house. We're not included in the workshops at the resource centre, we are not benefitting (Chitrakar K, 2011, informal interview).

- The Pot Maya is good for our community as it brings more recognition for many, not us. Too much competition, not enough people buying, and we have a bad space to sell. We are not involved in workshops or village tour, so this year we did another festival outside of Naya (Chitrakar H.F., 2011, interview, February)

- 'The office tours around the resource centre, there are other artists that should be included. We have not done any workshops this year'. (Chitrakar H.R. 2011, November).

Similarly, in Nadia district, there are community members and artists that have disengaged from A4L due to frustration that they have limited opportunities to participate in local and international festivals, including their community festival, the Fakiri Utsav. One such artist revealed that 'during the local festival, he was not invited. So why go when we are not invited?' (Fakir 5, 2012, informal interview, 9 January). While another artist in this village that disengaged from A4L's Fakiri Utsav commented that: 'I have no chance, the director of IBase does not pick me, its always the same people, they do not let me participate at the Ustav, so I don't go. I will work my field today and perform outside with others' (Fakir 6, 2012, personal conversation, 8 January). An 'elite' artist pointed out that 'only 25 artists of our district have benefitted from A4L events and festivals locally and abroad; I have not been contacted in over a year while others are excluded from participation at events' (Fakir 1, 2012, informal interview, 10 January), due to personal and professional tensions that have risen from A4L processes.

The community being excluded from the Fakiri Utsav can further illustrate the tension between the communities and A4L processes. When asked about the community festival, one villager said 'the Fakiri Utsav is not open to all, we were not invited. The other village festival by Nazul is open for all to go to, if you want. Naresh[67] never comes and invites us' (Fakir villager C, 2011, interview, 8 January). Field interactions with the community members after the 1st Fakiri Utsav revealed further community exclusion, as one senior community member put it:

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[67] Naresh is a pseudonym for one of the employees working for the social enterprise that coordinates the festival.

> In the morning at the first Fakiri Utsav, during the singing of the good morning Hare Krishna morning precession, the locals were not very happy; some of them become very hostile and were saying unpleasant remarks. So, they were asked to stop singing and return to the Utsav grounds, if they wanted to continue with the song. As it's a predominantly Muslim village we were not surprised, but I came to find out later that no one from the organizing committee/IBase had sought permission or discussed the event with the surrounding community (Fakir villager, 2011, informal interview, 10 January).

Unfortunately, the A4L activities are often totally cut off from the villagers, which can be attributed to a clear lack of communication between A4L, the beneficiaries, and the wider community within these villages; combined with the fact there has been limited capacity-building for tourism development despite its implementation. A dominant development narrative of A4L is that there was no imposition on the folk artists, as they've been made active stakeholders in their community-led tourism actions, which aligns with international development objectives of community participation (bottom-up development). The hidden narratives from the communities, the artists, social enterprise, and experts, however, reveal further tensions and contradictions.

8.2.4 Community participation

The beneficiaries and their communities have had a limited role in selecting the implementing agency and limited participation in the development of their community festivals, and were not consulted on tourism materials and tour/festival productions that are circulated to enrol others. As a result, they retain limited control over these events. When discussing the Pot Maya and Fakiri Utsav with community members, artists, external experts, and the social enterprise, contradictory narratives emerge in the field, which are hidden by the established facts of the network.

The established facts are that the 'Patuas of Naya played a pivotal role in organising this year's community festival with support from IBase' (Field Notes, 23 November 2011; IBase Director, 2012, personal communication, 25 November). In actuality, the Pot Maya cluster was only responsible for 'cleaning the village prior to the festivals', 'we provided local contacts to IBase to coordinate festival elements', 'we organised the village', and 'supported the organisers from IBase in conducting actions, such as helping make signs for the Colour Trails' (Chitrakar A, 2011, informal interview, 23 November; Chitrakar K, 2011, interview, 24 November). Correspondence with IBase revealed that they were managing the festival implementation, including hiring a Kolkata caterer, mobilised media and government

officials to inaugurate the events, the development of the material inscriptions, coordinating the Patuas and international students from IICTD, et cetera. (IBase, 2010, personal correspondence, 14 September). IICTD post-graduate student's correspondence with IBase, revealed that:

> [T]he organisation of the Pot Maya is being conducted by us [IBase] as the village community has not held a fair before. We need you to support us in assisting the cluster on developing colour trails (signage et cetera), workshop preparation, and evaluate the success of this tourism event. I expect a report on your findings after the Pot Maya to assist with our tourism development research' (IBase Director, 2010, field correspondence, 17 September).

A year later, IBase continued to take a main role in preparing the festival, including developing marketing materials, pricing the packages, coordinating the actions, contracting the artists et cetera (Field Notes, 2011). The cluster was frustrated that they were unable to open the festival to other local artisans; 'we were blocked' as is evident from the excerpt below:

> We wanted to invite different folk artists from the surrounding villages to take part in this year's Mela. The committee agreed, but we were told by the director that the festival is only for IBase's folk artists. They did not want them to attend as they might take away from the 'festival' and its image and decrease revenue for us. But, the Madhupani[68] from Bihar were invited, which is good, but they had stalls right beside the resource centre to sell their art. It was not negotiable. Hopefully, next year we can invite some of the other local folk artists (Chitrakar A.W, 2011, interview, 22 November).

After this discussion about the festivals with the organisational cluster, a common view amongst the cluster was that the Patachitra would like more control over the festival, to ensure that more artists and their communities can benefit from this action (Chitrakars, 2011, cluster meeting notes, December). Other Patachitra expressed that they wanted more capacity-building sessions or training on 'guiding people', 'how to handle tourist' misbehaviour' as visitors were moving around our children taking their photos without asking permission[69]' and 'English lessons, as we are not confident in communicating with foreigners' (Chitrakar, 2011, workshop meeting notes, October). Two Patachitra in the cluster responsible for managing tourism revealed that they would like more training on 'how to manage the RC and price tours, as they are unfamiliar and unsure what to charge in order

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[68] The Madhupani artists are part of A4L scaling initiative into Bihar. Observations confirmed that these artists were positioned right beside the RCs, a prime location as all activities revolve around this building (Field Notes, 2011).

[69] One of the female Patachitra stated that she did not know what to say, she was concerned that if she said something it would not be good (Chitrakar E, 2011, workshop meeting notes, October).

to cover their costs or even make a profit' (Field Notes, 2011), as this was being managed by IBase.

Concerns were expressed about the implementation processes of the Fakiri Utsav. One expert put it 'this festival is being forced on the communities and even the artists' (IBase Employee C, 2011, personal conversation, January). These concerns were not only raised by a social enterprise employee but also an external practitioner/expert, who stated,

> I received separate calls from Amal, Kavi and Raj, asking me to call the IBase founder and talk to him about changing the dates for the Fakiri Utsav as it is again the same dates as Jaydev. I was not able to convince him to change the dates; he said it will provide an alternative festival market for visitors to attend, a smaller more intimate space than Jaydev. When I informed the Fakirs, they are very disappointed that again it clashes with Jaydev and their voices are not being heard. (Artistic Expert B, 2011, informal interview, 12 December).

There was a consensus across the Bāul Fakiri artists that Jaydev is the most important festival within their community; it's a space that attracts practitioners from across West Bengal and Bangladesh, thus missing it impacts their status amongst their community and external networks and therefore their livelihoods are impacted[70]. Other Fakir artists felt that 'the Fakiri Utsav is not their festival, it's the office's' (Fakir 6, 2011, informal interview, February). One artist stated that 'if I wanted to come to their community festival, then I would have to come back for either a Shadu Songo's or their mela in April' (Fakir 2, 2011, interview, 12 march). Meanwhile, a Bāul Fakir from outside of this community commented that he disengaged from attending the Fakiri Utsav because,

> [A]t the Fakir Utsav (2011) last year some of us had no blankets, no meal vouchers, and were told by the director not to consume ganja outside the artist tent. At Naresh's ashram some of the social enterprise staff and director were drunk, you know this is very disrespectful to our beliefs. Why go when the conditions are not good and you're not respected? (Fakir 16, 2011, informal interview, 12 December).

The hidden narratives in this section have shown that the lack of wider benefits, and how A4L's actions have been implemented have increased social tensions within the artists and their communities. The tension themes discussed in this section continued to emerge and

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[70] Six of the Fakirs that had to attend the 2nd Fakiri Utsav, as some of them hosted guests, hired a private van to travel to Jaydev (6-8 hours' drive) right after the 2-day Fakiri Utsav finished to ensure they attended, as one Fakir put it: 'we missed Jaydev last year, we can't miss it this year again. It is too important within our community to miss, so we must go even if only for the last day' (Field Notes, 2012).

re-emerge through the field period, and were discussed in 2012 on a return visit, and were still recurring in 2013, as confirmed by another field researcher[71] and direct communication with the artists (Field Correspondence, 2012, 2013). Overall, these hidden narratives indicate that not only is wealth not trickling down among the artists enrolled in A4L, but wider social developments have failed to materialise despite much optimism at the inception of the project.

8.3   Contested Identities & Community Resistance

A more detailed account of the impact of A4L is given in this section. It focuses on the Bāul Fakir community of Nadia and Murshidabad, as throughout the fieldwork in these districts multiple contradictory narratives emerged. Two themes emerged from the actor-oriented ethnographic data that were unique to this folk community. The entry point of this section is the community resource centre or *ashram*, including its influence as a *boundary object* which, as introduced in Section 3.1.1, has multiple meanings across the networks, therefore they influence actors in different ways. It is connected with the resistance of the artists in Murshidabad, as the ashram is a resource that is actively present within their communities.

The public narrative is that developing these 'community spaces' would 'strengthen identity', 'building ownership', and 'facilitate practice within each folk community' thus contributing to the revival and revitalisation of the folk traditions (IBase, 2010a, activity report; IBase, 2013b). In addition, these non-human actors would support the system of instruction (GSP) as each RC is a cultural asset that "facilitates transfer of skills and knowledge to younger members of the target communities and people interested in learning oral and performing art traditions" (IBase , 2011c, p. 7). The RC's also "emerged as a hub of local culture and pivots for developing tourism" (IBase, 2011d, p. 702). The innovative combination of A4L outputs around the RC, such as festivals, training, hubs for craft workshops, tourist accommodation, et cetera, has 'create[d] a sustainable model of cultural enterprise development' (IBase, 2014) that supports economic generation as well as creating new market opportunities.

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[71] I was in contact with two field researchers who were conducting research in West Bengal, one independent and one in collaboration with IBase via the School of Oriental and Asian Studies.

The hidden narratives of the artists reveal that A4L's RC has multiple identities, which has led to the disengagement of artists, increased community tensions, and the social exclusion of artists – especially female Bāulani's (as briefly outlined above). The hidden narratives below illustrate the complexities of culture and development within this community, which have not been considered by the SEs, as confirmed by the director of IBase, who stated:

> A social enterprise should never be bothered about village politics. People like that will never come together. So, it will be foolishness on our part to even think that at the professional level they will leave their personal differences behind. Frankly, for us it doesn't matter much. Makhan Fakir and his team members have been properly trained for international performances and they're doing well. Others are simply jealous (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013, p. 99).

This perspective of the director is contradictory if A4L's benefit is to be scaled from '25' beneficiaries to '272' across Nadia district, then pre-existing tensions and new tensions which A4L has created need to be addressed; they need to be present in the relationship even if they are not made present in the public narratives (Bradley, Chakravarti and Rowan, 2013).

As discussed in section 8.2 above, the segmentation and promotion of an 'elite' few has increased tensions amongst the artists, while the construction of A4L's RC 'where a previous ashram already existed inside the compound of Naresh's family residence' has further complicated this situation (IBase Employee C, 2011, informal interview, January). Throughout the fieldwork the RC was often referred to as 'Naresh's Ashram' by the artists instead of a 'community resource' (Bāul 11, 2011, personal communication; Fakir 6, 2011, personal communication; Field notes, 2010, 2011, 2012). Before introducing the controversies, the *ashram* – the second identity – must be introduced briefly to the reader.

Ashram refers to the physical place where artists meet to play together, although it may also refer to the shared resources of a community. These shared resources act as security for any struggling member who, if they are in need of basic materials, if available, these will be provided as confirmed by several artists (Field Notes, 2011[72]). As one interviewee stated: 'If we (group of friends) were not hired, we had to remain in the village and go sing in the bazaars. We were always able to go to the ashrams to eat if we could not afford to buy food. This we were always grateful for' (Fakir 1, 2011, personal conversation). A villager confirmed that the community's ashram was a resource, an asset, that was not even affected by a scarcity of food grains after a significant drought in 2010. Many farmers within the

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[72] Throughout the fieldwork several Bāuls and Fakirs confirmed this, including Bāuls 8 and 9, Fakirs 3 and 7.

community were barely producing enough to meet the needs of their families and emphasized that 'the public distribution systems were being controlled by extremely corrupt people' and that 'much of the food provided was sub-standard in quality' (Fakir villager F, 2010, informal interview, January). So, along with others they turned to the ashrams, including the RC, for basic food; however, the quality of the food from the RC was higher as it was able to source food from Kolkata as it often hosted 'visitors' through A4L actions (IBase Employee E, 2011, personal communication).

Within the Bāul communities in Nadia and Murshidabad, the ashram 'hosts' (organizes et cetera) local gatherings including Melas (festivals) which include sessions of *palla gān'* (teaching songs) or *Sādhu sevas,* musical praxis and philosophy sessions, which are arranged according to their audience's or students' level of engagement with *sādhanā*. The dominant representative of the Bāul Fakiri communities is of 'dying folk forms' that are 'losing their traditional audiences', 'the young were not interested to learn them' and 'songs were being lost and living heritage dying" (SE, 2011). Throughout the fieldwork, it was evident that the Bāul music and structure to its village, its community, was vibrant and active, as evident from the following narratives:

- 'No, no – we are very much alive. My father was a Fakir, my grandfather was a Fakir, so we have a long thread. Our tradition is much alive. (Artist GFB, personal communication, 2011).

- 'Our Fakir culture does not need protection. It is fine in the villages of Nadia, Murshidabad and in Bangladesh' (AFB, personal communication, 2010).

- 'If you are willing to move around this district, we can go to a Sādhu seva every night at someone's ashram' (Field Interpreter, 2012).

Attending various Melas and *sādhu sevas* in Murshidabad and Nadia throughout my fieldwork revealed that the local artists often discuss 'how to deal with A4L's impacts on their musical praxis, Guru-Shishya relationships and their living cultural heritage. One Guru states that 'people interested in our philosophy and its musical praxis avoid the RC, as they know they are only out there to make money'. Another Guru emphasised that 'Naresh and his team have completely deviated from their teachings as Fakiri Gurus. They are abandoning Fakiri music and taking up Bangla Qawwali, which has nothing to do with our music or philosophy' (Field Interview, 2012). Discussion with Gurus throughout Nadia revealed that A4L workshops held at the RC are encouraging practitioners to take up and perform more popular songs, as they are more marketable for foreign audiences due to fast, rhythmic beats. This concentration on new repertoires, however, has decreased the time

artists spend on other 'traditional' praxis, thus the 'more one engages with A4L, the less they engage with the philosophy and musical practice of a Fakir' (Field Interview, 2012).

A Fakir Guru mentioned that many Gurus in Nadia were worried that there has been a decrease in *sādhu sevas* across the villages throughout Nadia, including *palla gān* sessions, due to an increase focus on, and participation in, A4L actions (Field Interview, 2011). The *sādhu sevas* engage audiences in alternative historical narrative structures and interpretations. The Gurus who have witnessed these changes over time all testified that A4L has had negative impacts on the cultural transmission within the district, in particular in Gorbhanga, and as a result, Gurus and artists have disengaged from A4L. Consequently, A4L could not be scaled into the neighbouring district of Murshidabad, as the shaddus will not listen to them now, so they are only working with a select few in Nadia (IBase Employee B, 2011, informal interview, January 2011). Many of the Fakirs of Murshidabad have resisted A4L actions and many gurus have also stopped teaching students that are only interested in 'performing'. A leading Guru revealed that "some people who take training want to spoil our songs and their cultural contexts and meanings by adding and singing rubbish just to make money. That is why a lot of Gurus have stopped teaching as I have. If anyone wants to learn seriously, I am willing to teach them' (Murshidabad Fakir SB , Interview 2011). The impact of this disengagement was evident at one workshop in Gorbhanga, when a field officer from IBase announced that it was mandatory for the Gurus to start training more individuals as more artists were required to participate in events.

What the social enterprise is failing to take into account is that 'training' by a Guru is linked to their philosophical roots in the folk tradition. As a result, a student either finds their Guru or a Guru approaches a student. The local perspective of A4L as harmful and increasing tensions leads to the social exclusion of many artists through A4L implementation; this is fostering instability, as is evident from the following narratives:

- 'The resource centre is supposed to be inclusive for everybody, but it is not. I was not able (allowed) to take my Uncle and family members to resource centre and they had to return home. Do you know how sad that was? How is this inclusive if it is only open to a chosen few?' (Fakir N.A., Informal Interview, 2011).

- 'If I started saying I am Hindu and I only want Hindus to come to my house would that be good or benefit me in any way? Would that show how great I am? NO. I have had many Muslim women in my house and have been honoured that they feel comfortable to do their namaz (prayers) in my house. I have yet not been allowed inside a mosque,

but I would love one day, without prejudice, to go and sing jointly with my Muslim counterparts. As long as this kind of prejudice exists then the centre is not fulfilling its potential' (Bāul Artist, Kolkata Interview, 2011)

- 'If you pour more oil on the oily head it makes the head ugly, if you pour water on the leaves (marketing, promotion and tourism) instead of the root (truth, devotion, practice, music), the tree will be dry soon. In Gorbhanga MUSIC and TRADITION are now DEAD. Greed, unhealthy competition and envy are everywhere' (Informant, Nadia 2013 emphasis in original).

A4L's director, however, attributes this rising tension to 'artistic syndrome' – as rural artists' social status rises from labourer or villager to recognized artist, they become superior to others within their communities and 'others are just jealous' (SE, Informal Interview, 2010). The public narrative is that scaling A4L was never looking to expand beyond Nadia district with the Bāul, this is despite the Director's requests at several workshops for 'Gurus to start training more 'talent' as they need additional people for national and international events' (Field Notes, 2012). Several artists, as well as two IBase employees, discussed how the resistance of the Fakirs in Murshidabad, including those that disengaged due to A4L's negative impacts, steered IBase actions in implementing, developing, and scaling A4L's model (Field Notes, 2011, 2012). Despite being absent from the public narratives, these actors were present within A4L's network and as a result were part of its co-creation.

8.4 Conclusion

Undoubtedly, some artists have benefited more than others, in terms of the increases to their livelihoods and their exposure to global audiences. Undoubtedly, a select number of the artists have been showcased, and the NGO argues that it had strategic reasons for doing this. However, the independent evaluations carried out by UNESCO and the NIILM Centre for Management Studies do appear to support the NGO's claim that livelihoods of the artists in the programme overall have increased significantly, and additionally all the artists and their families now have health insurance coverage, which is a major welfare improvement. The project is also being independently monitored by an academic in Delhi, researching the impacts of the project on village communities, and whilst I am sure he would agree that there is a strong element of PR in the way the NGO presents itself and the project, the tangible benefits are still there and are not just limited to the NGO's "stars" (IICTD Expert A, 2011, field correspondence, 23 September)

I begin this chapter's conclusion with the above excerpt, a response from one of the IICTD experts to a critique of A4L's intervention, as this response represents both sides of the development paradox: between absence and presence narratives. The excerpt recognises

that this intervention's established facts were over-simplified for strategic reasons, which can be linked to IBase's need to maintain the stability of the network, to meet the actor-network project objectives (criteria), and to legitimize the model and IBase as development actors. The excerpt acknowledges that external representative spokespersons are critical actors in legitimizing development narratives of a project, although it does not acknowledge that UNESCO was an associate partner in A4L or were where the 'facts' were first inscribed from. Independent conversations with NIILM researchers in Delhi and academic correspondence on writing an external paper[73], were spaces for hidden narratives to be present, rather than within the network, including the response above, which was circulated amongst IICTD network actors (NIILM Researcher B, 2011, field meetings, January). By telling convincing development narratives that combine qualitative change stories and quantitative data, a united internal narrative continued to circulate the stories of success, despite the parallel hidden narratives that they may or may not have been aware of.

Unfortunately, the dominant development narratives fail to acknowledge the hidden narratives – the lived complexities of the beneficiaries, which was the purpose of this chapter. The hidden narratives, as presented above, demonstrate that this tourism-based livelihood development model has increased economic dependency of the beneficiaries, its implementation increased social exclusion and marginalisation, and that community-led development was in reality not a 'top-down' intervention. It can be argued that these narratives were 'hidden', made absent to ensure the stability of the actor-network as they support the convergence of national and global networks. Consequently, the stabilisation of established facts through public inscriptions legitimises the model's ability to integrate culture and development. An actor-oriented ethnographic approach also provided an insider's point of view on the lived complexities, experiences, and impact (Fletcher, 2007; Fletcher & Watson, 2007; Mackellar, 2013). This approach conveys to the reader that the views put forward are not solely the researcher's; rather they are the absent narratives that were traced and given a voice within this thesis.

This chapter has attempted to answer Question 5: What are the impacts of a tourism-based livelihood development model on the local communities? By opening up A4L's black boxes, I ensured that this negotiation space (Chapter 8) discussed both the public and hidden

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[73] See What Happened When the Corporates Met the Artists of Rural West Bengal? A Critical Analysis into Art as Social Enterprise in India (Bradley, T., Chakravarti, A., and Rowan, J., 2013).

narratives simultaneously and in parallel. I did not take the circulating narratives as 'established facts'. The tensions between these public and hidden narratives revealed several things. First, A4L (like many other development projects) was not grounded in an understanding of actual tourism development (Moscardo, 2008). As a result, it was unable to enhance the community's knowledge of what tourism is – its management, marketing, promotion, et cetera. The model also did not take into consideration the uniqueness of each cultural art form and their communities, especially in the case of the Bāuls of Nadia.

9 Conclusions and Recommendations

This thesis has sought to explore the interlinkages of a social enterprise tourism-based livelihood development model that employed tourism as a market-based approach to alleviating poverty and other social issues. By tracing the trajectory of an experimental model, Art for Livelihood, a case study, and its underlying processes in West Bengal, India, this thesis addresses the main research aim of:

> *Understanding the processes that social enterprise utilises in developing tourism and tourism's impact on the communities*

In order to answer the broad question above, this thesis set the following three objectives; to explore the relationship between social enterprises and their enabling environments in relation to developing livelihood development tourism models; to ascertain how social enterprises leverage actors and resources from within their enabling environments to create social value; and, to understand the impacts of livelihood development tourism models on the beneficiaries and their communities. Tracing the trajectory of A4L's development processes has enabled the researcher of this thesis to answer the research aim stated above.

This chapter presents the main research findings from the case study by answering the research questions, and each section (9.1) provides a summary and then implications. This is followed by explanations on the limitations of this study (see section). Finally, this chapter presents the recommendations for future research.

9.1 Research Summary & Implications

9.1.1 The Convergence of Interests

The first and second questions raised in Chapter 1 were:

> *What processes and functions were mobilised to build capacity for tourism development?*
> *How and why did collaborations come together?*

These research questions aimed to gain a better understanding of what processes, the actors, resources, and the convergence of interests that social enterprises leverage from their enabling environment to create social value through market-based approaches. The motivation behind answering this question was to establish an entry point, making it possible to appreciate how complex networks of local and global actors converge around cultural tourism to create innovative models to address social problems. For this purpose, a

theoretical inquiry was conducted. Chapter 2 reviewed the literature connecting tourism, social entrepreneurship, and creative industries to contextualise *livelihood development models*. Based upon a synthesis of the theoretical perspectives in the literature, it is evident that globally, cultural tourism is recognised as a catalyst for economic and social development; an ideal tool for social change. However, even though poverty alleviation through tourism development is addressed through market-based approaches, there is a lack of evidence whether its effects actually 'trickle down' to achieve impact at scale. A critical question which emerged through the analysis of the data and review of the literature (Chapter 2) was: *can market-based approaches in tourism reach everyone, leaving no person behind?* (see as introduced in section 2.1); this question will be addressed below in section 9.1.2. In the following paragraphs, the processes that were mobilised for tourism development, including capacity-building, will be discussed.

To explain what processes and functions that were mobilised to build capacity for tourism development, this study needed to first understand how and why collaborations came together; consequently, this model's pre-and post-production development trajectory was traced using ANT's chains of innovation, conceptualised in section 3.3, above. The trajectory of this case presented in Chapter 6 shows that social enterprise models in India are *implementing agencies* for government and international organisations, and the outcomes of these actions are expected to address poverty alleviation through effective collaboration and delivery. Dovetailing government schemes optimised pre-production actions, provided a structure, and the required resources (partnership, physical resources, finances) to build community structures and strengthen the beneficiaries' professional artistic skills. In some cases, the mobilisation of inputs was the combined effect of fulfilling a contract and the need to meet the organisational missions, and in other cases network outcomes were the effects of innovation. As presented in Chapter 7, the continued alignment and stabilisation of this network, after multiple emerging inputs were accepted and moved across the networks, influenced the model's overall design to ensure productions were optimized for local and international markets. Reinforcement of the model's effectiveness through external validation as an effective model for poverty alleviation influenced the implementing agency; as Thomke (1998) suggests, when an experimental design is successful, "the trial and error stops" and the social enterprise commits to the model, its processes and rolling it out.

On the other hand, these emerging inputs structures, actors, and actions influenced the model to varying degrees. Each emerging input drives the network's development and processes, as this study outlined in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively. The case study has shown that dovetailing schemes requires social enterprise to adhere to specific criteria and respond to stakeholder interactions. In particular, in this case governmental schemes encouraged the integration of another ongoing rural development programme, provided existing implementing structures of actions, and initiated collaboration across organisations from within the local-national enabling environments. One issue that emerges from these findings is the challenge of balancing external interests across external investors, the communities, and the social enterprise mission. These results are in line with previous studies in the wider literature of development, tourism, and social enterprise (e.g., Moscardo, 2008).

In this case, although the social enterprise acknowledged their weaknesses in understanding how tourism operates and its impacts, the model was scaled through a new vertical to address the disparity with the folk art communities. The social enterprise perceived basic skill-building and cross-cultural knowledge exchange through the partnership to be effective in building tourism knowledge. For instance, at the local level basic skill-building outcomes were moved across networks, which appears to have prolonged the stability of the network on the one hand, and these emerging inputs steered subsequent actions even though they were not grounded in tourism, but in performance art. However, tracing the processes of this case study including the hidden narratives in Chapter 8 revealed that capacity-building for reviving folk art, which aimed to fine-tune skills of artists, were not effective for building local knowledge of tourism management or participation in tourism development. Such skills, when applied to performances and festivals, appear to be suitable.

This finding has implications for management and social enterprise practitioners. By tracing the early phases of this tourism-based livelihood development model, in which cultural tourism emerged through identifying a market-based approach, it shows that without effective enrolment, acceptance, and integration of tourism capacity-building, communities will still lack an understanding of what tourism is. Consequently, this case, like many other development models, is not grounded in actual tourism development (Moscardo, 2008), and thus this model had limited impact on enhancing the community's knowledge of what is involved in its management, marketing, promotion and development, as information on tourism and its impacts was withheld. In line with Moscardo (2008) and Sharpe (2008), this case analysis suggests that a community's lack of knowledge has been used to justify their exclusions from the processes of development and as a result its festivals poorly represented

the artists and community's interests. This could be attributed to the pressure on the social enterprise to deliver upon their actions, the pressure to get things done and meet their project deadlines, as suggested by the social enterprise. Initial community consultation involved the communities included for the community festivals, however as outlined in Chapter 8, subsequent actions were developed with limited or no consultation from the communities. These findings are consistent with previous studies that highlight the pressure on implementing agencies in delivering on their strategic plans for both social, economic and legitimacy reasons (e.g., Mosse, 2005a, Simpson, 2008, Aref, Gill and Aref, 2010).

9.1.2 Social Enterprises as Social Change Agents

The third research questions raised in Chapter 1 was:

> *How do social enterprises link social capital across networks to develop new markets?*

With this question, the aim was to explore the relationship between social enterprises and their enabling environment. Answering this question makes it possible to understand how this model was assembled and why specific processes were mobilised to create social value. For this purpose, the literature in section 2.2 focused on explicating the term' social enterprise' and understanding social enterprises as agents of change. The literature reviewed collectively outlines a critical role for social enterprises as catalysts for social change, using market-based approaches and innovation to create lasting change through bringing new visions, ideas and ways of doing things (Kramer, 2005; Mair & Marti, 2006). Despite the recognition of social enterprises as *change agents* in the wider literature, their role in relation to tourism development has been overlooked, thus this research contributes to this field of enquiry (Sheldon and Daniele, 2017). Accordingly, this thesis traced how a tourism-based livelihood development model in West Bengal was developed, tracing the network demonstrated above, that this model evolved through the relationships, interactions and collaboration of a social enterprise, local and international development actors, beneficiaries, and other relevant actors; thus, the model has been co-created.

In order to explain how social enterprises link social capital across networks to development new markets, this study traced the trajectory of A4L through its pre- and post-production processes to understand the relationships between social enterprises and their enabling environment. ANT's chains of innovation, as presented in section 3.5, provided the blueprint to undertake this analysis as it recognised that actants were subjected to its changing contexts: - new emerging inputs, new allies, new insights and knowledge, the disengagement and re-engagement of actors. As presented above, pre-production actors, productions, material inscriptions, methodologies et cetera, were moved across networks and mobilised by the post-production actor to develop new markets like festivals and community-led tourism. This process however is experiential, adaptive learning, with actors only accepting inputs when they were found to be successful in the past, or not harmful. This suggests that SEs do not commit themselves at the outset of a specific model, but the model is progressively defined over time.

In our case, developing new markets in the tourism sector, where the SE had limited past experience to refer to, can be challenging, as limited knowledge, resources, and network connections can inhibit development. It can be argued that in our case, after identifying cross-cultural exchange opportunities as an interactive tourism experience in the pre-production phase, this opportunity influenced IBase in identifying tourism and new international tourism networks as critical resources to learn about and create new markets. Securing new emerging inputs through redefining the model objects brought new actors. Even though this could have slowed down the progression, it provided critical sources of information that were previous unavailable. In our case, tracing the trajectory of A4L shows that there is a strong correlation between increased knowledge collections, the emergence of new opportunities and entering/creating new markets. Tracing how social capital moved across phases to create new markets highlights reasons why impact investors are creating and supporting SEs as catalysts for addressing social problems.

The findings in this case align with the wider literature that suggests impact investors support SEs for the following reasons: first, there is a perception that SEs have a unique insight into local social problems; secondly, SEs models rely on minimal external resources as they innovatively combine resources; and, lastly, supporting SEs market-based approaches are indirect ways that international development actors can effectively address social issues (Sheldon and Daniele, 2017). An implication of this case is that by supporting SEs, their enabling environment actors enable SEs to be in a key position as *agents of change,* in-between local

and global networks. This understanding of SEs as change agents has several implications. Firstly, it points out that international development actors (government, international development agencies etc.) are working with SEs, leveraging innovative capacity to address social problems they have been unable to meet. Secondly, SEs that strategically position themselves with government or international development actors can ensure sustainability and scale of impact, if they can demonstrate effectiveness and deliver on targets. Thirdly, being positioned in-between local and global networks means that SEs are *change agents* influencing policies by bringing multiple actors together to effect change. In India, this is particularly important as the CCIs sector is highly fragmented, with over 17 state organisations working on development issues, often in silos (Dasra, 2013).

However, as mediators at the junction between local and global networks, SEs are influenced by multiple actors throughout the development process which, as presented, can influence an SE's model structure, its implementation, its partnerships and thus its outcomes. To be effective change agents at rural-local-national level not only requires innovative ideas to be moved across the network to find external support from actors within the enabling environment, but also requires social problems to be addressed and solved, which bring transformation to a destination. One issue that emerges from tracing A4L development processes and impacts is that, as mediators between local networks, there is a continual tensions or threat of mission drift (Santos, Pache and Birkholz, 2015). Mission drift is when an SE begins to shift or change away from its social mission, a change in direction, being caused by other actants, such as impact investors, governance, operational priorities, SEs' broader culture et cetera (Conforth, 2014; Ebrahim, Battilana and Mair , 2014). Balancing a hybrid SE's model, sustainable financing, and social mission, is not an easy thing, as Santos, Pache and Birholz (2015, p.37) states: "social enterprises continuously run the risk of internal tension and mission drift". Especially as impact investors have strong influence within networks due to their upward accountability, SEs are expected to deliver social and economic returns, ensuring that impact investors can demonstrate a return on investments.

The evidence from tracing A4L's chains of innovation, including the hidden narratives, suggests that although SEs are change agents at the local-global level, at the rural-local level they are reinforcing top-down development structures rather than challenging them. This can be attributed to the fact that this model was in fact co-created, it dovetailed governmental schemes, reinforced national and state partnerships, and needed to deliver on targets to ensure the reimbursement of funds. SE models that mobilise, re-enforce and scale national

and internal schemes are in fact built on much of the same scaffolding as international development. For instance, in our case the dovetailing of SHGs and segmentation of artists for national and international markets created economic dependency, increased social exclusions of artists, impacted the transmission of Bāuls' living cultural heritage, and excluded local villagers, as traced in Chapter 8. Although, social and economic benefits of this model were seen across the network to varying degrees, this market-based approach that mobilised tourism to address social inclusion and livelihoods has not reach everyone, as voices of the beneficiaries have shown.

By trying to address multiple missions, in our case, delivering the project as agreed, creating new markets to increase impact, and becoming international consultants contribute to social enterprises being unconcerned by undesirable impacts; rather, focus was on delivering, disseminating, and scaling social creation value. This finding is consistent with that of Kolh and Cooley (2004) and Richardson (2011), who also found that for enterprises, what matters most is achieving the greatest impact, often as quickly as possible. Tracing this network through the post-production processes further supported that argument especially, as one SE employee stated: 'they are scaling this model to Bihar, without looking back, without addressing any of the unwanted impacts' (2011, interview, September). Tracing this network through the post-production processes further supported the argument that social enterprises pursue both direct scaling, where they grow their enterprise through additional verticals, and indirect scaling's impact through influencing external systems and organisations. IBase focus on organisation growth through the recombination of existing resources, into two tourism verticals, promoting rural destinations as craft hubs and community-led village tourism festivals, which require the sustained movement of A4L outputs across multiple networks. In addition, through its UNESCO accreditation, IBase has scaled models indirectly by influencing national and international development organisations. This case demonstrates how SEs in the development of tourism through co-created networks can be considered change agents across some national and international networks, but that SEs should not be considered as alternatives to other traditional forms of aid, or as a solution to solving social problems in India. As Dr. Krishna puts it:

> [Social Enterprises] are not an overnight solution, or a silver bullet. NO! It's not as if encouraging entrepreneurship in itself is going to improve society. One has to ensure that the funds made available go to the worthiest projects – whether it's government or private. It's not enough to have your heart in the right place. It's largely a matter of implementation, and that's where the problem lies today (Srinivasan, no date, p. 14)

9.1.3 Development Narratives for Social Change

The final two questions raised in Chapter 1 were:

> *How do development narratives influence or constrain social enterprises in meeting their core social mission?*
> *What are the impacts of a tourism-based livelihood development model on the local communities?*

The entry point and motivation behind these questions were to first understand how development narratives are used to mobilise, promote, and stabilise their initiatives. It is however acknowledged that development processes, such as A4L have also been co-created also through sets of absences (Law and Singleton, 2005). The motivation behind the second question is to understand the impact of livelihood development on the beneficiaries and their communities. In line with the wider literature discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4, insights from this study reveal that development narratives reflect the network objectives and reinforce the social enterprise's social and economic mission through combining qualitative and quantitative established facts into storylines that unite actors across local and global networks by demonstrating success. By first tracing the convergence of interests around A4L and then focusing on the controversies and tensions between development narratives (public) and hidden narratives (absent), it provides us with a distinct perspective on how success is produced by networks. In addition, tracing the controversies established the fact that, despite absences of many narratives, these actants (human and non-human) can, and do, influence the development outcomes.

Insights into social enterprise network relations within their enabling environment, specifically the artists and their communities, relied on an actor-oriented ethnographic approach in which the researcher of this study 'acted in' and 'followed the actors' of the network, as presented in Chapter 4, Methodology. Material inscriptions inscribed by the implementing agency, in our case the social enterprise as well as other 'representative spokespersons', were collected throughout the field research and storylines followed. The rationale behind this was to establish facts are gathered, enumerated, and narrated into storylines that are punctualised into interim reports, project pamphlets, final reports, et cetera, and then 'sent out' across internal and external networks to *act at a distance*. When *established facts* are reproduced in external evaluations and through media reports, the model and its processes are validated, thus new actors and resources can be mobilised, international

objectives satisfied as 'success' is demonstrated; however, these development narratives silence marginal actors and controversial narratives that could destabilise a network.

Although positive outcomes provided reassurance for the initial A4L model, mixed and negative outcomes are likely to result in subsequent recombination, adaptation, modifications, rejection or silencing of established facts and hidden narratives from within the actor-network. In some cases, a shift of the model can also happen, as our case suggests when A4L shifted from revival and revitalisation of folk art forms for sustainable livelihood to a model for community-led cultural heritage development, as outlined in Chapter 7. By tracing the convergence of interests within this network through Chapters 6 and 7, we see that *development narratives* that combine social and economic, and align with network interests, have convincing storylines which can persuade government, international development actors, and further legitimize the model and its actants. For instance, in the case study of this thesis, the development narratives were able to convince governments, international organisations, and other external actors that their model is effective in safeguarding cultural heritage and addressing poverty alleviation. Consequently, the social enterprise and its A4L model have successfully been scaled from an experimental initiative in West Bengal to being recognised by UNESCO, UNWTO, UNECOSOC, the GoWB, and the Department of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise & Textiles, as a culture and development model that creates social value and economic impact to address social problems (as briefly presented in section 7.5).

The findings from this study suggest that development narratives that combine qualitative and quantitative facts into storylines which respond directly to the alignment of interests are the types of narratives that best represent, convince, and promote social enterprise models. Although this study is based on one case sample in West Bengal, India, this work offers valuable insight into what type of development narratives social enterprise employ to represent, convince, and promote their models (Roe, 1999 cited in Mosse, 2004), especially as this social enterprise's development narratives, were able to convince others to promote their model, scaling it from an experimental initiative in West Bengal to being 'rolled out' across India through its ongoing partnership with UNESCO New Delhi.

On the other hand, controversial narratives appear to have been silenced through the development narratives, as presented in Chapter 8. These findings are consistent with other researchers who found that development narratives and material inscriptions are carefully

inscribed and primarily focused on outcomes intended for impact investors, and as a result, they overlook other effects which the ethnographic approach is more likely to uncover (Mosse, 2005a, Scott, 1990, Venkatesan and Yarrow, 2012). Tracing this tourism-based livelihood development model, as discussed above, has shown that this model's activities and thus outcomes were influenced by the social enterprise's innovation but also by impact investor's interests, partnership negotiations, policies, and external markets. The results of investigating the controversies of this model show the impacts of these policies, and their implementation had impacts on the artists, their cultural heritage, and the wider community; as presented in Chapter 8. For instance, as outlined, the implementation policies of governmental schemes when accepted, modified, and scaled by the social enterprises, not only strengthened the artistic skills, but also contributed to the social exclusion of artists which, in turn. led to increased economic dependency and marginalisation. Moreover, when outcomes were moved across and applied to develop cultural heritage tours and festivals, the hidden narrative continued to reveal controversial topics such as economic dependency, marginalisation, exclusion, and lack of knowledge. Similar to other implementing actors, such as NGOs, social enterprises and their actor-networks have economic, social, and political reasons to downplay the negative impacts of models. Similarly, beneficiaries have reasons to reinforce the narratives and maintain collaboration with external development agencies.

This new understanding by social enterprises of their enabling environment and their influence on social enterprise models should help improve prediction of the impacts of co-created social enterprise models on communities. This study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of what influence social enterprises and their networks have in implementing and scaling community-based festivals. In addition, tracing the trajectory of A4L's market-based approach development processes and its public development narratives provides new insight into how and why social enterprises engage CCIs and growth festivals. In spite of this study's limitation, see section 9.1 below, tracing this case study development processes, actors, resources, and convergence of interests enhances our understanding of why social enterprises develop festivals and their impacts, as noted by Getz (2010).

9.2 Limitations of this study

This case study, the account of which is in Chapters 6-8, is based on the situated knowledge of the researcher, produced in the context of the requirements of the academic process. The study was influenced by the A4L network and an actor-oriented ethnographic researcher, as discussed in Chapter 4, the methodology of which was co-created through an in-depth understanding derived from 'acting in', 'following the actors' and collecting a diverse range of materials throughout. This case study responds to the need in literature for case studies on tourism development (van der Dium, Ren and Jóhannesson, 2012; Austin, Stevenson and Wei-Skillern, 2006). Consequently, conclusions are seen as a general lesson learned from studying a case (Creswell, 2013), as when a case study is analysed, generalizing the findings can be limited, but still important. In order to further understand livelihood development models and validate the above findings, a larger sample of tourism development processes developed through social enterprise networks is recommended.

A main limitation of this study that is noted elsewhere in the literature on development networks, is the time needed to observe and analyse development networks in practice. Studies such as Hummel's (2015) offer valuable insights into the network of development; however, they take place over an extended period of time, over years. Fourteen months of ethnographic fieldwork is a shorter time to explore the workings of a network – ideally a longer period of time would be beneficial in tracing all the processes and outcomes, especially as the researcher can only be in one place at a time. In this case, I tried to mitigate this issue early on in the fieldwork following the actors, downstream, into the past, collecting data through interviews and documentation. I also followed the network into the future after its official 'end' in December 2011, an artificial point, because, as presented in Chapter 4, I remained engaged in the network, tracing and collecting the development narratives of the network that were produced in the future, about the past.

Another limitation is the full discussion of this network. As introduced in Chapter 3, this lies beyond the scope of this study. By narrowing my field down to two folk arts, the Patachitra and Bāul Fakiri as described in Chapter 5, some folk arts and participants, in particular the Domni, Gambhira and government officials, who were also part of the network, were not included. For practical reasons, it was not always possible to interview government officials at the national level. For instance, despite several attempts to arrange interviews with two government officials, they repeatedly refused to grant an interview. There are two probable

causes for the refusal of an interview: a) a strategic 'absence' which would have provided important additional testimony in relation to a number of key relationships, and, b) that they were denied as the interview was not deemed important enough to be included in the schedule of a government official.

If time had permitted, I could have included other actors, intermediaries, and events from within this multi-sited field. As was pointed out in Chapter 4, I recognised that I moved beyond the confines of the social enterprise and allowed participants to show me where to go, a decision which provided access to a wider array of actors from within the communities. Many artists suggested to me new informants, participants who had disengaged from A4L or external participants, and several of these informants were included in the final list and thesis. Although this could have over-complicated the final discussion, these locals, and in some cases international network connections, were important in understanding the breadth of artistic networks, their mobility, access to markets and the impact of A4L on the communities.
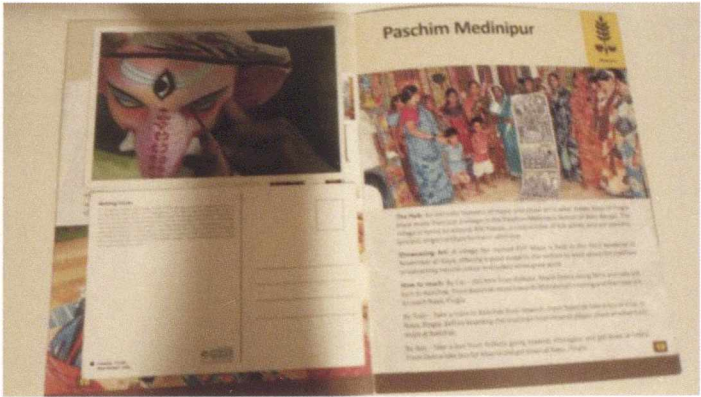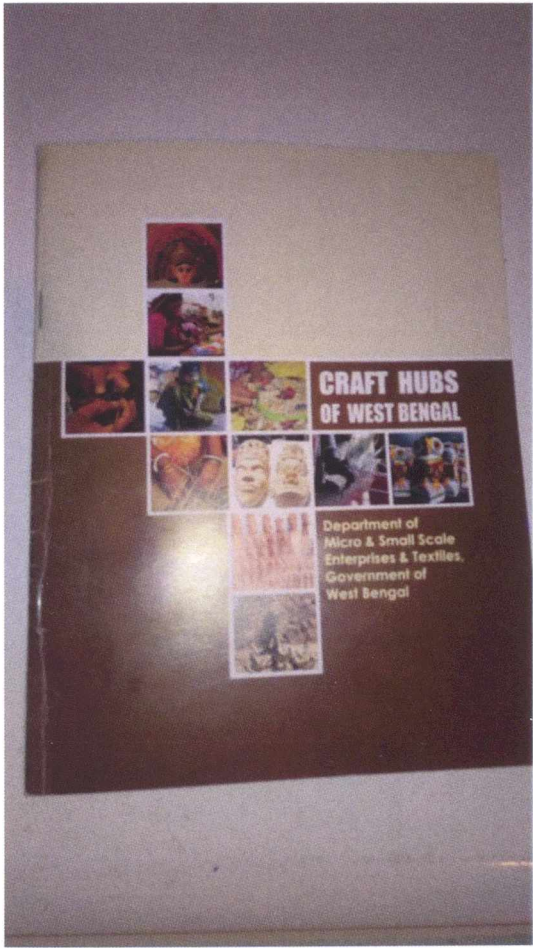
9.3 Recommendations for Future Research

A number of areas of future research have been identified. These research topics include, but are not limited, to:
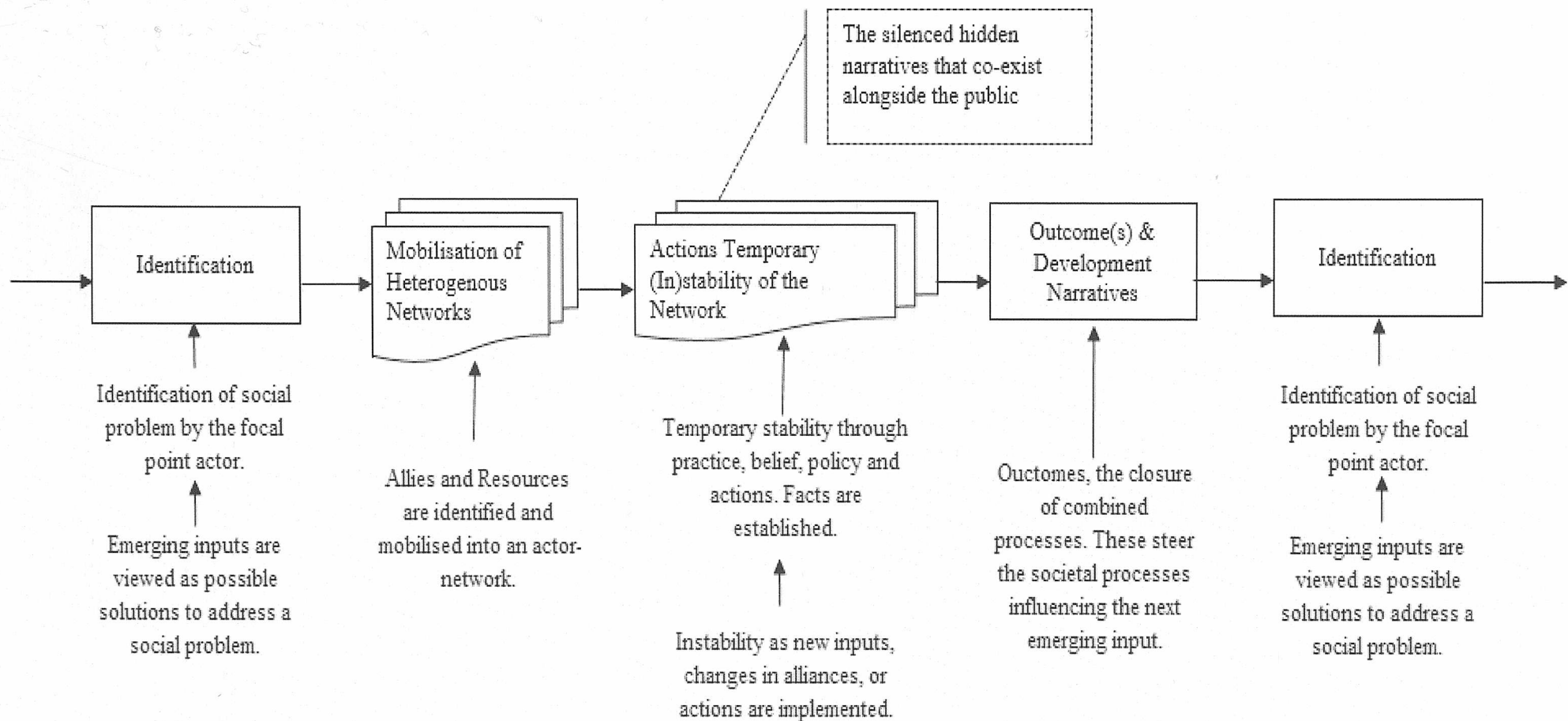
- Further investigation on the processes of tourism development by social enterprises to better understand how tourism is identified, mobilised and stabilised as a model to address social problems.

- Replication of this study in other communities and with other groups of stakeholders in West Bengal, India (as the model has been scaled into various verticals).

- The application of actor-network theory to other social enterprises' livelihood development models to further clarify the importance of the enabling environment in co-creating innovative models.

- Further investigations should be conducted on how tourism social enterprises build and sustain new markets.

- Exploration of SEs in other livelihood development sectors in India would expand our understanding of the relationship between SEs in India and their enabling environment.

Appendices

Appendix A: IBase Craft Cultural Hubs Promotional Materials

Appendix B: Actor-network Theory: Chains of Innovation

The silenced hidden narratives that co-exist alongside the public

Identification	Mobilisation of Heterogenous Networks	Actions Temporary (In)stability of the Network	Outcome(s) & Development Narratives	Identification

Identification of social problem by the focal point actor.

Emerging inputs are viewed as possible solutions to address a social problem.

Allies and Resources are identified and mobilised into an actor-network.

Temporary stability through practice, belief, policy and actions. Facts are established.

Instability as new inputs, changes in alliances, or actions are implemented.

Ouctomes, the closure of combined processes. These steer the societal processes influencing the next emerging input.

Identification of social problem by the focal point actor.

Emerging inputs are viewed as possible solutions to address a social problem.

Appendix C: A4L Post-production action plan

S.No	Activities	Status so far (Dec 17, 2009 to July 16, 2010)	Work-plan ahead (July 1st, 2010 onwards)					
			Q3 (July 17 - Sep 16, 2010)	Q4 (Sep 17 - Dec 16, 2010)	Q5 (Dec 17, 2010 - Mar 16, 2011)	Q6 (Mar 17 - Jun 16, 2011)	Q7 (Jun 17 - Sep 16, 2011)	Q8 (Sep 17 - Dec 16, 2011)
1	Making of Audio CD of 740 Baul Fakir songs	60% of the work completed						
2	Making 6 new Productions	Completed						
3	Organising Folk Festival - 20 places in India (10 in West Bengal and 10 across remaining parts in India)	5 festivals done in West Bengal and 3 outside West Bengal						
4	Making Jhumur Audio and Video CDs	Completed						
5	Exchange with Western Visual artists and Patachitra artists	Completed						
6	Exchange with Western Musical Instrument artists and folk musical instrument artists	Completed						
7	Exchange program (with PAX & IICTD on Music, Drama, Dance, Cultural Tourism)	50% completed						
8	Helping Patachitra artists to make products	Started on 15th July						
9	Attending International workshops / festivals with Planet Art Exchange (PAX)	30% completed						
10	Building Resource Centres at 6 places	30% completed						
11	Development of 4 Books & 3 Audio/ Video CDs of 6 folk art forms	Research work started, CD on Pater Gaan completed						
12	Residency Workshop with IICTD	75% completed						
13	Helping building folk tourism - 10 places	Not yet started (Oct onwards)						
14	Organising International Seminar on Folk-art based Livelihood at Kolkata	Scheduled in 2011						
15	Providing Health Insurance to all 3200 artists & their families	Completed						
16	Organising Sufi Festival at Kolkata	Scheduled in 2011						
17	Making of a complete film - documenting the entire process	Ongoing process						

This is an activity schedule status of all approved activities under A4L post-production phase, under Investing in People. Below is an example of the activity schedule for Activity 3: Organising Folk Festival (in 10 places in West Bengal and India).

Activity Schedule :

Programme	Venue	Dates	Partners
Praner Bhasha Praner Gaan	Dakshinapan Shopping Complex, Kolkata.	21st Febrary	Dakshinapan Shop Holder's Maintenance Society
Basanta Utsav, Chelyama	Chelyama, Raghunathpur-II, Purulia in front of Bandhar Deul.	27th Feb - 1st March	Manbhum Sanskriti Kendra
Hazarduari Utsav	Hazarduari, Lalbagh, Murshidabad.	9th March	Department of Tourism, Government of West Bengal
Loker Chokhe Rabindranath	Golf Green, Kolkata.	2nd April	Golf Green Coordination Committee
Robir Aloye	Swabhoomi, Kolkata	9th May	Swabhoomi
Pot Plant	Lokayata, MulkRaj Anand Centre, New Delhi.	21st -30th June	Lokayata, MulkRaj Anand Centre
Tagore in the eyes of Folk Artists	Habitat Centre, New Delhi.	25th June	Impresario
Folk Orchestra	Alliance Françoise, New Delhi.	26th June	Alliance Françoise

Appendix D: PhD Brief

Brief on Indian research project

Project Background:

[Art for Livelihood], A4L as it is more conveniently known - was a response to a global EU call for proposals on the theme of: *Investing in People - Access to local culture, protection and promotion of cultural diversity*.

Led by an Indian NGO the project centres around the development of a unique folk art and culture based creative industry that aims to benefit poor and marginalised rural and tribal communities living in six districts of the eastern Indian state of West Bengal. With a total budget of €1 million, it will benefit most directly the folk artists living in the six districts and practising a variety of folk dance, folk song, folk drama and folk painting. The artists will own and manage rural micro enterprises and resource centres offering cultural products and services, including heritage tourism services. The input from London Metropolitan University is directed at:

- Researching, planning and implementing tourism heritage trails across the districts involved in the project
- Running a series of workshops with folk artists, exposing them to a range of examples and experiences in order to provide a greater understanding of the dynamics of culture, place and society in different environments
- Collecting, documenting and presenting in a variety of audio, visual and other formats the range of art and cultural forms expressed across the six districts, through field research and additional workshops
- Assisting in the organisation and delivery of an international seminar entitled: *"Creative Economies based on Indigenous Art and Culture"*

In addition to the input from LMBS, colleagues in the Architecture & Spatial Design unit in Spring House will be helping in the design and function of six 'resource centres' spread across the West Bengal region.

PhD Research Focus:

The research will concentrate on the development of tourism in six predominantly rural districts of West Bengal state, that is based around the local intangible cultural heritage

(ICH) and the transformations of that heritage into tangible expressions that are to be delivered to and understood by local Bengali, national Indian and international audiences/visitors.

Questions and foci of the research may cover issues such as:

- Within the scope of this developmental project, how may the interests and needs of local communities and other local stakeholders, local and regional NGOs be balanced with each other?

- How will factors such as health/sanitation, water access, energy distribution, transport and other infrastructure, politics (local/regional/national), and other wider developmental factors impact upon the design and delivery of the cultural tourism product being produced in West Bengal?

The fieldwork associated with this research will be conducted across six districts of West Bengal over extended periods of several months during 2010 and 2011. International and local travel plus all local expenses in India will be organised in liaison with the coordinating NGO in Kolkata.

The research will be of a strongly applied nature, with the need to develop a close relationship with [IBase] who have been working over an extended period in the region and devised the project in direct consultation with the effected local communities. At the same time, the research should aim at a critical analysis of the material practices of tourism, development, and project implementation, which will have wider applicability beyond this specific project. Additionally, the two PhD researchers will be placed in a supervisory role with groups of 3-4 postgraduate students, who will be acting as additional researchers for shorter periods of around 2-3 months at various times throughout the 2010-2011.

We are looking for students to apply primarily qualitative ethnographic methods for this research.

Appendix E: Primary Research Methods

Activities in Kolkata

- Attended a traditional folk market, three days, which is organised by the Indian Government (Art Council) showcasing the folk craft of West Bengal and Orissa. I conducted 3 semi-structured interviews with Patachitra about showcasing the folk craft through government networks. I also conducted 3 informal interviews with artists from other districts of West Bengal and Orissa about markets and networks.

- Attended various IBase festivals and events, including Dui Banglar Baul Sanga (27th August 2010 at ICCR, Kolkata), Folk Mela in Jalpaiguri (4th September 2010); Golf Green Utsav (27th – 31[St] January 2011), Folk Orchestra at the British High Commission, International Seminar on Art for Livelihood – Heritage in Development 6-8th September 2010; Three Cultural Programmes at Akhra@Baitanik.

- Meetings with 100 Miles and Wandervoguel via IBase on Tourism in West Bengal.

- Several meetings were conducted with the director of IBase, the Vice President, Managers and Artistic Theatre Director on A4L, the model and the background to the project. The first three months of the fieldwork, I attended the office on a regular basis, maintaining close contact with the organisation and its employees. Semi-structured interview were conducted with employees as well.

- Interviews were conducted with an expert at the Gurusaday Museum (Patachitra); the West Bengal Tourism Department, Help Tourism – a tourism development social enterprise in Kolkata; a representative at the Craft Council.

- Attended a capacity building workshop for the Baul Fakiri in Kolkata as well a PAX inter-cultural exchange workshop in Kolkata (4 days).

- Attended independent events including the Kolkata Book Fair, 8th Baul Fakir Utsav in Jadavpur in Kolkata; Craft Council Markets in Kolkata, and 4 other evening performances with the Baul Fakir and Patachitra artists; Durga Puja events (3 days); Folk traditional festival in the Sunderban (3 days).

Activities in the village of Naya

- Extended participant observation in Naya over the span of 14 months. Village visits would last anywhere from 1 day to 5 days on cycle between Kolkata-Naya

- Attended the 2nd Pot Maya in 2011 and conducted post-event semi-structured interviews with 8 artists.

- Attended two capacity building workshops held in the village (craft production, cluster discussion on the resource centre)

- Conducted 'What is a Tourist' drawing workshop with 20 Patachitra over three days. After the sessions semi-structured interviews were conducted with a selected 10 of the 20 artists.

- Attended a wedding in the village of a young Patachitra.

- Conducted 25 semi-structure interview in Naya with the Patachitra artists, enrolled and disengaged from A4L, on a variety of topics including, but not limited to: - Chitrakar living cultural heritage, what is a tourist (understanding of tourism), livelihood strategies, Pot Maya organisation and impact; personal networks and engagement with A4L.

Bāuls of Nadia

Activities across the Districts

- Extended participant observation in Nadia district, in 7 villages, over the span of 14 months. Village visits would last anywhere from 1 day to 14 days on cycle between Kolkata-Naya.

- Attended the 1st Fakir Utsav, along with 2 groups of Master students, stayed along with the other students in tents

- Independently attended the 2nd Fakir Utsav held at the Resource Centre, stayed at one of the main artists sister house

- Attended two capacity building workshops held in the village at the community resource centre (on songs, performance and techniques).

- Attended a community Sadu Seva and regularly attended the evening gathers at all 4 Ashrams in the main village of Gorbhanga. In Murshidabad and Capri, attended 8 sadu seva's that were organised by artists.

- Attended district Utsavs (festivals) and evening performances in Assanagar (3 day Mela), Jaydev (3 Day Mela), Murshidabad, Goas, Capri and Berhampore.

- Conducted 35 semi-structure and structured interviews with the Baul Fakiri of Nadia district that were enrolled in A4L. Artists ranged from 'elite' practitioners engaging in A4L events in

  India and abroad while others had disengaged from A4L. Interviews were conducted on a range

  of topic included: their living cultural heritage, what is tourism (understanding of tourism),

  livelihood strategies, Fakiri Utsav organisation and impact, personal networks, engagement with

  A4L and disengagement of A4L etc.

- Participant observation with the artist at local mela's, three village festivals and festivals in Kolkata, Sunderbans, and Murshidabad.

- Conducted 2 in-depth interviews with two Shadu / Guru's

Other activities

- Attended Holi Festival in Purulia, organised by IBase and marketed by 1000 Miles

- Attended the 3-day Sufi Sutra Festival in Kolkata, organised by IBase including attending morning workshops, evening performances and interviewing 5 foreign artists on there experience at the event.

- 4 in-depth interviews with Help Tourism and completed a 14-day collaborative community rapid rural appraisal in Sikkim (during the West Bengal election period).

- Attended 2 classical musical evenings in West Bengal via the British High Commission

- 5 unstructured interviews with University Students that have been researching the Baul Fakir and Patachitra for more than 3 years.

- Attended several events in London organised through the A4L network for the Baul, Patachitra and Chau artists: (World Travel Mart, Bengali Society, Bengali High Commission).

- Attended a three-day Festival de Orientals in France in 2013 organised by a International Festival Expert, attended by 6 Bāuls from Nadia.

- Several visits to the Kolkata Library

- Informal interview with expert Film Direct/Researchers on Naya and the Patachitra at the 2nd Pot Maya. In Kolkata conducted a semi-structured interview and collected several documentaries copies that had been conducted in Naya.

All the structured and semi-structured interviews were recorded, with the informed consent of each participant and translated by a third-party translator. I also obtained permission for several field recordings and photographs.

Extract from the translated interviews are provided below.

Extract 1: Interview with a fakir (elite) on engagement with A4L as well as some A4L established facts. IBase name is hidden within the text.

██████ Fakir: ████████ started working from 2004. They found us. After that we got numerous programs from them and we improved our economic positions as well. We used visit at Kolkata but we never performed at Delhi, Bombay. Now we visited London, Bangladesh – Dhaka with ████████ We performed at different places in India and they developed our economic conditions like this.

Interviewer: You guys also have your own fields for agriculture as well.

████ Fakir: Yes we have that also.

Interviewer: Are you doing harvesting at the spare time?

█████ Fakir: We have few labors who look after those fields. Actually we don't have that much of fields to harvest.

Interviewer: I hard before that Golam Fakir used to carry dead bodies to the Morgue, is it true?

████ Fakir: No, not at all.

Interviewer: So for last 4 or 5 years your economic situation is good?

█████ Fakir: Yes. After joining ████████ the situation has improved.

Interviewer: In your village how many Fakirs or artists like you who are getting benefited?

████ Fakir: In our village there are two different groups containing of twenty artists.

Extract 2: Interview with a baul on engaged in A4L actions, not a 'elite' artists on participates in local A4L events.

BT: *Clarifying AB's answer* interjected by BT
So, to make tourism possible in a place (area), then it should be accessible for all to travel from one country to another and vice versa. Yes?

Have you ever met with a tourist, maybe someone who has come from abroad?

AB: No. Only Jane.

BT: *Have you not met anyone from Rajasthan or any other place in India?*

AB: No I have never had the opportunity to meet any one.

BT: *In your opinion, how do you think we can attract people to come and visit this place? What do you think we should do (activities) and show visitors?* 4.10

AB: I sing *Baul* songs and my village songs. I also play (drum) a little *mate hari* (clay pot). I dance with the *gunghur* (bells worn around the ankle).

BT: *Then you can attract people with your songs? Anything else like showing them the countryside?*

AB: Yes. We have some great *Lalon* singers. We also build a new *Ram Krishna ashram*. You must go there and see it. It is beautiful place where people can sit and sing *bhajans*.

BT: *So your hobby/passion is singing? If your passion becomes your main source of income, how would you feel?*

AB: If it became one then my life would go beautifully. That would be the ultimate best.

BT: *If it was possible for you, how would you assist a tourist from abroad and where would you take him? What could you do?* 6.40

AB: I would obviously entertain them by singing. I would show them the arts and crafts that I make and the kind of lifestyle I live.
Interjected by BT

Extract 3: Chitrakar

3) **SUBAIIT** : Are you selling 'Pot' in 'Noya' only? or you sell this 'Pot' outside as well.
   IMRAN CHITRAKAR : No! use to visit Kolkata, Delhi, Bombay etc.

4) **SUBAIIT** : When you used to go there?
   IMRAN CHITRAKAR : I don't use to go outside of Kolkata but I had participated fairs in Birbhum, Shantiniketan, Shiliguri. I never visited Delhi or Bombay but my father and husband went there.

5) **SUBAIIT** : What are you thinking about the tourists and tourism at your location? How do measure tourism?
   IMRAN CHITRAKAR : Very good!! In our village it was never been happened before but now it is creating a history that a fair is going on tourists are coming, going, living with us, relaxing with us; we are very happy. This was never been happened before, this is new and we are very happy.

6) **SUBAIIT** : Share your experience about the relation between you and tourists came at your place?
   IMRAN CHITRAKAR : Don not know what to say.
   SUBAIIT : Suppose Jane has come at your place and you have a good relation with her, like her others are also coming at your place may from India or outside from India..
   IMRAN CHITRAKAR : Don not know what to say. (Confuse)

Extract 4: Several media coverage was also translated. Again IBase name is blanked out of the transcript below.

Media Coverage in DD National on an Artistic Cross over Mulk Raj Anand Centre

Narrator: Pot Chitra is one of the Bengal's unique and fantastic folk art. A musical narration of Pot Chitra is explaining a journey of folk art. These artists are showing their paintings by singing the folk songs. ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ has organized this musical pot chitra exhibition with the artists from West Mednapur district at New Delhi in Lokayat Kala Kendra. Here the artists are presenting traditional, mythological and natural issue based stories.

Madhura: The workshop cum exhibition is going on here; this is by the West Mednapur Pot-Chitra artists. This is a part of our project which supported by the European Union. The name of the project is ▮▮▮▮▮ Going Global where we are trying to create folk-art as a livelihood for these artists.

Jaba Chitrakar: We show our painting and sing a song with it and by these songs we are telling a story. The name of our musical painting is Pot-Chitra. It is Radha Kisan story telling painting.

Narrator: these paintings are created by using the natural colors.

Artist-2: The painting which I use to make is a traditional painting of my family. My father and grandfather used practice this painting. We usually make these paintings based on Ramayan, Mahabharat, Mangal-kabya and other sociological stories. All the colors we used for these paintings are natural colors.

Babu Fakir: Banglanatak started working from 2004. They found us. After that we got numerous programs from them and we improved our economic positions as well. We used visit at Kolkata but we never performed at Delhi, Bombay. Now we visited London, Bangladesh – Dhaka with Banglanatak. We performed at different places in India and they developed our economic conditions like this.

Interviewer: You guys also have your own fields for agriculture as well.

Babu Fakir: Yes we have that also.

Interviewer: Are you doing harvesting at the spare time?

Babu Fakir: We have few labors who look after those fields. Actually we don't have that much of fields to harvest.

Interviewer: I hard before that Golam Fakir used to carry dead bodies to the Morgue, is it true?

Babu Fakir: No, not at all.

Interviewer: So for last 4 or 5 years your economic situation is good?

Babu Fakir: Yes. After joining Banglanatak the situation has improved.

Interviewer: In your village how many Fakirs or artists like you who are getting benefited?

Babu Fakir: In our village there are two different groups containing of twenty artists.

Appendix H: Sadhana Four World and Terminology

Fakir artist, within my case study, explained to me over the course of my research period and confirmed by other case study accounts in the literature (Bāula, Thielemann 2003; Openshaw 2002) that sādhanā is a central focus of their life.

It is seen as an unfolding praxis of learning in which there are four initiated stages, which were described to me as '4 worlds'. The initiated stages were confirmed to me several practitioners, although there were minor differences.

The '4 worlds' initiation stages of sādhanā

Sthool   These songs which are part of this stage can be played by anyone.

Probithro People whom have become 'seekers' of the meanings of the songs and philosophy. Generally, the songs at this stage are played in villages to individuals whom have demonstrated a sustained attention and engaged listening over an extended period of time.

Shādok An individual who has 'accomplished' something spiritually. It is associated within the Fakir community as an individual whom has 'conquered their ego in the Sufi sense' (artist, personal communication, 2011). Songs within *Shādok* are traditionally sung around other *Shādoks*, their meanings can only be understood by those who have through praxis acquired the skills to comprehend and experience their knowledge and its meaning.

Shiddu Attainment of 'soul consciousness's or what the Fakirs call '*Sāmadhi*'. It is associated with individuals whom through practices have attained all the virtuous qualities, powers and abilities. The knowledge and powers at this stage demonstrate contingencies to Tantric beliefs associated with acquiring powers such as telepathy, astral travel and transmutation of matter noted by other scholars (Banerji 1992; Openshaw 2002). The songs at this point are associated with the experience and maintenance of 'soul consciousness's'.

Songs within the '4 worlds' of Sādhanā

Attar attar Milan Songs establishing a connection from one soul to another **'Discursive songs'** When a Guru and student are negotiating the meaning of philosophical issues. Often this is connected with the Shika (teaching) and Doyno (seeker of teachings) concepts that run within various musical genres through the region since early times (artist, personal communication, 2011; practitioner interview, 2011). **'Surrender songs'** Identified as praxis of experiential recognition of one of the philosophical concepts by 'self-realization'. A gesture associated with this musical praxis includes kneeling down and shedding tears with ones Guru.

Bāuls Terminology

Ashram

a physical place where artists meet to play together although it may also refer to the shared resources of a community.

murśid

is a Sufi team for a guru (Knight, .2011; Fakir Interview, 2011 personal interview). Personal interview with Fakir artist 6 and 8 on musical cultural heritage.

palla gān

are teaching songs. Experiential learning sessions between bāul and fakiri guru's and villagers, including students (Shishya).

sādhanā

the process of 'seeking and becoming knowledge' (Fakir Interview 6 and 8, 2011). Openshaw (2011, p.259) defines *sādhanā* as "means systematic and austere practice towards a goal". There was a consensus with all my informants was that *sādhanā* is an esoteric practice whose knowledge is accessed only through praxis.

Sādhus,

"generally, means a sannyāsī (renouncer) in South Asia, but for *bartamān-panthī* the meaning is generally wider. In some contexts, '*sādhus;* may take on the 'intentional meaning' of 'women' (in general), or 'a women suitable for esoteric practice'" (Openshaw, 2002, p.259).

Sādhu Seva

literally refers to the ritual hand movement and blessing by which fakirs greet one another when they gather. Depending on the capacity of the specific Fakir community, it can be a small-scale to large-scale gatherings.

Sādhu shongos

are gatherings where philosophical debates, discussions and social issues are explored by the Fakirs who are the intellectuals of their village communities.

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