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Impact of globalization and tourism on production of pottery and other handicrafts in the global south

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Abstract

The economies and societies of the Third World countries are dotted with traditional communities who engage in craft traditions handed down across generations as a means of livelihood. Irrespective of the setting, artisan communities have been observed to be an impoverished lot, with many communities being encapsulated in a vicious circle of poverty. The globalization and integration of markets often left artisans on the precipice of ruin, with their livelihoods becoming uneconomical and fraught with bottlenecks. Tourism has proved to have often play a major role in shifting the fortunes of artisan communities, causing a shift of products from 'quotidian' or common products, to exquisitely crafted 'elite' artefacts. The present paper attempts to look at how tourism has influenced the changing fortunes of artisanal communities in the Global South during the last three decades of globalization. The experiences from different settings have been congregated based on a thorough review of existing literature to draw parallels between unrelated communities and their relative experiences. The study concludes that along with State support and emergence of artisan co-operatives, the tourism industry has been a 'big-push' factor that has helped traditional communities to break free from the vicious circle of poverty that had consumed their lives.

Keywords: artisans, traditional livelihoods, handicrafts, global south, globalization, tourism

1. Introduction

An important element in the culture and history of any society, artisans are a peculiar class of individuals whose lives are defined by their skills and artistic work. In a deeply commercialized world where mechanically produced goods rule the roost, handicrafts and their creators offer a rare glimpse at the old way of life. Artisans are people who produce goods by manual labour, incorporating minimal to no mechanization in the production process. They have been observed to possess a heightened level of artistic skill, with daily lives entrenched in a rich history. Artisanal communities have also been observed to stick to their traditions, thus keeping the craft pristine over centuries of survival against odds ^[1]. As remnants of a pre-industrialized economy, artisans are a group at risk of being subsumed by the ongoing wave of globalization ^[2].

The tourism industry has taken off across the world in the aftermath of globalization. In 7 many countries of the Global South, especially in Asia and Oceania, the tourism industry has become a major provider of employment and generator of a sizeable chunk of the national income of the economy. Tourists visiting such countries tend to take back souvenirs with them, as a remembrance of the experiences they had on foreign soil. Such souvenirs are often handicrafts produced by local artisans. Across the developing world, tourism has had a profound impact on the livelihoods of traditional communities involved in handicraft production. In most cases, it has been a factor that has brought prosperity to artisans, while in others, it has led a destruction of traditional products and culture.

2. Methodology

The paper seeks to examine how tourism in the Global South has influenced the artisanal communities and their traditional livelihoods. Both sides of the coin are examined based on the existing literature. The paper also examines the problems faced by artisans in India, and how some communities were able to prosper while others failed to grasp their opportunities. The case of potter communities has been highlighted with respect to Kerala, since the community holds immense potential for developing due to the state's tourism industry. The paper examines the problems faced by this community in Kerala, and what could be done to help them find new avenues to achieve commercial success.

3. Artisans in the global south

Artisans are in general a highly exploited group of individuals across the Global South, primarily due to increasing commercialization, labour exploitation, reduced wages, and a supposed contamination of culture^[3]. The globalization phenomenon has increasingly commodified craft, and in many cases, artisanal groups have been forced to formulate new strategies to survive against the odds. The dominance of a few western economies such as the United States, Germany, France and the UK in the global trade of artisanal goods has led to market pressures subsuming traditional craft production. In many cases, artisans in impoverished economies who depend on the export market witness their wares being changed according to the whims and fancies of an unseen audience whose tastes are influenced heavily by perceptions of culture projected by capitalist market forces^[4]. Exploitation by the local agents who hold a tight grip on the handicraft market also is detrimental to individual the craftsman, whose earnings diminish greatly while also eroding the traditional aspect of the handicraft produced^[5]. The seasonal nature of the tourist handicraft industry leads to market fluctuations, and factors such as state support, advertising, etc. play a crucial role in sustaining the traditional livelihoods^[6].

The commercialization of handicrafts was brought about by a realization on the part of artisans that there exists outside their traditional sphere, a market that could fetch them a stable livelihood. The relationship between the tourism industry and handicraft producers is subject to changes in time. Certain tourists purchase handicrafts because they feel the commodity has a link to a culture and identity and wish to keep a memory with them when they go back home. Artists involved in the production of intricately crafted products, thus could be ascertained to have a dedicated market to cater to^[7].

Also to be kept in mind when discussing the perceptions of art consumers, is the distinction in the type of commodities produced by the artisans. In a global cultural market, there exist a certain class of individuals, whose tastes gravitate towards fine pieces of artisanal brilliance. Based on the tastes of different consumers and use scenarios of products, it could be said that artisanal produce has a clear distinction^[8]. Handicrafts could thus broadly be divided into two – ‘quotidian’ or everyday use items, and ‘elite’ or sophisticated, intricately designed pieces intended solely for consumers who wish to keep them as status symbols^[9]. It has also been noted that pursuers of the ‘elite’ artefacts are highly informed individuals, able to ascertain the origin of the item, specific details about its crafting as well as the lives of the artisans themselves, as in the cases of elite Japanese households^[10].

While artisans who cater to their elite customer base could be considered to have a solid footing in the market, the case is not so for those who produce the quotidian goods. They are often stuck in a perilous situation where their wares are under a perpetual threat of being eliminated from the market. Examples for this scenario are galore, as in the case of terracotta pottery, cotton textiles, and leather goods. Mass – produced goods from factories have eaten into the earnings of these artisan groups, trapping many of them in vicious circle of poverty. Although such artisans do find ways to adapt to changing markets, it is often an exceedingly difficult process. The ends result so often is an abandonment of the traditional work in favour of

employment that is pays higher and ensures a higher standard of living in the household, and with it a loss of the cultural identity^[11]. Among Caribbean potter communities for instance, the abandonment of the craft despite tourism booming in the region could be attributed to the disillusionment faced by an entire generation, who migrated overseas in search of better opportunities^[12].

4. Tourism as the big push to prosperity

Tourism and exposure to the outside world has substantially influenced traditional artisanal communities in profound ways across the countries of the Asia – Pacific, South Asia, Oceania, Africa, and Latin America. In many cases, the governments themselves have provided measures to the artisans to create a sustainable living. In both Sri Lanka^[13],^[14] and Tonga, for example, state support went a long way in helping the artisans make sustainable livelihoods without compromising on their indigenous culture. The cases of artisanal communities in some of these countries is being analyzed in this section to see how tourism and market demand took some communities to a lifestyle better in financial terms, but costly in cultural terms.

4.1 Oaxacan handicrafts in a changing market

Mexican potters are a group of traditional artisans who attained prosperity because of tourism in their region. Nash^[15] has spoken about pottery being a major activity in the town of Amatenango, with the practitioners being the women of the households. Girls were expected to learn pottery at a very young age and carry on the tradition of the community. The vocation was quite important, with a woman’s goodness to marry also said to be dependent on her ability to craft good pottery. The men of the community worked largely as farmers or agricultural labourers, providing the bulk of the family’s income. Pottery was largely for own consumption, and not much was earned from selling the wares in the market. The situation of male dominance within the household, however, was reversed beginning in the 1970s, when the pottery was noticed by American tourists. Dealers from the neighbouring city of Oaxaca were noted to come down to Amatenango and purchase the wares from the women. The town later went on to become a major stop for tourist buses, with the Trans-American Highway passing through the town’s outskirts. The women started earning substantially more with the advent of tourism, with the products appreciated for their traditional feel. Female potters achieving prosperity from producing handicrafts has also been documented by Cone^[16], whose work showcased how innovations with clay helped artisans attract a much wider audience for their works. Lackey^[17] has also noted that the highly successful potters in Oaxaca region of Mexico are welcoming of new products while staying rooted in their traditions.

Another major handicraft from Mexico which has successfully taken advantage of the tourist boom in the wood carving industry of Oaxaca. Wood carving was culturally only a minor, part-time activity pursued in Oaxaca. The craft only started becoming popular in the 1970s, when three carvers decided to try their luck with tourists. The gamble paid off, and the patronage extended by tourists led to the craft being picked up rapidly by several households. Entire families became devoted to wood carving as a full-time profession, and soon, different artefacts were being produced for the market. Over time, the

artisans further extended their market reach by diverging into three types of products. Some produce high-value, intricate goods that are collectors' items and sold at very high prices in stores. Other produce inexpensive pieces which are sold to local intermediaries, while a third class of handicrafts are also produced exclusively keeping in mind price-conscious tourists and wholesalers. Thus, the wood carving industry of Mexico has cleverly salvaged the opportunity presented by tourism, flourishing into a major employment opportunity in the city of Oaxaca [18].

4.2 The pataxó of Brazil

A peculiar case of indigenous artisans taking the tourism industry in their own hands can be seen in Brazil, as highlighted by Grünewald [19]. The community in question are the indigenous Pataxó people of the territory marked by the arrival of Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. The community was isolated from the rest of the world until the Brazilian government decided to develop tourism in the region, labelling it the 'Discovery of Brazil' region. The Pataxó create handicrafts such as jewelry including earrings and necklaces, serving bowls and other utensils, rattles, and a variety of decorative objects using wood, feathers, seeds, and straw. The items were usually exchanged with tourists in a barter system, with the Pataxó receiving in return clothing, sunglasses, or other things that pique their interest. Later, the artisans started selling these wares to the tourists by setting up shops in two locations – Coroa Vermelha, and Barra Velha. The indigenous people have benefited greatly from the tourist exposure they have received, but the way the industry has influenced artefacts is different in the two villages. In Barra Velha, the Pataxó stick to their traditional lifestyle, selling genuine products that confirm to their beliefs and skills, while those at Coroa Vermelha have changed the products to suit the tastes of certain tourists, thus losing their individuality in the process.

4.3 The traditional textiles of Latin America

The traditional textiles of Latin America have traditionally been strong performers in the tourist markets. In countries including Guatemala, Mexico, and Ecuador, the inflow of tourists helped initially augment the traditional textile industries, providing sustainable incomes to the stakeholder communities. However, the tragedy of these traditional communities was that eventually, the very traits that defined their work started disappearing from the products.

The Guatemalan case has been well documented by the likes of Hendrickson [20, 21] and Little [22, 23]. Guatemalan textiles were manufactured by the indigenous Maya people, and despite the social exclusion meted out to them by local governments and the major players in the tourism industry of the country, the designs quickly caught up with tourists. Local intermediaries in the tourism industry highlighted the importance of handicrafts in the lives of the indigenous people, thus sparking an interest among the tourists to purchase the wares [24]. What followed was a rush to cash in on the profitable venture, ultimately leading to a glut in the market due to excessive supply of the textiles. With a saturated market and diminishing demand, the artists were forced to adopt strategies including slashing prices and product differentiation. However, these moves also fell apart as fashion trends quickly changed, and traditional artisans became unable to compete with large MNCs and retailers. The overall situation was such that although the artists made

some income from producing the textiles, the designs increasingly became dictated by the tastes of the consumers in western markets. Thus, a race to achieve profits in a globalized world led to the true nature of indigenous art being undermined by the imposition of aesthetic and commercial choices of individuals sitting in distant locations, much like the observations of Appadurai [25].

The case of the Guatemalan people is somewhat mirrored in the case of the Zapotec textiles of Mexico. The weavers of the Tlacolula Valley in Mexico traditionally produced Zapotec textiles which were sold to local merchants who had their dedicated clientele. Tourism in Mexico has started booming as early as the 1940s, and till about the 1970s, tourist influx into the country helped the Zapotec weavers earn high incomes. After the 1970s, a trend in the United States where the designs started becoming in vogue brought down several American businessmen to the Tlacolula Valley. The traditional artisans who produced the textiles within their limited spaces were awarded contracts to mass produce the pieces for a booming US market. Although the Zapotec people didn't suffer any downfall like their Guatemalan counterparts – their prosperity rose due to the patronage extended by the Americans – their wares started being called South Western US Textiles [26]. Thus, although the exposure from tourism helped the Zapotec people build up a sustainable livelihood, they were faced with a situation where the very essence of their products was discarded by a capitalist system. However, the same fate has not befallen other Zapotec textile manufacturing units in Mexico, where artisans who adapted their designs according to changing preferences of the consumers through direct contact with them remained independent of American outsourcing [27].

The Ecuadorian case documented by Korovkin [28] is also a story of tourism triggering a rise in living standards of traditional artisans. The traditional weaver artisans of the town on Otavalo were producers of cotton clothing and woollen blankets, but the globalization wave in the 1960s and 1970s undermined their peasant artisan economy. State support soon followed and with tourism booming in the region in the 1990s, the people reoriented their products to cater to the visitors. The old-fashioned items were swapped out for rugs, bags, belts, knapsacks, embroidered clothing, purses and bags. The altered product portfolio appealed to the tourists, thus driving the indigenous people to prosperity, so much so that the most socially excluded people went on to become the most powerful social group in the town. The tourist boom was also noted to have made a similar change in another town – Carabuela – where an entire social revolution took place, as higher incomes enabled people to attain education and eliminate the existing age-income barriers and inequalities. Again, akin to the Mexican case, the social progress came at the cost of abandoning a long tradition and adjusting to market forces.

4.4 Tourism as the path to development – the case of Melanesian and Micronesian economies

Tourism is a major contributor to national incomes of Pacific island nations, and Fiji is no exception. Rositto [29] in her analysis of how Fijian pottery has adapted itself to changing markets, has illustrated that traditional potter communities changed their products to better suit the tastes and perceptions of tourists without compromising on the traditional look and feel of the products. Pottery in Fiji is noted to have been very ancient, dating back to more than

3000 years, and had a significant part to play in the local culture which was centered on a community living experience. The colonial rule in Fiji, however, gradually led to an abandonment of this lifestyle with people becoming more individualistic in thinking and actions. As pottery became more and more obsolete in the daily lives of the people, the state intervened to help channel the skills of the potters to a growing tourist market in the country's urban centers. As a result, the potters started producing articles to cater to the needs of the tourists, doing away with the articles used for everyday purposes and instead specializing in articles of much more aesthetic value to the tourists. The state supported venture was so successful that eventually, pottery spread as a craft to regions where it was not previously practiced, and to communities who were not traditionally potters.

A similar story of development can be found in Micronesia^[30], an area which switched hands between multiple colonial forces including Spain, Germany, Japan and the United States in the 20th century. The handicrafts of the Micronesian islands centered primarily on jewellery, traditional masks and ritual art. Just like in the case of Fiji, colonial rule led to a destruction of indigenous culture in many islands, with the aping of foreign culture becoming a hallmark of younger generations. The end of the Second World War led to the islands becoming a federally administered area under the United States of America, and tourism started to slowly grow in the region. Initially under the aegis of the US Naval administration, the local people were encouraged to make traditional handicrafts. The goods were purchased by US marines returning home to their families and provided a solid income to the people in the wake of a period of war and poverty. After attaining political independence, the traditional artisans of Micronesia have been able to take advantage of the tourist arrivals to sustain their livelihoods due to state support and private players taking an active interest in showcasing ethnic handicrafts to visitors.

4.5 Disassociating from tradition – the case if artisans in the Asia-pacific

The artisan groups in the Asia-Pacific Region – our focus in this paper being on those in China, Laos, Thailand, Philippines and Indonesia – have been very active in their interactions with the tourism industry. Common to the experiences of artisans in all five cases is the way the crafts styles were subsumed in a global market, with traditional designs being replaced by the demand form western markets and tourists. The most tragic part of these have been an erosion of the symbols of local culture, and mass exploitation of the artisans by capitalist entrepreneurs.

The case of female weavers of Lü community along the Laos – Thailand border in one of the regional crafts being entirely abandoned due to the influence of tourism in the region^[31]. The Lü are an indigenous community whose wares were mostly for household consumption and domestic sales. Civil strife and war in the Indochina region in the 1960s and 1970s had led to the mass displacement of the community from Laos to Thailand. The exposure to tourist markets in urban Thailand was first experienced by the Lu women on the Thai side of the border. These women, understanding the potential of their wares in a globalized market for handicrafts, altered their designs and crafted new items to cater to the booming demand in Thailand.

Eventually, the items became so popular that they were forced to approach their compatriots on the Laotian side of the border to meet the market demand. For the Lu women in Laos, having a stable income was an attractive proposition in a situation of acute poverty. Thus, they decided to take up subcontracts on behalf of their Thai counterparts. The result of this activity was that traditional Lu handicrafts were replaced by modern designs designed to appeal to the tourists, thus representing a loss of indigenous designs in favour of economic benefits.

A mirror image of the Lu women can be seen in the case of the Hmong women artisans in China's Hunan Province^[32], potters in Thailand^[33] and handicraft producers in North Philippines^[34]. The Hmong had a varied tradition of handicrafts comprising cut-paper, silver jewellery and embroidery, all of which encompasses centuries worth of the community's ethnic identity. The folklore of the community was fully imbibed in the articles, especially the cut-paper handicrafts and embroidery. The tourists who visit the local tourist market are mostly Han Chinese from neighbouring provinces, and their tastes are markedly different from those of the local populace. The Hmong women, understanding that they had a lucrative opportunity to expand business, chose to replace the ethnic designs with those preferred by the Han. Feng goes on to compare the thinking of the Hmong women with those of the Kuna women of Panama^[35] who used their observation skills to alter their products and appeal more to the tourists. In the case of Thai potters as illustrated by Cohen, traditional designs were eventually replaced by modern designs brought in by outsiders. Pottery has contributed significantly to the tourist handicraft market in Thailand, and like the Fijian case explained by Rossitto, the quotidian wares underwent modification to become elaborate craft items which were purchased by the tourists. Another deviation in products also happened in Dan Kwien, where terracotta jewelry emerged as an equally attractive proposition to tourists.

The Filipino case is similar, with traditional product designs being switched out in favour of 'modern' designs intended to attract tourists in urban centers like Manila. The items were procured en-masse by a newly emerged trader class who subcontracted the work to rural households, many of whom also mechanized their products, thus in essence converting their handicrafts into machine made wares. The intermediaries were noted to have made a good profit from their endeavours, with traditional artisans not gaining the intended result of the tourism industry^[36]. Thus, what happened in the Filipino case is a total engulfment of traditional production chain by market forces, with artisans continuing to wallow in poverty while losing forcing to abandon traditional feel of their products.

The final case of local culture being devoured by hybridization and a globalized culture is from Indonesia, where the Toraja people in Sulawesi saw their ethnic symbols and culture being distorted and presented as authentic wares to cater to the tastes of tourists^[37]. The Toraja are indigenous people living in the Toraja highlands of Indonesia, and their handicrafts were largely ignored until around the 1980s. The traditional handicrafts included effigies representing the deceased community members, locally known as the "tau-tau". These effigies were integral to the beliefs of the community, as they were considered a link to the 'other' world of spirits. They were also believed

to ward off illnesses in the family and were a symbol of Toraja nobility. Tourist arrivals in the region, however, eventually identified the tau-tau figurines as being typical of the local identity, despite them being hallowed and integral to the traditional Toraja religion. Large scale thefts of the tau-tau figurines in the Toraja burial sites by agents who sought to capitalise on the tourist arrivals led to the burial sites being cordoned off by the locals. However, a decline in tourism following the Asian financial crisis in the 1990s once again led to mass pillaging of Toraja burial grounds, with stolen tau-tau figures smuggled to Western markets for high prices. Indonesia was the worst affected by the crisis as pointed out by the likes of Hitchcock^[38], and little attention was paid to the Toraja people who were left perplexed and aghast at the loss of their cultural symbols. This also led to the propagation of the sale of fraudulent items in the markets labelled as authentic tau-tau figures.

In time, the traditional tau-tau figures were diluted with ideas copied from Balinese traders of handicrafts, as well as Latin American 'worry dolls', which are an integral part of Peruvian culture. The tourist influx prompted many of the artisans to produce tau-tau images in large quantities, thus converting a ritual image into a commodified object. The trend of hybridizing the tau-tau was also accompanied by a habit of entrepreneurs, who mass produced factory ware and sold them with a 'Toraja' label in the tourist markets of Bali and Makassar. These new items including clothing, bags, etc. were emblazoned with traditional Toraja motifs, but had no connection whatsoever with the traditional community. Thus, the Indonesian case is clearly one in which a local culture was completely erased from the tourist map in favour of modern, hybrid designs that made profits yet did nothing to uplift a belligerent people who sought only to safeguard a centuries-old tradition.

5. Artisans in India

It has been estimated that around 8.4 per cent of the Indian workforce are artisans engaged in the production of handicrafts including metal-ware, terracotta, handloom, etc. Historically, the village economy has been structured around identities of caste, and the artisanal groups have been central to the existence of the caste system. These groups are distinct from each other based on their traditional occupation, and alongside the 'untouchable' castes, are the only ones who have strictly adhered to their traditional roles in a caste-based society^[39]. Celestin Bougle^[40] has defined caste as having three crucial elements – an occupation that is hereditary in nature, a fixed rank in the social hierarchy, and mutual exclusion from each other in customs and traditions which evolved over centuries of endogamy. The artisan castes can be said to conform very strongly to all three pillars of caste as defined by Bougle.

Even though they were classified as Sudra in the caste system, the artisan castes occupied a prime position in the traditional village economy, having strong links with the agrarian production. The arrival of colonialism on Indian shores led to a breakdown of this link, with massive changes coming up in the modes of production and commercialization in the market. Allocation of the modes of production for village crafts was based on the caste system, although in the rural areas, the artisan communities tried to cater to market demands. In urban settings, artisans enjoyed a great deal of royal and aristocratic patronage while producing for the market at the same time – they were also

portrayed as the potential industrial class. Sen^[41] points out that with the destruction of the traditional methods of production and market because of British colonialism, artisans in both rural and urban settings were victimized, essentially leading to an abandonment of craftsmanship and conversion of artisans into landless agricultural labourers. Natarajan has noted that colonialism, apart from driving artisans into poverty, also undermined and broke down the existing social relations of production, while sinking the surviving artisanal class into a rut of technological stagnation and stunted progress.

The post-independence scenario was encouraging for the artisan class in India, with a pro-socialist view of the Government encouraging the expansion of handicrafts and other rural industries. The Government sought to sustain the livelihoods of artisans, helping them form collectives while assuring protection in the commodity market. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 (IPR, 1956) sought to protect the artisans by reserving the production of as many as 177 products exclusively to the village and cottage industries. The situation, however, changed post – 1991, as India opened to the world market by embarking on a new economic policy of liberalization, globalization, and privatization.

Indian handicrafts are generally considered to be exquisite, and they have traditionally had a strong presence in the country's export basket. This situation, however, went downhill after 1991, with exports of handicrafts witnessing a steep decline in terms of export value as well share of the export basket^[42]. Between 1961 and 1991, India's handicraft export grew at a tremendous pace. In the 1960s, handicraft export grew by 316.39 per cent in terms of value of exports, and 176.6 per cent in terms of share of exports. These figures were even more impressive in the 1970s, clocking 1154.17 and 200 per cent respectively. The 1980s also saw a growth, albeit at a lower rate owing to changes in the 1981 Industrial Policy, which sought to water down the protection given to the village industries. In the 1980s, value of exports grew by 185.46 per cent, while the share of handicrafts in India's export basket rose by 33.47 per cent. Since the turn of the 1990s, however, the situation has turned bleak according to statistics. There has been a massive fall in both value of exports from \$ 3437 million to \$ 1116 million – a fall of 67.52 per cent. The 1990s also saw the share of handicrafts plummet from 18.94 per cent to just 2.5 per cent of the country's export basket. The share of exports continued to fall, reaching 0.1 per cent in 2010-11. Although the value of handicraft export has gone up since the turn of the millennium, it does little to mask the decline faced by the artisanal industries.

The domestic market for handicrafts has also been a damp squib for artisans, as perceptions of the public have gravitated towards machine-made goods of mass consumption, which have flooded the market in the aftermath of the liberalization policy. The case of leather craftspeople in Uttar Pradesh^[43] and Bengal^[44] can be considered an example for this. There have also been cases in India, particularly in the case of handmade textiles^[45], where market pressure forced indigenous craftsmen to go abandon costly, high quality wares in favour of cheap, mass produced goods catering to the local customers. The situation of artisan can be summed by quoting Subrahmanian^[46], "although the rise in income of the middle-class and growth of the tourism industry helped in

cultivating the notion of interior decoration and raising the domestic demand for ethnic crafts, the favourable effects of this tendency was not powerful enough to overcome the dampening of the change in consumers' preferences from the traditional to modern consumption needs under the influence of liberal imports of cheap machine-made products and many other factors of globalization regime"

Thus, artisans in India are faced with a situation wherein their traditional work is becoming less rewarding economically. Jena ^[47] notes that the high rate of illiteracy and poverty leave the artisans in a vulnerable state, and that forces them to abandon their traditional occupations in favour of other jobs in the informal labour market, such as casual or agricultural labour. The labour conditions in traditional handicrafts is also fraught with issues like low wages, poor safety measures, etc. Another major issue faced by artisans is rampant exploitation by middlemen, who have taken over the patron/client link that existed in a pre-colonial village economy. It could be said that the destruction of a traditional, assured patron-clientele links for many crafts, has plunged the artisanal communities into uncertainty in the modern world.

6. Conclusions

Thus, it can be ascertained from the experiences of diverse traditional artisan communities that tourism has had a strong impact on their lives and art. Both positive and negative influences have been visible, with positives generally being an improvement in economic and social standards, and negatives being an erosion of traditional feel in the handicrafts produced for a mass market. Summing up, the following can be considered the major changes that the tourism industry has made on the lives and culture of artisanal communities in the Global South:

1. An upheaval of economic living standards, as tourism helped the artisans gain access to a new market and capitalize on the novel opportunity presented to them
2. Social progress with greater access to education and higher levels of human development, as illustrated by the Ecuadorian case
3. Visible changes in the supply chain of handicrafts, as new trader classes and intermediaries have emerged to exclusively cater to the tourist market
4. Rampant exploitation of craftspeople, especially in Asian economies, by the newly emerged capitalist entrepreneurs in the tourism industry
5. Replacement of traditional crafts and motifs by 'modern' perceptions upheld by tourists hailing primarily from Western markets
6. Erosion of indigenous culture as a result of tourist arrivals, as highlighted by the Toraja people of Indonesia

Timothy Scrase has also mentioned that producing art for a global market of uncertainties is a perilous one with the ever-changing tastes and demands of a whimsical, cosmopolitan, globalized market drives the vulnerable artisanal communities further into the margins of the society. To quote him, "To be an artisan is thus a contingent and relative experience, whereby the majority of artisans fluctuate between work and unemployment, income and poverty"

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