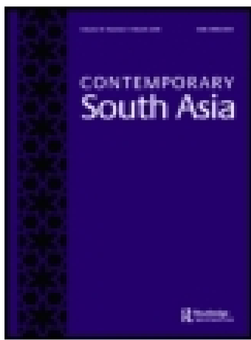

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Identifying 'authorized users', identifying kin: negotiating relational worlds through Geographical Indications registration

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ABSTRACT
The Geographical Indications of India Act requires a detailed description of 'authorized users' and 'producers' without concern for how these 'producers'/ 'authorized users' are identified and what are the outcomes of such identification. Artisans identified as producers of GI registered 'Cheriyal Painting' of Telangana primarily belong to one genetically related family. Apart from members of the Danalakota household, GI also enumerates families of apprentices as 'producers'. This article will highlight two things. First, it will demonstrate the way in which identification of 'producers'/ 'authorized users' replicates not only the relational worlds within which producers exist but also the 'obligations and moral imperatives' embedded within those relations. Second, identifying oneself as a 'producer'/ 'authorized user' requires distinguishing and individualizing one's relatedness with the Danalakota family; promises of welfare by the state then become accessible only by becoming kin and distinguishing oneself as kin.

KEYWORDS
Craft; kinship; Geographical Indications; Telangana

Introduction

In this article, I look at how fictive kinship becomes a map for the state to organize and reorganize labor relations. I undertake such an analysis by linking the relevance of GI or Geographical Indications to the traditional familial craft practice of *Nakash*. *Nakash* communities spread across different regions of Telangana have been known for a repertoire of artisanal occupations, including woodwork, tailoring, doll- and mural-making. By the 1960s, a majority of *nakash* families in Cheriyal, a town in central Telangana, had restricted their livelihoods to carpentry and tailoring, since these were the most commercially viable. Danalakota Venkatramaiah Nakash was a renowned *nakash* artist who belonged to a long lineage of artists and lived with his family in Cheriyal. Around the late 1960s, he remained the only artist in Cheriyal to whom local story-telling communities continued to commission pictorial scrolls and dolls to accompany their performances. Even though Venkatramaiah's sons Chandraiah and Vaikuntam had learnt the skill from their father and assisted him in these commissions, they too were engaged mostly in carpentry and tailoring for income. It was in the year 1978 during a survey of the All India Handicraft Board (AIHB) to 'identify lost craft pockets of the country' that officials stumbled upon some specimens made by Venkatramaiah, which brought them to the Danalakota household in Cheriyal (Fisher 1974). At the time of the AIHB survey, Venkatramaiah had passed and his two sons saw this as an opportunity to supplement the income of the household. Following this 'discovery', Chandraiah (now also deceased) and Vaikuntam were invited to nation-wide craft exhibitions, which then compelled the family, and the household, to reconfigure and accommodate new modes of production. Vaikuntam has always maintained that this work is

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inseparable from his family. '*Yeh humara ghar ka kaam hain*' is how he usually introduces the practice, meaning 'This work is part of our home'. In fact, the work being part of the home has a more immediate significance, since the domestic space of the home is also the physical setting of an 'invisible factory' where the craft is produced, and labor is divided (Venkatesan 2009b, 15).

Yet, the Geographical Indications of India Act 1999 requires a Register detailing the 'description' of 'authorized users' and 'producers' without concern for how these 'producers'/ 'authorized users' are identified and what are the outcomes of such identification.[1] Artisans identified as 'producers'/ 'authentic users' of GI registered 'Cheriyal Painting' primarily belong to one genetically related family; apart from members of the Danalakota household, GI also enumerated families of apprentices of Chandraiah and Vaikuntam as 'producers'/'authentic producers'. First, GI identifies 'authorized users' and 'producers' through networks of fictive kinship forged through apprenticeship. Second, GI becomes a state apparatus through which claim to fictive kinship becomes a way to differentiate skilled from un-skilled labor, insiders from outsiders to the practice. The certification of Geographical Indication ties the value of an object to the territorialization of relational worlds within which the object exists; however, the state does not concern itself with understanding the make-up of these relational worlds.

Over its course, this article will highlight two things. First, it will demonstrate the way in which identification of 'producers'/ 'authorized users' replicates not only the relational worlds within which producers exist but also the 'obligations and moral imperatives' embedded within those relations. Second, identifying oneself as a 'producer'/ 'authorized user' requires distinguishing and individualizing one's relatedness with the Danalakota family; promises of welfare by the state then become accessible only by becoming kin and distinguishing oneself as kin. To theoretically frame these claims, this article combines two kinds of literature: one, critical responses to the market evaluation of authenticity of place and its relational worlds in contemporary craft production; two, ethnographic investigations into the way relational worlds become technologies to map and administer systems of public distribution in India.

Ganesh and Malaysham are also artists based in Cheriyal, though they do not belong to the *nakash* community. They were introduced to this practice through state-sponsored training programs and continued their engagement with the craft by apprenticing with Vaikuntam and Chandraiah in their homes. The GI Register identifies Ganesh and Malaysham as 'producers' and 'authorized users' by tracing the history that they share with the Danalakota household. Simultaneously, as outsiders to the practice, Ganesh and Malaysham interpret their registration under GI protection as an official manifesto of their relatedness with the Danalakota family and of their authentic lineage. They distinguish themselves from other semi- and unskilled women in Cheriyal to whom the Danalakota members outsource only piecemeal work.

Scholarship on fictive kinship provides a framework to conceptualize conditions under which these relational worlds among 'authorized users' and 'producers' are produced and claimed. One, contrary to expectations, the fictive in kinship is not as amorphous and in flux, and in fact is something that is highly strategized and calculated. In her more recent work, Ester Gallo reconsiders 'the place held by kinship in postcolonial trajectories of social mobility' (2017, 31). By demonstrating how contemporary middle classes of the Namboodri community in Kerala navigate their political past by including or excluding specific family and individual histories from their accounts of class transformation, Gallo alludes to the way in which kinship is both fictionalized and actively curated. Two, these bonds require active narration and performance. In her work on organ transplant in Israel, Marie-Andre Jacob discovers 'how stories of transplant relatedness, or contingent kinship, are invented' (2009, 105), and how unrelated donors and recipients are involved in the collective performance of these invented shared histories in front of bureaucratic and medical authorities. Three, these bonds can also be fragile and rely heavily upon contexts within which they emerge. Esther Kim explores fictive kinship between undocumented Chinese restaurant workers and the restaurant owner (2009). While the 'restaurant family' metaphor helps workers secure a stable environment to live, it also means that employers can pay less wages in return for the familial care they show

towards workers. These relations are thus indeed founded on 'the workers' shared marginality and on the mutual interests of employer and employee' (2009, 499). Finally, fictive kinship puts people in new forms of obligatory and unequal relations. Sohini Kar studies the requirement of the state for women creditors in Kolkata to provide male guarantors to avail microfinance credit loans (2017). That 'kinship provides a kind of insurance against debt default' puts women in obligatory relations both with their male kin as well as with other male fictive kin who could serve as guarantor (2017, 2).

Relational worlds *of* craft and *through* the state

Christopher Gibson proposes how contemporary cultural consumption is guided by 'place-specific inheritances' (2016, 61). Through his ethnography of the conversion of El Paso, Texas from an old industrial boot-making town into a heritage town, Gibson claims that value comes from the knowledge that craft production 'evolved in place because of a complex mix of legacies, material inheritances, underlying geographical conditions' (2016, 82). These legacies and histories of earlier relations, place associations and techniques are mythologized and recognized as 'place-specific inheritances' that need to be constantly emphasized in order for craft industries in specific regions to develop. 'Place-specific inheritance' as a mechanism for value creation succeeds by allowing 'histories of manual labor, skills transfer, product design and trade in key materials' to 'linger and provide future opportunities' (82). Value therefore is dependent upon the extent to which 'a deeper sense of history *lurks* in craft production' (61). By mythologizing ways of making, learning and transmitting, and relating as 'place-specific', these qualities Gibson claims get 'locked-in' into the biography of commodities, places and relational worlds within them. He clarifies that 'lock-ins' do not signify a technological or market inefficiency, but a way of producing and positioning the past in an era of cultural capitalism, that not only confers authenticity, but also closes alternative paths and validates a particular path (62, 81).

Marie Sarita Gaytan interrogates how consistency and originality as markers of authenticity are produced by makers to ensure value for artisanal products (2019). By analysing how a local yet celebrated *mezcal* brewery in Oaxaca avoided public backlash after merging with a larger corporation, Gaytan suggests that it is imperative that artisans ensure that they have mechanisms in place to placate consumers and resolve their 'legitimacy crisis' (2019, 2). This mechanism Gaytan shows is only available to those producers and artisans who have grounds to claim what she calls *artisan kinship* with the market. Artisan kinship is the relationship of trust, honesty and credibility that producers forge with consumer by reiterating and performing their legitimate and original roots to local communities and geographies. *Artisan kinship* is therefore a way of 'extending authenticity' available only to those who can make and prove these claims. Gaytan demonstrates how 'artisan kinship is ancestral in nature' (4), referring to the way in which the 'fictive sensibility' that markets and consumers share with producers is dependent upon the latter's assurance of genealogical ties to and proximity and intimacy with authentic means of production. Artisan kinship according to Gaytan is much like 'idealized dimensions of family relations' that creates distances and distinctions between 'kin' and 'non-kin;' those who claim that they have grounds to forge artisan kinship with the market distinguish their honest and sincere craftsmanship from the alienated and corporatized work of those who cannot claim grounds to forge artisan kinship. Thus in a way affective allegiance with the market, Gaytan suggests is the outcome of political struggle over claiming affective allegiance with places, people and techniques of production.

The institution of Geographical Indications is critically evaluated for its ability to govern local commons involving natural resources, human labor and technologies of production. In order to demonstrate how the institutions like GI trace and inscribe relational worlds and the hierarchies embedded in them, this article draws from instances of other systems of public distribution in which kinship becomes the basis for mapping and recognizing beneficiaries. In her ethnography of micro-credit loan to women creditors in Kolkata, Sohini Kar discovers that loan applications of women creditors require male kin such as husbands, brothers and sons as guarantors; in the

absence of any known male kin, women then enter into fictive kinship with male neighbours and acquaintances. Kar claims that 'microfinance loans not only operate through kinship networks, but also produce new forms of relationality in the service of financial profits' (2017, 1). Women creditors are then not scrutinized only for financial accountability to the state, but also for filial accountability to the male kin with whom women enters 'relations of guarantee' (2). These relations are not just written on paper or static but need to be lived and performed for microfinance institutions to assess, which then have to conform to expectations of life-course: husbands and wives, unmarried sisters and brothers, widows and their cognatic kin (8). In imagining how 'kinship provides a kind of insurance against debt default', Kar claims that accessing the welfare state requires women to also enter into moral imperatives and obligatory relations with both the microfinance institution staff and their guarantors.

Similarly, Taringini Sriraman, demonstrates how the history of identification documents in India would be incomplete without the inclusion of popular ways in which individuals identified themselves, namely through kinship ties (2018). In her study of identification documents that allow marginal communities like refugees and the economically backward to access public goods like food, employment and settlement camps, Sriraman notices how kinship becomes an 'important category of government knowledge' in order to make the individual a legible subject (xxxviii). For instance, every individual Ration (food) Card required the holder to mention the name of the head of the household; this was later replaced by a system whereby only the recognized heads of households could possess a Ration Card for the entire family. Public distribution systems in India 'perpetuate the household as a unit of enumeration', and 'subsumed individual identity within a family' (xxxix). Specifically, in the case of application forms of Hindu and Sikh refugees seeking repatriation post-Partition, men were required to account for the women who were traveling and living with them. This Sriraman claims is symbolic of 'an unmistakably sexual contract between the state and men which results in freedom, fraternity and political obligation for men, and domination and the appropriation of consent for women' (xli). In both their works, Kar and Sriraman respectively demonstrate how subjects, mostly women, as debtors to the state get 'locked-in' new relations of familial debt. By proving they are someone's kin, women 'extend their authenticity' as legible citizens. Being kin, I claim is being accountable to an(Other), and it is this relation of accountability that provides the state with a map for its public redistributive system.

In this article, I look at how 'moral imperatives and social obligations' get 'locked-in' as 'place-specific inheritances,' especially in the way the state is able to identify 'producers'/ 'authorized users', i.e. through relational worlds. I also enquire about the effects such identification and documentation have on relational worlds. This article will demonstrate how official records transform relational worlds into singular and individual claims of kinship to the local community and the practice. I suggest that documentary and enumerative practices of the state not only ensure that accessibility to distributive justice is guaranteed by becoming kin, but also disrupt relational worlds by creating distinctions between those who can and cannot claim relatedness with the official community of practitioners as grounds to mobilize *artisan kinship*.

Cheriyal painting of Telangana

The oldest known specimen of *nakash* artwork is a 20-meter long painted narrative scroll dating back to the 16th century housed in the Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad. The usage of the name 'Cheriyal Paintings' was made popular by Chandraiah and Vaikuntam in the 1980s and 1990s when they started displaying at national exhibitions and craft fairs. In fact, it was during this time that this visual form was first made available to the public gaze of the region. *Nakash* communities are found across different regions of Telangana, with each regional sub-group specializing in specific practices. For example, the *nakash* communities around Warangal (central Telangana), such as the Danalakota family, were known for making scroll paintings which were and continue to be performed by traveling storytellers;[2] the *nakash* of Nirmal and Adilabad (northern Telangana) were

known for making realistic three-dimensional figurines popularly called Nirmal Toys.[3] Because the narrative scrolls were primarily etiological myths of specific *jatis* or occupational communities, such as weavers, leather workers, barbers, washermen and herdsmen, *nakash* images were restricted to localities through which the storytellers traveled. It was only with the commodification of these images as part of efforts to develop a folk tourism economy that urban markets and clientele were introduced to them, albeit not without affecting certain significant changes – the composite nature of this artform as an oral-visual medium was restricted to a primarily visual medium; the sizes were brought down to just about one meter; images of local mythologies made way for more popular and recognizable Hindu deities, contemporary themes such as farmer distress and life during Covid-19 have entered the visual directory.

Today there are four families within the Danalakota household. Vaikuntam is the eldest and is married to Vanaja. They have two sons, Rakesh and Vinay, and a daughter Sakshi. Nageshwar is married to Padma, and they have one son, Saikiran and one daughter, Sarita. Nageshwar has two younger brothers, Pawankumar and Venkatraman, both married. Over the years, members of the Danalakota household have developed and sustained personal relationships with several government officials and collectors through which they reproduce their position within the folk-art market of the region. All members of the family shifted to different suburbs in Hyderabad city between 2012 and 2014, but have retained their ancestral home in Cheriyal (roughly 100 kms from Hyderabad) which they keep visiting frequently.[4] In fact, during the peak of the secessionist movement for Telangana close to its formation in 2014, public discourse was focused on circulating images and narratives of material and literary practices that performed the unification of culturally coherent Telangana. 'Cheriyal Painting' was one of the several recurring motifs of the kind of cultural chauvinism that was propagated often through print media. This relationship with the urban market is today continued by the sons of these artists.[5]

Rakesh (28) at the time of my fieldwork was completing an advanced engineering degree from Hyderabad; however today he is actively involved in the family practice, not only in the making, but also in organizing several of the commercial aspects of the work, such as ensuring supplies for exhibitions and meetings with retail stores and government officials. Vinay (25) and Saikiran (23) have completed their respective degrees in Fine Arts and have mobilized this practice among new urban audiences and spaces through artist residencies and design workshops. This young generation in also committed to expanding the market for their familial craft through an active social media presence (personal blogs and Instagram profiles), collaborating with e-commerce platforms like Amazon, and connecting with clients nationally and internationally via WhatsApp. Overall, Vaikuntam takes great ownership over the success of the business today; he frequently recognizes the hardships and difficulties in the initial years that his family had to endure to revive an almost dormant craft.

Guru-Shishya Parampara

This status of the Danalakota household as 'de facto ambassadors' is in fact legitimized through two significant instances, which is what this article will primarily deal with (Cant 2018, 63). First, there were training workshops organized by the South Zonal Cultural Centre, meant to train new artists. Called *Guru Shishya Parampara Scheme* (Master-Disciple Tradition), these workshops were first conducted in 1991, during which members of the Danalakota family, namely Vaikuntam and Chandraiah and later Vanaja, Nageshwar and his wife Padma, and Pawankumar were appointed as Instructors.[6] Each workshop lasted six months, and included 10 novices, mostly women from Cheriyal. Training took place six days a week usually between 10am to 5pm. This is the time that suits women trainees who usually are able to attend the training after finishing or before resuming their household chores. Sundays and gazetted holidays are excluded; trainees are instructed to bring lunch and snacks from home. Trainers received a salary of Rs 10,000 a month, while trainees were paid a monthly remuneration of Rs 2000. Both workshops took place in the community hall

close to the Danalakota residence; since their workshops were physically situated within their homes, the artist-trainers were required to find separate space to accommodate and conduct training for these many people.

The workshops follow a curriculum-based mode of training, whereby the artistic process is 'mechanized,' 'abbreviated' and 'standardized' (Marchand 2008, 259) – from making pencil sketches, to preparing colour, then teaching trainees to fill in the background colour of the images, followed by colours for the body and clothes, and later finer details, embellishments for jewelery and garments, and finally the black outlines. Most members of the household did stress upon how this pedagogical mode was very different from the one they used to train their own children, who were initiated into the craft by assisting their parents in the work from a very early age. Also, trainees rarely worked on pieces that trainers were working on, and so, as Helle Bundgaard also observed during training workshops in *Patachitra Paintings* in Orissa, trainees were never working on pieces that were actually going to be sold (1999, 71). Training novices in the practice through the workshops, as Padma explain, 'always required extra effort' primarily because they were required to cover much ground within only a few months. At the end of the six months, all trainees get a *Certificate of Training* signed by the Director, Telangana State Handicraft Development Corporation and the Trainer.

Discussing the shifting paradigms of craft apprenticeship under contemporary labor-market dynamics among woodcarvers in North India, Thomas Chambers notes how 'an extensive period' of training was no longer considered valuable and necessary primarily owing to 'the availability of ready livelihoods requiring lower skill levels' (2020, 130). Majority of women who trained in Cheriyal not only saw the training as a quick way to supplement monthly income, but also enough to engage themselves in contractual labor for the Danalakota family, who then would outsource piecemeal and semi-skilled work to the trainees especially during a big retail order. Majority of young women in Cheriyal were involved in *beedi*-rolling (unprocessed tobacco wrapped in leaves), owing to the vast cultivation of tobacco in the region, which is known to be more remunerative than growing other crops. Working on these paintings was considered by many as a welcome break from the many hazards of *beedi*-rolling. Of course participation in full-time domestic labor was the most important reason why women trainees retained a 'non-artisan' or 'helper' status (Mohsini 2016); in fact it was owing to their responsibility towards household chores that both Vanaja and Padma (who have been engaged in this practice since the last 20 years) characterize their own work as 'slow and thick' (see Bose 2018). Thus, Venkatesan notes that while the agenda of such development programs was to alleviate the productive faculties of 'disempowered' rural women restricted to the household, the actual motivation that drives women towards these programs could be comprehended 'against the larger backdrop of household, individual and what might be termed local concerns' and short-term gains that range from health issues, to ideas about marriage, to preferences for living in their natal village (2009b, 100).

Out of all the trainees trained in the *Guru Shishya Parampara Scheme*, only Ganesh and Malaysham have come to be recognized, both officially and non-officially, as artisans. Ganesh and Malaysham belong to the toddy-tapping (*Goud*) community of Cheriyal, and they were formally introduced to the practice when they trained in the first workshop conducted in 1991. Malaysham recounts, 'As a child I used to visit Chandraiah's and Vaikuntam's house and watch them make these paintings. I was always interested in drawing, and at the time my father owned a little tea stall. He was fine with my decision to attend the training workshop, especially since the trainees were paid a stipend. At that time, it was Rs 500 a month, which was a lot. After our training, both Ganesh and I assisted Chandraiah and Vaikuntam in their work, and they used to pay us sometimes when the order was big. After the workshop concluded, I spent most of my time with Vaikuntam; in the evenings I used to assist my father with the tea-stall.'

Both Ganesh and Malaysham worked under Vaikuntam's and Chandraiah's supervision and assisted them in production for approximately six years. They were engaged with what one would imagine as post-apprenticeship, whereby even though they acquired sufficient practice

and skill, they did not move out from the masters' workshop and set up their own independent workshop till much later (see Patchett 2017). A big reason for this is that along with the practice, Ganesh and Malaysham were also utilizing their time and energy during apprenticeship familiarizing and including themselves within what Venkatesan calls the 'heterotopic space of craft', namely bureaucratic circles, NGO and development networks within which craft objects and communities are (re)created as objects of value (2009a, 79). Apprenticing under Vaikuntam and Chandraiah in their homes was symbolically remunerated in the form of formal and informal introductions into different market, bureaucratic and consumer networks.

During their years as apprentices, Ganesh and Malaysham worked in Vaikuntam's home (Chandraiah passed away within a year after they concluded their training), inhabiting intimate and relational spaces within the Danalakota family (Carsten 2003; Cant 2018). Both were trained in the practice by not only by 'mimicking' and embodying 'experiential learning' (Marchand 2008), but also by assisting Chandraiah and Vaikuntam in their work as contractual labor. As Chamber explains, 'it is the concurrence of the two', industrial modes of recruitment and artisanal modes of training, 'rather than the replacement of the former with the latter, that enables the most effective disciplining of labor (113). Training and apprenticeship then reconfigured the familial and labor relations within the region of Cheriyal, producing and reproducing social and hierarchical structures (Cant 2018; Chambers 2020). Also, all the paintings that left Vaikuntam's house were signed by Vaikuntam, a phenomenon not uncommon among household based artisanal workshops, where it is the patriarch who authors the artwork for the market. It was indeed Vaikuntam's creative genius that did in fact produce most of the artwork. However, according to the narrative that artists construct for themselves, it is the person rendering the fine black contouring applied at the end, what is also considered the most sophisticated part of a painting, who is considered the *author* of the painting (see Cant 2018).

Ganesh's and Malaysham's work moved out of Vaikuntam's house around the late 1990s, but this did not impinge everyday social and labor relations that continued to be shared. Till members of Danalakota family were still residing in Cheriyal, Ganesh and Malaysham were actively involved in the annual *Ganesh Chaturthi* festival that was organized by the Danalakota household with great fanfare. Occasionally, Vaikuntam continued to seek Ganesh's and Malaysham's assistance whenever he needed additional labor for his work, but never compromising upon his literal and symbolic authorship. Ganesh and Malaysham set up workshops in their own homes and through the official networks they developed while working with Vaikuntam acquired their Artisan Identity Cards in 2002. Apart from access to credit loans and marketing information, the Artisan Identity Cards also entitles artisans to health and life insurance. More importantly in 2010, both Ganesh and Malaysham were appointed as co-Trainers to conduct a *Guru-Shisya Parampara* workshop in Cheriyal. However, by the time Ganesh and Malaysham set up their individual workshops in Cheriyal, Vaikuntam and Nageshwar had already ensured that their market linkages with government and private retail stores in Hyderabad were secure. Without much formal deliberation and communication, production for retail was neatly divided between the Danalakota members who continue to supply to markets in Hyderabad, and Ganesh and Malaysham who supply to Warangal, the city closest to Cheriyal and the second largest urban center in Telangana.

Ganesh and Malaysham were respectively married in 2003 and 2004. Vanaja (also the name of Ganesh's wife) and Nagila (Malaysham's wife) were also from *gouda* communities within Cheriyal and were introduced to the practice through their marriage. Like the many women in Cheriyal they enrolled themselves in the *Guru Shishya Paramapara Scheme*; both were trained under Nageshwar in a workshop conducted in 2006. Of course, unlike the rest of the women trainees, Nagila and Vanaja continued their engagement with the practice post-workshop by assisting their husbands. Through relational networks between their spouses, the Danalakota household and officials at APHDC, Nagila and Vanaja too were issued their Artisan Identity Cards in 2008. Vanaja and Nagila have been practicing this craft for over a decade, and in 2012 Vanaja too was appointed as Trainer at a training workshop. Vanaja and Ganesh have two young daughters who assist their

parents during their time off from school. At present Ganesh, Malaysham and their families continue to live in Cheriyal.

Consultative group

The second instance where the 'de facto ambassador' status of the Danalakota family was reinstated was in 2009 when the APHDC set up a Consultative Group to put together a 'Statement of Case' for the GI application. A Consultative Group was established to provide all information required to file a Statement of Case for the application for GI, which include history of the practice, materials used and process of production, and identities of all artisans in the region who were involved in the production of Cheriyal Paintings. Only artisans identified by the Constitutive Group could use the brand name Cheriyal Painting and be protected under Geographical Indications; the regional specificity of the craft is thus translated as singular and identifiable individuals. The Consultative Group comprised of officials from the APDHC, the law firm in Chennai representing APHDC and Vaikuntam and Nageshwar. About their participation within the Constitutive Group, Nageshwar insisted, 'Our family is one of the only *nakash* families in Cheriyal, and while everyone else in and around Cheriyal discontinued painting, it was only our family which continued to make them. My father and uncle (Vaikuntam) were responsible for reviving this craft.' The Consultative Group therefore became a space where the control of the Danalakota family over the lineage of the practice is officially recognized and asserted. From the kind of knowledge that the nation state needs to document and classify in order to grant intellectual property right certifications like GI, it does seem that local forms of knowledge are evaluated through their genealogies contained within recognizable and discernable social worlds of knowledge production.

Aarti Kawla scrutinizes the registration of Kanchipuram sari as a GI registered brand by analyzing how the production prescriptions of GI and the demarcation of the territorial boundaries of production are inherited from colonial and post-colonial descriptions of artisanal products in India within a fixed geography of 'traditional craft production' (Kawlra 2014). A crucial concern that Kawlra touches upon is how the technical parameters for weaving as prescribed by the GI Register that became the 'official version' of the Kanchipuram sari were 'drawn almost verbatim from the Census of India, 1961 Vol. IX Madras,' which in turn recorded production techniques of locally predominant weaving communities (11). This 'authorized standard' of production becomes the source of tension between various producers within Kanchipuram, favoring only those within the region who could afford to sustain or even introduce some of the expensive technologies of weaving, such as composition of gold in the *zari* (embroidery) and the use of the *koravai* three-shuttle weave. Kawlra eventually claims how the delineation and fixing of production techniques through GI registration privileges' a singular version of local reality' and 'contradicts the dynamisms of the local' (12).

It is by documenting the material practices of locally predominant communities as the 'official version' that the authority of those communities, as social leaders is reproduced. Craftsmanship is written by the state as a 'personalized resource' whose circulation is controlled in the way community leaders are called upon to enumerate 'producers and authorized users' (Roy 2007, 965). By elaborating on the political role of individual masters as 'social leaders' who controlled knowledge and labor circulation in nineteenth century India, Tirthankar Roy shows how several artisanal technologies like weaving and metal work were limited and restricted not only within geographical localities, but also within certain communities. (2007). As part of the Constitutive Group, Vaikuntam and his family are put in charge of deciding and authenticating technique; however, this recognition by the state is compounded by Vaikuntam's own claim that 'this work is part of our home'. Two things operate here. First, by associating this practice with his 'home', Vaikuntam uses the space of the Consultative Group to make his familial lineage as a metonym for and representative of a place-based practice. Two, Vaikuntam and Nageshwar distinguish themselves as part of a family of 'innovators,' who not only have revived a dormant practice, but through their innovation separate

themselves apart from the non-practicing *nakash* community in region of Cheriyal. Thus, craft knowledge as what Roy recognized as a 'self-regulated system' is attributed to individuated skilled leaders (967).

But more importantly for Ganesh and Malaysham to be able to sell what they produce as 'Cheriyal Painting' they needed to be enumerated as GI producers by Vaikuntam and Nageshwar. Vaikuntam was very conscious about the responsibility he reckoned he had towards Ganesh and Malaysham. As he noted, 'Whatever Ganesh and Malaysham are today, it is because of this family. How can I not include them in this? Their wives too have trained through the workshops; they became proficient assisting Ganesh and Malaysham with the work. *Yeh sab apne hi log hain … unka madad karna humara kaam hain* (these are our people … it is our duty to help them).'

Indeed, Vaikuntam and Nageshwar were institutionally bound to include the two additional families within the GI Register, primarily because all four of them possessed Artisan Identity Cards which not only did Vaikuntam help them get, but which also attested to their productive contribution to brand Cheriyal Painting. There was never any doubt that Vaikuntam and Nageshwar would act otherwise. However, Vaikuntam does imply that Ganesh, Malaysham and their families are able to benefit from this Registration solely because of him and his family. Vaikuntam reiterates that it was him and his family who trained and made both Ganesh and Malaysham the artists they are today. Including them within GI register, performing an official role on their behalf and for their benefit, is but only an outcome of Vaikuntam's paternal relationship with them. He is after all performing the role of the *Guru* for his *shishya*, and it is this 'ritual parenthood' (Cant 2018, 12) that legitimizes Vaikuntam to be the one to give Ganesh and Malaysham the 'gift' of intellectual property protection.

On the one hand, it is by tracing and recalling shared histories that Vaikuntam constructs his official duty to register GI artists as a 'debt' to the families of Ganesh and Malaysham. But simultaneously, tracing the identification of producers through networks of fictive kinship and affective debt also becomes a way to strategically circumvent potential tensions that may result from competition, given that it is a family's 'personalized resource' which is now being shared with Ganesh and Malaysham. That the Danalakota family has ensured that they continue to dominate supply chains within markets in Hyderabad, while Ganesh and Malaysham are expected to limit their circulation within Warangal is an instance of the way 'moral imperatives and social obligations' within relational worlds are asserted and enacted to express competition among artisanal economies within capitalism (see Colloredo-Mansfeld 2002). As a result, while tracing networks of fictive kinship to identify 'producers'/ 'authentic users', registration through GI also reproducers the division of labor and production, namely the marginality embedded in those relations (Kim 2009).

On the other, the performance of legal and bureaucratic roles reinscribes the familial authority and position of the Danalakota members within these relational worlds. It was therefore through marriage that Vanaja and Nagila were included within the relational matrix of the Danalakota household, and eventually within the official community of practitioners. Through the practice, Vanaja and Nagila are then entering an affective space within which they too have to acknowledge the 'social obligations and moral imperatives' towards the Danalakota. Members of the Danalakota family become their husbands' affine, with whom traditional patterns of behaviour have to be observed. The roles of Vaikuntam and Nageshwar as affines are reinscribed when they become officially in-charge of regulating membership into a legally recognized community, which is an extension of the affective space.

While Geographical Indication is concerned with estimating the value of objects through its genealogy with a place, it fails to take into account the make-up of these relations and how the 'imperatives and obligations' of these relations are locked-in as 'place-specific inheritances' (Gibson 2016). The identification of Ganesh, Malaysham, Vanaja and Nagila as 'producers'/ 'authentic users' implies that their location within the relational worlds of production is intrinsic to the way the Cheriyal Painting is produced within Cheriyal. Both, the Artisan Identity Card and registration as GI 'producers' become traces and markers of this relatedness and their dynamics (Kar 2017), while

also demonstrating how kinship becomes an important peg of enquiry into postcolonial trajectories of social mobility (Gallo 2017). Thus, the social and hierarchical relations through which skill and knowledge are transmitted are not just replicated but also reified in the way the political and economic structures of the practice are (re)organized by the practitioners and by the state.

Through her study of the *Design Registration Act* (1839), meant to develop British design amidst competition from other nations, Jane Anderson offers an extensive account of the emergence of the process of registration as an important moment in the history of intellectual property law. 'Registration', Anderson writes, 'effectively enabled the centralization of particular forms of knowledge by recording the characteristics of the (protectable) product' (2009, 61). This centralization of knowledge through the process of registration, she claims, enabled law to 'rely on institutionalized characteristics and avoid subject specific judgements' (63). Following a Weberian appraisal of legal-rational authority, Anderson also goes on to discuss how the bureaucratic way in which knowledge was recorded and documented turned registration into 'a means of decontextualising the product, effectively affirming the product as a 'legal object'.

In the case of GI Registration, we do encounter some limits to these claims. First, the formulation of knowledge about the community of practitioners is not determined by 'institutionalized characteristics'; in fact the process of registration of Ganesh, Malaysham, Vanaja and Nagila is the outcome of extremely 'subject specific judgements,' of a parental and affinal role and responsibility. Second, rather than being a means to 'decontextualize' systems of knowledge, the process of registration embeds them in a deeper context of familial debt. Registration in fact enriches the 'legal object', namely Cheriyal Paintings with context, embedding it within imperatives and obligations of familial relations. Through the way Artisan Identity Cards are issued and GI Registration, the state, it seems, depends upon relational worlds to control its surveyable pool of productive labor through universal administrative formats (Sriraman 2018). In the words of Anderson, 'the Register became the institution for accumulating, monitoring and distributing information … and producing proof about' these relational networks (61).

'Producers'/ 'authentic users'

As already pointed out in Kawlra's work, another feature according to Anderson that influenced the shape of intellectual property was the way in which the Registration process 'codified … the intangible on paper' (Anderson 2009, 63). Similarly, Kar also asserts that it was through the 'establishment of proof' of identity and singularity that state documents serve as 'confirmation or evidence of the intangible intimacy between kin' (Kar 2017, 6). In a similar fashion, inclusion within the GI Register is perceived by Ganesh as testifying to his relations within the Danalakota family. It becomes a document he can use to claim proximity with Vaikuntam, and ultimately to becoming an authentic producer. Ganesh does believe that inclusion within the GI Register does position him rather uniquely. He claims, 'Only those who have been trained by the true masters can be part of GI. Chandraiah and Vaikuntam's family have been known for their work in this region for a very long time, and people in Cheriyal know that I have been trained by them; they think of Malaysham and me as part of Vaikuntam's family. There have been so many people who have trained with them in the workshops, but only Malaysham and I are considered true artists. Even though I am not from the *nakash* community, people in Cheriyal know me for my art.'

For Ganesh, relatedness within the Danalakota family through transmission and learning was a 'technology of the self', an identity which he recognized, and through which he was recognized by others (Foucault 1988). This recognition relies upon the way and also becomes grounds for Ganesh and Malaysham to claim *artisan kinship* with the market and agencies of distributive justice. In fact, the first time I met Ganesh and Malaysham they were commissioned to refurbish the temple of the village deity, Maisamma, in Cheriyal just before an important and auspicious village festival. This kind of work historically was only done by the *nakash* families in the village.[7] Thus, part of what Ganesh is trying to communicate is that his recognition as an extended

member of the Danalakota family is what constitutes the ground for claiming *artisan kinship*, the cultural capital that gives him access to markets and welfare.

Through the identification of producers and users, the GI Register then (re)structures and (re)classifies fictive relational worlds by identifying and documenting singular bodies and individual names (Sriraman 2018). It is this singularity and individualization that Ganesh borrows to narrate his relatedness within the Danalakota family and to the *nakash* practice, by referring to himself as one of 'only those trained by the masters.' The fixity of this relatedness then become grounds for Ganesh and Malaysham to claim *artisan kinship* (Gaytan 2019). Being kin of the Danalakota family and being able to substantiate this claim through the GI Register enables Ganesh and Malaysham to 'extend authenticity.' It is also through this documentation of being an authorized user by being kin that Ganesh also constructs his own perception of himself as an 'insider'. By performing and reinventing shared histories with Vaikuntam and Chandraiah (Jacob 2009), Ganesh also sets himself apart from those whose training was restricted to the formal workshops, whose work is peripheral and semi-skilled, who only have Certificates of Training and not Artisan Identity Cards, who are not protected under GI, and who are 'non-kin'. This is also an issue which Sarah Besky takes up in the case of Darjeeling Tea as a registered GI brand, whereby institutions like GI and Fair Trade do not take into account the rights of casual and contractual labor, mostly women, who are involved in the semi-or un-skilled parts of the production of GI registered objects (2013).

Kalwra alludes to the way recognitions like GI impose distinctions and incommensurability upon biocultural worlds which are articulated through chauvinism, competition and othering (2014). She discusses how the tension between various producers of the Kanchipuram sari over their ability or inability to sustain the capital-intensive technical prescriptions standardized by GI created two kinds of producers. On the one hand, there were those within Kanchipuram with material and social capital who could produce the 'official version' and be protected under the GI Register. On the other, there were weavers outside of the approved technical and geographical parameters who were identified as producing 'duplicates' and reducing quality of the weave (6). The semi-skilled women in Cheriyal who anonymously and indistinctively labor on paintings are imagined by Ganesh as those who have no basis for claiming *artisan kinship* and hence constitute cultural 'others.' Inclusion in the GI Register as 'producers'/ 'authentic users' offers Ganesh and Malaysham an official way of reiterating their relatedness with the local community of 'masters'. It is by resolving political struggles over their 'legitimacy crisis,' namely their initial 'outsider' status, through 'idealized dimensions of family relations' that Ganesh and Malaysham claim that their claim to *artisan kinship* is indeed 'ancestral in nature' (Gaytan 2019, 6)

The *artisan kinship* that Ganesh and Malaysham hope to claim through their status as extended kin of the Danalakota family is directed towards enjoying the same fruits of the *artisan kinship* that the later have mobilized, namely being 'well positioned in conventional channels of [economic and market] mobility (Roy 2007, 971). Besky explains how tea workers' ideas about value, place and social justice are being reshaped in the way Darjeeling tea is being rebranded through certifications like Fair Trade and Geographical Indications. A salient way in which plantation owners mobilize *artisan kinship* with the market is by opening their plantations to tourists, whereby owners reiterate that it is their managerial efforts at caring for and preserving 'traditional knowledge' and 'pristineness of the mountains' that creates the distinctive taste of Darjeeling tea. Besky demonstrates how contemporary 'tea tourism' at the plantations requires tea-workers to not simply work, but also *pose as workers*, thereby shifting their sense of justice from being rooted in reciprocal relations to land and management to performative relations with consumers (112).

Similarly, Ganesh and Malaysham then can avail of welfare only by shifting their sense of justice from being rooted in their skill and training to becoming and acknowledging themselves as kin, by acknowledging their tutelage and fostering under Vaikuntam and Chandraiah (Kar 2017, Sriraman 2018). They can access the commons only by distinguishing and individualizing their claims as a member of the family of the 'masters,' opposed to those who cannot claim to be 'true artists' because they do not share relational worlds with the masters. And only 'true artists' who can fix

their relatedness with traditional means of production have grounds to claim *artisan kinship*. It is only by subsuming oneself to forms of relationality that subjects are rendered legible and comprehensible by the state and the market (Kar 2017).

What further reaffirms the artisan kinship that Ganesh and Malaysham share with their market, and hence their identity as authentic producers of Cheriyal Painting, is their appointment and recognition by the state as pedagogues and Trainers. The *Guru Shishya Parampara Scheme* strengthens this artisan kinship because as new masters, Ganesh and Malaysham were reproducing the 'place-specific inheritances' of relations based on knowledge and transmission, and 'locking-in' their individual trajectories as artists into the history of the place, of the practice and of the community. In fact, the very choice of the name *Guru Shishya Parampara Scheme* is also indicative of a more soft message of how the state imagines that future of productive skill and labor in a modernizing economy like India's is also locked-into age-old folk tradition of transmission of knowledge, one based on (male-oriented concepts about) lineage, duty and continuity (Bock and Rao 2000, 34; Roy 1995, 2525).

Conclusion

In this article I look at the way the state traces networks of fictive kinship to make its subjects legible and to organize and reorganize labor relations. First, Geographical Indications relies upon fictive kinship through apprenticeship to identify 'authorized users' and 'producers' within a region. Second, GI becomes a state apparatus through which claims to fictive kinship become a way to differentiate skilled from un-skilled labor, insiders from outsiders to the practice. Over the course of the article, we have noted how kinship forged through relations of apprenticeship comes to be acknowledged as a critical 'postcolonial trajectory of social mobility' (Gallo 2017); how performance of kinship continues to reproduce the structural hierarchies and marginalization of apprentices (Kim 2009), and the way shared histories needed to be reiterated and qualified to distinguish kin from non-kin (Jacob 2009).

Certifications such as Geographical Indication attempt territorialization of the relational worlds within which the object of protection is produced. In the process, fantasies of 'land' and 'traditional knowledge' take precedence over concerns about control of labor, gender discriminations and local hierarchies. In this article I have described how the state while classifying and recording these relational worlds through coordinates and definitions, misses out on the 'make-up' of these relational worlds. Among the many definitions and enumerations that Geographical Indications of India Act depends upon, one pertains to detailing the 'description' of 'authorized users' and 'producers.' What is not understood as worthy of definition is how these 'producers'/ 'authorized users' are identified and what are the outcomes of such identification.

By *making* 'community leaders' into official representatives of a regional practice, the state is simultaneously *remaking* the technologies of their leadership. The certification of GI is closely related to the question of kinship, because it is by tracing the fictive relational networks among practitioners that GI is able to record descriptions of 'producers'/ 'authorized users.' Simultaneously, the identification of 'producers'/ 'authorized users' then reconfigure the fictive relational worlds by creating distinctions and discriminations between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', 'workshop training' and 'apprenticeship', 'Certificate of Training' and 'Artisan Identity Card', 'contract workers' and 'true artists', 'kin' and 'non-kin'. Eventually identification as 'producer'/ 'authorized user' is perceived as a way to individuate and singularize one's relatedness with the official and social worlds of the practice.

In this article, I have borrowed the concepts of 'locked-in' 'place-specific inheritances' and 'artisan kinship.' I theoretically frame the way the GI, through the territorialization of relational worlds of artisans, 'locks in' the 'moral imperatives and obligations' of these worlds as 'place-specific inheritances', which artisans need to recognize, perform and even desire in order to claim authentic grounds to mobilize 'artisan kinship.' Additionally, I have also borrowed from scholarship that demonstrates how kinship is a technology that the state uses to render its citizens legible. 'Being kin' signifies

being someone who is accountable to '(an)Other', and it is this relation of accountability that the state introduces formally and technically into its administrative documents in order to map and survey its public distribution systems.

The question of kinship as a site of tension and negotiation could be a salient one for scholarship that highlights and critiques the dissonant and frictional potential of certifications like Geographical Indication. The object of legal protection, knowledge as social capital, circulates not just within a place but also among and through networks of relations that are both enframed by and enframe power hierarchies. Any critical enquiry into kind of association between place and making, like the kind Geographical Indication constructs, has to take into account the relational structures under which the practicing community comes together in the making. Historically, kinship and communal ties have been technologies for the reproduction of local hierarchies. Anthropological and developmental approaches to Geographical Indications need to identify and recognize the spaces and practices that are outcomes of such histories.

Notes

1. In 2009 the Andhra Pradesh Handicraft Development Corporation (APHDC) facilitated the registration of Cheriyal Paintings as a protected brand under GI. The state of Telangana was created from the larger state of Andhra Pradesh in 2014 after decades of intermittent political unrest in the state owing to regional competition within Andhra Pradesh for developmental infrastructure. Cheriyal Painting was registered as a GI good before the formation of the new state of Telangana. Since 2014, the APHDC has been replaced by the Telangana State Handicraft Development Corporation.
2. Owing to the high demand from urban markets and private commissions the Danalakota family have not able to take up commissions for scrolls from local communities for some years now. Instead, storytellers have begun to take digital photographs of old scrolls and print them on flex banners, which they display during performances.
3. Nirmal Toys has also been registered as a Geographical Indication good that recognizes artisans of the Nirmal Toys Cooperative as 'producers'/ 'authorized users.'
4. Members of the Danalakota family shifted to the city of Hyderabad in order to benefit from the proximity to urban markets. Their home in Cheriyal is still registered as the official address for all GI correspondence. The family considers Cheriyal and their home to be the centre of this practice, since it was where they were first recognized by the state, and where they revived the practice. Offices of the Telangana State Handicraft Development Corporation is aware that the Danalakota family now resides in Hyderabad, and according to Vaikuntam many artisan families, like those belonging to Nirmal Toys Cooperative, have also migrated to Hyderabad for better access to urban markets.
5. Both Sakshi and Sarita are married and have moved out of their parents' homes. They both are trained in painting, but post-marriage they have rarely gotten a chance to contribute to the production of the household.
6. Both Vanja and Padma, and later Pawankumar's wife Soumya, were trained in the craft after their marriage into the family. Learning the practice becomes part of the socialization of married women and children into the family (See Bose 2018).
7. In a fundamental way then Ganesh and Malaysham are more embedded within the relational worlds of the actual and physical geography of Cheriyal, much more than Vaikuntam, who not only is no longer physically based in Cheriyal, but also no longer has a stake in local markets of Cheriyal.

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