

The Practice of Dapa Making: A Case Study from Trashiyangtse in Bhutan

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Abstract: Deeply woven into every facet of Bhutanese lives, the traditional arts and crafts forms an essential part of Bhutan's cultural heritage. Highly attractive and decorative in its appearance, it retains purity and human attempts to perfection. Derived largely from Buddhism, it symbolically represents the Buddhist philosophy of Bhutan. Although historically mentioned to have existed even before the seventeenth century, it was only towards the late seventeenth century that these traditional arts and crafts were formally codified into ZorigChusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) during the theocratic reign of the Fourth Druk Desi, Gyalse Tenzin Rabgye (1638-1694). Most of the Thirteen Traditional Arts and Crafts were predominantly practiced by the people of different region, portraying the regional socio-economic setup. Geographically located in eastern Bhutan, the Dzongkhag of Trashiyangtse takes a deep pride in its traditionally upheld practices of several traditional arts and crafts among which much of the social, religious, political and economic lives of the native population revolves around the traditionally prevalent practice of Wood-Turning. The traditional Wood-Turning now transformed into a highly economical commercial business, thereby accelerating the development of Trashiyangtse into traditional as well as commercial hub in Bhutan. Given these un-parallel traditional and economic significances not only in Trashiyangtse but also in whole of Bhutan, the written record on significant aspects of this traditionally and economically upheld practices of making wooden bowls is expected to contribute towards the national endeavor of preserving and promoting the traditionally wood turning craft of making Dapa. Therefore, a study on Dapa making culture is carried out through a Case Study incorporating Purposive Sampling based on interview and observation methods.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, Dapa, Procedures, Typology, Impact, and Challenges.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Study Area

Locally referred to as ZorigChusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) are deeply woven into Bhutanese way of life which is prominently practiced throughout the country. Trashiyangtse is traditionally known for the traditional practice of Shagzo (Wood-Turning) which is now vibrantly practiced by the native inhabitants of the district. One of the newest Dzongkhags in the country, Trashiyangtse was established as a distinct district in 1992. Located in the North Eastern part of the country, Trashiyangtse shares its border with Trashigang and Monger in the south, Lhuentse in the west, Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh in the east and Tibet autonomous region of China in the north. The Dzongkhag has an area of 1438 Sq.kms and is elevated at an altitude which ranges from 600 to 5400 meters above sea level. It is the ancient route between East and Western Bhutan. It has eight gewogs of Bumdeling, Khamdang, Ramjar, Toedtsho, Tongzhang, Ramjar, Jamkhar and Yangtse and these gewogs has forty one chiwogs in total. With 10, 286 male and 10, 588 female, the total population of Trashiyangtse as of 2016 is 20,874 (National Statics Bureau, 2018). It is ethnically and culturally diverse district and the inhabitants include Yangtseps, the region's indigenous dwellers, Tshanglas, Bramis from Tawang, Khengpas from Zhemgang and Kurtoeps from Lhuentse. In the north, including Bumdeling and Toedtsho Gewogs, the native inhabitants speak Dzahala¹, in the south, Tshangla², the Lingua Franca of eastern Bhutan is spoken in Jamkhar, Khamdang and Ramjar Gewogs. The native residents of

¹ Local dialect spoken by the people of Trashiyantse

² Local dialect of eastern Bhutan.

Tongshang speak the local dialect called Chochangacha³. Trashiyangtse is a home to some of the country's important protected areas such as KholungChhu Wildlife Sanctuary which was established in 1993 and is integrated with the larger Bumdeling Wildlife Sanctuary. These two wildlife sanctuary engulfs the northern part of the district including Bumdeling, Yangtse and the neighboring regions (Tourism Council of Bhutan, 2018). The presence of Buddhist monumental sites of Chorten Kora, Rig sum Goenpo and Gomphug Kora (meditation cave of Buddhist Master, Guru Padma Sambhava) makes Trashiyangtse one of the religious tourist destinations in Bhutan. Added to this tourist attraction is the vibrant traditional practice of making Dapa, the main source of local livelihood. With growing number of craftsmen as a result of spiraling international and local demand, the economic transformation of this traditional craft into the main source of income for people's livelihood of Trashiyangtse has taken place. Although it is also practiced in Bumdeling Gewog, the traditional making Dapa is centrally practiced in Yangtse Gewog as a result of an easy access to nearby market. Yangtse Gewog is located around the premises of Dzongkhag administration, Dzongkhag town and Chorten Kora, covering around two hundred sixty eight square kilometers. This practiced area of Dapa-Making has four hundred twenty four households and has five Chiwogs and the Chiwog's settlement is done on either side of Kholongchu basin. The Gewog has a mix of Kurtoep and Yangtse speaking communities. A small section of the local population speaks Dzahala(local dialect). A common cereal crops cultivated in Yangtse Gewog are maize and paddy. With small scale cultivation in all Chiwogs, Lichen Chiwog is the main producer of the millet. Cabbage, Chili, cauliflower and potatoes are the most common vegetables cultivated in the Gewog. The cattle and poultry are reared by all households in Gewog in small scale and are carried out extensively in Rabdey Chiwog.

1.2. Significance of Problem and Statement

Most of the craftsmen comes from Baney-Bhimkhar, Lichen and Bayling Chiwogs (Resource inventory and Business opportunity for cottage and small industry under production and manufacturing sectors, 2015). With close proximity to main Yangtse town, the economic business of selling Dapa has become vibrant and is the major source of income for the people of Yangtse Gewog in particular. However, nothing at all is known by the people about its actual origin and evolution in Bhutan and Trashiyangtse in particular. And the historical origin and evolution of this traditional craft hold a deep significance in understanding its historical values. As it is practiced mainly in Yangtse, there is a general misconception that it is confined only to this Gewog. So, the study on the geographic pattern of its prevalence is crucial for one to understand the nature of its prevalence throughout Bhutan. Although one can see it being practiced in Yangtse, Bumdeling and in other regions to some extent, not much is known about the kind of raw materials being used in making Dapa and the detailed study on its raw materials paves way to understanding more about other aspects of this popular traditional product as it determines economic value, designs and other important fields. In the view of the fact that the certain skills and trainings are prerequisite in making Dapa, the exploratory study on its typical skills facilitates in perceiving the nature of the procedures followed in making Dapa. Although one can see the common practice of making Dapa but the actual procedures followed while making Dapa is hardly known by the people which portray its peculiar nature of production. With institute of ZorigChusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) providing professional trainings on Dapa making craft, there are both professional and non-professional ways of producing Dapa being practiced in parallel but nothing is explored on how these two ways differ from one another and this distinction would help in understanding the kind of environment in which it is made. With change in time, there is a drastic change in the season during which Dapa are produced and the research focus on this seasonal nature of making Dapa would become highly instrumental in uncovering the factors responsible for the occurrence of such seasonal changes. Despite of the fact that the craft of making Dapa is traditionally practiced mostly by men, one could see more and more women getting involved in applying lacquer and other supplementary works. But the women's association with this male oriented traditional occupation is seen being marginalized in the society. So, the exploration on this aspect would serve its purpose in construing the significant role of women in uplifting this traditional craft in Bhutan. In the market, Dapa are seen in varied designs but almost all the people of Bhutan do not have the concrete idea about its varied designs and the research on this typology field would not only unfold the kind of designs it has but would also enable one in perceiving its market value as it solely determines the variation in its prices. Besides the fact that there are growing international and national demand for the Dapa, not many people know how the market of Dapa is actually carried out and the change in seasonal market. And the research study on the nature of Dapa market and its season hold central place in reinstating the economic value of Dapa and changes of season occurred over time. Since it is deeply embedded in every facet of Bhutanese lives not only in Trashiyangtse but also in Bhutan as a whole, the in depth study on its deeply rooted impacts on social, economic, religious and political lives of Bhutanese people forms a path to comprehend paramount significance.

³ Local dialect spoken by Yangtse people

The Shagzopas (person involved in wood-turning) faces many challenges while making Dapa which are often unnoticed and the address to these challenging problems and the measures taken by them in confronting these obstacles through research is expected to bring it to the frontline of the national concern.

In the wake of the westernization and modernization trend, a serious threat to the existence of the fragile traditions and cultures is felt deeply across the country. For this reason, the need is felt to draw more national and local programmes in ensuring the preservation and promotion of this wood turning craft of making Dapa. Due to the hard labor and certain risks involved in making Dapa, the steep decline in the interest of youths in this age old traditional craft has now posed a rising national concern as it may led to its extinction in future. So, the time has come for both local and national efforts to be put in to create social awareness among the present generation about this intangible traditional craft. As government initiatives, the undeniable role of the institute of ZorigChusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) and ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) in upholding the sustainability of Dapa making craft in Bhutan is witnessed. Therefore, the research was carried out on this traditional wood turning art of making Dapa with the objectives focused narrowly on historical origin, prevalence, raw materials, skills and trainings and the procedures involved in making Dapa. A part of research efforts was directed towards studying market and its season, designs, challenges and measures and the sustainability. Then, the effort was also placed on exploring the roles of youths, women, ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) and the institute of ZorigChusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) and impacts of Wood-Turning art of making Dapa on social, economic, religious and political lives of Bhutanese people in Trashiyangtse.

II. METHODOLOGY

The approach used for the research on the topic, “Recreating the practice of making Dapa in Trashiyangtse” was the qualitative method. Under this research method, an amalgam of snowball sampling and purposive sampling were used for the in depth collection of the research data. Using both snowball and purposive samplings, the data on the historical origin and evolution of Shagzo art, the prevalence of this art in the past and at present, the raw materials used in making Dapa, the skills, trainings and durability required in making Dapa, the procedures of making Dapa and its season, the differences between non-professional and professional way of making Dapa, the gender orientation of this traditional art, the typology of Dapa, the market of Dapa and its season, the impacts of Dapa, the challenges and measures in making Dapa, the sustainability of this traditional wood turning art, and the roles of youths, ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) and the institute of Zorig Chu Sum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) in Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse were collected. In a way, same thematic questions on the basis of research aims and objectives were asked repeatedly with all interviewees who were particularly associated with the Shagzo practice of making Dapa. Simultaneously, different additional questions were also asked which were oriented towards their individual background yet directly related with research aims and objectives.

2.1 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

2.1.1 INTERVIEW METHOD

Interview method was used intensively as a primary research activity to extract data on the wood turning traditional art in Trashiyangtse. And it was done on the basis of both structured and unstructured questions. The structured questions were asked during the interviews which helped in narrowing the research activity to aims and objectives of the research and to deepen the depth of the research data collection. Along with it, the unstructured questions which popped up in the mist of interviews were asked and this ensured a great supplementation to the research data extracted in response to the structured questions framed before the interview. Thus, several face to face interviews with ten major and minor interviewees from the institute of Zorig Chu Sum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts), ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) and the village were conducted so as to widen the range of the data collection. Different questions but confined to the thematically based objectives of the research were asked and this greatly helped in achieving all round information from different backgrounds. And this in turn became a biggest asset in increasing the degree of the validity of the response to the research questions.

However, before conducting these long range of face to face interviews with the invaluable interviewees, the sharing of the aims and objectives of my research was ensured with every interviewee in order for them to acquire the vivid picture of what the research is actually about. This was intended to increase the level of their familiarity and confidence during the interviews. And as expected, this gave a good flow to their response during the interviews. And it was conducted at the will of the individual interviewees with their full consent. So, with this, firstly the face to face interview was carried out with the Shagzo instructor Pema Lethro of the institute of Zo Rig Chu Sum. During the interview with him, questions were asked specifically on the institute and its crucial role in the Shagzo art of making Dapa in Trashiyangtse and Bhutan as a whole. Then, as he is also one of the professional Shagzopas in the locality, the questions based on the research aims and

objectives were asked. This not only helped in collecting research response from the point of professionally trained Shagzopas but also broaden the sphere of the knowledge about the local practice of making Dapa and the international link which the Shagzo art of making Dapa shares with other countries. Thus, it further, enhanced the flow of interviews with the local respondents later.

Then including one woman Shagzopa called Sonam Pelden who recently passed out from the institute of Zo rig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) and Tshering Dorji who was one of the first batch students of the institute, the face to face interviews were conducted with three local Shagzopas called Jangchhub, Drukla, Sonam Tshering and Pelden Dorji all of whom are the descending family members of KhampaLobzang and Pema Norbu. These six local interviews with them facilitated the collection of data from non -professional local point of views and this ensured in widening the range of data collection. During that time, the same thematically structured questions were asked.

Lastly, in order to escalate the vital research data on the Tshogpa and its significant role in the Shagzo art of making Dapa, the questions related to this marketing center yet limited to research aims and objectives, particularly on economic aspects were asked. Not only this, the clarity to their response was achieved later by making clarification through social media.

2.1.2 OBSERVATION AND PARTICIPATORY METHOD

As one of the primary research method, the observation and participatory method was carried out in coming up with the practical research information on the procedures of making Dapa in Trashiyangtse. In doing so, the practical observation was firstly carried out with Pema Lethro along with two Shagzo students. In this case, quite an elaborate observation was carried out when the two students displayed the procedures of making Dapa which are followed after the collection of the wooden materials from the highly elevated far flung mountainous forest areas and this was done with close instruction and guidance of the instructor Pema Lethro. This practical observation technique inculcated the practical knowledge about how Dapas are made with the help of the motor machines which added more to the theoretical knowledge about Dapa making procedures. And this made it easier for the researcher to carry out another practical research method. It was thus closely followed by the participatory method in which the researcher myself participated fully in making a small wooden bowl upon the intensive instruction and guidance of the instructor. As this highly effective participatory method immensely assist in fostering the practical knowledge and the personal experience during the research, the self-participation in carrying out the central procedures of making Dapa undeniably increased the depth of the practical research activity on Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse. It therefore formed a firm practical ground to the theoretical knowledge derived during the interviews about the procedures of making Dapa.

Moreover, the practical experience nurtured during this activity gave rise to the in depth interest in the research project with which the success of the research is achieved. Although all procedures from the collection of the raw materials to the finishing procedures could not be carried as it was practically impossible, the practical observation and participatory methods thus amplified the significance of the research.

2.2 EQUIPMENT AND TOOLS

The greatly facilitating equipment and tools were used thoroughly during the research activity which made the research data collection possible. The audio recorder of the mobile phone was intensively used as the primary research device in order to record the response of every individual interviewee. The effective use of this highly advanced modern social media during the research interview enhanced the effective collection of the research data as the actual responded data recorded by this device during the interviews could be effectively used while drawing up the transcriptions of the research and this in turn led to the realization of the main research writings on the Shagzo art of making Dapa.

Not only this, the camera facilities of the mobile phone were used intensively in making videos of the interviews, the photos and scenes related to Dapa and most importantly the practical observation and participation on procedures. The video recordings of the research activities therefore gave lively impetus to the research activities. In this way, the video and audio recordings of the research activities using the mobile phone immeasurably assisted in ensuring the formality of the research. For the safe storage of the research data, the laptop with high storage capacity was also used throughout the research activities and this averted the great loss of the collected data which might have otherwise affected the research efforts and gave a good flow to the research activities. Along with these social media devices, the highly reliable stationary tools like the pen and book were used simultaneously in making the important note of every interview so as to maintain the consistency in the flow of the interview.

2.3 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

In the aftermath of the research data collection on the topic, "Recreating the Practice of Dapa making Culture in Trashiyangtse", the research data analysis Procedures based on the informants' responses were

intensively carried out. In the first phase, the raw transcription of transcribing the responses of each interviewee was done on local dialects. Following this, in the second phase, the raw transcription written in local dialect were then transcribed in English language in the same manner as is written in the local dialect so as not to miss even a bit of actual response of an interviewee. In the third and fourth stages, the necessary editions on the raw transcription were done twice without altering any meaning of the interviewees' responses. After this, the first draft of the main write up began on the thematic basis in order to maintain the consistent flow of the research data and information. Before coming up with the final write up, another draft based on the thematic draft was carried out with research analysis and interpretations. Then in the final write up, the correction of errors in language, analysis, interpretation and the general setup were carried out thoroughly to give it a final touch.

2.4 KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION PROCEDURES

After the completion of research work on the topic, 'Recreating the Practice of Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse', the printed booklet of the research work will be disseminated to the institute of Zo Rig Chu sum which would serve as the written documentation on the wood turning craft of Bhutan in the institute. The printed booklet of the research key findings will also be disseminated to the library of Sherubtse College. If given an opportunity, the plan is set up to conduct conference on this research work both at national and international level. After this, the formal publication of this research work will be carried out for both national and international dissemination of the key research findings on the wood turning craft of making Dapa in Trashiyangtse.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

One of the traditional arts and crafts of Bhutan is the craft of wood turning which is traditionally practiced by the inhabitants of ethnically diverse district of Trashiyangtse. However, the historical origin of the wood turning craft entirely remains hidden with no concrete historical knowledge except for the sparse oral knowledge which traces its origin to Tibet. The wood turning craft is often described as an ancient art being practiced by the people of Bhutan for generations (Wangdi, 2018). Similarly, Bhutan Today (2008) talks about the existence of Shagzo traditional art in Trashiyangtse which has been passed down from generations to generations. The author states, "It was a hereditary craft being practiced which was being passed from parents to sons and represent a materialistic culture (Rigney College of Zorig Chusum, 2018). It is additionally specified that the origin and evolution of Bhutanese arts and crafts goes back to seventeenth century which hints at the emergence of Shazo art after the seventeenth century in Bhutan (Lonely Bhutan Tour, 2014). Since, only superficial historical origin and evolution of the Shagzo in Bhutan and Trashiyangtse are given as is evidently mentioned above, a part of my research was therefore narrowed into the actual origin and evolution of Shagzo in Trashiyangtse through its paternalistic hereditary history which facilitated in tracing its actual origin and evolution to Tibet.

The prevalence of the wood turning craft throughout Bhutan provides the knowledge on the significance of its geographical distribution. It is generally understood that the traditional wood turning art is widely practiced in Trashiyangtse (Bhutan Today, 2008). Wangdi (2016) also reaffirms that Trashiyangtse is traditionally known for the Shagzo art in Bhutan. The author gives a general prevalence of Shagzo in Bhutan (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018).

Another article, BBS mobile (2012) introduces Trashiyangtse as the hub of traditional wood turning art of making Dapa. The author describes the people of Trashiyangtse as the well-known procedures of the traditional Dapa in Bhutan (Nyedrup, 2012). Similarly, the article mentions about the regionally prominent traditional Shagzo art in Trashiyangtse (Lonely Bhutan Tour, 2014). The author mentions that it is practiced not only in Trashiyangtse but also in Mongar (RAO ONLINE, 2000). Although research was confined to Trashiyangtse, an attempt during the research activity was also focused on prevalence of Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse as well as in the regions beyond Trashiyangtse. The research on the Dapa making traditional art made a best attempt in specifically exploring the widespread prevalence of Shagzo within Trashiyangtse. Although not prominently practiced as in Yangtse, it was also found to be practiced even in Bumdeling Gewog.

Not only this, additional information was also derived during the research activities about its existence in Kheng, Central and Western regions even though it is practiced in less number. And the most interesting thing is that during the research, I came to know the prevalence of this wood turning art even in Japan which shares close fundamental feature with that of Bhutan as a result of which the optimism for the international collaboration with Japan is now brewing with increasing Japanese support. This becomes a great asset for one to understand the deeply embedded presence of this traditional art not only within Trashiyangtse and Bhutan but also beyond the national boundary.

Dapa making process requires wide range of raw materials and equipment. Bhutan Pelyab (2018) enlists the fundamental wood materials. Accordingly, the author list number of trees such as Tashing, Hashing, Baashing, SermalingShing and EtometoShing and goes onto mentioning the highly priced raw material called

Zaa, according to whom, is the abnormal outgrowth or the special wooden knots used in making wood turned articles. In addition, the author also segregates Dza-ling Choem as the best Dza in Bhutanese culture which has the ability to radiate the light in the night and the special ray during the day. It is written that about the recent emergence of raw material in the places beyond Bhutan and states specially that the local craftsmen in Trashiyangtse now extracts raw materials from Wangdi and Trongsa (Bhutan Today, 2008). The author reinstates briefly what was shared by one of the Shagzopas, Jangchhub in an interview about the increasing use of imported lacquer for Dapa production in Trashiyangtse (Wangdi, 2016). From the concern raised by the same interviewee about the growing constraint of burl wood, the use of other parts of trees as a replacement for the main burl wood is succinctly expressed. The transitional changes in the use of equipment is also mentioned (Trashiyangtse College of Zorig Chusum, 2018). He recounts the use of simple and manually produced traditional tools such as chisels, knives and the pedal lathes which according to him are now extirpated by the modern metal tools. Moreover, he also gives a list of sey, fabric colour used in giving final touch to the carefully carved Dapa. And they are Zhosey, Tsisey, Tsagsey and Dzasey and he adds that the Tsisey is obtained from the seed of Seshing while Tsagsey is extracted from the bark of the Seshing. The author seconds this periodic change over the use of machinery equipment from manually made hand tools to mechanically produced machines (Bhutan Today, 2008). In this article, the author states, "In the past, the Dapa makers said that they used the traditional tools like Mathem, Miring and Key pang. With the passage of time, these traditional tools are replaced by the modern electric motor machines which power the tools to carve and make wooden bowls".

Another author also observes that the motor machines produce three times as much as the manual pedal lathe (RAO ONLINE, 2000). As shared in an interview with one of the Shagzopa called Dechenla, the author writes that the Shagzopa of Trashiyangtse are now in haunt for the required raw materials from Wangdi, Lhuentse, Trongsa and Dagona. Thus, the preceding articles provide a general overview about the kind of raw materials and equipment which ranges from water to highly priced Bawoo used in making Dapa in Trashiyangtse. Sharing a sharp contradiction to this, the research was partly focused in exploring all kinds of raw materials and equipment prerequisite in producing Dapa whose varied quality and efficiency enables one to understand other significant facets of Dapa including market value and designs.

The making of Dapa is requires an elaborate procedures. The author attempts to briefly talk about the procedures involved in making Dapa (Trashiyangtse College of Zorig Chusum, 2018). According to what he elaborated, beginning from February or March, the roughly curved pieces of woods are soaked in water for three months to rid the smells and to get strengthened. The crude shaped woods are then dried over the fire or the sun for a month after which it will be boiled again in the hot water to straighten them and then left until completely dry in the shade. Following this, these crude shaped wood are then spun on the manual pedal lathe or the electrically powered motor machine for the carving purpose. Then, the coarse leaves of Sogsogm shrub (*Trema Poitoria*) are used to smoothen the wood instead of sand paper. For the final touch, a Shagzopa uses Sey which are dried not in the wind but in the sun as the former dries it quickly. In addition to this, the author also introduces the lacquer tree called Seshing and that the Bhutanese lacquering is done with the thumb. Not only this, he also shares about the variation in the layers of Sey which determines the degree of Dapa quality. In this case, he says that the high quality Dapa will have at least seven layers of Sey being coated and four and three layers for the medium and low quality Dapa respectively. The writer gives comparatively detailed procedures needed to be carried out in making Dapa (RAO ONLINE, 2000). He explains, "Collection of the raw material - the hardwood trees belonging to the Acer species or Rhododendron - begins in February and March. Local craftsmen cut the trees into crude shapes, and bring them to the village. The pieces are roughly carved and soaked in cold water for three months to rid the (wood) smell and strengthen the wood after which it is dried over wood fires and left in the sun for about one month. After two weeks, it is boiled in water as it makes it "easier to straighten the awkward curves and grains". By June the actual carving begins. The rough shapes are spun on the pedal lathe or the electricity operated motors and smoothened with the leaves of the sogsog pas shrub (*Trema Poitoria*) which is similar to sandpaper. Color is then added with imported dyes from India. For the finishing touch, the most important part of the work, the craftsmen use Tsi, a plant sap available only in August and September from the Rhus Succedanea tree to polish the wood and fix the colour. The tsi is considered the soul of the product and cannot be preserved or stored." In the view of the fact that these articles are devoid of other equally important procedures, one of the essential aspect of the research was thus carried out on its procedures in order to achieve the explicit elaboration on all procedures followed while making Dapa. And this was done through observation and participation. Along with this, as one can see both the coexistence of professional and non-professional Shagzopa making Dapa in Trashiyangtse, an attempt was thus also made in bringing out the differences between the professional and non-professional way of making Dapa.

The market of Dapa sees a steady development lay down some of the prominent stimulating determinants of Dapa's market value which brings in a range of Dapa prices in the market (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018). The author states, "The prices of these products are measured in terms of the quality of wood used, the

quality of lacquer finished, the uniqueness, size and colour. The traditional woodcraft has now become an economic boom as stated in the article, (BBS mobile, 2012). The author also lay a great emphasis on the economic boom due to rapid Dapa market with increasing demand and the connectivity of road to Dzongkhag town (Bhutan Today, 2008). Similarly, the author that the economic business of the woodcraft in Trashiyangtse is thriving and that the increasing local and international demand for the Dapa products has led to the ever increasing level of Dapa production (Wangdi, 2016). With regard to the factors of the price ranges, he also informs the readers that the rising health concerns among some of the Bhutanese people has also led to the rise in the level of both local and international demand. Added to this factor are the increased number of religious institutions, the requirement for the civil servant people to acquire one Dapaphob (cup) each and the demand from the hotels as pointed out by one of the popular ShagzopaJangchhula in his interview with the author. However, it is written in this article that the international demand especially from China and Nepal is spiraling. As expressed by Yeshe Dorji during the interview, with the over flow of Dapa production in the market with increasing number of Shagzopa in the Dzongkhag, the sale of Dapa in both local and international markets is not a problem as of now. With eighteen members of varying backgrounds, the author also mentions about the recent establishment of Chorten Kora ShagzoTshogpa in 2014 for the promotion of this woodcraft as well as its economic business. Kunzang, the lacquerer admits Shagzo as the main source of income for his family when being interviewed by the author. It is known from this article that the local business of Dapa is mostly carried out by the local shopkeepers on the basis of the whole sale rate. Simultaneously, it is evident that there is growing demand from Thimphu and Paro where shopkeepers do advance orders. In an attempt to explore beyond what is laid down in these articles, the research with the focus on market and its season was therefore carried out.

Dapa has varied designs. The author generalize that the Dapa of varied sizes, shapes and colors comes in the market (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018). The author gives a list of some of the traditional and modern Dapa products (Bhutan Today, 2008). The traditional Dapa products given in this article are Dappa, Duphor, Japhob, Ematsiku and Padappa. And the author goes onto listing some of the new Dapa product being seen in the market such as soup bowl, wine cups, plates, cups and dinner sets depending on the nature of demand which according to him, have begun to replace the traditional ones. It is similarly also gives a general list of wooden bowl, plates and cups (Bhutan Today, 2018). Since not much is emphasized on the designs of Dapa as can be witnessed in these articles, the effort during the research activity was also placed on unfolding all Dapa products which come in variably differing designs from the skillful hands of the woodcraftsmen which greatly enhanced the study on the market value of Dapa as it also determines the variation of the prices.

Dapa making culture has its own challenges and people has given up with several measures. The delay in issuing the permits by the district forestry department is as was shared by ShagzopaTashi (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018). This rising difficulty in extracting raw materials from other Dzongkhags is also noted briefly in the article (Bhutan Today, 2008). Likewise, YesheNyedrup, in his article written in 2012, also shows a deep concern over not being able to get permit fir raw materials extraction on time and the life threatening risks involved in extraction of raw materials from the far flung forested areas (Nyedrup, 2012). Not only this, he also hints at the decline in the interest of the youths in Shazgo profession due to the hard labour and such high risk in raw material collection. To confront this serious threat to the preservation and promotion of Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse, the cooperative initiative between the government and the locality was taken in the form of the establishment of Shagzo Tshogpa (association for wood turning) in 2014 (Wangdi, 2016). To substantiate what is reflected in these articles, one of the research focuses was shifted to unfolding other prominent challenges faced by the Shagzopas while making Dapa and the measures they came up in confronting these challenging problems and obstacles. This enables one to examine the sustainability of this traditional wood craft in the years to come to some extent.

The sustainability of Dapa making culture has become a national concern. The author briefly talks about the establishment of the cooperative clustered marketing center as ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) in Yangtse town which is constructed by the Apic Company of Thimphu with aim to ensure the preservation and promotion of this fragile traditional art in Bhutan (Agency for Promotion of Indigenous Crafts, 2016). As vividly noted by the author, the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) was instituted under the then National Technical Training Authority (NTTA) as the first stepping stone towards realizing the national goal of preserving and promoting thirteen traditional arts and crafts in contemporary Bhutanese society (Brief History, 2018). In support of this, the author also assert the pivotal role of the two institutes of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) in Thimphu and Trashiyangtse in propagating the traditional arts and crafts in the wake of increasing threats from the westernization and modernization trends in Bhutan (Lonely Bhutan tour, 2014). For this reason, in order to uncover other national and local programmes and policies framed and implemented to preserve and promote this endangered traditional art in Bhutan, an effort was also taken as a part of research on the sustainability of the Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse and Bhutan at large.

The decline in the interest of youths in practicing wood turning has posed a threat to the sustainability of Dapa making culture. The author mentions briefly about the gradual decline in the interest of the youths in practicing Shagzo as it calls for taking high risk and hard labor during the extraction of raw materials (Nyedrup, 2012). So, in order to find out other factors responsible for the decline of youth's interest in making Dapa and to escalate the measures taken in reviving the interest of the present generation, the research effort was also segmented on youth's role in this traditionally inclined wood craft. And this would act as a lens through which sustainability of this age old craft can be studied. In addition, as more number of women can be seen being engaged in making Dapa, the research activity was also carried out in unfolding the significant role of women in this paternalistically oriented tradition woodcraft.

The Institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) plays a pivotal role in the preservation and promotion of Dapa making culture in Bhutan. The author titled briefly talks about the crucial role of the institute in the national endeavor in preserving and promoting traditional arts and crafts (Trashiyangtse College of Zorig Chusum, 2018). So, with a deep interest triggered by this statement, the research was directed towards finding out more about this one of the premiere institutes of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) in Trashiyangtse and about how it function in line with this national endeavor.

The ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) plays a significant role in uplifting Dapa making culture in Trashiyangtse as the only marketing center in promoting preserving the wood turning art of making Dapa through market business. The author lays down briefly about the role of this cooperative marketing center in Dapa making culture (Agency for Promotion of Indigenous Crafts, 2016). Therefore, in order to explore more about this Tshogpa (association) and its undeniable role in boosting the economic business in Trashiyangtse and Bhutan, the research activity was also dissected in achieving this economic objective.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 HISTORICAL ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF DAPA MAKING CULTURE

The Shagzo (wood turning) art of making Dapa is an ancient traditional art that has been passed down from generations to generations let alone the people of Trashiyangtse and Bhutan as a whole, even the descending family members of the progenitors of wood turning craft do not know the exact year or period. Pelden Dorji and Jangchhub, one of the descending family members of Shagzo progenitors are of the opinion that around four generations has passed since it was introduced in Trashiyangtse by their forefathers. In stark contrast, the instructor of the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) shared that the wood turning art of making Dapa may be only three generations old. Further, Drukla, who is also one of the lineage holders of hereditarily practiced Shagzo (wood turning) in Trashiyangtse informed that including the present generation of his son, six generations has passed since it was introduced by his Tibetan ancestors (footnote). However, on exploring the brief family history of the present lineage holders, around three generations has passed since the Shagzo (wood turning) was actually introduced by Pema Norbu who was then the son of Tibetan man called KhampaLobzang. So, the period of the origination and evolution of Shagzo (wood turning) can be approximately traced back to between eighteenth and nineteenth century. And in support of this, the article (Bhutan Art and Craft, n.d), vividly mentions about the origination and evolution of Shagzo after seventeenth century. On the other hand, the descending family members agree to a common view that Shagzo (wood turning) was there in practice even before its actual introduction by Pema Norbu. This substantiates the common historical knowledge that the Shagzo (wood turning) was also categorized as one of the thirteen traditional arts and crafts of Bhutan by the fourth Druk Desi, Gyalse Tenzin Rabgye (1638-1694) towards the closing of the seventeenth century. With this, one can say that the traditional practice of Shagzo (wood turning) prevailed even before seventeenth century but it was only after the arrival of KhampaLobzang in Trashiyangtse that it began to gain its popularity during the time of his son Pema Norbu and that he began trading with Tibet. This can be highly plausible, taking into consideration the prevalence of the ancient trade between Bhutan and Tibet. Regarding the place of origination and evolution, the people of Yangtse Gewog including the informants said that it was from Tibet in the north from where the Shagzo (wood turning) actually originated. The

Specially, after originating from Tibet, Jangchhub shared that it was initially practiced in the village Baney in Trashiyangtse with his family members practicing it. Since the village was remote in nature, he recounted the migration to present Yangtse town which enabled them to do Shagzo art with market accessibility since then. In the case of place of flourishing, all the informants are of the common view that it flourished only in Trashiyangtse and Jangchhub additionally pointed out that it particularly flourished in Baney Village of Yangtse Gewog. So, as written in all the articles, it can be claimed that although Dapa making got spread in Trashiyangtse, it particularly flourished in Yangtse Gewog after the arrival of Pema Norbu's grand children in the Gewog. Regarding the actual progenitor of Shagzo in Bhutan, different informants hold differing historical knowledge. According to Pelden Dorji, it was from Pema Norbu that the Shagzo got flourished. He narrated that KhampaLobzang from Tibet and his spouse from Mon Tawang migrated towards Bhutan. Shortly after their

arrival in Trashiyangtse, Pema Norbu was born from their nuptial bond. After coming to a matured stage, Pema is said to have travelled to Tibet for the study on Shagzo (wood turning). Following the completion of the study on the skills of making Dapa, he is said to have returned to Trashiyangtse after which he is said to have begun making Dapa. Gradually, his Dapa products caught the eye of the local people. Thus, the seed of Dapa making business was sown which is in line with what Pelden Dorji concluded. In support of this, Jangchhub and Drukla also shares the common history. However, Pema Lethro is of the view that it was rather after the arrival of KhampaLobzang that Shagzo (wood turning) began to appear in Trashiyangtse. He additionally recounted the trainings received from LhamNyedrup, the son of Pema Norbu who was found to be too old to practice Shagzo (wood turning) at that time. In this case, the information rendered by Pema Lethro can be viewed from the perspective of the undeniable blend of Tibetan influence over Bhutanese arts and traditions as KhampaLobzang was originally from Tibet. Moreover, it was only after his arrival in Trashiyangtse that his son Pema Norbu could give a proper shape to the Shagzo art. In support of this, Bhutan Travel Guide (2018) also states, "Bhutanese art reflects major Tibetan influence though it has developed many of its own derivations. The people of Yangtse including the informants claim that it got spread only in Trashiyangtse and was therefore traditionally practiced by the people of Trashiyangtse. Wangdi (2018) also says that Shagzo (wood turning) was the traditional profession for the people of Trashiyangtse.

On the prevalence of Dapa making art, Pelden Dorji shares about the existence of Shagzo (wood turning) in Lhuentse Auetso, Sha in Wangdi and Paro. Except the one in Lhuentse, he adds that the people who are practicing Shagzo (wood turning) in these western and central areas are those native Shagzopa who migrated from Trashiyangtse. Besides being practiced widely in Yangtse Gewog, he also mentions about the prevalence of Dapa making culture even in Bumdeling Gewog in the north. Similarly, Jangchhub also agrees its prevalence in Bumdeling Gewog. Adding to this, he also introduces a Shagzopa by the name LobzangKuenchhab who, according to him, is from Tibet. Apart from Yangtse and Bumdeling, he also reports it being practiced to some extent in Trongsa. In contrast to the information given by Pelden Dorji, he argues that the Shagzopa in Lhuentse is rather a native Shagzopa from Trashiyangtse who is actually his brother who went there in marriage to a woman from the district. From this, it is concluded that the hereditarily practiced Dapa making traditional art has flourished beyond Trashiyangtse as he was one of the descendants of Pema Norbu. Apart from Radhi village in Shingkar Gewog, Lhuentse and Bumdeling Gewog in Trashiyangtse, Pema Lethro surprisingly note that similar kind of Shagzo (wood turning) is also practiced in Tsirang where people normally make large wooden containers which are used in feeding domestic animals. And he feels that the widespread practice of Shagzo (wood turning) in Yangtse is mainly because of the easy access to market in Yangtse town. Not only this, he shares a bit about the similar wood turning traditional art in Japan which is reported to be in steep decline and also assumes that the people of Tibet might be practicing this traditional art.

4.2 RAW MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT USED IN MAKING DAPA

Blessed with undisturbed and pristine natural environment, nowhere in the Himalayas is the natural environment more rich and diverse than it is in Bhutan. Bhutan's high, rugged mountains and deep valleys are rich with spectacular natural biodiversity. An essential part of Bhutan's cultural heritage, the thirteen traditional arts and crafts associates closely with the natural heritage of the country. The pure and simple raw materials found in abundance across the country and the simple manually made equipment were used intensively in producing the finest wooden bowls in the past. However, with the rapid pace of modernization and westernization sweeping the country, the equipment required in making Dapa now portrays a blend of both tradition and modernity. According to Pelden Dorji, trees with varying nature are used in producing Dapa of varied quality. In order to make BawooDapa, the Shagzopa uses the wood of the tree called Akshing which is locally known as Kheeserbu. To make Thrashing Dapa, the wood from the different tree called Chalam in Dzongkha and Sirmalashing in local dialect is used. As for the DumchenmaDapa, it is made from the wood of Arkoshing, Metoshing and Gulishing. Besides trees, he also mentions about the use of lacquer for the lacquering purposes, adding that most of the Shagzopa do not use the imported lacquer although some of the Shagzopa are now using it in little amount while giving a finishing touch to Dapa.

In addition to this, Jangchhub introduces two trees called Ning-gulee and Guliserbu which according to him is used for the BawooDapa production and Chachopashing and Etometoshing for the making of Lang Dapa. Not only this, as enlisted by Jangchhub, metal tools, hammer, water, rasps, motor machines, electricity, fuel, Indian sog soma (coarse paper) and the sand paper of Bhutan are some of the frequently used equipment while making Dapa. Pema Lethro specifies the selection of the tree for the Dapa making purposes. In accordance to what he shares, a tree suitable for the Dapa should be neither too hard nor too soft and should be applied with the lacquer. The reason for this is that a very hard wood gets split while carving in either traditional lathe or the electrified motor machines. And if the tree is too soft, then the fur type substance comes out while rubbing. Then he goes onto enlisting the trees as Etometo, Rhododendron, Gooli, Gama, Beetula, Chharshing and

Chachopa. About Chharshing, he informs that it is abundantly found while they do not get Chachopa although it is good for finishing as it is only found in the mountainous areas.

Regarding the metal handle tools used in carving the roughly shaped Dapa, he also talks about the four metal equipment called Lapcha. As explained by him, these four kinds of Lapcha are used in different stages of carving. The first tool called Phawoocha is used at the beginning in roughly shaping the wooden block. Chhi Jamcha as name indicates is used in smoothening the outer part of the roughly carved bowl. Similarly is the case with Nang Jamcha which is used in carving the interior part of the bowl. Then, to properly cut the sham, the Zhapcha in comparatively small size is used. Coming to the lacquer, he mentions both traditional Bhutanese lacquer and Japanese lacquer, adding the quality and durability of the Japanese lacquer over the native lacquer. For this reason, he observes that most of the Shagzopa now prefer Japanese lacquer over the Bhutanese lacquer. Then he lists some of the essential equipment like water, container, fuel, electric power and knives.

Similarly, two of my informants, Tshering Dorji and Sonam Tshering are also of the common idea about the raw materials and equipment. However, Sonam Pelden shares about another metal tool called Kopsa which is used in giving a rough shape to the chopped woods. And for the purpose of filling up the errors, she says that they make use of a kind of flour which is actually consumed by the insects. Apart from the trees mentioned by other informants, ChokiLodro, one of the Shagzo students in the institute adds another tree called AgurShing for Dapa making which is actually found in hot places. Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chusum, (2009) renders description to some of these trees used in making Dapa. One of the best trees is Chachopa which is exclusively grown in the dense cold forest elevated at high altitude. It is featured by three leaves and a bears white flower. From this, the raw materials for Bhawoo and DzapzhiDapa in particular along with other kinds of Dapa are extracted. It is not an ever green tree as it shades its leaves in the winter.

There are two types of Etometo trees. The one with broad leaves which bears white flower are found in cold mountainous dense forest. As it does not get cracked when it becomes dry, it is therefore used in making various kinds of Dapa. While the ones which grow in moderate and low altitude areas has comparatively small leaves and bears red flower. Since it cracked when being dried, it is not used in making Dapa. The Ninguli trees are found in abundance in moderate and cold regions. It is in this tree that the Bhawoo are mostly found. The Guliserbu tree is also found in moderate and cold regions. Although it does not have Bhawoo like Ninguli, Bhawoo is also extracted from this tree. Similarly, Gama tree is also extracted from subtropical areas and temperate areas. Although it produces smell, the Agur tree found in plenty in hot places and moderate areas are also used for raw material collection for Dapa. The leaves of the Sog soma tree which is found only in hot places are largely preferred over the highly priced Indian sand paper which poses problems while applying lacquer. Since most of the raw materials, are exhausted in Trashiyangtse with the increasing number of woodcraftsmen in the locality, most of the Shagzopas have now begun to extract raw materials from other districts based on the pass of permit from the forestry offices. In this case, Pelden Dorji informs that they now extract raw materials mostly from the western districts of Wangdi, Punakha, Thimphu and Dagana. Not only this, he also points out the new government policies which calls for the limited demand of the wooden raw materials, whereby one would be allowed to buy two trees of only one type for a year.

Like Pelden Dorji, Jangchhub also locates the present place of location in Dagana and Punakha, additionally mentioning that they often continue extracting the raw materials in the place which are formerly extracted if additional raw materials are left behind the previous year. Other than the problems of the plethora of the raw materials in Trashiyangtse, he also shares from his personal experience that the less amount of wood gathered from within Trashiyangtse district does not suffice the spiraling international and national demand for Dapa. For this reason, he admits that they prefer going to distant places for raw material collection so as to bring bulks and bulks of raw materials in large vehicles.

Similarly Pema Lethro also agrees to the raw material collection from other districts as the highly priced Bawoo are not found in Trashiyangtse. Taking into consideration the growing number of Shagzopa due to the rising market value of Dapa, he observes that the local Shagzopa go in hunt for the main wooden raw materials from Chukha, and Wangdi as also added about the recent extraction of raw materials even in Kheng region. From Sonam Tshering, the extraction of raw materials even in TsimaKoti (under Chukha district) is known. With regard to the Lagchha, Sonam Pelden states that it is brought mainly from Bumdeling where blacksmiths are involved in making these metal tools. So, the extraction of raw materials mostly from western districts of Bhutan owing to the extinction of raw materials of high market value within Trashiyangtse is construed. Moreover, one can also witness the possibility of the gradual expansion of raw materials throughout the country in near future, considering the steady rise in the economic business of Dapa in Trashiyangtse.

4.3 SKILLS AND DURABILITY OF MAKING DAPA

Portraying a unique Bhutanese artistic expression, the skills of the woodcraftsmen in producing the refined wooden bowls represent the tradition, culture and history of Bhutan. It represents the knowledge and ability that has been passed down from generations and generation traditional through patriarchal line. The

considerable durability of learning the typical Shagzo skills defines its sacredness in Bhutanese cultural society. Pelden Dorji expresses his personal experiences about how individually differing hand skills determine one's degree of skills in making Dapa. He notices that the ones with good hand skills enables him to make Dapa with good finishing and shape within short span of time. On the contrary, he sympathetically mentions about the incapability of the people with weak hand skills to make Dapa with a good finishing and a shape.

In addition to the hand skills mentioned by Pelden Dorji, Pema Lethro comment that apart from knowing how to maintain a balance in handling the tools while carving and applying the lacquer, one should also know how to keep close track of the duration of time for the soaking, drying, boiling and the applying purposes. Tshering Dorji is also of same opinion regarding the balance maintenance in using the metal tools. On the other hand, a Shagzopa needs to have the skills in making proper shape and depth of the carving as noted by Sonam Pelden. So, the ability of being able to handle the tools with focused balance, proper timing and to make proper shape and carve with proper depth is the prerequisite skills needed to be acquired by a person in order to make Dapa.

With regard to duration, different informants hold varying knowledge which is largely derived from their own experiences. Pelden Dorji specifically mentions that it takes at least one year for any individual to acquire general skills in doing finishing and shaping to some extent and takes around three years of experience before he can do a good finishing and shaping. However, Pema Lethro argues with the view that even two years of trainings in the institute does not yield prerequisite skills in making Dapa and takes at least fifteen years before he masters unaltered shaping skills as was shared by the local Shagzo expertise to him. Similarly, Tshering Dorji through his own personal experience disputes about the limitation of even four years trainings in the institute in learning all skills and that the experience comes as one continues to work on it. Further, Jangchhub and Sonam Pelden attribute it to one's own interest, explaining the quick learning within short span of time by those with deep interest and that the ones with less interest takes even one whole life and still fails to do a good finishing and shaping. Sonam Pelden concludes the incompetency of women to do main procedures of chopping woods and carving roughly shaped bowls as it calls for a hard labor and more energy, admitting that one gains more skills and experience only after working in the village. And this, according to her, is because they can approach local people more than they could do in the institute. Thus, these varied views converge to a common conclusion that the time, interest and gender distinction based on individuality determines the duration of gaining Shagzo skills and experiences in making Dapa.

Traditionally produced by the people of Trashiyangtse, the wooden bowls forms an essential part of Bhutanese daily lives that retains its purity and handicraft that hardly manifests itself in the west. The long elaborate process of making these wood turned traditional bowls displays remain largely untouched by the threat of global westernization and modernization and deeply manifest Bhutanese unique spirit and identity in every way. The procedures of making Dapa began with the chopping of trees in the far flung densely forested areas where the desired raw materials are found in abundance. This initial raw material collection takes place in around September and October except for Dzapzhi whose raw material collection does not have fixed timing and has to be kept for three months after being applied with oil (Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chu Sum, 2009). Following this, as explained by Pema Lethro, using the tool called Kopsa, this chopped woods are then carved from inside and are crudely shaped. After finishing this, it is then brought to the residential areas of woodcraftsmen after which the process of making it in a rough shape called Hamrup is carried out. These roughly shaped wooden materials are then soaked in the water for two months. If time permits, Jangchhub advices to keep it soaked in the water for even two and half months. In this case, on the basis of the nature of the wood, he also informs that there are some woods that have to be soaked while there are others which do not need to be soaked are segregated and kept to be dried in the shade. In contrast to this, (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018) notes that it has to be kept soaked for three months while the requirement of one month soaking in cold water is reflected in (RAO ONLINE, 2000). From this, one can vividly witness the flexibility of the time depending upon the individual conveniences as shared by Jangchhub. The importance of having to keep it soaked in water is to avert the cracking of the essential patterns called thra and to get rid of its smell.

The essence of this soaking process in Dapa making is also witnessed in letting the rudimentarily shaped wooden bowls get strengthened (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018). After removing it out of the water, then it is kept over the wood fire or the sun to let it get dried. Regarding the durability for this drying purpose, Pelden Dorji says that he keep it for one month whereas Tshering Dorji shares a contrasting view and shares that he keep it for two months. However, for BhawooDapa, it is kept for it to be dried for two months as for Dumchenma and Lang, it is kept in the shade immediately after hamrup (Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chu Sum, 2009). So, the durability for drying varies individually and on the basis of the nature of wood raw materials. After letting it get dried, it is again boiled in the water and left until completely dried in the shade for another one month as shared by Pelden Dorji. On the other hand, it is mentioned that it has to be kept for another ten days after boiling (Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chusum, 2009). And it is mainly to straighten the awkward curves and grains (RAO ONLINE, 2000). On the other hand, it is mentioned that the raw materials of any quality has to be kept for another ten days after boiling (Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chusum, 2009). From this, one can clearly

observe the slight difference in the nature of Dapa making procedures between Institute and the Village. By June the actual carving begins (RAO ONLINE, 2000).

In the past, the manually made traditional tool called Kangthra was used. However, given its high efficiency and more production capacity, the electrically powered motor machines are used today. In line with what was carried out during the observation and practical method under close instruction of Shagzo instructor Pema Lethro, four metal tools are used intensively for this carving purpose which is traditionally termed as Tsangrub. But prior to this, the rudimentary wooden bowl are attached to the short elongated part of the motor machines with the help of the burnt wax substance. The important thing to be noted here is that for the wooden bowl with lid, the lid is firstly carved and then will its main part be carved in adjustment with the size of the lid as emphasized by Pema Lethro. Coming to the carving procedure, firstly, a tool called Phawoocha is used in roughly carving the exterior of the crude wooden bowl. To make this roughly carved part, another tool called ChhiJamcha is used in carving it and this tool is small in comparison with Phawoocha. It is then closely followed by the internal carving by a metal tool in small size called NangJamcha. However, if it is DumchenmaDapa, the preceding ChhiJamcha tool is used for both exterior and interior carving. While, in case of Bhawoo and DzapzhiDapa, it is used only for external carving, not for interior carving Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chu Sum, 2009). After the internal carving, with the help of another metal handled tool called Zhapcha, the sham of the bowl is properly shaped. This tool is smaller in size when compared with Nang Jamcha tool (Trashiyangtse Institute of Zorig Chu Sum, 2009). This properly carved wooden bowl is then smoothed with Tremapoitoria which shares close resembles with sand paper (RAO ONLINE, 2000). This carving process is followed by the application of colors. As stated by Pema Lethro, of yellow and orange colors, yellow color is almost exclusively applied on Bhawoo and DzapzhiDapa while orange are actually meant to be applied on the plain Dapa. However, in the view of the fact that yellow color adds more attractive and decorative qualities, most of the people, therefore, apply yellow color also on Dapa with less natural patterns for obvious economic reason. And these colors are now imported from India (RAO ONLINE, 2000). As observed by Pema Lethro, the increasing import of Indian dyes from Indian border areas in Samdrup Jongkhar is solely owing to the steep decline of Bhutanese color production as it is closely associated with extracting the blood of insects which is obviously a sinful act according to Buddhism. In this way, as is the case with other traditional arts and crafts, the wood turning craft has its deep root in Buddhism (Authentic Bhutan tours, n.d). Prior to this color application, Sonam Pelden expresses the need to do the process of filling up the errors in the smoothed wooden bowl which is locally known as Koensub if there is any and this is usually done by using the flour which is consumed by insects. After this Tsangrub process, the final touch is given by applying lacquer, the most important work of making Dapa. Extracted from the tree Rhus Succedanea and considered to be the soul of the Dapa, this plant sap is used in polishing and fixing the color (RAO ONLINE, 2000). The application of the lacquer however has to be carried not in the wind but in the sun as the wind dries it out quickly (Bhutan Pelyab, 2018).

Under the royal command of the fourth DrukGyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the institute of Zo Rig Chu sum was established on 2nd June, 1997 (College of Zorig Chusum, 2018). The first batch of six Shagzo students graduated from the institute in 2000 as recounted by Tshering Dorji and Pema Lethro, both of whom were one of the first batch students. Ever since, with the increasing number of trained Shagzopa, one can now witness the peaceful collaboration between the traditional and trained Shagzopa practicing the culture of making Dapa in Yangtse Gewog in particular. Although they share common ground in the procedure of making Dapa, there exist certain differences in some of the fields. Attributing to positive mentality, interest and the hand skills, Pelden Dorji notices the way graduates from the institute mastering the woodcraft skills as they continuously work on it for longer period of time and sincerely expresses a deep appreciation for such a great accomplishment. Similarly, Jangchhub, Sonam Tshering and Sonam Pelden also concurs to the need for the graduates to gain more experience by working in the village as two years trainings only give them the fundamental Shagzo trainings along with the certificate and that they are able to approach the villagers more than in the institute. On the contrary to this, Pema Lethro bemoans with regard to certain deficiency in the traditional woodcraft.

According to him, the local Shagzopa are devoid of the ability to make same sized Dapa and maintain the same thickness. In case of lacquer, the institute is reported to have lacquer of all colors while the traditional Shagzopa do not. In the meantime, Tshering Dorji sees more advantages in the village as he gets more time in making whatever he want to make while he did not get enough time in the institute for mastering the Shagzo This is obviously understood from the perspective of economy and western influence. In a way, the institute as a formal institution has a close collaboration with the similar woodcraft prevalent in other countries, particularly Japan through international workshops. From this, the idea of making same sized Dapa and the ranges of lacquer is evidently derived by the institute as shared by Pema Lethro. On the other side, even at the persistence of the institute, it was learnt from Pema Lethro about the local denial to embrace such western technique due to the fear of consequent cultural degradation among the local people. Moreover, as their economic business is not

affected as of now, they do not feel the need to maintain same size and thickness as was also shared by Pelden Dorji.

The uniqueness of the traditional wood turning craft in Bhutan lies in its own particular season of making Dapa. Largely as a consequence of western influence and the steady rise in the economic demand for this traditional wood turned bowls, the change over the seasonal timing can be seen today. Pelden Dorji recounts the beginning of Dapa making season from the fifth months of Bhutanese calendar which falls in June and extends till August in the past. It was mainly because the Bhutanese lacquer do not get dried easily. However, with the recent introduction of imported Lacquer from Japan which has the fast drying ability, he reports that the Shagzopa now begin the Dapa making work from first month of Bhutanese calendar which falls in December. On stark contrast to this, Jangchhubshares with flexibility that one can also begin from second and third months of Bhutanese calendar which coincides with March and June in western calendar, adding that the period of lacquer application extends from fifth months to seventh months of Bhutanese calendar, coinciding with June, July and August months in western calendar. Tshering Dorji shares a similar view of Jangchub and Pelden Dorji. And Sonam Pelden and Sonam Dorji say that it begins from May and continues till the month of September.

As per Pema Lethro, he shares in contrast that the Dapa making work used to begin from the ninth month of Bhutanese calendar, coinciding with October of western calendar before the arrival of summer when one bird begin to chirp. It was done with the belief that the spoiling of the wood by the insects is signaled by the chirping of this bird. As for the finishing and lacquering period, he notes that finishing is now done from the second week of May and lacquer is applied towards the end of June. As per him, in the past, the lacquer used to be applied in June and July as native lacquer does not get dried easily. But now, by mixing Chinese lacquer imported from Japan, it fastens the lacquer application period and by end of June or first week of July, the Dapa now reaches the market. From this, the change over the seasonal timing as a result of the drastic shift from sustainable practice to commercial business of Shagzo and the western impact as in the form of lacquer is succinctly evident. As mentioned by the informants, the slight variation in the seasonal timing hints at the seasonal flexibility of wood turning craft to some extent in Bhutan

4.4 WOMEN'S ROLE IN DAPA MAKING CRAFT

As it is practiced traditionally on patriarchal structure, the wood turning craft is still practiced dominantly by men either through hereditary line or by the means of institutional trainings and the role of the women in Shagzo were pushed to the background. However, integral part of applying color and lacquer were almost entirely done by the women in the past as recollected by several informants. Apart from this, there were few cases where women also displayed their exceptional competency in doing all chopping, carving and applying works by themselves. In this regard, Pema Lethro talks with pride about one woman who used to practice Shagzo. With the establishment of Zo Rig Chu Sum institute in 1997, the enrollment of female students in Shagzo began. Since then, one could see women, though in fewer number, coming to the forefront of wood turning craft of making Dapa, especially as a lacquerer. One of them is the wife of Pelden Dorji as pointed out by himself, Sonam Tshering, Tshering Dorji, Jangchhub, Drukla and Tshering Dorji.

Similarly, Pema Lethro also talks about several female graduates including Sonam Pelden, one of the female informants who used to do Shagzo in the institute and now does lacquer in ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning). The crucial role of women particularly in the application process must be due to the fact that the soft hands of women facilitated greatly in proper application of color and lacquer. Moreover, most of the male Shagzopa lacked proper applying skills. So, the pivotal role of women in Shagzo is thus portrayed in the attractive and decorative aspects of Dapa which largely influenced its market value.

4.5 TYPOLOGY OF DAPA

In varying designs, the most refined wooden bowls made from the highly skilled hands of the woodcraftsmen are now found in the market. The recent commercial demands diversified the designs of Dapa. The crucial thing to be taken into consideration is that all wooden bowls are termed as Dapa apart from the dining wooden bowls as clarified by Pema Lethro and Sonam Pelden. As enlisted by the informants, the traditional wooden bowls are the Dining-Dapa, Kakki, Gurbu, GelongZhechha (cup used by the monk), Poed Dappa (container for incense stick), Tsham-daer (container used for storing raw-rice for tea), Emasipchu (small container for storing chilli-powder), Karma Lhuenzey, Drapphob, Mingdra-phor, Dradruk (trunk for small drum), Gucha-gachi, Laphob, And the recent designs introduced are the Soup bowl, Wooden plates (Dapa), Meto-damji (flower pot). Pelden Dorji observes the uncompetitive market value of these new designs in comparison with the traditionally designed wooden bowls. Coined with other factors, the variation in the prices are also determined to great extent by the typological nature of the wooden bowls as people mostly buy the ones with attractive and decorative designs.

The most popular designs of the Dapa, according to the informants, are Druk-gur, Dra-phob, Poed-Dapa (container for incense stick), Dining-Dapa, Gurbu (cup in Tshangla dialect) and GelongZhey-chha (cup used by the monk). As claimed by Sonam Tshering and Pema Lethro, some of these designs gains popularity in the market mainly due to the large scale export to Tibet with less local demand. The less popular designs, in align with the informants, are Wine cups, Soup bowl, SerkhemPhuel-chha, and Meto-damji (flower pot) as it is of low market demand. On the contrary, Sonam Tshering also include Lang Dapa in this category based on the pattern. Therefore, the popularity of the traditional wooden bowls over the contemporary wooden bowls based on the nature of the market value and the design of the pattern is vividly construed. This depicts the paramount significance of Dapa yields in traditions and culture of Bhutan, remaining largely unthreatened by the pervading forces of westernization and modernization.

4.6 MARKET PLACES OF DAPA

The recent transformation of the traditionally practiced wood turning craft into a vibrant commercial business turned Trashiyangtse into a commercial hub of Dapa in Bhutan. With ever increasing international, national and local demand, one can see an increasing number of local Shagzopa of Trashiyangtse producing a large scale Dapa production in the market and has now become a main source of livelihood for the local people. Various ways of marketing Dapa are adopted by the Shagzopa in the locality. As shared by Pelden Dorji and Tshering Dorji, the local Shagzopa sell their Dapa product through the medium of middle businessmen. These middle businessmen then sell it off to others about which the local producers do not have much idea as shared by Pelden Dorji. From Jangchhub and Sonam Tshering, the order basis market of Dapa is also taking place in the locality according which the consumers come to the place of Shagzopa with the order for Dapa and Shagzopa make Dapa in align with the order. On the other hand, like Sonam Pelden and Drukla, some of the Shagzopa who recruited themselves as the members of ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood-turning) in Yangtse are selling off their products to Tshogpa on whole sale basis. The market of Dapa has now crossed beyond the national boundary and has considerably increased Bhutan's external trade with other foreign countries. Pelden Dorji and Sonam Pelden observes the prosperous external trade with Tibetan people via Nepal as the ancient trade with Tibet virtually came to a halt after 1950s (Phuntsho, 2013). He admits the presence of ancient trade route to Tibet even to this day but report the government's official restriction on it. Jangchhub is also of same view, adding that except for the dining Dapa, other Dapa like Dzapzhi-gurubu, Tsamder, Poed-Dapa (container for incense stick) and Kakki do not get absorbed in local market as Bhutanese people do not use these wooden bowls. On the other hand, Tibetan people have been using these wooden bowls from the time immemorial. However, Pema Lethro and Drukla confess some of the cases where the police caught some of the Shagzopa carrying out illegal trade with Tibet via ancient trade routes which are located in the East and Central Bhutan from Trashiyangtse and Bumthang.

Similarly Tshering Dorji also reports similar incidents of the presence of Bhutanese security police restricting Bhutanese Dapa sellers from encroaching into Chinese territory. Regarding the trade with countries other than China, limited trade with India and Europe through tourists is carried out. The reason for this is the denial of local Shagzopa to make same sized Dapa even at his insistence and the high price of Dapa, especially the Bhawoo-Dapa. For this reason, he has noticed Indian and western tourists buying the low priced Lang Dapa only as of now. Thus, one can vividly see the paramount impact of international trade on the lives of Bhutanese people (Wangdi, 2016). The market of Dapa has its own particular season. Owing to the change over the market season, different informants mention different seasonal timings.

According to Pema Lethro, the marketing season of Dapa in the past was conducted from around July. But as Shagzopa now use the mixture of Bhutanese lacquer and imported lacquer, the finished Dapa product reaches the market from the first week of June itself. However Sonam Tshering and Sonam Pelden deplore that it began from as early as May and continues till August. While Pelden Dorji, Jangchhub and Tshering Dorji hold that it is rather conducted between July and August. So, the change in the marketing season as seen above is entirely due to the change in the season of making Dapa due to more market opportunity and the use of mixed indigenous lacquer and Bhutanese lacquer. Although both tourists and native people buy Dapa in the locality, all informants witness more market demand from the people than the tourists. It must be due to the high price of the Dapa and the less number of tourists as a result of comparatively poor transport accessibility as one personally experiences the weak road condition. Over the past decades, Trashiyangtse saw a boost in the economic business of Dapa which is driven by several traditional, cultural, economic, social, religious and other factors. Pelden Dorji attributes the rise in the market demand to the deeply rooted essence of Dapa in the age old traditions and cultures of Bhutan due to which even youths treasure these wooden articles. Another reason, according to him, is the general tendency of Bhutanese people to purchase it for the show owing to its highly maintained decorative quality. Both Jangchhub and Tshering Dorji illustrates that the growing popularity of Dapa in the market is solely due to the imitational habit of a human being by imitating the making and buying of Dapa after being socially stimulated by others in the locality. Sharing the contrasting view, Pema Lethro holds the increased financial power of the people responsible for the increasing market demand. From the perspective of

health benefits, Sonam Pelden see the growing preference for Dapa over Dhaka plate directly related to the growing health consciousness among the people as wooden Dapa is made free of any health deteriorating chemical substances in opposition to chemically produced foreign plates.

In the meantime, Sonam Tshering feels that the increase in the number of Shagzopa producing Dapa increases the choice of Dapa in the market, thereby stimulating the commercial business of this traditional wooden bowls. Dapa vary greatly in terms of its prices. The highest price is for Bhawoo-Dapa whose prices ranges from Nu. Three thousand five hundred to four thousand and the lowest price of one thousand is for Lang Dapa as shared by Pelden Dorji. Depending upon the thra (intricate design), Pema Lethro however argues that the lowest price for Lang Dapa ranges from Nu. One thousand to one thousand five hundred and the price for Lang dining Dapa is sold at the price of Nu. One thousand eight hundred. Tshering also shares the variation in the price based on the quality of the pattern. For the Dapa with good pattern, the price extends from Nu. Three thousand to three thousand five hundred. If this is of whole sale rate, he says that it cost the minimum of two thousand eight hundred for the Bhawoo-Dapa and the Lang Dapa's cost extends from Nu. One Thousand to One Thousand Five Hundred. As it is of fixed rate, Sonam Pelden shares that the Dapa sold in Tshogpa are of comparatively low rate. It cost Nu. Two thousand eight hundred for Bhawoo and Nu. One thousand two hundred for the Lang Dapa. Basically, the nature of pattern in Dapa is a key factor for bringing in the difference in the prices (Bhutan Business, 2018).

4.7 IMPACTS

4.7.1 Economy

The paramount impact of economically vibrant culture of making Dapa can be seen in the drastic development of the economy in Trashiyangtse. With prosperous economic business transcending beyond the national boundary, it constitutes the main source of livelihood for local people. The yearly income earned from making Dapa for Pelden Dorji extends from Nu. Three lakhs to Four lakhs but remains with only Nu. Two lakhs in the end after several deduction. Although he makes Dapa by using the raw materials provided by the customers, Tshering Dorji earns the annual incomes, ranging from Nu. Three lakhs to four lakhs. As for the income of the members of ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood-turning), Sonam Pelden estimates the highest income at Nu. One lakh and above, the medium income at around Nu. Sixty thousand and the lowest income at Nu. Twenty Thousands. Since he recently entered into this economic business, Sonam Tshering earns around Nu. Eighteen thousand a year. As a main source of income for the sustenance of the local people, the economic business of making Dapa considerably uplifts the economic status of the local Shagzo families in Yangtse in particular. As the Shagzo work of making Dapa requires several different skills, Pelden Dorji make a note that the Dapa making culture provides employment opportunities to more than one person whose living standard improves drastically as Dapa making business yields high profits. Similarly, Jangchhub, Sonam Pelden and Sonam Tshering depend upon Shagzo for the self-reliant sustenance of his family.

With the increase in the purchasing power of the people as a result of profitable income earned from selling off Dapa, Tshering Dorji on the other hand observes the growing inflation as a result of which everything has become expensive. In this way, the business of selling Dapa has become the driving force of economic self-reliance particularly in Yangtse Gewog. The biodiversity of flora and fauna and the rich intact traditions and culture makes Trashiyangtse a fascinating tourist hotspot. Along with the presence of religious monumental sites and the black necked crane in Bumdeling, most of the informants are of the view that the thriving business of making Dapa must be one source of tourists attraction as they too buy Dapa. On the contrary, Pelden Dorji however sees more potentiality in Buddhist sites and the home of black necked crane in Bumdeling than Dapa in inviting tourist arrival in Dzongkhag. This claim is purely from economic perspective as tourists are reported to have bought only low priced Dapa, especially from ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood-turning) as shared by some of the informants. So, displaying a good insight into Bhutan's traditional arts and crafts, the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) and the vibrant Dapa making culture harness tourist appreciation (Bhutan Luxury Tours, n.d).

The youth unemployment is one of the national concerns in Bhutan. Unlike in other parts of the country, the traditional arts and crafts play a pivotal role as a main source of employment to the unemployed youths. One could see increasing number of students enrolling themselves in the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) for the trainings on these traditional arts and crafts. Pema Lethro now see many students showing interest in joining the two years Shagzo trainings as it is comparatively simple and contributes significantly towards the growing local economy. Not only this, the informants also observe considerable number of youths switching over to the Shagzo work of making Dapa and leading an economically comfortable life. Therefore, this not only contributes towards building national economy but also visibly ensures the sustainability of this endangered wood craft in the times to come.

4.7.2 Society

Most of the people particularly in Yangtse have switched over to the local practice of making Dapa. The considerably high income generated as a consequence of boost in the commercial business of Dapa has noticeably improved the living standard of the local people to a greater extent. Almost everything about the lives in Trashiyangtse and Yangtse in particular is inclined towards wood turning craft and displays spectacular living traditions and cultures. Jangchhub describes how the money earned from making Dapa enables the purchasing power of every individual in the locality. In line with what Tshering Dorji and Sonam Pelden noticed, the elaborate process of making Dapa has engaged almost all the people of Trashiyangtse and Yangtse in particular into traditional wood turning craft and benefits the whole locality in earning income for own sustenance. And Sonam Pelden goes onto mentioning the marginalization of agriculture in the society as people now prefer seemingly light work of making Dapa given its economic power. To this, Sonam Tshering adds that the level of self-reliance in the society has spiraled as most of the people with interest work in making and selling Dapa of high market value. Predominantly as a consequence of development in its both national and international trade of Dapa, the once isolated eastern Dzongkhag of Trashiyangtse is now exposed to other districts and foreign countries. This exposure at national and international level imbibed in Trashiyangtse people a sense of modernity and westernization. Thus, the Dapa making craft has brought in an amalgam of modern, western and traditional pattern of lifestyles in Trashiyangtse. However, the lives in Trashiyangtse largely remain traditional and cultural in its complete inclination.

4.7.3 Politics

The thirteen traditional arts and crafts of Bhutan altogether define the overall landscape of Bhutanese art, architecture and handicrafts. Deeply imbued with these refined traditional arts and crafts, Bhutan's temporal ruler in the past has nurtured it over the time (DRUK TRIALS, 2018), this remains as the living political legacy. Grounded on the developmental philosophy of Gross National Happiness, the sustainable development of Bhutan goes hand in hand with the promotion of these invaluable arts and crafts. The deep rooted influence of these traditional arts and crafts can be witnessed in close political association with it. In parallel with other arts and crafts, the Dapa produced intensively by Shagzopa found permeates the political system of the Trashiyangtse and Bhutan as a whole. At local level, most of the informants have seen politically aligned people contributing towards diversifying the market destination of Dapa though in less quantity.

In this political arena, Jangchhub explicitly point out the paramount significance of DzapzhiGurpu in the local and national political assembly as the politicians mostly buy it only for this purposes. Tshering Dorji also remembers receiving the order for Dapa from the politically connected people once in the past and assumes less demand from them. Apart from buying Dapa formal purposes, Sonam Pelden has seen them buying especially dining Dapa as a gift to their family and friends which has now become a fashion trend. Similarly Pelden Dorji and Pema Lethro shares a common ground as Jangchhub that they are buying Dzapzhi-Gurpu for ZhugdrelPhuensum Tshogpa (Bhutanese traditional reception ceremony) in the national Assembly and Council. As one of the initiatives in the pipeline to preserve and promote age old cultural and traditional heritage of Bhutan, recently the Dzongkhag Tshogdu has formally introduced a system of serving and dining in wooden dining Dapa and Phob (cup) with the support from financial ministry. The total amount of Nu. 300, 000 was granted by finance ministry for the procurement of Dapa and Phob (Tshedrup, 2018). The informants firmly point out the undeniable significance of Dapa in such local and national political function without which one cannot be a part of it. Sonam Pelden observes dining Dapa adding traditional fashion trend to their lifestyles. As was the case in the past, the Dapa thus continues to uphold the traditions and culture of Bhutanese political system, sharing a close affiliation with it.

4.7.4 Religion

Derived largely from Buddhism, the traditional arts and crafts symbolically represent a deep religious intrinsic Buddhist philosophy in Bhutan. The traditional wood turned bowls of Bhutan forms an integral part of Bhutan's religious lives. All informants report that the religious figures of Trashiyangtse and in other parts of Bhutan are buying mostly Gelong-Zheyehha (cup used by monk) as it is prerequisite in their traditions and culture. Along with this, the dining Dapa are also purchased by the monks and nuns of religious institutions. Pelden Dorji admits that the Shagzopa make those Dapa products which are essentially needed in the religious purposes. Jangchhub, with regard to market with religious body, adds humbly that he usually sell it at discount rate whenever people want to offer it to the religious figures as an act of humble offerings. Sharing the common view, Pema Lethro analyses the presence of wooden articles made by Shagzopa in every corner of religious lives from alter itself where several wooden bowls are used for daily offering in one's house, adding the close correlation of all arts and crafts with religion. Sonam Pelden informs the national report she heard about the national policy which now calls for the procurement of Dapa by every religious figure in religious institution.

Therefore the wooden bowls traditionally produced by the Shagzopa of Trashiyangtse form a material foundation to every facet of religious lives of Bhutanese people in Trashiyangtse and Bhutan at large.

4.8 Challenges and Measures

With increasing number of Shagzopa following the Dapa making culture, many challenges have surfaced which encumbers the growth of its economic business in Trashiyangtse. However, in an attempt to resolve these challenging obstacles, Shagzopa in Yangtse has put in place some of the remedial measures. One of the challenges Shagzopa face is in raw materials collection. Pelden Dorji and Jangchhub exclusively complain about the need to make pass for forestry permit before collecting the raw materials. As the issuance of pass involves the forestry Department and village forest branches of two Dzongkhags of residence and the location of raw materials, most of the informants express their deep disappointment with the prolonged delay in issuing the forestry permit. Coined by the plethora of raw materials with Trashiyangtse, Pema Lethro additionally mentions about the need to use Indian dyes imported from border areas of Samdrup Jongkhar with domestic dye production coming to a halt due to religious sensitization on its sinful act. Tshering Dorji, Sonam Pelden and Sonam Tshering briefly mention about the only challenges of having to make pass and the annual allocation of two trees for each Shagzopa which does not meet their production desire. Sonam Tshering goes onto sharing the damage of raw materials by some of the in-experienced Shagzopa and the occasional incidents of having to lose the raw materials to the thefts. Therefore, rapid increase in the number of Shagzopa imposing a serious threat to the conservation of forest cover is evident which compelled the implementation of such national restrictions.

Although such national policy is strictly followed by the forestry Department to equalize the conservation of natural resource and the promotion and preservation of this traditional woodcraft, Shagzopa faces such challenges which retards the economic development of this traditional profession. While making Dapa, Shagzopa faces several challenges. Pelden Dorji and Sonam Dorji share the high risk of getting their forehead hit and hands cut while making Dapa and report some incidents whereby some of them had to be hospitalized due to these problems. Although he does not face many problems like this, Jangchhub expresses his deep fear of not being able to utilize whole raw materials within one season and of having to let it rot. In addition to this, Tshering Dorji and Sonam Pelden brings out other problems of getting their hands stains with the black colored dirt of the wood and causing blisters to their hands while smoothening with Bhutanese sand paper respectively. Thus, as it requires maximum manual work, Dapa making has its own share of challenges. Despite the increase in the production capacity of Dapa, most of the informants apparently express their deep contentment with the present market of Dapa. Given the good finishing and shaping or at least good finishing, they see no challenges in selling off the Dapa in the market and that it entirely depends upon an individual to decide the production quantity. However, Sonam Tshering admit to complainant that he got from the customers about the errors of cracks in the wooden bowls. The general contentment with the marketing of Dapa must be due to the expansions of the marketing destinations at both national and international level.

In fact the production quantity of Dapa increased drastically over the years due to the steady increment of market demands. More than national demand, it is the international demand especially from China that Trashiyangtse saw more number of Shagzopa producing Dapa in huge quantity (Wangdi, 2016). Several measures are being taken by Shagzopa as of now to confront these obstacles. The only choice left for Pelden Dorji and some of the informants are to remain the focus while making Dapa. As these challenges poses threat to the sustenance of wood craft in future, While being a member of Tshogpa, Sonam Pelden conducts meetings with other members in coming up with the measures. So, one can see measures being implemented to some extent as market value of Dapa is still on rise.

4.8.1 Sustainability

Given its significance in every aspect of Bhutanese lives, different local and national programmes were introduced as stepping stones on the journey towards realizing the national goal of preserving and promoting the fragile wood turning art. Both at local and regional level, the institute of traditional arts and crafts take noble initiative in contributing towards promoting the Dapa making culture. To bring in assimilation of traditional and professional way of making Dapa, Pelden Dorji saw Shagzo students on observation tour of the village. However, as long as the market of Dapa does not get affected, Pelden Dorji and Jangchhub with no educational background and due to old age problems do not feel the need to adopt this western influenced Shagzo technique. Moreover, Tshering Dorji concludes the time wastage in making same sized Dapa as it requires the cutting of raw materials in equal size and shape. Sonam Pelden further agrees to the more time consumption as well as the wastage of raw materials resulting from equalizing the roughly chopped raw materials. In contrast, Pema Lethro has set in the institute policy of letting students gain trainings on how to make same sized Dapa with the aim to promote Shagzo work at international level. These initiatives are coined by the traditionally oriented national programmes of ensuring the sustainability of wood turning craft for all times to come. One such visible initiative

was the foundation of ShagzoTshogpa (association for wood turning) in Yangtse town as pointed out by Pelden Dorji while others bemoans the burden inflicted upon them by the government. Such general discontentment aroused among the local Shagzopa of Yangtse taking into the account of their economic benefits at the cost of natural conservation. In the face of the challenges, Shagzopa are left with no future plan of combating it as it is either inevitable or mostly associated with the government policies. They do not see any possibility of coming out of these challenges than to comply with the forestry policies of having to make pass.

With more exposure to western lifestyles, one could see the marginalization of traditions and culture in the lives of the youths of present generations. Although a good number of youths mostly within the district are seen in Trashiyangtse taking up the traditional arts and crafts as their profession, a serious concern over the alienation of traditions and culture by youths still lingers in Bhutan. As a result, people living in the locality see Shagzo work mostly associated with the old generation people. In this case, all informants speculates that the decline in the interest of youths in this traditional profession must be owing to the hard labor it involves and the general misperception of lack of dignity of labor associated with it. Pema Lethro in addition says that it is also because of the lack of experience of hardships in youths. Similarly, Sonam Pelden attributes it to the lack of knowledge among the youths about Shagzo as most of the students come mostly from district areas for Shagzo trainings and Tshering Dorji and Sonam Tshering point out at youth's more preference to civil service over this traditional manual job.

4.8.2 Tshogpa and its role in Dapa making culture

As only marketing center in Yangtse Gewog, the Shagzo-Tshogpa (association for wood turning) contributes immensely towards developing the economic business of making the traditional wooden bowls in Trashiyangtse. It was established in 2014 by APIC Company which is located in Thimphu. As traced by TashiChoki, the temporary counterwoman of Tshogpa (association), the land properties, buildings and the financial support were given by the company and the deal of the repayment of the money was signed between the Tshogpa and the company founded by the First Principal of the institute of Zorig Chu sum, Lam Kezang. Since the membership of the Tshogpa is fixed, the Tshogpa had sixteen members when it was established. So, the total members of Tshogpa at present is sixteen in number. In Tshogpa, the total number of male members outnumbered the total number of female members. According to TashiChoki, there were four female members and eleven male members. Even at present, Tshogpa (association) has only two female members and fourteen males. As reported by TashiChoki, the female members are usually supported by their spouse and the family members. The information regarding the recruitment of the new members is known from the chairman. TashiChoki informs that no new graduates came to join the Tshogpa (association) so far.

Basically, Tshogpa (association) functions as the marketing center. In accordance with the description given by TashiChoki, the members brings their Dapa product to the Tshogpa (association) and the counterwoman as a member of the Tshogpa (association) make a note of the quantity of Dapa product of every member. Then the counterwoman again make a note of number of Dapa sold and collects the money for every member individually. Tshogpa (association) also follow the same seasonal timing of Dapa market as the local Shagzopa in July and August. As told by TashiChoki and observed during the data collection, apart from the traditional Dapa, Tshogpa (association) has now begun to sell modern Dapa products like Soup Bowl, Wine cups and Meto-Damji (flower pots) after going to Japan for international trainings. As is the case with other local Shagzopa, the members individually produce the Dapa products which requires them to procure pass individually. When the members bring their products to the Tshogpa (association), they are informed by the counterwoman that it is going to be sold at whole sale rate. However, after the meeting was held with all the members, the Tshogpa (association) has recently framed the policy of jointly making one pass for whole members. As it is confined only to the members of the center, the local people and the students of the institute do not bring their Dapa product to this clustered marketing center and do not have the future plan to include the Dapa products of local people and the institute students as they carry out their private Dapa business separately. About the affiliation with the institute, TashiChoki admits the absence of any affiliation with the institute. As for the international affiliation with Japan, Tashinotices that the members do not care much about the international market with Japan except the trade show in Thimphu. And it must be because the members do not make same sized Dapa which is in much demand from Japan as shared by Pema Lethro. During the trade show, TashiChoki shares that the members take their Dapa products to Thimphu for sale and come up with new business when they fail to sell their Dapa products.

For the promotion of the Dapa market, TashiChoki claims the framing of new policies and plans for the improvement of the marketing function of the Tshogpa (association) through meetings and discussions. With the promotion of the market, Tshogpa (association) attempts to preserve and promote this age old traditional woodcraft in Trashiyangtse. She also provides a general price ranges of Dapa sold in the Tshogpa (association) based on the pattern. The lowest priced Dapa sold in the Tshogpa (association) is Lang-Dapa which are sold at Nu. One Thousand Two Hundred on the basis of the wholesale rate. Bhawoo-Dapa are sold in the Tshogpa

(association) at the highest price of Nu. Two Thousand Eight Hundred. Although both local people and tourists buy Dapa from Tshogpa (association), tourists are the maximum buyers. Since the tourists generally buy Dapa of low price rate and Tshogpa (association) sells it at wholesale rate but within the fixed price rate, TashiChoki recounts about how tourists usually request for the ten percent discount rate. As a result, Tshogpa (association) mostly sell Dapa to the tourists on discount rate. For this reason, more number of tourists prefer to buy the Dapa products of Tshogpa (association). Thus, the economic business of selling Dapa in Tshogpa (association) is fostered through the market with tourists. And this certainly attracts more tourist in Trashiyangtse. Tashispeculates the influence of Dapa only through its prices. In a way, Tshogpa (association) provides the platform for the people to purchase Dapa with advantage at lower price rate.

The monks and nuns of the religious institutions also buy Gelong-Zhheyehha and other alter related wooden articles. But TashiChoki witnessed that the politically associated politicians has no link with the Tshogpa (association) nor do they buy Dapa from there. About the future plan to establish another new marketing center, it is learnt from her that the Tshogpa do not have any authority to institute new marketing center as it is fully retained by the APIC Company.

The Tshogpa has its own share of challenges while carrying out the commercial business of Dapa. Although it does not face major challenges in marketing Dapa as is the case with the local Shagzopa, it faces minor problem with the customers when they request for more discount rate. With no fixed discount rate, this poses problems to Tshogpa when more number of customers comes with the similar marketing bargain. And the reason for such request, according to TashiChoki, is because some of the people do not have the idea that the Dapa products in Tshogpa is already of whole sale rate. The challenges of raw material collection are also experienced by the members of the Tshogpa. As heard from the members, Tashimentions that the members also faces the same problems faced by other local Shagzopa as they still have to produce individually. They too faces the problems of the plethora of raw materials as they are given only two trees a year and the prolonged delay in the issuance of forestry pass further causes problems to their Shagzo work. In order to solve these challenges, the Tshogpa also came up with some remedial solution. Tashi shares about the recent meeting conducted with the forestry officer regarding the pass issue and received an assurance of support and cooperation was received from the forestry department through the officer. However, no collaborative work between the Tshogpa and the forestry department has taken place so far. In case of price, Tshogpa has framed a plan to keep it at fixed rate which will neither affect the customer nor affect the profit of the Tshogpa. Similarly, it has set in the plan of repaying the financial support rendered to it by Apic Company and it is still working towards implementing its future plan to make the joint pass for all members. This is done with the aim to increase the production capacity of Tshogpa.

4.8.3 THE INSTITUTE AND ITS ROLE IN ZO-RIG CHU SUM

As one of the premier institutes of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts), the institute in Trashiyangtse plays a pivotal role in preserving and promoting the traditional arts and crafts in the wake of westernization and modernizations trends in Bhutan. In parallel with other traditional arts and crafts, the institute also provides exclusive trainings on the wood turning craft. Besides, the institute initiates various local, national and international programmes as measures in pipeline to preserve and promote the traditional wood craft. Pema Lethro, the only Shagzo instructor at present shares the important aspects of the institute of Zo Rig Chu sum and its crucial role in the traditional craft of wood turning. According to what he shared, the institute was established under the Royal Command of the fourth King Jigme SingyeWanchuck with the aim to preserve and promote the traditional arts and crafts of Bhutan. It was established as Rigney institute like the institute of Simtokha. It was only around 2000 or 2001 that the name got changed to Zorig Chusum. (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts), At the time of its establishment in the beginning, there were only twenty one students in total and the six students were enrolled for the trainings on the wood turning craft two of whom was Pema Lethro and Tshering Dorji. During that time, Pelden Dorji served as their temporal teacher. And no female students were recruited at that time. It was only from the year 2000 that the institute could enroll even girls for the trainings in the institutes. At present, the institute has around one hundred and seventy four students. Pema Lethro estimates almost equal ratio of the number of male and female students at present. Although the vision and mission of the institute mandates the enrollment of only the dropout students who have passed from class ten, the institute also enrolled those students who failed in class X exams in Bhutan. However, as the number of students is increasing every year, Pema Lethro warns that the policies of the institute are getting stringent annually and he shares some incidents where some of the interest students had to go home with deep disappointments. Pema Lethro reminds that institute does not give trainings to all thirteen traditional arts and crafts. In fact, it creates platform for the trainings on branches of the main arts and crafts. The trainings on the main traditional arts and crafts are given in the field of Jimzo (sculpture) and Shagzo. Under Patra, the trainings are given on Bap and Patra.

While under the art of Tshem, the trainings are provided on Tshemdru, machine embroidery, hand embroidery and the Dralham (leather boot). Pema Lethro justifies that the trainings on other traditional arts and

crafts are not given in the institute because of the lack of interest among the students as they associate it with low dignity of labour which is the same case with the institute of Kawajangsa and the private organization of Choki handicraft. As of now, there are no future plans to establish trainings on other arts and crafts but Pema Lethro hopes for it to be implemented in the future. Although the nature of trainings given in two institute of Kawajangsa and Trashiyangtse does not differ, the extra trainings on the art of weaving is provided in the institute of Kawajangsa. Unlike in the institutes, Pema Lethro heard from the students that the trainings given in Choki Handicraft is commercially oriented and provides trainings for more number of years in order to ensure high quality products for the sale. As is the case in Trashiyangtse institute, Pema Lethro shares about the existence of Shagzo training even in the institute of Kawajangsa but it later came to a halt. He then came to know that the teacher himself joined the school for educational up-gradation and later reached in College of Language and Culture Studies at Taktse as one of the lecturers. The abrupt end of Shagzo training, according to Pema Lethro, must be due to the lack of students joining the trainings.

The institute of Trashiyangtse provides institutional ground for the national goal of preserving and promoting the traditional arts and crafts of Bhutan. Surrounded by the vibrant practice of making Dapa in the locality, the institute carry out various programmes which became successful not only in promoting the wood turning craft within locality and across the country but also in displaying the deeply rooted significance of the wood turning craft in Bhutan's cultural landscape to the outside world. The trainings on Shagzo craft along with other arts and crafts are currently initiated by the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) under the umbrella of ATP. Pema Lethro recalls the trainings on making liquor containers and bamboo weaving conducted in Kengkhar and Panbang in Zhemgang regions respectively. As one way of ensuring the sustainability of Dapa making culture, a new technique of making same sized Dapa was introduced by the institute recently to expand the sphere of market to Japan. This was achieved as a result of the international trainings which he did in Japan for three months during which he received three kinds of trainings on the lacquer, the making of same sized Dapa and the wood turning. After graduating from the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts), the students do not join the civil service job even when the announcement for the teaching vacancy in the institute is made. As was enshrined in the national policy, the graduates instead join the traditional job of making Dapa in the village. In this way, the institute contributes immensely towards promoting the professional way of making Dapa in the locality apart from improving the economic self-reliance of the youths.

In fact, the practice of economic self-reliance is embraced by the students even before they graduate. As shared by Pema Lethro with deep pride, most of the students begin making Dapa for the income with the trained skills acquired from the college and surprisingly maintains more money deposits in the account. He admits that some of them have even more financial deposits than the instructors of the institute. Thus, through individual and joint Dapa production, the significant role of institute can be seen in diversifying the choices of Dapa market for the people. As a result of more inclination towards westernization and modernization, the gradual decline of youth's interest has now posed threat to the sustenance of wood turning craft in Bhutan. So, in order to solve this national issue, Pema Lethro shares his experiences in conducting regionally based Tibet Camp for the high school students of central, Southern and Eastern regions of Bhutan with all facilities provided by the institute. One of such camp was done with Vocational Training Institute (VTI) at Rangjung in Tashigang last year and in Gelephu in previous year.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Formally codified, the thirteen tradition arts and crafts represent the artistic landscape of Bhutan's cultural heritage to the western countries. Deeply imbued with Buddhism, the attractive and decorative products of the thirteen traditional arts and crafts display the Buddhist principles of Bhutanese people. It forms an integral part of Bhutanese social, political, economic and religious lives. The wood turning craft of making wooden bowls originally came from Tibet after seventeenth century although some form of wood turning craft is said to have existed before seventeenth century. It got popularity in Yangtse through the patriarchal family lineage of KhampaLobzang who was originally from Tibet. Since then, it got flourished to Bumdeling Gewog within Trashiyantse and other parts of region. The Shagzopa of Trashiyangtse makes use of several different kinds of trees and other raw materials. Although due to technological advancement, the raw materials and equipment used in making wooden bowls largely retains its traditional nature.

The wood turning craft produces large scale wooden bowl production with varied design which represents the blend of both tradition and western influence. The wooden bowls produced by the people of Trashiyangtse has wide range of market destinations. It is carried intensively at local, national and international level. And there is wide range of prices depending upon the quality of natural pattern on the wooden bowls. The deeply embedded influence of these traditional wooden bowls on the economic, religious, political, and social lives of Trashiyangtse is felt through the sale of wooden bowls. Despite enjoying the prosperous economic business, the local wooden bowl producers face many challenges, most of which are associated with the raw

materials. To solve this, attempts has been made by the local people. In addition, several local and national policies and programmes has been put in force for the preservation and promotion of the wood turning craft in Bhutan. The youth's role in Dapa making culture sees its steep decline which is mainly due to the manual nature of this traditional profession. The ShagzoTshogpa established in 2014 plays a pivotal role in uplifting the commercial business of wooden bowls with low price rate and attempts to encourage more production by planning to create joint pass for its members. Further, the institute of Zorig Chusum (Thirteen Traditional Art and Crafts) provides institutional foundation to the preservation and promotion of wood turning craft in Bhutan.

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