PUBLIC POLICY OF CRAFTS IN MÉXICO: A MISCONCEPTION

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ABSTRACT
Although their potential in the generation of wealth and jobs, crafts have received considerably little attention from academicians. So, there are still different topics to answer. Among the most urgent topics are those policies related to development and preservation of the cultural signs and rational distribution of the public budget. It is too early to discuss the efficiency of the distribution of the budget, before that, it may be necessary to analyze the importance or relevance of the goals set by these policies. For this reason, the objective of this study is to explore the relevance and adequacy of current public policies for crafts in Mexico. In order to achieve this, a documentary study has been done, in this study, official data generated by the Mexican government in the artisanal sector such as the National Development Plan and the Rules of Operation of National Fund for the Promotion of Crafts was analyzed. The results suggest that the public policy directed to crafts in Mexico is mainly limited by two important factors: 1) a "romantic" vision of a craftsmanship that excludes those whose production involves some sort of industrialization and 2) a paternalistic view of the craftsman.
Keywords: crafts, cultural policy, crafts policy, craftsman, public policy.

INTRODUCTION
The industrial progress and the development of knowledge's economy have sent to a second place those manual activities with a low added value as it is the case of crafts (Klamer, 2012). However, thanks to their impact on employment, crafts offer an alternative for the economic development.
These are of special relevance in developing countries where, in some occasions, crafts stand as an important source of employment. In India, for example, crafts are the second most important just behind agriculture (Crafts Council of India, 2011).
But in addition to the amount of work they produce, crafts integrate people with fewer opportunities into the productive activity. To mention an example, in countries like Mexico and India, crafts represent one of the few employment opportunities for the most vulnerable groups. In Mexico, there is a strong presence of indigenous ethnic groups (one of the country's most vulnerable groups). While in India women are who have a bigger presence in craft production.
However, and despite their potential, they face different obstacles to their development as an economic sector. One of the most urgent is maybe the lack of reliable and robust data (Crafts Council of India, 2011; Klamer, 2012). Of course, this lack of data is only a reflection of other underlying problems about crafts. The lack of a clear definition of the concept of craft as well as the concept of craftsman, affects the measurement of the phenomenon. This definitely affects in a significant way the work of the public policy designers that by not having a clear and precise definition run the risk of creating distortions which externalities may become more onerous than the benefits it might create.
Thus, problems of definition could lead to public policies designed to subsidize crafts of low added value. Thereby the income from some of these activities would represent only a complement to the family income. Although, the crafts can be an important source of employment, they have little economic impact in absolute terms (Klamer, 2012).
Finally, informality highlights as another of the many obstacles to the development of the craft activity as an economic sector. The permanence of most of the activity within the informal economy has helped in most cases, that crafts are outside the statistical system and national accounting, and hence, limited significantly the analysis of its impact inside the economy as a whole (Crafts Council of India, 2011).

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All these features can lead to misinterpretation of the crafts as well as the various actors that converge there; these can limit their contributions and block the generation of public policies that allow them to grow as an economic sector.
The objective of this paper is to analyze public policies for crafts in Mexico. It wants to analyze the philosophy under which these policies are carried out. For this purpose, the available documentary material published by the National Fund for the Promotion of Crafts (*Fondo Nacional para el Fomento de las Artesanías* FONART) was analyzed.
The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In the next section the scheme of the public politics in Mexico under which the actions for promotion of better living conditions for craftsmen are registered. Right after, the functions of FONART are briefly described. Next, the results from the comparison of the public policies established in Mexico are presented in front of the main line of cultural politics at the international level and, finally, the main conclusions derived from these results are shown.

Discovering the National Fund for the Promotion of Crafts.
Different from conventional treatment (which are subject of cultural policy), public policies in Mexico aimed at crafts are registered in the Social Development Plan. Under this precept, and in order to understand the public policy of the promotion of crafts, firstly it is needed to understand how the social policy works in Mexico. This is why there is a general overview of social policies in Mexico below, and then, everything regarding to FONART is focused.
The federal government, through the Ministry of Social Development (SEDESOL) has designed a series of actions aimed at social development, achieving a considerable expansion in the coverage of social programs that have as guiding objectives: to improve education levels, to increase equity and equality of opportunities; to promote education for the development of personal skills and individual and collective initiative; to strengthen cohesion and social capital, to achieve social and human development in harmony with nature, and to expand the capacity of government response to promote public confidence in the institutions (Mota, 2002).
Obviously, achieving such broad objectives requires a broad portfolio of programs that gets integrated to social policy. In Mexico, there are many programs designed to achieve social development. Wishing not to be exhaustive, here are mentioned some of them: Habitat Program (*Programa Hábitat*); Program of Social Milk Supply in Charge of Liconsa (*Programa de Abasto Social de Leche a Cargo de Liconsa*); Rural Supply Programme in Charge of Diconsa (*Programa de Abasto Rural a Cargo de Diconsa*); Productive Options Program (*Programa de Opciones Productivas*);Program of Support to Areas of Imperative Attention (*Programa de Apoyo a Zonas de Atención Prioritaria*); Food Program for Marginalized Areas (*Programa Alimentario para Zonas Marginadas*); and The National Fund for the Promotion of Crafts (*Fondo Nacional para el Fomento de las Artesanías* FONART) among others (SEDESOL, 2013).
Although each of the above programs has a single purpose, so the set of actions aimed at social development of the population varies according to each program. However, a common criterion is that all of them are aimed at the attention of vulnerable groups, as well as the attention of poverty in its different dimensions (food, skills and property). It is noteworthy that none of them is universal, on the contrary, its application is essentially targeted to areas of urgent attention.
As it was already mentioned, the public policy aimed at the craftspeople sector remains limited to the actions of the federal government for social development. Particularly under subsidies from the National Fund for the Promotion of Crafts, whose actions are addressed exclusively to the population in poverty conditions, vulnerability, backlog, and marginalization. To achieve this, the FONART performs actions that promote poverty alleviation through education, health, food, employment and income generation, self-employment and training, and the development of basic social infrastructure (ROP, 2012).
Behind FONART actions underlies a clear orientation to the monetary aspect of the artisanal activity. Although the cultural component and the promotion to the conservation of the production techniques are taken into account, the priority is the fight against poverty[2].

2 The above finding is evident by noticing that the program is aligned to various aspects of the National Development Plan. All of them concentrated in improving the living conditions of people. Specifically, FONART actions can be framed within programs such as Equal Opportunities (***Igualdad de Oportunidades)*** oriented "to support the poorest population to raise their incomes and improve their quality of life, promoting and supporting productive projects". It also aligns with the Social Development Sector Program (***Programa Sectorial de Desarrollo Social***), "Develop basic skills of people in poverty." Finally, it is framed in Goal 3 of the Strategy Live Better (estrategia ***Vivir Mejor***): "Raising the productivity of people to have better employment options and income to reduce poverty."

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In general terms, the purpose of the Fund is to achieve the craftspeople's economic independence according to a multidimensional perspective that includes its social, economic and cultural aspects. In order to serve them in a comprehensive and complementary way, the FONART supports specifically the artisanal activity in four areas:

1. *Comprehensive training and technical assistance*. Comprehensive training is meant to guide the producers in areas of: organization, management, improvements in the production process, new technologies, sustainability, occupational health, dignity of artisanal life, legal protection and commercialization. Meanwhile, technical assistance is oriented to meet a specific need related to the production process of the craftspeople, by incorporating new technologies and the transfer of specific knowledge in order to solve the problem inside the production process and / or technical corrections in the elaboration of the artisan piece, updating the design and use of materials.

2. *Production supports.* It consists in the supports given to craftspeople in an individual way by assigning them financial resources for the acquisition of raw materials, tools and costs associated with the production process.

3. *Acquisition of crafts and marketing support.* This consists in supporting the craftspeople by purchasing their artisan production. Also, this area includes supports so they commercialize their products directly (for example, covering expenses for attending fairs or exhibitions). Finally, supporting them in the purchase or rental of supplies to improve marketing (website, brochures, wrapping and packaging).

4. Popular art contests. This is about to reward the craftspeople who stand out for the preservation, rescue or innovation of crafts, as well as those that improve work techniques and recover the use and sustainable exploitation of the materials from their natural environment.

Along this section the actions through which public policies in Mexico promote the artisanal activity have been shown. Although there are many different actions, these, in general, focus on the social development of the craftsman. Since the subsistence and growth of the sector depends heavily on these policies, it is appropriate to compare them with the cultural policies commonly accepted. Therefore, the next paragraph presents an analysis that compares the actions established in Mexico for promoting the craft against the mainstream; the one that integrates the crafts within cultural policy.

Social Policy versus Cultural Policy

One of the main findings found in public policies for the promotion of crafts in Mexico is its orientation to the generation of wealth and employment among the poorest in the country. This treatment differs from the traditional orientation that has focused on ensuring the subsistence of culture through the intervention because of market failures[3].

In Mexico, government intervention is directed towards the crafts by the Ministry of Social Development (*Secretaría de Desarrollo Social*), particularly through the National Fund for the Promotion of Crafts. This aims to *promote sustainable development of Mexican craftswomen and craftsmen according to a multidimensional perspective of the artisanal phenomenon, that is, which includes their social, economic, cultural and indigenous aspects* (FONART, 2012).

Although incoherent with conventional treatment, the approximation of the craft as an instrument of development, it is consistent with the philosophy suggested by the United Nations for Education, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO) for the development of the cultural policies[4]. While the perspective of UNESCO, goes further and considers the intervention as an alternative to the preservation of the activity, highlighting the importance of intangible cultural heritage under which the protection of the wealth of knowledge and techniques passed on from generation to generation ensures the preservation of the cultural activity.

Beyond the consideration of merit goods that have been attributed to culture and arts[5], treating crafts as a generating agent of development, is another step in the recognition of culture and arts as a sector that generates wealth and employment.

However, this condition presents some practical nature difficulties that hinder the generation of cultural policies. Particularly, there is little homogenization in the country in relation to the consideration of the crafts as an economic activity. If well to a Federal level, crafts are considered as a generating activity of social development,

3 Among the different arguments about public support for culture and arts market failures are found. Among the most common, the externalities are mentioned which are present in the production and consumption of culture and art as they generate existence or option value and legacy value (Frey, 2000; Throsby, 2001). For these reason, the need of publicly intervention in culture and arts has been claimed because if it were left to the market some of these expressions would run the risk of disappearing.

4 Between 1988 and 1997 the UNESCO declared the World Decade for Culture under which, it proposed a modification to the conceptualization of economic development in which the human being was the object and instrument of development. For this purpose it organized the Decade around four main objectives: 1) to place culture at the center of the development, 2) to confirm and highlight cultural identities, 3) to expand participation in cultural life; 4) to promote international cultural cooperation (UNESCO, 1987).

5 For more details on the consideration of art as merit good, see Musgrave (1959), Head (1990) and a brief mention in Throsby (2001).

in some regions of the country these are considered in the agenda of tourism, in others regions, in the System of the Comprehensive Development of the Family (DIF) and finally, in others, the crafts are considered in the economic development agenda.[6]

In general terms, and from this perspective, the goal of public policy aimed at crafts is not exactly to preserve them but to improve the craftsman´s life quality. In other words, it is an approach aimed to the artist rather than to art or culture[7].

Considering crafts inside the social development agenda is certainly an interesting result per se. However, and this is why it is firstly pointed out, this philosophy influences considerably all the public policy regarding to crafts, this leads us to our following finding**: craftsman status is not enough to be the subject of public support.**

In Mexico, poverty is a necessary condition in order to be beneficiary from crafts public policies. The way in which it is measured varies. However, the requirement is the same; live in poverty. Nowadays it is measured by the person's habitat. This means that to be eligible for public support besides demonstrating being an artisan, this person must live in high poverty areas. According to the rules of operation of FONART, the target population is artisan producers who live in areas of imperative attention[8], or live outside those areas but they are situated in patrimony poverty[9].

Naturally this is a result of a policy designed to seek social development that uses culture and arts as a channel. This means that the craft is a means and not an end in itself, so that the extent of FONART is limited in detriment of those artists (craftspeople) who are not living in areas of high priority or not in the threshold of poverty.

This policy while interesting, may be generating unwanted effects since it does not encourage productivity and quality: no matter how good craftsman the person is, if the artisan is not poor or does live outside high poverty areas, then, is not subject to support. Under this policy, the strengthening of a competitive craft market is diminished. Discriminate artisans due to their economic condition might be leaving out the most skilled, competitive and able to address the international market.

It is possible that if these policies persist, it will not only perpetuate poverty status of the craftsman[10], but also will run the risk of disappearing some craft expressions in Mexico, especially those made by craftspeople who are outside FONART coverage.

Obviously, those artisans who are not subject to the support from the Fund may be subject to other federal benefit (other public policies). For example, they may benefit from programs like PYMEXPORTA[11] or any other program offered by the Ministry of Economy for small and medium enterprises. However, just as it has been happening with FONART, since these programs are designed for other purposes different from the cultural, then, the specificities of culture and arts are not taken into account.

Although, it is worth mentioning that from the FONART administration, important efforts have been made to support those craftspeople that are outside the target population. Nevertheless, since it is not reflected in the rules of operation pursued by the program, these efforts will always depend on the provision of own resources generated by the Fund and, therefore, will never be a guarantee.

Another interesting result that is observed inside the public policy aimed at crafts in Mexico is **the institutionally conception that exists of the craft itself.**

Although the conceptualization of art and culture has been one of the biggest problems that have persisted over the economy of culture. Different approaches to this concept have arisen in the area. Some of them, such as

6 Product of the decentralization of functions. In Mexico, into the design and implementation of public policies, different levels of government can get engaged (Federal, State and Municipal) (Finot, 2001). This process leads to situations like this in which the design falls on a government actor while the application falls on another.

7 It is possible although to notice some actions that suggest an orientation to the preservation of culture. In particular, those relating to the side of the Acquisition of Crafts. Under this aspect craft is acquired by the state. In the same way, actions like the popular contest that focuses on the rescue and preservation of traditional production processes shows a clear focus on art rather than on the artist.

8 According to the operation rules of SEDESOL, from which FONART depends on, its programs are addressed towards the development or imperative areas (PDZP), product of the fusion of the Local Development Programs, the Micro-regions and the Support for priority attention areas. Paying full attention to the backwardness linked with the basic community infrastructure, and the lack of basic services in homes, located in high marginalization places that conform Priority Attention Zones (ZAP), in a specific way, and other locations , territories or regions with equal conditions of backwardness..

9 It is difficult to determine precisely the target population because according to the operating rules for this period published by the Official Journal of the Federation, the target population of FONART are artisans whose income is below the welfare line (ROP, 2011) This consideration implies that it can support people in poverty regardless of the zone where they live, It is different from the consideration of priority attention areas where besides found in poverty, the subject of support must reside in a particular geographic location. Apparently the consideration that prevails is the Priority Attention Zones. In any case, it is noteworthy that the artisan must meet a poverty status in order to be subject of support. No matter how poverty is measured, whether via habitat or via income (recognizing that one way or the other can significantly change the beneficiaries) it is necessary to be poor and craftsman to get the support.

10 This policy may lead to unwanted effects by encouraging some artisans to avoid leaving that condition because of the risk of losing the public benefits.

11 The PYMEXPORTA centers are physical, specialized attention places in international commerce which are located in Mexico to assist the micro, small and medium enterprises to start or to consolidate them in the exporting process.

the anthropology, extremely broad and not very useful for economic analysis[12] while others far more restrictive practically focus in "high culture" leaving out some other cultural expressions. However, despite these efforts, none of the above approaches to art and culture meet the demands of economic analysis. The above mentioned has favored that from the economy side conceptualizations are proposed that allow the classification and measurement of cultural products.

Even though no one can say that there is a formally accepted definition in general terms, academicians have chosen a definition in which it is attributed to consumers the responsibility of saying what art is (art is what people decide it is) (Frey, 2000; Throsby, 2001).

Clearly, the discussion does not focus on whether the craft is a cultural product or not as it is accepted that it is part of the so-called cultural industries and creative industries (Towse, 2005; Banks, 2010). The matter is, that from the economic and statistical[13], point of view, once a product category is considered cultural, it is not disputed if one in particular within that category is or is not cultural.

In sum, the economic conception of culture involves market decisions. As it was anticipated, the policy of crafts in Mexico involves state intervention about the decision of what is considered as artisanal product.

According to the operation rules of the FONART the craft is identified through the differentiation matrix which is the tool that allows evaluating the characteristics of the product as a whole. The result of the application of this matrix may be the identification of a product like; craft, handicraft or hybrid[14]. Of course, the result of this identification influences the allocation of the resource addressing it exclusively to products considered as crafts. From the point of view of the positive economy, this action may result as an imposition of artistic preferences through the subsidy a dictatorial or paternalistic measure which is inconsistent with free-market economic models (Throsby, 2001). However we cannot dismiss this criticism to the system of public subsidy of crafts, it is worth mentioning that this approach is consistent with the current of thought which suggests that the arts, and by consequence, the crafts reflect market failures. That is, to offer external benefits which are not noticed by the market. This argument provides a justification for the allocation of public resources to those crafts cataloged or selected by experts, because under this system the existence and legacy of this heritage to future generations is guaranteed and if it were left to the market, it would likely disappear.

Of course, the establishment of the formal definition of craft leads to other findings of involvement in terms of cultural policy. So our next result is developed on the basis of **the manual and rudimentary nature that the craft production process** must have to be publicly subsidized in Mexico.

Very briefly, the definition of craft subject to public subsidy considers as a craft that one made "by continuous manual processes, aided by rudimentary tools and some of mechanical function that lighten certain tasks".

In short, in order to one product can be considered artisanal in Mexico, it should be made in a manual and rudimentary production process. Under this consideration all those artisanal expressions made by production processes that employ mechanisms semi-industrialized are out of this consideration.

Among the various implications derived from the meaning of the craft as strictly a manual product, highlights its incompatibility with the current that points to crafts as part of the cultural industries (see Towse, 2005; Banks, 2010). To consider crafts as industrialization null product blocks them to be classified into the cultural industries (mainly characterized by their ability to produce goods in an industrial level).Even though it is true that this acceptation is consistent, at least partially, with the definition accepted by UNESCO that, in general terms, states that the most important component of the product must be the artisan handiwork[15]. It is also true that UNESCO itself recognizes those crafts made under industrial processes *"... Even though many crafts are produced in an industrial way, products that exhibit traditional nature (pattern, design, technology or material) are incorporated ..."* (UNESCO, 2009: 26).

Besides these theoretical incompatibilities, the meaning of crafts as an object purely manual has important implications on the development of the sector in Mexico. The incorporation of semi-industrial or industrial production processes promotes productivity and competitiveness of artisans making more efficient the production process would bring stability and growth. However, given the restrictions of the industrial production

12 Under the anthropological perspective culture is practically everything.

13 For statistical purposes the UNESCO (2009) concerns the definition of culture two fundamental aspects: the **creative-cultural debate** under which includes the creative industries (specifically the design and advertising) in the calculation, and the **low cultural dominance,** which is considered the cultural industries and all cultural activities under a given category including social and informal activities. Examples of this include film production, attendance at theaters and even the domestic exhibition of films. In other words, once the activity is classified as culture it is not discussed whether a particular activity within the same activity is culture or not.

14 In the Appendix 1, the reader will find institutional definitions of craft, handicraft and hybrid.

15 The definition of crafts or artisanal products by the International Trade Center (ITC) and UNESCO describes as craft the "products produced by artisans, either completely by hand or with hand tools or even by mechanical means, as long as the direct manual contribution of the artisan remains the most important component of the finished product ... , The special nature of artisanal products is based on their distinctive features, which can be utilitarian, aesthetic, artistic, creative, culturally attached, decorative, functional, traditional, religious and socially symbolic and significant "(UNESCO / ITC, 1997).

for crafts policy in Mexico is limited. Perhaps the main associated risk would be to perpetuate the emerging situation of the sector, condemning it to be a sector with low productivity and little technicalization.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the growth of crafts as an economic sector depends not only on the efforts made from the offer side, it is being affected by other factors in the demand such as greater appreciation, recognition of its quality and price by consumers (Klamer, 2012). However, it is true that some policies aimed at strengthening the artisans could impact assessments and perceptions of consumers. Therefore, we propose the following public policy recommendations.

Education

Perhaps one of the ways to strengthen the crafts is the one that; 1) ensures the persistence of crafts as a sustainable economic activity, and, 2) gives it social recognition and appreciation.

The creation of an artisanal education system in which artisans share their knowledge and skills with apprentices, would establish the basis to prepare future generations. Just like the most of the professions, working as a craftsman requires years of training under the supervision of a master craftsman (Sennett, 2008). So, we believe that a public policy targeted to strengthen the academic offer in crafts, would give the crafts a higher formalization and professionalization.

The nature and range of the training offer should consider the needs of different types of users. In a way that the measure would not create negative externalities by excluding the most vulnerable population[16].Based on the international context, we believe that an approach like the one that is pursued by China may fit the Mexican environment.

In such a way that, far from offering a single, full time, training craft program. It would be better to offer different programs classified according to the need:

1. Higher education craft program, addressed to the young population, the replacement generation of our craftspeople.
2. Training program for employment, aimed at the unemployed population as an alternative to generate jobs.
3. Training program inside workplace, aimed at current craftspeople in order to professionalize and include them in the formal economy.

Of course, the professionalization does not only refer to the usual contents of the trade (materials handling or techniques) but there are other business skills needed such as marketing, accounting, management and finance (Klamer, 2012). About this last point, within the social programs offered by FONART there is one of Training and Technical Assistance designed specifically to provide these tools to artisans. Specifically, the objective of the program is:

... to create a project focused on the transmission of knowledge in the areas of: organization, management, production process improvements, new technologies, sustainability, occupational health, dignity of artisanal life, legal protection and commercialization, through an artisanal diagnosis. The technical assistance is directed to meet a specific need related to the production process of the artisans, by incorporating new technologies and transferring specific knowledge with the purpose of solving problems in the production process and / or technical corrections in the elaboration of the handcrafted piece ..."

Industrialization

The profile of public policy for the crafts in Mexico is concentrated in the most traditional expression of crafts, one whose production process involves high investment of man hours and little mechanization (the artisanal process in its most traditional concept). Under these policies, other artisanal expressions are left outside; those whose production processes involve technology and industrialization.

Placing ourselves back in the international context, in the case of China, public policies addressed to crafts have an emphasis in the technology that allows them to acquire advanced knowledge and modern equipment for product development in order to avoid depending exclusively on traditional crafts (Klamer, 2012)[17].

Without neglecting traditional crafts, national public policy should encourage other forms of craft production, especially those whose production processes involve technology and industrial production.

16 Remember that the traditional profile of the artisan in Mexico is the one of the indigenous people of low income and little formal education; this could leave them outside the scope of such educational offer.

17 It should be mentioned that it is not a tendency which replicates worldwide, policies focused on traditional crafts may be found around the world. For example, the policies in India tend to encourage manual and respectful with the natural resources processes that humanize the consumption of the craft. All of these in detriment of the industrial production processes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Institutional definitions of craft, handicraft and hybrid.

Craft

It is an object or product of communal and cultural identity made by continuous manual processes, aided by rudimentary implements and some of mechanical function that lighten certain tasks. The basic, transformed, raw material is usually from the area inhabited by the artisan. The mastery of the traditional techniques of community heritage allows the artisan to create different objects of varying quality and expertise, stamping them with symbolic and ideological values of the local culture. The craft is created as a lasting or ephemeral product, and its original function is determined in the social and cultural level, in this sense, it may be intended for domestic and ceremonial use, as ornament, clothing, or as working implement. Today, craft production is increasingly heading towards commercialization. The appropriation and control of native, raw materials makes craft products have a communal or regional identity, the same that allows creating a product line with shapes and particular, decorative designs that distinguishes them from others.

Handicraft

It should be understood as one object or product which is the result of a manual or semi-industrialized transformation, from a processed or prefabricated raw material. Both, the techniques and the activity itself don't have an identity of communal and cultural tradition and get lost in time, becoming a temporary work marked by fads and practiced at the individual or family level. The creativity in handicrafts reaches a significant aesthetic

value in the mastery of the ornamentation and the technical transformation but these have a lack of symbolic and ideological values of the society that creates them. The quality of the handicrafts is as variable as that of the crafts: from very simple products to quite elaborate in terms of shapes, designs and decorations. Opposite to the craft tradition, handicrafts are run at the present time and tend to the standardization of their production with the phenomena of globalization and mass culture.

Hybrid

It is the product that preserves the identity's characteristics, the result of a mixture of techniques, materials, decorations and symbolic reinterpretation in objects made with traditional processes that combine aspects of cultural dynamism and globalization, but fail to establish itself as communal, cultural products. One of its main features is the mixture of elements from different nature, both craft and handicraft, in such quantity or such ways that no longer belongs to any of them and form a new category. In some cases, its evolutionary process becomes an artisan tradition.