

# SUJNI EMBROIDERY AND COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE IN BIHAR

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The continuance of handcrafting in India requires its existence not in a museum but in the form of living traditions. Most craftspersons who comprise a large segment of the non-farm rural economy, continue to draw from their ancestral skills and traditional, manual manufacturing modes to eke out a livelihood. In craft clusters the synergy between indigenous culture and aesthetics, material and processes, environment and way of life underpin the sustenance of livelihoods through the handmade. The craft perspective — wherein the quality of being handmade entails a significance that extends beyond the immediacy of the product and into the community of 'makers' — holds particular relevance for the study of embroidery as it combines the objectives of design and feminist studies with an embodied, experiential approach to elicit tacit, non-verbal knowledge often associated with women embroiderers. Sujni<sup>1</sup>, the quintessential embroidery of Bihar, India has a rich heritage of aesthetics and technique, and has received the Geographical Indicator tag — a name or sign used on certain products which corresponds to a specific geographical location or origin, in 2006. The cultural connect of the community of artisans with sujni notwithstanding, this association has been largely limited to small-scale enterprises. Lack of design innovation and marketing avenues led to a crisis where the embroidery faced a downslide almost to the point of extinction. Till date, its practice continues to be fraught with challenges, most of which are encountered by the community of practice comprising women artisans who are often marginalised by gender, literacy levels and social conventions. This raises the question whether the intervention of the private sector can bring about change by offering creative and financial lifelines to the socially repressed women artisans. This paper discusses the initiatives of the private sector and schemes of the government to support the continuation of this craft. In particular, the focus is on the path breaking approach of designer Swati Kalsi to highlight sujni as textile art which, through the process of making, has empowered a small community of women artisans, tracing the journey of the humble stitch from the village environs of Bhusura village of Bihar to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. In so doing, this paper highlights the potential of co-creation between craftspersons and the designers to reinvigorate crafts that may otherwise struggle to stay afloat and also to empower its makers.

**Keywords:** *Sujni, artisans, women empowerment, community, fashion designer*

## 1 Introduction

India's cultural identity has been inextricably entwined with the traditional textiles and handcrafting sector. With the socio-cultural flux resulting from the interplay of the local and the global, there is a constant imperative to balance the need to redefine aesthetics with

commercial viability. Most craftspersons who comprise a large segment of the non-farm rural economy, continue to draw from their ancestral skills and traditional, manual manufacturing modes to eke out a livelihood. Skills of handloom weaving, dyeing and embroidery as well as other indigenous techniques of production enable millions of craftspersons to make a living. An estimated 7 million upto 200 million artisans are engaged in craft production to earn livelihoods (DASRA Annual Report, 2015). India's handicraft and handloom sectors are 24300 crore (approx. USD 4.48 bn) industry contributing 10,000 crore (approx. USD 1.85 bn) to India's export earnings of 1.62 lakh crore (approx. USD 300 bn) (ibid.). Almost 10 million Indians earn more than USD 3 billion annually from handicrafts (Finger & Schuler, 2004). A few exceptions of crafts-based design houses and businesses using handmade products notwithstanding, the commercial potential of the craft sector for the artisans in India remains undefined. The fallout is that the continuing struggle of the craftsman for sustenance of livelihood is the most important factor that is responsible for the exodus of the next generation of artisans to urban cities to search for unskilled employment opportunities. It is a conundrum that this crisis exists even though the creative economy is a highly transformative sector capable of generating employability and income generation, promoting the overall creativity of society to affirm the distinctive identity of genesis and practice of crafts, enhancing the quality of life, and strengthening human resources as the key drivers of these enterprises for empowering them to imagine their own futures and become the true wealth of nations in the 21st century (United Nations Creative Economy Report 2013). These cultural segments are essential for local businesses and can develop 'pathways that encourage creativity and innovation in the pursuit of inclusive, equitable and sustainable growth and development' (ibid). In traditional craft clusters the synergy between culture and aesthetics, material and processes, environment and way of life underpin economic sustenance for livelihood and continuance of the handmade. According to the report by All India Artisans and Craftworkers Welfare Association (AIACA) titled 'Ten Years of Craftmark: Handmade in India' the 12th Five Year Plan is estimated to have provided employment to 10.733 million persons<sup>2</sup> in the handloom and handicraft sectors in 2011. The Cluster Observatory Report estimates that there are around 565 handloom and 3,094 handicrafts clusters in a variety of products. Though precise statistics are unavailable, it is estimated that about 200 million people are employed in these clusters (Craft Economics and Impact Study 2011). The potential of this sector for higher growth includes its capability to act as an important resource for other sectors in terms of knowledge, skills and design (ibid.).

The craft perspective holds particular relevance for the study of embroidery as it combines the objectives of design and feminist studies with an embodied, experiential approach to elicit tacit, non-verbal knowledge often associated with women and embroidery. Sujni, the quintessential embroidery practiced in the state of Bihar exists predominantly within a craft environment where all the makers are women. A similar initiative has been taken by Indrajit De and Saumya Pande who are engaged with the initiatives of Zameen Astar Foundation for women's empowerment in the Kishanganj district of Bihar to show how the migration of the ethnic Surjapuri and the Shershabadi communities from West Bengal impacts the 'visual vocabulary and craft of quilting' (De and Pande, 2018) setting it apart from similar embroideries. Unlike most embroidery in India, the traditional aesthetic heritage and technique of sujni is a story of needlework and women. In spite of having received the Geographical Indicator tag in 2006 and included in the list of traditional crafts supported by the schemes of the Government of India, the practice of sujni is fraught with challenges, most of which are encountered by the community of practice comprising women artisans

who are often marginalised by gender, literacy levels and social conventions. Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger refer to the robust form of communities of interest that lead to sustainable learning as ‘community of practice’ comprising groups of people who share a concern or passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly (Lave and Wenger, 1991). This raises the question: Can the intervention of the private sector bring about a change by offering an economic lifeline to the socially marginalised rural women artisans?

## **2 METHODOLOGY**

To address the question, this paper goes beyond the associated narratives of historicity, appearance and technique of traditional embroidery to focus on sujni, the quintessential embroidery practiced by the women in the Muzaffarpur district and some villages of Madhubani district of Bihar. It traces the socio-cultural journey of the humble sujni stitch from the village environs to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. In particular, we highlight the case study of fashion-textile artist Swati Kalsi who engages with rural women artisans in fifteen villages of Muzaffarpur, Bihar to harness the creative possibilities of materials and techniques through design inputs to facilitate community-based embroidery practices. With the objective of studying the tripartite synergy among design professionals, community of practice and handcrafted textiles, the lived experiences of the women artisans are studied through participant observation, semi-structured interviews and a field visit in order to understand their motivations in engaging with sujni embroidery and its impact on their lives. This document is formatted using the IASDR style and formatting. All styles are preceded with ‘IASDR’ so it is easily identifiable in the Styles menu.

## **3 SEMIOTICS OF SUJNI**

Hand embroidery and woven textiles in the handcrafting and handloom sectors respectively, are the mainstay of Indian fashion. The ‘Indian thread is something of an arterial lifeline that connects the spirit of this vast nation’ (Tewari, 2013). While sujni embroidery is believed to go back several generations, the extant sample is dated around the mid-1920s. The etymology of sujni, a Hindi word, derives from su meaning ‘propitious’ and jani meaning ‘birth’. Drawing from belief in the local deity known as Chitirya Ma<sup>3</sup>, sujni combines and layers fabric remnants into a larger and complete whole. It is a labour intensive method that incorporates white or coloured fabric pieces derived from a used saree and dhoti<sup>4</sup> that have become soft with prolonged years of wear and washes, and then quilting them together using recycled yarn from the discarded garments usually of the same colour as the base fabric. There are ‘105-210 stitches per square inch’ depending on the finesse of the work (Ranjan & Ranjan, 2008). Though the stitch repertoire is predominantly characterised by running stitches, harua<sup>5</sup> and sikadi<sup>6</sup> stitches are also used. The purpose is to make a quilted sheet or soft coverlet to swaddle the newborn infant after birth as it closely replicates the touch and aroma of the mother’s skin and is akin to enveloping the infant in a gentle maternal embrace. The base material has now given way to a thicker cotton, or a cheaper variety of white or coloured markeem (muslin) or Tussar silk. Commercial embroidery skeins are used to develop a product range that includes home products such as quilts, bed sheets, cushions as well as clothing items such as the saree and kurta<sup>7</sup>.

Sujni is frequently compared to Kantha which is the typical and widely recognised embroidery from the neighbouring state of West Bengal which finds frequent mention in

fashion and textile literature. Traditionally both sujni and kantha used the yarn unpicked from borders of saris and used for re-embroidery on a different fabric base. However, there are some differences between the two handcrafting techniques. In both cases, the stitches include straight as well as curvilinear running lines. Another difference is that sujni embroidery often involves the outlining of motifs with chain stitch in black or dark colours while kantha motifs are outlined with running stitch.

Sujni can be differentiated from other forms of quilting practiced by women in almost all parts of India by its unique narrative elements. This has played a significant role in the international recognition received by this embroidery as evidenced in the exhibition pamphlet produced by the Asia Society in New York in 1998 on eastern Indian quilts (Gunning, 2000). The motifs are usually designed and embroidered by the women to express their emotions and experiences, transforming the simple quilt into a story of their lives. Traditional auspicious motifs express a mother's love and protective instinct for her child. Other embroidered motifs represent the daily rhythms of their everyday lives including life-giving forces of the sun as source of heat and cloud as the source of rain, fertility symbols, sacred animals believed to provide fortification against malevolent forces and to elicit divine blessings. The colour of the embroidery skeins are symbolic of nature – red represents the life force of blood, yellow denotes the sun, green represents nature, and blue is the infinity of the sky and life-giving water. Over the years, the repertoire of motifs has extended to include iconography from everyday life in rural settings, or recurring events – the transition from day to night, episodes of Hindu epics, village deities and environment. Of significance are the relatively recent development of visual representations of social messages - struggle for women's rights in a patriarchal society, angst of child marriage and female infanticide, political and domestic violence, marriage dowry for the daughter, community congregation of male villagers amidst women with veiled faces, desire for female education including daughters, lessons in healthcare and other topics of direct relevance to their lives.

#### **4 COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE**

The community of practitioners of textile crafts embody notions of traditional skills performed in familiar surroundings. The most common use of community is in relation to geography where 'community' is used as a 'label for a group of people defined by a bounded space or distinct locale, such as a neighbourhood, town or region' (DiSalvo et al. 2013:184). The geographic community alone does not necessarily constitute an internal shared sense of belongingness; it may be characterised by a 'shared imagery' or that the 'geographic construct of a community is imposed from the outside, perhaps tied to infrastructural or legislative markers such as roads or voting districts, while internal to the geographic bounding there could be a multiplicity of distinct communities identified by identity vectors and/or shared interests and practices' (Anderson 1991). One way of understanding a community is to focus on its shared interests and practices where there is an ongoing shared involvement or knowledge of the origin of craft lineage embedded in the collective experience, community memory and aesthetic conventions of the cluster (Jha & Narang 2015).

In spite of the cultural connect of the community of artisans with sujni, this association has been largely limited to small-scale enterprises. Lack of design innovation and marketing avenues led to a crisis where sujni embroidered products faced a downslide almost till the point of extinction. In 1988, it received a boost with the initiative of Adithi, a voluntary agency

which has made significant contribution in the revival of sujni in association with Mahila Vikas Sahyog Samiti (MVSS), an NGO registered as an autonomous society. MVSS coordinates sujni projects with the artisans living in Bhusura and the four nearby villages of Manipur, Baghakhal, Dhanaur and Ramnagar where there are small craft clusters spread across the surrounding areas of Hasna, Ramnagar, Durganagar, Dahiya, Kothiya, Chidaila and Jarang. It undertakes training of the sujni embroiderers, provides them with raw materials, takes orders from the indenting organisation and assigns it to the artisans. Their payments are made at fair wage rates on completion of the assignment. Nirmala Devi, Chairperson of MVSS has been instrumental in taking the initiative in promoting sujni. Approximately about 400 women from 22 villages around Bhusura are currently working on this embroidery technique. This is in consonance with the idea of neighbourhood based organisations functioning as a means of providing coherence and providing proximal opportunities for interaction' (DiSalvo et al. 2013). The sujni project has given the opportunity to disadvantaged women such as widows and women who want to send their children including the girl child to school. Evidence of the benefits of their empowerment motivates other traditional housewives restricted by social customs to step out beyond their homes to earn money which provides the opportunity to break the cycle of poverty. The profession of sujni embroidery is deemed respectable even by the male members of the family and by the in-laws. The scope for independent income is especially important for women as they experience a sense of self-confidence in being able to supplement their families' meagre income from agriculture.

Sujni embroidery received the Craftmark recognition by AIACA as well as official recognition and protection in 2006 under the GI Registration Act. Other Government schemes have also extended support for the craft. Baba Saheb Ambedkar Hastshilp Vikas Yojana is a government initiative to develop the clusters and implement through 'specialised interventions such as design development, skill upgradation, technology support, marketing and infrastructural support' (Scheme under the Office of the Development Commissioner – Handicrafts). The Marketing Support & Service Scheme of this office aims to create wider 'awareness about Indian handcrafted products through marketing events which encourage entrepreneurship and provide financial assistance to state handicrafts corporations for setting up new retail outlets' (ibid).

However, sujni faces disadvantages that do not augur well for its growth. The intricacy of the embroidery and inadequate electricity cause intense strain on the eyes while the non-ergonomic seating arrangement causes back pain. The clusters largely comprise young girls between the age of 16-20 years, many of who have worked with sujni for at least one year to subsequently marry and migrate to another village or town. The fluctuation in the numbers of the artisans is also due to discontinuation of embroidery practice by women after marriage and childbirth. While on the one hand, the idea of independent earning is attractive for women from different communities as well, there is insecurity regarding the inadequacy of the monthly income ranging from 300 -1000 rupees, delayed payments and the intermittent flow of work.

## **5 DESIGN INITIATIVES BY SWATI KALSI**

Swati Kalsi, a graduate from the National Institute of Fashion Technology, Delhi in 2003 is a fashion and textile designer-maker-artist whose eponymous label 'Swati Kalsi' falls within the genre of wearable textile art using sujni embroidery. The experience of being one of the

designers working from 2008 – 2011 at Jiyo an initiative launched by designer and cultural preserver Rajeev Sethi's Asian Heritage Foundation under which creative grassroots enterprises are self-managed by the skilled poor, inculcated a deep-rooted concern to enable skilled but economically vulnerable communities to develop cultural livelihoods. Recognising such communities as India's most important cultural and creative resource who need to be empowered and recognised for their repository of traditional knowledge, her singular approach to sujni lies at the intersection of art and design as works of wearable art. Textile artists often strive to reach the status of 'high art' they believe the embroidery genre deserves (ibid). Kalsi's endeavour to discover a vocabulary that she could claim as her own, led to her tryst with the sujni artisans of fifteen villages of Bhusura district in the Gaighat block of Muzaffarpur in Bihar through re-interpretation of the indigenous embroidery. Her first independent collection in 2012 leveraging the potential of sujni, was reflective of her design aesthetic which was conceptual in nature and realised through the intricacies of the technique. This unique approach stemmed from an inherent understanding that in order to be ecologically sustainable, traditional knowledge needs a crucial interface to navigate its way into the vernacular of contemporary design to reposition itself in the national fashion scenario. The overarching purpose has been to create a truly swadeshi<sup>8</sup> brand that understands, leverages and showcases the inherent potential of sujni to create fashion of uncompromising quality that transcends geographical and cultural boundaries.

## **6 PARTICIPATORY DESIGN PRACTICE WITH ARTISANS**

In 2012 Kalsi organised the first workshop at Delhi for the women artisans of Bhusura and other neighbouring villages. The dual thrust on design direction and new orientation to skilling formed the base for sustained endeavour. The embroidery has slow, singular, portable production that is convenient for these women. Kalsi has adopted an inclusive approach to leverage the inherent but under-rated knowledge of oral traditions and skills of the craftspersons handed down the generations. She engages in discussion with the embroiderer, sketching as she explains the specific design direction which includes the size and balance of the composition, colour, quality and direction of the stitches. An embroidery sample is developed that is indicative of her vision for each piece. The germ of the idea grows organically, guided not by a rigid khaka<sup>9</sup> but an indicative one that results in patterns of artistic abstraction with unusual combinations of coloured silk and metallic yarn. For Kalsi, the appeal of sujni lies in the 'design aesthetics as in the participatory process of making'<sup>10</sup> wherein there is scope for flexibility by the artisans to interpret her concepts. The embroidery process completely engages each maker who responds to the feel of the fabric and the nature of the yarn in their hands, improvising on the embroidery. However, the final decision on the aesthetic destination is taken by the designer. The embroidery has a distinct design vocabulary that is dense and yet eschews ostentation. It is a slow, contemplative process where the rhythm emerges from the measured and calm pace of work. The unreplicable quality of each piece draws attention to the extreme intricacy of workmanship and symbolises its 'humanness' and charm. The identity of the individual maker and the product fuse into a collective albeit in a more spontaneous manner where each piece is niche and characterised by her signature style. The layered and textured pieces are situated at the cusp of design, art and craft, have contemporary relevance. Kalsi's contemporary approach to make unique one-off pieces of textile art is instrumental in ensuring that they remain beyond the vagaries of fashion.



*Figure 1. Sujni embroidery in progress. Source: Swati Kalsi*

At the heart of the absorbing practice of sujni embroidery is a satisfaction that is almost therapeutic. The sujni artisans express palpable satisfaction in the creative flow where they exhibit an interesting balance of intense concentration combined with small talk indicative of their interpersonal camaraderie. The opportunity and process of embroidery are both satisfying and sustaining for them. They exhibit commitment and emotional attachment to their work indicative of their self-identity being often linked to their practice. The motivations of the women embroiderers for producing textiles that are aesthetically meaningful have strengthened over time. There is growing awareness that it is through sujni that their daughters may have the opportunity in future to overcome illiteracy and for their voices to be heard within and beyond their homes. They realise that the practice of sujni needs to continue and flourish as it is vital to their individual identity. The success of Kalsi's initiatives can be measured by the continued sustenance of limited handcrafted items using traditional sujni embroidery which in turn, continues to empower communities of women artisans engaged in its practice.



*Figure 2. Swati Kalsi with sujni embroiderers. Source: Swati Kalsi*

From 2012 onwards Kalsi organises annual workshops in Delhi for a fortnight to a month for 15-20 women artisans which includes facilitation of their travel, boarding and lodging. This gives them valuable exposure to skill updation. In the scenario of disenchantment and continued loss of traditional handcrafted techniques in the crafts sector, Kalsi's commitment to ethical work practices and the tenets of sustainability becomes more meaningful. The authenticity of the region and culture from which sujni emanates is duly recognised and the community of women practitioners that produce the work are duly compensated. Usually made in natural fabrics, the items include reversible jackets with altered patterns, swing



jackets, capes, palazzos, wrap skirts and sarees. The embroidery whether sparse or dense in achromatic, aquatic or jewel tones, are dense yet not overwhelming. The value of the items stems from the quality of fine workmanship that underpins the traditional techniques and the social angle. The prices of pure cotton, linen and silk items begin from 15,000 rupees (approximately £150); the more intricate pieces command higher prices starting from 1,50,000 to 300,000 rupees per piece (approx. £1500-3000). The pricing is testimony to her confidence that discerning consumers would appreciate the aesthetics and the labor-intensive process in order to justify investment in the originality and uniqueness of each handcrafted piece. Against the backdrop of history, heritage and culture, the artistic renditions and authenticity of limited editions of signature sujni pieces using traditional artisanal skills have reinvigorated the overexposed branded luxury fashion market and positioned the 'handcrafted in villages' as the new luxury. However, high costs and challenges of development and innovation pose challenges for sustainability, thereby also necessitating a diversified range with varying price points.

In 2014 she showcased a capsule collection highlighting sujni at the Summer/Resort edition of Lakme Fashion Week in Mumbai. This aesthetic quality was recognised by Lekha Poddar of the Devi Art Foundation and led to the inclusion of Swati Kalsi among the designers invited to participate at an exhibition in 2015 titled 'Fracture: Indian textiles, New conversations' featuring a diverse range of hand-made Indian contemporary textiles curated by textile aficionados and design practitioners Mayank Mansingh Kaul, Rahul Jain and Sanjay Garg. It addressed the gap resulting from the lack of museum quality masterpieces by including textiles that depart from tradition towards contemporary interpretations. Swati Kalsi's sculptural textile from the 'Fracture' show was among the curated pieces included in the 'Fabric of India' exhibition of historical and contemporary Indian textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London in 2015 -16. This singular piece combined sujni with couching technique to great effect 'providing visual variation and texture' (Crill, 2015) which found appreciative resonance among a global audience.



*Figure 3: Section of sujni embroidered textile at V&A museum. Photo courtesy: Swati Kalsi*

In working towards creating demand that can sustain handcrafting, fashion designers have become 'the modern-day patrons' (Gale and Kaur, 2011) of the Indian crafts sector which 'is one of the last of its kind' (ibid.). Sass Brown credits Swati Kalsi with being a craft revivalist in textile innovation and bringing contemporary relevance to artisanal handcrafted textiles 'by engaging with artisans in an interactive creative process to create distinct pieces of work on the edge of design, craft and art' (Brown 2015). Sujni embroidery in traditional motifs and earthy colours is widely available and better priced. Kalsi's modern renditions while



maintaining the authenticity of technique, have reinvigorated and repositioned sujni in a new idiom which caters to a global luxury aesthetic and evokes interest among the cognoscenti and affluent buyers for bespoke pieces. In so doing, her design approach to handcrafting underscores the originality of her style as being akin to art, which has a higher value than those that are considered traditional. Kalsi's commitment to maintaining the historicity of sujni through engagement with the community of practice through contemporary design interpretation has, in turn, has brought national and global visibility to this embroidery.

## 7 CONCLUSION

The subject of textiles, with its concomitant processes of making, use and even disappearance, cannot be examined in isolation. It may be so deeply implicated in the lives of its makers that it has the power to influence their destinies, as well as familial and even social structures. Conjoining craft and design can enhance the value of craft tradition and recognise the contribution of the makers 'while simultaneously re-contextualising and re-valuing the artisanal work through sophisticated design' (Brown 2015). Swati Kalsi's approach to co-creation with the community of practitioners of sujni has transformed the humble, everyday sujni into an embroidery technique with finesse, thus conferring couture status to selected items of clothing. Swati Kalsi's use of sujni is significant insofar as she is the only Indian designer whose method has empowered rural women embroiderers by encouraging them to dream and aspire. Ironically, the same uniqueness that makes Swati Kalsi's work noteworthy also poses a problem. At one end, it has fostered the positive change described in this paper. On the other, it renders her approach difficult to compare to that of any other designer. Nonetheless, it could be argued that the quality of being rare holds enormous potential for researchers looking to explore innovative and collaborative solutions to issues that plague the Indian craft communities today. Kalsi exhibits exemplary conviction and patience in training the makers till they attain a degree of self-reliance. and confidence to continue to embroider. Her work underscores the need for the continuance of the handmade not in a museum but in the form of living and evolving traditions. As with other crafts, exploring the potential of sujni also requires design intervention and collaboration of stakeholders – women's organisations, craft organisations, business professionals, government and non-government organisations to create a supportive ecosystem for artisans who want their craft to evolve as well as self-sufficiency and better livelihoods for themselves. Thus, when placed at the intersection of business, craftsmanship and market access, craft traditions and the communities of practice can be sustained. Recognition, financial support and a vision for the future can energise not only the makers of sujni, but equally artisans of other handicrafts so that their skills can continue to flourish.

## 8 NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Sujni embroidery work of Bihar is protected under the Geographical Indications of Goods (Registration & Protection) Act (GI Act) 1999 of the Government of India. It was registered by the Controller General of Patents Designs and Trademarks under the title 'Sujini Embroidery Work of Bihar' and recorded under GI Application number 74, Class 26 as a textile item. The GI tag was approved on 21 September 2006

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Steering Committee on Handlooms and Handicrafts constituted for the Twelfth Five Year Plan (2012-2017), VSE Division, Planning Commission, Govt. of India, 2012

<sup>3</sup> (*trans*) 'The Lady of Tatters'

- <sup>4</sup> Unstitched fabric draped into a bifurcated lower garment for men
- <sup>5</sup> Filling stitch
- <sup>6</sup> Chain stitch
- <sup>7</sup> Indian unisex tunic
- <sup>8</sup> From one's own country; from India
- <sup>9</sup> Design drawn on paper prior to transference on fabric
- <sup>10</sup> In conversation with the author

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