

Understanding Humanitarian Heritage in India's Craft Communities: Craft of Bangle making in Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh

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Understanding Humanitarian Heritage in India's Craft Communities: Craft of Bangle making in Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh

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Preface

A shift from product to process centric approach involving the people results in a better sustenance of intangible heritage systems in a contemporary society.

This research sets out to explore an alternative approach to the conceptualization of ‘heritage’ extending beyond the tangible to the intangible. Craft and its formulation is understood as a result of the basic nature of human expression which is in turn reflective of the social, cultural and economic values in a given place and time. Self-expression is a fundamental nature of human society and any craft that gets established over a period of time in a place as a result of this collective expression gets intertwined and is generated out of its socio-cultural fabric.

In the backdrop of material culture and its production processes the research will focus on “Craft” based society in the North Indian city-Firozabad as its Genus Loci. Interlacing the residential, commercial and industrial sectors of the city, the production of bangle, penetrates the daily cycle and lifestyle of the people of Firozabad. A humanitarian approach in reading the structures and patterns situated around improvisation of skills that have been passed on from generation to generation, is employed for understanding existing traditional way of life.

Giving a new perspective to this historic town and settlement, the study will focus on:

1. Whether the craft of bangle making of Firozabad can be established as an aspect of humanitarian heritage?
2. How does this shift from product- to process-centric approach can result in better sustenance of these intangible heritage systems in the present scenario?

Objectives of the study

- To establish the process of bangle making as humanitarian heritage, thereby safeguarding the craft of Firozabad. This would lead to the sustenance of craft and transfer of embodied knowledge systems to the future generations, and inclusion of communities associated directly or indirectly with the craft.
- To document the emerging socio-spatial processes emerging from community networks situated around the craft.
- To conceptualize the notions of Community Heritage, sense of belongingness and value base in case of Firozabad that has witnessed human civilization, as an integral part of a community's identity and belongingness giving value to their existence.
- To establish Firozabad as humanitarian heritage, thereby safeguarding the future generation from loss of embodied knowledge systems and economic crisis. And hence encouraging a sustainable future emerging out of socio-cultural existence with craft as a collective action.

Glossary

<i>jalai/jhalai</i>	melting of edges of unjoint bangle
<i>judai</i>	joining of bangle into its closed loop
<i>thele vala</i>	a cart puller, in this context one who transports bangles
<i>judai wala</i>	the craftsman who does <i>judai</i>
<i>jhalai wala</i>	the craftsmen who does <i>jhalai</i>
<i>tudai wala</i>	the person who cuts the single spiral into individual un-jointed units
<i>karigar</i>	the craftsman
<i>suhag nagri</i> means	<i>suhag</i> refers to good fortune and <i>nagri</i> refers to settlement, together it means a settlement of good fortune
<i>kaanch nagri</i>	<i>kaanch</i> refers to glass and <i>nagri</i> refers to settlement, together it means a settlement of glass
<i>reh</i>	<i>alkaline earths used for making early Indian glass</i> , common throughout India in the plains and comprises of silica and sodium carbonate
<i>assi haath</i>	eighty hands, in the context of Ferozabad it refers to the number of people engaged in the formation of a single product, the glass bangle
<i>belan</i>	rolling pin
<i>belanwalah</i>	the craftsman who works with the rolling pin
<i>tarkash</i>	the craftsman who draws a thin filament of glass from the melt and places it steadily on the rotating rod, so that the constant turning motion gives the filament a spiral shape
<i>muthia</i>	the craftsman who uses an abrasive tool to cut off lengths of the spiral at periodic intervals
<i>belan bhatti</i>	furnace
<i>todas</i>	set of 320 single unit of bangles tied in a loop form
<i>gulliwalah</i>	a craftsman who uses a long iron pole to scoop out a glob of molten glass from the pot furnace at a temperature of around 1300 °C
<i>sekai bhatti</i>	furnace
<i>sekaiwalah</i>	the craftsman who gives the semi-fused glob of glass a roughly cylindrical shape by rotating the rod near the <i>sekai bhatti</i>
<i>shishagars</i>	body of men who descended from those who made desi bangles from the local <i>reh</i> deposits
<i>tarwalah</i>	<i>a craftsman who</i> is seated in front of an open furnace, holds the rod with a blob of glass and reheats it out and draws out the end of it into a thread by attaching it to another iron rod which is passed through the furnace to him
<i>lom uthane walah</i>	person who dips the iron rod into the molten glass
<i>katai wala</i>	person who cuts the spiral into individual units
<i>chatai wala</i>	person who sorts out the broken bangles from the <i>todas</i>

1. Introduction

“Culture and heritage are not about stones and buildings – they are about identities and belongings. They carry values from the past that are important for the societies today and tomorrow. [...] We must safeguard the heritage because it is what brings us together as a community; it is what binds us within a shared destiny.”¹



Figure 1 Bunch of glass bangles at a local shop.

Humanitarian heritage has been looked at primarily through the lens of conflict among communities, be it war zones, refuge centres or disaster-prone areas, for generating a sense of equity and peace among cultures. International humanitarian law is concerned with setting the rules to protect human rights and limit the effects of armed conflict besides preserving cultural and archaeological property in areas of armed conflict.² It has been exposed to multiple threats of being lost. The idea of encouraging heritage as humanitarian is to safeguard the communities beyond buildings and stone. Firozabad is such an example where the bangle making community a medieval craft, is dying an untimely death because of the various threats posed. Identifying the process as heritage and safeguarding the craft of Firozabad, would lead to the sustenance of craft and transfer of embodied knowledge to the future generations, this includes larger communities working directly and indirectly with the craft. Firozabad is more than a witness to human civilization, an integral part of a communities identity and belongingness giving value to their existence. It is about the accumulated culture of communities, the ideas that bind them together and help shape their sense of identity, something that can provide resilience in the face of challenges to livelihoods or even to existence.³ Posing Firozabad as humanitarian heritage as one amongst the numerous craft centres established during the medieval period for the sustenance of humanity through its product, will result in saving lives from loss of embodied knowledge, economic crisis, and establishing a sustainable future, socio

cultural existence and craft as a collective action. The dilemma about humanitarian priorities is often posed in a stark manner: surely humanitarians' number one priority is saving lives? Don't lives matter more than buildings?⁴



Figure 2 A female craftsman adding embellishment to the glass bangles. Source: Aljazeera https://www.aljazeera.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/20141226115227573494_8.jpeg, as accessed on 28-02-2021

The products ranged from daily use objects to highly furbished objects produced by skilled craftsmen. These crafts are identified as intangible heritage. Their production depends on the socio-cultural processes of communities which have been passed through generations. These processes are networks of small to large scale stages of crafts production, among different households of a community, where each household is responsible for the completion of an intricate job (Figure 16). "Each family is responsible for only one stage of bangle making, completes the bangles in bundles and they are paid after returning the completed bundles to the contractors"⁵. Multiple observations have directed these processes critical for the sustenance of the craft and the community, stating the processes to be identified as heritage for the community and by the community. In the backdrop of material culture and its production processes the paper focuses on "Craft" based societies in a north Indian city of Firozabad. The paper brings forth the discussion at two levels, whether Firozabad craft can be established as an aspect of humanitarian heritage? And how this shift from product to process centric approach results in a better sustenance of these intangible heritage systems in a contemporary society.

Firozabad, a small industrial town near Agra, Uttar Pradesh, in Northern India has emerged as the Glass City of India and is the centre of manufacturing of various glass products- glassware, toys, chandeliers, beads and bangles. It was during the Mughal rule in the 16th century that many Persian craftsmen came to India and played an important role in the manufacture of glass articles. This

ushered a new era in the history of glass technology and Firozabad, a non-descript town on the outskirts of Agra, located on the bed of river Yamuna, emerged as the centre in glass manufacturing. The research particularly focuses on the craft of bangle making in Firozabad amongst others. Historically, its production had been confined to small scale household production, within a closed community which manifested itself within the domestic setup of families. Industrialization, requirements of mass production of glass bangles, and environmental considerations led to the separation and then relocation of the traditional production of glass to industrial zones on the outskirts of the city. Consequently, a large number of skilled and unskilled craftspersons have been employed in these production units. However, the study has shown that the collective control and discipline of the tradition and craft of making glass products such as bangles is still critically alive in the domestic environment.



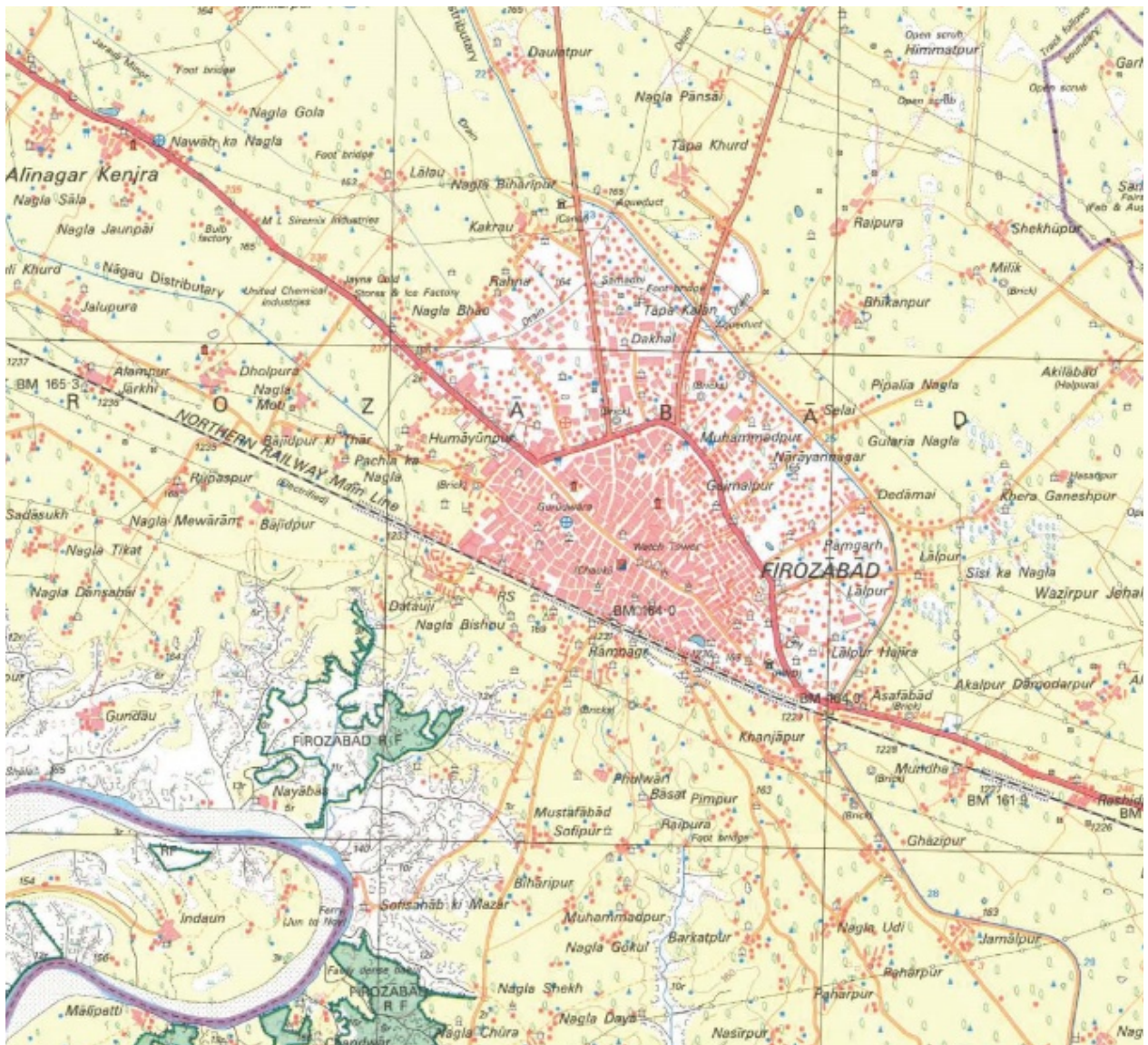


Figure 3 (a) (b) Location Map of Firozabad. Source: Maps of India, Survey of India, 1st edition 2011

Consequently, a large number of skilled and unskilled craftspersons have been employed in these production units. Out of seven-lakh population of the town, aside from the factory owners, everyone else belongs to the working class.⁶ “The Indian Glass Industry has been estimated around Rs. 225 billion in 2012 in which the organized sector is dominant at about 55% whereas the unorganized sector (majorly based in small cities consisting small and medium scale industries) accounts for about 45%. In the unorganized sector in India 70% of the total glass production is contributed by Firozabad glass industry, which is India's biggest glass industry cluster. The cluster holds a unique position consisting of micro, small and medium units located at one place and being capable of producing a variety of glass products ranging from art ware, chandeliers to multi-coloured bangles.”⁷

According to Dijendra Mohan Sharma, a senior resident and journalist, “about 90 percent of the population is directly or indirectly related to bangle industry....There are more than 191 glass-bangle

factories registered by government, and in a single factory around 200 people work”⁸. However, the study has shown that the collective control and discipline of the tradition and craft of making glass products such as bangles is still critically alive in the domestic environment. “Half of the work is done in factories but the other half, which is the most important, is done in people’s homes. Every family member works on bangles in such homes”⁹. “Although the main work is done in factories, the decoration, soldering of the joints, straightening and bending are done in homes. Since bangle industry has no formal industrial set up and a large number of men, women and children are involved in this industry, working in their homes.”¹⁰

The craft of bangle making is a complex, multi-layered process that involves skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled craftpersons located at multiple locations in an interconnected chain-like structure. Even with industrialization of glass blowing and bangle spirals being produced in the industrial zones, the latter components of the craft of bangles have remained a household activity (Refer FIG. 20b). For instance, a female craftswomen (30 years old) who engages in Gold silver and polish work respondent, and has been associated with the craft for the last 22 years informed during the survey that her family consists of 6 members and all members are involved in the craft. Out of 6 members four are children out of which two go to school.¹¹

An analysis of the production through the day, reflects a cyclic integration with household activities as most of the industrial production is carried out in the mornings and then distributed in the households for completion during the day. The entire family is involved in the process of *jalai, judai* and decoration intertwined with the daily chores and activities within the household. This flexibility

ghar ke neeche hee hain... theek hai par jagah kam padti hai, karaye ka bhaada padega 2000-3000 ft, ghar toh bade hote hee hain, jinke ghar mein jagah nahin hoti woh godown dhoondte hai, kahan kahan jaake baithe
Godown owner (Annexure 2)

It is below our house only.....Thats fine.. but rent will be very high..2-3000rs per square feet. Houses are big anyway.. People who don't have a space within the house.. they look for a Godown.. which all places will you be sitting.
Godown owner (Annexure 2)

and integration has also led to the sustenance of the craft at the household level.



Figure 4 Production of Glass bangles at the factory unit.

The process entails a phenomenon that is a sum total of its perception, recognition and practice in a given period of time and an accumulation of the socio-cultural capital derived from the humanness of craft making. Craft is therefore an expression of complex manifestation of the community of human living, of collective human behavior developed in a place over time. The 'Glass Bangle' in the case of Firozabad is that social object which defines the complex relationships between the place and the people and provides them with their unique cultural identity. It becomes a social object that informs not only the formulation of cultural domains but also the spatial domain. An analysis of the social structure and the craft process leads to understanding the identities of those craft producers. The *thele vala*, *judai wala*, *jhalai wala*, *tudai wala*, *karigars* etc (Figure 16). are different nomenclatures imparted to the people involved in the craft making process that provides them their social identity. Craft production therefore is creating personhood, defining social categories and social relationships.

In the last few decades the craft of bangle making in Firozabad has declined and with this the community has been facing social and financial issues. "The traditional industry of the bangle town is now being replaced by glass units leaving more labourers unemployed due to increased mechanisation."¹² Further, the decline can be attributed to completion from international market,¹³ economic reform,¹⁴ changes in taxation structure and local environmental considerations.¹⁵

The research methodology for the study of the craft of bangle making is based on a grounded theory approach.¹⁶ The exploratory research in 2018 entailed following and mapping the movement of a single glass bangle through the streets and fabric of the city of Firozabad. This helped in uncovering a process that was inherent to the field of inquiry. The flexible approach of following a bangle through the fabric of the city enabled to map the process both socially and spatially.

Research methods employed include both ethnographic as well as spatial and physical mapping techniques. The study heavily builds up on its analysis from the Primary sources which include:

- a. Semi-structured interviews with various participants of the bangle process such as factory owners, skilled craftsman, retailers including unskilled labourer (8-10 at present);
- b. Questionnaire survey (30 in number) conducted in Hindi for a community involved in the craft in the traditional part of the city;
- c. Participatory observation methods.
- d. Spatial Mapping.
- e. Photographic documentation.

Secondary sources include reviewing of relevant literature in the field of built environment, socio-cultural and spatial studies; reports, national and regional policy and planning documents; census and archival data pertaining to the bangle making craft in Firozabad.

The primary survey was conducted with four different communities within Firozabad residing at different locations through the random sampling method and aimed at interviewing respondents from all four identified stakeholder categories. Both semi-structured interviews and questionnaire surveys were employed to collect responses from the community to develop a more nuanced understanding of each of the stakeholders and particularly the craftsmen. The two main objectives of the survey was; first to understand the relationship between craft and craftsmen, and second to understand attitudes, perceptions and associations of the stakeholders with the craft in order to project the scenario of the future sustenance of the craft. The survey questionnaire was designed under four broad categories:

I	Social Profile	Name, age, level of education, nature and years of involvement with the craft
II	Family Structure	Number of family Members, those involved in the craft, association with the craft etc.
III	Craft and household	Duration and level of engagement with the craft, spatial requirement for the practice of the craft, Implications pertaining the practice of craft etc.
IV	Future sustenance of the craft.	Perception of the craft, participation of future generations etc.

Figure 5 Broad categories of the questionnaire survey for all the stakeholders within the Firozabad cluster.

The respondents were primarily between the age of 20 to 60, majority being between 30-40 years.

1.1 Humanitarian Heritage and its socio-cultural aspects

Firozabad is a craft settlement which has found its identity in glass making as an industry. Historically, it was also one of the major glass producing settlement for the most important capital of the Mughal India, Agra during the 17th and 18th Century A.D. The craftsmen of Firozabad have found solace in producing glass bangles and glass chandeliers, involving almost all its individual within the primary and ancillary activities of glass industry, making it one of the essential human, cultural and social capital. The craft of glass making has provided generations to sustain economically, socially and culturally where the masses have been dependent on the craft and its working for the sustenance of themselves and their community. In due course of time the craft has expanded far and wide as a settlement and a major glass producing centre in India and even making its mark in the global market.



Figure 6 Collective effort of a craftsman family in Firozabad decorating glass bangles, converting it into a finished product. Source: https://www.aljazeera.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/20141226115227526720_8.jpeg?fit=770%2C513

Firozabad is an established craft settlement known for its glass bangle production both nationally and globally. It is locally also known as *Suhagnagri* or *Kaanch Nagri*. 'The cluster occupies a special position as it accounts for 70% of the total glass production in MSME (Micro Small and Medium Enterprises) sector...The cluster is very important because of the fact that glass bangles in India are almost exclusively produced in this cluster'.¹⁷ In 2010, it produced 68000 metric tonnes of glass bangles with an export value of Rs. 500 crores¹⁸. According to an estimate by TERI, each day, glass units in Firozabad produce an estimated 2000 tonnes of glass products, including 50 million bangles, and provide direct employment to an estimated 1,50,000 people.¹⁹

Nearly 60% of the total population is directly involved in glass bangle making. According to the Brief Industrial Profile for the District of Firozabad²⁰ (Figure 7) Glass & Glassware still forms the major base with regard to Micro and Small Enterprises and Artisan Units in the District. Further, (Figure 8 Glass and Glassware top contributor: Exports from Uttar Pradesh in the MSME Sector. <http://phdcci.in/image/data/Research%20Bureau-2014/Economic%20Developments/Economic-Figure-82018/Aug/Rising%20Uttar%20Pradesh.pdf>) shows that Glass and Glassware is the top contributor to the exports from Uttar Pradesh in the MSME cluster. It has the maximum number of units, with highest investments and also the sector providing maximum number of employment with 33,776 people directly employed. In addition, various Glass products like Glass Bangles, Glass ware, Glass tumblers, Glass bottles, Glass Tube are produced in the major clusters of Firozabad.

NIC CODE NO.	TYPE OF INDUSTRY	NUMBER OF UNITS	INVESTMENT (Lakh Rs.)	EMPLOYMENT
20	Agro based	95	10260.00	760
22	Soda water	0	0	0
23	Cotton textile	0	0	0
24.	Woolen, silk & artificial Thread based clothes.	0	0	0
25.	Jute & jute based	0	0	0
26.	Ready-made garments & embroidery	25	100.00	75
27.	Wood/wooden based furniture	215	643.00	700
28.	Paper & Paper products	16	320.00	80
29.	Leather based	05	15.00	45
31.	Chemical/Chemical based	10	80.00	80
30.	Rubber, Plastic & petro based	05	40.00	35
32.	Mineral based	528	10560	4224
33.	Metal based (Steel Fab.)	125	375.00	900
35.	Engineering units	115	230.00	890
36.	Electrical machinery and transport equipment	05	350.00	40
97.	Repairing & servicing	2503	7654.30	12032
01.	Others(Glass & Glassware)	4222	12666.00	33776
	Misc.	05	10.00	40
	Total	7874	43303.3	53677

Source: DIC, Firozabad

Figure 7 Details of Existing Micro and Small Enterprises and Artisan Units in the District:
Source: DIC, Firozabad

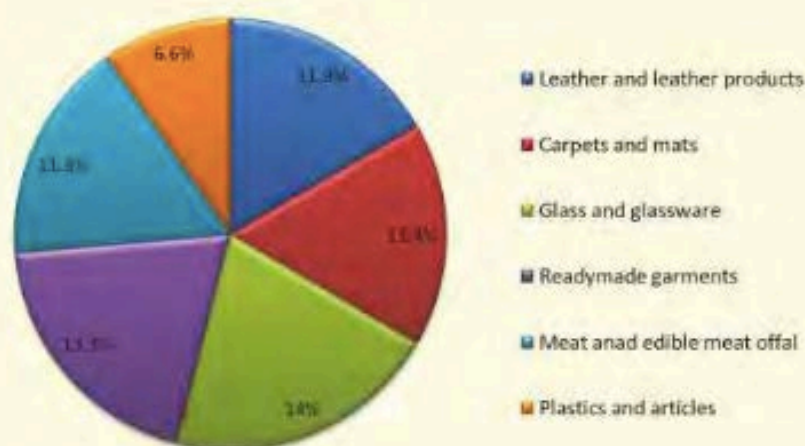
Though the craft is growing at the industrial scale, the individual traditional craftsmen finds himself difficult to sustain in the fast-growing economy/market and many have lost their assurance in the craft, dominated by large factory owners, increasing mechanization of the traditional craft process and the current policy landscape. In the present context, the craft that once provided economic and social viability to the people of Firozabad is now under a crisis of existence, and a huge threat of sustaining the future generation. Being an intangible cultural heritage for India and having significance at the global scale, it has been imperative to look for ways and processes that could promise the conservation, preservation and self-sustenance of the crafts and its craftsmen as humanitarian heritage.

Exports from Uttar Pradesh have grown in the MSME sector under following categories

S.No.	Product	CAGR*
1	Leather and leather products	11.3%
2	Carpets and mats	11.4%
3	Glass and glassware	14%
4	Readymade garments	13.3%
5	Meat and edible meat offal	11.3%
6	Plastics and articles	6.6%

Source : PHD Research Bureau, Compiled from Annual Report (2016-17) Ministry of Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises; *Note : Data pertains to CAGR Growth from 2012-13 to 2016-17

Product wise exports from Uttar Pradesh



Source : PHD Research Bureau, Compiled from Annual Report (2016-17) Ministry of Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises

Figure 8 Glass and Glassware top contributor: Exports from Uttar Pradesh in the MSME Sector. <http://phdcci.in/image/data/Research%20Bureau-2014/Economic%20Developments/Economic-Figure-82018/Aug/Rising%20Uttar%20Pradesh.pdf>

These craft communities have sustained themselves on the values of their craft and the sense of being a community which has led these craftsmen to survive for generations, however their existence and daily lives are threatened in multiple ways. The traditional crafts communities seem to be increasingly isolated from the current wave of development and are left to degrade and die where the new mechanization dominates the social and cultural environment. The sustainable handmade products are being replaced by cheaper, toxic plastic products at a rapid pace in absence of any protective policies. Hundreds of craftsmen lose their job and identity as owners of traditional heritage. The glass processing centres of Firozabad face similar issues of being lost, which comprises not just the product, but its people and community. The best possible direction to look at the conservation and preservation of such a craft is not to only focus on its tangible products but to look at its processes, people and community for a long-term sustenance of the community, focusing on Humanitarian heritage, where the primary sense of Humanitarian is concerned with or seeking to promote human welfare. Heritage is more than artefacts, buildings and sites. It is about people's memories and how

they make sense of their surroundings and history. 'It is about the accumulated culture of communities, the ideas that bind them together and help shape their sense of identity, something that can provide resilience in the face of challenges to livelihoods or even to existence.'²¹

Firozabad bangle making cluster is an integral part of the town's population, by conserving and preserving the humanitarian heritage of Firozabad for the future, one ensures saving thousands of lives from economical, social and cultural crisis. As it is already mentioned "By protecting heritage and safeguarding it for future generations we are not only saving history: we are also saving lives by reminding individuals of their past and of the significance of the landscapes they inhabit".²²

There could be possible debates, why at all to be concerned with humanitarian heritage in the context of Firozabad, how is it about the crisis and how does one build resilience through advocating the protection of Firozabad craft centre as humanitarian heritage. Through this research, one argues that it could not only prove a new beginning for safeguarding the process and people of Firozabad crafts community but also promote human welfare. For a detailed study of Firozabad in context to humanitarian heritage one needs to understand the two distinct parameters which defines humanitarian heritage; a. where the crafts becomes a heritage of sustenance and b. where crafts acts as a collective heritage. Both the parameter defines Firozabad as a collective process of sustenance for the crafts community which will be explored in detail in the following sections.

2. Firozabad and the Craft Of Bangle Making

2.1 History and the town of Firozabad/ the beginning of a craft centre.



Other depictions are not uncommon: one of the most interesting, a detail of an unpublished painting in the collection of Howard Hodgkin, Esq., attributed to Bikaner around A.D. 1700, shows the shop of a glass, porcelain, and pottery merchant in a bazaar (plate iii). The glass vessels in it are mainly of Persian forms: their colours are green, yellow and purple. There are also two yellow and red Indian huqqa-bases which may be of glass. In the adjacent shop to the right on the topmost shelf there are three wines-glasses of European form two white and one purple. Source: A Corpus of 'Mughal' Glass Author(s): Simon Digby

Figure 9 A miniature Painting dated 1700 AD attributed to Bikaner,Rajasthan depicting the glass market of Firozabad. Source: A Corpus of Mughal glass jstor.org

The material Glass has been known to humankind for thousands of years. Archaeologists have determined that Egypt and Mesopotamia made glass articles as early as 2100 BC. 'In India, glass beads dating back to around 1000 BC have been found among the artifacts of the 'painted grey ware civilizations' of the Ganga valley, and at other sites, including Nasik, Ujjain, Nalanda, Brahmagiri, and Arikamedu. The earliest evidence of glass in India comes from Bhagwanpura in Haryana, in the form of several bangle pieces and two beads from the sub-period IB level, which is dated by TL to c. 1400 to 1000 bce (Tandon 1993, 219). Joshi (1993, 117), the excavator of the site, dated these glass items to c. 1200 bce. Francis (1984, 152) argued that this glass had been produced in India, on the basis of not finding any parallel elsewhere. Later on, glass is reported from almost all the PGW [painted grey ware] sites, but at no site have the glass-yielding layers been dated by radiometric techniques'.²³

Indian glass industry really began to flourish in the period between the third century BC and the third century AD. Unlike in Greece and Rome, glass vessels were generally not made in India. These were brought to India from Persia and from Venice and other European cities by traders or by invaders. Except for small phials and bottles, glass products in India were limited to ornaments and decorative ware. However, the Indian glass ornaments, particularly bangles and beads, found a ready market in



Middle Eastern and European countries.²⁴

Figure 10 Watercolor of a tomb possibly at Ferozabad from 'Views by Seeta Ram from Agra to Barrackpore Vol. X' produced for Lord Moira (1814-15) Source: (The British Library, 2008)²⁵

Tracing the antiquity of glass bangles of modern times, Sankalia²⁶ claims that it probably came into existence in the 14th century A.D. with the settling of Persian Muslims in India. Further, he cites a survey dated 1947 on the distribution of bangle industry in different parts of India and it shows that the craft was mostly in the hands of Muslim families who practiced it as a cottage industry. Prior to Mughal developments, most of the glass products were imported from Persia and Venice through the trade routes and sold into Indian markets, except a few items which were locally produced such as beads and jewellery pieces including small glass phials and bottles.



Figure 11 Glassware during Mughal Times. Source: Victoria and Albert Museum

The Indian glass industry received royal patronage during the Mughal period (16th to 18th century AD). It was during this period that the final foundations of the Firozabad bangle industry were laid, 40 km from Agra and 250 km away from New Delhi²⁷, both being the Mughal capital cities, which also crossed paths with the famous Grand Trunk Road. It was during the Mughal rule with the development of such crafts centres that many Persian craftsmen came to India and were relocated within Indian settlements for different crafts products which were patronised by the Mughal emperors and the royal families. During the same period many new designs, techniques and varieties were added to the manufacture of the glass articles. As Chaturvedi²⁸ highlights Mughals created an increased demand for a number of glass products for household use to the extent that some of these were being imported from Europe custom designed to suit their sensibilities. This ushered a new era in the history of glass technology.

It is believed that Firozabad is named after the army chief Khawajasara Firoz during the regime of Akbar. He was ordered to maintain law and order in Afsabad (currently known as Ashabad) when Todar Mal, a minister from the court of Akbar was looted on his back from a pilgrimage. A branch of the famous Grand Trunk Road passes through the centre of Firozabad. Firozabad is an agglomeration of nine villages situated on the banks of river Yamuna. These consisted of Datoji in the south, Chandwar, Rasoolpur Pemeshwar in the east, Muhammadpur, Gazmalpur, suhmalpur, Nizamabad in the north and datoji with Tapa in the north west. However, the original town was Chandwar Nagar where the famous battle of Chandwar between Muhammad Ghor and Raja Jaichand of Kannauj was fought.²⁹



Figure 12 Conceptual Map During Mughal Empire. Source: Students Fieldwork 2018. Dept. of Architecture SPA, New Delhi

The availability of raw material *reh* due to its geographical location and abundant supply of cheap skilled labour indicates establishment of Firozabad as the centre of the glass industry and particularly glass bangles since early Mughal period. Firozabad which is situated in the floodplains of river Yamuna, resulted in abundance of raw materials. There are few villages next to Firozabad where the raw material needed is found. Urmura and Rafri villages have *reh* which has the essential elements for glass. However, this glass was not of high quality and was colorless. Bangles made from *reh* were thick and of red-blue colour. The availability of abundant raw material led to the emergence of local furnaces setup to produce glass. 'Since these were setup in close proximity to their residences the whole family began to contribute to the process.'¹³⁰ And thus bangle making became a domestic affair and emerged as a cottage handicraft. Initially ceramic articles were commissioned by the Mughals, later hookah pots, chandeliers and other glass articles were made. Later during British times, the industry witnessed further boom with improved technology and saw the potential of exporting glass products. With increasing demand and consumption of bangles Firozabad began to establish itself on the world map of glass bangle making.

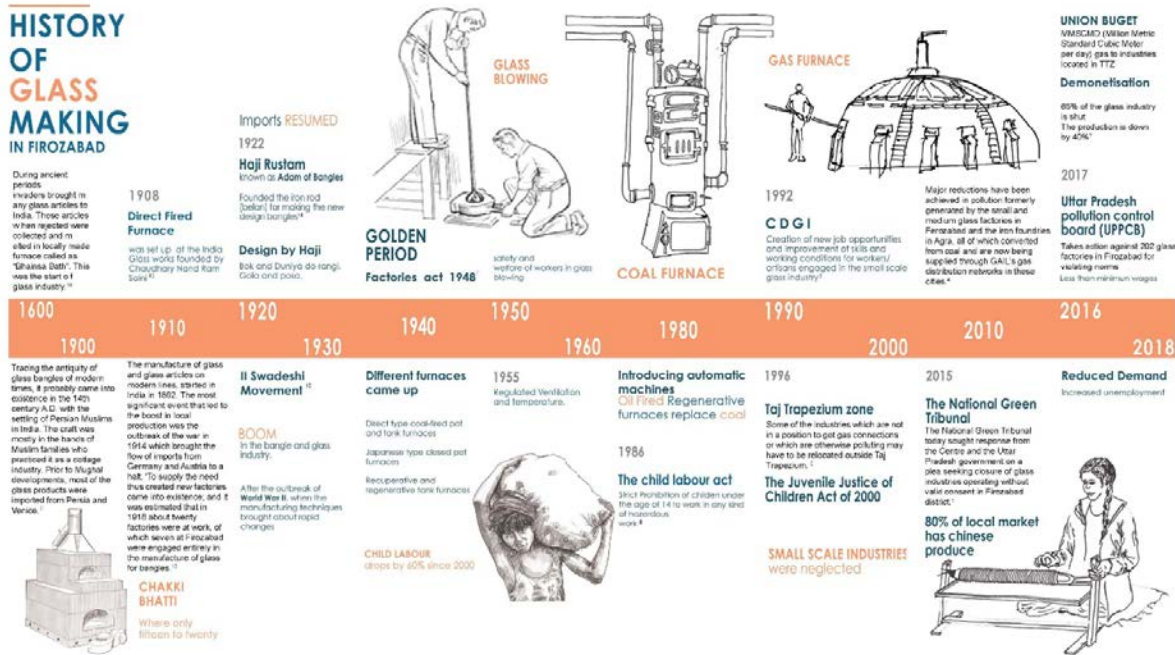


Figure 13 History of Glass making in Firozabad since the 17th Century A.D as per various archival data.

The manufacture of glass and glass articles on modern lines, started in India in 1892. The most significant event that led to the boost in local production was the outbreak of the war in 1914 which brought the flow of imports from Germany and Austria to a halt. To supply the need thus created new factories came into existence; and it was estimated that in 1918 about twenty factories were at work, of which seven at Firozabad were engaged entirely in the manufacture of glass for bangles, and the others produced mainly lamp ware and to a less extent bottles and carboys^{1, 31}

"The struggle against competition with imported goods has continued till quite recently when the industry has received some assistance from the increase of the duties 15 to 20% in March 1931 and 25% in September. From various sources we have received information of the existence at present of fifty-nine factories, twenty-six of which are engaged entirely in the manufacture of bangles and one in the manufacturing of false pearls. The Firozabad Glass and Bangles Industrial Association mention twenty works engaged in the manufacture of bangles at Firozabad..... of the twenty factories represented by the Glass and Bangles Industrial Association, Firozabad, sixteen have been started since the year 1925 which started producing coloured and decorative bangles imported from Japan and Czechoslovakia. In 1931 a new factory started manufacturing of false pearls from glass and chemicals through a machinery that was imported from Japan.The value of the annual output of the bangles in India increased from Rs 20lakh in 1920 to upwards of Rs 115Lakh in year 1934. The value of other Glass products also went upward by 25%".³²

The need of mechanisation arose from gap between demand and supply, more colours and fitness of the product led to the need for mechanisation of process in comparison to the setups at household level. It is believed that one of the artisans Ustad Rustam played in a key role in setting up the first factory in Firozabad.

Mechanisation led to the further division of labour and also specialisation of skills. This emerged the *Tar wala, lom uthane wala, katai wala, chatai wala* and *Judai wala*.

Before this mechanisation Bangles were imported from Japan which were cheaper and attractive. However, with mechanisation supported by business protection policy further promoted the domestic industry. Design from Europe also began to be copied and resulted in the booming of the glass bangle industry in India. Designing and decoration of the plain bangles also started evolving at rapid speed.

“ In today’s time more than 8000 men and women are involved in the industry”. It also indicates the involvement of young widows and old women making earnings out of it.³³

2.2 Process identified as heritage: *assi haath* (Eighty hand) story

To study the intricacy of the craft of bangle making one needs to understand the processes and the people involved in the production of glass bangles. In the present times, the production of bangles takes place both in the industrial units as well as household units, as the single glass bangles traverses the entire length and breath of the city.



Figure 14

The entire process of bangle making undergoes as many as 80 people (*assi hath*)³⁴ ranging from making the raw material workable and getting the finished bangles into the markets, this process includes various levels of craftsmanship and people associated with auxiliary activities of bangle making processes.

The usual process of bangle making passes through three major stages

Stage 1. Processing of raw material into workable material (glass)

Stage 2. Conversion of the workable material into structured units (spiral loops) and single units (un joint glass bangles)

Stage 3. Consolidation of un-joint bangles into single circular units

Stage 4. Final finishing and surface work on the bangles to form the finished products.\

Stage 5. Sorting and packaging of finished product for retail purposes.



Figure 15 Judai and Jhalai process taking place within household units.

All the above five stages are connected by many vital local transporters (the *thelwalah*) who is responsible of transferring one form of material to the other, and transferring the final finished products into the market.

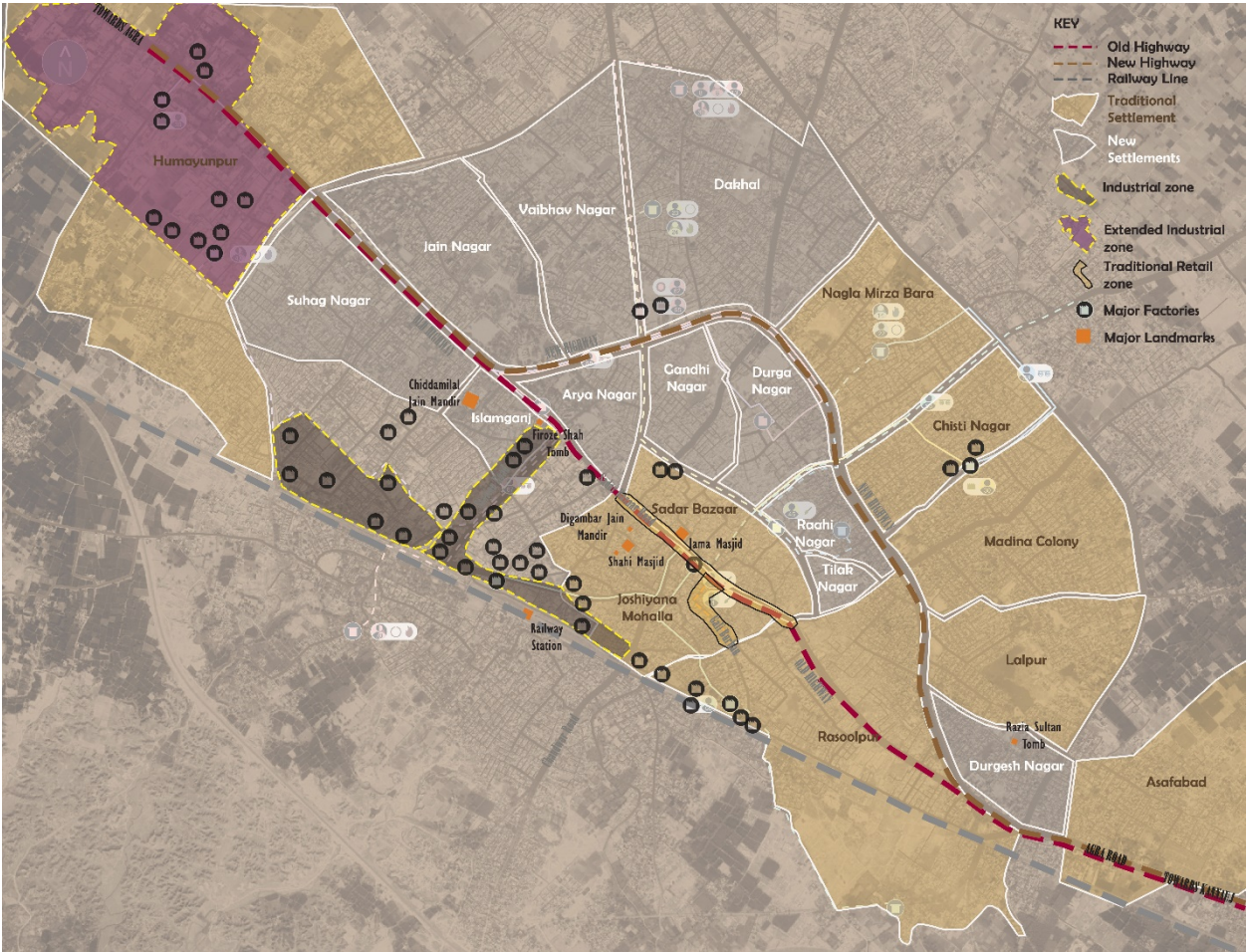
The fieldwork carried out in 2018 revealed the engagement of as much as 80 craftsmen (*assi haath*) in the production of one single bangle. With gradual technological advancements in the production process this has already reduced from 50 to 40 craftsmen (from 100 to 80 hands).

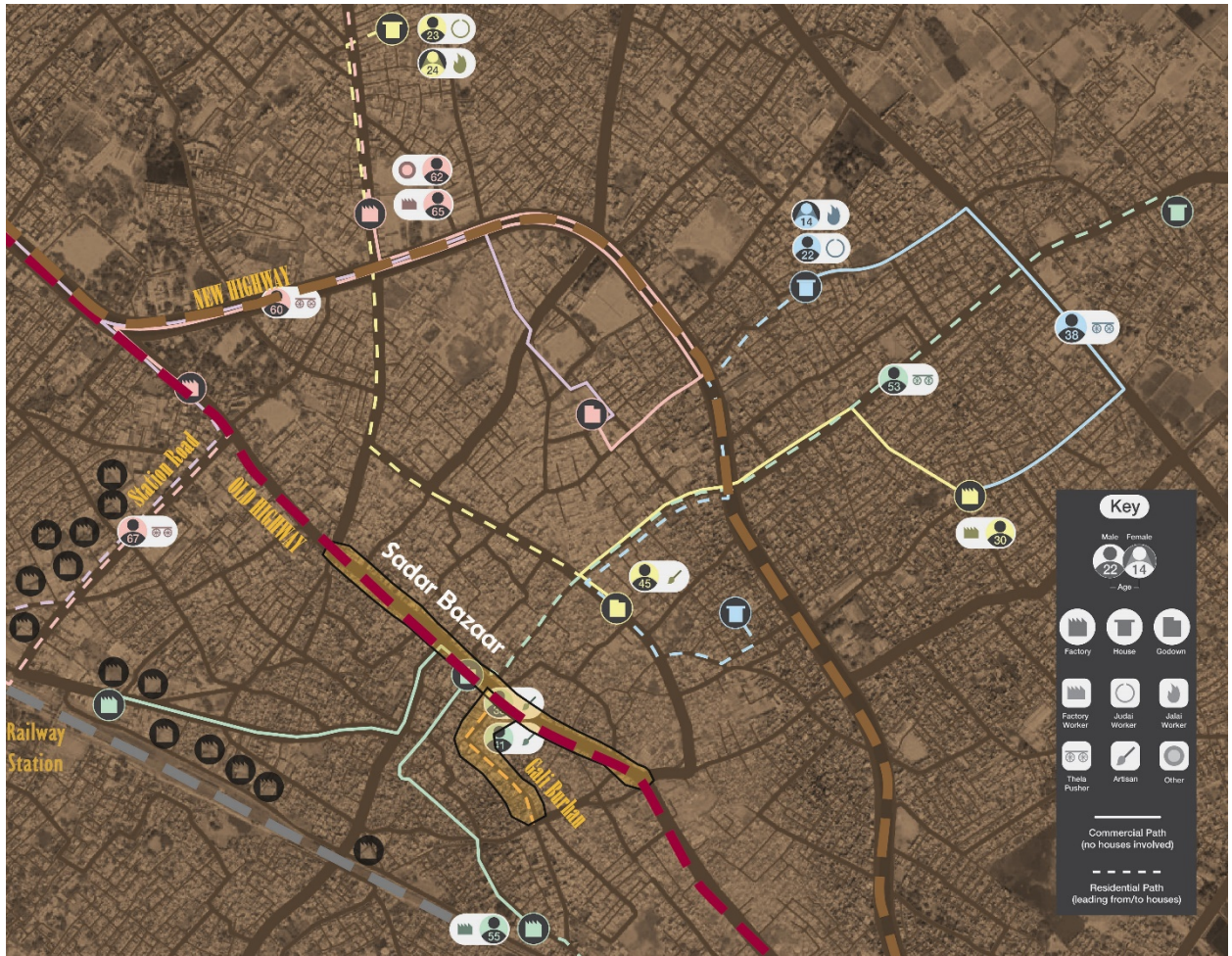
Humari factory Ferozabad ki sabse pehli factory hai.. yeh wahi factory hai jo Rustam ji ne banayi thi..
 Ek bhatti mein kareeb 200-250 log kaam karte hain, isme kuch kaam aise bhi hai, joint lagate hai choodi mein , ring banti hai, fir ek ek choodi pe kam hota hai, ab jab usme joint lagta hai woh karigar alag hote hai, joint wala ghar le jaake karte hain, woh bhi hamare hee employee hote hai, export item hain bahut se, sab banta hai...glass choodi wale alag glass wale alag, hum log choodi mein hai, choodi banate hai.
 Factory Owner (Annexure 3)

Our factory is the first in Ferozabad.....it is the same factory which Rustom had made
 In one furnace there are about 200-250 workers. In this there is some work where joining work is done. Then the ring is made. Then each single bangle is worked upon.
 The craftsmen who join it are different. They do it at home. They are also our employee. There are many export items.
 Everything is made here.. glass bangles manufacturer is separate. Glass manufacturer are separate. We people are in bangle manufacturing, we make bangles.
 Factory Owner (Annexure 3)

The Craft of bangle making is physically daunting and intricate (Figure 16). Maps the line of production for one single bangle. The initial process of Stage 1 begins in factories with the preparation of raw material, mixing various compounds and preparing a workable material to be converted into spiral loops. This process includes getting the molten glass blob with the help of a iron rod, moulding the blob into a cone shape and adding coloured glass blocks as per the requirement. The skilled craftsmen *gulliwalah* through his years of experience has perfected the job and is responsible to get adequate colour and texture required for the set of bangles to be produced, who has a total understanding of the temperature control, raw materials and chemical composition of the additives. After this the glass blob is heated over in a *sekai Bhatti* by a *sekaiwalah*, who turns the blob into a cylindrical form by continuously rotating and working on the glass.

Stage 2 begins when the cylindrical blob is moved on a large *belan* where three skilled craftsmen namely the *belanwalah*, *tarkash* and the *muthia* synchronise their work to convert the cylindrical glass into spiral loops under the heat of the *belanbhatti*. The three craftsmen The *belanwalah* rotates the rolling pin inside the furnace, while the *tarkash* extracts thin filaments out of the glass to form spiral loops, simultaneously the *muthia* cuts the loops at specific intervals to form *todas*. Each *toda* is a set of 320 single unit of bangles tied in a loop form. This entire process requires a high level of craftsmanship to get uniform spiral loops which later on will be converted into single units, and is considered as one of the most important stages in the development of a glass bangle. The three craftsmen play the most important role in the entire process and are considered as the actual custodian of the craft as per locals and others act as supporting actors. These springs are neatly cut with a diamond cutter into individual un-joint bangles. This stage is the most imperative process which is carried out by the highly skilled craftsmen, turning the molten glass into uniform spirals of un-joint glass bangles.





lagbhag sabhi ghar mein hota hai.. Hamarre area mein kuch log aise hai jinki factory hai..kuch log hain jo supply karte hain, factory se maal nikla, apne paas rakha, fir godown mein supply kiya, chain bani hui hai aadmi ki, jude hue hain hum. Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

Almost in all households. In our area there are some people who own factory. Some people supply raw material.. Bangles come out of the factory.. keep it with themselves.. then it is supplied to the Goddown. Its like a human chain.. we are all connected. Godown Owner (Annexure 1)



Figure 16 (a) Map indicating traditional and new craft clusters with location of industrial zones and factories (b) map indicating socio-spatial networks around the core area (c) "assi haath" Tracing the Glass Bangle making Process through its various stages. Base drawings: Students Fieldwork 2018. Dept. of Architecture SPA, New

After the stage two almost all the work is done at household levels, where the *toras* are transferred to be worked further in *thelas*. *Thelas*, are four-wheeled wooden carts, are specifically designed for the product to be transferred safely and delicately through meandering the narrow streets of Firozabad. On an everyday basis, one can cite these *thelas* sprawling the streets, with rows of bangles stacked on them.

The un-joint bangles are then joined by heating the ends, locally called *jalai*, followed by *judai* where each bangle is manually flattened to achieve the perfect circular form. Thereafter, the bangles are embellished with sequins, glitter etc. or sometimes even polished with gold. The fieldwork in 2018 revealed that there are more than 500 designs available in the Firozabad bangle industry, each creatively embedded with color combination and patterns selected and designed by the craftsmen themselves. After the ornamentation is complete the product is ready for market and is packaged into boxes for retail in local markets or stored in 'godowns' for exports.



Figure 17 The journey of glass bangle from the furnace to the streets of Firozabad with local shops and thele wala.

3. THE CRAFT AND COMMUNITY

Dixon in his commentary on ‘The Indian Glass Industry’ in 1937 Dixon³⁵ notes: “Firozabad,is almost entirely given over to the manufacture of bangle glass and bangles. The great demand for glass bangles in India has produced here a body of men, the *shishgars*, descended from those who made desi bangles from the local *reh* deposits, who have succeeded in concentrating almost the entire factory-made bangle industry of India in the town. It is estimated that the total value of Bangle and bangle industry at Firozabad is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 30 Lakhs annually... “

In his account he also mentions the co-existence of “Cottage Bangle Making” where bangles made by villagers as a part-time employment and a skilled bangle maker can work with extraordinary rapidity to produce upto 1000 bangles a day.



Figure 18 Cottage Bangle making and the *Shishgars* Source: Photo 1930, oldindianphotos.in

In this entire process, every Firozabadi resident finds himself in a unique position as a social actor, whether actively or inactively, contributing to the act of glass bangle making. Such a human capital, in the city of Firozabad, is a living testimony where a glass-based craft is centric to the way of life of an entire community engaged in the business of glass making. Each step in the craft of glass making leads itself deeply penetrated into the domestic life of the people. Glass bangle making becomes a function of the society as a whole.

Choodi ke baare mein toh yeh kahoonga jo juda hua hai munasif kaam hai, jab bahar shahar band honge toh dikkat hogi, koi zyada tax nahin hai, lockdown ke baad hamara ferozabad jaldi khada ho gaya, ferozabad mein jaati wagherah ka nahin hai, community hai, ek doosre se judi hui hain, ek doosre ki madad karte hain.

About bangles I will say..that whoever is attached with this work... is doing good. When other cities close down then people will suffer. There are no taxes. After the lockdown our Firozabad recovered very quickly. In Firozabad there are no caste.. rather its a community, everyone is connected to each other.. everyone helps each other.

Traces of the above facts are seen in today's time where the community of craft includes people of different religious groups, economic classes and backgrounds chained together to the process of craft making. It also engages people of all age groups, religion, social background, economic status and gender. The *karigars* or the skilled craftsman involved in decoration primarily belonged to the Muslim community whereas the factory owners and retailers were primarily Hindus. Predominantly being a patriarchal society, the male member is engaged in earning for the family, while the female runs the household. As explained earlier, due to the nature of the craft, the female members work on the bangles in-between their household chores, without neglecting them. This craft provides gender balance and creates an equilibrium within the family.

The Craft in Firozabad, since the Mughal times, acquired a community scale, where people of different cultures/religions came together serving a common economic purpose of developing the craft. Even though during the early times, the social institutions such as the caste system had a deeper influence in the society, it did not come in the way of bringing together the community for an economic means. Irfan Habib³⁶ argues this in the following manner:

‘One possible explanation has been found by some in the social institution that sustained craft specialization in India, namely, the caste system. First, the mass of ordinary or unskilled people formed a reserve, from which new classes of skilled professions could be created when the need arose. Secondly, in any region there was often more than one caste following the same profession, so that where the demand for products of a craft expanded, new caste artisans could normally be drawn to that place. More important still, the castes were not eternally fixed in their attachment to single professions or skills. Over a long period, economic compulsions could bring about a radical transformation in the occupational basis of a caste. Finally, there is evidence that sometimes at least administrative action was in favor of keeping the gates to the professions open. It seems that castes were sometimes not even as strong as guilds, for owing to their comparatively loose organization they had often to depend upon the support of the administration or to suffer its interference in their internal affairs.’

We may infer, therefore, that caste did not represent an insurmountable obstacle to the mobility of craft labor.

Different people engage themselves at different stages of the craft process linked through a socio-spatial web. As a result, different roles can be taken up by people of different social profiles and the community as a whole thrives upon the system of craft making. What emerges from this system of craft making, not only a system of social interrelationships but also a system of spatial relationships. Each stage of the craft process has an associated spatial typology at a specific location within the city. As the single bangle traverses through different hands from its origin to the end, it generates its own spatiality, a web of spatial networks.

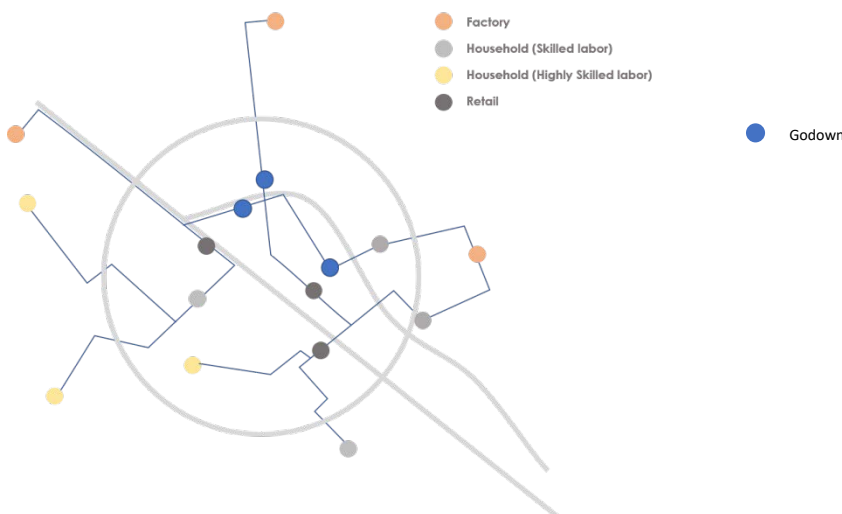
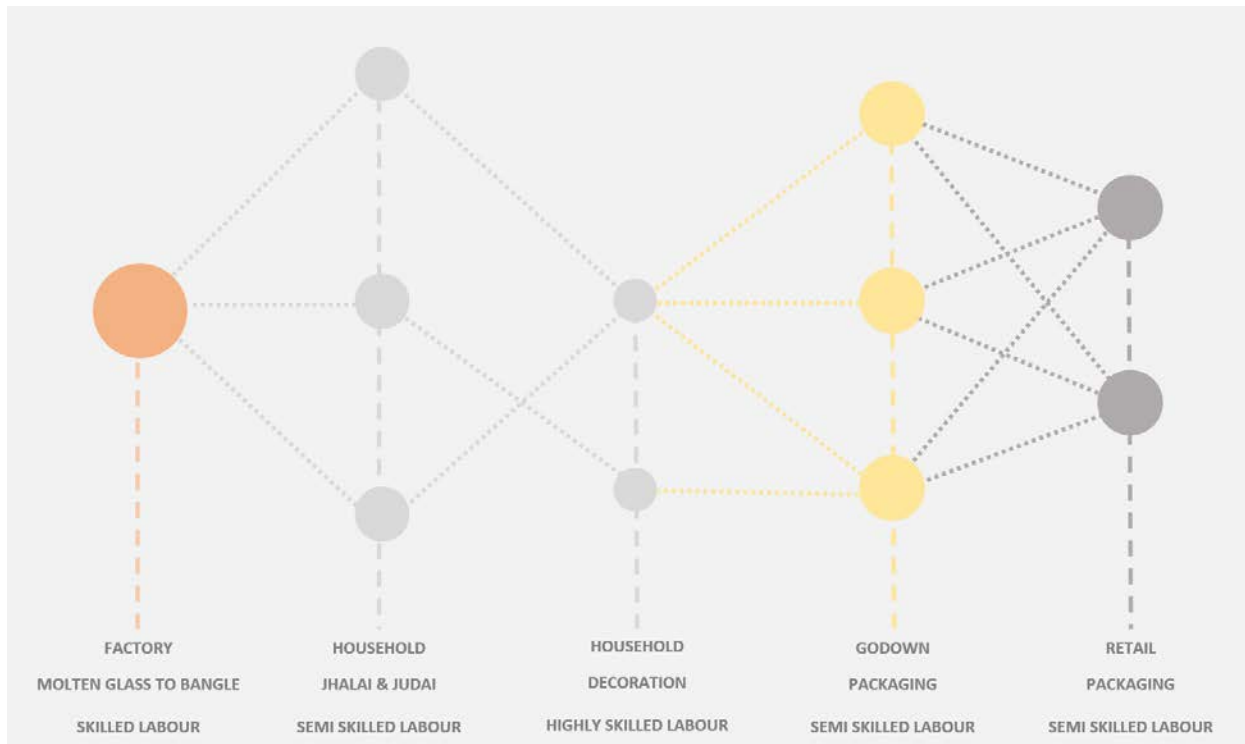


Figure 19 (a) Diagram of socio-spatial networks and associated spatial typology in the core of Firozabad, (b) Socio spatial network as mapped on ground in the core of Firozabad, (c) Conceptual Mapping of socio-spatial networks across the city of Firozabad.

3.1 Social Actors: Craftsman, Skills, and inherited knowledge systems

“There are no imported labourers at Firozabad where all the skilled work is done by hereditary classes of bangle makers. The existence of these hereditary skilled workers is one of the principal advantages which the Firozabad possesses as a bangle making industry”³⁷

Though Firozabad has already been awarded its geographical indication for its glass making industry, one needs to understand the Craft and the Community based on the following parameters.

A) Who are the actual craftsmen in this process?

- B) What kind of skills these craftsmen have?
C) What is the inherited knowledge of these craftsmen?

Economically, there are four main actors identified in Firozabad engaged in the buying, making and selling of bangles, namely, the merchant, the craftsman, the laborer and the retailer. Whereas the merchant is the owner of the factory who imports the raw material and hires the craftsmen and the laborers on a daily wage basis and sells off the final product either in the local market or for exports, the craftsmen and the laborers are the people who are engaged in the various processes of the craft ranging from working in the factory, to the thele wala who transports the products from one point to the other, to the household worker who performs some function of the craft at his own house on contractual basis. The local retailer is primarily engaged with selling the bangle in the local market. The inter relation of these various actors in the process of bangle making as a result establishes socio-economic networks across the city stretching from the residential to the industrial to the commercial centers.

The process of bangle making represents a system of interconnected links of varying degrees of skills, inherited knowledge systems and craftsmanship. “Mechanisation led to the further division of labour and also specialisation of skills. Thus, emerged the *tarwala*, *lom uthane wala*, *katai wala*, *chatai wala* and *Judai wala*” notes Balendu.³⁸ The process of bangle making therefore encompasses a spectrum of skill set that ranges from highly specialised craftsman like the *tarkash/tarwala* to unskilled labourers involved in the transportation of the material, unfinished product and the final product from one point to the other. The in between range includes skilled to semi-skilled actors. The skilled includes the *judai* and *jalahi wallah*, the decorators etc. While the semi-skilled includes those involved in the packaging and retail.



Figure 20 Craft of glass bangle making practised at the household level in Firozabad.

As mentioned earlier the *tarwallah* is considered to be a highly skilled craftsman and therefore also the highest paid in the line of production. As Dixon also notes: "The success of the operation depends on the skill of the *tarwalla* who has to maintain an even tension off the glass thread and he does this by moving the glass near to, to further away from the fire as required at the same time imparting the necessary tension"³⁹ This reflects an understanding of the material and accumulated knowledge of the process, especially in absence of any scientific tools and formal training in the trade.

A large part of the process of bangle making is a household craft with most family members engaged in it on an everyday basis. The knowledge of the craft is hence passed on through generations. Younger members of the family engage at a very early age and learn the craft during their in-between times of study and play. The skill whether related to joining of bangles or its decoration is gradually internalized and embodied which over generations assumes a form of instinctive or rather an inherited knowledge system. - "*yes, we have doing it for very long*" and "*Yes, this is what we know*" said a few respondents. Thus, not only forming a way of life but simultaneously contributing to identify formation and sense of belongingness.

A sense of pride of this knowledge capital, even in the younger generations as they have learnt it during their initial years, is critical for the survival of the craft.⁴⁰

3.2 Craft of Bangle making as Humanitarian Heritage

During the study of Firozabad, it was found that the craft of bangle making is largely under the scope of humanitarian heritage, where it has provided economic, social and cultural means to the masses since the medieval times. To undermine this, there were two major determinants which supported this hypothesis of Firozabad glass bangle making as a humanitarian heritage, a. craft of bangle making acts as a collective heritage b. crafts acts as a heritage of sustenance. Both the determinants define Firozabad as a collective process of sustenance for the crafts community which can be explored in the results of the survey conducted.

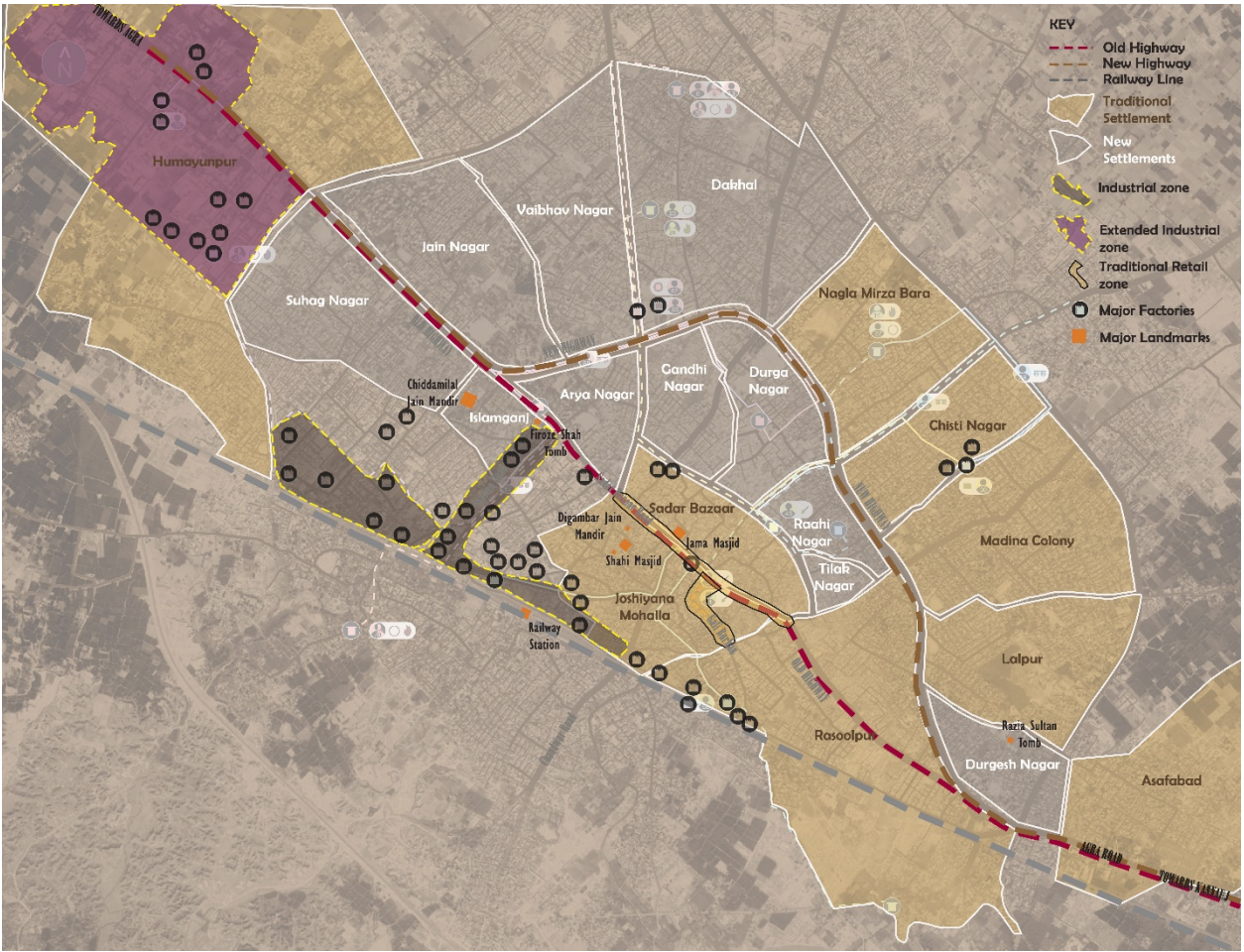


Figure 21 Google map indicating in red the location of survey areas in Firozabad.

Four historical hamlets that are now part of the city of Firozabad were chosen for questionnaire surveys. The communities in these areas have been involved in the craft since the Mughal times. A total of 30 stakeholders responded to the questionnaire survey while 8 semi-structured interviews were conducted. These includes members from all four categories as discussed previously- factory owners, craftsmen and craftswomen, labourers and retailers (Figure 22). Both semi-structured as well as questionnaire survey was conducted in the local Hindi language.

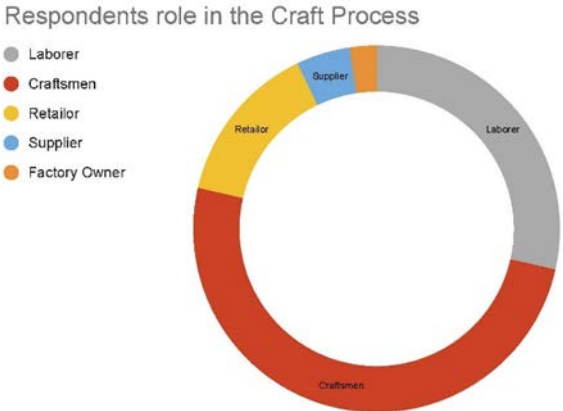


Figure 22 Identification of stakeholders in Firozabad Craft community.

The craft of bangle making represents a process based on a synchronised participation of multiple stakeholders from varied socio-economic background placed at multiple locations, as the single product traverses the city of Firozabad as it achieves its final form of a glass bangle. It can be said that it represents a craft process that is shared and collective in nature.

As per the survey, 77% of the respondents considered the craft of bangle making as a community activity, where each person had specific role and were dependent on each other. Also, this craft provided the entire community with a unique identity and a sense of collective belongingness, which they cherish and inherit as a legacy. The reasons cited were both tradition and historicity.

The respondents emphasized on the fact that the practice of the craft has always involved the community and that they would like it to continue that way.

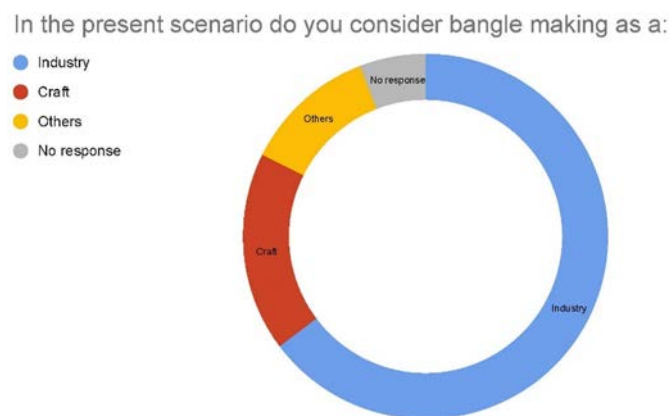


Figure 23 Perception of Glass bangle making a craft or a industry based process.

Most of the respondents agreed to their perception of the craft of bangle as that of an industry rather than a craft (

Figure 23). This is probably because of the line of production involved in the craft which provides them with this perception. Therefore, the sense of continuity has to be rooted in the appreciation of the practice of craft as a web of inter-relationships, appreciating the line of production as socio-spatial process.

“our work enhances the product quality, not a lot of people can do this”

“requires a lot of skills and manpower to create such delicate product.”

Akele nahin kar sakte?

Chain yeh...ek doosre se jud ke hee tabhi kaam hua hai, step by step chaloge tabhi kaam chalega. toh iski wajah se firozabad ki pehchaan toh hai.. haan choodi ki wajah se Firozabad ki pehchaan hai. choodi ka shahar jaana jata hai.

Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

Can we do this alone?

Its like a chain.. we are all connected with each other.. thats why the work happens. you need to go step by step.. only then work will take place. Because of this Firozabad has an identity...Yes bangles is what gives Firozabad its identity. It is known as the city of bangles.

Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

The community stresses on the significance of the skill set of each craftsmen involved in the process of bangle making, and that it may not be easy to acquire experience of a highly skilled craftsmen so easily. Though other skills can be easily learned within months, it is important to note that the

knowledge of handling the glass, cutting and joining can only be learned through years of experience and inheritance through generations.

Kitne gharon mein choodiyon ka kaam hota hai?

lagbhag sabhi ghar mein hota hai.. Hamarre area mein kuch log aise hai jinki factory hai..kuch log hain jo supply karte hain, factory se maal nikla, apne paas rakha, fir godaan mein supply kiya, chain bani hui hai aadmi ki, jude hue hain hum.

Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

In how many households does this work take place?

Almost in all households. In our area there are some people who own factory. Some people supply raw material.. Bangles come out of the factory.. keep it with themselves.. then it is supplied to the Godown. Its like a human chain.. we are all connected.

Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

kya yeh ek vyavasay hai ya kala hai?

hamare paas to vyavasaya hai, kala ki tarah to humse upar jahan ban ke aate hai, wahan par kala hai, hamare liye neeji khud ki baat karoon, haamare liye toh vyavasaye hee hain, par jahan choodi banti hai, wahan kala hoti hai.

Godown Owner (Annexure 2)

What do you think is it a business or a craft?

For us it is a business.. craft is above us from where it is made.. that is where craft is. If I talk personally, for me it is a business. But where it is made that is where craft is.

Godown Owner (Annexure 2)

Kitne gharon mein choodiyon ka kaam hota hai?

lagbhag sabhi ghar mein hota hai.. Hamarre area mein kuch log aise hai jinki factory hai..kuch log hain jo supply karte hain, factory se maal nikla, apne paas rakha, fir godaan mein supply kiya, chain bani hui hai aadmi ki, jude hue hain hum.

Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

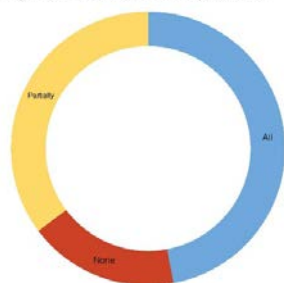
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Godown Owner (Annexure 1)

How many people in your family are involved in craft process?

- All (Every member in the Family is involved)
- None (Only the respondent is involved)
- Partially (Some of the Family Members are involved)



How long your family has been involved in craft process?

- 30-40 Years
- 20-30 Years
- 10-20 Years
- Over 40 years
- Less than 10 years

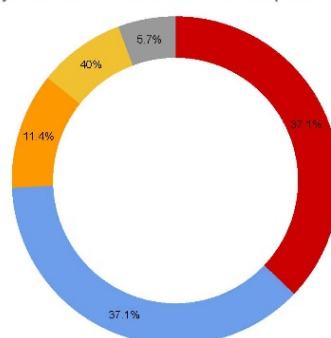


Figure 24 (a) Period of association of a family with the craft. (b) Extent of participation of family members in the craft process.

Bangle makers have large families and live in both nuclear and joint families. The families' association with the craft ranged from 10 years to 40 years. Interestingly, 40% of the respondents agreed to be

associated with the craft since the beginning and early stages of their lives. As seen from the survey, the craft of bangle making is a family affair with majority of the family involved directly or indirectly in the craft. Nearly 80% of the respondents agreed to complete or partial participation of the family members in the craft- men, women and children, were either directly or indirectly involved (Figure 24). When asked about the dependent members in the family, 50% agreed that they have no dependent members as all them participated in the craft as a household activity. Concluding from many respondents that this was the only means of sustenance since bangle making is the only work they know and can work with it. Though, the annual income of the family depended on the nature of involvement in the craft- from daily waged labourers to fluctuating annual incomes to fixed monthly incomes. However, the annual incomes seemed quite disproportionate in comparison to the number of family members.



Figure 25 A craftsman family involved in the process of bangle making

The “place of living” is also the “place of work”. As already discussed, that “place of work” included- home, shops, factory and godowns primarily. Home and factory were on the top of the list. 43% respondents agreed that they were working from home. When asked if they would prefer the workplace to be separated from the place of living, a large proportion of the respondents (63%) responded negatively. A small proportion preferred the workplace to be separated. (Figure 26)

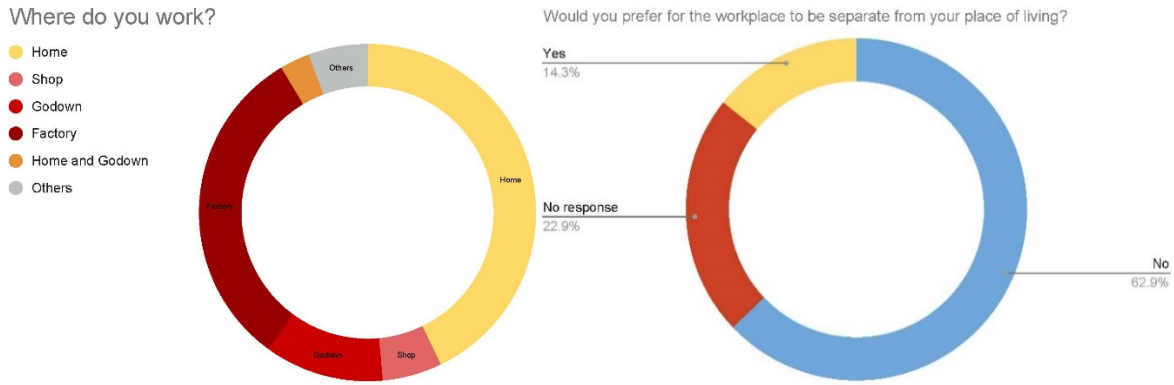


Figure 26 (a) Identification of Place of work (b) Preference of place of work versus place of living.

Interestingly a large proportion of the respondents that disagreed with the idea of separation of the workplace from home were craftsman. Various reasons were cited for the continuance of work from home, but the top on the list was-household chores followed by “work is better at home”. Such responses clearly indicate that this craft is a household activity.

What emerges here is a system of living and being, work-live relationship deeply intertwined with the daily life cycles.

Half of the bangle making work is done in factories but the other half is done in houses by each family member. The bangle making business has reached common households in the district enchanting each family member living in the town and restraining villages. Generally, factory owners outsource the work to home-based workers where the entire family gets involved in the job. Alike their homes seem like mini production units of bangles. The women get engrossed in the colouring, shaping, soldering the joints, straightening and bending of bangles. Women, principally married, sense of incomplete without bangles as these are considered a symbol of suhaag. It is also for the sake of health, luck and prosperity. The colorful and beautiful bangles appeal to every woman but nobody knows about the exertion, throes and pain suffered by their manufacturers and that too against a little money.... Each bundle contains 315 bangles, normally; an average size family completes 40 bundles in one day.⁴¹

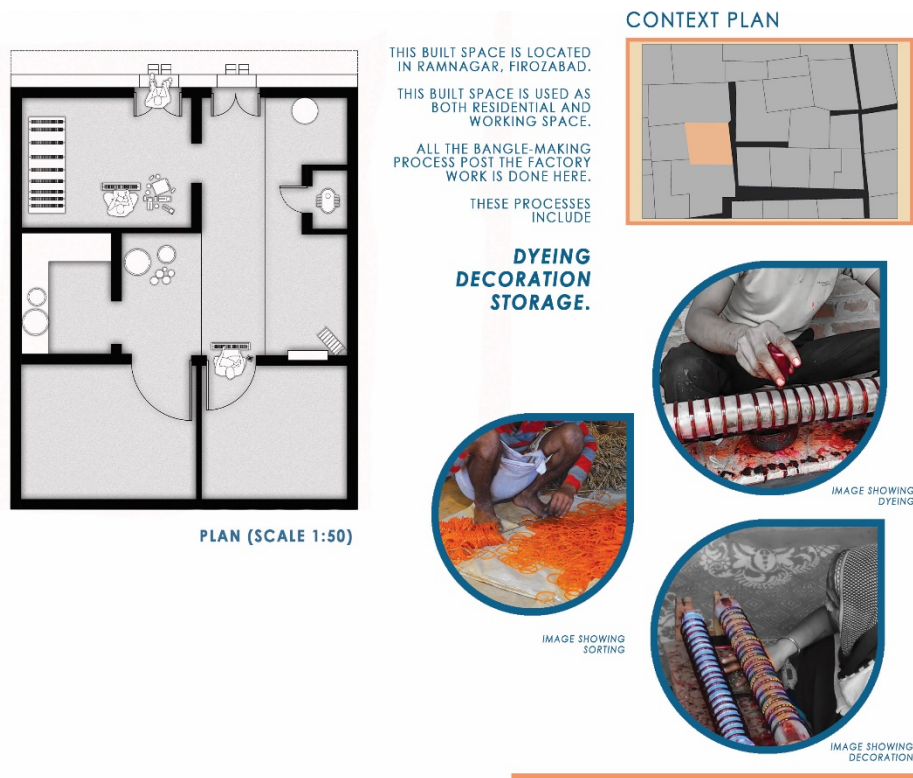


Figure 27 Case Study of a house in Firozabad reflecting domestic life with the practice of craft of bangle making

The respondents’ association with the Craft mostly relied on their perception of it as a tool for sustenance. Though they did agree that it is the craft of bangle making that also provided them and the city its identity. A few considered it to be heritage. The majority of the practitioners of craft are still in continuity with the craft praxis primarily for social and economic sustenance of their livelihood.

“sustenance, but it is heritage for the city, the city is famous for this product.”

All the female respondents are craftsman and the practice of craft takes place within the household unit. An understanding of their participation becomes critical for the continuity and inheritance of the craft.

Do you think the younger generation likely to continue with the craft of bangle making in the future as their living?

- Yes
- No

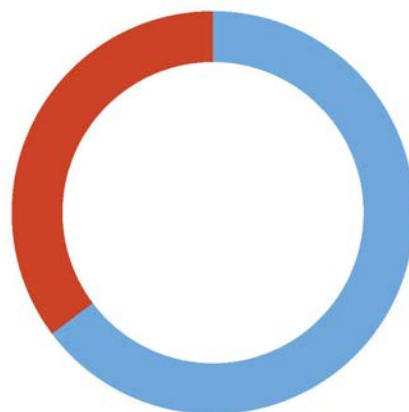


Figure 28 Involvement of younger generation in the craft process.

During the survey 65% of the respondents agreed that the younger generation is likely to continue with the craft and many are still associated with the crafts (Figure 28). Out of those whose responses were to switch to other economic means it was noticed that they belonged to ancillary activities or were indirectly involved in the craft, who had less or no ownership towards the craft and worked as daily wage labourers. This indicated that the sense of ownership is directly proportionate to inheritance and long-term association with the craft, the more involvement with the craft would lead to better association and sustenance of the crafts.

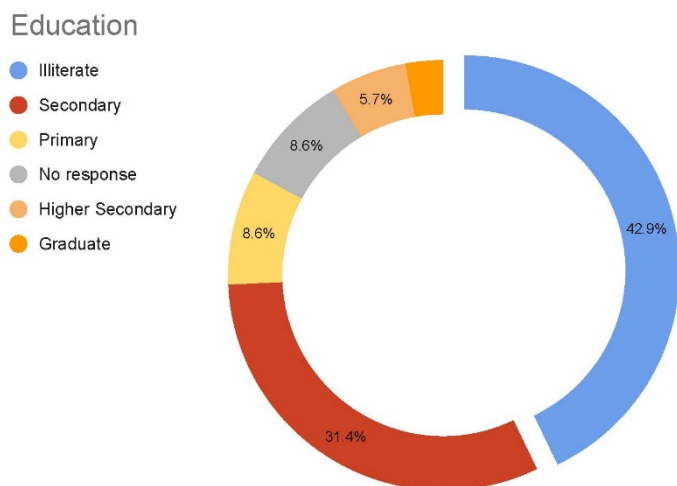


Figure 29 Level of formal education of various stakeholders.

All the Workers in the bangle making chain are primarily illiterate. Out of the total respondents nearly 42% were illiterate or didn't have any formal education (Figure 29). Most of the craftsman have secondary education between 6th to 10th grade. The rest either had completed primary level education. Broadly 25% of the respondents were females belonging primarily to the craftsmen category. With regard to the stakeholder composition of the respondents 50% of the respondents were from the craftsmen category, followed by labourers, retailers and a few factory owners and suppliers. The labourer group includes factory workers, *thela wallas* and general manual labour attached with the production process.

The survey also revealed that the production process would range from 8-9 hours a day, which would lead to high manual work and long working hours. Under the craftsman category one of the respondents involved in *judai* (straightening of bangles) who is a skilled craftsman discussed that his line of work may require longer time, spending 15 hours a day as compared to other work such as decoration. In a few cases this engagement was either not fixed and could take place at any time or was sporadic. The women respondents, who were involved in the crafts process as craftsman matched the overall average with a high of 11 to 10 hours a day.

In comparison to the total number of respondents only one female respondent was illiterate. All female respondents agreed for working from home and worked an average of 6 to 8 hours a week. All female respondents except one agreed to working from home and preferred continuing to have the place of work within the place of living. They unanimously agreed that this allowed them to perform their household chores and also agreed that working from home is better as they felt safer. In a pilot project in Makhanpur by TERI⁴², to help *judai* and *sedhai* workers to shift their operations out of their homes to a common work shed. To take care of workers' children, a crèche was also set up at a rented place close to the shed, and an educated caretaker hired to manage the crèche. Despite such efforts

the project couldn't sustain itself due to decreasing membership. The team soon realised that social customs and cultural barriers made it hard for women to move out from their homes.

Further, health and income related issues are the major concerns associated with the practice of craft. Since most of the craft activity took place at the household levels, with large number of inhabitants, use of chemicals and fumes has contributed to these concerns. In absence of any formal mechanisms the practitioners of craft often suffer from lack of sustained incomes. Large family sizes with fluctuating daily to monthly incomes, poor wages make the situation even more grim.

3.3 Policy Landscape

The assessment of the policy relevant to the craft industry of Firozabad reveals the dichotomous nature of a traditional artisanal industry - Is it an industry or a craft? It also suggests that this dichotomous nature is both a boom and a bane for the future continuity and sustenance. The bangle making in Firozabad is exemplar of this dichotomy and in-betweenness of craft and industry.

The MSME (Ministry of Micro, Small & Medium Enterprises) is considered to be the backbone of the Indian economy and expected to play a crucial role in furthering growth, innovation and prosperity.⁴³ The SSE (Small Scale Entrepreneurs) clusters in India are estimated to have a significantly high share in employment generation. According to Development Commissioner MSME, they already contribute to 60% of India's manufactured exports and there are 351 SSI clusters including 2000 rural and

Sl. No.	Name of the Cluster (Product)	Location	District	No. of MSMEs in cluster (approx.)	Any intervention undertaken in the Cluster	Cluster is suitable for which scheme	Nodal Person of DIC/Association/ NGO etc.
166	Footwear Cluster	Nagla Latori Singh	Agra	20	-	-	MSME-TDC(CFTI), Agra
167	Footwear Cluster	Tajganj	Agra	20	-	-	MSME-TDC(CFTI), Agra
168	Footwear Cluster	Dhanoli	Agra	20	-	-	MSME-TDC(CFTI), Agra
169	Footwear Cluster	Nagla Hanuman	Agra	20	-	-	MSME-TDC(CFTI), Agra
170	Footwear Cluster	Kishangarh	Agra	20	-	-	MSME-TDC(CFTI), Agra
171	Footwear Cluster	Kutlupur	Agra	20	-	-	MSME-TDC(CFTI), Agra
172	Handloom Cluster	Noopura	Baghpat	50			Dy. Commissioner (Industries), DIC, Baghpat
173	Handloom Cluster	Bada Gaon	Baghpat	50			Dy. Commissioner (Industries), DIC, Baghpat
174	Leather Footwear Cluster	Pilikhani	Saharanpur	22	Ongoing under MSE-CDP		M/s. Sugat Social Welfare Society, Saharanpur
175	Wood Carft	Purani mandi	Saharanpur	-	No	MSME	DCI, Dic
176	Hosiery	Hiran Maran	Saharanpur	-	-	-	-
177	Wrought Iron	Behat	Saharanpur	-	-	-	-
178	Chaff Cutter Blade	Deoband	Saharanpur	-	-	-	-
179	Food & Fruit Prossesing	Behat	Saharanpur	-	-	-	-
180	Glass work	Firozabad	Firozabad	1200	ODOP	ODOP	Dy. Commissioner Industry, Firozabad, SN Road, Firozabad Mobile no. 6395414781
181	Glass Handicrafts	Firozabad	Firozabad	300			
182	Bangle Manufacturing	Firozabad	Firozabad	200			
183	Bangle Decoration	Firozabad	Firozabad	100			
184	Ready Made garments	Firozabad	Firozabad	25			
185	Wood/Wooden furniture	Firozabad	Firozabad	215			
186	Mineral based	Firozabad	Firozabad	528			
187	Steal fabrication	Firozabad	Firozabad	125			
188	Tailoring	Firozabad	Firozabad	40			
189	Paper & paper Products	Firozabad	Firozabad	16			
190	Taar kashi Cluster	Mainpuri	Mainpuri	120	ODOP	ODOP	Dy. Commissioner

artisanal clusters. According to the list of clusters below (Figure 30 MSME-DI, AGRA Identification of 10 Clusters in each district.<http://www.dcmsme.gov.in/schemes/Clusters.pdf>) Firozabad has 200 Bangle manufacturing clusters and 100 bangle decoration clusters. Also it indicates that One District One Product is the scheme already underway in the cluster.

Both the local and central government agencies associated with skill development are positively inclined on embarking on this journey towards increased global competitiveness of these small towns

Figure 30 MSME-DI, AGRA Identification of 10 Clusters in each district.<http://www.dcmsme.gov.in/schemes/Clusters.pdf>

and urban centres. Taking this mission a step forward, the Government of Uttar Pradesh announced “One District One Product” and became the first state to adopt it in 2018.

“One District One Product (ODOP) programme aims to make product-specific traditional industrial hubs in as many as 75 districts of Uttar Pradesh. This would provide impetus to the traditional industries across various districts. The Hon’ble Prime Minister of India referred it to as an extension of Make in India”.⁴⁴ Further, the scheme is expected to play a major role in bolstering the MSMEs in the state by ushering a new pace of progress through employment generation by providing quality training to the youth and in turn generate employment in the state.⁴⁵

The key features of the ODOP Programme include:⁴⁶

- 1 Common Facility Centre (CFC) Scheme:
In terms of infrastructure development, the state government of Uttar Pradesh assists in the creation of Common Facility Centre (CFC) comprising of various facilities required for the production process.
Incentive by government: This scheme would provide financial assistance of up to 90 per cent of the project cost. It is provided by the state government.
- 2 Marketing Development Assistance Scheme:
The scheme aims to achieve fair pricing for the artisans, weavers, entrepreneurs and exporters of the ODOP products through better marketing. The scheme also provides for on- boarding of artisans across various e-commerce portals such as Amazon, Flipkart. It also ensures the participation of workers, artisans, weavers, entrepreneurs and production units in regional, national and international exhibition events.
Incentive by government: The financial assistance would be provided to all participants of national and international exhibitions and fairs. They can use it for displaying and selling their products selected under ODOP programme.
- 3 Finance Assistance Scheme (Margin Money Scheme): To benefit artisans/workers/ entrepreneurs through financial incentives for the overall development of ODOP products, the state government of Uttar Pradesh has launched Finance Assistance Scheme where financial assistance of up to INR 20 lakh per applicant is provisioned depending upon the cost of the project. All national, rural and scheduled banks are covered to provide this financial assistance.
Apart from direct loaning by banks, the state government is implementing various schemes under the larger umbrella of other schemes such as The Prime Minister Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP), Mukhya Mantri Yuva Swarojgar Yojana, ODOP Vitta Poshan Sahayata Yojana, Pradhan Mantri MUDRA Yojana (PMMY), Stand Up Scheme and Start Up Scheme.
- 4 Skill Development Scheme: Under its Skill Development and Toolkit Distribution Scheme, the state government aims to fulfil current and future skilled workforce requirements and equip the artisans/workers with relevant skill sets. The scheme targets skilled and unskilled artisans for training under different modules and certifications and provides a free advanced toolkit to trained artisans. In this, all skilled artisans would be trained through RPL (Recognition of Prior Learning). They would be certified through various Sector Skill Councils, SSCs, whereas the unskilled artisans would be trained for 10 days and provided with an advanced toolkit which will be free of cost.

According to the Additional Chief Secretary⁴⁷, Uttar Pradesh since its launch in 2018 the scheme has enhanced the state’s export capacity by over 30% in addition to job generation and stable income to numerous impoverished, mostly craftsmen and artisans engaged in the production of traditional products.

Further the following excerpt from the Infrastructure & Industrial Investment Policy, Uttar Pradesh highlights the focus of the policy:⁴⁸

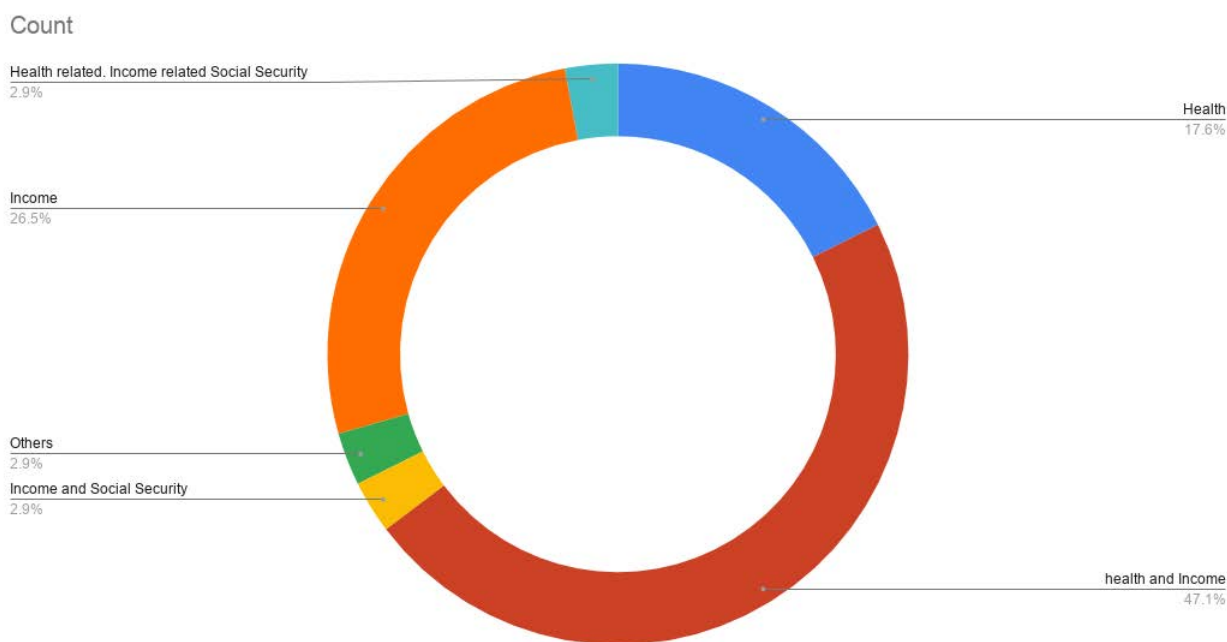
“Traditional industries have existed in the State for centuries and they have significantly contributed towards conservation and expansion of entrepreneurship in rural areas. Not only are they backbone of provincial economy, they also contribute a large share to exports from the State. These industries will be strengthened and made competitive by providing active support in management, product branding, quality certification, research & development, technology, packaging, benchmarking, designing and marketing.”

This marks the emergence of a new phenomenon of global integration of non-descript small towns and urban centres like Firozabad with ‘traditional industries’ based on skills accumulated over centuries.

Risks and challenges

“Dying glass industry will direct impact the life of people in Firozabad,” Kumar said.⁴⁹

The production process involved in the craft of glass bangle making is not devoid of its own set of issues and threats. Low daily wages, high illiteracy rates of the people engaged in the process, poor working conditions and lack of proper access to public facilities are only to name a few. According to Gunjan Sharma, “the craftsmen of Ferozabad live in unfortunate anonymity and poverty. Under-recognized, fighting to get minimum orders to survive, uncomfortable living and working conditions and constantly cheated by middlemen, shop owners, many of them are ready to hang their boots and move on to something stable, better paying, less humiliating and less frustrating. Even if it means



leaving behind a skill that’s unparalleled. It will be an irreversible loss to the country if it loses this

Figure 31 Concerns with the practice of craft of bangle making

gem.⁵⁰

1. Challenges due to proximity to Taj Mahal -TAJ TRAPEZIUM

The industry has continuously faced criticism for extensive use of Child Labour and the harsh and unhealthy conditions under which the glass making process takes place. However, the period 1995/96 was a particularly tense and uncertain time for the Firozabad glass industry because of the issue of environmental pollution. A PIL (public interest litigation) case filed before the Supreme Court of India, to protect the Taj Mahal from polluting industries, led to the ban on the use of coal in the industries in the area known as the Taj Trapezium Zone and recommended shifting to alternative fuels.⁵¹ This was a big blow to the glass industry in Firozabad as it heavily relied on coal as the main fuel for its furnaces and also that it was located within the Taj Trapezium.

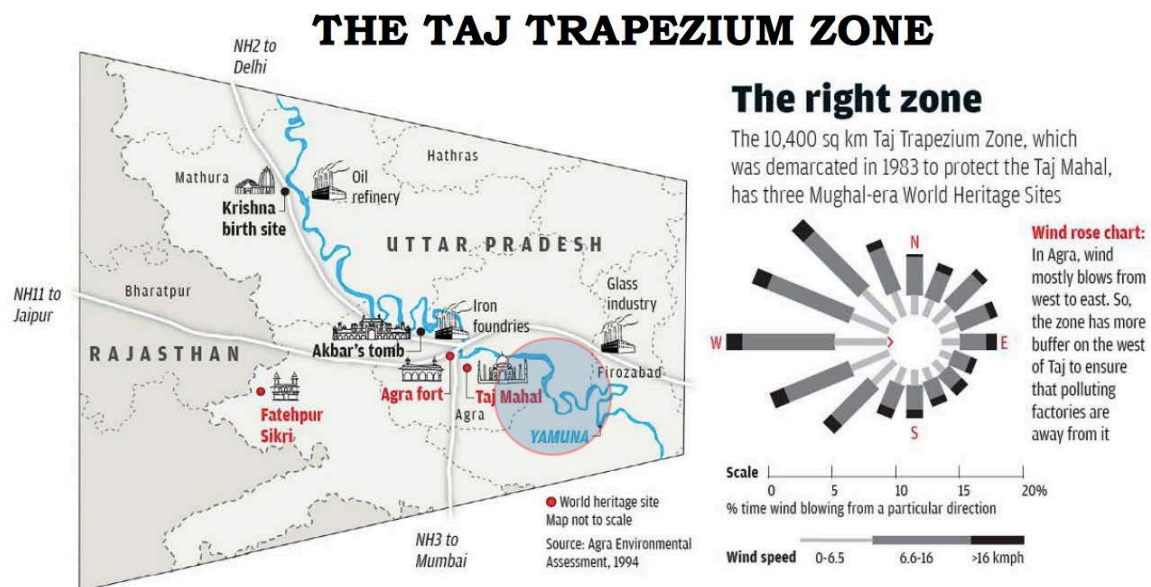


Figure 32 The Taj Trapezium Zone Source: Down to Earth

The *Taj Trapezium Zone* is an area of about 10,400 sq km, covering parts of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan states in India. At its centre lies Agra, city of the Taj Mahal. Besides the Taj, the Trapezium is home to over 40 protected monuments, including other World Heritage Sites such as Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri. Glass units as per the policy were forced to move out of the zone settling in the remote areas like Firozpur and Dhaultpur, which are situated at a distance of 30-35 Km from the zone.

Simultaneously, the court ordered GAIL to supply natural gas to industrial units in the Taj Trapezium that could adapt their technologies to use this far more environmentally benign fuel. After the availability of natural gas to the Firozabad glass industries, the production and quality of the products has improved many folds apart from the cost benefit. However, this resulted in major setback to small scale setups.

2. Health

Prolonged exposure to high temperature furnaces and the use of harmful chemicals without necessary precautions make the working population vulnerable to serious health issues. Many workers across various age groups and gender suffer from tuberculosis or other fatal infections of the lungs and chest. Skin burns and allergies are also commonplace (Weber & Eldridge, 1972).⁵² Constant exposure to hot air, blinding brightness of molten glass, overcrowded, often under-ventilated conditions and inhaling microparticles of silica (basic raw material glass) results in respiratory problems, silicosis, reduced vision, severe dehydration and other diseases, eventually reducing the worker's lifespan. Industries offer a basic minimum level of facilities to their workers, but they are nowhere enough.⁵³ The survey also revealed that such health issues were one of the biggest concerns with the practice of crafts.

Income and Lack of social security

Low daily wages and low monthly incomes with large family sizes poses threats to the continuation of the craft. Lack of provision of minimum salary made available to craftsmen by business owners and the abundance of cheaply available labor pool often leads to bargaining to rock bottom wages for these workers which is tantamount to exploitation.⁵⁴ While the respondents agreed that they associate with the bangle making as their heritage they would like to switch to better paying jobs. A bellanwallah, who is 42 years said, *“Yes, would like to switch to better job... Want my kids to shift to better paying jobs”* when asked if given any other option would they discontinue with the practice. Contrary to this, a Judai wallah (35 years old) who has been associated with the craft for over 20 years responded : *“We can, but we would prefer doing this if the pay gets better”*. Such narratives bring out the dichotomy of the situation where issues of sustenance dwindle with the sense of belongingness and association with your own heritage. Gunjan Sharma points out, "The current research paper seems to validate the view that bangle manufacturing is not a very profitable livelihood for these workers. Many artisans are eager to learn new skills, but with no facility, forum or economic means available to them, they are unable to do so".⁵⁵

Government Policies

According to an article in the national newspaper, "more than 1.35 lakh labourers out of jobs since the demonetisation policy was announced in November last 2016, the balance between demand and supply of workers has gone awry in the glass and bangle industry which is part of the economic backbone of Firozabad." It further cites that "There used to be shortfall in supply of workers in the market before demonetisation and they used to get 20%-30% above minimum wages but now they are getting only minimum wage,"⁵⁶ One of the respondent, a 23 year old Godown also agreed that lack of financial assistance is posing a big threat to small businesses: "small businessmen are finished because of GST⁵⁷, only larger business and industries have survived. After COVID, there has been loss in small sector workers, lack in financial assistance, many have failed in the craft sector... Presently they (younger generation) are interested to work in the sector, but if there are further tax implications it may be difficult to continue the job."

International market competition

The bangle town's once-flourishing glass industry today faces a threat from cheaper machine made items sold by India's next door neighbor, China. Influx of Chinese products into the market is posing a serious threat to the century-old glass industry, which is India's biggest glass cluster. It is estimated that Chinese glass products today occupy 80% of the local market. Colourful bangles, laboratory apparatus and various other glass products have been manufactured for over a century in this small industrial town, but manufacturers from the industry are worried over the entry of Chinese products in the market.⁵⁸

Ashwani Kumar, a local bangle supplier said, "High Inflation, changing fashion trends and entry of Chinese glass bangles is the starting of bad days for local bangle industry, which is the identity of Firozabad."

Education

The survey indicated that 41% of the respondents were illiterate (no formal education) and a majority had very low basic education (Refer Fig. 24). Only a very small percentage(3%) were graduates. As Sharma indicates, "Young children prefer to learn this craft instead of going to school because there is no motivation and guidance available for them. They see their parents as their role models and believe in following their footsteps."⁵⁹ She also indicates that there are schemes available in banks, for

example, like- (Artisan Credit Card (ACC) Scheme) for these craftspersons but due to lack of education, they are not aware of the benefits they are entitled to.⁶⁰

It can be concluded that two approaches emerge from the assessment of relevant policies. The first approach focuses on capacity building of individual artisans, while the second seems to perceive it from the perspective of a modern line of production though recognising its traditional nature. This also originates from a very simplistic view and neglect of the complex socio-cultural-spatial networks as highlighted in the previous sections. Therefore, the policies end up primarily focusing on skill development, creation of CFC's (Common Facility Centres), provision of Special Economic Zones on the outskirts of the city and moving the craft based activity to the industrial zone. Such an approach ends up, perceiving the skilled craftsman as a mere "worker" in the line of production.

Therefore as Chaykowski and Abbott highlight: "As production systems become increasingly international, and as economies become increasingly integrated globally, we are struggling to maintain national social welfare and industrial relations systems".⁶¹ This is the challenge that any policy in this context will have to face. Further to substantiate the argument, TERI⁶², initiatives in Firozabad glass bangle industry from the perspective of introduction of technology sheds further light on the importance of recognition of traditional knowledge systems and practices for effective translation of any policies in such a context. "Working with tradition" the reports states that: "Long-term engagement with the cluster has also led to the realisation that at times, tradition and custom wield far more influence than improved technology. As a result, the team has had to shed certain seemingly logical assumptions made at the outset of the intervention, and instead modify the improved technologies to suit these local traditions and customs". It further highlights: that the complex social, cultural, and economic realities that governed the bangle-making community in Firozabad posed a formidable barrier to any social action initiative that involved changes in the established pattern of work. Further complexity is added due to the local power dynamics, the industry is primarily dominated by the industrialists and the suppliers. As the TERI team highlights: "It took a while for the project team to learn that a number of wealthy families control a large proportion of pot furnace units in Firozabad, and therefore exercise considerable influence over the entire glass industry."⁶³

Further, the risks and challenges that the bangle making industry faces today indicates the younger generation moving away from the craft to other modes of occupation within the same families. As a

"yes, our parents use to do it. other family members does the same work..but we would prefer doing this if the pay gets better. yes, we have doing it for very long. family involved in the craft for 35 generations. Godown owner.

result the threats and challenges faced by the people have displaced many among the craft community from their identity and belongingness to the craft into different avenues of life and the gap continues to increase with each successive generation.



MISSION \$1 TRILLION
BY INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION
THE ECONOMIC TIMES

ODOP – One District, One Product – one of Uttar Pradesh government's most ambitious schemes, is helping the state's unique products find new audiences and in turn aiding scores of artisans and MSMEs involved in the making of those products. There are products in Uttar Pradesh that are found nowhere else – like the ancient and nutritious **Kala namak rice**, the rare and intriguing **wheat-stalk craft**, world-famous **schikankari and zari-zardozi** work on clothes, and the intricate and stunning horn and bone work that uses the remains of dead animals rather than live ones. The programme aims to double the production and exports of ODOP products in the next five years and is expected to majorly contribute to CM Yogi Adityanath's \$1-trillion dream. Let's take a look at what makes the scheme click and how it is revolutionising the state's handicrafts industry.

WHY IS IT UNIQUE?

1. It is the only government-backed scheme in India that focuses on promoting and marketing local products.
2. It is the only government-backed scheme in India that focuses on promoting and marketing local products.
3. It is the only government-backed scheme in India that focuses on promoting and marketing local products.

ODOP'S MAIN OBJECTIVES:

- To promote and market local products.
- To create employment opportunities.
- To increase the production and exports of local products.

GOVERNMENT'S BIG PUSH

KEY GOAL ACHIEVEMENTS:

- 13 districts have been identified for the scheme.
- 22 products have been selected for the scheme.
- 15 districts have been identified for the scheme.

ACHIEVEMENTS:

41,000 20,000

9

WHAT IS ODOP?

ADDRESSING CHALLENGES

SUCCESS STORIES

KALANAM RICE

SILK PRODUCTS OF BUDAPEST

BLACK POTTERY OF KANHA

Figure 33 (a) <https://www.investindia.gov.in/team-india-blogs/one-district-one-product-odop-programme>
 (b) One District One Product, Advertisement from a national daily The Economic Times

4. CONCLUSIONS

The aforesaid discussion brings into light the following two learnings.

First, the fact that craft processes are living systems based on traditional knowledge and practices. It is the 'process' through which the agency of the 'Product' enlivens and enriches the community, thereby providing its identity. A system based on complex web of social relationships arising out of craft as an object, craft as a process and craft as a practice, brings forth this new framework of a humanitarian heritage

Second, projecting a way forward in light of the current policy landscape. The dichotomy of craft vs industry makes it a complex scenario from the perspective of policy formulation. Is it a craft or is it an industry? Or is it a traditional craft-based industry? Is the craftsman a skilled person with inherited knowledge or should he be considered as a mere wage labourer? Is the craftsman himself/ herself aware of this dichotomy?

The findings, as discussed above, have reflected that the general perception towards the act of bangle making is primarily that of sustenance.

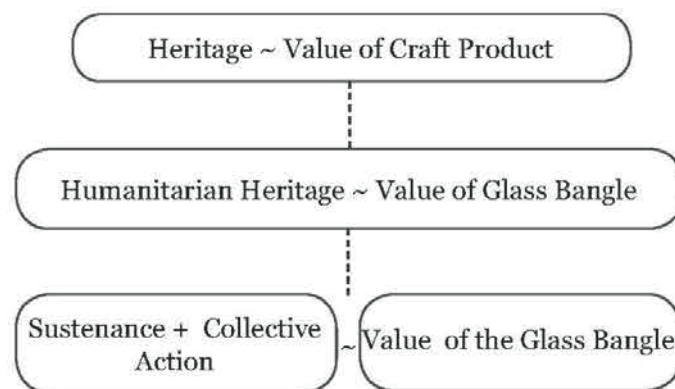


Figure 34 Sustenance and collective heritage, the two major determinants defining the craft of bangle making in Firozabad

4.1 Sustenance based heritage systems

As Costin points the act of craft becomes a metaphor for social identity and also a symbol of social category in such societies. The organisational structure of the craft production process thus, [...] signify and legitimize group membership and social roles, and become reserves of wealth, storing intrinsically valuable materials and the labor invested in their manufacture. Specialized craft producers are actors involved in the creation and maintenance of social networks, wealth, and social legitimacy.⁶⁴

How do you perceive your association with the craft?

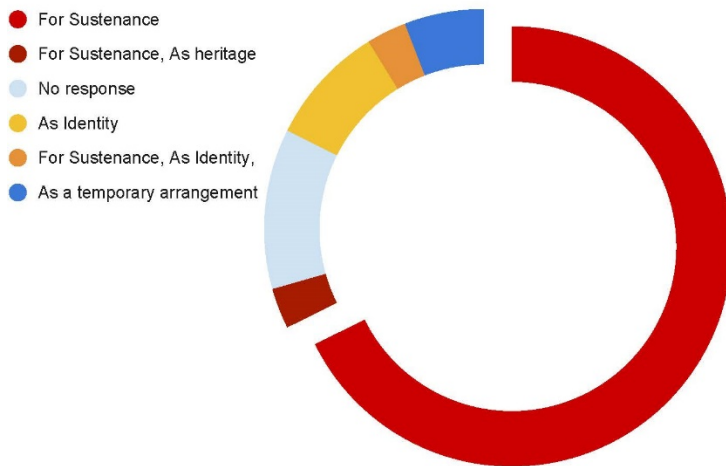


Figure 35 Craft as a primary means of sustenance.

The craft of Bangle making in Firozabad is just one example of the numerous craft centres that were established during the medieval period for the sustenance of humanity. Each of these centres represent systems of sustenance-based heritage as is reflected in the case of Firozabad. It represents the processes of living and being, where daily lives and rhythms of being are situated around the act of bangle making. *“yes, but this is (Bangle making) what we know”* said one of the respondents when asked if he is doing the craft for sustenance. What emerges from these processes of living and being is a work-live relationship intertwined in the daily life cycles of the Firozabadis.

The people engaged in the act of bangle making often dwindle between a craft-based system and an industry-based system due to the line of production involved in that of a single product. This line of production results in defining social categories and generating social relationships. What emerges in the case of Firozabad is a network of small, medium and large stages of crafts production, among different households of a community, where each household is responsible for the completion of an intricate job. The production of a single bangle depends on a system of interdependency, interconnections, co-existence, of human connections based on socio- cultural processes of communities which have been passed through generations. These craft processes are identified as intangible heritage.

Most of the respondents perceived the craft of bangle making as an industry rather than a craft. This is inherent in the fact that the craft of bangle resonates with the modern-day line of production, however, the same is established as a system of community-based networks and associations. Also, in the families of the craftsmen aspiration of being a part of a larger industry is valued more than being called a craft which is associated with a small cottage industry. Therefore, they associate themselves to be a part of the larger industry. It is also understood through various interactions that the meaning of craft is understood more in terms of arts.

4.2 Collective Heritage

As Bortolotto elaborates: “Communities’ collective memories shape their own pasts, drawing on tangible and intangible aspects of their culture. This process is not proceeding from the past to the present, but is the outcome of present needs and an answer to contemporary claim.”⁶⁵

Do you think of bangle making as a community work?

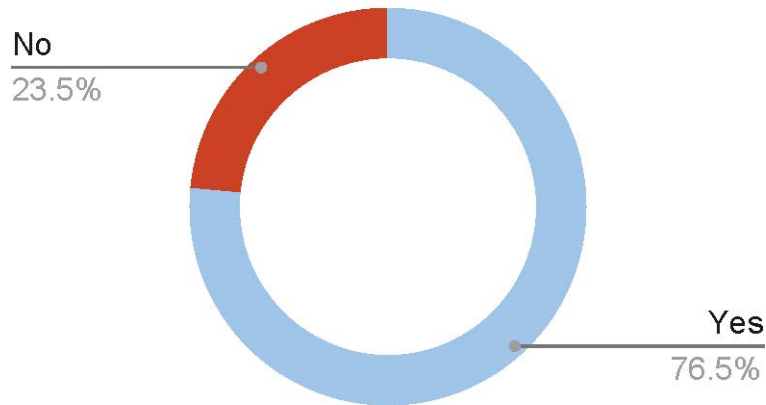


Figure 36 Perception of craft as community work

The craft of bangle making is based on an interconnected web of social relationships where each social actor has a pre-defined role to play. This is inherent in the fact that the craft of bangle resonates with the modern-day line of production, even though it got established as a system of community-based networks and associations. These social roles based on inherent skill sets are community specific in Firozabad. For example, the decoration of the bangles is carried out by specific communities, so as the process of *Judai* and *jhalai*. Therefore, it represents a system of sustenance that is based on participation of different religion, different communities and different skill sets. What emerges is a sort of an interdependency for sustenance of the collective whole and not just the individual. There is a necessity for each social actor to perform its part for the collective growth of the craft.

Therefore, the sense of continuity has to be rooted in the appreciation of the practice of craft as a web of inter-relationships, appreciating the line of production as socio-spatial process.

The fieldwork has revealed that the craft of bangle making is considered to be a community work providing them with a cohesive identity.

Working environment is good here. Friends are also here. Male Factory worker

our work enhance the product quality, not alot of people can do this... Yes we are doing this for sustenance but this is what we know... this is our heritage. Craftsman who has been associated with the industry for 25 years.

we do this for Firozabad... Our work requires high labour input but wages are less.. this is our only source of income. However if there is any opportunity with better pay we will discontinue with the practice. Unskilled worker, 52 years old. Associated with the industry for the last 27 years.

Those involved in the trade identified themselves with the craft as it forms part of their everyday being and existence. It is also interesting to note that the perception of bangle making which has been a bread owner of the family since generation, is considered a means to economics and sustenance, whereas, it being a craft has been instinctive, intuitive and the intricacies of the art work has developed over a period of time. The craftsmen who had received enormous respect during the Mughal times, and were considered an important section of the society have started being perceived as a professional rather than a craftsman. Instinctively they follow the socio culture practices associated with the daily activities of the craft, making it a process-oriented work. To develop the sense of ownership as heritage and craft, it is imperative to create awareness among its bearers of what is the significance and how the values of the craft are associated and then may be address

<p>Choodi ke baare mein toh yeh kahoonga jo juda hua hai munasif kaam hai, jab bahar shahar band honge toh dikkat hogi, koi zyada tax nahin hai, lockdown ke baad hamara ferozabad jaldi khada ho gaya, ferozabad mein jaati wagarah ka nahin hai, community hai, ek doosre se judi hui hain, ek doosre ki madad karte hain. Godown Owner (Annexure 1)</p>	<p>About bangles I will say..that whoever is attached with this work... is doing good. When other cities close down then people will suffer. There are no taxes. After the lockdown our Ferozabad recovered very quickly. In Ferozabad there are no caste.. rather its a community, everyone is connected to each other.. everyone helps each other. Godown Owner (Annexure 1)</p>
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whether they consider it as a heritage. Needless to say that they have values but to focus on the fact that it has become more instinctive and has lost its true meaning for the people. Also, the data answers our most important question as to how people associate with the craft and whether they are likely to associate themselves with the craft in the future.

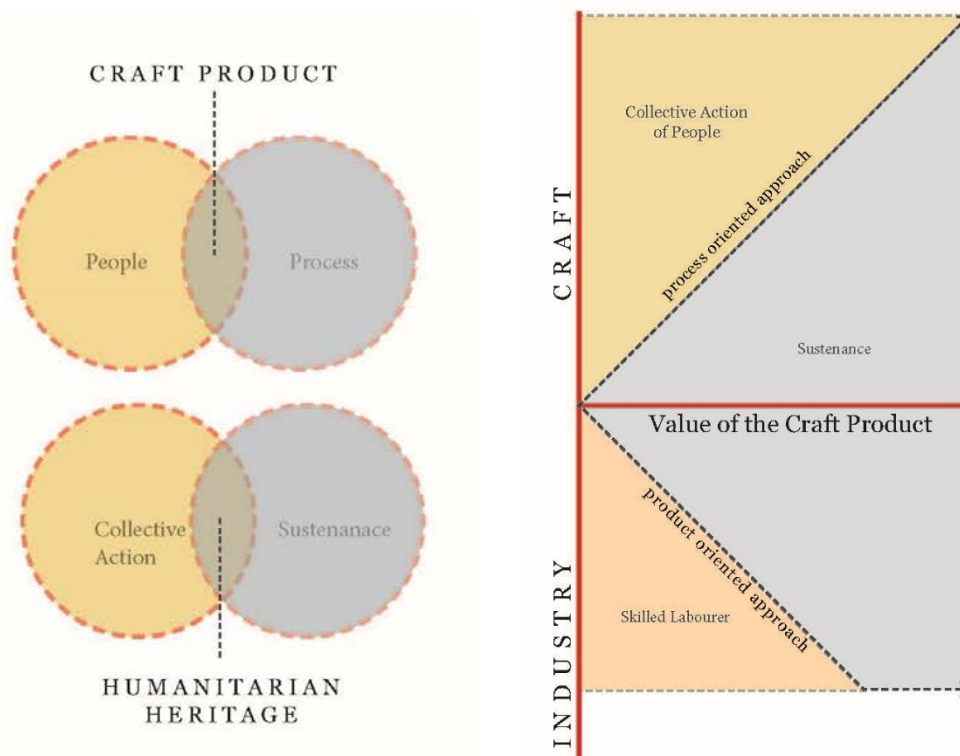


Figure 37 Craft vs Industry. Conceptualizing Humanitarian Heritage within Glass Bangle Making, Ferozabad. An analytical difference between process-oriented approach and product-oriented approach, bringing forth Craft as Humanitarian Heritage

Such humanitarian heritage on a craft-based system sits in the dynamic framework of what one can call a 'craft-praxis'. This demonstrates a new understanding of craft. This, has the power to reshape the ways we think of creativity, play, community, and even selfhood. It therefore forms a unique kernel of dialogical identity of a craftsman that informs the rest of their processes of living and being in a genuinely beneficial way.

4.3 Way Forward:

This methodological initiative re-imagines the town of Firozabad, where the sense of protection comes from within the communities' values and ownership of the craft, and the manner in which the community protects its processes and heritage by educating its younger generation, technique up gradation, market exposure, and infrastructural up gradation enabling the past to shape its sustainable future. By building such a framework of heritage preservation, we experts may act as catalyst, ensuring the growth and sustenance of multidimensional resilience of the community of Firozabad.

The policy developments are struggling with the inbetweenness of whether it's a craft or an industry. Is the craftsman only a "skilled labourer" or someone who signifies the labor that has been invested in creating a social object. The idea of the craftsperson, with an embodied knowledge relating to the craft process emphasizes a need for the line of production to be understood in context of the socio-spatial networks. A relook at Firozabad bangle making as sustenance-based heritage systems deeply rooted in socio-spatial systems would result in the way forward.

Economic incentivization for continuity of craft can also further lead to increased sense of ownership. As the central issue of sustenance directly relate to considering the heritage value of the process of craft and the identity of the place, the aforesaid indicates that there is a good chance of survival for the craft if the required measures are taken in specific stakeholder groups especially the future generations. Emphasizing the role of women in craft and uplifting the work-live scenario has the potential of increasing the quality of craft as well as maintaining satisfactory living standards. An understanding of the spatial networks of these social relationships further has the capacity to inform the policy that would result in preservation of socio-cultural practices along with promotion and continuity of the craft.

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GUNJAN SHARMA

North light Consultancy Singapore Published online: 22 February 2017

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Cut by glass, Firozabad's bangle industry losing glitter

By Hemendra Chaturvedi | Hindustan Times, Agra

PUBLISHED ON FEB 08, 2017 01:53 PM IST

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/lucknow/cut-by-glass-firozabad-s-bangle-industry-losing-glitter/story-iAe1aHLwPaZWDH3opXFxLP.html>

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Cut by glass, Firozabad's bangle industry losing glitter. By Hemendra Chaturvedi | Hindustan Times, Agra

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ANNEXURES

6. ANNEXURE 1

Interview with a Godown owner, 24 years old and stays in Rajnagar, Kaam Nagar complex

Aapki age our aap Kahan rehte? Aap Kya kaam karte hain?

I live in Rajnagar, Kaam nagar complex, and my age is 24. Maine abhi padye khatam ki hai, packing ka kaam karta hoon, chacha ka godown hai, choodiya poori tayyar ho jaati hai use pack karna hota hai

Kitne ghante kaam karte hai?

taqreeban 4-5 ghante ka kaam hota hai roz.

yehi kaam karte hai? Ya kuch aur bhi karte hai?

main toh yehi karta hoon.

kitne saal se?

3-4 saal se. Usse pehle main haridwar rehte tha. Isse pehle mere papa yeh kaam karte the. Haridwar kaam ke silsile main gaye the. Yeh kaam ghar pe hee hota hain. Mere chacha bhi saath mein hee rehte hain.

Din mein kis time pe kaam karte hain?

11-12 baje se 4-5 baje tak

Ghar mein kitne log hain?

8 log hain. 2 bhai 1 behen mumma bhabhi

Family mein aur koi jo yeh kaam karta hai?

Koi nahin.

Woh bhi choodi mein hee Kaam karte hain?

Nahin unka alag hai, choodi se hatke karte hai, data feeding wagarah, nagar nigam ke office mai.

Kaanch ke kaam se pehchaan banti hai?

Yeh taqreeban jab suhagan banti hai, log kehte hain, suhagan hai toh choodi pehnti hain.

Kitne gharon mein choodiyon ka kaam hota hai?

lagbhag sabhi ghar mein hota hai.. Hamarre area mein kuch log aise hai jinki factory hai..kuch log hain jo supply karte hain, factory se maal nikla, apne paas rakha, fir godown mein supply kiya, chain bani hui hai aadmi ki, jude hue hain hum.

Akele nahin kar sakte?

Chain yeh...ek doosre se jud ke hee tabhi kaam hua hai, step by step chaloge tabhi kaam chalega. *toh iski wajah se ferozabad ki pehchaan toh hai..* haan choodi ki wajah se Ferozabad ki pehchaan hai. choodi ka shahar jaana jata hai.

Future kya hai?

Choodi ke baare mein toh yeh kahoonga jo juda hua hai munasif kaam hai, jab bahar shahar band honge toh dikkat hogi, koi zyada tax nahin hai, lockdown ke baad hamara ferozabad jaldi khada ho gaya, ferozabad mein jaati wagarah ka nahin hai, community hai, ek doosre se judi hui hain, ek doosre ki madad karte hain.

What is your age and where do you stay? And what do you do?

I stay in Rajnagar, Kaam Nagar complex. My age is 24. I have just completed my education. My work involves packaging. My uncle has a godown. Once the bangles are ready then they need to be packed.

How many Hours do you work?

Approximately 4 to5 hours.

Do you do only this work? Or something else too?

I only do this work.

How long have you been doing this work?

3 to 4 years. Before that I used to stay in Haridwar (Religious town in Uttar Pradesh). Before this my father used to do this work. He went to Haridwar for some work. This work is done at home only. My uncle stays with me.

What time of the day do you work?

11-12pm to 4-5 pm

How many people in your family?

8 people. 2 brothers, one sister, mother and sister in law.

Does anyone else in the family involved in this work?

No. No one.

Do they also work in the bangle industry?

No. Their work is separate from bangle making. Data feeding etc. in Municipality.

Do you think that this glass work gives you an identity?

Yes. When women get married.. people say... if you are married then they wear the bangles.

In how many households does this work take place?

Almost in all households. In our area there are some people who own factory. Some people supply raw material.. Bangles come out of the factory.. keep it with themselves.. then it is supplied to the Godown. Its like a human chain.. we are all connected.

Can we do this alone?

Its like a chain.. we are all connected with each other.. thats why the work happens. you need to go step by step.. only then work will take place. Because of this Ferozabad has an identity... Yes bangles is what gives Ferozabad its identity. It is known as the city of bangles.

What is the future?

About bangles I will say..that whoever is attached with this work... is doing good. When other cities close down then people will suffer. There are no taxes. After the lockdown our Ferozabad recovered very quickly. In Ferozabad there are no caste.. rather its a community, everyone is connected to each other.. everyone helps each other.

10-20 saal mein kya badlav hua hai, aap sunte honge?

badlaav kuch fail hote hain kuch paas hote hain, choodi mein competition.

choodi mein kiska competition hai?

Jaise plastic item banta hai Jaipur mein, shining ka item bahar hee banta hai, ya kada Udaipur se aata hain, kaanch sirf yahan hai, baaki cheezen bahar se hoti hai, kaanch ka kaam pehle se kum ho gaya hai.

Ek choodi pe log kehte hain 70-80 logon ka haath lagta hai?

haan bilkul, jaise hamare godown mein 7 bande haath lagate hain ek choori pe.

Toh yeh choodi banke kahan se aati hai aapke godown mein?

Factory se shop pe aayi, shop se godown wale lete hai, fir design jahan banti hai, wahan jaata hai. Har jagah apna ek stop bana hua hai, fir design dalke dubara godown mein aata hain, fir usko godown mein chaanta jaata hai, fir uske baad packing hoti hai.

Aapke godown mein chatai ke karigar bhi hain?

Haan woh log bhi hote hai.

Aapne kaam Kiya, aapke papa chacha ne kaam kiya, toh problems kya kya aati hain?

Saari problem solve hoti hai toh paise se hoti hai.

Agar govt kuch fund deti hai toh?

Nahi nahi, usse toh sab ek number mein dikhana padega, cash flow kam ho jayega, nusaan ho jayega.

Toh aapka kaam ek number mein nahin kar sakte?

Nahin nahin.

Toh choori ke kaam ko aage kaise badaya jaye?

Choori ka kaam behtar toh tabhi hoga jab marketing achi ho, jaise market mein becha, jaise maal humne becha aur bahar sale nahin ho paati by chance, toh hamare yahan kaam pe farak padta hai.

Toh aap exporter ko dete ho?

Haan, banda leke chala jaata hai exporter ke liye.

Govt ne ek scheme nikali one district one product, usme har zile pe investment daalenge...

Nahin suna hai par zyada knowledge nahin hai, kisi ne action liya hee nahin, toh pata hee nahin chala.

In the last 10-20 years what have been the changes?

Some Changes are failure some changes are a success. Bangles faces competition.

What is the competition in the bangle industry?

Like.. plastic bangles are manufactured in Jaipur... shining items are also made outside.. thick bangles come from Udaipur,, only glass bangles are here. Everything else happens outside. The glass bangle work has reduced from earlier times.

Is it said that 70-80 people contribute in the making of a single bangle?

Yes absolutely. Like in our Godown 7 guys handle a single bangle.

So where does the bangle come to you from?

From factory to shop, shop to godown.. then it goes to where the design is made. Everywhere we have a stop.. then after it has been designed it comes back to the godown again...then we sort it out in the godown, after that it is packed.

Are there artisans in your godown who do chatai(sorting)?

Yes. Those people are also there.

You are working, your father and uncle did the same work so what problems do you face?

All the problems get solved because of money.

If the government provides some funds to you?

No no that will result in a loss. It will reduce the cash flow and all the money will have to be shown as white money.

So your work cannot be conducted in white money?

No. No.

So how do you think the craft of bangle making can be continued?

Bangle making industry will improve only when there will be good marketing. Like we sell in the market, and we dont have good sales then it affects our work.

Do you supply the bangles to a exporter?

Yes. Yes. A person takes it to the exporter.

Govt has started a scheme called One district One product. According to this scheme investment will be made in all district.

No I haven't heard of it. I have no knowledge of it. No one has taken any action... so never got to know about it.

7. ANNEXURE 2

Interview with a Godown owner, 23 years old and stays in Bagiya Mohalla, Firozabad

Apki umr kya hai?

date of birth 97 hai toh approx 23 years.

Education?

MSC ki hai.

Abhi aap ferozabad mein kahan rehte hain?

bagiya mohalle mein.

Abhi aap choodi banane mein kaise involved hain?

Abhi toh main papa ke saath hee hoon

Papa kya karte hain?

Papa ka godown hai.

Toh isme choodi bani hui aati hai?

bani hui choodi aati hai, factory se milti hai, jalai judai karke bani hui aati hai.

Fir aap kahan bechte ho?

Usko hum labour ke paas se uthate hain uspe hum decoration karate hai, finishing karte hai, check karte hain tooti hui choodi, usko hum vyapariyon ke paas leke jaate hain shehar ke bahar aur usko bechte hain

Factory mein jo challa banta hai, woh aapke paas aata hai, uske baad judai jhalai ke liye jaata hai?

hamaare paas judai jalai kara hua aata hai complete roll

Toh woh kahin aur jaata hai?

Nahin judai jhalai ke baad jo godown mein aata hai wohi hamare paas aata hai.

Aapke pitaji kitne time se kaam kar rahe hai isme?

lag bhag 37 saal se.

Usse pehle?

isse pehle alag mazdoori karte the Before that he was a labourer.

Dadaji kya karte the?

Woh mazdoori karte the.

Abhi aapke ghar mein kitne log hai?

Hum abhi 6 log hai, 2 mummy papa, 2 sister aur 2 bhai.

Aur bachche?

Bachcha toh koi nahin hai.

Sabhi log choodiyon ka kaam karte hain?

nahin sirf main aur papa.

Koi aur bhi hai family mein?

haan chacha bhi hain, unka alag godown hai.

Saath mein shuru kiya tha?

nahi shuru se hee alag shuruat ki thi.

What is your Age?

Date of birth is 97 so approximately 23 years.

Education?

I have done MSc.

Where do you stay in Firozabad currently?

In Bagiya Mohalla.

How are you involved in the making of Bangles?

Right now I am working with my father only.

What does your father do?

Father has a godown

Then completed bangles must be coming to your godown?

Yes completed bangles come, they come from the factory, jointed bangles come to us.

Then when do you sell it?

We pick it up from the labourers... then we get decoration done and then we get the finishing done and then we check to ensure there are no broken bangles... We then take it to the retailers on the outskirts of the city and then we sell them.

The bangles that are made in the factory they come to you and that you pass on for joining ?

The jointed bangles come to us in a roll.

Then does that goes somewhere else?

No. The jointed bangles that go to the godowns come to us.

How long has your father been working in this?

Almost from 37 years.

What did your grandfather do?

He was a labourer.

How many people are there in your household?

We are 6 members. Mother father, 2 sisters.. 2 brothers.

What about children?

No there are no children.

Is everyone in involved in the bangle making work?

No only myself and my father.

Anyone else in the family?

Yes my uncle.. he has a separate godown.

Did you start together?

No.. we have been separate from the beginning.

Ghar mein jo choodi ka kaam nahin karte woh kya karte hain?

nahin koi nahin, ek sister mummy ke saath hai, ek mujhe 2 saal badi hai, aur ek chota bhai hai woh abhi 11 mein hain, mujhse 7 saal chota hai

Godown mein kitni der ka kaam hota hai?

9 baje se 7 baje tak.

Godown mein kitne log hai?

6 log, uske alawa jo bahar jaake karte hain woh alag hai.

Abhi godown ghar mein hai ghar se bahar?

ghar ke neeche hee hain.

Ghar mein koi dikkat?

nahin koi dikkat nahin.

Aur agar bahar kahin godown banana ho?

theek hai par jagah kam padti hai, karaye ka bada padega 2-3000rs/sqft, ghar toh bade hote hee hain, jinke ghar mein jagah nahin hoti woh godown dhoondte hai, kahan kahan jaake baithe.

Jo choodi aati hai uska kya hota hai?

woh hum labour ko dete hai, koi design ko banata hai, koi chemical se, koi garam karke

Ek din mein kitne tode lag jaate hain?

chote 500 aur bade 250.

toh aap bada toda lete ho ya chota?

hum khareedte bada hai, aur bechte chota karke hain

woh kyun?

agar bada bechenge toh mehenge bikega, chota sasta bikta hai .

jo zari karte hai woh kaise lete hai?

woh toh mazdoori pe le jaate hain, mazdoori fix hoti hai, 10 rupai katta 5 rupai katta.

toh aap kitne logo mein baantte ho?

hum din mein 10 logon ko lug bhug.

10 logon mein 250, toh 25 toda per banda?

haan ji.

aur koi dikkat, sarkar se ya waise?

kabhi kabhi jaga kum padti hai.

koi sarkari approval lena hota hai?

jab aur zyada bad jaata hai tab lena padta hai.

woh kaise hota hai?

woh toh register karate hai, income tax dept mein.

Firozabad mein koi society hai?

income tax mein hee register hota hai, sales tax toh hai nahin choodi pe, income tax lagta hai 50 lakh ko choote hee, uske baad dena padta hai

Ghar mein kaam karna mein, koi health issue?

health issue haan hai, chemical ka kaam karna walon ko dikkat hoti hai, tb wagara ki bimaari ho sakti hai

Family members who are not involved in the bangle industry what do they do?

No... no one works.. One sister is with my mother.. one is two years elder to me... one brother is younger to me.. he is in eleventh.. the other one is 7 years younger to me.

How long is your work at the Godown?

From 9 am to 7 pm.

How many people are there at the Godown?

6. Apart from that there are others who go and work outside.

Godown.. is it inside the home or separate?

It is below our house only.

Any troubles at home because of that?

No.No problem.

In case you want to make your Godown separately?

Thats fine.. but rent will be very high..2-3000rs per square feet. Houses are big anyway.. People who don't have a space within the house.. they look for a Godown.. which all places will you be sitting.

The bangles that come to you. What do you do with it?

That we give to the labour.. some make design on it.. some add chemical to it. Some warm it up.

In a day how many Thodas get completed?

Small ones about 500 and bigger ones about 250.

Which one do you take? Big or small?

We purchase the big one but we sell in smaller numbers.

But why?

If we sell the bigger one it will cost more... while the smaller cost less.

People who do zari work.. how do they purchase it?

Those take up on labour basis.. labour charges are fixed.. 10rs per katta (katta is a big jute bag of a standard size) 5 rupees per katta.

So how many people do you distribute it to?

We give to about 10 people.

10 people 250 thodas.. that means 25 thodas per person?

Yes.

Any other problem? Either from the Government side or otherwise?

Sometimes we face a space constraint.

Do need any approvals?

When space needs expansion then you need it.

How is that done?

That one needs to register.. in the income tax department.

Is there any society in Firozabad?

Income tax has to be registered. There is no sales tax on the bangles. Income tax has to be paid.. 50 lakhs rebate is there.. after that it has to be paid.

Are there any health issues you face at home?

Health issue. Yes. People who work with chemicals face a problem. TB and alike diseases can happen.

aur koi financial issue, ya godown chalane mein koi dikkat?

nahin nahin, bahut sukun ka kaam hai, koi mehnat nahin hai, bas body fit honee chahiye

kya yeh ek vyavasay hai ya kala hai?

hamare paas to vyavasaya hai, kala ki tarah to humse upar jahan ban ke aate hai, wahan par kala hai, hamare liye neeji khud ki baat karoon, haamare liye toh vyavasaye hee hain, par jahan choodi banti hai, wahan kala hoti hai.

aur jo yeh zaree waree ka kaam hai?

yeh koi mushil nahin hai, 2-4 din mein seekh jaate hai

aise bhi log hai jo saalon se yeh kaam kar rahe hai?

haan hai.

aur koin kaam karna chahoge?

hamare sheher mein toh kaanch ka hee kaam hai, choodi se badiya aur nahin hai, sheher ke bahar toh bahut hai, is sheher mein toh choodi ka hee kaam hai

aisa kyun?

chota sheher hai na Firozabad, choodi ka hee kam badiya hai.

GST se kya farak pada?

GST ne jitne bhi chote karobari the sab khatam ho gaye, register karna munim ka kharcha, vakeel ka kharcha, isliye chote kaam khatam ho gaye, bade hee reh gaye.

aur corona se koi farak pada?

lockdown tha, market se udhar mil jata tha, toh chote poonji wale the udhar le liya karte the, time ho gaya toh, jin logo ka paise the unhone le liye, toh unki poonji kam aa gayee

dihadi pe kitna farak pada?

unpe koi farak nahin pada, inka kharcha dukaan dar uthata hai.

aap ko lagta hai agli peedi kaam karegi?

abhi toh dikhta hai, karti hai, par isme agar tax lagega, ya koi nayee technique aa jaati hai, jisse kaam nahin lagega toh nahin karegi, jaise iske judai mein 20 log lagte hain, uske baad ring tayyar hoti hai, use pehle toh spring tayyar hoti hai, uske baad 20 log lagte hai, tab aati hai hamare paas.

ab koi machine aa gayee hai, jo 20 log kaam karte the, ab 1 jane ka kaam ho hoga, abhi nasi machine aaye demo ke liye, toh agar machine aa gayee, toh 20 mein se 19 chant jayenge 1 reh jayega toh kaam itna dum daar toh hai nahin.

Toh yeh toh factory wala yeh machine lagayega?

Kuch log agar badi party hai, agar machine lagadi, koi bhi le jaye, koi bhi khareede chahe kuch kare.

Sarkar ki taraf se koi scheme hai?

nahin, choodi ke liye koi scheme nahin hai.

Any other financial issue or any problems related to the running of Godowns?

No. No. It is quite a peaceful work. No handwork. Only your body should be fit.

What do you think is it a business or a craft?

For us it is a business.. craft is above us from where it is made.. that is where craft is. If I talk personally, for me it is a business. But where it is made that is where craft is.

What about Zari work?

That is not difficult. 2 to 4 days you learn it.

Are there any people who have been doing this work for ages?

Yes there are.

Who you like to do any other work?

In our city.. it is glass related work only... nothing is better than the bangles. Outside the city there are enough.. in this city it is bangle related work only.

But why?

Firozabad is a small city... Bangle making work is good.

Did GST make any difference?

GST resulted in shutting down of all small businesses. To register, accountants fees, lawyer fees.. thats why all small businesses have shut down.. only larger ones have continued.

How has corona affected you?

There was lockdown.. you could get loan from the market.. so people with limited capital took loan.

How was daily wage affected?

There no affect on it.. the retailers took care of their expenses.

Do think the next generation will continue with this work?

For now it shows.. they do it.. But if there are tax implications or there is a new technology that does not require many people then they will not.. For example joining requires 20 persons, after that ring is ready.. before that the spring gets ready. After that 20 persons are required.. then to reaches us. Now there is a machine which does the job of 20 persons. So only one person will be required. There is such a machine which has come for demo. If this machine does come, then instead of one person only one will be needed. So then not much scope left.

So then the factory owner will install this machine?

If they big stakeholders, then they may install the machine.. Anyone comes and get it. Anyone buys it. They will do anything.

Is there any scheme from the Govt.?

No there is no scheme for bangle making.

Craft hai ya industry, aapke hisaab se?

yeh industry hai. Par har koi samajhta hain ki raw material sara bahar se aata hai Choodi banane ka kaam ke Liye.

Firozabad mein hee kyu hai?

isme thodi kala bhi hai, kala kewal 1-2 logon i hai, jo spring banata hai, 8 ghante regular bhatti ke saamne baitha hee rehta hai, barabar spring banata rehta hai, aur barabar ki choodi nikalta hai, bas yehi kala hai, baaki sab toh aasan hai.

Is it a craft or an industry according to you?

This is an industry. But everyone thinks that the raw material comes from outside to make the bangles.

Why is it in Firozabad only?

There is some art in it. Art is only in the hands of one or two people. The ones who make the spring. For 8 hours they are continuously sitting next to the furnace. They make springs of uniform proportions and therefore the bangles are of same size. Now art is only in this. The rest is easy.

8. ANNEXURE 3

Interview with a Factory owner, during fieldwork

Factory se ban ke aayee, toh aap keh raho hai bhatti mein gayee fir?

Factory se fir karigar ke yaha, fir 10 logon ke haath mein ghoomegi, fir tab yahan aayegi.

Woh 10 log kaun hai? Karkhane mein bani, katai aur judai kahaan hoti hai?

Sadai hogi sabse pehle, kat ke kaanch aata hai.

Sadai kya hoti hai?

Ek ke upar ek dank chada hota hai, yeh kati hui hoti hai, socket ki tarah hoti hai, spring ki tarah, fir iski sadai hoti hai, blade se katti hai, lump hoti hai, lump ke neeche blade hoti hai, seedhee kari jaati hai pehle choodi, fir seedhee karne ke bad, fir iski judai hogi, chatai hogi, golaai hoke aati hai.

Fir aapke paas aayegi?

Fir hum iss par decoration karenge, jab hum chamak layenge tabhi toh acchi banegi, yeh chemical se hoti hai.

Pointing to the process: yeh hai, isko bolte hai katai, fir yeh machine se polish hoke aayee hai.

Pointing to the Tarwallah: woh change ho gaya hai, pehle haath se ghumate the, uski jagah machine lag gayee hai.

Toh yeh sab change ho gaya hai?

Aur saare kaam jo hai woh hat gaye hai, kahi kahi karigar hai, sara raw material hai, supplier maujood hai.

Yahaan kitni bhatti hogi?

Kareeb 200

Toh aapki koi sanstha hai?

hmmm, syndicate ke naam se hai, woh manage karte hai.

Koi chunaav wagera hote honge?

Chunaav aise hee ho jaate hai, koi zyada dispute nahin hai, koi power toh hai nahin, private hai

Choodi banane ka process kya hai?

Humari factory Ferozabad ki sabse pehli factory hai.. yeh wahi factory hai jo Rustam ji ne banayi thi..

Ek bhatti mein kareeb 200-250 log kaam karte hain, isme kuch kaam aise bhi hai, joint lagate hai choodi mein , ring banti hai, fir ek ek choodi pe kam hota hai, ab jab usme joint lagta hai woh karigar alag hote hai, joint wala ghar le jaake karte hain, woh bhi hamare hee employee hote hai, export item hain bahut se, sab banta hai...glass choodi wale alag glass wale alag, hum log choodi mein hai, choodi banate hai.

Kahan kahan choodi bikti hai?

poore india mein bahar bhi..joint karake hum bech dete hai, aur woh log decoration designing karke woh log export karte hai.

Once they are made in factory, you are saying it goes back to the furnace again?

From the factory it goes to the craftsman, then it moves within the hands of 10 persons then it comes here.

Who are those 10 people? It is made in the factory, the spiral is cut and then joined..then where does it go?

Sadai happens first. Cut Glass pieces come.

What is Sadai?

They are already cut. They are like a socket...like a spring. The Sadai (They where the jagged joints of the bangles are smoothened out and made to look like one continuous ring) takes place. They are cut using a blade. There is a lump and underneath there is a blade. First the cut bangles are straightened and after that the ends are joined. Then they are sorted and then they are shaped.

Then they come to you?

Then we do decoration on it. When they shine then only they will look good.

Pointing to the process:Look..this is what is called Katai (cutting) then they will go to the machine for polishing.

Pointing to the Tarwallah: That has changed. Before it was done by hand. Now that has been replaced by machine.

So all that has changed?

All other work has been removed. There are craftsmen in some places. All the raw material is there. All the suppliers are there

How many furnaces are there?

About 200.

Do you have any organisation?

Hmmm.. Yes in the name of Syndicate they manage it.

Are there any elections and all?

Election happens on its own. Not much of dispute is there. There is no power dynamics.. Its private.

What is the process of bangle making?

Our factory is the first in Ferozabad.....it is the same factory which Rustom had made

In one furnace there are about 200-250 workers. In this there is some work where joining work is done. Then the ring is made. Then each single bangle is worked upon. The craftsmen who join it are different. They do it at home. They are also our employee. There are many export items.

Everything is made here.. glass bangles manufacturer is separate. Glass manufacturer are separate. We people are in bangle manufacturing, we make bangles.

Where all are the bangles sold?

All over India. Even abroad. We sell the bangles after joining them. And they decorate and design it and then they export it

GST se farak pada hai?

Haan, barbad ho gaye, humaari double maar ho gayee, lene pe tax nahin hai, dene pe tax hai. Jisko choodi bech rahe hai usse GST nahin le sakte, raw material pe tax lagta hai, aur margiin choodi ka bada nahin sakte , fir woh bikegi nahin.

Aur agar export kare?

choodi ka direct export nahin hai, woh kaam godown wale karte hai, hum logon ka direct export nahin hai, woh jo dilli mein bade bade godown wale hai woh karte hain.

Choodiyon ki demand kum hui hai?

bahut kum ho gayee, item bahut aa gaye, plastic ki choodi aa gayee hai, urban area mein toh bahut kum ho gaya hai, gaaon mein bahut zyada hai, shaadi waagera mein pehente hai, bade sheheron mein bahut kum hai.

Did GST make any difference?

Yes. We are destroyed. It has affected both ways. There is tax on purchase. But there is no tax on supply. We cannot apply GST to the people to whom we supply bangles. But we have to pay GST on raw material and we cannot increase the margin on bangles then it wont sell.

What if we export?

There is no direct export of bangles. That work is done by Godown owners. For us there is no direct export. There are these big owners in Delhi.. they export Bangles.

Has the demand for bangles gone down?

It has reduced a lot. Many other items have come in the market. Plastic bangles have come. In urban areas the demand is very low. In villages the demand is vey high. It is worn in weddings. In big cities it is very less.

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