
Results and Discussions

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The data collected from the field and desk research through qualitative and quantitative methods has been analysed and the results are discussed based on the objectives of the study under the following sections.

- 4.1 Origin and history of Zardosi Craft
- 4.2 Profile of the entrepreneurs and karigars
- 4.3 Documentation of materials and methods of Zardosi craft
- 4.4 Trends in domestic and export market
- 4.5 Upliftment, preservation and resuscitation of the craft
- 4.6 Transformations in Zardosi craft

4.1 ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF ZARDOSI CRAFT

The review of literature and field survey uncovered stories of the origin and history of Zardosi craft as revealed by the craftsmen. In addition, the pictorial evidence traced the historical development in terms of styles, stitches, products and designs from the collections present in the museums and with the private collectors.

4.1.1 Origin of Zardosi craft

A myth popular amongst the Zardozi of Delhi, relating to the origin of this craft stated that once, a mosquito found entrance to a king's head. The fluttering of this mosquito caused the king severe headache. Every kind of treatment failed. Finally, Paigamber himself advised the head hakim in his dream that the king would be cured of his headache if he is hit by a shoe in the area of pain. The hakim narrated his dream to his associates. They executed a plan. A shoe decorated with pure gold and

silver threads was ordered to be made for the purpose. This killed the mosquito, curing the king of his ailment. He appreciated the artistic outlay on the shoe and desired to patronize the work. Other emperors and nobles followed him. (25)

Noor Ali, a 62 year old Zardosi worker from Koyla Bazaar, Varanasi believes this craft of Zardosi came into life and flourished about 1,500 years ago in Arabia under the patronage of Prophet Yusuf - Al - E - Islam. Ali, who learned the crafts at the age of ten under the tutelage of his father, narrates that this craft travelled from the land of its birth through Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan before reaching the Indian subcontinent in the 12th century. It reached its zenith in the 17th century under the patronage of Emperor Akbar. Zardozi adorned the costumes of the court, wall hangings, scabbards and trappings of elephants and horses. But during and after the rule of Aurangzeb, support declined and many craftsmen left Delhi to seek work in centres of textile manufacture in north and central India. This is how the craft found its way to Varanasi. (87)

In Lucknow, this delicate art was said to have started under the regime of Hazrat Yousuf, one of the messengers of God on earth, who was renowned for his beautiful workmanship (65). That is why, probably when a child started learning this art, a 'nazar' of sweet meat was made in the name of Hazrat Yousuf; a short ceremony to appreciate the child's ability and further ward off any evil sight attacking his newly learnt abilities. Few crafts men claimed its presence during the time of early prophets.

The Zardosi craft in Punjab existed before partition. Several regions in Punjab had a different story to tell about the origin of Zardosi craft in its respective place. In the Majha and Daoba region, Shri Ghagamal, a Hindu

craftsman from Pakistan who came to Amritsar during partition gave impetus to this craft in Punjab. While in Patiala the craftsmen narrate the story of their preachers who used to embroider Lehngas, for the three hundred and sixty queens of Raja Bhupinder Singh (50). In Saharanpur the craftsmen believe the original place of Zardosi embroidery was Lucknow. However, the different views affirmed that Afzal Beg around 1950, at the age of 16 years had introduced the Zardosi to the place which he learnt it from Bombay, Lahore and Amritsar. Another belief stated, Mirza who had learnt this craft from Bombay had introduced the Zardosi craft around 1965 when he was 35 years of age. Yet, another belief reigns that this craft was introduced by Mohammad Naseem and Mohammad Hasin around 1970, who had learnt this craft from Delhi. (15)

Ritu kumar in her book Royal costumes of India states the origin of this craft in the Ottoman Empire; at the same time it may be possibly indigenous to India she reverberates, since the stitch employed is a chain stitch or the use of tambour technique which is an invention of India suggests it be of Indian origin. A similar point of view was discerned during the survey. Badshah Ali, a 50 year old Zardoz from Lucknow, opined 'Zardosi was present here since ancient times and it was done only with a needle'. The Karigars who had moved to Bombay, Bangalore and Madras brought the tool, known as Aari, which has gained an important place in the Zardosi craft today.



As narrated by the craftsmen in Bareilly and Lucknow the Zardosi work began in Iran where men made Gilaf - a cover for the Ka'bah Sharif in Mecca. (Plate-14)

Plate-14: Gilaf - a cover for the Ka'bah Sharif in Mecca

This black velvet embroidered cloth in gold is changed once in a year during the hajj season, and it is now supposedly made in Pakistan. Mohammed Yusuf Khan, 66 years old master craftsman from Bareilly narrates that this craft, which he learnt at the age of five from Shamshuddin Zariwala now in Mumbai had its beginnings in Egypt and France. According to him such work was practiced in lal-kila i.e. the Red Fort in Delhi too.

The Zardosi craftsmen in Surat give accounts of a traveller from Bukhara who taught this art to the villagers which would never let them go hungry. Khwaja Diwan Sahib's Mosque built in 1530 in the city of Surat is reputed to be dedicated to a Bukhara traveller who lived to the age of 116 years. The presence of such a monument surely reveals the contribution of the said traveller to the city. (94)

A book published by Bangla Academy, Dacca (1992) states prosperous city of Bagdhad as the original home of the Zardosi craft. Zardosi was done on several articles and the aayat of quran was copied in the work. The women of the sultan's palace in 'turask' would work buttis for their brother and family members. It was supposed to be a women's occupation then and her identity too. The muslim ladies of Bagdhad would maintain a hobby of selling their embroidery work in fairs of Constantinople. It was further stated that Mughals brought this craft of Zardosi to India. It gained acceptance and travelled within the country from Dacca to Murshidabad under the patronage of the Nawabs. Thereafter, when Calcutta was headquarter of the British, Zardosi craft reached the villages of Howrah district with the settling of the old Karigars from Murshidabad.

The Zardosi craftsmen residing in the villages of Howrah district today, state that this craft has its presence for more than hundred years, however its origin is least known. Sheikh Abullah of Nalpur, Howrah district believed this craft to have originated in Persia and was imported to India during the Mughals, for their costumes.



According to Ritu Kumar, “the art of gold embroidery (Zardosi) was thought to have been introduced in medieval times, during the reign of Muhammed Bin Tughlak.

Plate-15: White Dupatta with Zari pallav with red and green floral designs in border. Acquired: 1925 A. D. Approximate size: 157x70 cms Source: Baroda Museum

She states, “It is difficult to tell conclusively from the miniature paintings whether the refined spaced-out motifs that were patterned, were painted/printed or embroidered. From traveller’s account and study of fabrics and garments of regional courts such as Jaipur, the design of which has been influenced by the Mughal courts, it appears embroidery and embellishments of garments reached a high degree of sophistication. Floral motifs were embroidered with a restrained use of gold, soft coloured threads, for garments in real splendour; pearls and precious stones”. A sample of such a description was seen in the Baroda Museum. (Plate-15)

The guide of the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad stated that the Zardosi embroidery held importance during the Mughal period, when women were expected to remain in Purdah. This embroidery was especially done on the curtain at the entrance of a women’s room, which was termed

as 'Auzal Purdah'. It served as an effective barrier between the men and the women housed in the room. The women would be able to spot the visitor approaching their room easily, while the visitor (man) was refrained from looking within since the gold embroidery on the curtain would temporarily incapacitate his vision.

During the beginning of 18th Century the Mughal state disintegrated as it was unable to supervise the vast regions under its authority. The craftspeople employed in the Mughal 'karkhanas' sought patronage from the regional courts of Avadh and Bengal, or Rajputana and Punjab, or the Marathas of Central India (5). However, as illustrated above, the survey brought to light that very few Karigars had a story to narrate about the beginnings of the craft in their cluster, probably the craft was accepted more as a commercial activity than a tradition. The culture seemed to have not penetrated deep. Moreover, ancestral lineage was almost absent amongst the native respondents.

4.1.2 Pictorial evidence of the historic Zardosi textiles

The external evidence of the Zardosi craft in books was abundant; and the pictorial evidence of the Mughal period was infinite. There existed innumerable samples of Zardosi with the private collectors and few more in the museums. The investigator collected documentary evidence of the Zardosi embroidered articles from the Private Collections of Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah of Lucknow, and Mrs. and Mr. Praful Shah of Garden silk mills, Surat. The Zardosi collection from the Indian museum, Kolkata, Art and Industrial Gallery of Baroda museum and 'Paridhanika' the costume collections of Air-India was integrated. It was beyond the scope of the thesis to include all and have thus been contained as thumbnails in the

Appendix. The samples in this chapter are restricted to those, representative of its diverse styles and end uses. Documentary analysis of the assorted archaic records of the 19th Century and 20th Century in terms of styles, products, stitches and designs indicated the presence of Zardosi embroidery during this period in varied forms and workmanship.

4.1.2a Types of Zardosi embroidery and the stitches used

It was noted that the citations of types of Zardosi prevalent in the earlier records were not clear. Some of the distinctive types as deciphered from the documented pictures and the review of literature suggested the presence of Karchobi work, Marori work, Badla, Kasab-tikki work, Bharatkarachi, Mina work as seen in the respective plates.



Karchobi work: There was foundation padding for the embroidery, the gilt wire or spangles being stitched to the fabric mainly utilizing running, couching, satin and stem stitches. The effect appeared like embossed work.

Plate-16: Karchobi work

The work was heavy and boldly delineated. In Lucknow, it was also known as Landhani work.

Marori work: In this technique fine gold thread was used which was wrapped around a wooden peg (fatila) that was twisted each time a couched stitch was put in, to lay it on the ground fabric.

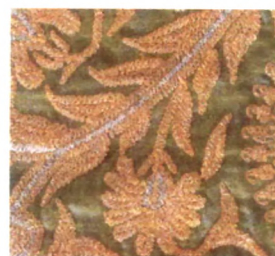


Plate-17 : Marori work

White silk was used for silver thread and yellow for couching of gold thread. It has also been termed as Loop embroidery. Today, in Kutch it exists by the name muko embroidery done by the Mutva tribe.



Bharat-karachi: It was an imitation of the Karachi work, in which bits of card-board were used for giving a raised body to the designs. It was done on velvet, wherein gold threads were laid with satin stitch over a pre-worked foundation padding of cotton threads some times.

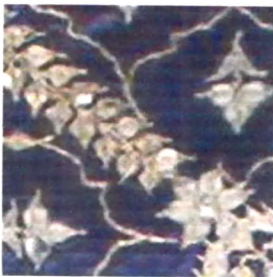
Plate-18: Bharat-karachi

It was a laborious process, which would produce a formal style of design. It was also known as Bharatkam and was known as Dogh or Vasli work in Lucknow and Bareilly.

Kasab work: Gold Kasab was held by couching with coloured threads to form distinctive pattern within a motif. The design was completed in flattened silver or gold wire or thin gold braid. Moreover satin stitch was also employed. Coloured silk threads were used to create emphasis.



Plate-19: Kasab work



Kasabtiki: It included the gold or silver thread and spangles, worked in chain stitch which was peculiar to Surat.

Plate-20: Kasabtiki

Mina work: It means enamelling. The effect was achieved by using coloured threads for fillings of flowers and leaves with satin stitch while outlining them with gold and silver thread. The flat wire would be twisted at different points and couched to make for variety.

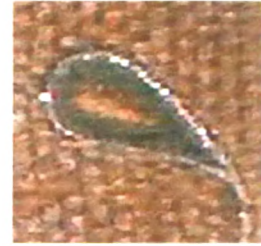


Plate-21: Mina work



Plate-22: Badla

Badla: The design was worked in satin stitch with flattened gold or silver wire, that served as a needle for piercing the material. It was also known as Mukeish in North and Badlani in Surat.



Plate-23: Chain stitch



Plate-24: Long and short satin stitch

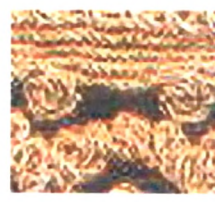


Plate-25 : Twisted loop with couching



Plate-26: Laid work with couching done in contrast colour thread

Dongerker Kamala (1951) in her book 'The Romance of Indian Embroidery' has classified embroidery stitches used in several regions across the globe. The use of several stitches in Gold and Silver embroidery has been employed for embroidering specific articles.



Plate-27: Chain stitch



Plate-28: Satin raised work



Plate-29: Running stitch



Plate-30: Couching loop stitch

The basic stitches applied today remain same as the past but the raw materials used are infinite which renders variety in work. The karigars in Lucknow, Bareilly, Kolkatta and Surat had a multitude of terminology for the variegated designs created by the use of basic stitches, which has been conferred in the following sections.



Plate-31: Lazy daisy



Plate-32: Satin and running stitch

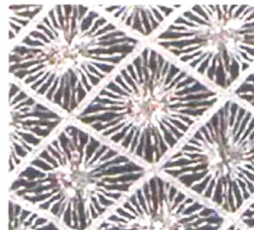


Plate-33: Couching and chain



Plate-34: Satin and lazy daisy

4.1.2b Zardosi products and designs of the ancient

On analysis of the collected pictures from the review and actual samples from private collection and museums, it was observed that there existed diverse ranges of objects decorated mainly with metal thread and silk thread to supplement. The base fabrics used were velvet, silk, net and wool. The Zardosi embroidered articles were many and were categorized as furnishing items, religious items, costumes, accessories and others. Selected articles have been presented along with the line drawings of the designs encompassed in them (pp: 85-108). The line drawings of designs illustrate the types of designs and its placement on the article.

The furnishing items included wall hangings, carpet, masnads - spreads for the throne or the floor, changer - a circular coaster on which hookah or paandan is placed, gao - a bolster to support the back. The items integrated into the religious objects were jain picchvai, holy book cover, prayer mat, aayat

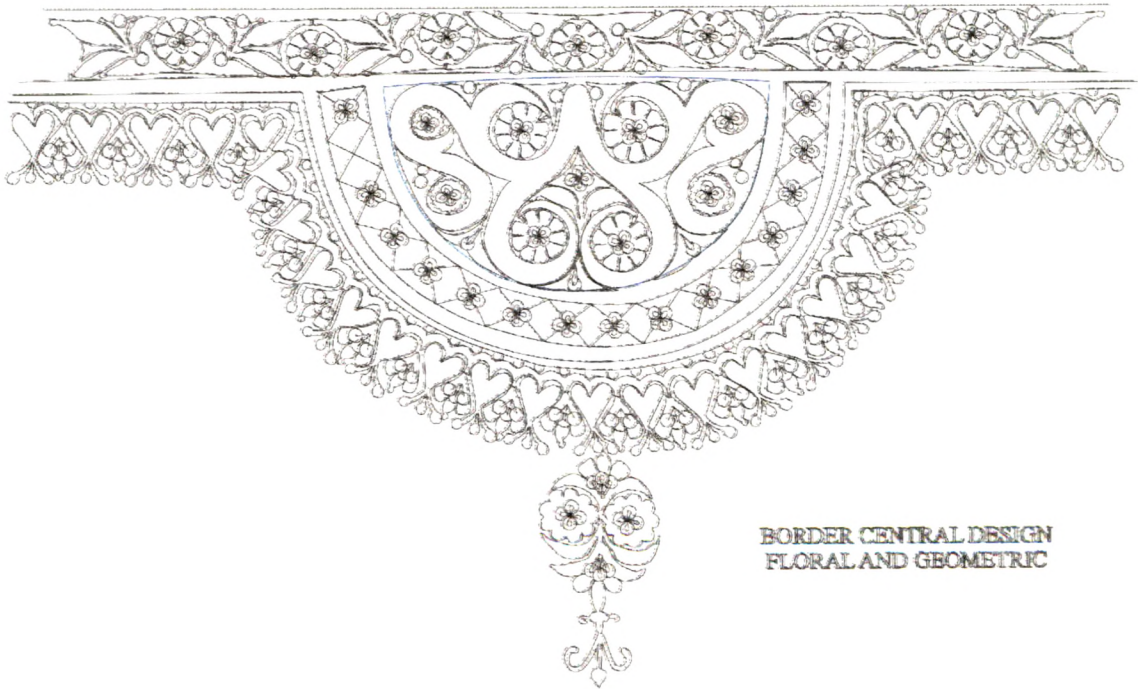
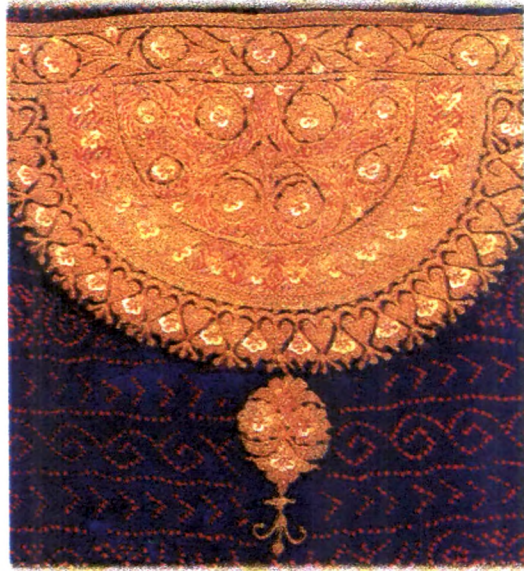
hangings (holy writings from Quran). The various articles incorporated as costumes and accessories were belt - a kamarband, dupatta - a stole for men, dupatta - orni for women, turban, bodice - a fitted blouse, shawl, bridal cap, tawaifi topi, tajnumah topi, jumper, kameez, shaluka - a long loose blouse, farshi pyjama - a huge pyjama for ladies having painchas with kalis and gaudet, khara pyjama - a huge pyjama with less flair, sari borders, sword belt, military uniform, gharara - a full length skirt, dancing costume, choga-upper knee length garment, jama, kurta, blouse, jackets, coat, sari. The other articles have been identified as Kharita Thelis, which served as envelopes for highly official letters, invitations to the viceroys, maharajas etc. to be handed over by special deputations, gold embroidered support for water pot, model of an elephant fully caparisoned for the Dusshera procession, garland, thalposh - a cover for gifts in a plate.

The analysis of designs from the given collection made clear that the designs of the royal past were mostly arranged as all over pattern with borders, whether it was an article for religious use, interiors or for apparels. Central medallions were also a characteristic feature of this embroidery.

The motif organisation was highly stylized. The types of motifs seen were flower and foliages especially in the court costumes. Animal motifs included elephants, tigers, deer, elephant, cow, butterfly and fish while bird motifs such as peacocks and parrots were in common use. Religious figures of jain sect, architectural structures such as jharoke, pillars, throne etc appeared along with human forms of king, queen, children, pujari and vazirs. The temple embroidery used a lot of scenes from the lives of various deities, stories from mythology and lot of icons and graphic designs. Geometric shapes were visible too but abstract forms were absent. The kairi, badam, kalka or paisley motif was commonly used and embroidered in loop stitches.

Plate-35

Silk ochna, (veil), c. early 20th century.
Worn by Kutchi Memon girl, Gujarat.
Loop embroidery in gilt and sequins done
separately and attached.
Possibly Rajasthan of towns and cities.
Source: Paridhanika - Private Collection - Air India



BORDER CENTRAL DESIGN
FLORAL AND GEOMETRIC



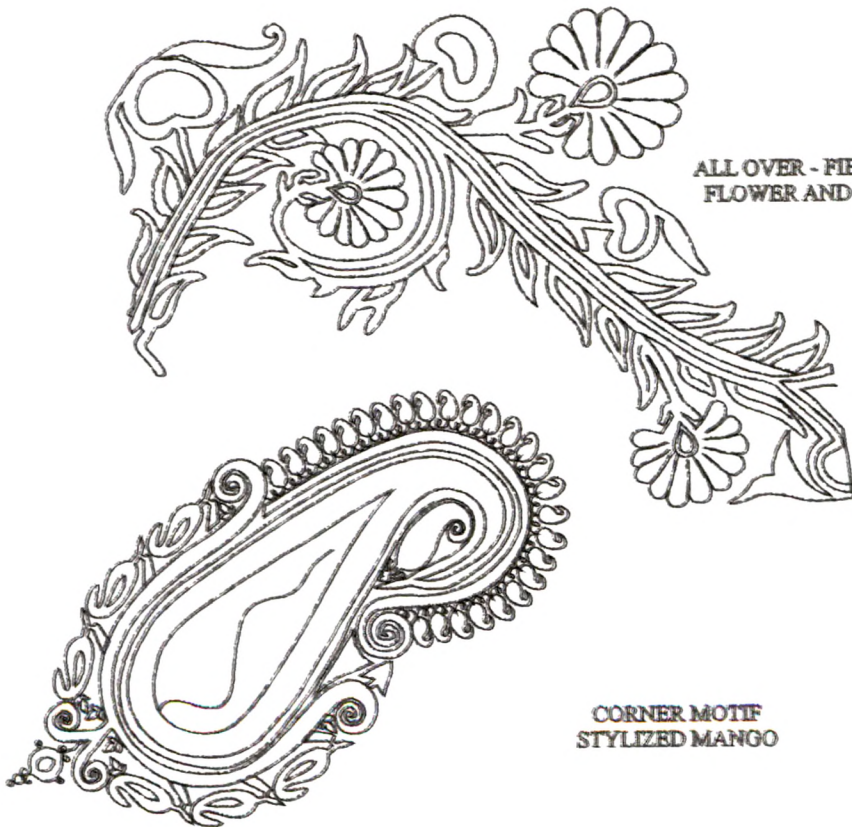
plate - 36

Fine Pashmina Choga, (upper knee length garment)
Early 19th Century.

Worn by nobleman or wealthy trader.

Gold and Silver Kasab. Delhi of the Royal past.

Source: Paridhanika - Private Collection - Air India



ALL OVER - FIELD MOTIF
FLOWER AND FOLIAGE

CORNER MOTIF
STYLIZED MANGO



Plate - 37

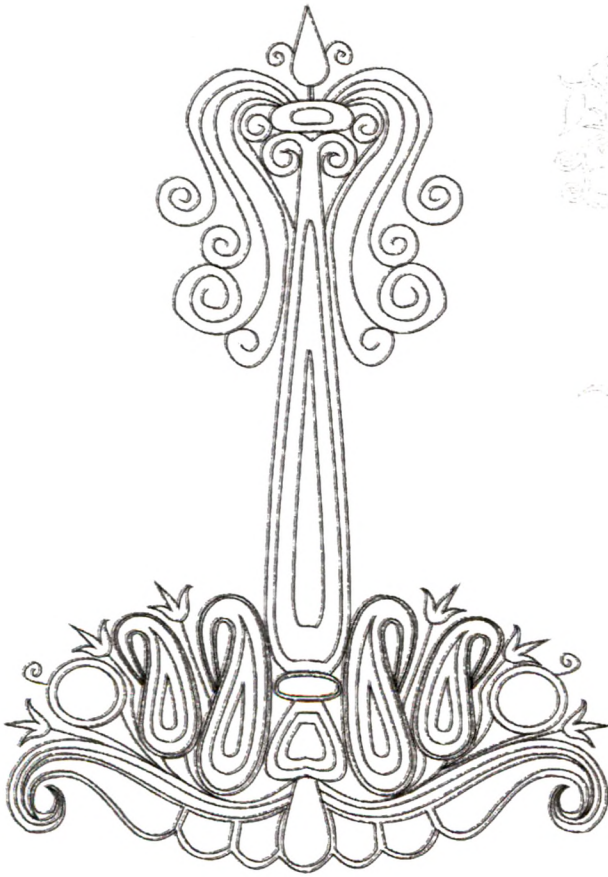
Red Zardosi Square piece

Late 19th or early 20th C.

Acc. No. 99.1415

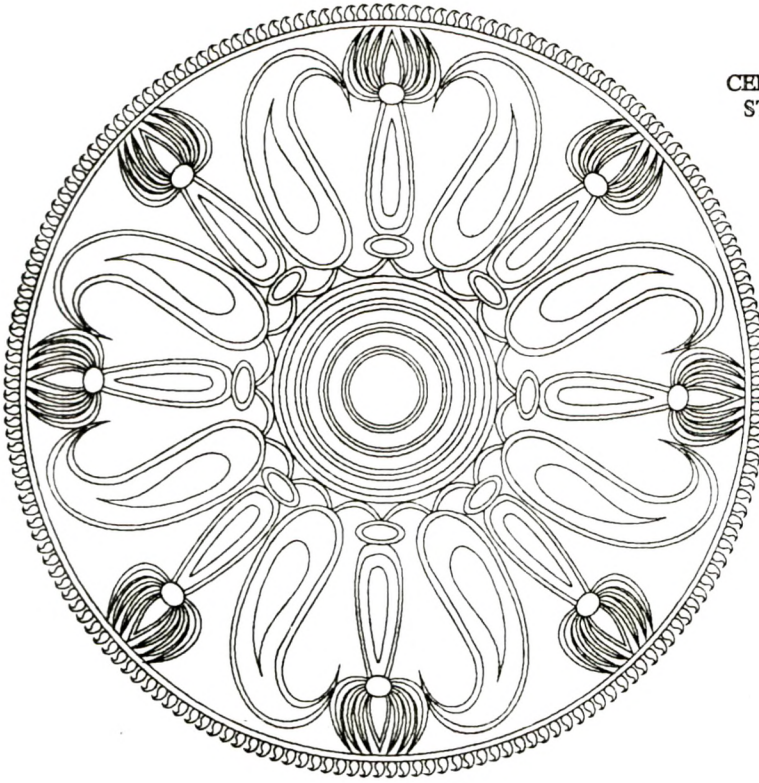
Approximate size: 53" x 50"

Source: Private Collection - Garden Mills



ALL OVER - FLORAL PATTERN

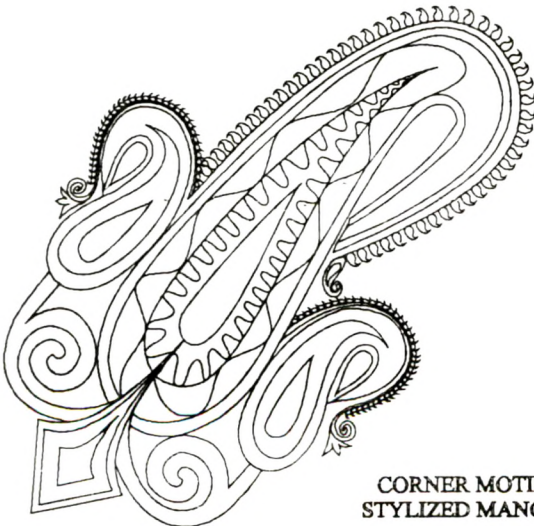
**SIDE CENTRAL MOTIF
STYLIZED MANGO AND TURANI**



CENTRAL MEDALLION
STYLIZED MANGO



BORDER PATTERN
STYLIZED MANGO



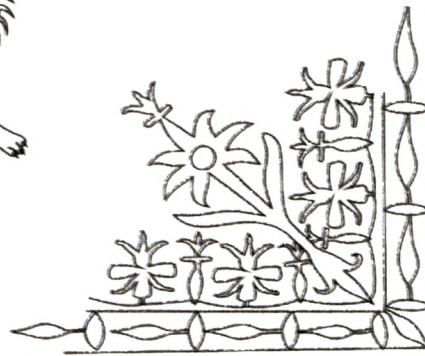
CORNER MOTIF
STYLIZED MANGO



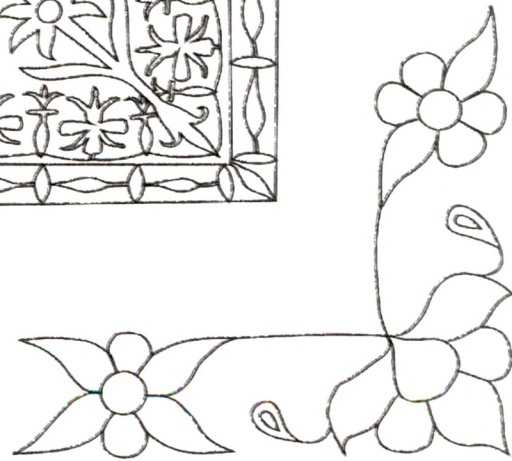
Plate - 38
Wall hanging Zardosi work
Acc. No. 1473
Approximate Size: 31"x 47"
Source: Private Collection - Garden Mills



FIELD MOTIF
ANIMAL



FIELD CORNER MOTIF
STYLIZED FLOWER



BORDER CORNER MOTIF
FLORAL



Late Mughal sitting carpet of Gold embroidered
red velvet set with beetle wings and with black border,
18th C. A.D. Old Persian
Acquired: 1932
Approximate size: 157x70 cms
Source: Baroda Museum
Plate-39.



**SPRINKLED BUTTA
FLORAL**

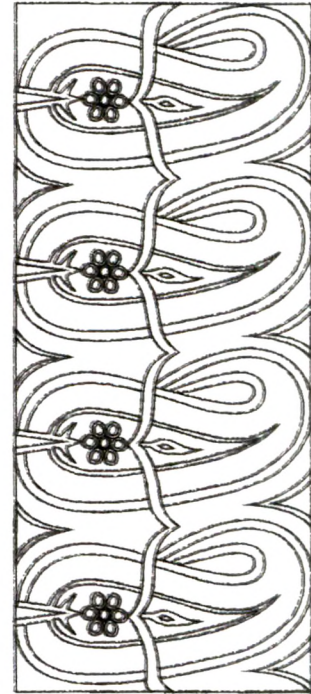


**BORDER DESIGN
GEOMETRIC AND FLORAL**





Zari Zardosi long Shawl wool embroidered with Kalsbattun and Badla (Multicoloured), Kalagues on both sides of palu. Purple, red, black stripes on the body. Late 19th / early 20th C. Acc. No. 789 Approximate Size: 103"x47" Source: Private Collection - Garden Mills Plate - 40



PALLAV MOTIF
KALAGUES



BANDS IN THE FIELD
FLORAL, GEOMETRIC
AND MANGO MOTIF



CORNER MOTIF
STYLIZED MANGO





**BANDS IN THE FIELD
STYLIZED FLOWER, FOLIAGE AND STYLIZED MANGO**



Cotton Jamo, (upper knee length garment), 1900.
Worn by the Maharao of Kutch.
Gold Kasab held by Coloured Threads to form distinctive pattern.
Mughal influences can be discerned, of the Royal past.
Source: Paridhanika - Private Collection - Air India
Plate - 41

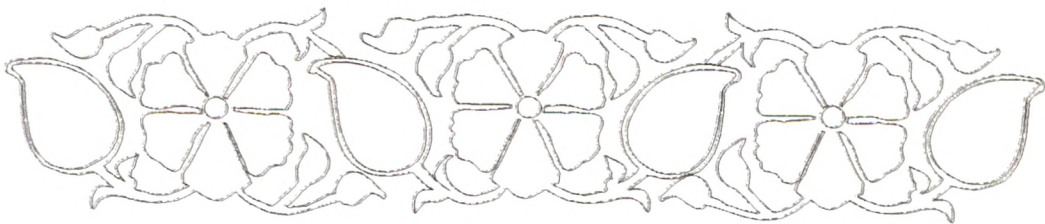
SPRINKLED BUTTA
MANGO

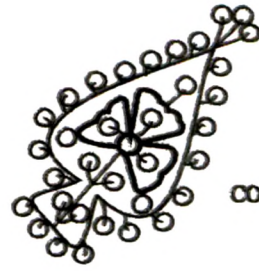


MANGO BORDER



FLORAL BORDER





**CORNER MOTIF
TURANI**



**BORDER MOTIF
FLORAL**

Plate - 42

Olive green Zardosi work

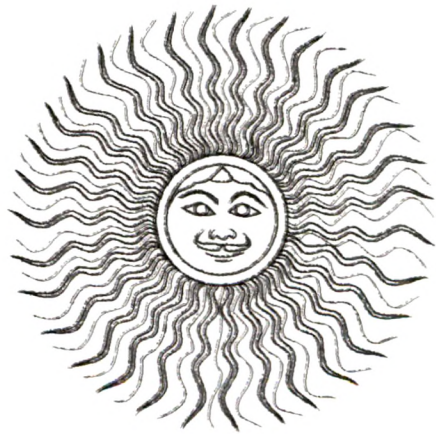
Acc. No. 1474

Approximate Size: 43"x 33"

Source: Private Collection - Garden Mills



**CENTRAL FIELD MOTIF
PEACOCK**



**CENTRAL FIELD MOTIF
STYLIZED SUN**



**Old Indian long belt - kamarband of Gold Embroidered
red silk with designs of birds, trees and flowers.**

Acquired: 1928

Source: Baroda Museum

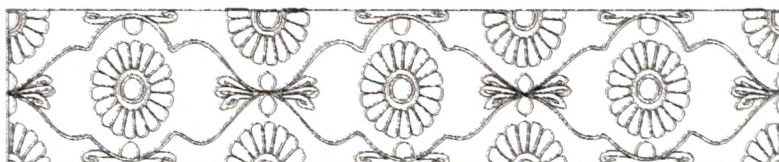
Plate - 43



ALL OVER PATTERN - FLORA AND FAUNA



Kamarband Strong and raised work in gold and Stones
Early 20th C, Lucknow
Source: Private Collection -
Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah, Lucknow.
Plate - 44



BAND - GEOMETRIC MOTIF



Karchobi Topi for Tawaifs (nautch girls or courtesan),
Early 20th C. Lucknow
Landhani work, Zanjeera and gokhru on velvet.
Approximate size: 25 x 10cms.
Source: Private Collection - Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah, Lucknow
Plate - 45



FIELD MOTIF - FLOWER AND FOLIAGE

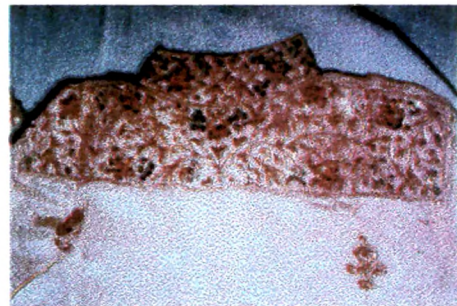


Plate - 46, 47

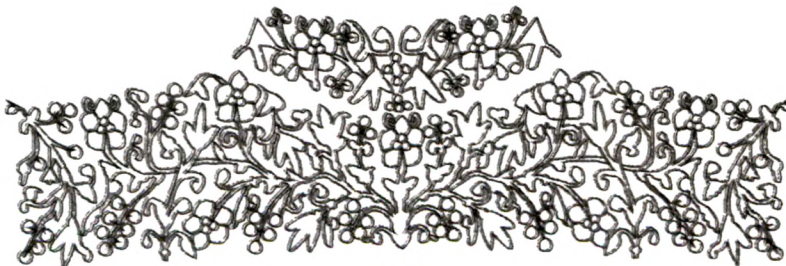
Changer (coaster) for a hookah or pandaan, and Silk Kameez (shirt yoke) with collar and cuff, Early 20th C. Lucknow, Salme - Sitara work

Source: Private Collection - Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah, Lucknow.

FIELD MOTIF
FLORA AND FAUNA



BORDER DESIGN
CREEPER



BORDER, FIELD MOTIF AND BUTTI - JAAL DESIGN



Plate - 48

Eighteen panel silk Gharara, (full length skirt)

Early 19th Century.

Worn by Maharani of Jaipur now in Rajasthan.

Gold Kasab matte and shine alternating.

Satin stitched proud peacocks over laid with coiled gilt.

Embroidery threads woven into trellis surrounded by coiled gilt offset with tilli. of the royal past.

Source: Paridhanska - Private Collection - Air India



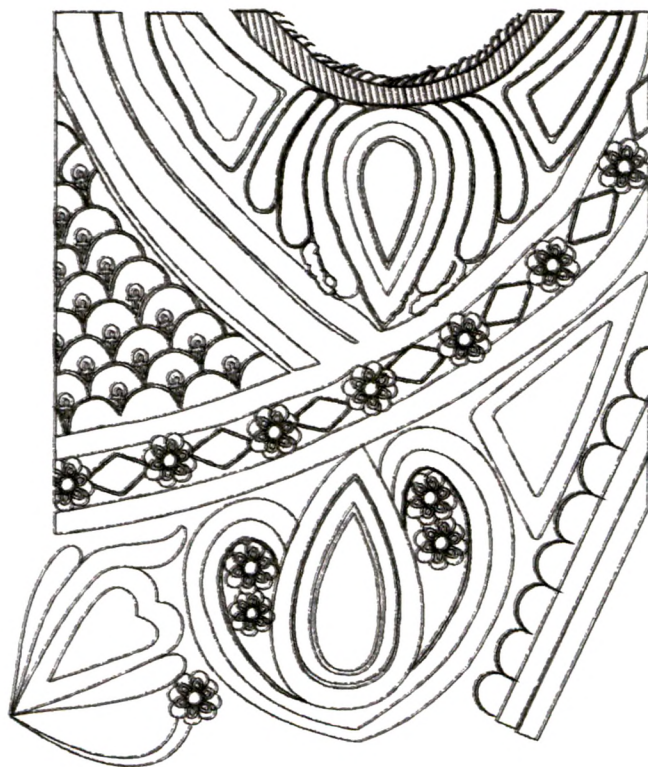
**FIELD MOTIF
FLOWER AND FOLIAGE**



FIELD MOTIF
FLORA AND FAUNA



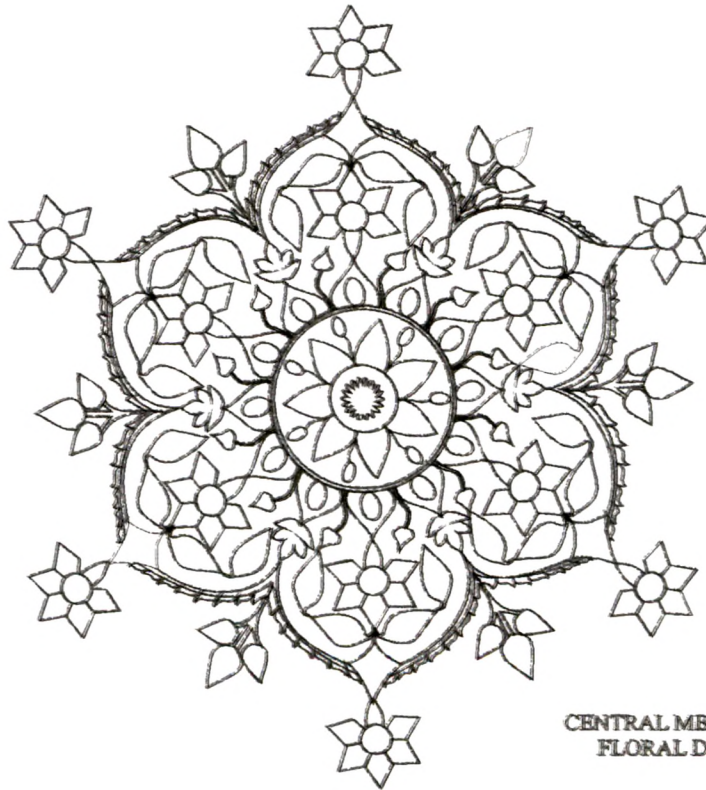
Plate - 49
Velvet upper garment 1970,
worn by Chhan dancer, puruliya village, Bengal.
Coiled silver Kasab and Tilli, inset of coloured
glass pieces, of Folk and Ritual Dance.
Source: Paridhanika - Private Collection - Air India



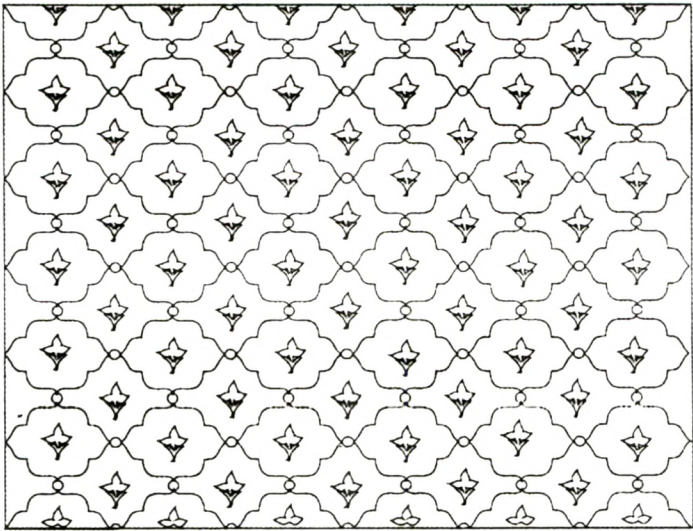
FIELD MOTIF - GEOMETRIC DESIGN



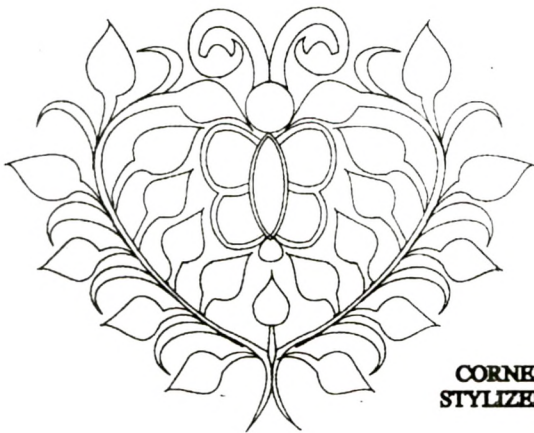
Thal posh
Reference: Badshah nama
Mid 19th C.
Acc. No.1729
Approximate size: 29"x29"
Source: Private collection - Garden Mills
Plate -50



CENTRAL MEDALLION
FLORAL DESIGN



ALL OVER FIELD DESIGN - GEOMETRIC



CORNER MOTIF
STYLIZED TURANI



STYLIZED BORDER DESIGN



BANDS
LEAF DESIGN

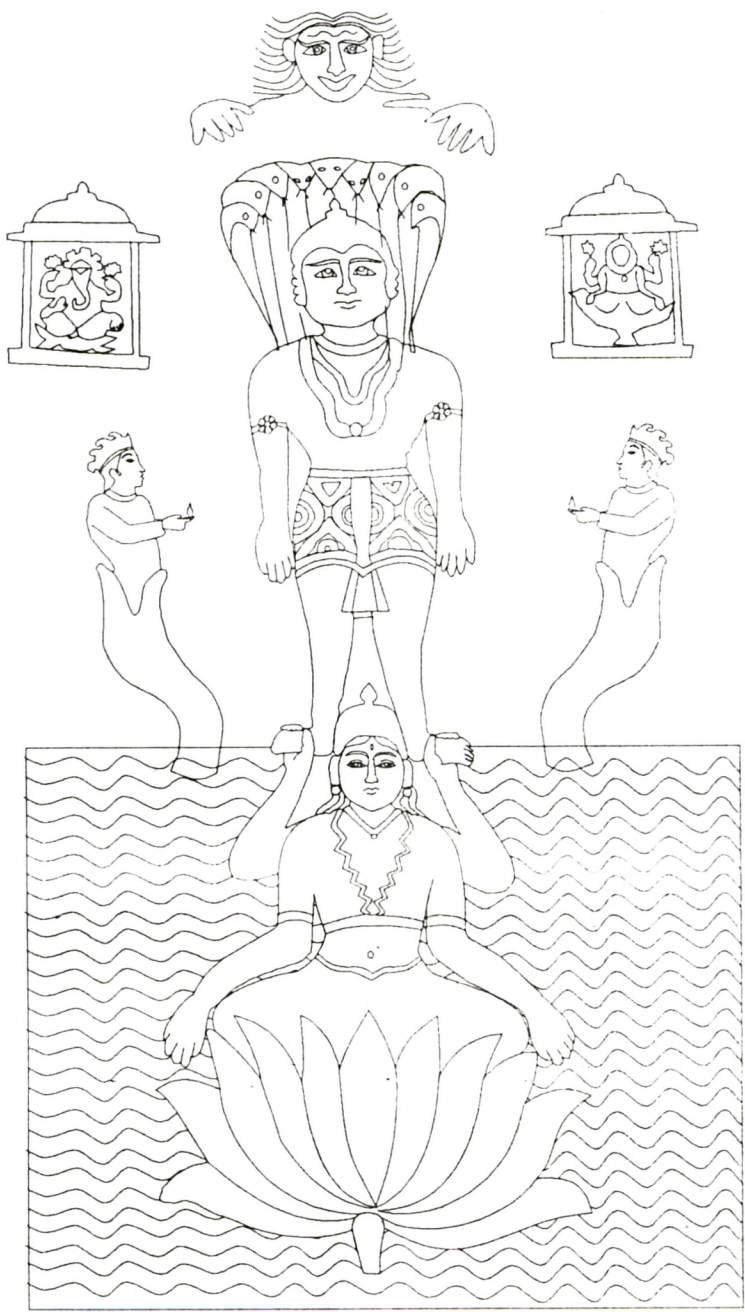
Plate - 51

Jain Picchvai dark maroon colour Zardosi work
Mahavir Picture in Centre
Acc. No. 1472
Approximate Size: 54"x 31.5"
Source: Private Collection - Garden Mills

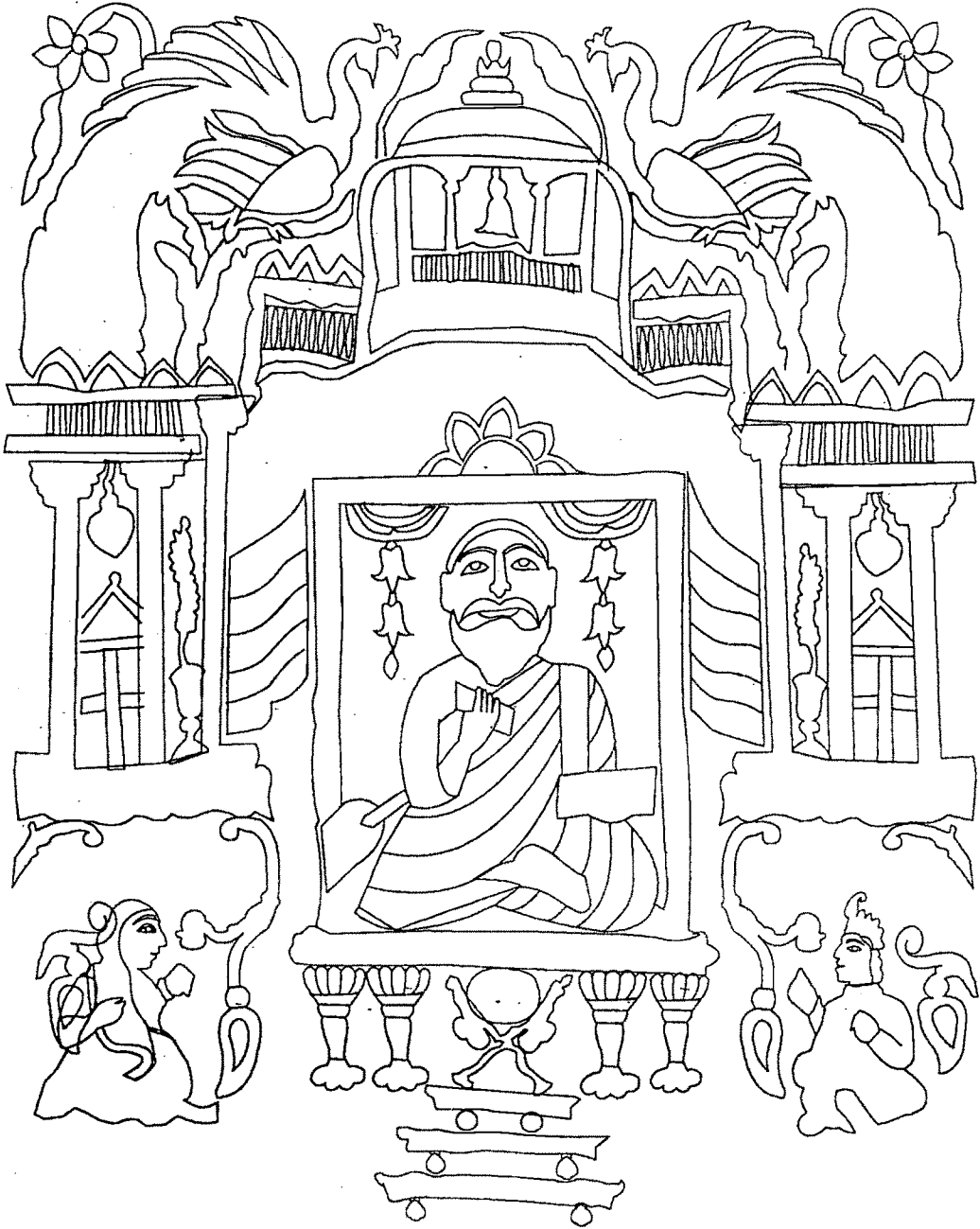


Plate : 52

Jain Picchvai Prasang - Zardosi work
Acc. No. 1471
Approximate Size: 53"x 32.5"
Source: Private Collection - Garden Mills



CENTRAL MOTIF
RELIGIOUS THEME



**CENTRAL FIELD MOTIF
RELIGIOUS THEME**

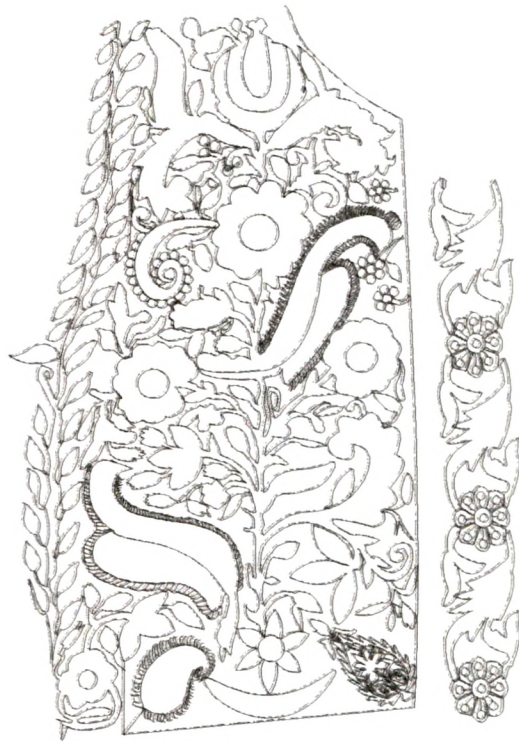


**VERTICAL BORDER MOTIFS
STYLIZED HUMAN,
BIRD AND ANIMAL**



Plate - 53

Shaluka (loose blouse) front with
Mahi-e-pushth design (fish back: scales)
and turanj design (single motif in paan shape)
with butti at the sleeve hem
Early 20th C, Lucknow
Source: Private Collection -
Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah, Lucknow



ALL OVER PATTERN WITH BORDER
FLORA AND FAUNA



BORDER, TURANJ AND BUTTI

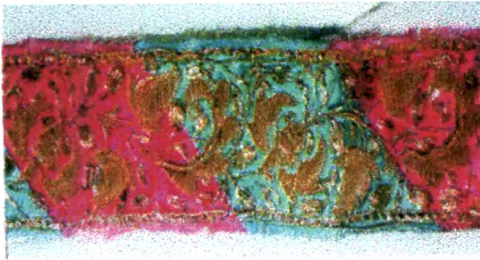
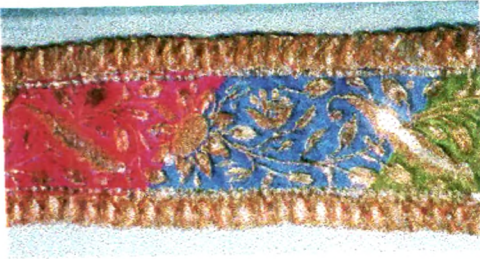


Plate - 54

Border for sari or dupatta, on pyjama
centre crotch, Zardosi on silk,
Early 20th Century, Lucknow
Karchobi work done on a karchob with
sui (needle) in colours- green (sabz), turquoise
(feeroze) and tomato red; salma-sitara,
landhani bharao work with gokhru edging.
Source: Private Collection -
Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah, Lucknow



BORDER DESIGN - UNDULATIONS OF FOLIAGE

4.2 PROFILE OF THE ENTREPRENEURS AND KARIGARS

The Zardosi craft is spread all over India. The unorganized craft sector of Zardosi embroidery functioned broadly into four groups i.e. (i) Entrepreneur (Business owner) (ii) Middleman (Thekedar) (iii) Contracted Karigar (Workshop based worker) and (iv) Sub-Contracted Karigar (Home based worker). The craftsman i.e. the karigar at the lowest end of the supply chain is the strength and spirit of the Zardosi craft. The craftsmen lived in a cluster of approximately 500 in a given place. It was important to study these subjects who form the backbone of the industry. Hence, to comprehend the profile of the entrepreneurs and the karigars of Zardosi craft, the investigator interviewed several people associated with the craft; case studies and focus group discussion were also conducted. Data was collected in the month of May-June 2004 from Lucknow and Bareilly, from Kolkata in the month of November 2004 and from Surat in the year 2004. To facilitate the resultant discussion the section has been dealt as follows:

4.2.1 Profile of entrepreneurs

4.2.2 Profile of karigars

4.2.1 Profile of entrepreneurs

To gain an insight into the organization of the craft, terms of trade and marketing system the investigator interviewed 42 entrepreneurs from Lucknow, Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat. The entrepreneurs owned a business unit (karkhana) of Zardosi craft, either as an exporter, trader or an owner. The owner of a commercial work unit was known as 'karkhandar'. The entrepreneurs mostly contracted work orders from the buyer and got them executed from the karigars.

4.2.1a Demographic details

The analysis of data revealed (Table-3) that both the genders were involved in this craft of which five percent of the entrepreneurs were females. The entrepreneurial activity was male dominated; nevertheless the female entrepreneurs existed in Lucknow, which implies that the women are slowly entering into this craft. It also reflects the social independence of women.

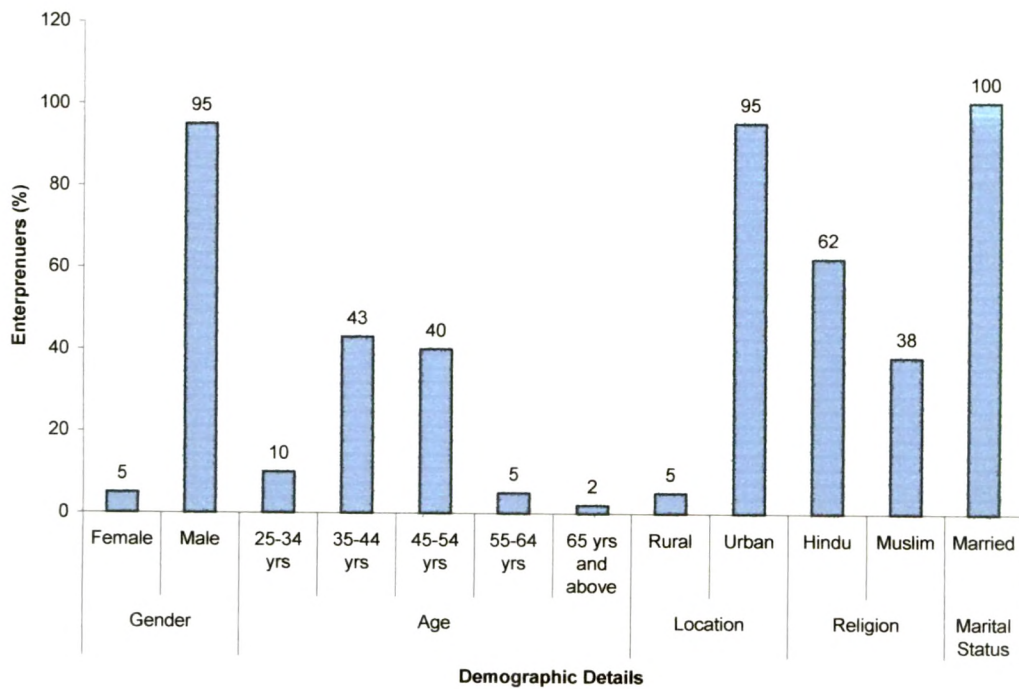


Figure-10: Demographic details of the total population of entrepreneurs

It can be elucidated from Figure-10 and Table-3 that 42.86 per cent of the entrepreneurs were in the range of the 35-44 years of age while about 40.0 per cent were in the age group of 45-54 years of age. Only one entrepreneur was more than 65 years of age. The young entrepreneurs were handling their existing family business. Maximum number of entrepreneurs

Table-3: Distribution of entrepreneurs according to their age and sex

	Place	N	Sex		25-34 yrs		35-44 yrs		45-54 yrs		55-64 yrs		65 yrs and above	
					f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
			M	F										
Entrepreneurs	Lucknow	12	M	10	1	8.33	6	50.0	2	16.67	1	8.33	-	-
			F	2	-	-	-	-	2	16.67	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	12	M	12	1	8.33	3	25.0	6	50.0	1	8.33	1	8.33
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	9	M	9	-	-	5	55.56	4	44.44	-	-	-	-
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Surat	9	M	9	2	22.22	4	44.44	3	33.33	-	-	-	-
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	42	M	40	4	9.52	18	42.86	15	35.71	2	4.76	1	2.38
			F	2	-	-	-	-	2	4.76	-	-	-	-

M= Male, F= Female

lived in urban areas while their karkhanas were located in both urban and/or rural areas. All the entrepreneurs were married; Indian nationals and natives of their land. Thus, they were conversant with the language of their state. The distribution of entrepreneurs according to the languages known (Table-4) revealed that national language Hindi was used by all of the entrepreneurs. However, in Lucknow and Bareilly all of them could not read and write. About 67.0 per cent from Bareilly could speak Punjabi language. Many of the entrepreneurs from Lucknow and some from Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat could speak Urdu language also. In Kolkata Bangla and Marwari languages were used. Only about fifty six percent of entrepreneurs from Kolkata could speak Bangla language and 77.78 per cent could speak Marwari language. Gujarati language was spoken by all the entrepreneurs from Surat however they were not able to read or write. Thirty five per cent of the entrepreneurs were also, conversant with English; as they were educated and had direct dealings with the exporters or buyers. Sixty two per cent of entrepreneurs were Hindus while thirty eight per cent followed Islam. Bareilly and Kolkata had higher percentage of Hindu entrepreneurs (Table-5) (Figure-10). It was stated that caste boundaries did not block the craft and anybody with business acumen could enter the trade of Zardosi craft.

4.2.1b Socio-economic structure of the entrepreneurs

The distribution of entrepreneurs on the basis of their family type and family size (Table-6) revealed that on the whole 71.0 per cent lived in a nuclear family and 29.0 per cent in joint family with a family size of at least 3-4 members extending up to nine members and above in a family. Maximum percentage of the respondents in Bareilly (83.3) and Kolkata (88.8) lived in nuclear families. One third of the entrepreneurs each in Lucknow and Surat had a family size of more than nine members.

Table-4: Distribution of entrepreneurs on the basis of languages known

	Language	Place		Lucknow	Bareilly	Kolkata	Surat	Total
		N		12	12	9	9	42
Entrepreneurs	Hindi	R	f	7	8	9	7	31
			%	58.33	66.67	100	100	73.81
		W	f	7	8	9	7	31
			%	58.33	66.67	100	100	73.81
		S	f	12	12	9	9	42
			%	100	100	100	100	100
	Punjabi	R	f	-	-	-	-	-
			%	-	-	-	-	-
		W	f	-	-	-	-	-
			%	-	-	-	-	-
		S	f	-	8	-	-	8
			%	-	66.67	-	-	19.05
	Urdu	R	f	4	2	2	3	11
			%	33.33	16.67	22.22	33.33	26.19
		W	f	4	2	2	-	8
			%	33.33	16.67	22.22	-	19.05
		S	f	8	2	2	3	15
			%	66.67	16.67	22.22	33.33	35.71
	Bangla	R	f	-	-	2	-	-
			%	-	-	22.22	-	-
		W	f	-	-	2	-	-
			%	-	-	22.22	-	-
		S	f	-	-	5	-	-
			%	-	-	55.56	-	-
	Marwari	R	f	-	-	-	-	-
			%	-	-	-	-	-
		W	f	-	-	-	-	-
			%	-	-	-	-	-
		S	f	-	-	7	-	7
			%	-	-	77.78	-	16.67
	Gujarati	R	f	-	-	-	-	-
			%	-	-	-	-	-
		W	f	-	-	-	-	-
			%	-	-	-	-	-
		S	f	-	-	-	9	9
			%	-	-	-	100	21.43
	English	R	f	7	8	7	-	29
			%	58.33	66.67	77.78	-	69.05
		W	f	2	4	5	-	11
			%	16.67	33.33	55.56	-	26.19
		S	f	2	5	3	5	15
			%	16.67	41.67	33.33	55.56	35.71

R – Read, W – Write, S – Speak

Table-5: Distribution of entrepreneurs according to their location and religion

	Place	N	Location				Religion			
			Rural		Urban		Hindu		Muslim	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Entrepreneurs	Lucknow	12	-	-	12	100	4	33.33	8	66.67
	Bareilly	12	-	-	12	100	10	83.33	2	16.67
	Kolkata	9	2	22.22	7	77.78	7	77.78	2	22.22
	Surat	9	-	-	9	100	5	55.56	4	44.44
	Total	42	2	4.76	40	95.24	26	61.9	16	38.1

Table-6: Distribution of entrepreneurs on the basis of their family type and family size

	Place	N	Nuclear		Joint		1-2		3-4		5-6		7-8		9 and above	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Entrepreneurs	Lucknow	12	6	50.0	6	50.0	-	-	4	33.33	2	16.67	2	16.67	4	33.33
	Bareilly	12	10	83.33	2	16.67	-	-	6	50.0	4	33.33	-	-	2	16.67
	Kolkata	9	8	88.89	1	11.11	-	-	4	44.44	3	33.33	1	11.11	1	11.11
	Surat	9	6	66.67	3	33.33	-	-	2	22.22	3	33.33	1	11.11	3	33.33
	Total	42	30	71.43	12	28.57	-	-	16	38.10	12	28.57	4	9.52	10	23.81

As regards the number of earning members in a family there were one to three members per family. On the whole 64.29 per cent of the respondents had only one person earning in the family, however in Kolkata 77.78 per cent of entrepreneurs had only one earning member. Only 11.0 per cent in Kolkata and 22.0 per cent in Surat had three members earning in the family (Table-7).

The literacy level of the entrepreneurs was varied (Table-8). Lucknow had maximum number i.e. 42.0 per cent of respondents without education, and also it was the only place with respondents having post graduate degree. Fifty per cent of respondents in Bareilly and 55.56 per cent in Surat had secondary school education, while in Kolkata 78.0 per cent were graduates, who had inherited their business of Zardosi craft (Figure-11).

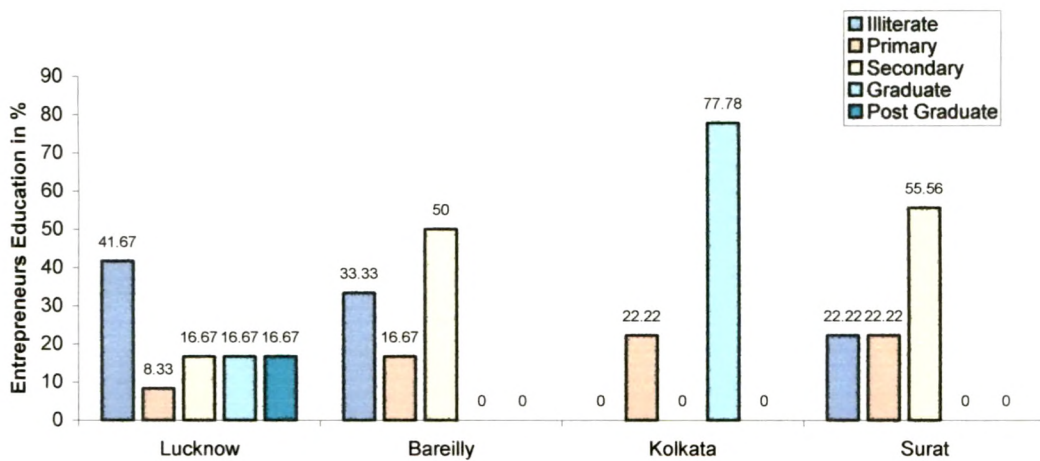


Figure-11: Distribution of entrepreneurs according to their level of education

The distribution of entrepreneurs according to the type of business (Table-9) revealed that majority of the entrepreneurs in Lucknow, Kolkata and Surat managed their business as proprietors and one fourth of the entrepreneurial business units were managed in partnership (Figure-12).

Table-7: Distribution of entrepreneurs on the basis of number of earning members in a family

	Place	N	1		2		3	
			f	%	f	%	f	%
Entrepreneurs	Lucknow	12	7	58.33	5	41.67	-	-
	Bareilly	12	8	66.67	4	33.33	-	-
	Kolkata	9	7	77.78	1	11.11	1	11.11
	Surat	9	5	55.56	2	22.22	2	22.22
	Total	42	27	64.29	12	28.57	3	7.14

Table-8: Distribution of entrepreneurs according to their level of education

	Place	N	Illiterate		Primary		Secondary		Graduate		Post graduate	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Entrepreneurs	Lucknow	12	5	41.67	1	8.33	2	16.67	2	16.67	2	16.67
	Bareilly	12	4	33.33	2	16.67	6	50.0	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	9	-	-	2	22.22	-	-	7	77.78	-	-
	Surat	9	2	22.22	2	22.22	5	55.56	-	-	-	-
	Total	42	11	26.19	7	16.67	13	30.95	9	21.43	2	4.76

Table-9: Distribution of entrepreneurs based on the type of business

	Place	N	Proprietorship		Partnership	
			f	%	f	%
Entrepreneurship	Lucknow	12	10	83.33	2	16.67
	Bareilly	12	6	50.0	6	50.0
	Kolkata	9	7	77.78	2	22.22
	Surat	9	7	88.89	1	11.11
	Total	42	31	73.81	11	26.19

Bareilly however, had an equal percentage of enterprise run as proprietary and partnership business. Majority of these entrepreneurs ventured into the Zardosi craft business at the age of 31-36 years (Figure-12). About one fourth of the entrepreneurs had inherited the business while just 10.0 per cent had owned it from a friend and the rest 67.0 per cent had established their business unit themselves. All the karkhanas were established 30 - 40 years back of which fifty per cent of the units were established after 1975.

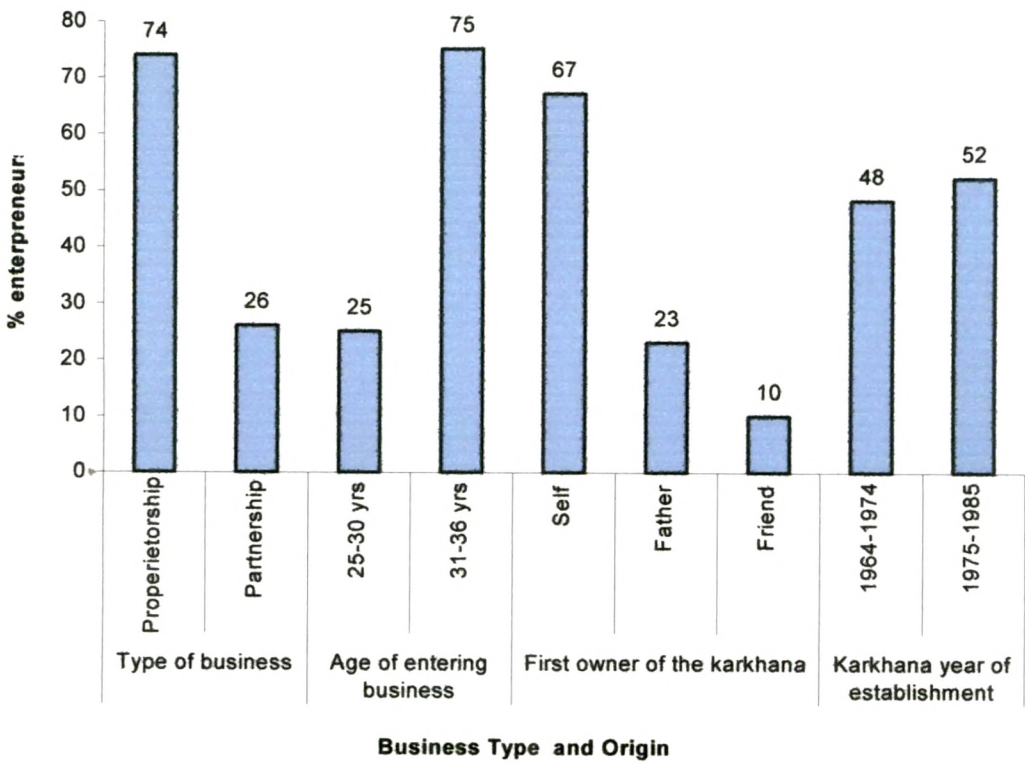


Figure-12: Details of the type of business and its origin

4.2.1c Business details

An enquiry about possessing the skill of Zardosi embroidery revealed that 30.0 per cent of the entrepreneurs had practiced this craft as karigars before they became entrepreneurs. None of these entrepreneurs worked on the Adda with their karigars, since a need had never arisen nor had they the time for such activity.

The entrepreneurs in the Zardosi craft were exporters, traders or owners of commercial work unit known as 'karkhandar'. The karkhandar owned a karkhana in the cluster which was a small enterprise; trader owned a karkhana within and outside the cluster which was a medium enterprise and exporter owned a karkhana outside the cluster; it was a large enterprise. Majority of the export orders were passed on to the middleman known as 'Thekedars' in Lucknow, Bareilly and Surat and 'Oostagar' in Kolkata. The term 'middle man' was relative. An exporter or a trader too, was a middle man in the supply chain; who then was known as 'Mahajan' or 'Gadhidar' in the North, 'Marwari' or 'Seth' in the East and Thekedar in the West by the karigars.

The entrepreneurs revealed that they had spent approximately rupees two lakh to set up their business unit. The entrepreneurs who had inherited their business unit had no figures to state; yet they recalled that financial help was taken to set up the unit. A small per cent of respondents i.e. 20.0 per cent stated to have taken help from private lenders, 10.0 per cent of the respondents had arranged finances from family and relatives, while majority of them had managed to procure loan from a bank.

According to the entrepreneurs, the working capital today ranged between rupees forty thousand to two lakhs per month, depending on the size of the unit. In the state of Uttar Pradesh due to frequent power failure added over heads of approximately Rs.2000/- per month was incurred for the use of an inverter.

The entrepreneurs during the set up of their karkhana had made an initial investment of approximately Rs.15,000 - Rs.25,000 for procuring the various tools and equipments. Adda - the wooden frame was the main equipment along with a tripod. The price of the Adda varied from Rs.6000/- to Rs.8500/- and they opined it has survived the test of time. The average cost price of other smaller tools ranged between rupee one to rupees thirty.

The money invested per month in purchase of raw materials for a small unit catering only to domestic market was Rs.5000/- to 10,000/-, while a trader or an exporter invested Rs.50,000/- to 1,00,000/-.

The entrepreneur with a small enterprise incurred wage expenses around Rs.30, 000/- per month of the karigars, while an exporter or a trader would incur much higher expenses per month to get work done from a larger group of karigars which included both contracted and sub contracted karigars.

On an average the number of karigars employed in a karkhana or a small enterprise ranged from 10-14 karigars, where as there could be 50-60 karigars in total, working for one karkhandar as sub-contracted karigars.

The karigars at the karkhana worked for six days a week on record, which means 26 days per month on an average and 312 days/year. The payment was made on the basis of working days as well as work done. The

entrepreneurs opined that the karigar in their karkhana would also work for other karkhandars, and they were not bound to work for a single entrepreneur. It was noted that the employment of the karigars was conducted at informal level, because of the unorganized set-up. The investigator observed that these karigars were expected to finish the given task in time, and not participate in any creative activity. They were considered more as workers than karigars. The entrepreneurs revealed that they contracted work from other agency and the payment made to them was often on the basis of number of pieces or linear yard. However, the entrepreneurs would accomplish the contracted work both on hourly basis and on piece basis from the karigars. The exporters revealed that foreign buyers were their customers. A liaison agent would be instrumental in conducting a meeting between the exporter and the buyer, and he would charge two to three per cent of commission for the deal settled. The traders i.e. the bidders would bid for the order received by the exporters in the respective place, Delhi or Mumbai, while the Kharkhandars directly contracted work from individuals, traders, boutique owners, exporters and/or agencies dealing with temple and theatre costumes.

4.2.1d Production details

An entrepreneur possessed at least two addas, one small and one big and maximum of twelve addas. It was noted that all the entrepreneurs had purchased the tools and equipments from the local market. It was stated that Aari and the needles had a shorter life span thus, needed to be replenished monthly. The tools commonly possessed by the entrepreneurs are given in Table-10.

Table-10: List of basic tools and equipments possessed in a karkhana

Sr. No.	Tool / Equipment	Number Possessed
1.	Adda with stand	2 - 12
2.	Wooden hammer and dabber	3 - 8
3.	Pinvas	2 - 3
4.	Reti	2 - 3
5.	Fatila	10 -14
6.	Scissors (small)	5 - 6
7.	Needles	2 packets (12 needles each)
8.	Aari	30 -35

The entrepreneurs procured the raw materials through cash only. Their good will helped them procure it on credit of fifteen days to six months. To make purchases of specific raw material the entrepreneurs followed the buyer's specification. Majority of the entrepreneurs purchased the embroidery materials locally, either from a wholesaler or a retailer depending on their requirement. The reasons cited were several. For an order of the same type, a bulk purchase of the raw material was done, while for single piece order, a retail purchase was the choice. The use of embroidery materials for an order would vary and hence, they did not stock the materials. It was reported by the traders in Bareilly that they do not cater to the same market always, and so anticipating the product requirements was difficult. Moreover, the fashions keep changing every six months and hence, they refrained from such practice of building inventories. However, the exporters and traders both in Lucknow and Bareilly did stock the embroidery materials which they believed would remain in regular use. According to them materials like sequins, beads and pipes in various forms and sizes were frequently used for the export market. Also, these entrepreneurs were engaged in sample making, and a ready stock of embroidery materials made

it easier for them to experiment with the existing materials. The exporters stated that some embroidery materials like beads and pipes were available in packets of one pound which equalled 450 grams, while sequins were bought in kilograms. At a given time the stock of these materials were 1000-2000 packets and 100-200 kgs respectively. In Kolkata and Surat, maximum number of respondents catered to the domestic order. For sample making they would either use the rejected materials of the previous orders or make a retail purchase. The metal thread embroidery materials were not stored by the entrepreneurs, since it tarnished in humid storage conditions.

The embroidery material was sourced from kinari bazaar of Delhi, Mumbai or Surat only if they were not available locally. The entrepreneurs did not find any difference in the quality of embroidered materials procured from different places. However, large variety of materials available today was cheaper, but with a compromise on quality. In the opinion of the entrepreneurs a material which was priced in several hundreds, now costs only few rupees per packet, while those which were priced in few thousands are available in few hundreds. The responses of the entrepreneurs made clear that cheaper goods means inferior quality. The respondents disclosed that use of pure metal-thread in regular work was absent and only used for special orders for both domestic and export market.

The entrepreneurs revealed that an inventory of fabrics was never maintained since the fabric was given to them by the buyer; only sometimes they had to procure it themselves. The exporters would purchase it as and when required from Surat and Mumbai following the specification sheet, while the entrepreneurs catering to domestic orders were always provided with the yardage.

The entrepreneurs received orders regularly and sometimes periodically. Divulging the details of production for export orders, it was stated that exporters and/or traders would be busy with sampling in the month of January and February. Approval of samples took place in March and orders were finalized. The orders were executed in April and continued till August. The following months September to December were considered slack for export orders. The consignment was expected to reach the destination in time, otherwise the entrepreneurs had to bear the cost of total project and incur losses. The exporters had to work a season ahead to fulfill the order well in time.

The entrepreneurs catering to the domestic market said that there was a constant flow of work during the months October - March and was considered as the peak season. The entrepreneurs revealed that it was both winter time and a period of festivity; with celebration of major Hindu and Muslim festivals like Diwali, Id-Ul-Fitr. Moreover, marriages also took place during this period.

The entrepreneurs catering to either export or domestic orders reported they executed the orders received from the buyer, liasioning agent, wholesaler, retailer, boutique owner, individuals or agencies of drama, theatre and religious organization. Majority of the karkhandars in Bareilly and Lucknow manufactured a variety of products to meet the exports orders. The karkhandar could also be a thekedar in the supply chain (Figure-14). The same karkhandar also contracted orders from boutiques and individuals. In Kolkata, the entrepreneurs accepted orders from wholesalers and retailers, and a few of the entrepreneurs had their retail outlets too. In Kolkata and Surat majority of the production took place for catering to the demands of local market. Only one entrepreneur each in Kolkata and Surat were catering to export orders.

An enquiry into the number and type of articles produced in the previous month, along with the average price of the article has been presented in Table-11. The quality, quantity and style of work varied with different articles produced.

Table-11: Aggregates of a month's production of different places

Place	Articles	Average price of the article (in Rs.)	Number of pieces produced
Lucknow	Camisoles	300	3000
	Jackets	500	5000
	Christmas hangings	25	15000
	Gowns	800	1000
	Curtains	1300	1000 mts
	Saris	300	25
Bareilly	Christmas hangings	15	20000
	Sandal uppers	125	5000 pairs
	Curtain	1800	1200 mts
	Cushions	200	1000
	Belts	100	2500
	One piece dress	600	2000
	Jackets	600	5000
	Purses	200	2000
	Stole	200	2000
	Salwar kameez	400	30
Kolkata	Dress material	300	15
	Sari	300	20
	Purses	100	1000
	Curtain	120	15 mts
Surat	Dress materials	350	20
	Saris	400	15
	Gowns	700	1000

As regards the quality of embroidery work, fifty per cent of the entrepreneurs opined that the quality of a workmanship was maintained by the karigars who worked in the commercial karkhanas (Figure-13). The respondents articulated that a check was kept on the contracted karigars, while to get quality work from sub-contracted karigars was a problem. The quality benchmarking was strictly followed for export orders and they were not too stringent on domestic orders. All the entrepreneurs voiced their concern for the quality deterioration in all aspects of the craft. In the words of an entrepreneur, whatever existed earlier was 'pure for sure'.

The embroidered goods were produced to order (Figure-13) by eighty five per cent of the entrepreneurs and only fifteen per cent produced them in anticipation of demand. These fifteen per cent respondents were wholesalers. It was revealed that the time prearranged for fulfilling an order would vary depending on the amount and type of work. On an average the time duration ranged from ten days to a month for an export order, while a week to ten days for a domestic order. According to an entrepreneur, the reputation of an individual played an important role in getting the work done in limited time. An example was cited to illustrate the same. An export order of 10,000 metres in a month was made possible and getting 100 metres of work done in the same time span was difficult to accomplish.

The entrepreneurs catered to the needs of the local, regional and/or the international market. Sequin work, cut work, antique work, crystal work, pipe work, silk thread and ribbon work were some of the common types of work done for the export orders. Resham work, antique work, Kasab tikki work, maal kaam, badla were commonly used for the domestic market. The specific markets with their product requirements during the year are listed in Table-12.

Table-12: Product requirements for various markets during the year 2004

Market space	Product requirements
International	
Europe: Germany, Britain, France, Italy	camisoles, trousers, emblems, christmas hangings, badges, jackets, gowns, purse, chappal uppers, caps, bags etc.
Middle East: Saudi Arabia, Dubai	Major product required are Yardages / Curtains of size 44" – 60", with a minimum of 6 mts. Accessories like purses, belts, stoles that coordinated with the yardage. Gown sizes according to the chest measurements – S / M / L / XL / XXL / XXXL / 1X / 2X / 3X / 4X. The size chart measurement was very different as compared to Europe or other Asian countries
USA: California and New York in America	Camisoles, long dresses, frilled dresses, bustier, skirt. Heavy work in black and light work in pastel shades
Canada	Jackets, dresses, tops, salwar suit
Mexico	Long dresses, Christmas hangings
Australia	Home furnishing items like Cushion covers of size 16" x 16" / 12" x 12" in different shapes
Domestic (Local)	Saris, salwar - suits, dupattas, shararas, ghararas and lanchas are the products frequently made
Lucknow, Bareilly	Resham work, badla was commonly used. Zardosi and Mukeish combined with Chikankari. Other items were purses, hand-bags
Kolkata	All varieties of work were done with major emphasis on maal-ka-kaam and kundan ka kaam
Surat	Zardosi work with use of beads, metal thread, and kasab tikki

The entrepreneurs who based the production only on orders did not have to bother about the trends and consumer preferences, only the entrepreneurs who had their own selling outlets or were in export business considered trends and consumer preferences. (Figure-13)

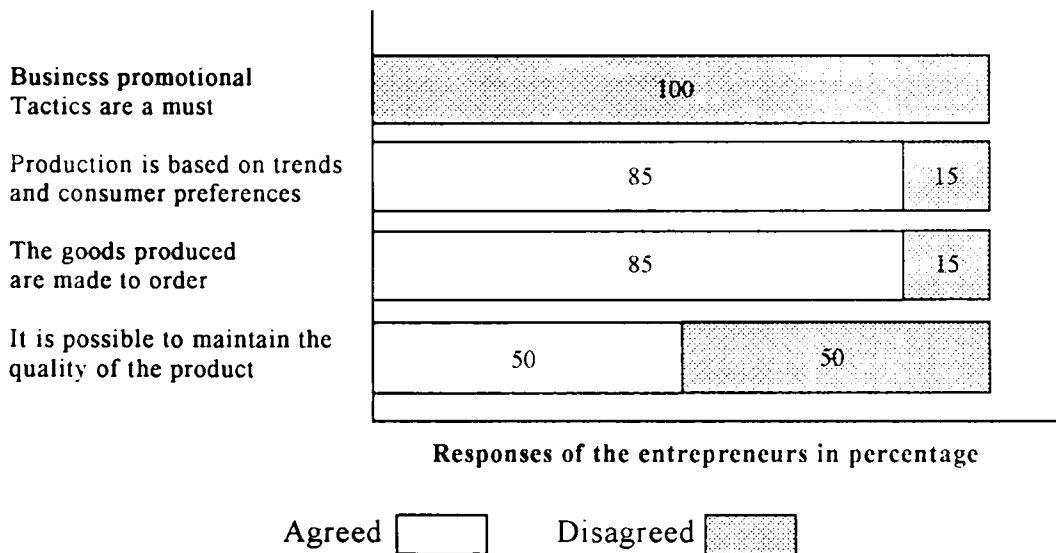


Figure-13: Opinions of the entrepreneurs

However, in Lucknow, two entrepreneurs reported to have participated in fairs across the country sponsored by the Office of Development Commissioner of Handicrafts. One entrepreneur each from Lucknow and Bareilly also, informed of their visits to Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Dubai and Australia especially to obtain orders, meet liaison agents and further decide on terms of trade.

In addition, these entrepreneurs stated to have purchased trend magazines during their visits. In the opinion of these few entrepreneurs, their efforts have helped them in sample making, suited to their target market and have managed to obtain orders. The designs for the production whenever required were sourced from trend magazines, artifacts, samplers, historic textiles and costumes or a ready design sheet available in the market.

The entrepreneurs who catered to the export market reported that sometimes there were rejections of finished goods supplied by them. These rejected goods were rectified if possible or else, the trader had to bear the losses. Since the products were culturally different it was difficult to dispose off even at lower prices or with possible changes made.

As regards the use of technology in the production, calendering machines were used since last 20-25 years. This machine has not completely replaced the manual process of beating the embroidered kasab thread. Computers were used by the exporters to handle accounts, designing, for invoice and packing list and as a means of quick communication with the buyer. Image transfer software for sample or product approvals was also used by the exporters. On enquiry it was elucidated that the respondents were not using e-marketing; as they worked only on orders and the main marketers of the craft were the buyers, wholesalers and the retailers. As stated by the respondents, it was revealed that e-marketing was exercised by the boutique owners, individuals and retailers for the selling of final product to the ultimate consumer.

The entrepreneurs had divided opinions on the acceptance of machines for production of this embroidery. Some were ready to accept while others could not imagine an invention for this embroidery and they believed that no technology can replace the human technology, at least in a craft of this stature with variegated styles.

4.2.1e Problems faced by the entrepreneurs

Some entrepreneurs did not receive work through the year i.e. especially during April to September. They stated that it was summer followed by monsoon which was a bleak period for festivity and hence less

demand. Moreover, the metal threads tarnished with perspiration during this season. Majority of the entrepreneurs found it difficult to source matching threads and accessories to fulfill an order in time. In addition, they were not able to source good karigars, due to low wages. Some of the entrepreneurs felt the need to employ a person who could handle the designing and sampling for orders. The other problem faced by some was lack of finance.

4.2.1f Market and marketing facilities

As regards catering to the markets it was revealed that twenty per cent of the total population of entrepreneurs catered to the export market and the others supplied to the domestic market. As reported by the entrepreneurs most of the export orders were contracted through an agent, while orders for the local market were always received directly.

The entrepreneurs did not practice any kind of business promotion tactics (Figure-13) since a common belief prevailed among all, that a business in this craft can sustain itself only on the grounds of "quality at competitive price". The entrepreneur's aspiration to expand their business was high. The entrepreneurs who were not eager to expand their business stated that, big business spell for big money and greater risk involved. It was noted that two of the entrepreneurs had participated in local and regional fairs organized by the central Government in Baroda, Udaipur, Mysore, Ooti and several other big cities. Only two entrepreneurs had participated in the India International Gifts Fair. On enquiry about the involvement of a co-operative societies, Government or a Non-Government agency in marketing of the products, all of them replied in negative, since

they were just a part of the supply chain and not the direct marketers. They supplied goods to their client in an auto-rickshaw or taxi for the local market, in train or bus for regional market; by air for international market. An entrepreneur justified the use of air freight instead of ship because humid conditions in the ship could spoil the product. The percentage of profit manifested by the entrepreneurs in the export business was stated to range between 25-35 per cent of the total consignment, whereas for the domestic market the percentage of profit ranged between 20-25 percent.

The structure of the Zardosi craft industry though unorganized had a definite demand and supply perspective, which was found to be linked through a supply chain, involving several intermediaries for an export market as compared to the domestic market (Figure-14 and 15 respectively).

At the lowest end of the economic activity pyramid was the sub-contracted karigars, following a home-based activity and they operated mainly from their home. The home-based Zardosi craft was female dominated. The merchant or the Thekedar was responsible for supplying raw materials to the contracted karigars i.e. the workshop karigars and also to the sub contracted karigars. Moreover, the collection of the finished product was also the responsibility of the Thekedar. The wholesaler and / or the retailer packed the product for the domestic market, while supplier packed the product in cloth bags to be transported to the exporter who does the final packaging. The final product was then sent to the ultimate buyer who has his own distribution networks. In domestic market the wholesaler, retailer or the boutique owner sold the final product.

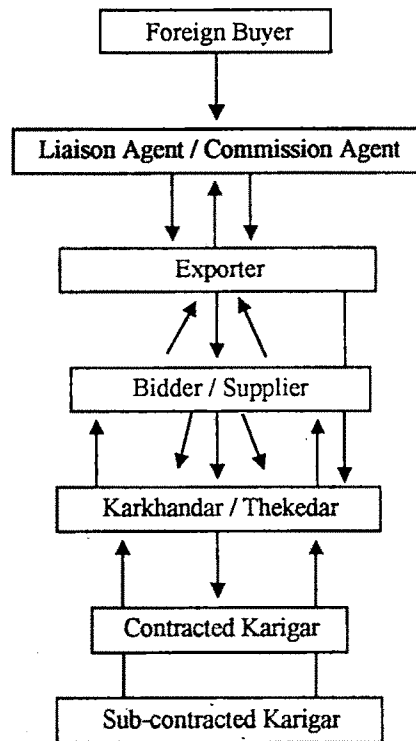


Figure-14: Supply chain involved in production pattern for export market

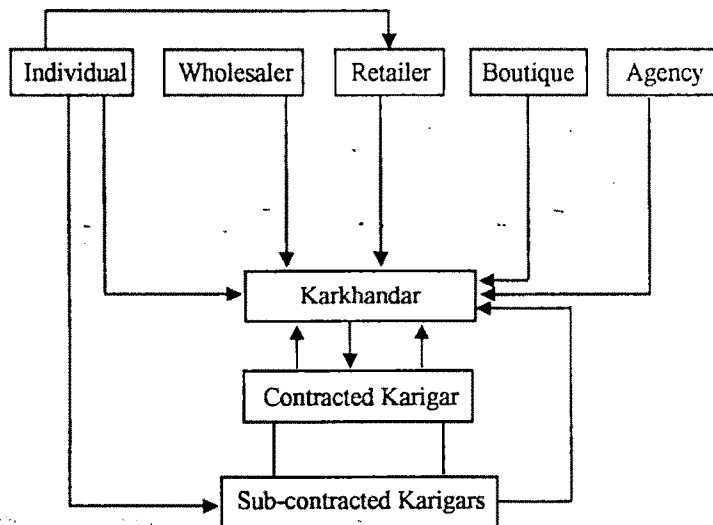


Figure-15: Supply chain involved in the production pattern for a domestic market

A focus on the demand and supply side perspective of the craft revealed that the demand side perspective consisted of factors like market by space, markets by selling instrumentalities, the cultural outlook, quality product at competitive price. The supply side perspective included factors like skill up gradation, provision of capital investment, adequate working capital, appropriate place of work, supply of raw material, and improvement in designs (Figure-16). The represented figure suggests the factors of the demand side and supply side perspective that were visible in the Zardosi craft.

The key determinants of the supply-side which has helped in sustaining the craft in the market were innovations in designs, supply of variety of raw materials which were locally available. However, availability of quality raw material at reasonable price was the need of the hour. The small entrepreneurs or self employed karigars needed to get together and make a joint purchase of raw materials in bulk to help in reducing the cost of production. The other supply-side potentialities identified during the field survey, was skill up gradation of the karigars, the provision of institutional credit for capital investment and access to working capital through formation of co-operatives and a clean and hygienic work place with proper facilities need to be strengthened to achieve higher production and better products.

The key determinants of the demand-side perspective such as quality at competitive prices for exports and catering to the requirements of the local, regional and international markets in relation to their cultural needs has helped the craft to capture a considerable place in both domestic and export market. Yet, its presence in the market by selling instrumentalities such as e-commerce, participation in fairs / exhibitions need to be focused, as it is sold only at showrooms, thus limiting the customer base.

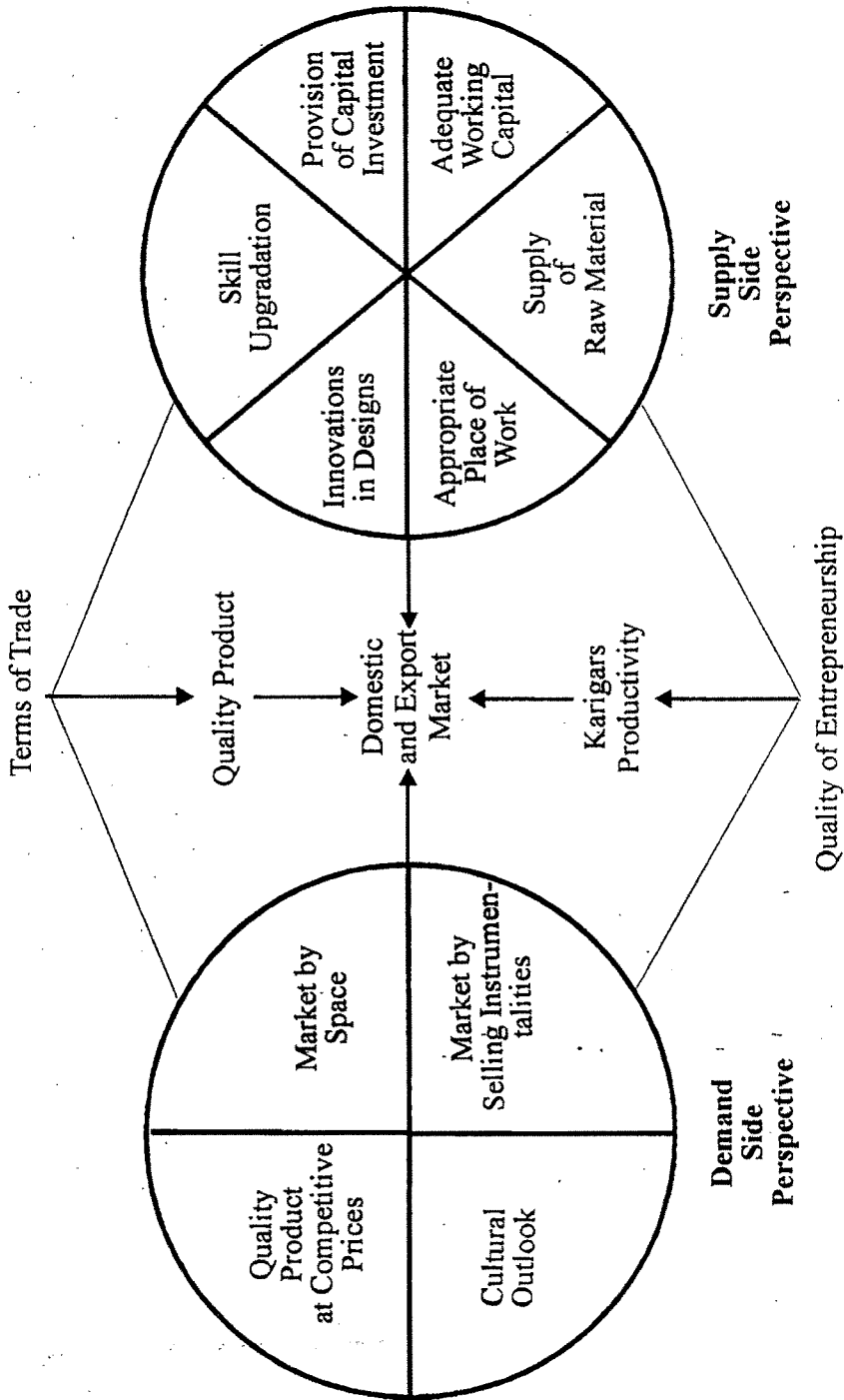


Figure-16: A structural framework of the existing craft

The demand and supply side perspective were found to be related by mediating factors such as:

Quality of entrepreneurship - The awareness of both partnership and proprietary business entrepreneurs on the availability of institutional credit, knowledge of alternative technology, proficiency in effective market examination and networking with bulk buyers played a key role in maximizing their sales.

Workers productivity - The addition of technology, better infrastructure and better organization of workers combined with incentives and recognition helped in enhancing the worker's productivity.

Domestic and Export market - The entrepreneurs need to choose the right market segments. In addition, form a cooperative, float their own brand; also, a tie up with marketing establishments can help them capture the potential markets to receive orders on a regular basis.

Quality product - The quality of a product is regulated through several inputs. A quality product in this craft can be obtained by improving the working conditions and incomes of the karigars.

Terms of trade - The Zardosi craft sector is spatially vast and involves several role-players in both domestic and export market. The dependence of each on other in the economic activity pyramid determines the growth of this sector. An improvement in the terms of service between the karigar and karkhandar, the trader and the thekedar and the terms of trade between the exporters and buyers was needed. In addition, persistent delivery in time needs to be offered.

On the similar lines a study on the assessment of market potential of Zari and Zari products made in Surat (1998) revealed that there exists a market for the Zari threads and Zari items. However, the market is thoroughly loose and absolutely unorganized in the absence of any associations, rules for guidance and standard contracts. Hence, the deals are either against definite orders or as is often the case on consignment basis. Further, it was stated that with unplanned production and marketing programme, the internal market has turned to a "buyer's market", while the external, more adverse due to severe competition offered by French Zari.

4.2.2 Profile of karigars

Zardosi work was done by skilled people in the urban as well as its rural hinterland. The Zardosi work was done both by contracted karigars and sub-contracted karigars. This work offered them and their families a gainful employment. The contracted karigar was a regular wage worker, engaged in work in the premises of the employer's enterprise while a sub-contracted Karigar was a casual wage worker or a self employed worker, engaged in Zardosi craft activity, but not in the premises of the one or more employers from whom he fetched work.

4.2.2a Demographic details

The distribution of contracted karigars according to their age and sex (Table-13A) revealed the complete absence of female karigars in the contracted work. It was stated that they were expected to remain in purdah and hence did not participate in the craft carried out in the commercial enterprise.

Table-13A: Distribution of contracted karigars according to their age and sex

Karigars	Place	N	Sex		14 and below		15 – 24 yrs		25 – 34 yrs		35 – 44 yrs		45 – 54 yrs		55 yrs and above	
					f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	M	48	6	12.5	9	18.75	24	50.0	5	10.42	3	6.25	1	2.08
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	56	M	56	5	8.93	16	28.57	28	50.0	3	5.36	3	5.36	1	1.78
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	15	M	15	1	6.67	3	20.0	7	46.66	2	13.33	1	6.67	1	6.67
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Surat	28	M	28	3	10.71	6	21.43	13	46.43	4	14.29	2	7.14	-	-
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	147	M	147	15	10.21	34	23.13	72	48.98	14	9.52	9	6.12	3	2.04
			F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
M = Male, F = Female																

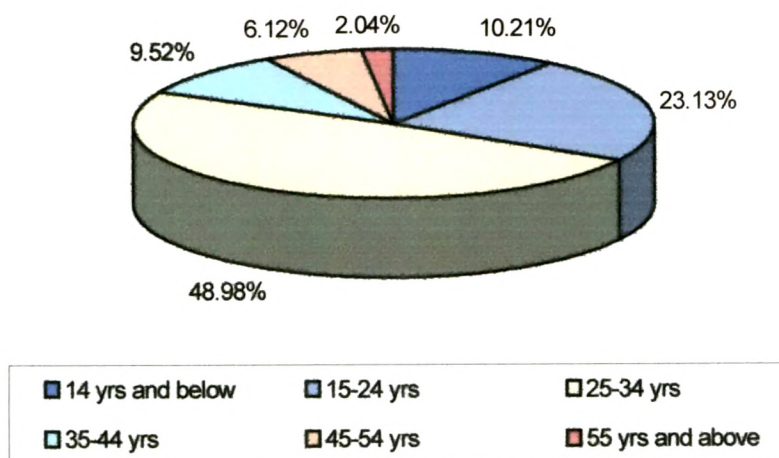


Figure-17A: Distribution of contracted karigars based on age

On the whole about 50.0 per cent (Figure-17A) of the karigars in Lucknow, Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat were aged between 25-34 years, followed by 23.13 per cent in the age group of 15-24 years. Almost equal number of karigars belonged to the age group 35-44 years (9.52 per cent) and 14 years and below (10.2 per cent). Presence of karigars in the age group 45-54 years was less (6.12 per cent) and still a lesser number were in the age group 55 years and above (2.04 per cent). The comparative figures of Lucknow, Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat (Figure-17B) indicated that Zardosi work was pre-dominantly done by the young followed by middle aged and less than 14 year old karigars. The inability of the older age-group to sit for longer hours and their weak eye-sight served as a deterrent to continue at later age.

A study of the worker settlements in the Zardosi and Hathari industry of Varanasi (2002) concluded that the strong kinship and neighbourhood networks in which the industry operates, makes the entry of children at an early age easier.

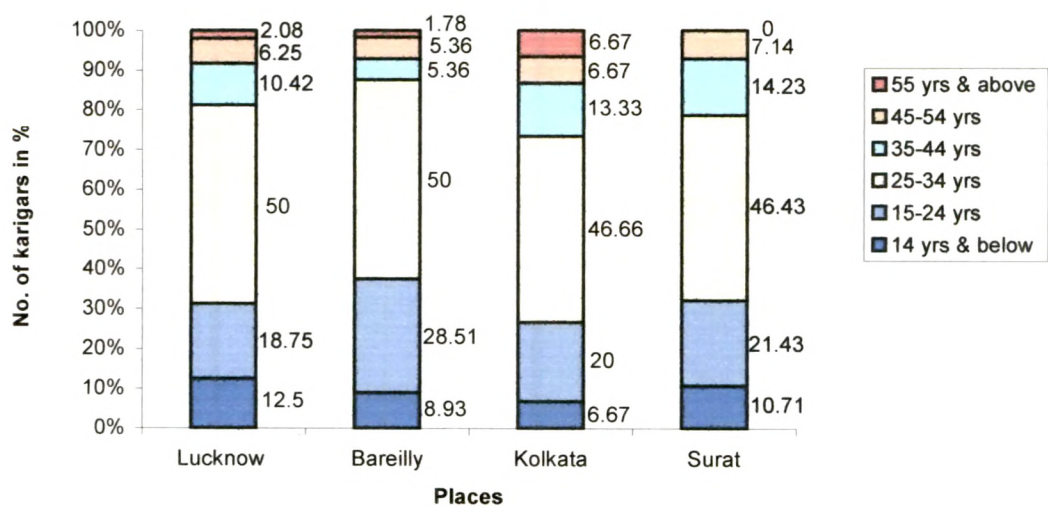


Figure-17B: Distribution of contracted karigars in the selected places according to the age

The Distribution of sub-contracted karigars according to age and sex (Table-13B) revealed that in the sub-contracted category majority of the karigars were females, since the craft operated as a home-based industry. The bar diagram (Figure-17C) suggested that females of all age groups were involved in the Zardosi craft. However, majority of the females belonged to the age group 25-34 yrs, whereas majority of male-karigars were children of age 14 years and below.

Mehorta S. and Mario B. (2002) studied Zardosi as one of the sectors of home based work and concluded that the feminization of the work has important implications for the gender dimension of a household’s human development cycle from generation to generation.

Table-13B: Distribution of sub - contracted karigars according to their age and sex

Karigars	Place	N	Sex		14 and below		15 - 24 yrs		25 - 34 yrs		35 - 44 yrs		45 - 54 yrs		55 yrs and above	
					f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	M	1	14.28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			F	6	14.28	1	14.28	2	28.57	1	14.28	1	14.28	-	-	
	Bareilly	9	M	2	11.11	1	11.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
			F	7	11.11	1	11.11	2	22.22	2	22.22	1	11.11	-	-	
	Kolkata	27	M	6	7.41	1	3.70	2	7.41	1	3.70	-	-	-	-	
			F	21	7.41	4	14.81	8	29.62	4	14.81	2	7.41	1	3.70	
	Surat	5	M	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
			F	4	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	
	Total	48	M	10	10.42	2	4.17	2	4.17	1	2.08	-	-	-	-	
			F	38	10.42	7	14.58	13	27.08	8	16.66	4	8.33	1	2.08	
M = Male, F = Female																

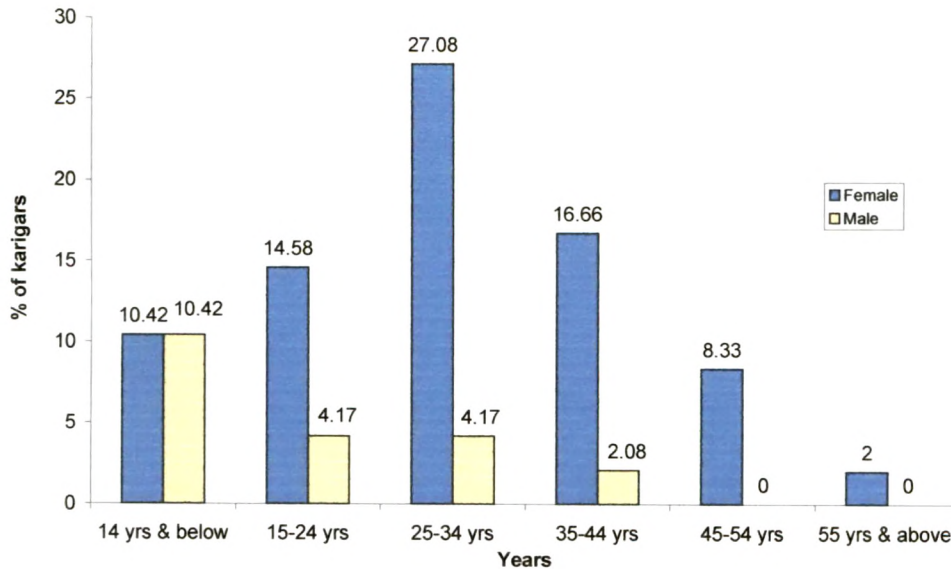


Figure-17C: Distribution of subcontracted karigar according to their age and sex

The data regarding the religion and location elucidated that all the karigars residing in urban as well as rural areas were Muslims. The locales of the study were urban areas of old city of Lucknow, Bareilly and Surat while villages of kolkata were in rural areas. The specific field locations were Kaccha Pool, Chaupatiyan, Motilal Darji Ki Baghiya, Ghulam Hussain Pool, in Lucknow; Kankar Tola, Sufi Tola, Kati Kuinya, Jogi Nawada, Rabri Tola and Mohalla Bhoor in Bareilly; Nalpur, Dhulagori, Bauriah village in Howrah district of Kolkata; Navsari bazaar and Sangrampura in Surat. The respondents who had been following the craft as a tradition belonged to the Khan, Saiyed, Pathan, Sheikh, Mullick caste while the Fakirs, Ansaris, Dhobis, Kanmaliyas, Jullahas caste respondents had left their occupation and joined this craft as sub-contracted karigars as it fetched them consistent money. Moreover, it was considered as a neat job, which could be done at home too.

Education wise distribution of karigars (Table-14) revealed that from the given set of male and female respondents, more number of female karigars (68.42 per cent) had no education as compared to the males (34.69 per cent). This could possibly be due to the emphasis laid on craft education and not secular education (Figure-18). The sub-contracted karigars were less educated as compared to the contracted karigars, as they could not afford to pursue higher education. In Kolkata 20.0 per cent karigars and less than 4.0 per cent karigars each in Lucknow and Surat with a graduate degree worked as contracted karigars. Unemployment of the educated had forced them to join this skill based craft, which has helped them earn a decent living. Bareilly had the maximum percentage of karigars having no education, in contracted as well as subcontracted category.

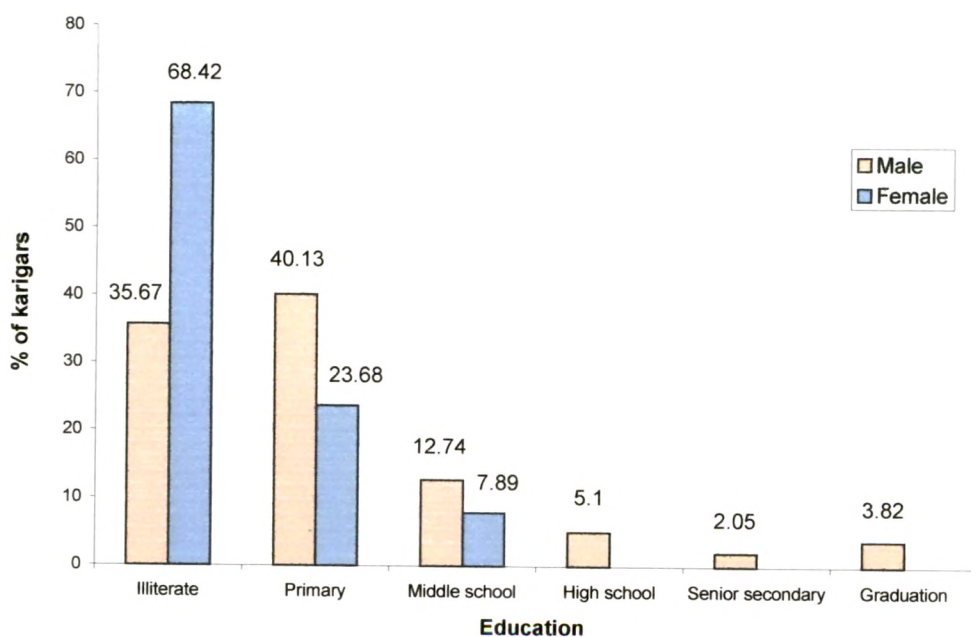


Figure-18: Distribution of male and female karigars on the basis of education

Table-14: Distribution of karigars according to their level of education

Karigar	Place	N	Male N ₁	Female N ₂	Illiterate				Primary				Middle School				High School				Senior Secondary				Graduation			
					M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F	
					f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	48	-	13	27.98	-	-	21	43.75	-	-	9	18.75	-	-	2	4.17	-	-	1	2.08	-	-	2	4.17	-	-
	Bareilly	56	56	-	25	44.64	-	-	28	50.0	-	-	2	3.57	-	-	1	1.79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	15	15	-	3	20.0	-	-	3	20.0	-	-	3	20.0	-	-	2	13.33	-	-	1	6.67	-	-	-	20.0	-	-
	Surat	28	28	-	10	35.71	-	-	9	32.14	-	-	5	18.6	-	-	2	7.14	-	-	1	3.57	-	-	3	3.57	-	-
	Total	147	147	-	51	34.69	-	-	61	41.50	-	-	19	12.93	-	-	7	4.76	-	-	3	2.04	-	-	1	4.08	-	-
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	1	6	1	14.29	3	42.86	-	-	2	28.57	-	-	1	14.29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	9	2	7	2	22.22	5	55.56	-	-	2	22.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	27	6	21	1	3.70	15	55.56	2	7.41	4	14.81	1	3.70	2	7.41	1	3.70	-	-	1	3.70	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Surat	5	1	4	1	20.0	3	60.0	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	48	10	38	5	10.42	26	54.17	2	4.17	9	18.75	1	2.08	3	6.24	1	2.08	-	-	1	2.08	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Grand Total	195	157	38	56	35.67	26	68.42	63	40.13	9	23.68	20	12.74	3	7.69	8	5.10	-	-	4	2.55	-	-	6	3.08	-	-

M = Male, F = Female

As regards the marital status majority of the contracted and sub-contracted karigars were found to be married (Table-15). There were a few karigars (Figure-19) who were widower (1.54 per cent), widow (2.56 per cent) and separated males (2.56 per cent) and females (1.54 per cent). Their single status made it inevitable for them to keep to this craft, from which they earned their living. With regards to the marital status of the contracted karigars who were all male members, seventy per cent were married and 24.49 per cent were unmarried and negligible number of them were widower and separated.

Among the subcontracted karigars ten were males and thirty eight were females. It is evident from the Table-18 that about fifty per cent of them were married and one third of them were unmarried. There were some widows from Kolkata i.e. 10.42 per cent and 6.25 per cent of the female sub-contracted karigars were separated.

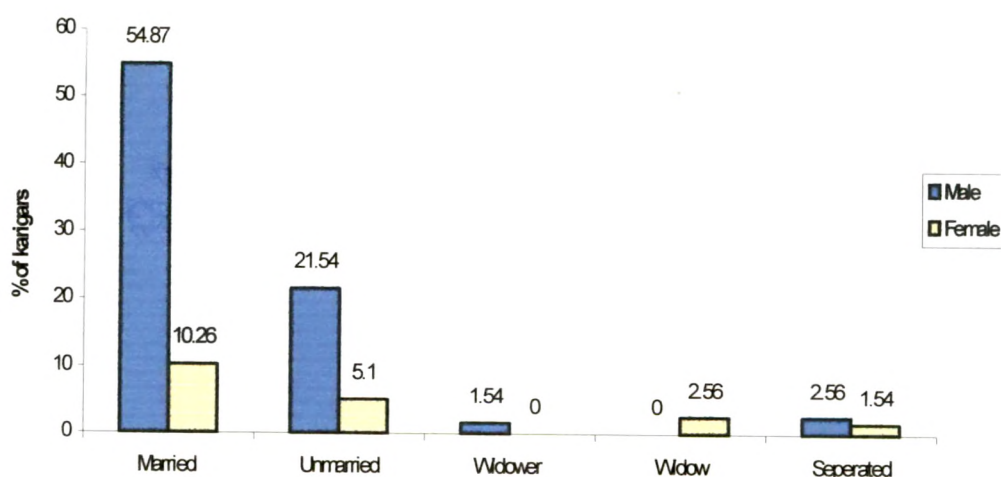


Figure-19: Distribution of karigars according to their marital status

Table-15: Distribution of karigars on the basis of their marital status

Karigars	Place	N	Married				Unmarried				Widow/er				Separated			
			Male		Female		f	%	Male		Female		f	%	Male		Female	
			f	%	f	%			f	%	f	%			f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	30	62.5	-	-	16	33.33	-	-	-	-	1	2.08	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	56	44	78.57	-	-	9	16.07	-	-	-	-	2	3.57	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	15	11	73.33	-	-	3	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Surat	28	18	64.29	-	-	8	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	147	103	70.07	-	-	36	24.49	-	-	-	-	3	2.04	-	-	-	-
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	-	-	4	57.14	1	14.29	2	28.57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	9	-	-	4	44.44	2	22.22	2	22.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.11
	Kolkata	27	4	14.81	10	27.04	2	7.41	4	14.81	-	-	5	18.52	-	-	2	7.41
	Surat	5	-	-	2	40.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	48	4	8.33	20	41.67	6	12.50	10	20.83	-	-	5	10.42	-	-	3	6.25
	Grand Total	195	107	54.87	20	10.26	42	21.54	10	5.10	3	1.54	5	2.56	5	2.56	3	1.54

The data elucidated that all the karigars engaged in the Zardosi craft were Indian nationals and natives of their respective land. However, in Kolkata there were few members in the family who migrated to Mumbai, Surat and Baroda during the peak season, while those in Bareilly and Lucknow made monthly trips to places in Punjab to cater to orders from the boutique owners. There were members in the karigar families, in Lucknow and Bareilly who have migrated to Saudi Arabia and Dubai too.

An exploratory study on Gold and Silver embroidery of Punjab (1998) had revealed that two third of the karigars interviewed were residents of Punjab and one third were non-resident karigars from Bareilly and Lucknow in UttarPradesh.

The distribution of karigars on the basis of languages known revealed that almost all the karigars were conversant with Hindi, except a few in Kolkata. In the Eastern belt, Bangla was the language of the native people and hence, was commonly used apart from Urdu and Arabic. In the Northern region i.e. Lucknow and Bareilly, Urdu was next to Hindi while in the Western region i.e. Surat the karigars were equally conversant with Hindi and Gujarati. The multiple bar diagram (Figure-20) indicates the overall percentage distribution of karigars who can read, write and speak a specific language.

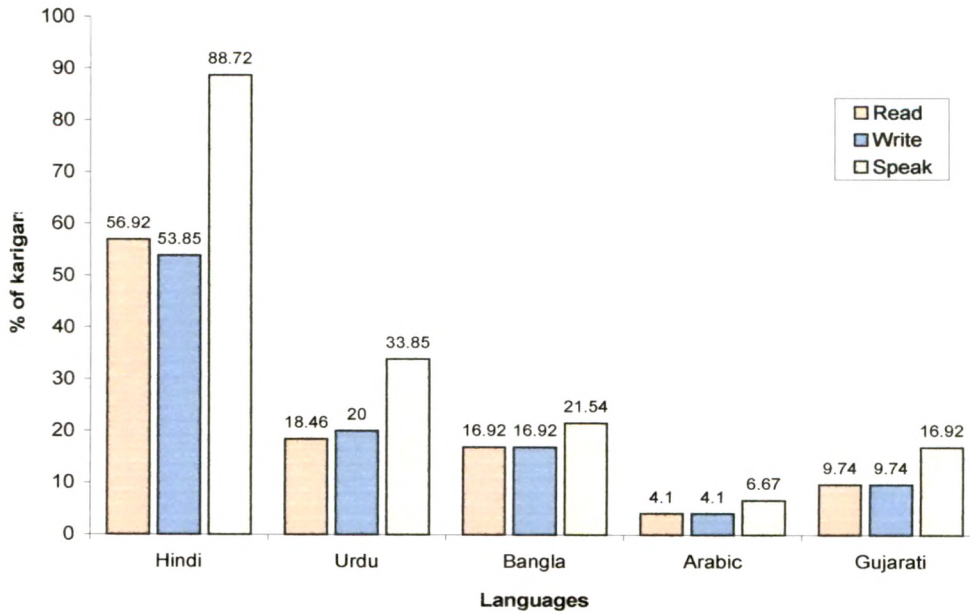


Figure-20: Distribution of karigars according to the languages known

4.2.2b Occupational details

The data on the years of experience of the karigars in the craft presented in Table-16 showed that about 36.0 per cent of the contracted and sub-contracted karigars had 6-10 years of experience in this craft, while a little lesser number (23.08 per cent) were engaged in this craft since 11-15 years. Very few (3.59 per cent) karigars with an experience of 26 years and above were engaged in this craft. About thirty per cent of the sub-contracted karigars had experience of less than five years. While 24.49 percent of the contracted karigars and 18.75 sub-contracted karigars were engaged in this craft for 11-15 years. The reason for this perhaps could be a deteriorated health in terms of poor eyesight and back pain. Moreover, the young have plunged into this craft, leaving little space for the old. The young karigars sustained long hours of work.

Table-16: Distribution of karigars on the basis of years of experience in the craft

Karigars	Place	N	Years of Experience											
			5 and below		6 - 10 years		11 - 15 years		16 - 20 years		21 - 25 years		26 and above	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	8	16.66	17	35.42	10	29.83	6	12.5	4	8.33	3	6.25
	Bareilly	56	5	8.93	21	37.50	15	26.79	8	14.29	4	7.14	3	5.36
	Kolkata	15	2	13.33	5	33.33	3	20.0	3	20.0	2	13.33	-	-
	Surat	28	4	14.29	11	39.29	8	28.57	4	14.29	1	3.57	-	-
	Total	147	19	12.93	54	36.73	36	24.49	21	14.29	11	7.48	6	4.08
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	2	28.57	2	28.57	1	14.29	1	14.29	1	14.29	-	-
	Bareilly	9	2	22.22	3	33.33	2	22.22	1	11.11	1	11.11	-	-
	Kolkata	27	4	14.81	10	37.04	5	18.52	5	18.52	2	7.41	1	3.70
	Surat	5	2	40.0	2	40.0	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	48	10	29.83	17	35.42	9	18.75	7	14.58	4	8.33	1	2.08
	Grand Total	195	29	14.87	71	36.41	45	23.08	28	14.36	15	7.69	7	3.59

Distribution of karigars based on the nature of employment (Table-17) indicated that all the contracted karigars were obviously employed i.e. they had an employer who would either pay them daily, weekly or monthly. The pay would be calculated on hourly basis. In Surat, 10.71 per cent of contracted karigars were also self employed, i.e. they would receive orders directly from the market. This would in no-way interfere with their contracted work.

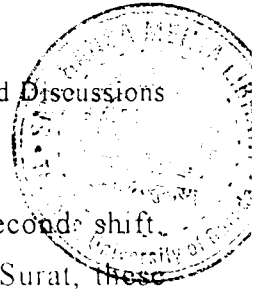
The sub contracted karigars were predominantly self employed and were job workers, i.e. they would often work on orders given to them by the middlemen i.e. the Thekedar. For an export order in Lucknow the work was handed to them by the trader i.e. the Mahajan. Very rarely a subcontracted karigar fetched work directly from the exporter i.e. the Gadhidhar. For a domestic order the middleman in Kolkata was an Ostagar. The wholesaler, retailer or the boutique owner was known as Marwari or Seth. A few of these sub-contracted karigars (10.42 per cent) were self-employed.

Craft co-operative societies or organizations did not exist and therefore the karigars in Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat were not a member of any co-operative society. In Lucknow though an organization of the craftsmen named Anjuman Zardosan existed, only few (8.33 per cent) of contracted karigars were its members. The native karigars of the place expressed that the stated co-operative society was inactive.

The contracted karigars revealed that they would work in shifts, which was locally known as 'nafri'. A nafri included eight hours of work.

Table-17: Distribution of karigars on the basis of nature of employment

Karigars	Place	N	Nature of employment					
			Employed		Self – employed		Job worker	
			f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	48	100	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	56	56	100	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	15	15	100	-	-	-	-
	Surat	28	28	100	3	10.71	-	-
	Total	147	147	100	3	2.04	-	-
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	-	-	2	28.57	5	71.43
	Bareilly	9	-	-	2	22.22	7	77.78
	Kolkata	27	-	-	-	-	27	100
	Surat	5	-	-	1	20.0	4	80.0
	Total	48	-	-	5	10.42	43	89.58
	Gr. Total	195	147	75.38	8	4.10	43	22.05



An additional four hours of work was counted as second shift, whereas the third shift consisted of additional two hours. In Surat, these additional shifts were known as 'Do Roz' and 'Teen Roz' respectively. In Kolkata, the sub-contracted karigar also followed the same work pattern, whereas the sub-contracted work in Lucknow, Bareilly and Surat followed both piece rate system and the hourly wage system. The karigars received their payments on weekly basis depending on the work done.

The contracted karigars received rupees eight to twelve per hour depending on their skill levels, whereas children after an internship of one to one and half years were able to earn ten to fourteen rupees a day for minimum six hours of work. An interesting feature observed was that if a contracted karigar earned Rs.100/- for his first shift, he would earn exactly the same amount for the second shift and the third shift respectively. A subcontracted karigar on piece basis could earn rupees fifteen to rupees two hundred per piece, depending on the type of work and style of the article. On hourly basis the earning of a sub-contracted karigar ranged from rupees five to eight per hour.

The contracted and sub-contracted karigars were found to be totally dependent on this craft. 23.13 per cent of contracted karigars and 18.75 per cent of sub-contracted karigars had their entire family engaged in the Zardosi craft. The data (Table-18) revealed that all the karigars had atleast two members of the family practicing the same craft and no other occupation was taken up. The distribution of karigars on the basis of family members engaged in the craft suggested that among the contracted karigars 28.5 per cent and 27.21 per cent of the respondents had three and four family members respectively engaged in this craft while with the sub-contracted karigars 22.92 and 29.17 per cent of the karigars had two or three family members respectively engaged in the same craft. Considering both the categories it is evident that 11.79 per cent of the population had more than five members engaged in the same craft.

Table-18: Distribution of karigars on the basis of family members engaged in the craft

Karigars	Place	N	Family members engaged in this Craft												
			All	Distribution											
				1		2		3		4		5 and above			
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
Contracted	Lucknow	48	8	16.66	-	-	5	10.42	17	35.42	14	29.17	4	8.33	
	Bareilly	56	16	28.57	-	-	-	-	18	32.14	15	26.79	7	12.5	
	Kolkata	15	2	13.33	-	-	2	13.33	5	33.33	3	20.0	3	20.0	
	Surat	28	8	28.57	-	-	7	25.93	2	7.14	8	28.57	3	10.71	
	Total	147	34	23.13	-	-	14	9.52	42	28.57	40	27.21	17	11.56	
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	2	28.57	-	-	1	14.29	1	14.29	2	28.57	1	14.29	
	Bareilly	9	2	22.22	-	-	13	33.33	2	22.22	1	11.11	1	11.11	
	Kolkata	27	4	14.81	-	-	6	22.22	10	37.04	4	14.81	3	11.11	
	Surat	5	1	20.0	-	-	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	
	Total	48	9	18.75	-	-	11	22.92	14	29.17	8	16.66	6	12.50	
	Gr. Total	195	43	22.05	-	-	25	12.82	36	18.46	48	24.62	23	11.79	

An enquiry of other crafts practiced in their locality revealed that the other craft that dominated in the city of Lucknow was Chikankari, done by women, while in Bareilly cane and bamboo crafts enjoyed a status next to Zari-Zardosi craft. In Kolkata, it was Jute manufacturing and Jute crafts, where only a few were said to be engaged. In Surat, Zari making was popular followed by other textile jobs. In the opinion of the karigars, the presence of other crafts in their region did not serve as a threat, since Zardosi craft had penetrated deep into their social set-up and had given them economic freedom.

4.2.2c Socio-economic and cultural background

On the whole the distribution of karigars on the basis of their family type and family size (Table-19) revealed that 84.16 per cent of karigars lived in a nuclear family and a small percentage (15.9 per cent) still continued to follow joint family system. However, in Kolkata about equal number of contracted karigars lived in nuclear and joint family and 25.93 per cent of sub-contracted karigars lived in joint family system.

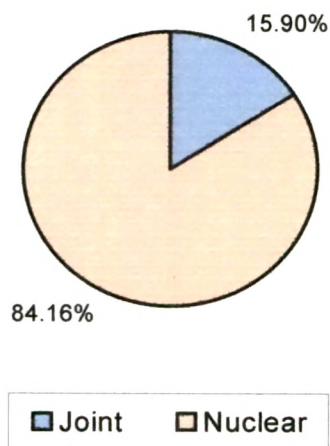


Figure-21A: Distribution of karigars on the basis of family type

Table-19: Distribution of karigars on the basis of their family type and family size

Karigars	Place	N	Family type				Family Size											
			Nuclear		Joint		1-2			3-4			5-6			7-8		
			f	%	f	%	f	%	%	f	%	%	f	%	%	f	%	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	40	83.33	8	16.66	-	-	-	1	2.08	27	56.25	13	27.08	7	14.58	
	Bareilly	56	52	92.86	4	7.14	-	-	-	10	17.86	31	55.36	11	19.64	4	7.14	
	Kolkata	15	8	53.33	7	46.66	-	-	-	-	-	9	60.0	3	20.0	3	20.0	
	Surat	28	25	89.28	3	10.71	2	7.14	6	21.43	12	42.86	5	17.86	3	10.71		
	Total	147	125	85	22	14.96	2	1.36	17	11.56	79	53.74	32	21.77	17	11.56		
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	6	85.71	1	14.29	1	14.29	1	14.29	2	28.57	2	28.57	1	14.29		
	Bareilly	9	8	88.89	1	11.11	-	-	3	33.33	3	33.33	2	22.22	1	11.11		
	Kolkata	27	20	74.07	7	25.93	-	-	6	22.22	10	37.04	4	14.81	7	25.93		
	Surat	5	5	100	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	2	40.0	2	40.0	-	-		
	Total	48	39	81.25	9	18.75	1	2.08	11	22.92	17	33.33	10	20.83	9	18.74		
	Grand Total	195	164	84.16	31	15.9	3	1.54	28	14.36	96	49.24	42	21.54	26	12.82		

The family size of the karigars was never small, since they strongly believed, children were god's gift. The percentage distribution of karigars on the basis of their family type and family size has been presented in Figure-21A and 21B respectively. Almost half of the population (49.24 per cent) had a family size of five - six members and 21.54 per cent of the respondents had seven to eight members in a family.

Twenty per cent of the contracted karigars and 25.93 per cent of the sub-contracted karigars in Kolkata had a family size of more than nine members in a family. This could be attributed to the joint family system prevailing over there. About equal percentage i.e. 14.0 per cent of the contracted and sub-contracted karigars in Lucknow had a family size of nine members and above.

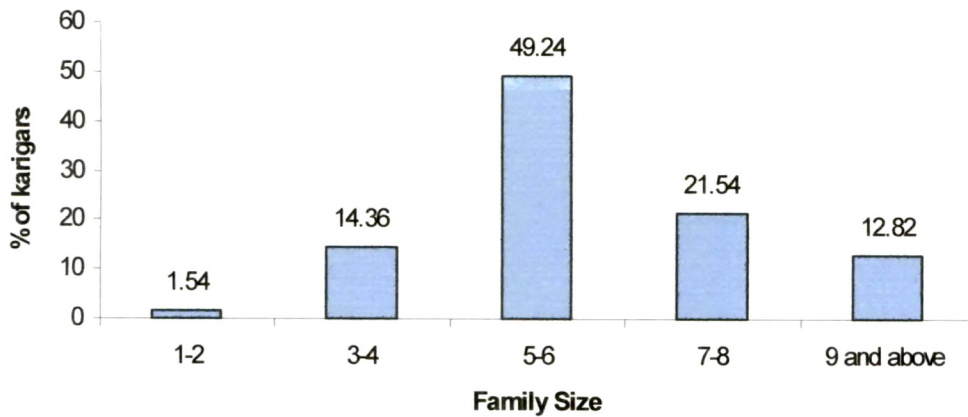


Figure-21B: Distribution of karigars according to their family size

The karigars had no other source of income, since they were completely dependent on this craft. The data from Table-20A revealed that the personal income of the contracted karigars per month ranged from Rs.500 and below to above Rs.4500, depending on their skill and the

number of hours spent. The children earned the least, as they earned a nafri only after 14 years of age. It is evident from the distribution of the contracted karigars according to their personal income that greater percentage of respondents in Lucknow, Kolkata and Surat have a personal income of Rs.1501-2500 per month. In Bareilly 46.43 percent of contracted karigars had their personal income ranging from Rs.2501-3500 per month (Figure-22). The higher earnings by the karigars in Bareilly can be attributed to the major export orders which gave them an opportunity for more work with better returns.

The number of hours spent by a karigar were more than regular as they had to meet the shorter deadlines for export order.

A study “Handmade in India” (2001) on the basis of case study material suggested that while the crafts industry was growing, especially in exports, the real wage of artisans was declining

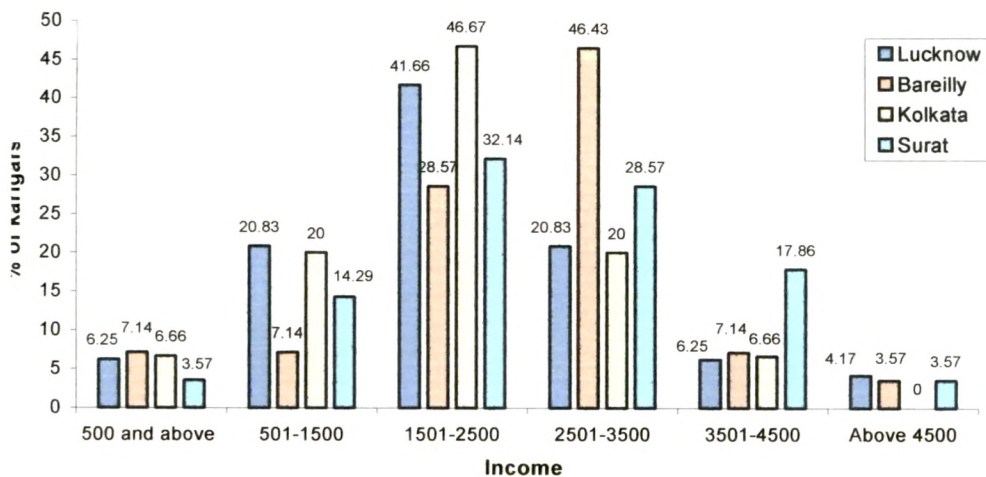


Figure-22A: Distribution of contracted karigars on the basis of their personal income

The total family income per month for the contracted karigars was found to range from less than Rs.2000/- to above Rs.8000/-. About 32.0 per cent of contracted karigars had a decent family income of Rs.5001-Rs.8000/- and only 6.12 per cent of the karigars had their family income less than Rs.2000/- per month (Figure-22B).

On the same line the Report of the Task Force on Handicrafts for the VIII Five Year Plan, Ministry of Textiles (1989) states that an average income derived by a craftsperson was Rs.2000 per month for an average family of five members.

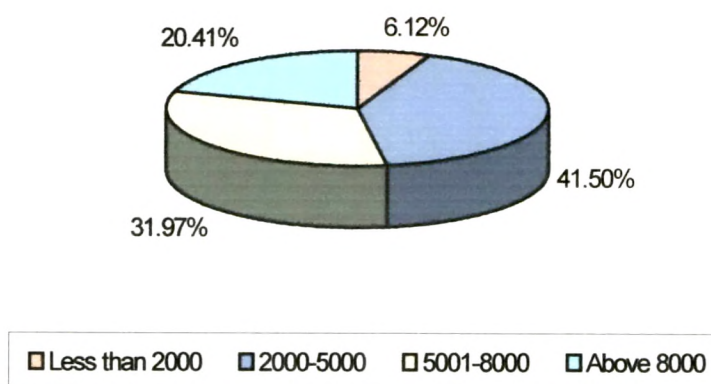


Figure-22B: Distribution of karigars based on the total family income

The income per month of the subcontracted karigars ranged between rupees 500 and below to rupees 2500/- per month (Table-20B). In comparison to the contracted karigars their earnings were almost half. Subcontracted work was female dominated and more often it was an activity managed along with their household work. The number of hours devoted per day for the craft was less as they did not focus only on this craft.

Table-20A: Distributions of contracted karigars on the basis of their income and family income

Karigars	Place	N	G	Personal Income												Family Income							
				500 and below		501 to 1500		1501 to 2500		2501 to 3500		3501 to 4500		Above 4500		Less than 2000		2001 to 5000		5001 to 8000		Above 8000	
				f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	M	3	6.25	10	20.83	20	41.66	10	20.83	3	6.25	2	4.17	2	4.17	20	41.66	14	29.17	12	25.0
	Bareilly	56	M	4	7.14	4	7.14	16	28.57	26	46.43	4	7.14	2	3.57	2	3.57	25	44.64	16	28.57	13	23.21
	Kolkata	15	M	1	6.66	3	20.0	7	46.67	3	20.0	1	6.66	-	-	4	26.67	2	13.33	7	46.67	2	13.33
	Surat	28	M	1	3.57	4	14.29	9	32.14	8	28.57	5	17.86	1	3.57	1	3.57	14	50	10	35.71	3	10.71
	Total	147		9	6.12	21	14.29	52	35.37	47	31.97	13	8.84	9	6.12	9	6.12	61	41.50	47	31.97	30	20.41

G = Gender, M = Male There was complete absence of females in the category of contracted karigars.

Table- 20B: Distributions of sub-contracted karigars on the basis of their income and family income

Karigars	Place	N	G	Personal Income										Family Income												
				500 and below		501 to 1500		1501 to 2500		2501 to 3500		3501 to 4500		Above 4500		Less than 2000		2001 to 5000		5001 to 8000		Above 8000				
				f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%			
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	M	1	14.28	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14.28	-	-	-	-			
			F	2	28.57	2	28.57	2	28.57	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	14.28	2	28.57	2	28.57	1	14.28			
	Bareilly	9	M	2	22.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.11	1	11.11	-	-			
			F	2	22.22	3	33.33	2	22.22	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11.11	3	33.33	2	22.22	1	11.11			
Sub-contracted	Kolkata	27	M	2	7.41	2	7.41	2	7.41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14.81	10	37.04	7	25.93	-	-	
			F	5	18.52	9	33.33	7	25.93	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	14.81	10	37.04	7	25.93	-	-			
	Surat	5	M	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	
			F	1	20.00	2	40.0	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20.00	3	60.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total		48	M	6	12.50	2	4.17	2	4.17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	12.50	3	6.25	1	2.08	-	-
			F	10	20.83	16	33.33	12	25.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	14.58	18	37.50	11	22.92	2	4.17	-	-	

Jain A. (1992) in a study of the Artisans in the Jari Industry of Surat revealed that the productivity of the male workers was higher than the female workers since frequent attention of the female was required by the family, which resulted in reorientation, less speed and poor quality.

The total family income of the subcontracted karigars (Figure-22C) revealed that only 4.17 per cent karigars had a family income of more than Rs.8000/- and more per month. 37.50 per cent of the karigars had a total family income that ranged between Rs.2001-Rs.5000/-. Their total family income was at par with the total family income of the contracted karigars, as several members of the family were engaged in the craft.

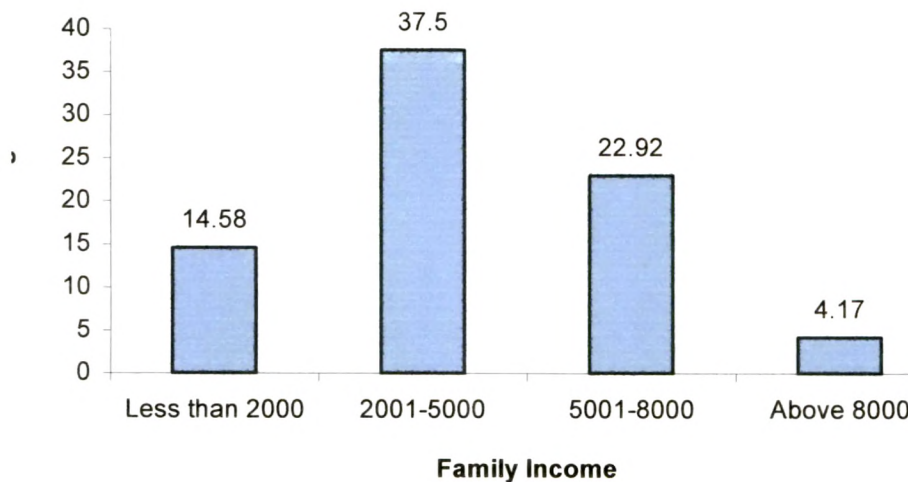


Figure-22C: Distribution subcontracted karigars on the basis of total family income

It was evident from Figure-23 that there did not exist much difference in number of earning members in a karigars family doing subcontracted or contracted work. The earning members in a family ranged from two to five and above. About 65 per cent of contracted and subcontracted karigars had three to four earning members in a family. The distribution of karigars according to the number of earning members in a

family (Table-21) revealed that not a single karigar had one earning members in a family. 33.85 per cent of karigars had three earning members and 31.79 per cent had four earning members in a family.

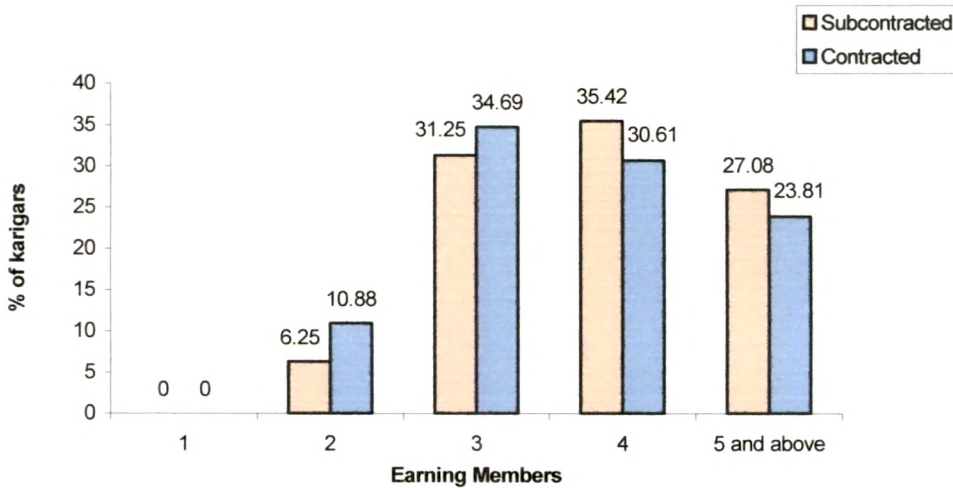


Figure-23: Distribution of karigars on the basis of earning members in the family

4.2.2d Living Conditions

The physical condition as well as access to basic services is very important for the well being of the self and society. Hence, the living conditions of these karigars were studied (Table-22) which revealed that the place where the karigars worked was a residential area. The difference between the work place of contracted karigar and subcontracted karigar was that the workshop belonged to the entrepreneur (karkhandar) in case of contracted karigar while all the subcontracted karigars owned their residence, which was both home and place of work. The commercial workshops though residential were completely cut off from the other rooms in a house. Data elicited that 59.86 per cent of contracted karigars worked in commercial premises which were mostly located in the same locality of the karigars. Only a small number of karigars i.e. 15.65 per cent would commute to their place of work, from another locality.

Table-21: Distributions of karigars on the basis of number of earning members in a family

Karigars	Place	N	2		3		4		5 and above	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	5	10.42	17	35.42	14	29.17	12	25.0
	Bareilly	56	-	-	21	37.50	18	32.14	17	30.36
	Kolkata	15	2	13.33	5	33.33	5	33.33	3	20.0
	Surat	28	9	32.14	8	28.57	8	28.57	3	10.71
	Total	147	16	10.88	51	34.69	45	30.61	35	23.81
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	1	14.28	1	14.28	3	42.86	2	28.57
	Bareilly	9	1	11.11	2	22.22	3	33.33	3	33.33
	Kolkata	27	-	-	11	40.74	9	33.33	7	25.93
	Surat	5	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	1	20.0
	Total	48	3	6.25	15	31.25	17	35.42	13	27.08
	Gr. Total	195	19	9.74	66	33.85	62	31.79	48	24.62

Table-22: Distribution of karigars on the basis of type of work place and location of home

Karigars	Place	N	Type of Work place						Location of Home					
			Domestic		Commercial		Own		Rented		Same place		Next door	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	22	45.83	26	54.17	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	41.67
	Bareilly	56	24	42.86	32	57.14	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	32.14
	Kolkata	15	3	20.0	12	80.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Surat	28	10	35.71	18	64.29	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	17.86
	Total	147	59	40.14	88	59.86	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	29.25
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	7	100	-	-	7	100	-	-	7	100	-	-
	Bareilly	9	9	100	-	-	9	100	-	-	9	100	-	-
	Kolkata	27	27	100	-	-	27	100	-	-	18	66.67	9	33.33
	Surat	5	5	100	-	-	5	100	-	-	5	100	-	-
	Total	48	48	100	-	-	48	100	-	-	48	100	2	18.75
	Gr. Total	195	107	54.87	88	45.13	48	24.62	-	-	48	24.62	52	26.67
													81	41.54
													23	11.79

The subcontracted karigars worked at home and never travelled to other places of work, as it was female dominated and they could continue to devote at least part of their time to household activities. Even the male karigars in the sub-contracted category continued to work in their homes only.

It was noted that the commercial workshop was a room big enough to house the required number of Addas, in an arrangement such that there would be just enough space for 10-14 karigars to be seated on the floor around a 6 feet to 16 feet long Adda. The workshops had sufficient number of fluorescent tubes depending on the size of the room. These tubes were also held on temporary fixtures to serve as specific lighting. The room used as a workshop, had poor ventilation. In Lucknow and Bareilly the karigars would work in absence of free circulating air due to frequent power failures in the state of Uttar Pradesh. The use of generators or inverters was a common feature noted here, which generated power just enough for lights to operate. Frequent power cuts resulted in low performance. Another observation made was that the karigars sat for long hours to accomplish their daily work. The karigars expressed that music along with work eased the monotony of sitting in one place for longer duration and it served as a relaxing factor for both contracted and subcontracted karigars.

Be it rural or urban work place, the work conditions were almost similar with respect to space, light and ventilation. In Kolkata, it was observed that the subcontracted karigars used the space around their house to spread their adda and work in open space. This arrangement saved on their cost of electricity during day and also provided spacious work place. This type of arrangement retained the living space of the small house.

The data of Table-23 and Table-24, focused on the type of house the karigars lived in and the consumer durables they possessed. The data made clear that all the karigars living in the urban areas dwelled in pucca houses. There were 18.52 per cent of sub-contracted karigars in the villages of Kolkata who lived in pucca houses, made of brick and mortar with cemented roof and the others resided in kacha or semi pucca houses.

The consumer durables possessed by the karigars reflected their status. In fact, these durables were more of a necessity rather than a luxury. Radio, Tape-recorder, Television was possessed by all the karigars except some contracted and sub-contracted karigars in Kolkata did not possess a television set. These durables were a source of entertainment along with a requirement to keep them engaged in long hours of work. Very few karigars i.e. 5.64 per cent possessed telephone or mobile as, the place of work and home were either in the same locality or in proximity. None of the subcontracted karigars possessed a mobile or telephone. Few karigars i.e. 16.41 per cent possessed a bicycle. They lived and worked in the same cluster.

4.2.2e Transfer of skills

The distribution of karigars on the basis of the craft as a family occupation (Table-25) elucidated that there were only 6.80 per cent contracted karigars who were practicing this craft as a family occupation. For the rest of the contracted karigars and the entire population of the sub-contracted karigars it was not their family occupation but had taken up the craft for more than one reason. Majority of the respondents i.e. 80.51 per cent (Figure-24) felt that the returns were considerable. 61.30 per cent believed that there was a good market available for the craft to survive.

Table-23: Distribution of karigars on the basis of type of house

Karigars	Place	N	Type of House					
			Kacha		Pucca		Semi pucca	
			f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	-	-	48	100	-	-
	Bareilly	56	-	-	56	100	-	-
	Kolkata	15	5	33.33	-	-	10	66.67
	Surat	28	-	-	28	100	-	-
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	-	-	7	100	-	-
	Bareilly	9	-	-	9	100	-	-
	Kolkata	27	3	11.11	5	18.52	19	70.37
	Surat	5	-	-	5	100	-	-

Table-24: Distribution of karigars on the basis of possession of consumer durables

Karigars	Place	N	Consumer Durables possessed									
			Radio		Tape recorder		T. V.		Telephone / mobile		Vehicle	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	48	100	42	87.5	48	100	3	6.25	-	-
	Bareilly	56	56	100	55	98.21	56	100	5	8.93	9	16.07
	Kolkata	15	15	100	15	100	10	66.67	1	6.66	12	80.0
	Surat	28	28	100	28	100	28	100	2	7.14	2	7.14
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	7	100	7	100	7	100	-	-	-	-
	Bareilly	9	9	100	9	100	9	100	-	-	-	-
	Kolkata	27	27	100	27	100	15	55.56	-	-	8	29.62
	Surat	5	5	100	5	100	5	100	-	-	1	20.0

Table- 25: Distribution of karigars on the basis of reasons for taking up this craft

Karigars	Place	N	Reasons for learning the Craft									
			Family Occupation		Interest		By Force		Incentive Training		Pays well	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	46	95.83	2	4.17	6	12.50	-	-	40	83.33
	Bareilly	56	52	92.86	2	3.57	10	17.86	-	-	51	91.07
	Kolkata	15	14	83.33	5	33.33	3	20.0	-	-	13	86.67
	Surat	28	25	89.28	7	25.93	-	-	-	-	23	82.14
	Total	147	137	93.20	16	10.88	19	12.93	-	-	127	86.39
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	7	100	2	28.57	-	-	-	-	6	85.71
	Bareilly	9	9	100	5	55.56	-	-	-	-	7	77.78
	Kolkata	27	27	100	4	14.81	13	48.15	-	-	14	51.85
	Surat	5	5	100	1	20.0	-	-	-	-	3	60.0
	Total	48	48	100	12	25.0	13	27.08	-	-	30	62.50
											9	18.75

Few of the karigars had learnt the craft by force. These included either children who were forced by their parents especially mothers to learn the craft after their school hours or the educated who had tried their hand in this craft under compulsion, as they were unemployed. Only 14.36 per cent of karigars learnt it because they were interested in the craft. Neither of the karigars ventured into this craft through training imparted with incentives. Probably the involvement of an external agency was absent.

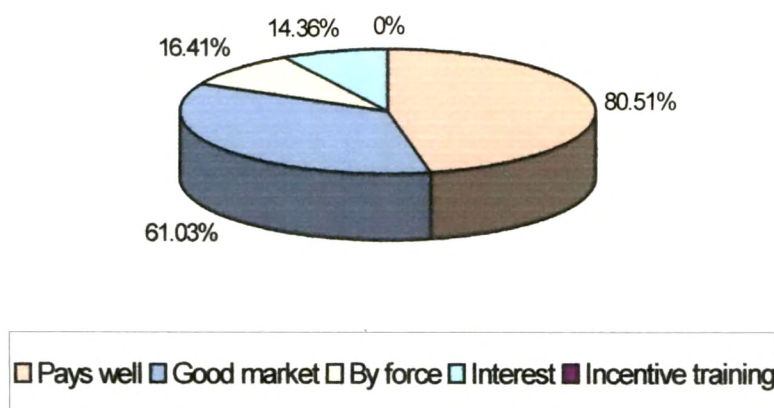


Figure-24: Distribution of karigars, agreeing to reasons for learning the craft

Table-26 gives the distribution of karigars according to the sources of learning the craft. Majority of the contracted karigars had learnt the craft from the Ustads followed by family member i.e. 30.61 per cent and only 9.52 per cent of contracted karigars learnt this craft from other karigars. The family member served as a major source of learning this craft in case of subcontracted karigars. In Lucknow 57 per cent, about 34 per cent in Bareilly, another 67.0 per cent in Kolkata and 40.0 percent in Surat had learnt the craft from the family member. About 44.0 percent of the subcontracted karigars had learnt the craft from a friend.

Table-26: Distribution of the karigars on the basis of the source of learning the craft

Karigars	Place	N	Source of Learning							
			Family member		Other Karigar		Ustad		Friend	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Contracted	Lucknow	48	15	31.25	4	8.33	29	60.42	-	-
	Bareilly	56	12	21.43	7	12.50	37	66.07	-	-
	Kolkata	15	8	53.33	-	-	7	46.67	-	-
	Surat	28	10	35.71	3	10.71	15	53.57	-	-
	Total	147	45	30.61	14	9.52	88	59.86	-	-
Sub-contracted	Lucknow	7	4	57.14	-	-	-	-	3	42.86
	Bareilly	9	3	33.33	-	-	-	-	6	66.67
	Kolkata	27	18	66.67	-	-	-	-	9	33.33
	Surat	5	2	40.0	-	-	-	-	3	60.0
	Total	48	27	56.25	-	-	-	-	21	43.75
	Gr. Total	195	72	36.92	14	7.18	88	45.13	21	10.77

None of the karigars had received any formal training of the craft. Jain A. (1992) study on the Artisans in the Jari Industry of Surat revealed that almost all the workers acquired the skills through 'learning by doing' technique. The production level of the traditional workers was higher than the non-traditional workers.

The karigars had not learnt drawing, painting, embroidery or printing any time earlier, except a few subcontracted karigars in Kolkata, had learnt Kantha embroidery from their mothers and were now teaching to their daughters. According to the karigars, this experience as a tradition had hardly any bearing on the Zardosi craft which they were now involved in, since they have had no opportunities to create designs.

4.2.2f Problems faced by the karigars

The problems faced by the karigars were that retirement period came a bit too early i.e. in their forties, due to continuous strain on eyes because of fine work and intricate patterns. The weak eye sight reduced their work efficiency and so less of wages. This further made them dependent on their children, since they had learnt no other craft.

The other problems commonly faced were backache, joint pain, and gastric trouble. Some karigars were of the opinion that their work space was too congested. They had no medical facilities or bonus, pension plans i.e. they were denied of long term benefits.

4.3 DOCUMENTATION OF MATERIALS AND METHODS OF ZARDOSI CRAFT

The tradition of Zardosi craft has evolved over the years. It has responded to changes of markets, consumer needs, fashion and usage, which has brought about a transformation in its form and function.

Delineates of materials, stitches, tools and equipments, motifs and diverse styles of Zardosi embroidery are recorded in the following subsections:

4.3.1 Raw materials

4.3.2 Production Techniques

4.3.3 Stitch Details

4.3.4 Design Ensemble

4.3.5 Styles of Zardosi

4.3.1 Raw material

Surat is the most important Zari manufacturing centre in India today. In surat, the investigator visited a manufacturing unit producing embroidery materials to understand the organization and process of production and the steps involved in the manufacture of various embroidery materials.

The principal product used for Zardosi was 'Zari' or 'Jari'. It was a core yarn fully or partially covered by a flattened metal strip or metallic yarn (metallized film), which may be electroplated. The types of Zari thread i.e. 'kasab', 'kalabattun' or 'tilla' manufactured in Surat were real Zari, imitation Zari and plastic Zari. The Zari may be cylindrical or flat, but mostly the latter was preferred. These are described as:

1. Real Zari - kasab: It had a core yarn of pure silk, art silk, polyester or cotton, with a covering metal of pure silver and electroplating of gold.

2. Real half-fine - kasab: It had a core yarn of pure silk, art silk, polyester or cotton and a covering metal of pure silver or silver electroplated copper, with an electroplating done of pure gold and/or chemical gilding. It was a variety of imitation Zari.
3. Imitation Zari - kasab: It had a core yarn of art silk, polyester, cotton; a silver plated copper, with a gilding done by chemical solvents known as powdered Zari.
4. Metallic Zari - kasab: It had a core yarn of art silk, cotton, staple, nylon, polyester and a covering yarn of slit polyester metallic film in various colours. It was known as plastic Zari, which was lightweight and was marketed under different names as 'Rexor' and 'Lurex'.

The imitation Zari was also known as "Janta Zari" since it was produced to cater to the needs and aspirations of 'Janta Class' i.e. the mass. Another principal product 'Badla' or Lametta was produced both as real or imitation. Badla - a flat, narrow foil was used directly as a raw material for Zardosi embroidery and also used as a raw material, in producing embroidery materials like chalak and sadi. There were a variety of other allied metal products used in Zardosi embroidery, which were produced as real and imitation materials. These include salma, kangri, stars, spangles and many more.

4.3.1a Manufacturing process of Zardosi embroidery materials

The various units involved in the manufacture of Zari items were:

- i) Real Pawtha and Tania
- ii) Imitation Pawtha and Tania
- iii) Imitation and Real Gold Thread
- iv) Embroidery materials like chalak, zik, tikki and stars
- v) Laces and Fith - Borders

- vi) Gota Thappa, Ful, Champo
- vii) Zari Embroidery and Zardosi
- viii) Zari Textile Weaving

The various metal embroidery materials like kora, kangri, nakshi, salma were produced following a same process of manufacture. The winding step gives the material its characteristic appearance.

The manufacture of Zari (metal) embroidery material involved the steps shown in Figure-25.

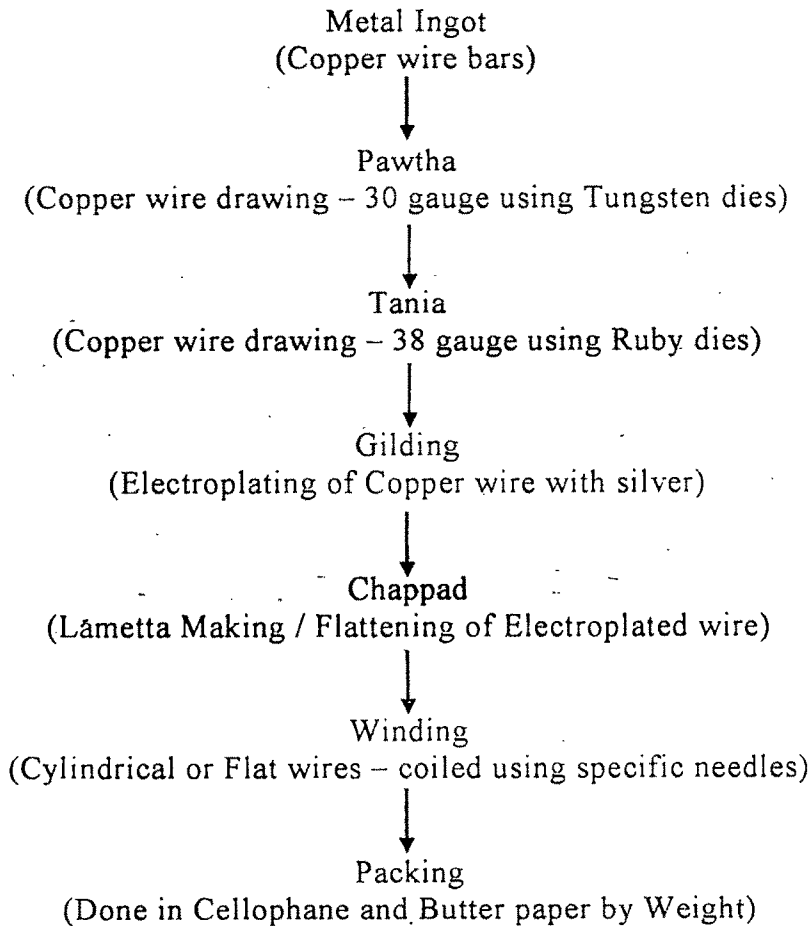


Figure-25: Stages of an imitation embroidery material production

The specific steps in the process of manufacturing Zari embroidery material were as below:

1. The Zari workshop, manufacturing embroidery material would procure copper wire coils known as 'Gulla' of 10 kgs. from the pawatha unit (Plate-55)



Plate-55



Plate-56

2. The copper wire coils of gauge 30 (approximate 8mm) were cut into smaller coils of 1250 gms. (Plate-56)



Plate-57



Plate-58

3. The coils were then dipped into shallow tanks containing sulphuric acid (H_2SO_4) and salt to clean it (Plate-57).
4. The coils were rinsed in soft water, after the acid wash.
5. A dip in tamarind water finally cleaned off any residual dirt, making the coils sparkling clean.

6. The clean copper coils were drawn into finer gauge of 38. The wire was passed through six successive slots containing ruby dies (Plate-58), rolling at high speed. A wire gauge ranging from 38 - 43 was used for the manufacture of Zardosi materials.
7. The drawing process was known as 'tanaavanu kaam'. On an average, 50 kilogram of wire was drawn in five hours.
8. The drawn wire of finer gauge was wound on reels and several such reels locally known as 'Bankda' were placed on a creel. (Plate-59).



Plate-59



Plate-60

9. Wires from these reels were placed parallel to each other. They were passed through plain water and then through silver water, which contained a silver plate. This silver solution was gilded on copper wire by use of electric current. About two to five grams of silver was needed for coating one kilogram of copper wire. The wires moved continuously through a shallow tank of water and then over Turkish towels (Plate-60). This helped in drying the wires, such that no traces of moisture remained since it could tarnish the wire. A ceiling fan too, assisted in the drying process. If earthing took place, during this step, over coating of silver was the result.

10. The silver electroplated wire was then further passed through series of dies and drawn into a wire of finer gauge.
11. These silver coated cylindrical wires known as 'Tilla' could be directly used in the manufacture of embroidery materials like salma and trikona, which were also known as kora/gijai and kirkire/baldar respectively
12. Wires of required gauge were then flattened in a flattening machine, which resembled a calendaring device. The flattened and shining silver wire produced was known as 'Lametta' or 'Badla', and had several end uses.

The flattened strips were punched in machines with different design discs to create variety of sequins.

The flattened wire was wound round, silk, art silk, cotton or polyester yarn on a winding machine to make Zari thread known as kasab or kalabattun.

13. The cylindrical wire (Tilla) or flattened wire (Badla) was passed through a chemical mixture at a temperature ranging about 270°-280° to heat set the colour (dye) in the given chemical mixture. The other ingredients in the mixture were lacquer and cello, which functioned to add shine, smoothness and decrease the viscosity of the solution respectively. This process facilitated in achieving a vast variety of visual textures. The 1250 gms of wire wound on a single reel was now readily wounded on two or three reels

14. These smaller reels (Plate-61) of either 'tilla' or 'badla' were then coiled into long spring like structures on a given needle with the help of electrically driven machines (Plate-64).



Plate-61



Plate-62

The shape of the needle decided on the respective tactile textural effects. 'Trikona' was made using a triangular needle (Plate-62) which gave it a crinkled appearance. 'Salma' an even textured coil was produced with a use of round needle, while 'kangri' was made by winding a coarser gauge cylindrical wire, on a one metre long fine needle. The machine for producing 'kangri' or 'kangani' was hand driven (Plate-63) consecutively in clock wise and anticlockwise direction, which further resulted into a stiffer embroidery material.

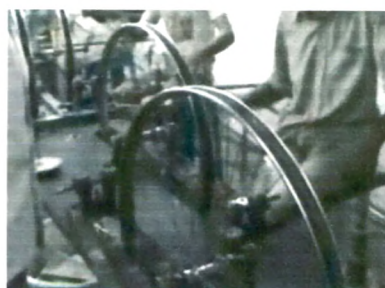


Plate-63



Plate-64

15. The embroidery material thus produced was then sorted to pick the quality material and discard those which had been de-shaped, discoloured, stained etc.



Plate-65



Plate-66

16. Several strands of the embroidery material of one same type were tied together with a soft cotton thread. (Plate-65)
17. Several such strands were weighed to a kilogram and roll packed in cellophane (locally known as silver) and butter paper to retain its quality. (Plate-66)
18. Finally a larger packing of 25 kilograms was done.

4.3.1b Types of embroidery materials

A vast variety of embroidery materials were available today. The pure gold and silver threads have been substituted with imitation i.e. copper, steel, powder coated, plastic and silk threads. Gems and precious stones have been replaced with valueless stones, crystals, glass; shells seem to have replaced beetle wings. A number of other ornamental materials were used in Zardosi with its increasing demand in the exports. The embroidery materials used can be classified as:

- Metal threads
- Silk and other fibre threads
- Accessories

Metal threads

The category of metal thread included kasab, badla, dabka, kora, gijai, nakshi, salma, chikna, khiccha, chalak, kangani, Trikona etc. The basic eight metal embroidery materials (Plate-67) can be briefly defined as follows:

- | | | |
|----|---------|---|
| a) | Kora | Rough and dull coil with a circular cross section |
| b) | Trikona | Extremely rough and dull crinkled coil with a triangular cross section. |
| c) | Kangani | Stiff, rough and dull coil with a circular cross section |
| d) | Sadi | Smooth and shiny coil with a circular cross section |
| e) | Chalak | Extremely rough and shiny crinkled coil with a square cross section. |
| f) | Badla | Smooth and shiny flattened wire |
| g) | Tilla | Rough and dull cylindrical wire |
| g) | Kasab | Very fine flattened wire wound on a base yarn |

Due to localization of Zardosi craft a metal thread acquired an indigenous nomenclature.



Gijai / Kora / Salma



Chikna / Sadi / Dapka



Trikona / Baldar / Kirkire



Chalak / Nakshi / Bullion



Kangani / Khiccha



Badla

Plate-67: Types of metal embroidery materials

The variety of metal embroidery threads with their change in nomenclature have been presented in a tabular form (Table-27)

Table-27: Localized nomenclature of metal embroidery threads

Sr. No.	Lucknow	Bareilly	Kolkata	Surat
1.	Kora	Kora	Salma	Kora / Gijai
2.	Baldar	Baldar	Kirkire	Trikona
3.	Nakshi	Nakshi	Bullion	Chalak
4.	Khiccha	Khiccha	Khiccha	Kangani
5.	Sadi	Dabka	Dapka	Chikna / sadi

The karigars in Lucknow and Bareilly adopted a similar terminology for the metal embroidery threads, and the karigars in Surat and Kolkata had adopted indigenous names. It was noted that 'badla', 'kasab' and 'tilla' were the only material known to all the karigars by the same name. The visual appearance of the metal embroidery material was either shiny or dull, while the tactile textural effects were varied

The materials such as nakshi, sadi, and badla had a shiny surface, while kora, baldar, khiccha and tilla had a dull surface. Sadi was also known as dabka and chikna. Bullion and chalak were the other names for nakshi. The term salma and gijai were interchangeably used for kora, while kirkire and trikona were the other names used for baldar. Kangani was also termed as khiccha. The other varieties were computer bullion, cut sadi, spring kora, computer kirkire, disco kora. The word 'computer' was used for a material with speckled appearance, while the term 'spring' and 'disco' carried the same connotation for a twisted spring like structure and the word 'cut' was used for a material with a dented surface

All these embroidery materials were available on weight and in various colours apart from basic metallic colours such as gold, silver, steel, copper and brass. Their price ranged from Rs.300 - Rs.2000 per kilogram. The dyed i.e. colour thread was more expensive.

Kasab and tilla were available in different thickness ranging from size 60-120, and badla was available of size 80-100. The number defined the fineness of yarn. Higher the number finer was the kasab and badla thread. Tilla and kasab were available as reels and in skeins too. Badla was sold by weight. The price ranged from Rs 80 - Rs 100 per 100 grams. Fifty wires of badla of length 24" would weigh 10 gms

Silk and other fibre threads

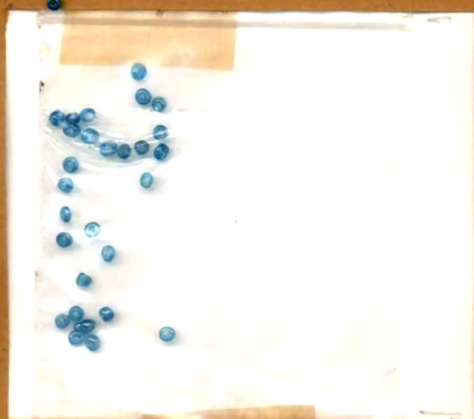
Besides the metal threads silk thread i.e. rayon known as 'resham' was widely used. Use of acrylic embroidery threads was seen in Kolkata and Surat. Resham was available in reels while wool in skeins. Anchor threads available in skeins were in use too. Polyester and cotton threads were mainly used for holding the metal embroidery materials on the fabric surface. These fine sewing threads were available in reels. White colour was used for silver thread and yellow for gold thread. Nylon or polyester thread known as 'tangush' was used for embroidering sequins, beads, pipes etc. White coarser cotton thread known as 'sooth ki dori' or 'kaccha sut' was used for holding the fabric to the Adda. The average price of silk threads i.e. rayon ranged between Rs.15 - Rs 25 for a reel of 300 mts. The price of cotton and acrylic threads was Rs.3 per skein

Accessories

An infinite variety of accessories were used in Zardosi embroidery to create textural effects. It was observed that accessories were used for accentuating the look in domestic market, whereas the accessories fashioned the appearance of Zardosi products for export market.

Beads, sequins, pipes, crystals, stones, mirror and gota were the major accessories popular in Zardosi embroidery. The other items used were cowries, shells and rings. Pipes, beads and sequins were used mainly in the products for export market. The various accessories commonly used in Zardosi have been presented in Plates - 68-71 and are described below:

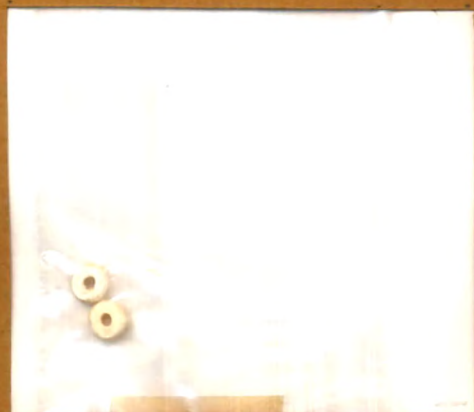
Beads: Beads were three dimensional shape with a small capillary in its center. They were made up of glass, plastic, wood. The glass beads were known as 'poth' in Lucknow and Bareilly and 'chid' in Kolkata and Surat, while the plastic beads were known as 'moti'. Plastic beads with a pearl finish were termed as 'mom moti'. It was available in sizes 1 - 12; the number was directly proportional to its size. Sizes available in poth were 0 - 12. The size of the glass beads was inversely proportional to its number. The regular shape of the beads was spherical and the colour, finish and sizes were innumerable. Poth was available on weight and its price ranged between Rs.70 - Rs 2000 per packet. One packet weighed 440 gms and was termed as one pound. The other types of beads were available in strings locally termed as 'Laddi', and its price ranged between Rs 7 - Rs.20 per string of length 7" - 8". A bunch of laddi would contain five such strings. A packet included ten such bunches i.e. 50 strings.



Poth (No.11)



Momi moti



Camel bone moti



Mirgan moti



Katdana



Nalki

Plate-68: Accessories used in Zardosi embroidery



Phool sitara



Devdas france cut (square)



Australian katori



Pani ki katori



Rainbow sitara



Pearl sitara

Plate-69: Accessories used in Zardosi embroidery



Chakri



Zebra square



Amla



Metal amla



Aankh



France cut triangle

Plate-70: Accessories used in Zardosi embroidery



Zarkin



Silver katori



Jaw



Chand



Gota



Kundan

Plate-71: Accessories used in Zardosi embroidery

Sequins: were flat or saucer shaped discs with an eye either in the center or near its periphery on one or opposite sides. The sequins were made up of metal or plastic and were available in different sizes ranging from number zero to number nine. Lesser the number, smaller was the diameter. A zero number sequin had a diameter of 0.3 cm, while a nine number had a disc diameter of two centimeters.

The shapes such as round, square, triangle, trefoil, quatrefoil, spindle, etc. were popular. Karigars referred to it as 'tikki' and in Lucknow the sequins were also known as 'sitare'. They were sold by weight, similar to poth.

Pipes: were hollow cylindrical structures of at least one centimeter length. These were known as 'Salli' in Surat and 'Nalki' in Bareilly. A size smaller than one centimeter was known as 'katdana' or 'kardana'. They were available in packets at a price ranging between Rs.80 - Rs.2000 per pound i.e. 440 gms. Quality katdana was available in strings and at a price ranging between Rs.5 - Rs.10 per string of length 25 cms. The size ranged from number 2 - 5. An increase in the number meant longer was the pipe.

Crystals: were multidimensional structures made of glass or plastic, with an eye at the center of its base, or on opposite side at its periphery. The price ranged from Rs.50 - Rs.200 per piece. Hence, its use was limited. The size ranged from number 6 - 12. The number was directly proportional to its size.

Stones: were differently sized and available in all hues 'kundan' and 'marquis' were the commonly used stone in Kolkata and Surat and was available in 'gruz'. Twelve dozen packets make one gruz. A single packet could have 150-500 pieces. They were priced at Rs.15 - Rs.20 per packet.

Mirrors: were metal foils cut into especially round disc. It was mostly used in Surat and locally termed as abhla. Lucknow and Bareilly had its restricted use. It was available in disc size 2 - 14, at a price ranging from Rs.40 for 100 gms.

Gota: were shapes cut out of woven Zari ribbons in gold, silver and copper. Its use in Zardosi was seen in Kolkata especially. The prize of gota ranged between Rs.1700 - Rs.2000 per kg.

4.3.2 Production techniques

Zardosi is an ancient Persian art. Zar in Persian means gold and Dozi is embroidery. Today, the word Zardozi carries a different connotation. The production of Zari or Zardosi products included the use of wires and threads in gold, silver, copper, brass, plastic, silk, acrylic, cotton and other accessories.

Zardosi work was done by hand using a regular needle, while Zari work employed the use of a hooked needle, known as Aari. Both Zari and Zardosi were done using the wooden frame, commonly known as Karchob and Adda in Lucknow and Bareilly, Dhadha and Khatia in Kolkatta and Khatla in Surat, perhaps due to its resemblance to a cot. The vertical beam of the wooden frame was known as Adda in Kolkata. The word Adda in fact meant the place of work where karigars get together and embroider. It is now loosely used for the frame on which they do the embroidery.

4.3.2a Tools and equipments used

Adda or Karchob was an essential requirement for both Aari and Zardosi embroidery. It was made of teak wood (Plate-72) or hollow iron rods (Plate-73). Moreover, it was even made from locally available wood.

In kolkata, it was made of bamboo. The price ranged between Rs.1100 - Rs.2000 for an embroidery frame of approximately one metre. The longer beam i.e. the vertical beam was known as 'farad' or 'adda' and the shorter beam was known as 'shamsharak'.



Plate-72: Adda made of teak wood



Plate-73: Adda made of hollow iron rod

The term shamsharak has been derived from an Arabic word 'shamshira', meaning a long sword. The length of the farad ranged from 0.6 metres to six metres. It slides on the shamsharak, hence can be adjusted according to the fabric width. Farad was also used as a cloth roll (Plate-73) while shamsharak supported the string to hold the fabric tight across its width. The length of shamsharak ranged from 0.75 metres to two metres. Unit of measurement used by the craftsmen was 'fitta' i.e. feet.

The embroiderer sits on the floor to work on an Adda. The embroiderer can easily utilize both his hands, for embroidering either by a 'Needle' or an 'Aari'.



The adda (embroidery frame) would never be used without the stand - a tripod (Plate-74), which was locally termed as 'tipai' or 'ghodi' in Lucknow, Bareilly and Surat, and 'paya' (Plate-75) in Kolkata.

Plate-74: Tipai or tripod of iron and bamboo

The adda rests on the ghodi, which could be single / double / triple or four legged placed on either end of the adda at its width or at each corner of the embroidery frame.




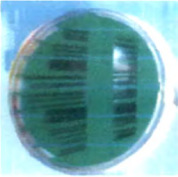
Plate-75: Paya - an immovable stand made of bamboo


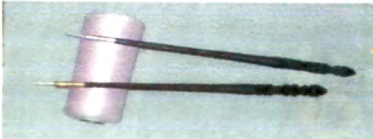
The term ghodi related to the act of sitting on a horse. It was made of iron or wood. The height of the Ghodi was 45 cms. - 60 cms; the height that corresponds to a seated karigar to facilitate a convenient working position. Its price ranged from Rs.200 - Rs.300 per set.

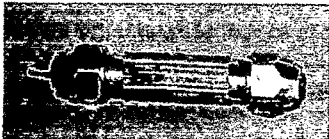

The other major implements in use were needle and aari of varying sizes, each performing a specific function. The length of needles ranged from an inch to two inches. Needle number 10 was used for general purpose. A longer needle was employed to work bullion and French knots in multiple threads. Long fine needle was used for fixing the accessories. For aari work the hooked needles were referred to by the number of strands it could hold in its hook with ease. Therefore, they were termed as 'ek tar' ki aari, 'do tar' ki aari and so on. The maximum number of strands an aari could hold was eight. The finer thread was embroidered with a fine hooked needle.




The following Table-28 gives a detailed description of the tools and equipment used in Zardosi craft.




Table-28: Tools and equipment used for Zardosi embroidery




Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
1.	Motti Sui	Darning needle	Made of mild steel and 8-10 cms. long with a large eye; this facilitated in easy passage of thick thread that was utilized for firmer grip of the fabric to the adda.	1/- per unit	 Plate-76	It assists in holding the fabric to the Adda. It can also be converted into a hooked needle by carving it.
2.	Chotti / Zardosi Sui	Zardosi needle	Made of mild steel and was available in various sizes ranging from No.6 to No.12. Higher the number finer the needle. Finer needle was well suited for finer fabric. Needle number 10 was commonly used.	1/- for three unit	 Plate-77	Utilized for holding and attaching various Zardosi materials on a fabric employing diverse stitches.


Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
3.	Aari	Needle with a hooked end fixed in a needle holder	<p>Carved out from a darning needle or from a bicycle/ umbrella spoke. It was available in various hook sizes for specific purpose. If the length of an Aari needs to be temporarily shortened; inserting the Aari in a plastic capillary does it. This plastic capillary is the outer shell of an electric wire. The Muthia is a holder and it holds the hooked needle from its blunt end. The Muthia was made of wood; a metal covering of an inch at its upper end serves as guard against abrasion. At times thread was wrapped over this end. This enabled a firmer grip.</p>	10/- per unit (along with a muthia)	<div></div> <div>Plate-78a Plate-78b</div>	Aari creates looped stitches on a fabric surface, by consistent churning movement.




Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
4.	Pinvas / Biaspin	Needle installer	Made of mild steel. The size is ten centimetres and has installers on both its ends.	60/- per unit	 <p>Plate-79</p>	Assists in fixing the aari in a Muthia
5.	Raeti / File	Filer	Made of Iron with rough surface.	20-25/- per unit	 <p>Plate-80</p>	Assists in carving a hooked needle. In addition, it helps to smoothen the point of the hook.

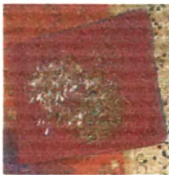

Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
6.	Fatila	Square spool	<p>It is a square wooden piece with a pyramid tip and a slit to hold the kasab thread intact.</p> <p>A replacement for fatila today was an empty matchbox (Plate-81b) / cigarette case / audio cassette cover. The angular structure of the case corresponded to that of fatila and hence it served the function right.</p>	20/- per unit	 Plate-81a  Plate-81b	The square spool restricts its free rolling during Aari work.
7.	Chotti Kainchi	Small Scissors	A tool with sharp blades to cut easily any kind of thread.	7/- to 20/- per unit	 Plate-82	To clip threads, be it cotton, silk or metal

Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
8.	Moum	Bees wax	A cut piece of soft wax in which the needles / aari hooks were stored when not in use. At times it was rubbed onto the needle surface to make it smooth; and to facilitate easy passage through the fabric. Bees wax was a sticky mass, and was thus kept covered. The alternative materials used for the purpose were mustard oil and talcum powder.	5/- per 25 grams	 Plate-83	It avoids rusting of the needles, and imparts a smoother surface to the needle.
9.	Chutkani/ Kamdi/ Pakkad	Clips	Made of metal available in various types and sizes.	4/- to 8/- per unit	 Plate-84a  Plate-84b	Holds the fabric firmly in position at places of reduced tension on the adda.

Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
10.	Kauri	Cowrie Shell	The shell was big enough to be held comfortably and was rubbed from its bulged part. The conch shell can be replaced by a glass surface.	10/- per unit	 Plate-85	To smoothen the surface worked with badla; by rubbing against it, in a pendulum motion
11.	Hatodina, Pitta	A set of wooden hammer (mallet) with a pellet / dabber / wooden anvil	The hammer and its anvil were made of wood. During the beating process the anvil was held below the fabric and hammer hit over the embellished fabric surface with a dab hand to avoid any fabric damage.	40/- to 60/- per set	 Plate-86	It sets the metal threads when beaten with a dab hand to give a more fuller and glimmered look
12.	Brush	Brush	It was a brush with soft and long bristles, which cleaned the field without damaging the finished work.	10/- per unit	 Plate-87	It is used to dust out the print and to remove any unused materials stuck in the field as seen in the Plate-87.

Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
13.	Inchi tape	Inch Tape	A narrow plastic tape with units of measurements printed as centimetres on one side and inches on the other side.	5/- to 10/- per unit	 Plate-89	To measure specific distances, depending on the product requirement
14.	Chalk and pencil	Tailor's chalk and Tailor's pencil	Available in various colours. Chalk markings dusted out easily. Pencil was used for marking finer lines that have been rubbed off. Use of burnt match stick was an inventive tool for marking, as seen in Kolkata.	1/- to 5/- per unit	 Plate-89a, 89b	To mark distances as required
15.	Embroidery ring	Embroidery ring or frame	The diameter of the ring was usually large. It ranged from 25 cms. – 50 cms. The ring was held in hand or fabricated as a stool with as elastic band on its circumference, seen in Plate-90b.	8/- to 15/- per unit	 Plate-90a, 90b	To hold the fabric tight. It was mostly used for making corrections on a final piece

Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
16.	Compass Box	Tool box	The container was a box with a cover, made of cardboard, plastic or metal. Tools like aari, needle, bees wax etc was stored along with the instruction sheet given to the karigars by their karkhandars	8/- to 15/- per unit	 Plate-91	To store the smaller tools in a place, which would be easily accessible
17.	Pochara / Tullo	Rag	It was made of absorbent threads or fabric especially cotton.	-	 Plate-92	To absorb the print solution and assist in printing
18.	Dendrite / Fevibond	Adhesive	It was a resin adhesive which could help any two surfaces to bond strongly.	20/- for 5g	 Plate-93	To assist raw materials such as kundani and other stones to adhere to the fabric surface permanently

Sr. No.	Local Name	English	Description	Cost in Rupees	Tools	Function
19.	Gaddi or Battum	Fabric piece	Made of a fabric of size 6"x6" which had rough surface, such as coarse denim, suede, velvet, canvas etc. or it was quilted to create a suitable surface which was edged always.	3/- to 7/-	 <p>Plate-94</p>	The cut pieces of embroidery materials and accessories were placed on it for easy access while working.
20.	Chaunki / Patli / Pidde		The seat was made of wood specially, with a height not more than 15 cms.	10/- to 15/-	 <p>Plate-95</p>	The seat would provide comfort to the user sitting on it

4.3.2b Stages of production

An article with base material such as silk, velvet chiffon, leather, suede, linen, tissue, georgette, crepe, net, chinon, nylon, terry cot, poplin etc. was stretched on an embroidery frame to be embroidered. The specific stages in the production process have been explained under the following sub heads:

- **Preparatory process**
 - Setting up an Adda
 - Making a design sheet
 - Printing process
- Rendering of design in embroidery
- Finishing process

Preparatory process

The processes which preceded the Zardosi embroidery were elaborate and therefore needs a special mention. These preparatory steps included setting of an adda, producing a design sheet and printing the design on the stretched fabric.

Setting up an Adda

The Adda needs to be set up before an embroiderer begins to embroider an article. Setting up an Adda, required great skill and experience. Mentioned below is a description of the various steps involved in preparing an Adda -

1. **Markeen** (layers of coarse muslin fabric with all four sides finished) or the **Niwar / Baithan / Lepah** was held to the vertical beams of the Adda through which a thick cotton cord had been continuously passed from the regularly placed apertures as is visible in Plate-96. With the help of a **darning needle** and a **dori** - cotton cord; the Markeen or the **Baithan** was held in position. This binding remained permanent until the markeen disintegrated. Firmer fabrics were tied directly to the thick cotton cord.



Plate-96: Markeen held to the vertical beam of the Adda

2. Markeen from the ends of both the vertical beams was joined together utilizing hemstitch with a dori. One end of the dori was fixed to a nail anchored in the beam. The process was known as **khasni** as seen in Plate-97. Both these vertical beams were then spaced out and the seamed markeen thus, held taut (Plate-98).



Plate-97: Holding the Markeen together using a hem-stitch



Plate-98: The Markeen is held taut to further have the selvedges of the fabric stitched over it on either side.

3. The selvages of the fabric were placed above the respective markeen and held in position making a zig zag stitch or a double running stitch locally termed as **Kaante**, ensuring that both the selvedge of the fabric were in alignment with each other. Kaante was worked in smaller and reverse running stitches in the beginning and at the end to reinforce the stitch, and further, avoid fabric slippage. Holding of the fabric to the *lepah* was known as **Baithun Bharna**.
4. The nail was removed and the *hasni* then opened.
5. The material at its raw edge (width) was folded and a running stitch worked on it, locally termed as **pastaagey / pastaane**. The stitches were reinforced at their beginning and the ending point by working a line and a back stitch.
6. The vertical beams of *Adda/Karchob* were spread to the required width of the fabric such that the fabric was held taut.
7. The horizontal beam, which had regular apertures in it, was then inserted in position, across the vertical beams to maintain the width of the frame according to the fabric dimensions.
8. A *Dori* (cotton cord) was then held on the detachable iron nail, anchored in one of the hollow apertures in the horizontal beam of the *Adda*. The *dori* was then, passed through the *pastagey* and the hollow apertures at regular intervals as shown in the Figure-26. This process was known as **Dorey daalnaa**. Moreover, the *Dori* was inserted in *Pastagey* from the eye end of the needle.

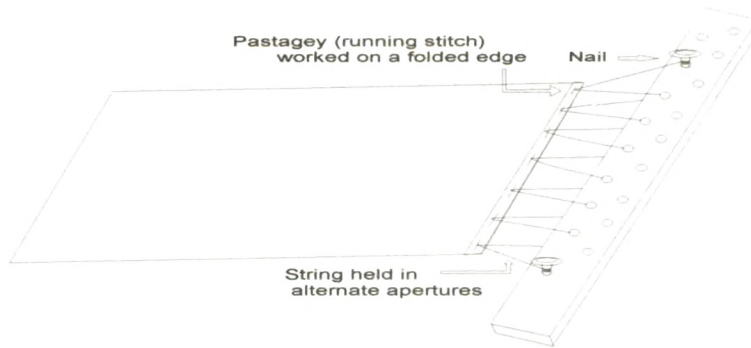


Figure-26: Diagram showing the arrangement of dori in the horizontal beam and fabric width



Plate-99: The alternative arrangement of dori in the horizontal beam and fabric width done as a matter of convenience

9. The slack dori was then pulled tighter and held in an anchored nail, so that the fabric remains completely stretched. This process of tightening of the cloth was known as **tangarna / tangad / fitting**, and it required precision; hence more than one person was involved.

10. **Phatkanna** was then done to mark the horizontal edge straight. This step can be simulated to straightening of fabric using an L-shaped scale; or method of marking a plumbers line employed by a mason. The dori was rubbed with a tailor's chalk and held taut at both ends. It was then lifted from the centre with index finger and dropped with force. This process sets down an impression of a line in colour as that, of the tailor's chalk.
11. The Adda was shifted in position to ensure that it was perfectly balanced and there was no **Kaan** or imbalance in the fabric grain or say it was grain-perfect. This process was also known as **Chip dena**.
12. The **Khakha** (design done on butter paper) was aligned at the Siir i.e. the top line of the design with the Phatkanna and the respective design traced on the fabric using a print solution. This solution was made up of kerosene, kharia (dust) and/or safeda (white powder)
13. The fabric was then left to dry; the exact look of the design surfaced only when the fabric was completely dried.
14. The Adda was now ready for a karigar to work upon.
15. As the work proceeded towards the centre of the fabric on the Adda, the lengthwise beam was rolled, keeping a layer of coarse muslin or any soft cloth to avoid any deformation of metal threads and soiling of the fabric. This process of rolling the beam was known as '**Palatna**', '**Paltha**' or '**Karvat**'.

Making a design sheet

The selected design was drawn or traced on a butter paper known as ‘**Chikna Tau**’ in Lucknow and Bareilly, with a pen or pencil. The fine drawings were then pin pricked placing it on the stretched fabric. This process was termed as ‘**khudai**’ or ‘**gudai**’ in Lucknow and Bareilly and ‘**susun**’ in Kolkata and ‘**sosan**’ in Surat i.e. punching, wherein small perforations placed closely were pricked with needle no: 10.

Printing process

A print mixture of **chalk / ink** with **oil** in white or blue was prepared depending on the hue, value and texture of the fabric. A solution made of indigo powder / ultramarine blue (**neel**) with kerosene was used for light coloured fabrics, while for dark coloured fabrics zinc powder (**safeda**) with kerosene was used. Another powder termed as ‘**kharia**’ was also used, but it dusted out easily. An imprint on velvet fabric was created with a silver or golden powder dust mixed with kerosene. The pin pricked design sheet known as ‘**khakha**’, ‘**khakho**’ or ‘**farma**’ was placed on the cloth to be embroidered and smeared with the print solution using a small bundle of cotton fabric or raw cotton known as ‘**pochara**’ in Lucknow and Bareilly, ‘**tullo**’ in Kolkata, and ‘**kakdo**’ in Surat. The print solution passes through the perforations making impressions on the cloth. White on white was also used as a preferred print solution, since it appeared less soiled. On removal of the ‘**khakha**’ the imprint created on the fabric becomes visible, but only after some time i.e. when the kerosene evaporates.

Rendering of design in embroidery

Needle and Aari were the tools used to create the desired effects on the fabric surface by applying the embroidery materials in the given design. Cotton or polyester two ply yarn in a hue matching the embroidery material was used to secure them to the fabric surface with an invisible overcast stitch; mostly with the use of needle.

Resham and kasab thread were worked using an aari; moreover, use of aari simplified the process of fixing the embroidery materials in a lesser time as compared to the use of a needle.

The design was first treated with an outline for both Zari and Zardosi followed by filling stitch. An embossed effect was achieved by couching a pad of soft cotton cord; over it was laid metal wires or silk threads in satin stitch. One design worked in various ways utilizing different materials create varied effects.

Mukeish, another type of Zardosi embroidery was popular especially in Lucknow which was done mostly by women without the use of an embroidery frame. However, the fabric had to be held taut, hence it was wrapped around the first finger and held between third and fourth finger. In Surat it was known as Badlani work. Importantly, the Badla work was done on a bleached fabric especially chiffon and the fabric dyed later.

The right side or the face of the fabric is rough and the under side is smooth. Traditionally Badla was worked with a regular needle as demonstrated in the Figure-27. A special needle was used in Surat to work badla on the fabric. A single dot was known as '**fardi**', '**daana**' or '**dal**'. Process of making a fardi i.e. a dot is explained with illustrations. (Figure-28)

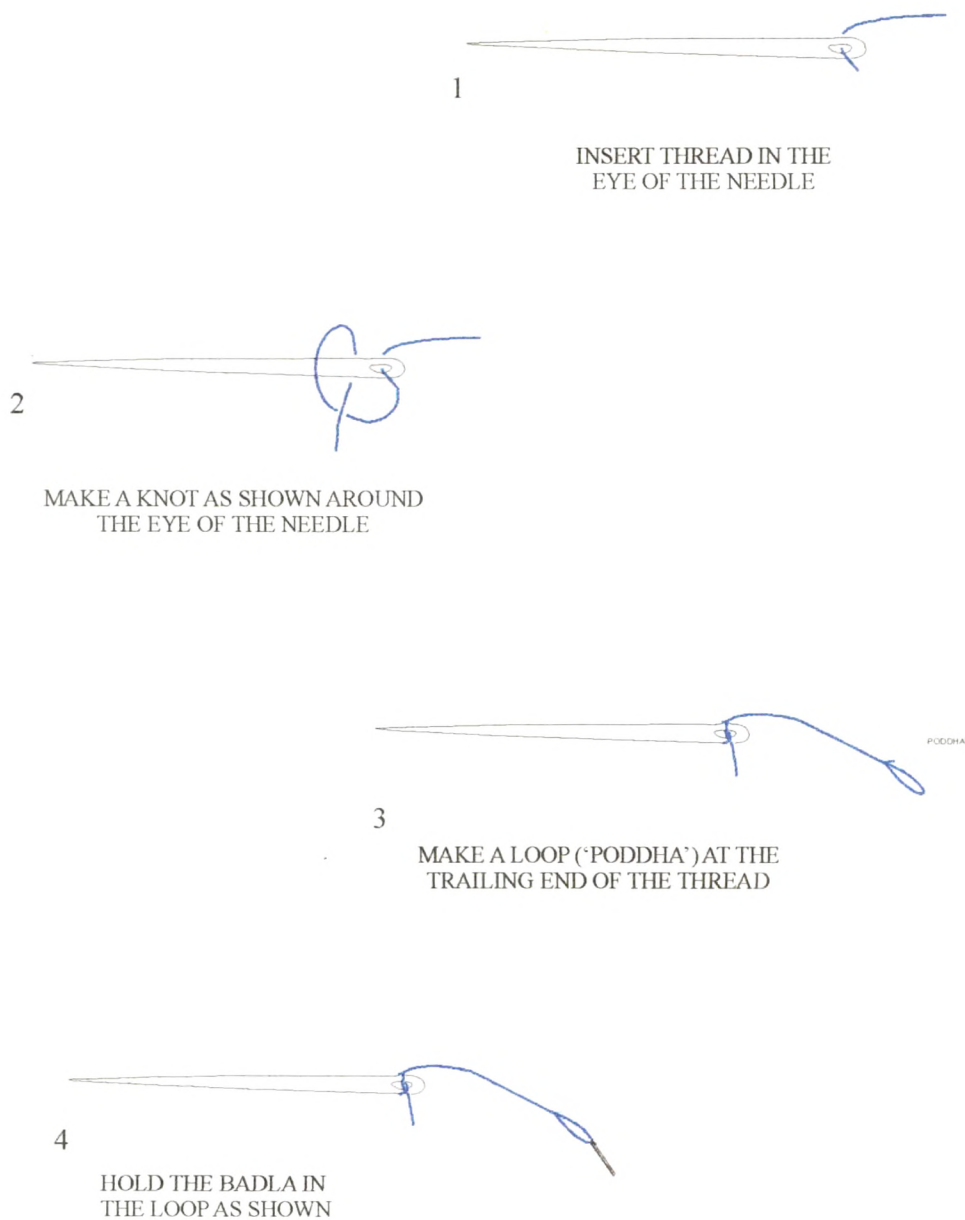
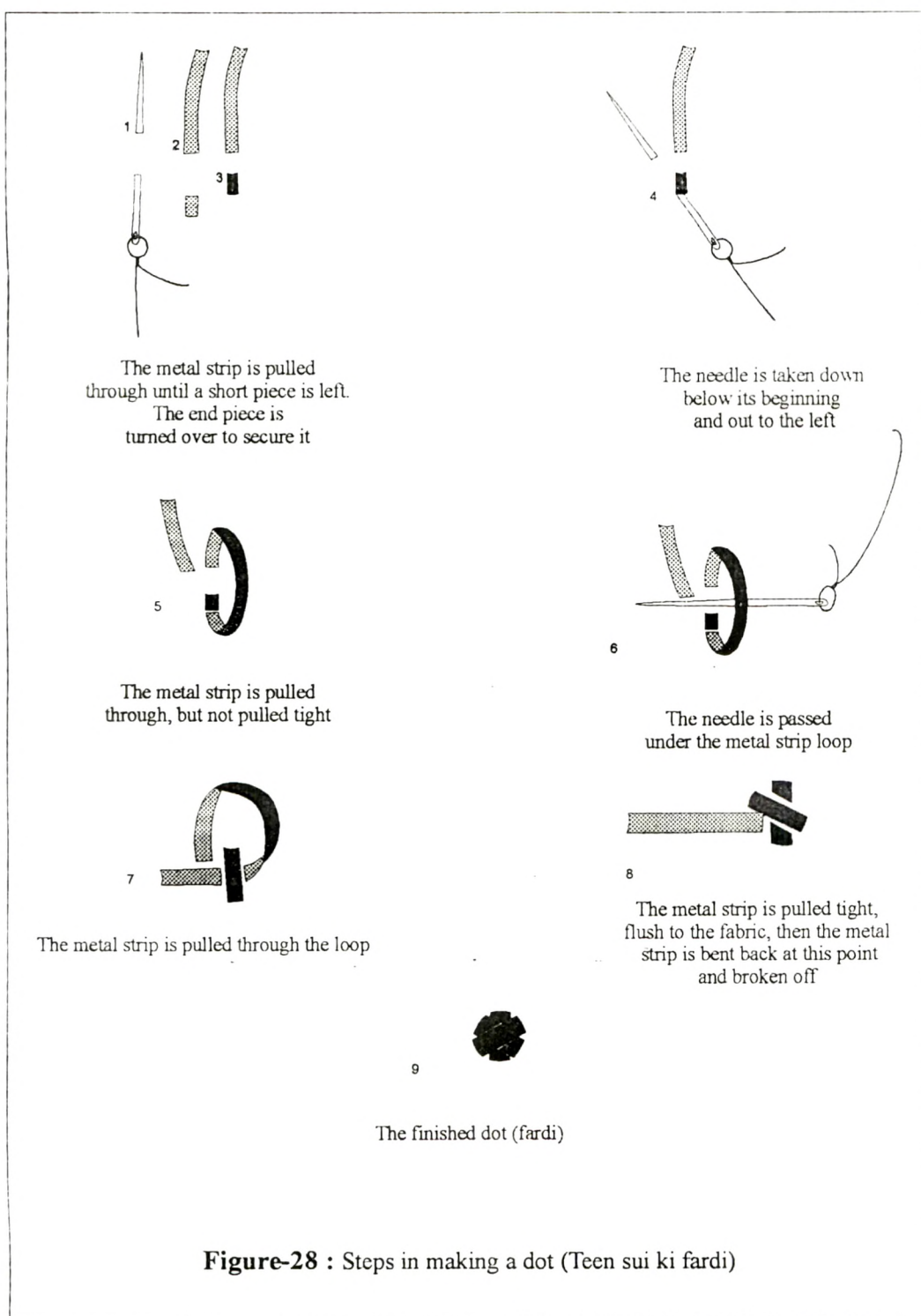


Figure-27 : The needle threaded to hold badla





The badla was hooked over to the loop at trailing end of the thread secured to a sewing needle. As the needle passes through the cloth, tightened around the first finger, the succeeding folds of the wire (Plate-100) on the cloth make a butti.

Plate-100: Holding fabric taut between fingers for Mukeish / Badla work

At least three folds are a must to form the ‘fardi’ - the dot or the butti locally termed as ‘**teen sui ki fardi**’. An increase in the number of wire folds, results in an increase in the size of the butti. A butti was not more than six folds; indigenously known as ‘**cheh sui ki fardi**’. In Lucknow the use of metal threads was integrated with chikankari also. Various patterns were made by grouping and repeating of dots in different ways (Appendix). Other marks using this technique include the use of a sequin (tikki) and pulling to form an eyelet. An eyelet was made by working the metal strip around a central point, this point becomes a hole if the metal was pulled slightly as the movement was made around to form a circle. In another technique sequins (tikki or tikka) were placed on either side of the fabric. The metal thread wraps around and holds both sequins (tikki or tikka) in place; they in turn help to make the circle sharper and clearer shape. The ‘tikka’ were flat discs with no hole in the centre.

Finishing process

Various finishes were employed to perform specific function. Following were the types of finishes applied on fabric after embroidery was done in Zari, Badla or Zardosi.

Trimming of Threads: The basic finishing process for any type of Zardosi embroidery done on the Adda utilized a pair of small scissors to trim the long and floating threads, on the wrong side of the fabric to render a neat look to the embroidery on the under side too. (Plate-101)



Plate-101



Plate-102

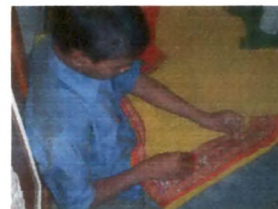


Plate-103

Cleaning: The process usually followed for cleaning the fabric once it had been embroidered were – dusting, wet cleaning and dry cleaning.

- **Dusting** – The imprint on the fabric if seen even after the completion of embroidery was dusted out using a brush. In addition, brush was utilized to remove any embroidery material left loose in the worked design. (Plate-87).
- **Wet Cleaning** - Only fabrics with thread work were washed in a washing machine (Plate-102) following revolving motion with surf excel. Washing was carried out as a specialized job and hence was not undertaken by karkhandars in their premises. A washer man would wash 400 pcs/day and his earning would be approximately Rs.2000/- per month.
- **Dry Cleaning** – The metal thread work especially, that was done with the use of Salma, Dabka, Kora, Nakshi etc were spot cleaned especially with a cloth dabbed in kerosene (Plate-103). The other solvent used was petrol / white petrol. The removal of stains was also carried out following the same process.

Starching: The process of starching done after the embroidered fabric was removed from the adda was known as ‘charak’, and ‘Maandi’ in Surat. It was done on the wrong side for loosely woven fabric especially chiffon and georgette by stretching it on the nails fixed closely on the wooden frame (Plate-104).

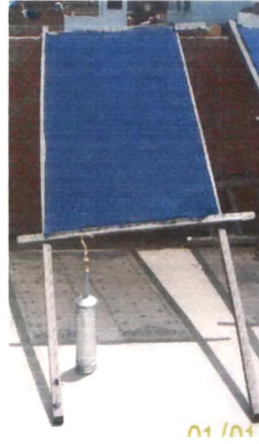


Plate-104



Plate-105

A mixture in a ratio of 24 litres of water for 250 gms of fevicol was sprayed evenly on the stretched fabric using a sprinkler or a spray gun (Plate-105) The other mixtures used as a starch solution were gum, rice and arrowroot starch which were applied on the underside of the cloth with a brush.

The fabric tends to become dimensionally unstable if it is held on the adda for a longer period of time. The stretching of the dimensionally unstable fabrics and further its starching in the manner explained; rectified and retained the required dimension of the fabric apart from holding or fixing the floating threads on its reverse.

Beetling finish: The process of beating ‘tilla’ work was known as ‘pitta’ or ‘pittai’. It was done manually or mechanically. Pitta when done manually (Plate-106) required the use of a wooden hammer and a dabber.



Plate-106



Plate-107

The dabber was held below the fabric surface and hammer stroked lightly against the ‘Zari’ or Tilla embroidery, which helped to close the chain stitch and produce a flat effect with high degree of lustre.

Mechanically a special type of calendar known as **friction calendar** (Plate-107) was in use in both Bareilly and Lucknow.

The friction calendar was made of two rollers; a steel roller was placed below the iron roller. Mixture was applied on the rollers. The rollers one to two meters wide rotated at different speed. The fabrics with tilla work when passed through these rollers; closed the interstices of the fabric as well as flattened the Zari work, rendering it a polished and a glazed look.

Badla work or Mukeish too was given a glazed look using the mechanically run calendars. The manual process to achieve a desired shine and smoothness was termed as ‘**kuttai**’ or ‘**ghisai**’ that was done by the use of a Cowrie (Shell) or a glass surface (Plate-108).



Plate-108

4.3.3 Stitch details

The elegance in Zardosi craft was achieved by using variations of simple stitches. According to a karigar in Lucknow and Kolkata, this work was described like an ocean which is vast and deep; it was difficult for an individual to learn all. The stitches used were basic e.g. satin, stem, running, couching, herringbone, bullion, french knot, long and short and cross stitch. However, it was in the use of various embroidery materials that the appearance figured out. Plates-109 to 118 represents the various stitches with its indigenous terminology.

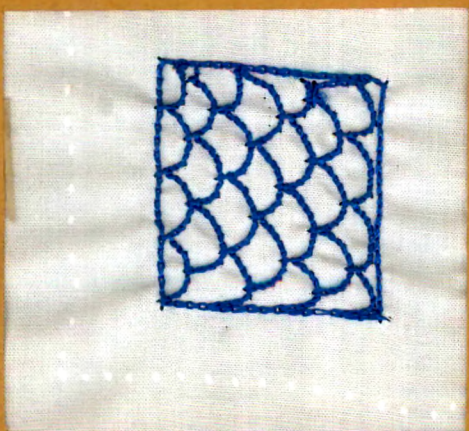
Plate-109: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



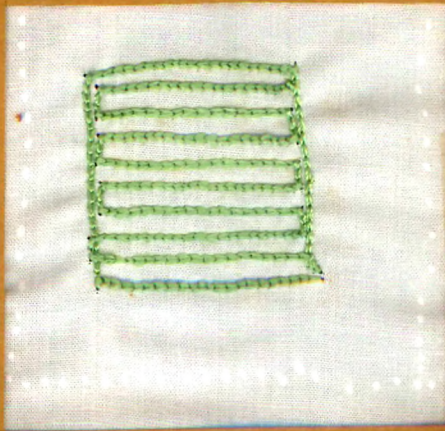
khulli Zikzak



Pani mig



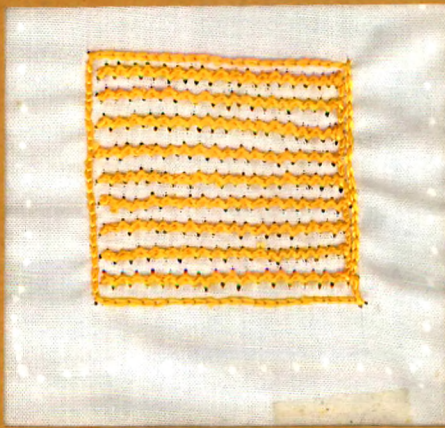
Pyali jali



Pania mig

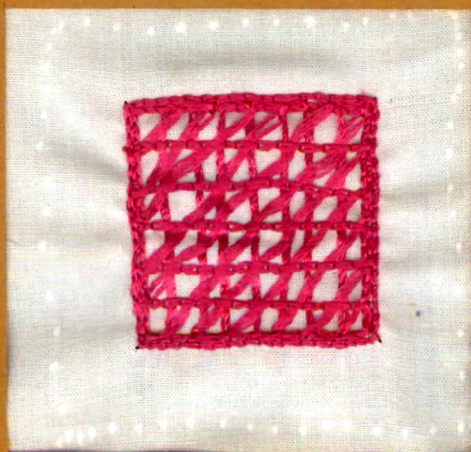


Resham zikzak



Madkan

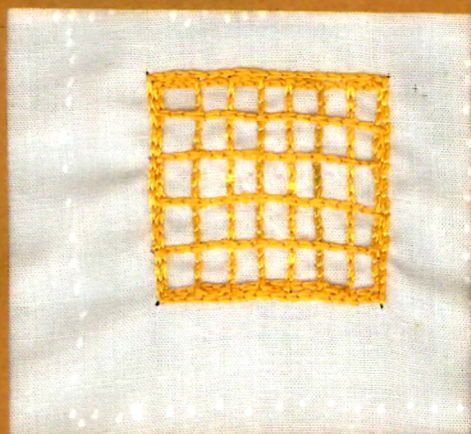
Plate-110: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



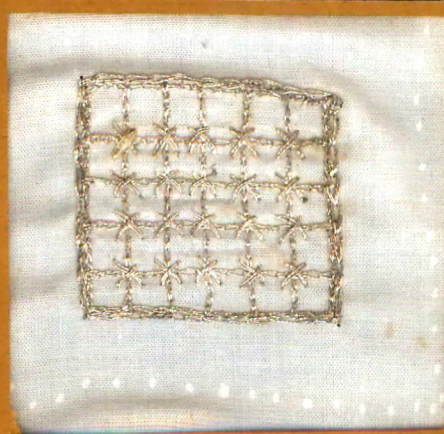
Kursi jali



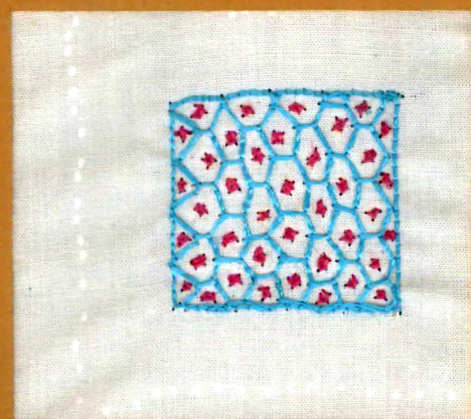
Cut work



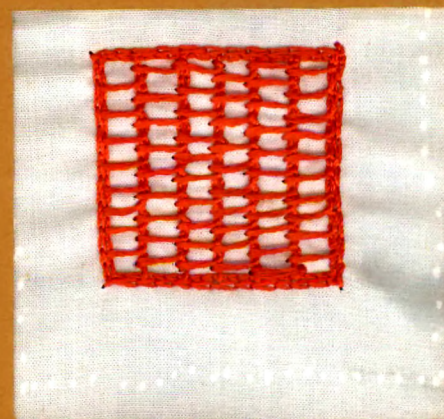
Chouras jali



Patrili jali

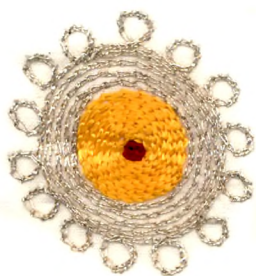


Football jali



Eeint jali

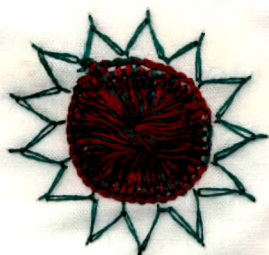
Plate-111: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Phat Silai



Kaandi



Bautam Kaanta



Double zikzak

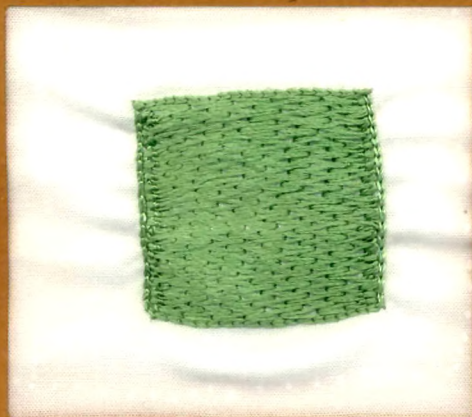


Kaanta+Chudi Silai

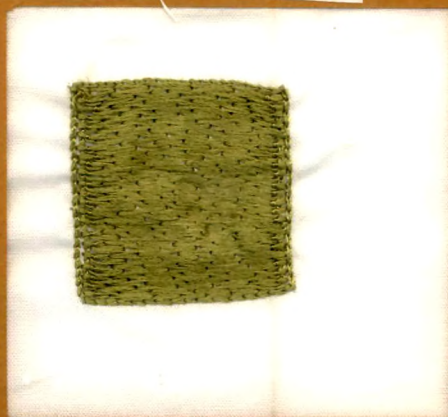


Kaanta Patti

Plate-112: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Falisha



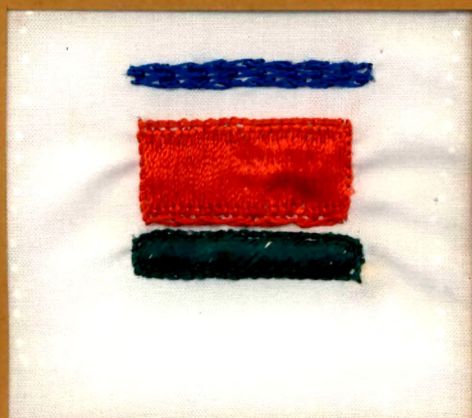
Repet silai



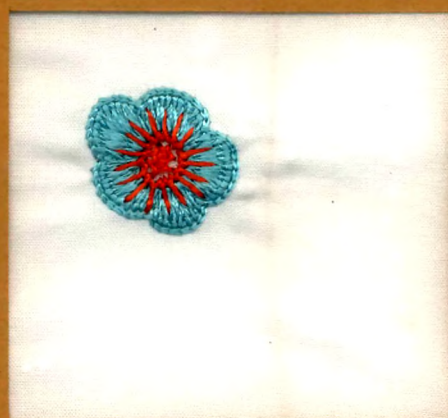
Chattai



Tie/kainchi silai



Resham ka load



Double setted Load

Plate-113: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Pipal girah



Resham ke challe



Spring silai



Girah

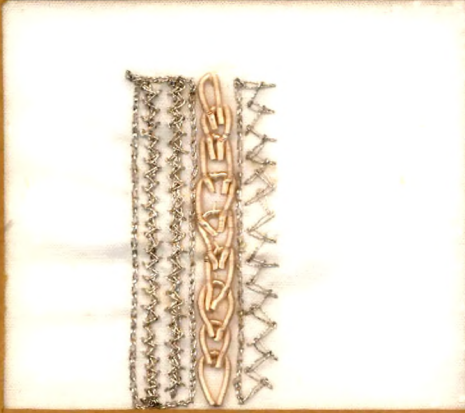


Phul Khicha hua



Kaanta resham tikki ka

Plate-114: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Chain aur madkan



Salma tikki lada hua



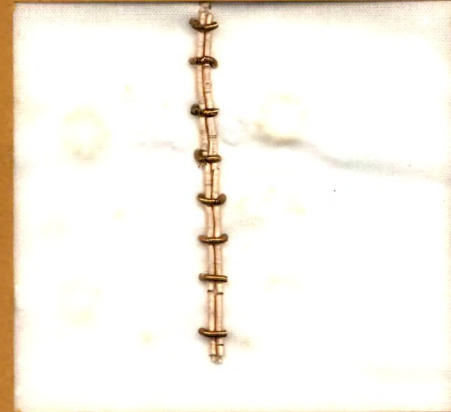
Motar mala



Tikki gith



Double pecchni



Chudi

Plate-115: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Kore ka load, Nanga tikki



Pani, Chilka, Butt



Kora aur Sadi ki net



Challe



Chinti



Challa ki variety

Plate-116: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Kundan bullion ka phugga



Salli ka kaanta



Pecchni phul



Nakka tikki+Poth ki chuddi silai



Uchhe phul



Cherma patti

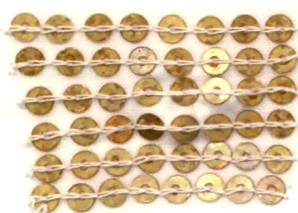
Plate-117: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



Chatti tikki/Chilka



Tikki moti ka chilka



Pattat tikki



Tikki ki Bhatat



Katdane ka pania



Tikki moti ka haar

Plate-118: Types of stitches used in Zardosi embroidery



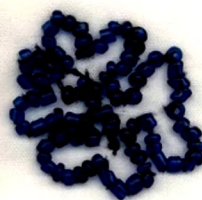
Nanga katori



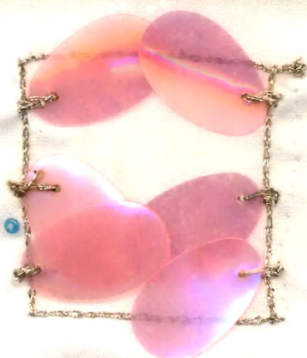
Phul chatta katori ka



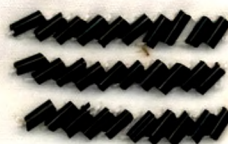
Sitare moti ki kaandi



Pania moti ka



Chatta hua amla



Nalki ka Load

The chain stitch worked by an Aari and its variations are described below:

- (i) **Simple chain stitch:** The chain stitch was worked in a line assuming different directions and arrangements such as spiral, zig-zag, curvilinear, straight, overlapping and angular. It would appear as outline stitch or filling stitch but only as lines.
- (ii) **Filling chain stitch:** The ground fabric in a design would not be visible, with the filling stitch commonly termed as 'Load'. Variations in filling stitch also, were created by working the chain stitch long or short in different directions and arrangement. Filling chain stitch was also worked on a padding to add dimension to the 'Load' stitch.
- (iii) **Edging chain stitch / Lock stitch:** Its function was to avoid any ravelling and hence was done at the edge of the fabric and for cut work. In the Lucknow and Bareilly it was termed as 'Madkan' and 'Marpan' in Kolkata and Surat.
- (iv) **Jali with or without cut work:** An arrangement of simple chain was created to resemble a net like structure, which was termed as 'Jali'. The open spaces in the Jali could be cutout and mostly burnt using incense sticks both for natural and synthetic fibre fabric.

The investigator noted that the stitch types were same in the selected places of the study and only the terminology differed due to localization of the craft. There was little awareness of the name of a stitch among several karigars. They stated that they were asked to replicate a given pattern from the sample or catalogue by their karkhandar.

4.3.4 Design ensemble

The investigator observed the use of multifarious designs in Zardosi craft configured as natural, stylized, abstract and geometric; worked in simple to intricate assembly. The designs included both traditional and new patterns and also, a hybrid of both.

The sources of design varied according to the end user requirements. The designs were sourced from artifacts, historic costumes, Mughal paintings, catalogues, trend magazines and imagination. However, the design treatment would be by imagination or as shown in the catalogues or samplers.

The selected designs were organized into an all over pattern. Special costumes and articles had more elaborate designs. The designs were organized in an article for domestic market especially in the formats of field and border pattern. Field design were usually scattered as spot pattern and when in all over pattern it was arranged in a 'jali' i.e. a network of designs. Central medallion motifs were rarely seen in apparels. Designs appeared as undulate or vertebrate borders on the neckline, slits, sleeve hems, collars and as bands on the centre front line or yokes. Bordered design was a characteristic feature for the apparels for domestic use such as sari, gharara, lancha, salwar-suit, chania-choli, sherwanis and jackets, as the designs were placed at the hems and the neckline.

The designs commonly used for Mukeish work include floral buttis, leafy creepers and mango designs known as kairi. Stylized motifs of peacock and fish were common and intricately made.

The various stitches of chikankari were done in the kamdani or the chaalu work e.g. 'Mundi murri ka phool', patti or patta, karanphool, naukili murri, etc. Hence, Mukeish was also known as Gold and Silver Chikankari work, and both the crafts i.e. Mukeish and Chikankari were the domain of women karigars.

The motif types can be categorized as below:

Naturalistic: Flora and Fauna which predominantly consisted of pipal leaf, creeper, jaw ki bali, rose, peacocks perched on branches, human figures and flowing river. Naturalistic designs were the most commonly used.

Geometric: Various patterns resulted from constellations of dots, lines, triangles, squares, circles, arc etc.

Abstract: There were no tracings prepared for geometrically abstract designs. Designs as these were mostly used in products for export market

Religious forms: Religious symbols and figures such as holy writings of Quran - the Aayat, 'Aum', Swastik, Lord Ganesha and Hanuman were worked on wall hangings, chaddar, gilaf and book covers..

4.3.5 Types of Zardosi

Zari and Zardosi work were interrelated and essential forms of the Zardosi craft. Today even when no metal thread was incorporated in the embroidery; everything that was worked on a cloth stretched on an adda except badla not stretched on an adda was termed as Zardosi. There were different forms of Zardosi depending on the needle used i.e. the regular needle, badla needle and the hooked needle

The needle used for Zardosi was completely passed vertically down through the horizontally held cloth and reversed. Unlike the aari which pulled out the thread from below the fabric surface, the needle was pushed out on the surface of the cloth from below. The needle in the process, also assumes a position parallel to the fabric to create the desired stitch. Moreover, the needle was pulled away from the embroiderer, while the aari assumed a movement in the clockwise direction for a filling stitch and left to right in an outline stitch. The appearance turned out to be similar; however the work was done faster with an aari.

Depending upon the raw material used; the types of Zardosi prevalent are categorized below:

- i) **Kasab work:** It utilizes a Zari thread of extreme fineness and was worked in chain, satin or long and short stitch. Kasab work was mostly done on a dark ground (Plate-119).



Plate-119

- ii) **Tilla work:** Employed the use of gold or silver coated fine cylindrical wires worked in chain stitch with a hooked needle.

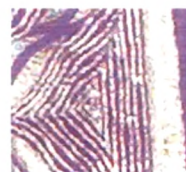


Plate-120

The looped structure created was given a flat and lustrous appearance by beating it with a wooden hammer and a dabber. It was best suited on a net fabric (Plate-120).

- iii) **Muqqaish work:** Muqqaish work was done using badla strips i.e. flattened metal wire worked in criss – cross or overlapping manner to create a design. The metal wire in a desired colour (chemically coated) was also used. It was further categorized into two types:

- **Kamdani:** It was also known as ‘fardi’ work or ‘Dana’ work wherein the Badla was never twisted or turned and only dots of different sizes created the design (Plate-121).

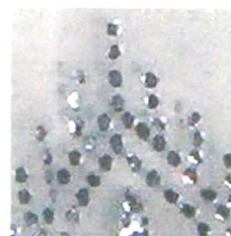


Plate-121

- **Chaalu kaam:** A flattened metal wire, i.e. badla was worked in any direction as filling stitch (Plate-122) forming the shape of the motif.

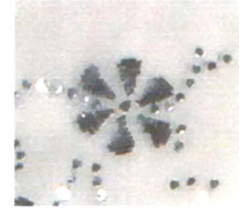


Plate-122

- iv) **Kalcutti work:** It was a heavier and elaborate work (Plate-123) that utilized materials such as dabka, kora, nakshi, khiccha and other light reflecting materials. In Kolkata it was known as ‘maal ka kaam’.



Plate-123

- v) **Antique work:** This work resembled the kalcutti work and the difference being that the raw materials in metal were coloured brass or greenish black (Plate-124).

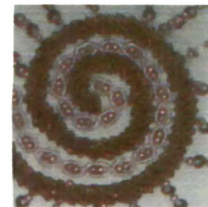


Plate-124

- vi) **Fancy work:** It was a derivation of Kashmir embroidery with soft pastel colours in satin stitch (Plate-125). It was also known as Kashmiri work or Resham work, as it was done completely with the use of silk threads on a translucent and light weight fabric.



Plate-125

- vii) **Kundan work:** The stones known as kundan were prominent in the embroidery and other raw materials, supplemented the elaborate look (Plate-126). This kind of work was popular in Kolkata. Kundan was fixed to the fabric surface by the use of an adhesive.



Plate-126

- viii) **Poth / Moti work:** The entire embroidery when worked in glass beads was termed as ‘**poth ka kaam**’ (Plate-127). This kind of work was popular for the export market especially Middle East. Different sizes and types of beads were fixed to the surface of the fabric with an Aari.



Plate-127

- ix) **Katdana / Nalki / Sali work:** The prominence of small pipes in the work was termed as katdana work in Lucknow and Kolkata, Nalki work in Bareilly and Salli work in Surat (Plate-128).



Plate-128

- x) **Tikki / Katori work:** Flat or saucer type sequins in various shapes when embroidered in different arrangements were termed as Tikki / Katori work. ‘**Tikki**’ was the word used for flat sequins and ‘**katori**’ for saucer shaped. This work was more popular and practiced for export market goods (Plate-129).



Plate-129

- xi) Kasab tikki work:** employed both kasab thread as well as sequins; especially worked with an aari in chain stitch (Plate-130). It was a lighter type of work and was most popular in all the selected places of the study.



Plate-130

There were several other types such as resham-dapka work, resham-tikki work, tikki-moti work, dori work, gota work, etc. which corresponded to the type of raw materials used for the embroidery.

4.4 TRENDS IN DOMESTIC AND EXPORT MARKET

According to Faith popcorn trends which are big and broad and lasting an average of ten years, cannot be created or changed; only observed. (47)

The investigator observed the Zardosi work carried out in Lucknow, Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat. While interviewing the entrepreneurs the information regarding the trend in Zardosi were revealed. The trends have also been observed through product catalogues, window displays and also through the products manufactured by the karigars over the years.

The market trend in contemporary fashion of the Zardosi craft had been observed in terms of styles in Zardosi work, fabrics and embroidery materials used and its products. They also depend upon socio-economic status and life style of the consumers.

4.4.1 Trends in Domestic market

Zardosi craft existed in various forms across the selected places. Most of the Zardosi market catered to apparels for all classes followed by utility-cum-decorative items. The market for purely artistic and decorative Zardosi items was limited. Greater demand was for small scale and customized production.

There was a difference in the market trend as observed in the places visited however, in general the Indian market for Zardosi was dictated mainly by occasion and festivals and less by season. The festivals such as Karva Chauth, Dusshera and Diwali in the North, Durga Puja in the East and Diwali in the West of India were celebrated and the markets during this period were flooded with Zardosi items such as saris, suits, dupattas and Lehanga-cholis. The fabrics commonly used were silk, chiffon, tissue, georgette, crepe, net, chinon, and satin. A limited use of velvet, leather, suede, linen, nylon, terry cot and poplin was noted. The designs floral in character were commonly used for both Zari and Zardosi work. Sophisticated to garish ranges of Zardosi work in zari, dapka, tilla, resham, tikki, moti etc were in trend in the selected places of study.

Occasion such as wedding, reception, sangeet and cock-tail parties etc. also demanded utility cum decorative items like fashion accessories and furnishing for interiors. Achkans, sherwanis, shawls, kurtas, jackets (coaties) shirts, dhotis for the male and lahengas, ahararas, garahras, chania-choli, dupatta, parallels, short tops, purses and batwas for females. Summers too, the market of Zardosi existed but with most of the items worked in thread embroidery and less of metal embroidery. Difference in market trends was observed in all the selected places of the study. Lucknow a city of etiquette and traditions had been a breeding ground for some of the best zardozi, who belonged to the families of the nobility and worked in their 'Mahal sarai' like a small cottage industry. Lucknow the city of Nawabs is known for its adab and Tehzeeb i.e. genteel lifestyle, which had also been reflected in its craft. Trends in Lucknow revealed that there was limited use of metal threads (Plate-131). Nevertheless Mukeish work mainly in silver badla was mostly used to create exotic patterns. Use of gold and multi-coloured badla

wires was rare. Mukeish was worked on chiffon saris, salwar suits, dupattas and also combined with chikankari (Plate-132). Resham work known as 'fancy kaam' was popular, on light weight, translucent fabrics in soft colours such as pink, purple and mostly in silk threads and rarely in cotton threads. It was also done on screen printed and tie-dyed fabric. The common Zardosi items available in Hazratgunj and Aminabad markets of Lucknow were salwar suits, saris and purses.

Zardosi work of Bareilly had more of export orders than domestic orders. The domestic retail markets in Zardosi had more of utility and decorative products. The use of Resham threads, Tilla work and Dapka work was more prominent. The articles produced in Zardosi embroidery were mainly salwar-suits, hand bags and purses. The Zardosi work especially in aari had seeped into the apparels for regular use and semi-formals. A demand existed for lighter work on garment for casual wear (Plate-133) e.g. suits, skirts and coats and heavy work on garments for special occasion and wedding e.g. lehanga-cholis (Plate-134), shararas and saris.

The market trends in Kolkata's Satyanarayan A.C. Market in Bada Bazar, Ram Mandir, and New Market known for Zari - Zardosi items were observed. It was noted that Zardosi embroidered items like saris and lehanga-choli pieces for women's wear, Achkans and Jacket for male garments were more popular. Kundan work (Plate-135), maal-ka-kaam, antique kaam of the metal thread embroidery on light weight net, satin, silk and polyester fibre fabric was noticed. Also, kasab-tikki work was popular for apparels of regular use on printed and plain fabrics. The trends in designs were stylized human and animal figures worked in aari on saris and sold as exclusive items (Plate-136,137). Also, use of bold floral motifs and

conversational motifs was observed (Plate-138,139). It was a customary use of contrasting colours for borders on ladies garments. This was achieved by tacking a contrast coloured fabric on the borders, pallav and blouse piece, which was then worked with zardosi (Plate-140).

The use of golden coloured plastic beads was a peculiar feature noted in Zardosi embroidery done in Surat. Resham-Tikki work, Anchor-Salma work, Tikki-moti work, Kasab-tikki work, Tikki salli work were common. The use of Tikki was popular on various articles of wear such as saris, chania-cholis, salwar suits. The men's garments like sherwani, kurta, dhoti and Nehru Jacket were worked in thread embroidery in muted colours with a sprinkle of kasab, kora or salma.

4.4.2 Trends in export market

Lucknow and Bareilly catered to the export market in a greater way as compared to Kolkata and Surat. Present trend of exports varied in terms of destinations and commodities. The materials like zubieda, gunjan, dupion silk (Plate-145) were used. The other fabrics included satin, metal chiffon, net and georgette. Abstract and geometric designs were more popular for work done with the use of sequins, beads and pipes (Plate-141, 142, 143). Tracings were not needed for these types of designs. Stylized floral and paisley motifs were developed in silk and metal thread embroidery. (Plate-144)

The statistical figures of exports in the category of Zari and Zari goods as stated by Ministry of Textiles given in Table-29 revealed an increasing trend in exports of Zari and Zardosi goods.

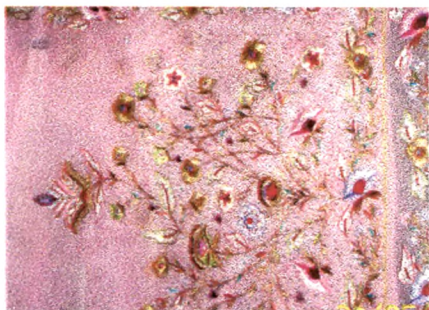


PLATE:131

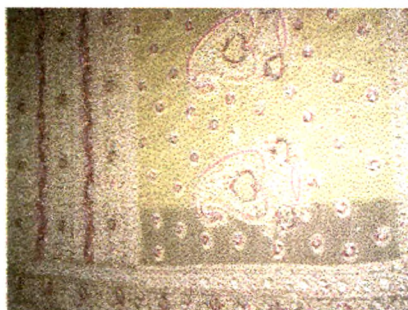


PLATE:132



PLATE:133

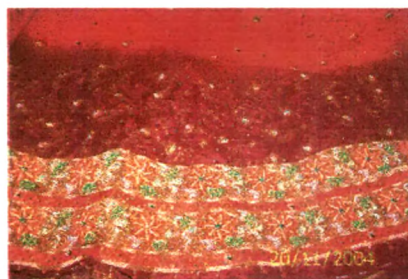


PLATE:134



PLATE:135



PLATE:136



PLATE:137



PLATE:138



PLATE: 140



PLATE: 139



PLATE: 141



PLATE: 142

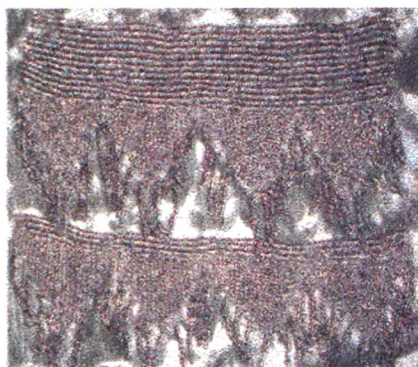


PLATE: 143

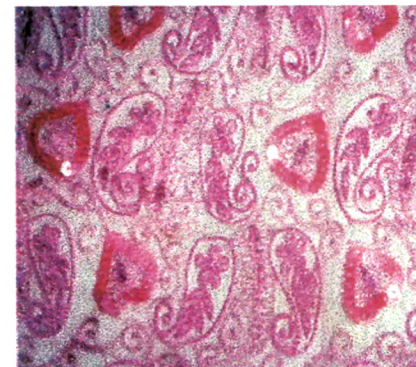
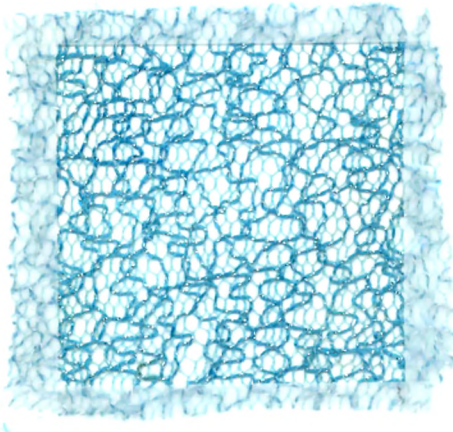
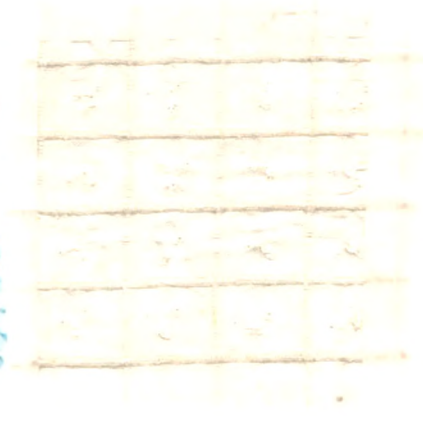


PLATE: 144



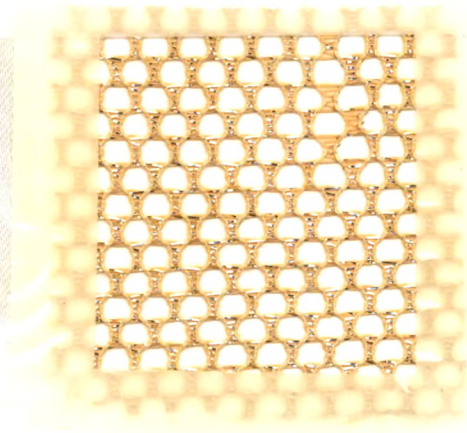
Gunjan



Dupion silk



Rasgulla



Zubeida

Plate-145: Fabrics for Zardosi

Table-29: Export of Zari and Zari goods (from 1993-94 to 2000-01)

Rs. in crores

Item	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04
Zari & Zari goods	34.15	57.19	47.73	54.57	70.34	74.95	83.52	142.32	134.04	159.47	210.54
% of Total export	0.89%	1.26%	1.03%	0.97	1.15	1.05	1.03	1.53	1.44	1.45	1.64
Total exports of Handicrafts	3797.06	4517.52	4621.69	5594.80	6114.57	7072.34	8059.63	9270.50	9205.63	10333.67	12765.18
% increase in exports per year of Zari goods	-	67.46	-17	14.3	28.96	6.5	11.43	70.40	-5.8	18.97	32.02

The data in Table-29 revealed the trend in exports of Zari and Zari goods. It is evident that exports of Zari and Zari goods over the last decade (1993-2004) have gone up from 0.89 per cent to 1.64 per cent of the total export of Handicrafts. The overall trend was on increasing side except the year 1995-96 and year 2001-02 the exports in these years was 17 per cent and 5.8 per cent lower respectively as compared to its previous year's figures. However, the per cent decrease in its share of the total exports was 0.23 per cent and 0.09 per cent respectively. The drop in the exports was due to global slowdown, the Indo-Pakistan stand off and September 11 attacks.

Lucknow had very few exporters in the business of Zardosi craft. There were more number of suppliers or commission agents. Zardosi items such as camisoles, emblems and badges, jackets, caps, gowns, Christmas hangings (Plate-146), purses (Plate-147), and suit panels were exported to countries like America, France, England, Germany and Dubai. Badges and emblems were made for England and Germany especially. Camisoles were the major item exported to France using a variety of materials.

Zari Zardosi items were exported to many countries through an agent, but there were very few units in Bareilly engaged in direct export. Long gowns (Plate-148), jackets, tops, skirts, stole, sandal uppers (Plate-149), purses, Christmas hangings, emblems and badges (Plate-150,151,152) photo frames, belts, (Plate-153, 154), cushion covers (Plate-155), curtains i.e. yardage of embroidery material with Aari - Zardosi work were exported to countries like Germany, Mexico, U.S.A and West Asia. These Zardosi products were embroidered with a variety of beads and sequins at large. Gold and silver wire work was mostly utilized for Christmas hangings, photo frames, fashion accessories and cushions. Resham thread work combined with other accessories were used for stoles and skirts.

The exportable Zari Zardosi goods from Kolkata included curtains and bags to America, Italy and Saudi Arabia.

Surat exported mainly Christmas decoration and gift items such as Christmas trees, stars, and several kinds of animals with velvet cloth having Zari embroidery, souvenirs, Zari on glass and Zari on wood, to USA, Canada and European countries. The trend observed was to utilize Zardosi embroidered fabric onto materials like glass and wood for gift items. The exports to countries in Middle East included Zari embroidered cushion covers, sofa and bed spreads, chair covers, table mats, Zari bags, and wall hangings. The embroidery was usually done on tissue fabric.

On the whole, majority of Zardosi goods were exported to United States, United Kingdom and Middle East. The major concerns for an exporter were quality, price and design.



PLATE:146

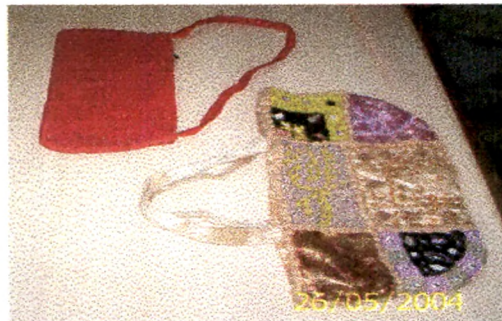


PLATE:147



PLATE:148

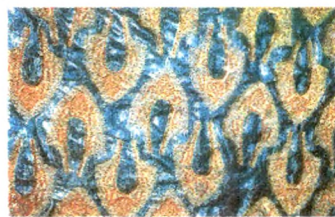


PLATE:149



PLATE:150



PLATE:151



PLATE:152



PLATE:153



PLATE:154



PLATE:155

4.5 UPLIFTMENT, PRESERVATION AND RESUSCITATION OF ZARDOSI CRAFT

It is the responsibility of the state government to promote the handicrafts industries. The Office of Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) has been implementing various developmental schemes at the central level to supplement the activities of the state.

Efforts generated towards upliftment, preservation and resuscitation of Zardosi craft were minimum. The treasured collections of the past were lost either due to neglect, lack of knowledge or apathy to the craft collections by the individuals, Government and voluntary organization. It was revealed that costumes have been burnt to gain silver or gold from it, and that descendents were not interested in treasuring the items, or they resided in foreign country and their craft treasure kept untouched were sure to decay. Also, those who wished to treasure were old and had no helping hands.

The government programmes for the upliftment of craft and craftsmen were many but its implementation was not effective as revealed by the karigars of the selected places of study. Voluntary organizations in Kolkata and Bareilly were absent while in Lucknow and Surat their existence was active. It was evident from the survey that individual in Lucknow and Kolkata were making efforts towards the upliftment of the Zardosi crafts and craftsmen.

4.5.1 Contribution of the Government

Visits to the respective Offices of Handicrafts in the selected places of study revealed that no efforts were directed towards preservation. Few attempts were made towards the marketing and service extension by the Office of Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) in Lucknow and Surat in the recent past.

The Lucknow office had sanctioned two training centres to NGOs in Lucknow under the special Handicrafts Training Project during the year 2003-04 / 2004-05, and one training centre from Kankar Tola, Bareilly was sanctioned under the Guru Shishya Parampara under special Handicrafts Training Project during 2003-04.

It was stated by the Officials that to make the karigars self reliant Baba Saheb Ambedkar Hastshilp Vikas Yojna was implemented in the clusters of Barabanki and Thakurgunj in Uttar Pradesh. While in Surat it was told that 7000 karigars, practicing Zardosi craft had enrolled and they have issued 502 identity cards. Apart from this, they have organized Craft Bazaar like Urban Haat and ensured the participation of karigars in it. The products made by the Karigars during the workshops held by the Office of DCH were displayed in the showcases. (Plate-156,157,158)



Plate-156



Plate-157



Plate-158

The museum collections of Zardosi articles in Government institutions in Kolkata and Surat were very few. Moreover, the individual samples that existed had incomplete information.

The investigator could not find any historic sample or documentation of the craft in terms of methods and materials in the government organizations. There were some co-operative and government bodies which existed physically but did not function.

4.5.2 Contribution of Non-Government Organization

The existence of voluntary bodies working towards the development of Zardosi craft were absent in the selected places of study. Anjuman Zardozan - a craft co-operative did exist in Lucknow but was not functional.



The Surat Zari Goods Association organized workshops on a regular basis to impart training in Zardosi stitches to a group of 20 - 25.

Plate-159

The products made during the workshop were displayed in their showcase (Plate-159) and a file containing about twenty stitches was preserved.

A decent collection of historic samples of Zardosi did exist in the museums visited in Kolkata, Ahmedabad and Baroda. The Technique of Zardosi craft was documented in the Calico Museum of Textiles, Ahmedabad, however it was not exhaustive.

4.5.3 Contribution of individuals

Lucknow was known as Shan-e-Avadh. According to Nawab Zafar Mir Abdullah the Shiya community had contributed towards the craft. During the festival of Muharram, the religious processions known as jhulus included Zari - Zardosi items worked in raised embroidery. The items were Hazart-e-alam's Tabuz, swing, canopies and masnads (throne covers) for Imambaras. Flags known as 'faraire' with patka's were also produced with this technique of embroidery. The patkas were worked in karchobi in the form of calligraphy, tohre, zulzulle i.e. images and roze of imams.

This Azadari / Taziadari i.e. decorations of Imambaras developed and propagated the craft giving it a new dimension. In apparels Zardosi was done on the farshi pyjama, khara pyjama, sharara, shalukas, caps and borders.

The private collections of Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah, Lucknow and Ms. Shilpa Shah of Garden Silk Mills, Surat contained a large variety of Zardosi embroidered articles; however the technical details were not documented. The Nawab of Lucknow and Sheikh Abdullah of village Nalpur, Howrah district, Kolkata, had made efforts towards resuscitation of the craft. Nawab Jafar Mir Abdullah had granted shelter to six karigar families in his huge empire. The Nawab's brother Masood Abdullah, an academician by profession and his wife Ahmat Abdullah were involved in reviving and retaining the Zardosi craft, with its intricacy and the royal elegance (Plates-160,161). The unique designs sourced from artifacts, costumes, Mughal paintings in their personal collection were redefined by the use of variety of materials, for the niche market. These designs once created were preserved by photocopying and filing. Even samples of various styles were retained and put in plastic bags.

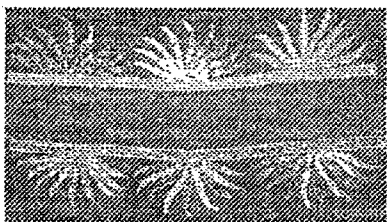


Plate-160



Plate-161

Shiekh Abdullah of Kolkata, is said to be the India's only Zardosi artist. He has raised the embroidery of Zardosi to an art genre. He tailor framed images in the stitches of ari, iri and erey on coloured sheets. Abdullah

defined aari, iri and erey as the outline, vertical / horizontal and diagonal lines respectively which helped him add dimension to his creation, while the variety of threads imparted tone and texture. His exhibitions and hard work got him a Government job. Employed as one of the twelve empanelled designer of the design and technical development workshop since 2003, by the Office of Development Commissioner (Handicrafts), Kolkata; he has been spreading awareness about the finer points of Zardosi.

The karigars, master craftsmen or entrepreneurs, preserved the craft by doing. They lived in present and did not think of conserving and preserving the craft. Moreover, anything and everything was created to suit the pockets of different strata of the society.

Designers have reinterpreted ancient designs and garments to make stunning contemporary outfits of Zardosi. The splendors of the Zardosi have set the fashion in the West too. Contemporary fashions have kept alive the Zardosi traditions leading it to a stage of unlimited popularity. (Plate-162 to 166) Through commercialization of the craft, the age old Court and Temple embroidery has reached the common man.



Plate-162



Plate-163

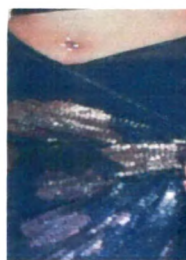


Plate- 164



Plate- 165



Plate-166

Designers have added innovations in various products and hence a lighter and flashier offshoot of traditional Indian Zardosi has found its way to fashion houses around the world.

4.6 TRANSFORMATION IN ZARDOSI CRAFT

At the end of nineteenth century Zardosi embroidery was the compassion of women which served to keep the embroidery alive and at high standard. This nostalgia safe guarded it against deterioration in quality and design. After the abolition of Zamindari the process reversed. Zardosi from then onwards has been a profession with men to earn their livelihoods, though women silently continued with their passion. The karigars today have adjusted to the pace of change altering the very meaning of Zardosi craft.

Zardosi as a craft has always been linked to the Muslims. Today, it has not been able to retain its identity with an individual or community. However, the creative urge to express oneself through this medium still persists strong in the community.

There were a large number of new karigars in the Zardosi craft and many more entering every day. New karigars brought with them their own special interests and talents, which helped enlarge existing markets and open up new ones. These have given rise to increased competition, decrease in wages of the craftsmen, and have also brought new ideas and creativity.

The existence of Zardosi in its variegated forms reflects the tastes of people. Zardosi craft was utility based and economically viable, and hence was not static. It has responded to the changes of the market, consumer needs, fashion and usage.

The karigars practicing the Zardosi craft were constantly in competition with speeded up deadlines, making lifestyle products for various market segments. The Zardosi karigars were making products for

commercial use rather for personal use. The karigar could innovate but they were considered merely as workers; they made ornamented fabrics and products but not protected as earlier.

Though it has not impacted the economic conditions of craftsmen but their children have started opting for other professions.

To make Zardosi craft marketable, products were adapted and designed to suit contemporary consumer tastes and needs, be it regional, national or international. Zardosi has become a part of a common man's attire and not just restricted to the elitist. The entrepreneurs as well as the karigars were found to be progressive. Chattopadhyaya Kamaladevi has said the growth of craft in a society is a sign of the cultivation of sensitivity and the stirring and mellowing of humanism. The karigars though not well educated have undoubtedly discerned the obvious path to earn a decent living. The karigars had kept no apprehensions; willfully departed from their conventional work to recreate the concept of beauty i.e. from metal threads to cotton and acrylic threads.

The demand of Zardosi products has increased, but the quality of work has suffered, since cheap materials and quick techniques of embroidery were employed. The growth of this craft has been far more than ephemeral. It has emerged a winner against several other crafts of Lucknow, Bareilly, Kolkata and Surat. This can be attributed to its unending craze equally with all sections of the society and also, to an ever increasing export market.

With the changing lifestyles and absence of royal patronage the Zardosi articles of yore have become completely outmoded and hence absent. There was a complete absence of stylized animal motifs in the

present design ensemble. The designs have been diversified. These include geometrical shapes such as chevrons, circles, stripes and checks, human figures, and naturalistic shapes of flowers and foliages used in maximum. The stitches remain same, however an over use of chain-stitch exists due to the use of Aari. The use of aari has made the operation of embroidery with various threads and accessories easier and less time consuming. Therefore, the objects made with the use of Aari were commonly termed as Zari and was reasonably priced. The type and variety of embroidery articles when compared to those of the past suggest a multitude of Zardosi types which has undoubtedly resulted due to the presence of innovative accessories. There was a restricted use of silk threads earlier especially used for Minakari work, while today it is in abundance. Also used are acrylic and cotton threads.

Case Study - 1

Master Craftsman - Lucknow

Abdul Syed Khan is a State Award Winner for the year 1992-93. He is 42 years of age and had learnt this craft at the age of ten from an Ustad. Since then, there is no looking back. He is the only bread earner in a family of five. At present he dwells in a joint family but has made arrangements to live in a nuclear family.

He has participated in several fairs arranged by the Central Government at Baroda, Udaipur, Mysore, Ooty and several other big cities. The Government reimbursed his bills willfully for the expenditure he incurred during the exhibition, which would total up to Rs 5000/- per day. He also availed training for Master Craftsmen wherein he had received Rs.2500/- per month as a trainee. His awareness and participation in these activities, was a result of his brother's association with the local Office of Development Commissioner as a Glass Painting artist.

According to him old Lucknow is the place where Zardosi karigars reside. Fancy work i.e. resham work has now dominated the craft. Earlier, quality work of dogh / vasli, shell, kasab, Mukesh and Kaccha resham was more popular. Previously only needle was used but now-a-days use of aari has dominated the craft. It is believed to be an invention of the local craftsman Chote Sahib Banarasi around independence. Today the Zardosi work is combined with chikankari; also present are kamdani, and resham work known as fancy work or kashmiri work. The shahi work, which was earlier done for the Nawabs on royal Crowns, khillat (ceremonial dress) masnads (royal dias), bolster and pillows, shamianas (canopies), horse

saddles, elephant howdas, shoes, hand bags; uniforms of the palanquin holders, water bearers and other such position holders is now done on dupatta, salwar, gharara, jumper, shawl, sari, salwar-suit, maxi, jacket etc. The Zardosi embroidery makes an exclusive appearance on patkas (cloth decorating the alams). Fareras (flags) for Muharram processions, curtains for imamabarās and veils for the shrines or mazars too. The work which was exclusive to the royal clientele has now evolved as a major item of trade. According to Khan the intricacy of design is found to be missing. It is the raw material which plays a key role in deciding its beauty.

Today women dominate the craft of kamdani, which is akin to gold and silver chikankari work, since it uses the stitches of chikankari. Problems faced by him were poor eyesight and gastric troubles. Khan has no plans to quit the craft business.

Case Study - 2

Exporter - Lucknow

Mohammed Riyaz Khan the General Manager of Azad Tobacco Company (Textile Division) has an MBA degree in Information and Technology from Maharishi University of Management. As soon as he completed his Master's Programme in 1996, profit margins in the trade motivated him to venture into this business.

According to Khan there exists no brand marketing and more expensive an item the better is its quality in terms of materials used and the finishing done. The supply chain in this trade is multi channelled. The person in the highest level of the chain contracts the maximum profits.

He has exported products with sequin work, cut work, antique work, crystal work, pipe work. The items for export market included Emblems, badges, jackets, gowns, purse, chappal uppers, caps, bags etc, for Europe while for the Middle East the products were purses, belts, stoles, yardages.

The sampling at times was handled by the big karkhandars. Khan selected designs from the trend magazines, which he would purchase during the trip to a specific country. The magazines would cost him Rs.1500/- to 2500/-. In his opinion it was difficult to decipher the type of work or design in the magazine pictures. However, even karigars created abstract or geometric designs by imagination which had better acceptance. According to him, blue prints of systematic design repeats were best made by an experienced karigar.



He is a member of the export promotion councils and other organizations, and yet he has not participated in the India International Gift Fair. In his opinion big players from Mumbai and Delhi book their participation in advance. He has made trips to Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Hong Kong and Australia. The liaison agent would organize his meeting with the buyer, but was not involved in deciding the terms of trade. The payments were made on DA or DP basis ranging from 15 to 90 days. Travelling, communication, sourcing of fabric, packaging charges etc. were included in sample making cost with an additional cost of profit margin.

He says the competition is quite high, illustrating an example he states, each flight in the Middle East has ten exporters of embroidery and every five minutes a flight lands. However, the dissolution of Quota regime is not seen as a threat for the business. The survival in a market totally depends on producing new and exclusive work. A need for the designer is not really felt, since the design ideas normally remain same and only the fabrics and the type of embroidery material combination changes. The need of the hour he feels is to recognize the competitors and tap the right market to earn better profit margins. He has been providing consistent quality, which fetches him repeat orders. The consignment is transported to the destination by Air and not through ship owing to cardboard packaging. Moreover, he feels the moisture creates unsuitable conditions for the embroidered fabric pieces. There are recurring problems that he has faced but, it is the money in the trade that keeps him going.

Case Study - 3

Trader - Lucknow

Badshah Ali aged 50 years is handling his inherited craft business. On completion of his primary education, he completely took to this craft. Ali feels education is not important for this craft, it is the brains and skill which works wonders. His three sons work with him. Also, his three younger brothers are engaged in this craft.

Ali fetches order from Phagwara and Ludhiana in Punjab, from the boutique owners since last twenty years. Earlier his father would contract work from the same place. Fortnightly or monthly, he makes a trip to Punjab carrying 30-40 suits and earns a profit of about Rs.4000/-. Ali opines that the work has deteriorated with time, also has the quantity of orders reduced, because there are too many players in this field. Marriages take place any time of the year and hence, the demand for work remains all round the year. Wholesalers from Mumbai order embroidered saris, suits, dupattas and lehngas on regular basis. Ali caters only to domestic market while his brothers get orders from America, Britain, France and West Asia. Ali's nephews have migrated to Saudi Arabia and Dubai to work as karigars, where Aari work is in great demand.

Ali comments, be it for domestic market or export market we have this tiring job to keep creating something new constantly to survive in the changing fashion trends. He would source his design inspiration from magazines and television serials. Ali keeps recreating designs from catalogues using a magnifying glass to understand the intricacy of embroidered work. He is not very conversant with the names of the stitches employed.

All these years he has been using Dabka, sippi as major raw materials for his orders. His forefathers would use pure gold and silver Dapka, precious stones and crystals to make articles for the Nawabs. This work was then labelled as Shahi Kaam, which included muqqaish work done with pure gold and silver wires on fine Muslin fabric. It is best suited on chiffon fabric. Muqqaish was a dead craft in the 70's and today there is no dearth for orders, but it is dominated by the females, who have taken up this craft to supplement their family income.

Ali is facing problem of weak eyesight and complains of backache. Since last five years he has concentrated only on trading. Moreover, his children do not allow him to work on an adda.

Case Study - 4

Master Craftsman - Bareilly

Mohammed Yusuf Khan fondly known as 'Yusuf Chacha' is 66 years old. He was the youngest child in a family of 11 members and his own nuclear family consists of seven members. Khan's father was in Army and all his children have graduated from Bareilly. Two of his sons are engaged in retail business of readymade garments and cosmetics

Yusuf Khan, as a child studied till sixth standard. Lack of sufficient funds forced him to leave school and earn his living. He started doing the Zardosi embroidery, which he had begun learning at the age of four in sheer enthusiasm. The art of Zardosi was learnt from Shamshuddin Zariwala of Bareilly, who has his business now in Colaba - Mumbai and Connaught Place - New Delhi.

He was dependent on his father as were the other siblings. His early earnings were Char Anna i.e. 25 paise per nafri, which was not enough though, yet a little help as this would matter much for the family. Till 1965, he earned Rs 3/- per 'Nafri' (a twelve hour shift then) and later he received Rs 70/- per nafri.

As a karigar he had worked in Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta and later he supplied his craft works to several places in India such as Harishchandra and Sons - Churni Road, Bombay, 'Vandana' - a retail shop in Delhi and Calcutta, 'Suhagan' in Kolkata, R. Maneklal in Ahmedabad and M.T. Market in Indore. Today, in spite of his old age he fetches work from the exporters of Delhi and Bareilly in person. He gets the order executed in his karkhana on Shahadana Road, where he has four karigars.

In addition, the women and other karigars collect work from him on piece basis. Yusuf Khan had begun his entrepreneurial business in 1980 borrowing a loan of Rupees twenty thousand from the State Bank of India,

which he was able to return in the following three years. He was in complete love with his work and created several masterpieces. He would create his own designs and prepare its tracings too. He strongly believed that the concerted efforts and dedication of karigars like him have given this craft its due recognition, stating “Meri aashiki se pahele tuze kaun jaanta tha, mere ishk ne banaya tuze bemisal karke”.

Khan recollects that this embroidery existed even during the time of his forefathers. According to him, Zardosi work is historical and finds mention in religious books, which states that this work is done on the Gilaf of Kab’a Sharif - in Mecca, and is changed every year by the King’s order during the Hajj season.

There exists great difference in craft then and now in terms of cost, type of work and quality as noticed by him. According to him the Zardosi embroidery, had a lesser spread earlier than today. The karigar then, spent time to create a masterpiece; put their heart and soul in work and still earned very little, where as karigars today are not dedicated and the skill and fineness in work is missing in general. However, their earnings are higher This he attributed to the changing life style of the people and their willingness to spend

Earlier the Zardosi work for the domestic market was done on border, lehngas and jackets in pure silver coated with gold. Several articles like military badges, belts, promotional kits were made Dogh / Vasli work was prevalent then which does not exist today. He remarked no karigar shall be able to make it today, since it is an art and needs patience. His collection boasts of articles done in a variety of styles and types.

He suffers from night blindness and his health has deteriorated since last two years. According to him he lived with the craft will die working with the craft. He says confidently “Even if I am blind folded, I will work for this craft, since it is the only thing I have done all these years”.

Case Study - 5

Exporter - Bareilly

Naeem Riazi of Ashi Zari Exports is of twenty eight years. Earlier he was a rickshaw driver who simultaneously worked as a subcontracted karigar. He became a supplier at the age of twenty one and an exporter at the age of twenty five. He lives in a nuclear family of seven members. His forefathers were traders before 1945 and he still treasures the Adda / Karchob used in his father's karkhana.

He started the export business by mortgaging his house to a bank. Initially, for six months his family lived in hand to mouth conditions, but his determination was strong to make a mark of his own. Today, he exports to California and New York in USA, Canada and Mexico. He has made several visits to America and prefers to meet the buyer directly.

According to him, visits to the places of export have helped him to create the sample according to their needs. The sampling takes place in the lean period especially around Christmas where in they work a year ahead of the season and they do not follow any trend. A catalogue of approved samples is printed by the buyers and orders gained from their market. The orders received by the exporter are then handed over to the supplier who gets it executed. The order could include 200- 25,000 pieces. The whole process from sampling to execution would take 60-90 days.

Riazi made payments to the thekedar per week. Thekedar would further make payments to the karigars spread out in the villages or towns. The workers employed in the export house were also paid every week, as per daily wages. He was particular about the maintenance of quality check

at various stages of production. It was the responsibility of the supplier or the bidder to check the quality of the embroidered pieces. The construction of these embroidered pieces was handed over as a job work. Washing, finishing and packaging was finally done in-house. Riazi commented that the buyers expected quality at competitive prices. Moreover, they made a visit to the export house at least once a year to check the cleanliness and hygienic conditions of the place of work.

Computers were used to handle designing, accounts, for invoice and packing list and as a means of quick communication with the buyer. Image transfer software for sample or product approvals was also used.

He was very satisfied as an entrepreneur as the government had extended some benefit schemes such as duty draw back and income tax rebate. The problems faced were catering to a large order and delivering it in a limited time, and absenteeism of *karigars*. Mental peace was disturbed and quality time could not be devoted to the family.

However, all this does not disillusion his ambition to become a big buyer.

Case Study - 6

Trader - Bareilly

Dhanraj Longani aged forty two owns an enterprise in partnership, since last twenty years. Not too interested in studies, after his inter (higher secondary school) examination he started a courier company, where in he got interested to explore the field of Zardosi. His family size consists of four members

He is a trader and gets orders from the exporters of Delhi, ranging from 20 - 20,000 pieces. Longani states that the orders he gets for home furnishing items are usually larger as compared to Apparels. The trend of strict adherence to quality parameters now can be attributed to opening of buying houses in Delhi. Since, last two years polyester in different varieties was used as a base fabric.

The amount of work is immense, but involves a lot of risk. According to him, whether it the fault of the exporter, karigar, pattern cutter, finisher etc, the ultimate loser is the trader. Few occurrences of payment not made for a consignment delivered have made him rethink his decision of being in the craft. Since it is a partnership firm the losses too are shared, however, the risk runs in lakhs.

Longani believes that due to the resurgence of Zardosi on the fashion scene, the export business is on the boom. The export market is extremely different from the domestic market in terms of the type of work, operations, designs and the profit margins too. Maintaining a dominion is a key to success, and one has to be always prepared for unexpected problems every time

Experience has made him learn the nuances of the trade. According to him, it is better to take larger orders of smaller items than vice versa, since in the former production turns out to be faster with higher returns. Moreover, even the karigars are bored doing larger pieces. Sourcing the correct raw material, following the spec sheet or the sampler, consumes much of the slated time for executing an order.

Longani expresses there is a risk involved in the business since, the exporter does not make the initial investment, so he is least bothered about a rejection of a consignment. Moreover, the business transaction between the exporter and bidder takes place on trust therefore he has to wait till payments are made to him. On account of bitter experiences Longani prefers business with the exporters of Delhi than those from Mumbai.

Case Study - 7

Master Craftsman - Kolkata

Sheikh Abdullah, aged 34 has been spreading awareness about the finer points of Zardosi as an empanelled designer of the Design and Technical Development Centre since 2003, under the Ministry of Textiles. He belongs to village Nalpur of Howrah District, which has been a home to generations of Zardosi karigar. He learnt the craft more as a tradition than talent.

Abdullah learnt types of stitches long before the alphabets. Zardosi, like all traditional industries did not offer hopes of comfortable life, hence his uncle in this business dissuaded him from entering the trade; he relented enough to give preliminary classes. Yet, his uncle would sketch and teach various designs and stitches on dust. He mastered the techniques in Zardosi stitches of 'ari', 'iri' and 'erey' Weekly deliveries were to be made on Saturday mornings; Friday nights would hum with activity. On such night, he would be asked to lend a hand

He believes this art to have originated in Persia and was imported to India by the Moghul emperors for their royal wardrobes. He comments, 'this staple embroidery of Haute couture had long been the exclusive preserve of the rich and the fashionable, is now widely marketed and sold at the New Market'. Embroidery articles were exported to Italy, USA and Saudi Arabia in the form of curtains that are priced exorbitantly. His village is a mini industry supplying for theatre and films throughout the country.

He has visited J.J. Vallaya's unit "Vallaya improvised on zardosi using new techniques. He used new colours and burnt Zari to incorporate the typical J.J. Vallays signature on the traditional mould" remembers Abdullah

Abdullah wishes that better remuneration should be given to the poor rural craftsmen who earn a paltry sum of Rs.80-100 a day. Also, he has always regretted using the labour intensive embroidery on garments, locked in wardrobes; these are out of sight and hence out of mind.

Abdullah left his native place in 1985 to further his studies in Kolkata. He took keen interest in antiques and would study these at Indian Museum, Kolkata. In 1989 he joined Ravindra Bharati University for his Bachelors degree in visual arts.

Later, he attended several workshops and held 17 exhibitions at places like Mumbai, Delhi, Bhopal, Kerala, Bangalore, Rajasthan, Bihar and Kolkata, as Zardosi artist. He strongly feels that the embroidered stitch work on cloth will fade with time and discarded ultimately, which will be a shameful waste. Hence for better appreciation and understanding, he decided to introduce traditional Zardosi art as an art form, partly for innovation and partly for durability. In addition he wanted to give Zardosi another dimension in art so that it becomes an integral part of the genre for aesthetic value and remains alive in the public memory.

Abdullah uses goat hair as the main raw material to create a Zardosi art work along with wooden and copper beads, old jute mats, broken coins etc. He has established his style as a folk artist rather than an artisan, since he wants to increase the longevity of his work. Although, Abdullah is making his mark as a painter, he says, Zardosi will always remain my first love.

Case Study - 8

Trader - Kolkata

Ravi Bothra of Maharani Selections runs an inherited retail business of Zardosi craft. He owns a retail outlet in an up market of Kolkata. He has been in the business since twelve years i.e. after completion of graduation.

He feels the work is very demanding. Moreover, he prefers to make visits to his karkhana, quite often. If he finds a sub-standard work, he gets it open whenever possible. Opening up of Aari work was much easier than that done with a needle. In case, if pitta - a finishing process is done, then the risk of damage was more; as unraveling would damage the cloth. He had learnt the technicalities of the Zardosi craft over the years. Citing an example Bothra said if pallav is heavily embroidered as compared to the field; it is held on the adda for longer duration. This leads to a change in the dimensions of the fabric, which is further rectified by application of starch known as 'charak'. He further revealed that a sari of length six yards to be embroidered would be fixed thrice on an adda of size ten feet, while it would be fixed only twice on an adda of size 14 feet.

Bothra has an outlet for customized selling. The peak season according to him is Durga Puja. According to him, in this age of cross commercialism and changes taking place at a fast pace in fashion world, nothing is consistent. The type of zardosi work keeps on changing. Moreover, he caters to the tastes of his customers. Demand for metal embroidery was more as compared to thread work. It was known as 'chumki' work amongst consumers and 'maal' work among the karigars. Another work popular in Kolkata was contrast work. Saris and lehanga-cholis were produced with contrast coloured borders and cholis.

A lighter variety of work was worked in a jaal pattern while an elaborate work would have localized placement such as collars, centre front, neckline, sleeve band and sleeve hem for apparels and as borders for saris.

The problem commonly faced by him was getting the right work done from the karigars and delivering the order in time

Case Study - 9

Trader - Surat

Mahesh Arjunbhai Chhapgar, is 48 years of age and has been handling the inherited business of Zardosi craft since 34 years. His fore fathers were dyers in Kathiawar. Drought in their native place displaced them.

Chhapgar feels Zardosi is embroidery with finesse; to pursue it one needs self confidence, deep thinking and concentration, which of course today's youth lack and therefore shy away from the craft. Earlier, he followed a three tiered channel which included catering to the product requirement of businessman in Bombay who would then sell it to the ultimate consumers. Changes in terms of trade resulted in loss in business; since then he catered only to the local market (Marwari, Kachhi and Khatri Samaj) of Surat. Since eight years, he caters directly to the individual customers. The product requirements of his clients were saris, borders and ghaghra set. Special orders from the Marwaris included bel - butt work on pilia saris which resembles the carving work of Farukhabad.

According to Chhapgar, the boom in fashion institutes has created young designers, who lay importance on the finesse of Zardosi work and therefore the value of Zardosi items have increased.

In the year 1991 he had put up a stall in India International Trade Fair. His bitter experience stopped him to venture into exports market. The changes observed during the long span in the trade of Zardosi craft were rise in the price of silver and development of chemical compounds which have assisted in production of non-tarnishing Zari threads.

He wishes to install a metal analyzer machine which can detect up to forty metals in a product. This would help him provide improved service to his clients giving them the benefits of ensuring a pure product and retain his good will in the market.

His clientele belonged to the elite class; and therefore sixty per cent of the work done in his karkhana was done with pure Zari. Chhapgar was thus hesitant in increasing his work-force. Trustworthiness of the karigars held more importance for him

He had participated in a workshop organized by the Ministry of Textiles in the year 2002 for product development, wherein he learnt about multiple products such as show piece, pen set, wall hangings, photo frames, fashion accessories etc. He also, learnt that Arabs prefer Zari work while Germans do not. Americans have a cosmopolitan culture hence all type of work is accepted.

Chhapgar strongly believed that there is a need to set up a co-operative society to deal with the marketing of Zardosi articles.

Case Study - 10

Master craftsman - Surat

Rahim Tulla Mohammed Hussain, aged 56 was a native of Benaras. He came to Surat in 1980, in search of better returns for the time invested and has settled there.

Like him his nine children are also not educated. They are engaged as workers in small jobs. According to him, he lacks social security and hence cannot become an entrepreneur.

With regards to the variety of work he claims to have produced more of 'Jhik kaam' earlier than today. The use of multi coloured metal thread along with accessories like tare, kidiya moti, jewels, marquis, kundan etc is much used now. Resham thread is mainly used for aari work. Also, used are acrylic and cotton yarns. The 'badlani' work which existed earlier in great finesse is rarely seen and today the production lacks workmanship therefore, it is known as chaalu kaam. A single dot is termed as 'badla ka daana'. The reduced use of badla in Surat can be attributed to automated application of 'chamki', which gives a similar look as badla and was cost effective too.

The calendaring machine, which had replaced the process of 'pittai', is not much in use now, since the demand for 'tilla work' has decreased and people prefer thread work in combination with metal embroidery materials.

The type of work keeps on changing with fashion and requirement of the customers. However, the 'tangkal work' (using needle) done on ghaghra-cholis for marriages have always been a heavier variety with the use of 'Jhik'.

The problems faced by him have been many, but he had no complaints. He strongly felt, that this job as a karigar was his living and even in absence of education it has provided him with the comforts of life.