

Turning Waste into Means: Human Hair Business in a West Bengal Village

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The present study is a part of an ongoing research conducted on human hair business at a rural-level entrepreneurship run by the people living in Lohabarh village under Bhagwanpur-1 Block in Purba Medinipur district of West Bengal, India. This business is also found in many other villages of this administrative block. It deals with the fallen hair tangles which serve as the main raw materials collected from different rural and urban areas of West Bengal. The products like hair wigs or hair extensions are sold in national and international markets through local and foreign traders or through online platforms. Therefore, a large network of business organizations is involved in the whole process. The study aims to know the process of turning the waste into reusable product along with the exploration of the nature of business organization and to understand the networks connected to international market from such a rural-level entrepreneurship so that the local and global interaction is realized in this context. The study reveals how people do this work at the village level and how it is circulated outside the village. It has enquired about the people involved and the extent of dividends contributing to their economic prosperity. It is revealed that a group of economically backward people had an occupational shift to this work, and it helped them to uplift their economic conditions considerably.

Keywords: human hair, waste, reuse, rural entrepreneurship, business anthropology, India

INTRODUCTION

In general hair has been a major locus of beauty for both men and women. When man loses his hair he is called bald which leads him to mental discomfiture. For women hair fall is treated as a serious problem because for them, head hair is not only a beauty but also an expression of self-image. So hair loss is a physical problem and at the same time it has social and psychological aspects. People spend lots of money using different types of hair oils and herbal remedies or on doctors and medicines to prevent hair loss or to grow hair. In this context wigs and extension industries enter the scene to offer an alternative solution. It is predicted that during 2018-2024 the market growth of hair wigs and extension is expected to increase at a “CAGR¹ of over 8 %”. In global beauty market, hair care section took 18% of total revenue account in 2017 and ranked as the second largest sector (after skin care) in global beauty market.²

Human hair is thought or treated as a waste material and people do not always store their fallen hair purposefully, but rather sweep it out. Thus, considering useless thing, hair is thrown away into the garbage heap and waste stream of municipality in thousands of rural and urban areas in the world (Kumar et al.

2009). Often in large cities and urban areas, huge amount of hair wastes accumulate into drains and small canals causes blockage in drainage system and turn it into an unhealthy state creating severe conservancy problem. Accumulation of human hair over a long period of time in bulk amount besides water bodies like ponds, canals or riverbanks results big problem like eutrophication (Gupta 2014).³ Burning of waste piles containing human hair in municipality areas is a practice which results production of many toxic gases like ammonia, hydrogen sulphide, carbonyl sulphide, sulphur dioxide, phenols, pyridines, nitriles etc. inhalation of which can cause several respiratory problems (Brebun & Spiridon 2011).

Hair is associated with the socio-religious beliefs and practices in India. Hindu women and girls in India often spit in the tangled hair just after removing from combs before throwing it away. Even Muslim women say *bismillah* (in the name of Allah) three times over tangled hair before throwing away or bury them. These acts are done following a notion related to *tuk* (for Hindu) or *sihr* (for Muslims). The words like *tuk* or *sihr* are related to the practice of sorcery and witchcraft. In both the religions, people who believe in black magic or contagious magic, hold a superstition that their enemies may use left-off hair to do physical harm by supernatural means. For Hindu women, the spitting over the hair is performed with a belief to make it defiled intentionally so that it cannot be used in any rituals. However, besides all these issues, there seems to be a big economical gain which fully depends on this particular waste material. Since childhood, we have noticed that some hair collectors visit our hamlet by bicycle and offer utensils or money in return of hair. Surprisingly they used to give a high price which is now Rs. 5000/kg for waste hair tangles, which is apparently a high price in the Indian standard. We still find that they visit by motorcycle. It indicates that now they need to cover larger area than before, and they belong to a business network which can afford their collections through motorcycle. Then we did not have any idea of the nature of this business or commercial network lies behind it. Searching web and libraries, we get almost nothing on this topic. However, we could learn through informal talk with some of the people engaged in the collection of waste hair that these are being processed in Purba Medinipur. Then the idea of this work came to us as a potential area for anthropological study.

Although human hair has initially been a topic of study for biological anthropologists (Brues 1940; Garn 1948; Banerjee 1963; Das-Chaudhury 1978; Orfanos and Happle 2012; Janif, Brooks and Dixon 2015), in social-cultural anthropology, it became a focus of symbolic approach (Douglas 1996; Obeyesekere 2014). However, the present study differs from the earlier works, as it takes up the perspective of business anthropology which appears as a new sub-branch of social cultural anthropology. Although business anthropology approaches the topic from three dimensions, viz.: (i) organization, (ii) marketing and consumer behaviour, (iii) design, yet the present study mainly deals with the organization and marketing aspects. The application of anthropological understanding in this regard helps to know the enterprise in the ways established in the discipline.

However, an alternative understanding of it can be proposed as the discipline that applies the theories and methodological interventions of social-cultural anthropology in the research and exploration of organizations and their ecosystems. The business organization gives us the ideas on the structure, formation, and movement of a business group and how their structure helps to meet their organizational goal (Trice 1995). Here, entrepreneurship as a business organization refers to the process of setting up a business bearing most of the risks and enjoying most of the rewards. Conceptually entrepreneurs supply risk capital as a risk taker and business activities are monitored under their control. The term was coined by Richard Cantillon in 1755 and a formal definition of the term was also given by him. He describes an entrepreneur as an “*adventurer*” who deals with both the risk and profit factors of a business. By the word adventurer in his definition, Cantillon tried to summarize the acceptance of risking factors like uncertainty of production, sell and profit (Cantillon 2010). This idea applies well to the present business venture.

Human hair is reused in many ways for different purposes. Human hair has some unique features which make it valuable even after falling from the scalp also. Besides its slow degradation rate, thermal insulation properties, elastic recovery, high tensile strength, its scaly surface has also uniqueness in interaction with oils and water. This is why it has a diverse use in various industries depending on the types of collected hair based on the length, color, texture, condition of contamination etc. (Gupta 2014).

In the book namely “*Small Manufacturing Enterprises: A Comparative Study of India and Other Economies*”, Ian M.D. Little, Dipak Mazumdar and John M. Page pointed out the changes in industrial size structure in developing and developed countries. Moreover, they discussed on practising the small-industry policy focussing on the case studies of three industries namely textile industry, sugar industry and light engineering industry (Little et al. 1987). Romesh Singh made an ethnographic study on the management of corporate organizations in India. The book has chapters on ‘*Doing Ethnography in business Organization*’, ‘*Management Culture in India*’ and four more chapters on case studies of different corporate organizations in India. It also throws some light on the organizational anthropology and helps to understand how a study on the business organizations or organizational structure can be made (Singh 2017).

Besides those, some other applied studies need to be mentioned from various fields. Gupta has identified nine different sections of industry based on usages of human hair and divided into twenty different sub-sections (Gupta 2014). Mishra mentioned about seven human hair uses from different aspects like hair harvesting, moulding furniture and objects like mannequins, using as suturing material in surgeries, in oil filtration, using as insulator in cryogenic insulation, in making ropes for horse riding and hanging bells, in making of cosmetic brushes (Mishra 2017). Huang experimented on optical properties of human hair and wrote a paper in an open journal on its possible contribution in melanoma development (Huang et al. 2018). Wilson worked on capturing the life cycle of false hair products like hair wigs, extensions, toppers, weaves, toupees etc. to identify opportunities for remanufacture (Wilson et al. 2019). The book namely “*Wig Making and Styling*” written by Martha Ruskai and Allison Lowery has been gone through. Although, wig making terms, tools and techniques, basics of wig making etc. have been elaborated in this book, the local terms and techniques are different from the ones mentioned in the book (Ruskai & Lowery 2010). The book, “*Hair: Untangling a Social History*” written by Penny Howell Jolly has been gone through. It has a chapter namely ‘introduction to a social history of hair, roots, knots, and tangles’ that specially conveys the social history and different types of hair styling and other social aspects related to hair (Jolly 2004). Another book namely “*India Working: Essays on Society and Economy*” written by Barbara Harris-White should be mentioned. She described the working of the Indian economy through its most important social structures of accumulation such as labor, capital, state, gender, physical space, religious plurality, caste, and economic organization. Moreover, it has been conveyed vividly that how India’s economy is being socially regulated (Harriss-White 2003).

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

From the review of the earlier studies on human hair, it is almost clear that there is no work which has focused on the dimensions of the craft of human hair wig processing at the micro level. The present study is foregrounded in the context to add some information and insight into this business venture. In nutshell the main objectives can be pointed out in the following manner:

1. To explore the nature of the business organization and trans-local linkages.
2. To inquire into the procedure of making hair extensions out of hair tangle waste in the study area.
3. To find out how occupational shift took place in the studied village towards hair wig business.

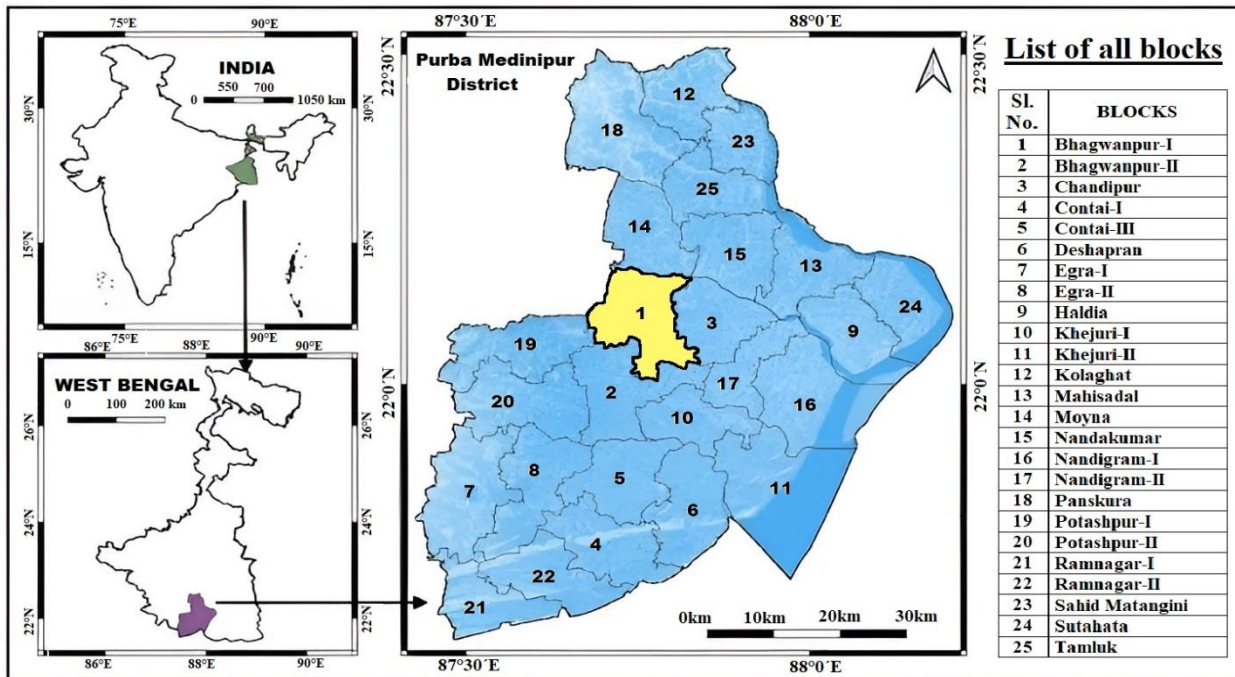
As no such anthropological study has been done yet on human hair business, most of the data has been collected from the primary source through fieldwork visiting the study area. For the selection, opportunity sampling strategy has been followed.

One of the main focuses of study is to explore the procedure of making and marketing of hair wigs. Hence in that case, data will be descriptive as well as qualitative in nature. The fieldwork has been done in Lohabarh village where almost all the inhabitants are engaged in this industry. The duration of fieldwork was from 4th February 2022 to 5th March 2023. The inception of study has been done by finding out the wig making units in the present location. Data has been collected through interview, case study, observation, open ending questionnaire and schedule. The primary data has been collected from the individuals engaged in the processing of hair wig and trading with raw and finished products.⁴

The machines, tools and mechanism have been recorded through drawing on paper. Camera and video recorder have also been used for photographs and video after asking for proper consent from the authority. Some video-based interaction analyses also have been used to understand how the workers interact with each other and with machines so that the talks and nonverbal interactions can be recorded.

AREA AND PEOPLE

FIGURE 1
LOCATION OF THE BHAGWANPUR-I BLOCK IN THE DISTRICT MAP OF PURBAMEDINIPUR



Lohabarh village has been selected as the study area for its being a centre of hair-wig industry located within the jurisdiction of Bhagwanpur-I Community Development block of Egra sub-division of Purba Medinipur district in West Bengal. As per, 2011 Census of India Bhagwanpur-I CD block had a total population of 234,432 of which 222,677 were rural and 11,755 were urban. There were 121,301 (52%) males and 113,131 (48%) females. Scheduled Castes numbered 33,435 (14.26%) and Scheduled Tribes numbered 411 (0.18%). There is also a village named Bhagawanpur in this block. The other important villages in this block are Mahammadpur, Gur Gram, Kakra, Bibhisanpur, Simulia, Betulya Chaklapur, Kotbar, Sar Berya, Narayan Danri, Kalaberia, and Pakhibheri. In the village Lohabarh, it had been said that in that village many years ago a magical *Barh* (door) made full of *Loha* (iron) was found to be popped up from a pond. Since then, the village is named Lohabarh. The village path is made of concrete, but it was very narrow (not more than 8 feet in breadth). The village is full of water bodies in both sides of the village path. Total population of the village is 201 among which male and female populations are 108 and 93 respectively. (See table 1 below)

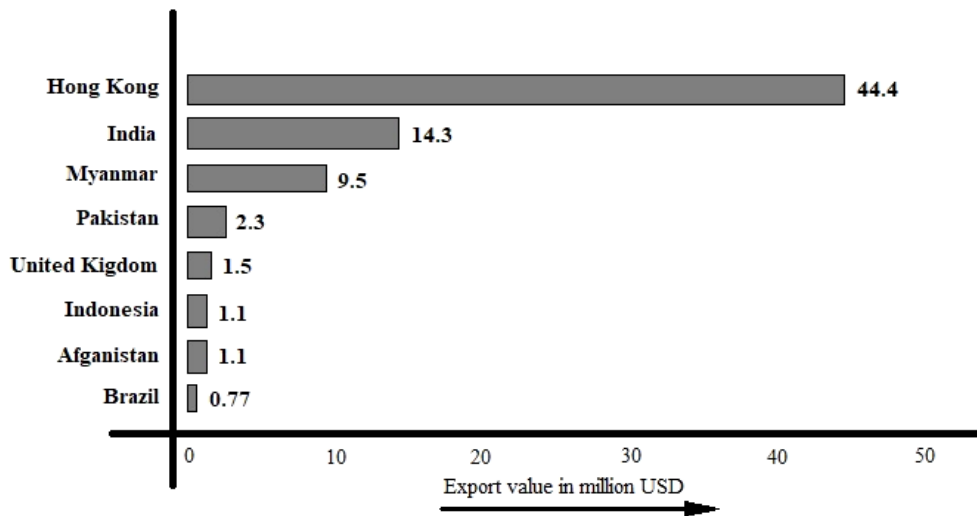
TABLE 1
AGE-SEX WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

Age Group	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
≤4	7	3.48	2	1.00	9	4.48
5-9	8	3.98	4	1.99	12	5.97
10-14	12	5.97	10	4.98	22	10.95
15-19	6	2.99	11	5.47	17	8.46
20-24	12	5.97	10	4.98	22	10.95
25-29	10	4.98	10	4.98	20	9.95
30-34	8	3.98	10	4.98	18	8.96
35-39	10	4.98	5	2.49	15	7.46
40-44	7	3.48	7	3.48	14	6.97
45-49	7	3.48	9	4.48	16	7.96
50-54	5	2.49	5	2.49	10	4.98
55-59	5	2.49	3	1.49	8	3.98
60-64	9	4.48	3	1.49	12	5.97
65-69	0	0.00	2	1.00	2	1.00
≥70	2	1.00	2	1.00	4	1.99
Total	108	53.73	93	46.27	201	100.00

NATURE OF THE BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

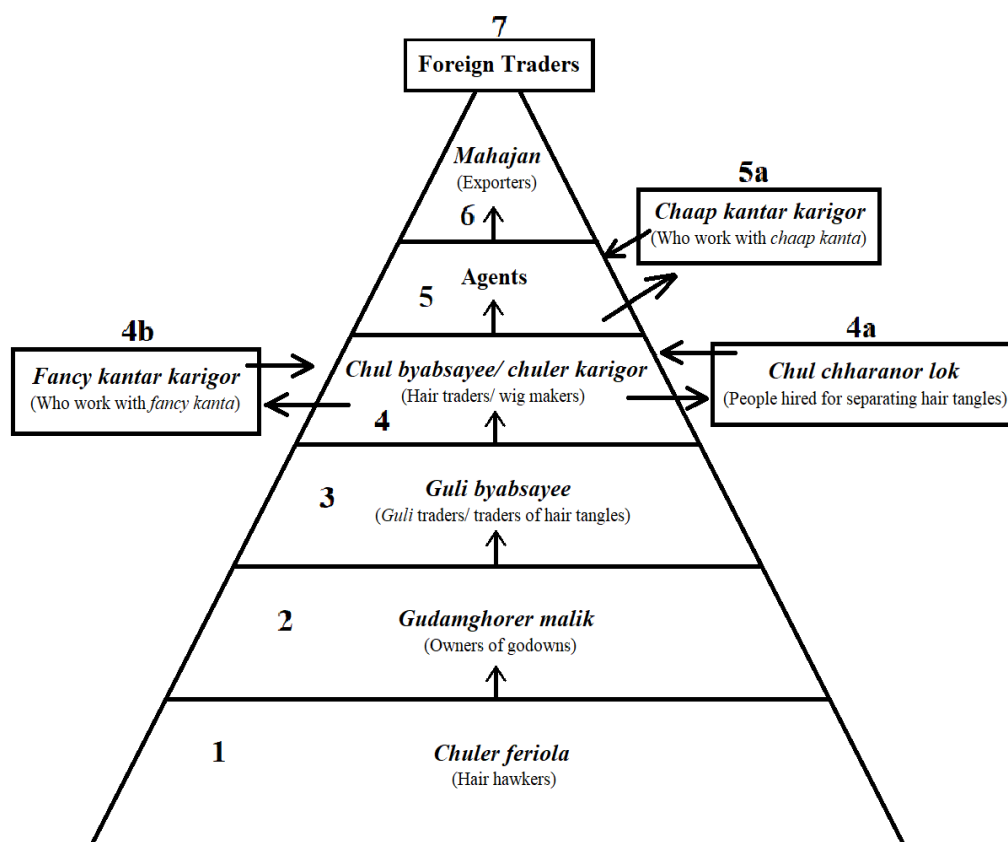
In the present case, we have taken up the starting and growth of the ‘human hair business’ that has been mentioned in the title of this article. India has been generating millions of dollars in revenue every year with exporting human hair throughout the world. According to news report on 28 March 2023 covered by ‘StartupTalky’ (one of the leading virtual media platforms covering reports on industry research and business news), India as a largest worldwide hair exporting country stands second just after Hong Kong (See Figure 2). Although Hong Kong is in the first position, for being mostly ‘virgin hair’ Indian hair seems to be classier than others and makes it highly preferable by the hair extension companies.⁵

FIGURE 2
LEADING HUMAN HAIR EXPORTING COUNTRIES WORLDWIDE IN 2020



The business organization in this case works as an individual level of management and ownership and is initially very much family-centred. To understand this part of the organization, we need to know about the different categories of individuals concerned to this organization. The production organization as well as their distribution involves mainly six tiers of individuals in the present case. Those are (i) *chuler feriola*, (ii) *gudam ghorermalik*, (iii) *guli byabsayee*, (iv) *chul byabsayee/ chuler karigor*, (v) agents and (vi) *mahajan*. The tiers as well as the structure can be demonstrated through a pictorial illustration forming the pyramid shown below:

FIGURE 3
PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE MULTIPLE TIERS RELATED TO THE HUMAN HAIR BUSINESS ORGANIZATION



Chuler feriola (Hair hawkers)

The hawkers who collect hair tangles from the various villages and towns of India are called as *chuler feriola*. They visit by bicycle or motorbikes and collect the tangled hairs in return of either money or goods. The goods may be utensils or plastic toys etc. The cost they offer may vary from Rs. 3000 to 5000 per kilogram depending on the market price. The hawkers work under some people who own their *gudamghor* (godowns or storehouse) for stocking of tangled hairs.

Gudamghorer malik (Owners of godowns)

The owners of the godowns after collecting a huge number of tangled hairs by the help of the different hawkers pack those hairs into nylon bags for selling. The weight of each bag may be 20-30 kilogram in general and the cost of those bags may vary from Rs. 4200 to 5200 per kilogram.

Guli byabsayee (Guli traders)

The hair tangles or *guli* are bought by the *guli* traders who visit the godowns and collect huge amount of those bagfuls of hair tangles in wholesale rate which may vary from Rs. 4400 to 5400 per kilogram.

Chul byabsayee/ chuler karigor (Hair worker or Wig makers)

The wig makers buy bags of hair tangles as per their need. Sometimes the *guli* traders take those bags to the hose of the wig makers. These *chul byabsayee* or *chuler karigors* start to process the hair tangles and make wigs. They sell those wigs to the agents after the making is done at Rs. 4600 to 5600 per kilogram. The steps of making wigs will be discussed later.

Agents

The role of the agents is to collect the hair extensions from the makers and sell them to the *mahajans* or exporters after the further finishing step. The wigs are basically collected from the wig makers at a certain stage in processing. The agents deal with their respective *mahajans*. They sell those wigs at the rate of Rs. 5800-6000 per kilogram. This price also may vary depending on the different sizes of the wigs.

Mahajan (Exporters)

Mahajans are the exporters of the processed hair for wigs, and they deal with the national and foreign traders coming from China and Bangladesh. They collect those hairs from many agents and sell them in high rates. That may vary from Rs. 8000 to 10000 per kilogram.

Apart from these there are several other groups who has some significant role in this organization should be mentioned such as *fancy kantar karigor* who are hired by the *chuler karigors*. Now at this point of knowledge I must say that these categories most of the time are family centred. For instance, in case of one *chulerferiola*, two or three members of their family are engaged in the same occupation, and they are not even directly connected to the *chuler karigor*. *Mahajan* never deals with a *guli byabsayi*, and he or she keeps the business inside their family. However, the study of this paper only focuses on the *chuler karigor*, who only works inside their houses with their business setup. Head of their families own their family business and only the family members who manage the works are concerned to their business. One family barely deals or even discusses its business matter, source and supply of raw materials, profit and money matter or details of workload with other families. These way two individual families in the same household are always competitors to each other. Thus, this organization has a very important feature of Indian management where “ownership and management are not differentiated; almost invariably overlap” as categorized by Singh (Singh 2017).

The sections of the business organization are diffused and blended in multiple locations in and around West Bengal. A group of godown owners have been traced in Panchla Community Development block of Howrah. Hair hawkers work under these godown owners. They have their own groups and spread out in different rural and urban areas. There are a number of traders of hair tangles in Bhagwanpur-I block of Purba Medinipur district. They have their permanent shops in marketplaces of Bajkul and Kalaberia in the same block. Maximum number of hair traders lives in the different villages of the Bhagwanpur-I block. Our study area, village Lohabarh is one of them. The hair traders do not make a complete wig or extension. Hair extension makers who finalise the product and make a complete wig live in Baniban, Jagadishpur area in Ulubeia of Howrah district and in some places of Kolkata also. They even call themselves *chul byabsayi*. *Mahajans* live in Bhagwanpur and Chandipur area of Purba Medinipur district. In this way the business organization is operating at multiple locations around West Bengal and this feature gives the organization a trans-local form.

PROCEDURE OF TURNING WASTE INTO MEANS

Previously we have discussed the nature of the hair business organization and tried to understand its trans-local linkages. Apart from these it has also been discussed how the tangled hair is collected from the households by the hair hawkers. Nevertheless, if we try to find out the procedure of making hair extensions

out of hair tangle waste, we need to be familiar with the implements. In the procedure of making a hair extension mainly four types of specialised implements are involved. Those are as follows:

Chhnuch (needle)

A *chhnuch* or needle is used in the very first step. However, the needle which they use is modified with a home-made handle/ holder. The needle is installed to the place of the nib of a use-and-throw pen to set this holder.

Kanchi Kanta (Scissor spikes)

It is an implement made with a wooden slab (3-4 feet in length) and a row of aluminium spikes fit on it. The spikes are symbolised as thorns (*kanta*) and the partly tangled hairs are separated like a scissor (*kanchi*) separating a thing into two pieces on this machine and thus, it is named so. However, this machine is also called '*ak-sari kanta*' (thorns in one row).

Fancy Kanta (Styling spikes)

It is the same one like *kanchi kanta* with two or three rows of spikes. This machine is named after hair bunches are worked on this for giving a fancy look.

Chap Kanta (Dense spikes/ Pressure spikes)

This implement has six rows of spikes. Worker needs to put much pressure (*Chap*) to work with this machine. Thus, it is named so.

Procedure of making hair extension

(i) Chul chharano (Separating hair)

The first step is *chul chharano* (untangling the tangled hairs with separating each hair strands). It is done with the help of a needle fitted to the place of the nib of a use-and-throw pen. The *gulis* (hair tangles) are untangled one by one with a help of a needle. This step needs patience and mainly the women of their locality are engaged in this step. The wig makers also hire people from the outside of the village for this step at the time of workload and the hired people are paid Rs. 200 to 250 per kilogram.

(ii) Kanchi mara (Scissor work)

After the process of *chul chharano* (untangling of hair) the next step is *kanchi mara* (cutting with scissor) and it is done with *ak-sari kanta* (single line needle). This step is named after the technique followed by the workers who hold a bunch of hair strands and repeatedly run through the spikes of the *kanchi kanta*. By this process the hairs are torn off. At the end of this step the hair strands are bunched with the help of a rubber band from one end.

(iii) Chul dhoa (washing the hair)

Now it is the time of cleaning the hair. For the cleaning process shampoo and detergent powder are mixed with water into a big bucket. Hair bundles are washed thoroughly several times into that mixture. Then it is washed in the pond water again.

(iv) Chul sukano (drying the hair)

After that cleaning process those were hanged on a rope in the open air and under the direct sunlight and left to be dry properly.

(v) Fancy mara (styling the hair)

After that the bunch of hairs are run through the *fancy kanta*.

(vi) Packaging of the hair extensions

After the making is done hair extensions are packed inside an aluminium box and now it is ready to supply to *mahajans* through their agents. However, these hair extensions are divided into different sizes like 6-inch, 4-inch, 10-inch, 12-inch and 24-inch.

OCCUPATIONAL SHIFT

**TABLE 2
AGE GROUP WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BASED ON MAIN OCCUPATION**

Age Group	Main Occupation																	
	Hair Business		Agriculture		Hotel Boy		Householder		Student		Others		NA		Daily Laborer			
	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)		
≤4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	2.99	1.00	...	...
5-9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.98	1.99	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10-14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.97	4.98	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
15-19	0.50	1.49	...	...	...	...	...	2.49	3.98	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20-24	2.99	0.50	...	...	1.49	...	...	0.50	2.49	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25-29	2.49	2.49	...	...	0.50	...	...	1.49	...	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30-34	1.99	2.49	...	...	0.50	...	2.49	...	...	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35-39	2.99	2.49	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	...
40-44	2.49	2.99	0.50	...	...	...	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	...
45-49	1.99	2.99	...	...	...	...	1.00	...	...	0.50	0.50	...	...	...	...	1.00	...
50-54	1.99	1.00	...	...	...	...	1.49	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	...
55-59	2.49	1.49	...	...	...	...	0.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
60-64	2.99	0.50	0.50	...	...	...	1.00	...	...	1.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
65-69	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	0.50	...	...
≥70	0.50	0.50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.50	...	...
Total	23.38	18.91	1.49	...	2.49	...	11.44	14.93	13.43	4.98	0.50	3.48	1.99	2.49	...	...	...

In the study area among the male population, we can find basically three types of occupation- hair business, agriculture and working outside village as a hotel boy. Although, according to the villagers previously they were fully dependent on their agriculture, we can observe an occupational shift just after opening a chance of this hair business which seems more profitable for them. 23.32% (47 no. of males) of the total population (201) are engaged in the hair business. Despite those females who initially used to work as only householders, they can now help their families economically by engaging themselves into this hair business. We can see at present 18.91% (38 females) of the total population are doing hair business. In contrast, only 1.49% (3) and 2.49% (5) males of the total population are presently engaged in the agriculture and hotel service respectively, which were their earlier main occupation. We can understand that 23.32% males have shifted their occupation to the hair business and the population has a huge dependency on this work. So, this business has a significant impact on the occupational profile among the study population.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of qualitative and quantitative data, on the nature and distribution of the human hair extension industry in Lohabarh village of Bhagwanpur-I block in Purba Medinipur district have been discussed along with the data on processing of those extensions out of human hair tangle waste. We have tried to understand the process of utilization of a waste material to recycle them into usable product and whether it is sustainable or not. Moreover, we can understand that through the process of turning the wastes to means in a sustainable way the people are being economically benefited and empowered gradually.

Besides that, the dependence upon this hair business seems to be more profitable and giving more social and economic security than their earlier occupational profile. Thus, a huge amount of occupational shift is reflected in the data. Despite that females who were initially only householders, they can now get chance to help their families economically by engaging themselves into this hair business.

Alongside, this hair business is being operated in multiple levels of operations. So, there are diverse types of engagement of the population in different types of works related to this business (see pyramid above). If we see the occupational profile of the study area it is visible that the economy of the population presently moves on this business particularly. So, this business is not only about turning the waste to means, collaterally this is a meaningful way of living for the economically backward people of the study area that has also been reflected through the engagement of the people and the shift of occupation which is turning waste to the means of their livelihood.

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ENDNOTES

1. *CAGR or Compound Annual Growth Rate* is the mean annual growth of an investment over a specified period longer than one year.
2. <https://reportlinker.com/p05822878/Hair-Wigs-and-Extensions-Market-Global-Outlook-and-Forecast.html>, accessed on 28.10.2020 at 10:44 PM.
3. *Eutrophication* is the process in which water bodies are overly enriched with nutrients like nitrogen leading to excessive growth of algae and plankton and turn into a serious environmental issue.

4. *Details of the interviewed people:*

Name (Sex/Age)	Educational Qualification	Occupation
G.M. (M/35)	Upper Primary	Trading of hair tangles
J.B. (F/60)	Upper primary	Processing of wig making
M.P. (M/62)	Secondary	Trading of hair extensions and wigs
M.M. (M/21)	Graduate	Processing of wig making
K.B. (F/30)	Upper Primary	Processing of wig making
J.L. (M/47)	Illiterate	Processing of wig making
P.B. (M/23)	Graduate	Trading of hair extensions and wigs
S.M. (M/43)	Higher Secondary	Exporting hair wigs
B.S. (M/63)	Primary	Processing of wig making
P.S. (F/23)	Secondary	Separating hair tangles
A.M. (M/48)	Primary	Trading of hair tangles
S.M. (F/43)	Illiterate	Separating hair tangles
M.P. (M/56)	Upper primary	Processing of wig making
S.M. (M/24)	Higher Secondary	Processing of wig making
A.S. (F/42)	Primary	Separating hair tangles

As per the social science research ethics, we have not disclosed the actual names of the people interviewed.

5. <https://startuptalky.com/human-hair-inustry-india/>, accessed on 25.04.2023 at 02:01 PM. (Nair, 2023).

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