

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Econ.)
in the University of London.

"Woman and Child Industrial Labour in the
Bombay ^S Presidency".
^

Zainul Abidin Ahmad B.A. (Alig.) B.Sc.Econ.(London).

London - 1935.



ProQuest Number: 11010451

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 11010451

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

14.X1.57

C O N T E N T S

	Page
1. Introductory Note	1
2. Chapter I : Some features of the part played by women in Production in India.	7
3. Chapter II: Female Labour in the Regulated Industries.	16
4. Chapter III: Female Labour in the Unregulated Organised Industries.	76
5. Chapter IV : Female Labour in the Cottage Industries.	135
6. Chapter V : Some problems regarding the sphere of work and earnings of women.	215
7. Chapter VI: Child Labour in Industry.	230
8. Chapter VII: Some problems regarding health and welfare of the female worker.	274

I N T R O D U C T O R Y N O T E

The post-war years in India have been marked by a fairly widespread public interest in the conditions of industrial workers. India had her share of the labour unrest which followed the close of the war in most of the industrialised countries. Prices rose rapidly whilst wages lagged. Thus the number of industrial disputes which took place between 1919 and 1922 were unprecedented in the history of the country. Revolutions and political upheavals abroad opened the eyes of educated Indians to the potential importance of the working man and woman in political life. The International Labour Office linked up Indian labour with labour in the rest of the world, and the international labour conferences stimulated public interest in the comparative conditions of the Indian and European workers. The Government of India responded to this new public consciousness and carried forward the legislative protection of the industrial workers by the Factory^{ies} Act of 1922, the Mining Act of 1923, the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1923 and finally, the Factory^{ies} Act of 1934. The appointment of the Royal Commission on Labour in India in 1929 was the natural outcome of the growing interest of the people and the government in the labour problems of the country. The Commission collected very valuable and comprehensive information, the need for which had been felt for a long time.

The conditions of women and children in industry have, however, not attracted the same amount of attention as those of the male workers. Preoccupation with wider labour problems which demand urgent solutions has resulted in little special attention being paid to women and children who form only a small minority of the total workers. The published information on their working conditions is extremely meagre and is confined to a few bigger regulated industries. No attempt has as yet been made to analyse the working conditions of the much larger number of women and children engaged in the unregulated workshop and cottage industries. In the Bombay presidency, the Labour Office has conducted a few useful enquiries into the wages, hours, health and maternity conditions of women in the cotton mills, but it has collected hardly any information as to the conditions in the rest of the regulated factories or in the unregulated workshops. The Department of Industries, Bombay, has as yet paid no attention to the problems of female workers in the cottage industries. The evidence given before the Royal Commission on Labour, while being very comprehensive with regard to the general problems of labour, threw very little light on the conditions of women and children outside a few bigger regulated industries. Nor has any comprehensive study of the question been attempted by any non-official agency.

The presence of women and children in industry gives rise to such important social problems that a separate and detailed survey of their working conditions is necessary, particularly in India where a majority of the women and children are

as yet unprotected by the factory laws. The lack of adequate information can be as great an obstacle to the development of protective legislation as to that of social reform. Therefore no apology is offered for this special study. On the contrary, it is hoped that, limited as it is, it may be followed by more exhaustive enquiries in all parts of the country, which may lead not only to a better understanding of the problems of women and children in industry, but also to an improvement in their conditions through state and private effort.

Scope of the Enquiry.

In order to obtain as comprehensive a picture of the working conditions of the women and children as possible, all categories of industries, i.e. the regulated factory industries, the unregulated workshop industries and the cottage industries have been taken into account. Attention has been paid to determining their earnings, hours, nature of the work done and other general conditions of ^{employment} ~~work~~, including welfare work. The enquiry has been confined to the British territory of the presidency.

Method of Enquiry.

Hardly any published information being available on the subject, the writer had to go to India to collect the necessary data personally. Before leaving England he had been assured of some help from the Bombay Labour Office, but on reaching India, he found that the only help that the Labour Office

was in a position to give was to allow him to use its library which contained such publications as were available in any big public library in Bombay. The Lady Inspector of Factories, Bombay, expressed her complete inability to help the writer in visiting the factories. The Department of Industries, Bombay, put its library at the writer's disposal, but this was hardly of any avail as the Department possessed no information on the conditions of women and children in industry. It was also not in a position to supply a list of the cottage industries of the presidency.

The writer had therefore to start his investigations single-handed and without any guidance. In order to ascertain the possibilities of getting information through the questionnaire method, 50 questionnaires were sent to different selected factories. Only 11 answers were received, 7 giving evasive and unsatisfactory replies, and 4 giving detailed information. ^{This} method was therefore abandoned. The writer then decided to make an extensive tour of the presidency and to collect all the data personally. The area to be covered was very large as the unregulated workshops and cottage industries were distributed in small centres all over the presidency. But he was fortunate in having personal contacts, both official and non-official, in almost every district of the presidency. The tour, which lasted for 9 months from the middle of 1933 to March 1934, was planned as follows. The headquarters of each district was visited first, where a few days' stay enabled the writer to make a list of the industries of the district, and to form such contacts as could be useful to him in the investigation. An attempt ^{always} was made to get into

touch with the persons who could help him in visiting workshops and factories, and this ~~he~~ was fortunately very successful. As a rule, non-official persons with some local social standing were far more helpful than officials, since the workshop and factory owners often seemed to be suspicious of the latter. On the whole, however, no difficulty was ~~met~~^{encountered} in the collection of the necessary data. Attempt was ~~xxx~~ made to get the information regarding wages from the muster rolls, which in most cases, the employers were willing to show if the writer was recommended to them by influential persons of the locality. The figures provided by the employers were often checked by personal enquiries from the workers outside the factories.

Much greater difficulties were experienced with regard to the collection of data for the cottage industries. Personal visits had to be paid to a large number of small, out of the way villages which were not easily accessible. It was, moreover, extremely difficult to get correct information from the cottage workers regarding their earnings. The writer was ~~xxxxxxx~~^{often} ~~or some other tax collector~~¹ suspected of being an income tax ~~collector~~[^] trying to assess the incomes, and therefore the tendency among the workers was to understate their earnings. However, it was possible in most cases to allay the initial suspicion by a preliminary friendly conversation on topics not connected with the enquiry. Moreover, attempt was made to reduce the margin of error to a minimum by collecting as exhaustive data as possible. All the cottage industries in which women were engaged were taken into account and no important centre was left unvisited. The methods adopted

for determining the earnings of the female cottage workers have been explained in Chapter IV.

In all, 107 regulated factories and 143 unregulated workshops were visited personally, and visits were paid to 98 important centres of the cottage industries.

Arrangement of the Study.

The female workers, being numerically far more important than the child workers, the greater part of this work is devoted to an analysis of the working conditions of the former. In the first chapter, certain broad facts regarding the role of woman in production in India have been noted. The second chapter is devoted to a consideration of the working conditions of women in the regulated industries. The third and fourth chapters are devoted to an examination of the conditions of women in the unregulated organised (workshop) industries and the cottage industries respectively. In the fifth chapter some problems regarding the scope of work and earnings of the women have been considered. The sixth chapter is devoted to an analysis of the working conditions of child workers, and in the last chapter, certain questions connected with the health and welfare of the female workers have been briefly considered.

CHAPTER I

SOME FEATURES OF THE PART PLAYED BY WOMEN IN
PRODUCTION IN INDIA.

In this chapter we are concerned with observing some broad facts regarding the role of women in production in India.

The following table shows the distribution of the sexes in the main occupational groups in the Bombay presidency and in India as a whole.

Occupation	<u>Number of females per thousand males.</u>	
	Bombay presidency	India as a whole including States & Agencies.
All occupations	357	465
Exploitation of animals & vegetation	406	388
Exploitation of minerals	340	332
Industry	243	422
Transport	74	115
Trade	169	368
Public administration	71	34
Professions & liberal arts	135	163

Occupation	Number of females per thousand males.	
	Bombay presidency	India as a whole including States & Agencies.
Domestic service	448	4203
Unproductive (inmates of gaols, asylums and almshouses, beggars, vagrants and prostitutes etc.)	1,054	541

It will be seen from the above table that in the Bombay presidency as well as in the whole of India, the proportion of females to males in all occupations is less ^{even} than [^]one-half. If the groups "Domestic Service" and "Unproductive" be excluded, the highest proportion of females in India is occupied in "Industry", the next group in order of female ratio being "Exploitation of animals and vegetation" i.e. agriculture, pasture, stock raising etc. In the Bombay Presidency "Exploitation of animals and vegetation" seems to engage more females than "Industry". ~~ix kxix xxxxx~~ The ratio of females is very low in "Transport", "Public Administration" and "Professions and liberal arts". Trade engages a fairly large proportion of females in India but not in the Bombay presidency. In "Domestic Service" females far outnumber males in India, though in the Bombay presidency, their number is about half of the latter. The group "Unproductive" shows an excess of females over males, both in India and in the Bombay presidency.

Generally, the factors which seem to be responsible for the lower proportion of females to males in the main occ-

upational groups are as follows:-

1. The permanent relative deficiency of females
in the population of India.

The table given below shows the number of females per 1,000 males in the different provinces of India according to the last 6 censuses.

Area	ACTUAL POPULATION					
	Census Year					
	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
India as a whole including States & Agencies	954	958	963	954	945	940
Ajmer Merwara	881	881	900	884	837	892
Assam	953	942	949	940	926	909
Baluchistan	-	-	-	790	731	717
Bengal	994	973	960	945	932	924
Bihar and Orissa	1024	1040	1047	1043	1029	1005
Bombay	938	938	945	933	919	901
Burma	877	962	962	959	955	958
Central Provinces and Berar	973	985	1019	1008	1002	988
Madras	1021	1023	1029	1032	1028	1025
Punjab	844	850	854	827	826	831
United Provinces	925	930	937	915	909	902

It will be seen from this table that the figures for the whole of India show a deficiency of females in all six censuses; that the extent of this deficiency is different

in different provinces and that it is only in two provinces, viz: Bihar and Orissa and Madras that there is at each census a surplus of females over males.

The presidency of Bombay shows a permanent relative deficiency of females. The highest number of females per thousand males ever enumerated was 945 in 1901 and the lowest 901 in 1931. The following table shows the sex distribution of the population of the chief divisions of the presidency.

Proportion of each sex in every thousand of the population in 1931

<u>Region</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Bombay presidency as a whole (including States & Agencies)	523.6	476.2
British districts	526.2	473.8
Sind	561.1	438.9
Gujrat	524.9	475.1
Deccan	509.7	490.3
Konkan (excluding Bombay city)	496.9	503.1
Bombay city	643.5	356.5

It will be seen that Sind with 438.9 females shows the greatest deficiency (apart from Bombay city) and though the number of females in the Konkan (excluding Bombay city) has been shown to be greater than the number of males, actually an excess of females has been found in the Ratnagiri district alone whence the men migrate in considerable numbers to Bombay city for industrial employment. Gujrat shows a slightly greater deficiency of females than the Deccan. In Bombay city, the population being

mainly immigrant, the proportion of females is naturally very low.

Several theories have been put forward to account for the general deficiency of females in India. It has been argued by some writers that the deficiency is due to the omission of a large number of females in the census returns^{while} others have held that it is due to race factors. The high rate of female mortality in India has often been put forward as an explanation of the problem.¹ Without entering into these highly controversial questions, we may observe that in order to obtain a complete explanation, a detailed analysis of all the possible contributory influences and a synthesis of their mutual reactions are necessary, which, however, have not yet been attempted. Here it suffices to note that the sex disparity in the population seems to be one of the factors responsible for the lower proportion of females to males in the main occupational groups.

2. Early Marriage.

That girls are married at an early age in India is a well known fact. The following table shows the proportion of males and females married at different ages in the Bombay presidency in 1931.²

.....
¹ See the chapter on Sex in the provincial and all India census reports.

² 1931 Census - Bombay Report, p.152

Age group	Males per mille married	Females per mille married
0 - 5 years	16	32
5 - 15 "	97	313
15 - 20 "	439	860
20 - 40 "	789	497
over 40 "	778	397

Early marriage coupled with notions of complete economic dependence of females on males seriously limits the number of women who seek paid employment. Moreover, early motherhood and the existence of big families including elderly dependents throw such heavy domestic responsibilities on young married women that a large number of them cannot engage in any occupation outside their homes. It should also be noted that the very limited social freedom given to young girls of a marriagable age does not enable them to take an active part in production. There is a striking contrast between India and Western European countries in this respect. In the latter, women marry much later in life and a fairly appreciable number remains unmarried. This, coupled with greater social and economic freedom for women causes a much larger percentage of them to be engaged in productive enterprise.

3. Higher Female Mortality.

In India the mortality of females relatively to that of males is highest in the most active period of life, i.e. between 20 and 40 years of age.

and in all occupations the majority of women belong to this age group. The following table shows the average death rate by sex and age for the decade 1921 - 1930 in the Bombay presidency.

Age group	Average death rate for the decade 1921 to 1930	
	Male	Female
under 1 year	230.08	197.69
1 and under 5 years	58.67	56.02
5 " " 10 "	8.89	9.61
10 " " 15 "	6.40	8.01
15 " " 20 "	8.91	12.78
20 " " 30 "	10.47	13.28
30 " " 40 "	13.31	14.67
40 " " 50 "	20.14	15.93
50 " " 60 "	33.16	25.88
60 and upwards	87.41	82.70

It will be seen that male mortality is higher than female mortality only before the age of 5 and after the age of 40. The vital statistics for the whole of India show a similar state of affairs.¹

The factors which seem to be responsible for the higher rate of female mortality in the age group 5 to 40 are the neglect of female children, premature child-bearing, high rate of maternal

.....
¹ See Statistical Abstracts Government of India.

mortality, hard work and poverty etc. Here it suffices to note that the difference in the death rates of males and females in this period of life seems to exercise an important influence on the sex disparity in the occupational groups.

4. Social Custom and Prejudice.

Due mainly to social custom and prejudice, India does not fully utilise its potential resources in female labour power. The employment of the Indian women in production depends very largely on such non-material factors as religion, caste, social conventions etc. The higher the caste the smaller the number of female workers, since manual labour is supposed to be derogatory to social status. Among the Mohammadans the "purdah" system seriously impedes the flow of female labour into productive enterprise. Women of the well-to-do families do not seek paid employment. It is only the womenfolk of the poorer low caste population who share with their men the common struggle for existence.

These factors together seem to create a serious sex disparity in all the main occupational groups.

Another fact which should be noted is that women's occupations in India can be divided into the following two main classes.

1. Occupations in which women work and earn wages independently of men. This class includes employment in factories or workshops, general coolie labour, domestic

service and the occupations which are by custom considered to be those of women, such as corn grinding, midwifery, dancing and singing etc.

2. Occupations in which women are not independently engaged but only assist their male relatives. Under this class falls most of the work done by women in agriculture, in cottage industries and in commerce.

The majority of women belong to the occupations of class II.

It should also be noted that in all occupations there is a clear division of functions between the sexes. In agriculture, women are engaged only in the lighter part of the work, such as cutting grass, picking cotton, weeding rice, collecting manure etc. In most of the industries the processes undertaken by women are different from those undertaken by men.

Lastly, it may be observed that there is no tendency in India for women to encroach on those occupations which have so far been monopolised by men as is the case in Western European countries.

CHAPTER II

Regulated

FEMALE LABOUR IN THE ~~XXXXXX~~ INDUSTRIES

In the year 1933, 66,158 women were employed in the regulated industries of the Bombay presidency. The total number of men engaged in these industries in the same year was 286,367.² The ratio of female to male workers was thus roughly one to four.

The women were distributed mainly in the following industries:-

1. Cotton textile.
2. Match.
3. Bone and Manure.
4. Stone crushing.
5. Leather tanning.
6. Brick and Tile.
7. Confectionery.
8. Kerosine tinning and packing.
9. Paper.
10. Glass.
11. Cigarette.
12. Oil manufacturing.
13. Rice milling.
14. Flour milling.
15. Cotton ginning and pressing.

The bulk of the male and female labour is concentrated

.....

² Annual Factory report of the presidency of Bombay, 1933.

1. Regulated industries are those which have been brought under the Factory Acts

17

in the textile mills and season^{al} factories.¹ The following table shows the distribution of adult male and female workers in the regulated industries of the presidency. The figures are for 1933.

Average daily number of persons employed.			
Industry	Male	Female	Total
Cotton spinning and weaving mills.	41,348	190,770	232,118
Seasonal factories	18,900	25,131	44,031
Miscellaneous	5,910	70,466	76,376
ALL Industries	66,158	286,367	352,525

Thus 63 per cent of the women were employed in the cotton textile mills and about 28 per cent in the seasonal factories. The cotton textile mills and the seasonal factories together employed 91 per cent of the women and 75 per cent of the men. As seen from these figures, the male labour is distributed over a wider industrial range than the female labour. An adequate explanation of this problem can only be obtained after a detailed consideration of the nature of the industrial work done by either sex.

.....

¹ The seasonal factories include rice mills, "gur" factories, a few bone mills and cotton gins and presses; the last employing by far the largest number of women.

Here it suffices to note the industrial concerns in which female labour either plays an insignificant role or is not employed at all. They are;—general engineering, workshops, electricity and gas works, mints, printing presses, foundries, metal stamping concerns, steel trunk, lock and cutlery factories, railway workshops, ship building establishments, chemical factories, breweries and distilleries, saw mills, bakeries, ice and aerated water factories, sugar mills, soap factories, carpentry and cabinet making workshops, leather and shoe factories, ^{and} laundries.

We may now proceed to examine the conditions of work in each of the regulated industries in which female labour is employed, separately. It is only at the end of such an examination that we shall be in a position to draw conclusions regarding the wages of the women, their hours of work, the nature of the work done by them, etc.

Cotton spinning and weaving mills.

As already stated cotton spinning and weaving mills employ by far the largest number of both male and female workers in the regulated industries. The textile industry of the Bombay presidency is concentrated mainly in Bombay, Ahmedahad and Shelapur. The following table shows the number of cotton mills and of persons employed in each centre in 1934.

CENTRE	NUMBER OF MILLS	NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.
Bombay	55	95,637
Ahmedabad	79	80,866
Sholapur	5	18,198
Viramgaum	2	2,098
Broach	5	2,633
Surat	5	1,728
Barsi	3	1,777
Jalgaon	2	2,031
Chalisgaon	1	1,021
Dhulia	1	1,925
Amalner	1	2,667
Nadiad	1	1,796
Poona	1	869
Tikekarwadi	1	67
Hubli	2	1,967
Gadag	1	580
Gokak falls	1	2,859
ALL Centres	166	218,719

Although the total number of women operatives in the cotton mills is quite large, yet the proportion of female to male labour in this industry is fairly low. Thus in 1933 out of the 233,221 persons employed in the cotton mills, only 41,348, i.e. 17.7 per cent, were women.

The labour employed in the mills of Bombay town and island is drawn mainly from the rural areas of ^{the} Konkan. The extent to which the Ratnagiri district contributes to the industrial labour force of Bombay city is remarkable. In 1931, 237,256 persons i.e. 20.4 per cent of the total population of the city were returned as born in the Ratnagiri district.^{1.} The female workers in these factories are usually related to the male operatives, and hence a large majority of the women belong to the Ghati^{2.} community of Bombay City.

In Ahmedabad the bulk of the male and female labour is drawn from the city and district of Ahmedabad and from the surrounding areas of Baroda state.

A large number of the local Mohammedan handloom weaving families have now left their hereditary occupation and have taken to mill work. The female workers, in Ahmedabad, as in Bombay, are generally drawn from the same families as the adult male operatives.

.....
1. Census of India, 1931. Vol. IX p.17.

2. The term "Ghati" is used in Bombay to denote those persons who are drawn from the rural areas of Konkan.

In Sholapur the labour employed in textile mills is mainly local, while in all the other centres the supply of labour is almost entirely local. Wherever a flourishing handloom industry has existed in the past, a considerable percentage of the mill hands consists of ex-handloom cottage weavers. The rest of the labour force is drawn mainly from that class of poorer agriculturists, who have either temporarily or permanently migrated to the towns.

The recruitment of workers in the cotton mills is done everywhere by jobbers or 'mukuddams' and their female counterparts, the naikins. A jobber is a member of the subordinate supervising staff of a mill and acts as an intermediary between the workers and the employers. He exercises wide powers over the workers, particularly in matters of recruitment, discipline and dismissal. The 'naikin' holds the same position as the jobber but only in relation to the female workers. It may be noted that the recruitment of female labour is not done in all the concerns by naikins as in some of the mills the recruitment of both male and female labour is done by male jobbers. The supervision of work inside the factory is entrusted to jobbers in those departments which are either staffed exclusively by men or in which the male workers are in a majority. The supervising naikins are found only in the winding and reeling departments, where women are employed in large numbers.

There exists a well defined division of labour between the sexes in a cotton mill. Certain processes, such as weaving, mule spinning, warping, sizing, dyeing etc., are monopolised

by male workers. while others such as reeling and winding are mainly carried out by women. It is only in the ring spinning department that men and women are found working together, to any appreciable extent, but even there the male operatives are in a large majority. In the rest of the departments the employment of women is almost negligible.

The female operatives of a cotton mill are predominantly employed in the winding and reeling departments.. From an enquiry into the wages and hours of labour in the cotton mills, held by the Bombay Labour Office in 1921 it was seen that of the 13,394 reelers returned, only 764 were men. In similar enquiries held in 1923 and 1926, the percentage of the female reelers returned was 89 and 98.11 respectively. The winding section shows a similar sex distribution. In 1921 the percentage of female winders was 52 which rose to 78 in 1923 and to 91.69 in 1926¹. Women are also employed, though in much smaller numbers as ring spinners (doffers, siders, etc.) rovers and waste openers, lap carriers, card tenters, can carriers, fly coolies, slubbing tenters, creelers, washers, hand folders and sweepers. But with the sole exception of ring spinning, the number of women engaged in all these processes is negligible.

[para continued

-
1. Report on an Enquiry into Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry, published in 1923, p.15. A similar report published in 1925, p.18. A similar report published in 1930, p.p. 51, 53.

The sex distribution of the operatives in these departments is the reverse of that which is found in the reeling and winding departments. ^{As stated above} Even in the ring spinning department women are in a small minority. Thus in the wage enquiry of 1923, mentioned above, 51,591 persons were returned as ring spinners for the whole of the presidency, and of these, 29,289 were men, 4,881 were women, 10,202 were big lads and 7,219 were children. In the 1926 enquiry, of the 15,497 operatives returned as ring spinners, 10,584 were males, 4,244 were females and 669 were children. ^{1.} A highly interesting fact which will be explained later, is the complete absence of female operative from the weaving sections of the cotton mills of the presidency.

A piece rate system of payment is almost universal in the winding and reeling departments where the great bulk of the female labour is employed while in the ring spinning departments, time rate wages are most commonly paid. It is important to note that in almost all the mills, the rates for men and women are equal in those departments, where they are found working together on the same processes. Where time rate wages are paid, as in the ring spinning department, the average daily earnings of the male and female workers are equal. In the reeling and winding sections, where piece rate work is done, the differences between the average daily earnings of men and women are due essentially to the differences in the length of

.....

1. The report^{*} published in 1925 p. 16. The report^x published in 1930. p. 48. [[†] See footnote previous page]

1.
time worked by them per day. The following table shows the
average daily wages of male and female spinners, winders and
reelers in the different centres of the industry:-
2.

CENTRE	OCCUPATION	AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF FEMALE WORKERS			AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF MALE WORKERS		
		Rs.	s.	p.	Rs.	s.	p.
Bombay	Ring Sider (single)	0.	14.	10.	0.	14.	10.
	Ring Sider (double)	1.	4.	9.	1.	4.	9.
	Doffer	0.	10.	10.	0.	10.	10.
	Winder (grey)	0.	10.	10.	0.	11.	0.
	Winder (colour)	0.	13.	4.	0.	10.	9.
	Reeler	0.	11.	0.	0.	8.	8.
Ahmedabad	Ring Sider (single)	1.	0.	10.	1.	0.	10.
	Ring Sider (double)	1.	8.	0.	1.	8.	0.
	Doffer	0.	11.	7.	0.	11.	7.
	Winder (grey)	0.	10.	11.	0.	12.	1.
	Winder (colour)	0.	12.	11.	0.	13.	11.
Sholapur	Ring Sider (single)	(women not employed)			0.	10.	8.
	Doffer	0.	7.	3.	0.	7.	2.
	Winder (grey)	0.	5.	2.)	men not employed.		
	Winder (colour)	0.	5.	6.)			
	Reelers	0.	5.	10.)			
Southern	Sider (single)	0.	6.	11.	0.	7.	11.
Mahratta	Doffer	0.	4.	8.	0.	4.	6.
Country	Winder (grey)	0.	5.	9.)	men not employed		
	Winder (colour)	0.	6.	8.)			
	Reeler	0.	6.	0.)			

(contd)

-
1. This is not due to legislative restrictions but to the fact that the women prefer and are permitted to work shorter hours.
 2. The figures are taken from the report of an enquiry into "Wages and unemployment in the Bombay cotton textile industry", held by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay, in 1934. Note. Ring siders and doffers are employed on time rate while winders and reelers are employed on piece rate.

CENTRE	OCCUPATION	AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF FEMALE WORKERS			AVERAGE DAILY EARNINGS OF MALE WORKERS		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Khandesh	Sider (single)	women not employed			0.	11.	9.
	Doffer				0.	6.	2.
	Winder (grey)	0.	7.	0.	men not employed.		
	Winder (colour)	0.	8.	11.			
	Reeler	0.	7.	8.			
Gujrat (excluding Ahmedahad)							
	Ring sider (single)	0.	12.	9.	0.	12.	9.
	Doffer	0.	7.	9.	0.	7.	9.
	Winder (grey)	0.	8.	3.	0.	9.	6.
	Winder (colour)	0.	9.	1.	0.	8.	9.
	Reeler	0.	9.	0.	0.	7.	3.

As seen in the above table, there is no difference whatsoever between the average daily wages of male and female ring siders in the cotton mills of Bombay, Ahmedahad and Gujrat and these three centres represent 147 out of the 166 mills of the presidency. In the winding and reeling departments such equality of earnings between men and women cannot be expected, as the payment is on the piece rate system, and in a large number of the mills women usually work for slightly shorter hours than men.¹ However, the difference between the earnings of the male and female workers, even in these departments is very small. It should be noted that in the above table the average daily wages of male winders (grey) and reelers in Bombay and Gujrat have been shown to be lower than those of the female winders (grey) and reelers.

[para continued]

.....

1. See page. 24...

This is due, not to the rates for men being in any case lower than the rates for women, but to the fact that men are employed in the reeling and winding departments in a small number of mills, where the rates for both male and female workers happen to be lower than in those mills, which employ women alone in these departments.

There is no uniformity of wage rates in this industry as wages vary not only from centre to centre but also from mill to mill in any one centre. The following table shows the maximum and minimum daily wages of male and female ring spinners, winders and reelers in the different centres of the industry:-

Centre	Occupation	Average daily wages of female workers.			Average daily wages of male workers.		
		Minimum	Maximum		Minimum	Maximum	
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Bombay	Ring sider(single)	0.12. 6	1. 0. 8		0.11. 7	1. 1. 6	
	Ring sider(double)	15.10	1. 6. 2		0.15.10	1. 9.11.	
	Doffer	0. 9. 0	0.12. 8		0. 9. 0	0.13. 2	
	Winder (grey)	0. 4. 4	0.13. 6		0. 11. 0	0. 11. 0	
	Winder (colour)	0. 5.10	1.11. 4		0. 10. 9	0. 10. 9	
	Reeler	0. 5. 7	1. 5. 1		0. 8. 8	0. 8. 8	
Ahmed-shad.	Ring sider(single)	0.15. 7	1. 2. 1		0.15. 7	1. 2. 1	
	Ring sider(double)	1. 5. 7	1. 9. 7		1. 5. 7	1. 9. 7	
	Doffer	0.10. 7	0.12. 6		0.10. 7	0.12. 6	
	Winder (grey)	0. 7. 5	0.13. 8		0. 7.10.	1. 1. 8	
	Winder (colour)	0. 6. 2	1. 2. 9		0. 7. 2	1. 6. 3	
	Reeler	0. 6. 7	1. 2. 7		0. 8. 7	1. 8. 6	
Shola-par	Sider (single)	WOMEN NOT EMPLOYED			0. 9. 6	0.12.11	
	Daffer	0. 6. 7	0. 8. 0		0. 6. 7	0. 8. 0	
	Winder (grey)	0. 4. 3	0. 6. 5)	MEN NOT EMPLOYED		
	Winder (colour)	0. 3. 8	0. 7.11				
	Reelers	0. 4. 8	0. 6. 7				

Centre	Occupation	Average daily wages of female workers.		Average daily wages of male workers.	
		Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
South- ern Mahratta Country	Ring sider(single)	0. 5. 4	0. 8. 7	0. 5. 4	0. 8. 9
	Doffer	0. 4. 8	0. 4. 8	0. 3. 4	0. 7. 3
	Winder (grey)	0. 4. 10	0. 7. 4)		
	Winder (colour)	0. 6. 0	0. 7. 4)	Men not employed	
	Reeler	0. 4. 4	0. 9. 2)		
Khan- desh	Ring sider(single)	Women not employed		0. 9. 7	0. 11. 9
	Doffer			0. 4. 11.	0. 7. 1
	Winder (grey)	0. 4. 10	0. 10. 4)	Men not employed	
	Winder (colour)	0. 6. 6	0. 10. 4)		
	Reeler	0. 4. 8	0. 9. 0)		
Guzrat	Ring sider(single)	0. 11. 4	0. 13. 8	0. 11. 4	0. 13. 8
	Doffer	0. 6. 2	0. 9. 5	0. 6. 2	0. 9. 5
	Winder (grey)	0. 5. 6	0. 12. 3	0. 8. 10	0. 11. 0
	Winder (colour)	0. 5. 11	0. 12. 5	0. 6. 2	0. 12. 5
	Reeler	0. 7. 3	0. 10. 6	0. 7. 3	0. 7. 3

It will be seen from this table that the variations in wages as between different centres, and also as between different mills in any one centre are very considerable. The lack of uniformity in wage rates which has always characterised the cotton mill industry of the presidency, has been accentuated by the very unequal wage cuts affected in different cotton mills during the last 5 or 6 years. It was stated in the report of a recent enquiry conducted by the Labour Office, Government of Bombay, into wages and unemployment in the cotton mill industry that "The cut in wages has not been uniform as between centre and centre, nor has it been uniform as between different units in the same centre. This result is

bound to occur because wages are not standardised in any centre of the industry except in the case of spinners in Ahmedabad. The result is that we find wide disparities between the wages paid for the same kind of work in the same industry, in the same town, and in the same province, enjoying the same protection and to a large extent serving the same markets".^{1.}

The same report observes that "The cotton textile industry in the Bombay Presidency is composed of different units which so far as we can ascertain do not act together in any particular, except, perhaps in their demand for protection. There is no common labour policy and therefore no wage policy; still less is there any common sales policy, and goods produced in any one centre are sold in another, although the same article is being made locally. Both men and methods differ in a striking way and each centre has its own characteristics".^{2.}

It may be of interest to note here the lowest and the highest average daily wage of a female worker in a cotton mill, ^{which} are 3 annas and 8 pies ~~in the lowest~~ and Rs.1/11/4 ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{respect-} ~~ively~~ ^{ively} ~~lowest~~.

The corresponding wages of men employed in the same departments as women, i.e., ring spinning, winding and reeling are 3 annas, 4 pies and Rs.1/9/11 respectively. Thus the range over which the daily wages of men and women employed

.....

1. Wages and unemployment in the Bombay cotton textile industry, 1934. P.100.

2. Wages and unemployment in the Bombay cotton textile industry, 1934. P.110.

on the same processes fluctuate is approximately equal.

The payment of wages is monthly in all cotton mills except in those of Ahmedahad where the fortnightly system prevails.

A ten hour day and a sixty hour week has been observed by all cotton mills of the presidency until the new Factory Act came into force in 1935.^{1.} The working day was divided into two periods of five hours each, separated by one hours interval for the midday meal. The hours of the female time rate workers ^{have been} ~~were~~ the same as those of the men, but a large number of the piece rate women ^{have} usually worked for slightly shorter hours than the men as they came to the factories a little later than the other workers in the morning and left a little earlier in the evening. The demands of house work on their time made it very difficult for them to conform exactly to the factory hours. A great majority of the female workers have to do their domestic work themselves. Thus, in an enquiry conducted by the Y.W.C.A., Bombay, into the economic conditions of female textile workers of Sholapur

.....

1. Note. The hours of male and female workers in all industries considered in this chapter relate to the period immediately preceding the passing of the Factory Act of 1934. The Act has reduced the weekly hours of both adult males and females in the perennial factories from 60 to 54. The Seasonal factories are permitted to work for 60 hours a week. It has also reduced the maximum daily hours of men from 11 to 10 in the perennial factories while in the seasonal factories men are not allowed to work for more than 11 hours a day. Thus in the perennial factories the hours of men and women have been made equal, i.e., 10 a day and 54 a week while in the seasonal factories men are allowed to work one hour longer per day than women.

in August, 1928, it was found that out of the 482 women covered by the enquiry, 446 or 92 per cent did their own domestic work.^{1.} The reason for this fact is that almost all the women are married and have therefore homes to look after. The recent decrease in production in the cotton mills of the presidency and particularly in those of Bombay and Sholapur has also tended to reduce the working hours of the piece rate women. The winding and reeling work is divided among the women each morning, and in many mills the amount thus divided is not enough to enable a woman to work for more than eight or eight and a half hours per day. The employers have no objection to the shorter hours of the piece rate winders and reelers as no unnecessary running of the machinery is involved thereby. It should be noted that the women working full time in these factories have very often to undergo a considerable amount of hardship in order to keep regular hours as the necessary punctuality in attendance is invariably secured at the expense of the hours of rest.

~~Excessive attendance, however, which is not to be recommended.~~

The general conditions of work for women are much more satisfactory in textile mills than in the rest of the regulated factories. Thus, for example, creches are quite commonly provided in these concerns while they are almost entirely absent from the other factories. The medical facilities provided for the workers in the cotton mills are also, on

.....

1. Royal Commission on Labour in India. Evidence Vol.I
Part I p. 376.

the whole comparatively superior. In a few mills arrangements for special medical assistance for women are found. With regard to the provision of such facilities as dining sheds, separate lavatories for men and women, adequate water supply, etc., the conditions in the cotton mills, although far from perfect are yet much better than those prevailing in the other regulated concerns of the
1.
presidency.

-
1. See page⁷²..... for conclusions regarding creches and other special facilities for female workers in the regulated factories.
-

Match Factories

The match industry is concentrated mainly in the suburbs of Bombay city. In 1933 there were twelve match factories in the whole of the presidency employing 4,653 workers, of which 8 factories with 3,645 workers were situated in the Bombay suburban district alone.

The employment of female labour is fairly large in these concerns and on a rough estimate, between 20 and 30 per cent of the workers are women. In Bombay suburbs the great majority of the women are Ghatia ⁱⁿ and ^{the} other centres they are drawn either from the local town population or from the landless agricultural families of the surrounding villages.

The recruitment of labour in match factories is done through mukaddams, female mukaddams or naikins, who are in charge of recruiting the women ^{being} ~~are~~ ^{only} commonly found in the bigger concerns. The supervision of female labour is usually entrusted to the ^{latter} ~~only~~ in those departments of the factories where women are employed in large numbers.

The following work is done by women in a match factory:-

- 1) Box filling by hand or by machine
- 2) Labelling by hand or by machine
- 3) Packing
- 4) Box making by hand
- 5) Light coolie work

Box filling and labelling is done by hand in a majority of the concerns as it is only in one or two factories that machinery is used for this purpose. Packing is universally a hand process. Box making is also done mainly by hand although

Only a few of the bigger factories have recently installed machinery for this process, but unlike box filling and labelling, women are not employed where machinery is used. Thus the great majority of the women are engaged in hand processes and except for box filling and labelling in one or two concerns they are never found working on machinery. The hand work done by them is neither highly skilled nor physically strenuous and women can acquire a fairly good speed of output in box filling, labelling, box making, etc., after a few months experience. The coolie work done by them is light, the heavier weight lifting being done by men. The only processes common to male and female labour in these factories are box making by hand and box filling and labelling by machinery.

All the female workers, excepting the coolies are paid a piece rate wage. The daily earnings of the women filling the boxes by hand vary from 8 to 10 annas in the Bombay suburban factories ^{but} _^ wherever they work with machinery their daily wages are higher and vary from 12 to 14 annas. In the labelling and packing departments the average daily earnings of women are approximately the same as in the box filling department. There again the daily wages of the women engaged in labelling with the help of machinery are about 4 to 5 annas higher than the wages of those who are doing the same work by hand. A female box maker normally earns anything from 8 to 10 annas a day in the Bombay suburban factories. The female coolies are paid a time rate wage which

is usually 7 or 8 annas a day. The wages of men employed on the same processes as women, viz. box filling by machinery and box making by hand normally vary from 12 annas to Rs1/4/- according to variations in daily output. ^{Although the} [^] rate of payment is the same for men and women, the ~~comparatively~~ ^{are} higher earnings of the former ~~is~~ ^{are} attributable to the fact that they work more steadily and for longer hours per day than the latter.

The hours of the time rate female coolies have been the same as those of the men, i.e., 10 a day and 60 a week. But the hours of the piece rate women have been slightly shorter and have varied from 8 to 10 ^{a day}. A large number of the women came to the factories in the morning a little later than the other workers and left in the evening a little earlier, which was obviously due to their having to attend to their housework. The employers do not object to the piece rate women determining their own working time, because firstly each worker is an independent producer and secondly no unnecessary and wasteful running of machinery is involved thereby.

Bone and manure factories

There are three bone and manure factories in the presidency, two in the Karachi district and one in Hyderabad town. The total number of persons working in them in 1933 was 614 and of these 515 were employed in Karachi and 99 in Hyderabad. Roughly between 50 and 60 per cent of the workers in these concerns are women.

The female labour employed in these, as in all other industrial establishments of the bigger towns in Sind, is almost entirely drawn from the Marwari and Makrani communities.¹ The local Sindhi women have not yet been drawn into the urban industrial occupations to any appreciable extent for two main reasons. In the first place the migration of labour from the villages to the towns is still very limited in Sind, owing to the general industrial backwardness of the province. Secondly the population of Sind being predominantly Mohammedan, the women folk of even the poorer labouring classes are socially less free and therefore confined more to their homes than are the womenfolk of other communities in the rest of the presidency.

The recruitment of labour in all these concerns is done through headmen or jamadars who also supervise the male and female workers. In one of the factories part of the work is done on the labour gang system. Each gang has its headman who alone deals directly with the employers; he receives the total wages for the members of his gang, and distributes them among the latter.

The bone and manure factories require very little skilled labour. Only a few mechanics are employed for the power generating plant, otherwise the entire labour force consists

.....
1. The Marwaris are drawn mainly from the native states of Rajputana and the Makranis from the Makran coast. A large number of Marwari and Makrani families have now settled down in the bigger towns of Sind.

of unskilled coolies and it is for this reason that women play such an important part in these concerns. The two main processes of the work are sorting out manure by hand and feeding the crushing machines with bones; neither of these demand any skill, but the latter involves very strenuous physical labour. In fact the bulk of the work consists of transporting heavy bags or baskets full of crushed or uncrushed manure from one part of the factory to the other as the crushers have to be fed constantly and the crushed material has to be removed to the manure heaps. Moreover if the crushing machines are to be kept working at maximum efficiency, a very high speed in the transfer of materials is necessary. The men and women usually work together but the weights carried by the latter are lighter than those carried by the former since a man's basket load usually weighs anything from 50 to 55 lbs., and a woman's from 20 to 55 lbs.

A time rate wage is paid to all the workers. In one of the factories situated in Karachi the daily wages of women vary from 11 to 14 annas; the rate of payment to each woman ^{being} ~~is~~ determined by the weight of the basket or bag which she agrees to carry. The women who carry baskets weighing 20 lbs are supposed to be doing the lightest work and are therefore paid the lowest wage which is 11 annas a day. 12 annas a day are paid to those who carry 20 to 30 lbs and 13 to 14 annas a day to those who carry 30 to 55 lbs. The daily wages of men employed on the same type of work as women in this factory, vary from 14 annas to Rs 1/4/-. In another factory situated in the suburbs of Karachi the daily wage rates of women fluctuate from 7 to 8 annas and of men

from 13 annas to Rs 1/-/-. In the Hydrabad factory women are paid from 9 to 10 annas a day and men receive anything from 13 annas to Rs 1/2/-.

The payment of wages is weekly in one concern and monthly in the other two.

The working hours of both men and women in these factories have been 10 per day and 60 per week. The midday interval ^{been} has ^{of} 2 hours duration in one factory, and of one hour in the other two.

Stone crushing establishments.

About 7 or 8 stone crushing establishments are found in Bombay town and island some of which are owned by the Bombay Corporation and some by private agencies. The total number of persons working in them is about 300, of whom ~~from~~ approximately 50 percent are women.

Almost all the workers belong to the local Ghati community, and are drawn from the poorest unskilled sections of the manual labouring classes, since the nature of the work demands only coolie labour. Baskets full of uncrushed stone have to be carried to the crushing machines, and the crushed material has to be transported to the motor vans or to the storage. The weight carried coupled with the rapidity of movements necessary for keeping the crushers working at a high speed makes the work very arduous. The men and women are employed on the same processes but the weights carried by the latter are lighter than those carried by the former. Normally a woman's basket load weighs anything from 25 to 35

lbs and a man's from 35 to 50, or even 55 lbs. The workers have to spend a considerable part of their time quite close to the crushing machines which are always surrounded by a fog of stone dust, the arrangement for eliminating this dust ^{being} ~~is~~ extremely defective.

The recruitment and supervision of both the male and female labour is done by male mukaddams.

A daily time rate wage is paid to all the workers; the women are paid 7 to 8 annas a day and the men from 11 to 14 annas. The higher wage rates of the latter are due to the fact that they do the heavier work; the highest wages are given to those men who have to stand and work consistently in the dust laden atmosphere close to the machines.

The number of hours worked by the men and women have been 10 a day and 60 a week. The municipal crushers have conformed strictly to the 10 hour day, but in the privately owned establishments, the time ^{been} has [^] sometimes illegally prolonged to 11 or even 11½ hours a day.

Leather tanneries.

Only 5 tanneries, which in 1933 employed 247 persons have been so far brought under the Factory Acts. The workers in these concerns are ex cottage tanners and are recruited locally everywhere except in Bombay where a large amount of immigrant labour from Madras is employed. This labour which, due to the local scarcity of skilled tanners was originally drawn from highly developed tanning industry of MADRAS has now virtually settled down in the suburbs of

Bombay.

The least skilled part of the work is done by the women, who are usually engaged in the following processes.

- 1) cleaning and transporting the bark
- 2) Breaking and transporting myrobolams
- 3) cleaning and sorting the wool, removed from the hides.

All this work is done by hand and involves light coolie labour, the more skilled or strenuous processes such as cleaning, curing and tanning the hides ^{being} ~~are~~ done only by the men.

The women are paid both piece and time rate wages; those engaged in breaking myrobolams and cleaning wool are paid on the piece rate system, and those doing the coolie work of transporting the materials are paid on the time rate system. The average daily earnings of all ^{the} ~~females~~ [^] workers, whether paid according to piece or time, vary from 6 to 8 annas in the tanneries of Bombay while in the one regulated tannery situated in Sholapur, their daily wages vary from 4 to 6 annas. The daily wages of the skilled male tanners fluctuate between 12 annas and Rs 1/-/- in Bombay and between 10 annas and Rs 1/-/- in Sholapur.

The payment of wages is fortnightly in one tannery, bi-weekly in another and monthly in the remaining three.

The hours of the piece rate women have been slightly shorter than those of the time rate workers, both male and female. A ten hour day ^{has been} ~~was~~ observed by the latter, but the former usually ^{have} ~~worked~~ [^] for about 8 or 9 hours a day. The piece rate women had either a slightly longer midday interval

or came to the tanneries in the morning a little later than the other workers, leaving a little earlier in the evening.

Brick and tile factories.

There are 7 brick and tile factories in the presidency which in 1933 employed a total number of 533 persons, approximately between 20 and 30 per cent of the workers in a brick and tile factory ^{being} ~~xxx~~ women. All the women are recruited locally from the class of unskilled manual labourers and their recruitment is usually done by male headmen. Only in one or two smaller concerns is the system of direct recruitment by the employers found.

Ordinary coolie work is done by all the women. In the fancy tile factories of Karachi city, for example, they are engaged in carrying the raw tiles to the tanks, the finished tiles to the godowns and filling and packing the cases. In the factories manufacturing ordinary roof tiles and bricks, women are usually found carrying the raw tiles and bricks to the ovens, filling and emptying the ovens, arranging tiles and bricks to be exposed to the sun, and carrying small loads of earth.

~~xxx this involves only light and unskilled manual labour.~~
The women are never found working on the machines. The men are engaged in machine work, in semi-skilled hand processes such as pressing and trimming the tiles, and in the heavier coolie work.

All the women are paid on the daily time rate system. The following rates of wages prevail in the tile factories of Karachi city:-

Men 8 annas to Rs 1/4/- a day

Women... .. 8 annas to 13 annas a day.

In a big brick and tile factory situated at Khanapur (Belgaum district) women are paid from 4 to 5 annas a day, and male coolies from 6 to 8 annas a day. In Bombay the daily wages of the female workers vary from 6 to 8 annas and of the unskilled male workers from 9 to 13 annas.

The payment of wages in a majority of the factories is either weekly or daily, although the fortnightly and monthly systems are also found in a few cases.

The hours of men and women in all the concerns have been equal. A few of the factories have worked for 9 hours a day and 54 hours a week and the rest for 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week.

Confectionary factories.

There are two confectionary factories in Bombay city each employing about 10 to 15 women, all of whom are drawn from the poorer sections of the local unskilled labouring classes. The work done by them is light and unskilled, i.e. filling and packing confectionary tins. The machine processes are undertaken exclusively by men.

The women are paid a daily time rate wage, which usually varies from 7 to 8 annas while ^{the} wages of the unskilled male coolies vary from 9 to 12 annas and of the machine workers from 12 annas to Rs 1/4/- ^{the} payment of wages is monthly in both the factories.

The hours of the male and female workers have been equal,

i.e. 10 a day and 60 a week.

Kerosine tinning and packing concerns.

There are 12 kerosine tinning and packing establishments in the presidency which in 1933 employed 2086 persons of whom about 7 to 10 per cent are women.

The female workers in these establishments are everywhere recruited locally by male headmen from the class of coolie labourers. They are engaged in such unskilled work as transporting the empty cans, sealing the filled cans, wiping and arranging the cans etc. The small extent to which women are employed in these concerns is due to the fact that most of the processes involve heavy coolie labour.

The time rate wages paid to these women vary from 11 to 14 annas in Karachi and from 6 to 8 annas in Bombay while the male unskilled workers in these concerns are paid anything from 12 annas to Rs 1/-/- a day in Karachi and from 9 to 13 annas a day in Bombay.

The payment of wages is monthly in all the concerns.

The hours worked by the men and women have been equal. Some of the establishments have ^{been working} worked for 9 or 9½ hours a day and 54 to 58 hours a week, and the others ^{for} 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week.

Paper mills.

In 1933 there were two paper mills in the presidency, one in Poona and one in Bombay city, employing in all 552 persons. There is at present another small paper mill working in Bombay employing about 40 or 50 workers. Roughly between 20 and 25 per cent of the labour in a paper mill

consists of women.

The female workers in the paper mills of Bombay city are mainly drawn from the local Ghati population and in Poona they are drawn largely from the poorer agricultural families of the surrounding villages. The recruitment of both male and female labour in these concerns is done by male mukaddams, but the supervision of female workers inside the factory is usually entrusted to headwomen.

The following processes are undertaken by the women:-

- 1) sorting out the rags
- 2) cutting the rags on the machines
- 3) sorting out the finished paper
- 4) counting the finished paper for making quires or reams
- 5) folding the finished paper.

A considerable number of women are also engaged in general light coolie work. None of the processes mentioned above are skilled or heavy, and but for rag cutting are done entirely by hand. Even the latter involves little skill, ^{and} only a certain amount of practice is required to give the worker the necessary speed of output. Men and women are found working together on this process alone; otherwise their respective spheres of activity are entirely different. The men as a rule confine themselves to machine work and the heavier coolie labour, whilst the women do the handwork and the lighter coolie labour.

All women in these mills are paid on the daily time rate ^{and} system. [^] their wage rates in Bombay vary from 6 to 8 annas a day and in Poona from 3 to 5 annas. The wages of men

engaged in cutting rags on machines fluctuate between 10 and 13 annas in Bombay and between 7 and 9 annas in Poona. The payment of wages is weekly in one concern and monthly in the other two.

In all the three factories, both men and women have worked for 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week.

Glass factories.

There are at present three glass factories in the presidency, one in Bombay city, one in Talegaon (Poona district) and one in Kandivalee. The former two manufacture such articles as glass jars, bowls, chimneys etc., while the third manufactures glass bangles only. The total number of persons employed in them in 1933, was 714 and of these 348 were working in the two factories of Bombay and Talegaon and 330 in the Kandivalee factory. Female labour is fairly important in the first two of these concerns, constituting between 20 and 30 per cent of the labour employed, but in the bangle factory in 1934 only 6 or 7 women were employed.

The women working in these concerns belong to the same class of manual workers as ordinary coolies. In Talegaon they are drawn from the poorer agricultural families of the surrounding villages and in Bombay they belong to the local Chatti working class population.

The following processes are usually undertaken by them in the factories of Bombay and Talegaon:-

- 1) Holding the mould in front of the blower of glass.
- 2) Transporting the glass ware from the cooling mines to the ovens and from the ovens to the store rooms.

- 3) Washing and wrapping the finished articles.
- 4) Grinding off the rough edges of glass jars, chimneys etc.

All these processes can be satisfactorily done by ordinary female coolies as they are neither heavy nor skilled, though the grinding process requires a certain amount of practice for the necessary speed and quality of output. The few women employed in the Kandivalee bangle factory are engaged in sorting broken bangles by hand, the skilled work ^{being} ~~is~~ done only by men.

Time rate wages are paid to all the women. In the glass factory of Bombay the women receive a monthly wage of Rs 12 to 13. In the Talegaon factory women are now engaged at Rs 8 a month, though ^{some} of the older female employees who a few years ago were engaged at a higher rate i.e. Rs 10 to ^{Rs.} 13, continue to get the same wage even at present. In the Kandivalee bangle factory the monthly wages of women are from Rs 10 to ^{Rs.} 12. The wages of a majority of the adult male workers vary between Rs 15 and ^{Rs.} 30 a month in Bombay and between Rs 12 and ^{Rs.} 22 a month in Talegaon. Young lads doing the same work as the women are paid at the same rates. The payment of wages is monthly in all the three factories.

The hours of both the male and female workers have been 10 a day and 60 a week.

Cigarette factories.

There are 9 cigarette factories in the presidency in which 746 persons were working in 1933. The majority of

these factories each employs a few women who form between 10 and 15 per cent of the total number of workers. The women are drawn everywhere from the local population of coolie labourers and are recruited in most cases by male mukaddams.

The only process undertaken by them is the cleaning and sorting of the tobacco leaves which work is very light and easy. The two other important hand processes, viz. wrapping cigarettes in silver paper and filling cigarette packets are done exclusively by children and young lads whose quick and supple fingers make them more suited to the work than adult persons. The cleaning and sorting of tobacco, although light and unskilled, is not entrusted to children, as it does require adult intelligence to determine what type of leaf is to be discarded, and how the correct sorting is to be done. No women are ever employed on machinery. The adult male workers are engaged either in working the machines or in the heavier coolie work.

Monthly time rate wages are paid to all the women and in the cigarette factories of Bombay city and suburbs their wages ~~rates~~ ^{Rs.} normally vary from Rs 10 to ^{Rs.} 15 a month. The wages of the adult male workers usually fluctuate between ^{Rs.} 15 and ^{Rs.} 30 a month according to the different types of skilled and heavy work done by them. The payment of wages is monthly in all the factories. The hours of the men and women have been equal, i.e. 10 a day and 60 a week.

Oil Mills.

In 1933 there were 48 oil mills in the presidency with a total number of 2130 workers; 27 of these were situated in the Deccan, 11 in Bombay town and island, 9 in Gujrat and only 1 in Sind.

Women are engaged in fairly large numbers in the oil mills of Bombay city and island, and of the Deccan, where roughly between 25 and 40 percent of the labour employed consists of women. Further north in the presidency, the number of women thus employed is smaller, hardly ever exceeding about 10 to 15 per cent of the workers in any one concern.

The recruitment of male and female labour in all ^{the} mills is done, by male headmen or mukaddams, from the local urban coolie workers in the towns, and from the poorer agricultural classes [^] of the surrounding villages in the rural areas.

The work done by the women is of an entirely unskilled nature, and includes the following processes:-

- 1) Holding the bags in order to receive the nuts dropping out of the shelling machines.
- 2) Transporting the shelled nuts in baskets.
- 3) Cleaning the nuts by hand.
- 4) Winnowing the nuts.

Heavier work such as transporting the bags filled with seeds is done exclusively by the men. The male and female workers are seldom found employed on the same processes.

The payment to all the workers is on the time rate system. The following table shows the daily wage rates of the unskilled male and female employees of oil mills in different parts

of the presidency:-

	Daily wage rates of female workers in oil mills.	Daily wage rates of male coolie workers in oil mills.
	Annas	Annas
Gujrat	5 to 7	7 to 10
Deccan	3 to 5	5 to 7
Bombay town island	6 to 8	9 to 12

The wages are paid weekly in the oil mills of the Deccan, and either fortnightly or monthly in the oil mills of the rest of the presidency.

The hours of men and women in these concerns have been equal, i.e. 10 a day and 60 a week.

Rice mills.

In 1933 there were 84 rice mills in the presidency, employing a total number of 911 persons, 81 of these being situated in Sind. In the rest of the presidency rice milling is done mainly in small power driven workshops which have not yet been brought under the Factory Acts. Rice cultivation being more important in Sind than elsewhere in the presidency, the bigger rice mills are naturally concentrated there.

The employment of female labour in the rice mills of Sind is very small, which is attributable partly to the nature of the work, and partly to the general scarcity of female labour in Sind. The work, which consists mainly of carrying heavy bags of rice from the godowns to the machines and then back

from the machines to the godowns, is much too strenuous for women. The scarcity of local female labour is due to the fact that in a backward Mohammedan province, such as Sind, the idea that a woman's place is in the home is much stronger, even among the poorer classes, than elsewhere in the presidency. A Sindhi Moslem woman would not normally take up an industrial occupation, unless she were compelled to do so by economic circumstances. Thus in the rice mills of Sind, women are never employed on the actual milling processes inside the factories; only a small number is found in each mill cleaning and analysing inferior, broken grain by hand, in the factory compound. They usually belong to the very necessitous landless agricultural families of the surrounding villages. Further south in the presidency women are more commonly employed in these mills, which is due to the fact that female labour is much more abundant and hence very much cheaper there than it is in Sind. An employer can profitably engage a few women in such light and unskilled work as removing the husk and other foreign matter thrown out by the machines, transporting the husked rice in small quantities, etc. Only in one or two mills, are women found attending to the machines, which separate dust and dirt from the paddy. This work, however, involves no skill whatsoever and can be quite efficiently done by ordinary coolie labourers.

The women found working in the mills of Sind are paid a piece rate wage, usually in kind as a part of the rice cleaned by them is given to them as their remuneration. A woman is

normally able to earn ^{daily} rice worth ~~anything between~~ 2 to 3 annas ~~per day~~ in the full working season. This rice ~~which she receives~~ is of a very low quality and is usually not sold but consumed at home. The payment of wages is daily, the grain cleaned by a woman ^{being} weighed every evening, and a certain proportion of it is handed over to her. In the rice mills of the Deccan women are paid a time rate wage which varies from 3 to 5 annas a day. The male coolies in these concerns receive a daily wage of 5 to 7 annas. The payment is weekly.

The hours of women in the rice mills of Sind ^{have varied} ~~varied~~ from 6 to 8 a day in the busiest season. In the Deccan mills a 10 hour day and a 60 hour week have been observed by both male and female workers.

Flour mills.

In 1933, 1145 persons were employed in the 26 regulated flour mills of the presidency. The proportion of female to male labour in these concerns is very small as women form ^{approximately} ~~between~~ 5 and 10 per cent of the total number of workers in any one mill. The nature of the work in a flour mill is not such as to demand a considerable amount of female labour. The coolie work, which consists in transporting heavy loads of grain and flour is much too arduous for women; and for the machine processes, which require a very steady and fairly skilled vigilance over the running machinery, male labour is invariably preferred. There are very few light and unskilled processes in these mills in which women can be usefully

engaged. The main work done by the few women employed is the cleaning and analysing of grain by hand, though in a few bigger flour mills of the central and southern divisions of the presidency, women are also found doing such light coolie work as removing in baskets the foreign matter separated from the grain after the analysing process, collecting the grain falling out of the bags in transit, etc.

It should be noted that in the smaller flour mills not coming under the Factory Acts, women are very rarely employed. These establishments engage a very small number of operatives, usually one or two mechanics and a few male coolies only; all light and heavy unskilled work is done by the latter. However, in some of the unregulated flour mills in Sind, a few women are occasionally found cleaning and analysing grain in the mill compounds, these women being not the employees of these concerns but independent workers who offer their services for cleaning grain on a piece rate wage to the customers of the mills. The owners of the concerns allow ^fthese women the use of their premises as they can thus provide an important service to their customers without any cost to themselves.

The female labour employed in the regulated flour mills is everywhere recruited locally by male mukaddams from the class of unskilled town workers in the urban areas, and of landless agriculturists in the ^{rural} ~~rural~~ areas.

Time rate wages are paid to all the workers. The following table shows their daily wage rates in different parts of the presidency:-

Centre	Daily wage rates of women.	Daily wage rates of men.
Karachi	10 to 12 annas	12 annas to Re 1.0
Other towns in Sind	7 to 9 "	10 to 14 annas
Gujrat	6 to 8 "	9 to 12 "
Bombay	7 to 8 "	10 to 14 "

The payment of wages is monthly in ^{the} majority of mills; only in a few cases is the weekly system found.

The hours of men and women in these concerns have been equal. A large number of flour mills have been working for 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week; in a few cases a 9 hour day and a 54 hour week has been observed.

Cotton Ginning Factories.

In 1933, there were 637 cotton ginning and pressing factories in the presidency, employing 42,715 workers; 419 of these with 24,838 workers were situated in the Deccan, 171 with 12,040 workers in Gujrat and 47 with 5,837 workers in Sind.

The extensive employment of female labour in these factories is due to the fact that there are many light and unskilled processes in cotton ginning which can be conveniently undertaken by women, the most important of which is feeding the gins. For work of

this nature, the low paid female labour is naturally preferred to male labour. In addition to feeding the gins, the following unskilled work is done by the women:-

- 1) Removing cotton shells from the gins.
- 2) Sweeping the ginning rooms
- 3) Carrying cotton seeds to the godowns
- 4) Carrying cotton to the openers. ~~xxx xxxxxxxx xxxxxx in
xxxx of xxxx.~~
- 5) Separating by hand the good from the bad cotton lint.

The men employed in these factories are engaged mainly on heavy coolie work and on pressing cotton. They are also found feeding the gins, but in much smaller numbers than women and are usually engaged in this process in the ~~night~~ shifts ^{since} ~~xx~~ women cannot be legally employed during the night. It is very rare to find men and women employed together on the same work, and whenever the men are engaged in feeding the gins, their shifts are separate from those of the women.

The bulk of both male and female labour in the cotton ginning and pressing factories belongs to the poorer agricultural classes. A majority of the concerns are situated in the midst of the cotton growing agricultural areas and during the ginning season ^{when} ~~no~~ work is available in the fields, and ~~hence~~ a large amount of the landless agricultural labour of the villages is drawn to the ginning factories for employment. When the ginning season is over all the workers return to their respective villages. Even in the cotton ginning

concerns of the bigger towns, a substantial part of labour is recruited from the surrounding rural areas. It should be noted that in Sind the bulk of female labour employed in the ginning factories does not consist of the local women but of women drawn from the Makrani and Meghwar ^{families} communities, a large number of ^{whom} ~~Kabani and Kachari~~ families have now settled down in the bigger towns of Sind. In the ginning season, many of these families migrate to the cotton growing tracts where the gins and presses are situated, but they return to the towns when the season is over. The small extent to which the Sindhi women are employed in these factories is attributable to the same cause which is responsible for the scarcity of Sindhi women in all organised industries, i.e., the lack of social freedom for the local Moslem women and the general social segregation of the sexes.

The recruitment of both male and female labour in these factories is usually done by male mukaddams or jamadars though female recruiting jamadars are found in a few concerns. The supervision of female workers inside the factory is however always entrusted to female mukaddams.

Time rate wages are paid to all the women with the exception of those who are engaged in sorting cotton lint. The male coolies are also paid on the time rate system. The following table shows the wage rates of the male and female time rate workers in some of the important centres of the industry:-

Centre	The daily wage rates of women	The daily wage rates of men
	Annas	Annas
Thar and Parkar district	4 to 5	7 to 8
Nawabshah district	3 (6 to 7 hour day)	6 to 8 (10 hour day)
Broach and Surat districts	5 to 6	8 to 10
Belgaum, Solapur, Dharwar and Bijapur districts	4 to 5	7 to 9
East and West Khandesh districts	3	5 to 8

The earnings of the piece rate women are slightly lower than those of the time rate women, since the former work casually, and for shorter hours per day than the latter. Thus in Sind a piece rate worker normally earns anything between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 annas a day.

There is no uniformity in these concerns as regards the period of wage payment. In the Deccan the weekly system is very common. Further north in the presidency the wages may be paid either weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

The hours of the women have been 10 a day and 60 a week in all the ginning factories excepting a few in Sind which have worked for 16 or 17 hours a day with two shifts. One of the shifts usually consisted of women who were employed for 6 or 7 hours. The other consisted of men who were employed for 10 hours. The 60 hour week with a 10 hour day, ^{has been} was general for the men, although in a few concerns they ^{have} worked for five 11-hour days in a week.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF FEMALE
LABOUR EMPLOYED IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES
CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF FEMALE
LABOUR EMPLOYED IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES.

Except in Bombay city, the female labour employed in all industrial centres of the presidency is mainly local. Bombay city holds a peculiar position in this respect as the majority of the total population living in Bombay is born outside the city. The following figures show the percentage of the population actually born in Bombay.

Census year	Percentage of the total population born in Bombay.
1872	31.1
1881	27.8
1891	25.0
1901	23.4
1911	19.6
1921	16.0
1931	24.6

These figures indicate that Bombay is essentially populated by outsiders who live in the city for a part of their lives, employed either in industry or in commerce, but eventually return to their native places. There are no recorded statistics regarding the migration of labour to Bombay city, but since the industrial workers form the great majority of the population, the above figures show that the extent of the permanent labour force in Bombay is very small. Most of the workers employed in the industries of the city are drawn from the surrounding districts of ^{the} Konkan, which is one of the poorer agricultural tracts of the presi-

dency. The Ratnagiri district makes the highest contribution to the industrial labour force of Bombay. In 1931, 20.4 per cent of the total population of the city was born in the Ratnagiri district.

In contrast to Bombay, the industrial labour in all other important towns of the presidency is mainly local. Thus according to the 1921 census, 603 persons per thousand of the population of Ahmedabad town were born in the Ahmedabad district. Sholapur is not at all a cosmopolitan town and its labour is drawn almost entirely from the immediately neighbouring rural areas. In 1931, the proportion per thousand of its population born in Sholapur district was 687. Karachi is also mainly populated by persons born in Karachi district or in the surrounding districts of Sind. In Poona almost three fourths of the population are born in Poona district itself.

The smaller towns of the presidency draw their labour entirely from their immediate neighbourhood.

In the absence of migration statistics it is difficult to state the exact relation between male and female immigrant labour. The birth place figures of Bombay city, however, indicate that a large proportion of the immigrant population of the city consists of adult males, who do not take their families with them. Thus the ratio of females to males in Bombay town and island as a whole is 621 to 1000, while the ratio for the Bombay city born population is 728 to 1000. As

to compared ~~with~~ this, the ratio of females to males is 765 per 1000 in ~~the~~ Ahmednagar district, 765 in ~~the~~ Nasik district and 716 in ~~the~~ Poona district. From these figures it may be presumed that the number of immigrant women in Bombay city is much smaller than the number of immigrant men. The sex distribution of the Bombay population born in Ratnagiri district may well indicate the relation between male and female immigrant labour in the city. In the census of 1931, only 541 women per 1000 men living in Bombay city were born in ~~the~~ Ratnagiri district. This would suggest that a very large number of the male industrial workers drawn from the rural areas of Konkan are not accompanied by their families.

The proportion of women to men immigrants is less because of the former's complete lack of social freedom. A woman very seldom migrates independently of her male relatives. In addition to this is the fact that a male immigrant has a family in the village, consisting of children, and elderly dependents and he therefore usually leaves his wife behind to look after the latter. Moreover when a man migrates to a town his prospects of earning a livelihood are very uncertain. He is placed in a strange social milieu with no guarantee of steady and consistent employment and under these circumstances he is not always willing to take his wife and children along with him. The latter can manage to subsist, however poorly, in the family home, but in the town

the vagaries of unemployment may cause them extreme hardships. Lastly Indian women, as a rule are far more conservative in their general outlook than are Indian men, because of the lower social and economic position that they have held for centuries. Presumably therefore they are much more reluctant than men to leave the family home.

Another point which deserves to be noted is the extent to which the immigrant workers in the towns are in contact with their village homes. In Bombay city the workers coming from ^{the} Konkan and the surrounding areas of the Deccan return to their villages quite frequently. Those who either own land or whose families have rented some land, usually emigrate for a few months just before the setting in of the monsoons while those who have no such interest usually return home for short holidays once or twice a year, either for religious festivals, or for marriages and other social ceremonies.

In Ahmedabad and Sholapur the comparatively smaller immigrant working population drawn from the neighbouring rural areas, maintains a similar contact with the villages.

It may be noted that women, as a rule return to their villages more frequently than men. A large number of the married women usually go back to their native places for confinement. In cases of prolonged illness women leave the towns more frequently than men. For social and religious ceremonies also, women usually pay more frequent visits to their homes than men.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE METHOD OF RECRUITMENT
OF FEMALE WORKERS
IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES.

The direct recruitment of workers by the employers is rarely found in the regulated industries of the presidency as in a majority of the factories, persons belonging to the subordinate supervising staff, called jobbers or 'mukaddams', and their female counterparts, 'naikins', recruit labour on behalf of the employers. This practice originated at a period when the scarcity of labour made it necessary for the employers to send their agents to different parts of the country in order to obtain workers. But to-day when labour is more readily available, the continuance of this practice can be explained only on the ground of its convenience for the employers.

In the cotton mills of the presidency the system of recruitment through the head jobber and his male and female assistants is almost universal. These subordinate mill officials exercise wide control over the workers; they supervise their work, grant holidays, punish them for lack of discipline and can even dismiss them. The 'naikin' possesses the same powers over the women workers.

In the other perennial factories of the presidency, naikins are found only where women are employed in large numbers.

Labour in the seasonal factories is recruited almost always through intermediaries. In the cotton ginning mills

for example, direct recruitment by the employers is extremely rare, as the number of workers needed in these concerns is so large that the employers find it convenient to entrust recruitment to the mukaddams. Moreover in several ginning factories it is customary for the mukaddams to undertake part of the work on contract and in such cases it is the mukaddams who not only recruit the workers but also fix their wage rates. In certain parts of Gujrat the supply of labour in these concerns often runs short of the demand during the busy season, and therefore the headmen are sent round to the surrounding villages to recruit labour,

In the bigger seasonal oil and rice mills also, the recruitment is seldom made directly by the employers. ~~again the headmen are responsible for bringing labour to the factories.~~ Female workers in the seasonal concerns are more commonly recruited by 'mukaddams' than by 'naikins'. The latter are found in all those seasonal factories where women are employed in large numbers but in ^{the} a majority of cases their duties are only supervisory. This is perhaps due to the greater resourcefulness of men in securing labour.

The supervision of women workers by men has been criticised on the ground that it generally leads to discrimination and abuse. Physically attractive women may, for example, receive a more lenient treatment at the hands of their male supervisors. On the other hand those who refuse the attentions of the latter are liable to be victimised. The supervisor

may take undue advantage of his power and position for immoral purposes. That these criticisms are valid is undeniable in view of the fact that the moral tone of the supervisors is generally low.

An important problem connected with the system of recruitment through mukaddams or naikins is that of bribery. It is a well known fact that the latter are in the habit of receiving bribes or gratuities from the workers. As the Royal Commission on Labour observed "There are few factories where a worker's security is not to some extent in the hands of a jobber; in a number of factories the latter has, in practice, the power to engage and to dismiss a worker. We are satisfied that it is a fairly general practice for the jobber to profit financially by the exercise of this power. The evil varies in intensity from industry to industry and from centre to centre. It is usual for a fee to be exacted as the price of engagement, or of re-employment after a period of absence. In many cases a small regular payment has also to be made out of each month's wage. In other cases workers have to supply the jobber with drink or other periodical offerings in kind".¹ The memorandum submitted by the government of Bombay to the Royal Commission on Labour expressed the same opinion. It stated "The jobbers and mukaddams are notoriously corrupt and do not hesitate to extort bribes. Something has to be paid at the time of entering service and on the first and every pay day in order

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India p. 24.

to keep the jobber in good humour".¹ As regards women workers the Royal Commission on Labour observed "where women workers are numerous, they are often under the charge of other women, commonly known as naikins or mukaddamins. This system reduces but does not always eliminate the greater evils arising from male supervision. Too often, however, the naikin has the rapacity of the jobber with even more submissive material on which to exercise it."²

The following facts in this connection may be noted. Firstly that bribery to headmen or naikins takes three forms, viz. a lump sum paid by the worker at the time of engagement or re-engagement; a periodical payment of a certain percentage of wages; and occasional tipping in cash or kind. All these forms may exist together or separately. The actual position in this respect in any one concern depends on several factors, such as the personal character of the headmen and the naikins, the extent of their control over the workers, the amount of unemployment in the industry, etc. Secondly that this practice is most commonly found in those factories where the number of workers employed is large as in such factories, the decentralisation of supervision is greater

.....

1. Royal Commission on Labour in India. Evidence Vol. I part I p.10.

2. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, o.25.

and the subordinate staff exercises wider control over the workers. Thirdly, the extent of bribery differs in different industries. Generally speaking, however, the amount paid for engagement or re-engagement varies from Re 1/-/- to Rs 5/-/-. The monthly payment usually varies from about 8 annas to Re 1/-/- per worker. Fourthly, this evil does not seem to have diminished to any appreciable extent in recent years; and on the other hand objective conditions have favoured it. General unemployment, and the severe competition for jobs in factories, such as exists at present, ~~should~~ stimulate these corrupt practices unless adequate measures are taken to stop them. Unfortunately very few employers have so far taken an interest in the problem and still fewer have done anything effective in the matter.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE NATURE OF THE WORK DONE BY FEMALE WORKERS IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES

In a majority of the regulated industries of the presidency women are employed on purely hand processes. machine work ^{being} is done by them only in a few cases. The following table shows the nature of the work done by women in the different industries.

Nature of Work	Industries
1. Machine work	cotton textile
2. Hand work	Manure, glass, leather tanning, brick and tile, kerosine tinning and packing, stone crushing, confectionery, cigarette, rice mill, flour mill.
3. Partly machine work but mainly hand work.	Match, paper, oil mill, cotton ginning.

It is evident from this table that the employment of women on machinery is very limited. Only in 5 out of the 13 industries were they thus employed, whilst only in the textile and cotton ginning factories are they engaged in machine work in large numbers. In the oil mills, paper mills and match factories, female machine operatives form a small percentage of the total number of women workers.

Another point is that except in cotton weaving and spinning mills, the machine work done by women involves very little or no skill at all. Thus in the ginning factories the feeding of gins is entirely an unskilled process as the operative has merely to throw handfuls of cotton on to the revolving gins. Similarly, in the oil mills, a female machine operative requires no skill of any kind. She has merely to hold a bag in front of a shelling machine in order to gather the shelled nuts thrown out by the latter.

In the paper mills the cutting of rags on the machines is easy unskilled work. In the match factories box filling and labelling by machinery requires only a certain amount of practice for the necessary speed of output. It is in the cotton spinning and weaving mills alone that the machine processes undertaken by women can be considered to be fairly skilled.

As regards handwork done by women in these factories, it may be observed that a great part of it involves coolie labour pure and simple. Thus, in the brick and tile and manure factories, leather tanneries, stone crushing, and kerosine tinning and packing establishments etc., women are engaged mainly in the transport of articles. In the rest of the factories, the hand processes performed by them are usually of a light and easy character. It is in the match factories alone that their work demands a little skill, though not of a high order.

The male workers in these factories are employed either on machinery or on heavier coolie work.

**CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE WAGES OF FEMALE
WORKERS IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES.**

The following table shows the daily minimum and maximum wages of female workers in the different regulated industries of the presidency. The corresponding wages of the male workers who are employed either on the same work as women or on the work which demands the same kind of skill as that which is done by women, are shown in a separate column. ¹

Industry	Normal daily wages of women.		Normal daily wages of men employed on the same or on similar processes as women.	
	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Cotton textile	0. 3. 8	1.11. 4.	0. 3. 4.	1. 9.11.
Match	0. 8. 0.	0.14. 0	0.12. 0	1. 4. 0
Manure	0. 7. 0.	0.14. 0	0.13. 0	1. 4. 0
Stone crushing	0. 7. 0	0. 8. 0	0.11. 0	0.14. 0
Tanneries	0. 4. 0	0. 8. 0	Men engaged in more skilled work	
Paper	0. 3. 0	0. 5. 0		
			0. 7. 0	0. 9. 0

1. The figures for the cotton textile industry are taken from the Report of an enquiry held by the Labour office Bombay, in 1934, into "Wages and unemployment in the Bombay cotton textile industry". The figures for all the other industries are based on the information personally collected by the writer. A table showing the normal daily wages of male and female workers in the different centres of each industry has been given in the appendix to this chapter.

	Normal daily wages of women		Normal daily wages of men employed on the same processes as women	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Brick and tile	0. 4. 0.	0.13. 0	0. 6. 0	1. 4. 0
Glass	0. 7. 0	0. 8. 0	Men engaged in more skilled work	
Confectionary	0. 7. 0	0. 8. 0		
Cigarette	0. 6. 0	0. 8. 0	Men engaged in more skilled work	
Kerosine tinning and packing	0. 6. 0	0.14. 0		
Oil mill	0. 3. 0	0. 8. 0	0. 5. 0	0.12. 0
Rice mill	0. 3. 0	0. 5. 0	0. 5. 0	0. 7. 0
Flour mill	0. 6. 0	0.12. 0	0. 9. 0	1. 0. 0
Cotton gins	0. 3. 0	0. 6. 0	0. 5. 0	0.10. 0
Average for all industries	0. 5. 2.	0.10. 7	0. 7.11.	0.15. 4.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE HOURS OF FEMALE WORKERS
IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES

Until the new Factory Act came into force in 1935, the hours of the women workers usually fluctuated between 8 and 10 per day. The following table taken from the Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories, Bombay presidency, gives a detailed analysis of the normal weekly hours of both sexes, in 1935.

Number of Factories							
In Which the Normal Weekly Hours are							
total	FOR MEN			not above 48	FOR WOMEN		
	for Men not above 48	above and not above 54	above 54		above 48 and not above 54	above 54	
Bom. Presidency including Sind	1610	237	153	1168	118	146	795
Total Perennial	846	164	130	531	62	99	279
Total Seasonal	764	73	23	637	56	47	516
Total for the Year 1932	1575	243	152	1149	123	159	778
Total for the Year 1931	1541	230	138	1141	124	159	767

It will ^{be} seen from this table that by far the largest number of factories worked for over 54 hours a week. This was true of the factories employing men as well as those employing women. The maximum weekly limit in these factories was sixty, which was usually attained by working 6 days of

10 hours each.

Among the perennial factories wherever the hours did not exceed 10 a day, male and female workers employed on time rate worked for equal hours. Where women were employed on piece rate, they often worked for slightly shorter hours than men. Thus for example in the cotton mills of Bombay and Sholapur women winders and reelers had a working day of about 8 to 9 hours while time rate female ring spinners and male workers were employed for 10 hours a day. In the match factories also a large number of piece rate women had a slightly shorter working day than men.

In all the seasonal factories women ^{have} worked for 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week except in a few ginning mills of Sind which employed two shifts; one consisting of men working for 10 hours and the other consisting of women working for 6 or 7 hours a day.

A weekly day of rest is legally binding for all regulated concerns and the existing practice in this respect has been to give either Sunday or substitute day off in the week.

As regards intervals the general rule in these factories ^{have} been ^{to} observe a break of one hour for the midday meal.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING DUST, DIRT AND GENERAL
SANITATION IN THE REGULATED FACTORIES.

There are a number of regulated industrial concerns employing women which have either no system of eliminating dust emitted during the manufacturing processes, or have very defective arrangement for this purpose. The worst in this respect are the cotton ginning mills and the stone crushing and manure factories. In the ginning rooms the atmosphere is thickly charged with cotton fluff and dust which is disseminated during the ginning process and there are very few mills which have made adequate provisions for the protection of workers from this evil. The fluff and dust not only cause discomfort to the female operatives, but should also be highly conducive to the contraction of pulmonary diseases. A large number of women in ginning departments work with rags tied round their noses. With reference to the dust in cotton ginning factories, the Royal Commission on Labour observed "So far as health in seasonal factories is concerned, the main danger is from dust, the extraction of which presents special difficulties. The main stumbling block in cotton ginning is the reputed lack of any dust extracting plant which is at once effective and not unreasonably expensive".¹

.....
1. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. p. 84.

In the manure factories, a considerable amount of dust is raised when baskets full of uncrushed bone are emptied into the machines. This dust is inhaled by the women who are engaged in this work and should prove highly injurious to their health, as it is emitted from decaying matter. None of the factories have any adequate arrangement for removing it.

In the rice mills, also, dust is raised during the hopping and polishing processes and is inhaled by the women employed near the machines.

Except in leather tanneries and some of the seasonal factories, a fairly good standard of general sanitation is maintained in all these regulated concerns in which women are employed. In the tanneries the inadequacy of drainage coupled with the offensive nature of the processes very often makes the work place extremely dirty and foul smelling.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING CRECHES AND OTHER
SPECIAL FACILITIES FOR FEMALE WORKERS
IN THE REGULATED FACTORIES.

In the factories of the Bombay presidency, the provision of creches by the employers is still confined mainly to the cotton mills. There are very few other concerns which provide this convenience for their female employees. Even a large number of cotton mills have no creches. Therefore, on the whole, the present position in respect of the provision of creches in the factories is far from satisfactory. Not only is it necessary to bring about the extension of this facility to the rest of the factories, but the quality of the creches

provided must also be improved. This is all the more important in view of the fact that most of the female industrial workers are married and have young children to look after. In the absence of creches the working mothers are obliged to leave their infants at home in charge of elderly women of the family or of other children. That this is mainly responsible for the practice of doping the infants with opium is a well known fact. The Lady Doctor (Dr. Barnes) appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1922 to investigate into the conditions of women industrial workers in Bombay, found that 98 per cent of the children born to industrial working women were given opium in some form or other. What with gradual opium poisoning of the child and undernourishment due to the mother being away for several hours on end, the rate of infant mortality is alarmingly high.

Very few other special facilities for women are provided in these concerns. Only in a few cotton mills are medical arrangements for pre-natal care found. In two or three cotton mills, a few beds are provided for maternity cases.

Separate resting or dining sheds for men and women are not found anywhere. Separate lavatories for the sexes are provided but separate washing or bathing arrangements are very rare.

APPENDIX

Table showing the wages of female and male workers in different centres of each industry

The following table shows the normal daily wages of female workers in the different centres of all the regulated indus-

tries considered in this chapter. The corresponding wages of the male workers who are employed either on the same work as women or on the work which demands the same kind of skill as that done by the women are shown in a separate column.

Industry	Centre	Normal daily wages of women.	Normal daily wages of men.
Cotton textile	Bombay	4 a. 4 p. to Rs. 1/11/4	9 a. to Rs. 1/9/11
	Ahmedabad	6 a. 2 p. to Rs. 1/9/7	7 a. 2 p. to Rs. 1/9/7.
	Sholapur	3 a. 8 p. to 8 a.	6 a. 7 p. to 12a. 11 p.
	Southern Mahratta Country	4 a. 4 p. to 9 a. 2 p.	3 a. 4 p. to 8 a. 9 p.
	Khandesh	4 a. 8 p. to 10a. 4 p.	4 a. 11 p. to 11 a. 9 p.
	Gujrat	5 a. 6 p. to 13a. 8 p.	6 a. 2 p. to 13 a. 8 p.
Kerosine	Karachi	11 a. to 14 a.	12 a. to Re 1/-/-
Tinning & packing	Bombay	6 a. to 8 a.	9 a. to 13 a.
Paper	Poona	3 a. to 5 a.	7 a. to 9 a.
Glass	Bombay	7 a. to 8 a.	All men employed on more skilled work.
	Talegaon	5 a. to 7 a.	
	Kandivalee	6 a. to 7 a. 6 p.)	
Cigarette	Bombay	6 a. to 8 a.)	
Oil mills	Gujrat	5 a. to 7 a.	7 a. to 10 a.
	Deccan	3 a. to 5 a.	5 a. to 7 a.
	Bombay	6 a. to 8 a.	9 a. to 12 a.
Rice mill	Deccan	3 a. to 5 a.	5 a. to 7 a.
Flour mill	Karachi	10 a. to 12 a.	12 a. to Re 1/-/-
	Other towns in Sind	7 a. to 9 a.	10 a. to 14 a.

Industry	Centre	Normal daily wages of women.	Normal daily wages of men.
Flour mill	Gujrat	6a. to 8a.	9a. to 12a.
	Bombay	7a. to 8a.	10a. to 14a.
Cotton ginning	Thar and Parkar district	4a. to 5a.	7a. to 8a.
	Deccan	3a. to 5a.	5a. to 9a.
	Gujrat	5a. to 6a.	8a. to 10a.
Match	Bombay	8a. to 10a.	12a. to Rs. 1/4/-
	Ambernath	12 a. to 14a.	14a. to Rs. 1/4/-
Kanure	Karachi	11a. to 14a.	14a. to Rs. 1/4/-
	Malir	7a. to 8a.	13a. to Re 1/-/-
	Hydershad	9a. to 10a.	13a. to Rs 1/2/-
Stone crushing	Bombay	7 a. to 8a.	11a. to 14a.
Tanning	Bombay	6a. to 8a.)	all men employed on more skilled work.
	Sholapur	4a. to 6a.)	
Brick & tile	Karachi	8a. to 13a.	8a. to Rs 1/4/-
	Khanapur	4a. to 5a.	6a. to 8a.
	Bombay	6a. to 8a.	9a. to 13a.
Confec-tionary	Bombay	7a. to 8a.	10 a. to 14a.

CHAPTER III

FEMALE LABOUR IN THE UNREGULATED ORGANISED INDUSTRIES

In this chapter we are concerned with observing the distribution of female labour and its conditions of work in those organised industries of the Bombay presidency which have not yet been brought under the Factory Acts. As already stated there is virtually no published information available on this topic. The description which follows is therefore based on the information personally collected by the writer during his tour of the presidency from about the middle of 1933 to March 1934. It should be noted that in the absence of an industrial census of the presidency, it has not been possible to give exact figures regarding the total number of female workers in each unregulated industry. An investigator working single-handed can secure precise information on wages, hours etc., but it is extremely difficult for him to enumerate the total number of persons employed in small scale industries which are distributed over very large areas. Extensive general observations can however, enable him to form rough estimates of the numbers. Such estimates were attempted by the writer and are given in the table below:

Industry	Approximate total number of women employed
Handloom weaving	8,000 to 10,000
Wool Cleaning	2,500 to 3,000

Approximate total number
of women employed

Industry	
Bidi	12,000 to 15,000
Rope and Twine	400 to 500
Brick and Tile	2,000 to 2,500
Building	70,000 to 80,000
"Aggar buttī" and "Kankoo"	1,500 to 2,000
Calico printing	1,500 to 2,000
Cotton thread ball	800 to 1,000
Leather tanning	2,500 to 3,000
Grain and Peas cleaning, husking, splitting etc.	5,000 to 6,000
Railway and Dock godowns	500 to 600
Paper	30 to 40
Soap	75 to 100
Snuff	75 to 100
Candlestick	20 to 25
Confectionary	150 to 200
Miscellaneous	1,500 to 2,000
All industries	Roughly between 108,000 and 128,000

It will be seen from this table that, of all these industries, building is by far the most important from the point of view of the number of women employed. The three next most important industries in this respect are bidi, handloom weaving and grain cleaning, husking etc. The

79
employment of women in brick and tile, "Aggar butti", tanning, wool cleaning, calico printing and thread ball making industries is fairly large. In the rest of the industries women are not employed on a large scale.

In this, as in the previous chapter, the different industries have been considered separately first and then conclusions with regard to the prevailing conditions of work have been attempted.

Handloom Karkhanas.¹

The handloom industry in the Bombay presidency is slowly changing its organisational form. It has now ceased to be a cottage industry pure and simple, and has now developed a fairly strong element of capitalist organisation. The old traditional handloom weaver who financed his own work and sold his goods at the highest prices available in the market, has almost entirely disappeared. The handloom weaver of to-day either works under the financial control of a middleman, or is employed as a wage-earner in a handloom karkhana. The re-organisation of the industry on a karkhana basis has, however, not proceeded very far. A large majority of the handloom weavers are still cottage workers, although entirely dependent on middlemen for their capital and market. Handloom Karkhanas have come into existence mainly in cities and towns where alone ^{enough} capital is

.....
¹ "Karkhana" is the Hindustani equivalent of workshop.

available. In rural areas where capital is either insufficient or shy, handloom weaving still continues to be predominately a cottage industry. Thus the total number of karkhana weavers in the presidency is far smaller than that of the cottage weavers. On a very rough estimate they form about 15 to 20 per cent of the total handloom weaving population of the presidency. Their actual number is approximately between thirty and forty thousand, of which roughly eight to ten thousand are women. The scale of production in this industry is small, ^{as} the majority of the handloom karkhanas employ less than 20 persons each. The minimum number of workers employed in any one concern is about 5 and the maximum about 50.

Almost all employees in these karkhanas are ex-handloom cottage workers, and are drawn everywhere from the local handloom weaving community. The karkhanas are owned in a large number of cases by local cloth merchants.

The recruitment and supervision of labour are generally done by the karkhana owners themselves. It is only in a few bigger handloom concerns of Bombay and Sholapur that this work is entrusted to "mukhadams" or headmen. The services of headmen are generally not necessary because the number of persons employed and the turnover of labour are small.

The work done by women in these karkhanas is limited to the preliminary processes of cloth weaving, i.e.

41 winding, reeling, warping and sizing. The first two of these processes are undertaken exclusively by women and the second two partly by men and partly by women. The spinning of yarn is not done in the karkhanas, as mill spun yarn is now universally used. The actual weaving of cloth is done only by men. The preliminary processes do not involve skill of any high order and a few months' practice is enough to give a woman the necessary speed in work. ~~xxx xxx xxx~~
~~xxxxxxx xxxxxxxx.~~

The payment to all workers in these concerns is on the piece rate system. The daily wages of the women vary from 3 to 5 annas in Gujrat. In the Deccan, a woman's earnings for a week of seven days fluctuate between 12 annas and Rs 1.4.0. In the Gujrat, the male karkhana weavers can earn ~~anything~~ from 6 to 8 annas a day, and in the Deccan their wages for a week of seven working days vary from Rs 2. to Rs 3. The lower wage rates in the Deccan can perhaps be explained by the fact that since handloom weaving was much more extensively developed there than it was either in Gujrat or in Sind, the recent decline of the industry coupled with very limited openings in other occupations has created a far greater over-supply of handloom weavers in the Deccan than in the rest of the presidency.

The payment of wages is weekly in the Deccan and either fortnightly or monthly in Gujrat.

The number of hours worked by a majority of the women vary from about 6 to 9 per day. They are usually

allowed by the employers to determine their own working time.

82 In a large number of cases they come to the karkhanas^s later than the men in the morning, and leave a few hours earlier in the evening. The normal working hours of male weavers fluctuate from 10 to 18 per day. A midday interval of about one hour is very commonly taken by the men. In the case of women, there is no uniformity with respect to intervals. Those who come to the karkhanas early in the morning usually take a break of about two hours or perhaps more in the middle of the day, when they return home in order to cook the midday meal. Others who come to work later, and leave earlier, observe one or two shorter intervals, hardly exceeding half an hour each.

Wool Cleaning Karkhanas.

Wool cleaning as an organised industry, is carried on only in Sind. A number of wool cleaning karkhanas are found in the towns of Sind and especially in Karachi. The labour employed in these concerns consists almost entirely of women and children. There are at present roughly between 2,500 and 3,000 women engaged in this industry and Karachi, as the biggest wool cleaning centre, can claim about half of this number. The bulk of the women belong to the Makrani community. It is only women belonging to the poorest sections of the town population who are drawn to this occupation, since the rates of payment are exceptionally low. It is a convenient source of employment for elderly women who are not capable of undertaking the

better paid, but physically more strenuous, coolie work.

XXXXX XXXXXXXX XXX XXXXXXXXXXXX XXXX XXXXXXXXXXXX.

The recruitment of female labour in these karkhanas is done through "mukaddamins" who are elderly women employed for this purpose on a monthly salary. The supervision of female workers is also entrusted to them.

Wool cleaning involves only unskilled work. A woman worker usually squats on the ground with a pile of dirty wool in front of her, which she sorts ~~out~~ by hand. She then cleans the wool by beating the dust or other foreign matter out of it with a stick or an iron rod. The work is, on the whole, extremely light, although the cleaning of dirty wool raises a large amount of dust and fluff which is highly undesirable from the point of view of the worker's health. Men are never found engaged in wool cleaning, a few bigger concerns ^{do} employ men but only for heavy coolie work, i.e. lifting and transporting sacks of wool.

Wool cleaning is one of the worst-paid occupations of female workers in Sind. Piece rate payment is the rule ^{the} and daily earnings of the women fluctuate between 2 and 6 annas. A great majority of them, however, earn anything from 3 to 5 annas per day. The payment of wages is daily in a few karkhanas and weekly in others.

The hours of work in these concerns are very long, as most of the women work for about 10 hours a day. Their daily maximum is about 12 hours, excluding periods of rest. Intervals are taken by the workers at will, as there is no

54 compulsory stoppage of work at any time of the day. All the women, however, usually have a break of over an hour at midday. In some cases, this interval is of two or three hours as the women return home in order to cook the midday meal. The work starts very early in the morning, in some karkhanas even before sunrise and finishes sometime after sunset. The voluntary intervals taken by the women during this long working day amount to at least about two hours.

Bidi Karkhanas.

Bidi making is an important unregulated organised industry for women in the Bombay presidency. Although ~~as the~~ a majority of women engaged in the industry are home workers but still there are thousands of them employed as regular wage-earners in bidi karkhanas. These karkhanas are found mainly in the urban areas of the presidency, but it is only in Bombay, Poona and a few other towns of the Deccan that women are employed ^{in them} in large numbers. In Bombay city there are at least 500 bidi concerns of different sizes, varying from those employing 3 to 4 workers to those employing 40 to 50. Approximately 60 per cent of the total number of workers in these concerns are women. On a rough estimate there are at least eight to nine thousand women thus employed in Bombay city. The small proportion of male to female workers in the bidi karkhanas of Bombay is attributed to the fact that in a big town such as this, an adult male is normally able to earn a higher wage in other occupations.

Bidi
Bidi is an Indian cigarette for which leaves are used instead of cigarette paper

85 In smaller towns a comparatively greater amount of male labour is drawn to these concerns since the alternative sources of employment for men are more limited, than in

fact. In fact, as stated above, outside Bombay, Poona and a few other towns of the Deccan, there are very few female workers employed in bidi karkhanas. In Sind they are completely absent, and in Gujrat their number is insignificant.

The majority of women employed in the karkhanas of Bombay and Poona are Ghatias, whose male relatives are either low-grade mill workers or petty hawkers and unskilled coolies and in view of their small earnings of these men their women-folk are obliged to take up some paid employment.

The recruitment of female labour in a majority of the karkhanas is done directly by the employers. Being a small scale industry the employer is in constant touch with his employees, and in petty workshops even works alongside the latter. It is only in a few bigger karkhanas that the recruitment and supervision of the workers is entrusted to salaried headmen or "mukaddams". Where women are employed in large numbers one of the elderly female workers is usually appointed to supervise their work, and ~~she~~ is in some cases also made responsible for bringing female labour to the karkhanas.

Bidi making is not a highly skilled work though it does require a certain amount of ^{manual} dexterity. The necessary quick movement of fingers, is, however, secured through long

and continuous practice. ~~xxx xxx * xxxxxx xx xxx~~
~~xxxxxxx xxxxx.~~ The worker sits with a basket containing tobacco and bidi leaves in front of her, and goes on rapidly making bidi after bidi with the help of her fingers. This is the only industry in which persons of both sexes and almost all ages are engaged in the same processes. There is no division of labour, each worker being a self-contained producing unit.

The payment for bidi making is invariably on the piece rate system. The earnings of workers in bidi karkhanas differ from place to place according to differences in the local rates of payment per thousand bidis, which rates vary from 6 annas in the Karmatik to Re 1.0.0. in Bombay city. The daily wages of women employed in the karkhanas of Bombay city fluctuate between 8 and 12 annas. Normally the maximum number of bidis which a woman can make in a day is about a thousand. She is paid Re 1.0.0. for it, but while the tobacco is supplied to her by the employer; the leaves and the thread have to be bought by her. The cost of the latter is about 4 annas for one thousand bidis. Thus her maximum net earnings are 12 annas. In the bidi karkhanas of Poona town the net earnings of women fluctuate between 6 and 8 annas per day, and in the smaller towns of the Deccan they generally vary from 3 to 5 annas per day. The male workers in these concerns can earn a higher wage because of the longer hours worked by them. In Bombay for example, the net earnings of a male bidi worker fluctuate from 12 annas to

87
Rs. 1.4.0 per day. In Poona they fluctuate from 8 to 12 annas a day, and in the towns of the Deccan from 6 to 8 annas a day.

There is no uniformity as regards the period of wage payment in these concerns. Daily or weekly payment is, however, the most common, the fortnightly or monthly system being found in very rare cases.

The number of hours worked by the women is about 10 a day. In Bombay city it is customary for the women to come to the workshops at about 10 a.m. after having discharged the necessary domestic duties, and to leave at about 9 p.m. Occasional short intervals taken voluntarily, amount to about 1 hour per day. The working hours of the adult males are very rarely below 12 a day, the daily maximum for them being as high as about 14 hours.

Rope and Twine Karkhanas.

Cordage making is technically one of the least developed organised industries of the presidency. There are very few rope or twine manufacturing concerns in which the work is done on a large scale. Power-driven machinery is employed only in one factory situated in Bombay city. Apart from this there are six big cotton rope karkhanas in Bombay and four twine karkhanas in Thana, none of which uses modern machinery. Most of the remaining rope making establishments of the presidency which are small units employing crude hand-worked wooden machinery, are scattered over a few towns of which Karchi is the most important.

88 The total number of women working in these karkhanas is not very great. The bigger unregulated karkhanas of Bombay and Thana employ about 300 women, of whom 60 to 70 per cent can be considered as home workers and not as karkhana employees. In fact, most of the women attached to these concerns get their orders and raw materials from their respective employers and work at home on a piece rate wage. It is only a small minority which prefers to work inside the karkhanas. The total number of women working in the karkhanas in Bombay and Thana hardly exceeds one hundred. In the smaller rope-making establishments the proportion of female to male labour is generally very low as the majority of workers employed in them are adult males and young boys. On an average, one woman is employed to every 3 or 4 males.

The female workers engaged in this industry belong everywhere to the poorer sections of the town labouring classes. The rates of payment are so low that the womenfolk of the more prosperous working class families are not attracted to it.

The recruitment in these concerns is done directly by the employers. The number of workers in each karkhana is so small and labour is so easily available that recruitment through mukaddams or headmen is not necessary.

The women are generally engaged in the following processes:-

1. Opening bundles of cotton yarn received from spinning

mills, and winding this yarn on bobbins with the help of a hand spinning wheel

2. Pulling out the yarn by hand from several bobbins at one time into an untwisted rope of the required thickness, immediately before the twisting process.
3. Unloosening bundles of semi-twisted hemp and jute and re-arranging it in order to be twisted.
4. Preparing bundles of finished rope.

None of these processes can be called skilled although they demand a considerable amount of practice before a woman is able to work at a good speed, nor are they physically strenuous. The adult males are engaged either in the actual twisting of the rope or in heavy coolie labour.

The payment to all female workers employed in the cotton rope and twine karkhanas of Bombay city and suburbs is on the piece rate system, ^{and} the average monthly wages of these women amount to about Rs 7.

In a hemp and jute rope karkhana in Bombay city, the piece rate wages of women vary from 6 to 8 annas per day. A batch of three women is paid Rs 1.8.0. for opening and re-arranging one bundle of hemp, and normally about 5 to 6 bundles per week are completed. ~~by these women~~. Thus each one of these ^{women} earns a weekly wage of from Rs 2.8.0. to Rs 3. 0.0.

In the small rope concerns of Karachi city women are paid a piece rate wage which normally varies from 2 to 4 annas per day. The lower earnings of women in the Karachi

karkhanas are attributable to the fact that these women are not full time workers, their services being needed for only a few hours per day.

The payment of wages in these concerns is either monthly or fortnightly.

The hours of women in all karkhanas excepting those in Karachi vary from 9 to 10 a day ~~except~~ in Karachi the women seldom work for more than 5 or 6 hours per day, ~~they~~ usually come^{ing} to the workshops at about 9 or 10 a.m. and working continuously till about 3 or 4 p.m.

Brick and Tile Karkhanas.

A large number of brick-making establishments are found all over the presidency. Brick making, unlike pottery is not a cottage industry but is carried out in organised karkhanas. The work is done everywhere on a small scale and the number of persons employed in any one concern varies from about 3 or 4 to about 20.

In the smaller karkhanas, the owner is usually a skilled brick maker himself who employs a few persons to assist him. In the bigger concerns the capitalist is generally a local merchant who gets the work done under the supervision of his salaried headmen. Ordinary roof tiles are manufactured partly by indigenous potters and partly in tile karkhanas. Tile and brick making are so akin to each other that they are undertaken together by many concerns, but as an organised industry, ~~however~~, tile making is far less

91
important than brick making both in the value of the product and in the number of persons employed.

The total number of women workers in these karkhanas may be estimated to be between 2,000 and 2,500. The labour employed ~~xx xxxx xxxxxx~~ is nearly all unskilled and is drawn everywhere from the poorer agricultural classes of the immediate neighbourhood. The women are usually related to the male brick makers although in some cases they are employed independently of any family connection with the industry.

The recruitment of labour in the smaller karkhanas is done by the owners who are very often skilled workers themselves. In a large number of the bigger karkhanas the work is given out on a contract to a mukaddam or headman. Who ~~shaddam~~ comes to an agreement with the owner regarding the daily output and the rate of payment for it. He then recruits the labour, fixes the wage rates and gets the work done under his own supervision, and being ~~usually~~ a skilled brick and tile maker himself, ~~and~~ ~~xx xxxx~~ plays a leading part in production. He receives payment from the owners and distributes it among the workers. In many cases something akin to a system of gang labour is found in these karkhanas; The whole of the labour force works together to achieve the prescribed daily output in as short a time as possible. This organized co-operative effort does bring about speedier results and substantially reduces the number of working hours per day.

In brick and tile karkhanas all the work is done by hand and no highly skilled labour is required. Nearly all the processes can be undertaken by ordinary coolies under the guidance of a headman who has been in the trade for a long time and knows the work well. Women are employed mainly for carrying light quantities of material. More specifically they are engaged in the following processes:-

1. Transporting earth in baskets from where it is dug to where the mortar is prepared.
2. Arranging bricks and tiles for exposure to the sun.
3. Carrying unbaked bricks and tiles to the oven and baked bricks and tiles from the oven to the storage.

All this is comparatively light work; heavier processes such as digging the earth, preparing the mortar and cutting bricks are done exclusively by men. However, in spite of this general division of labour between the two sexes, male coolies are sometimes found doing the same work as women and often along with them. This is partly due to the system of gang labour which is found in this industry, as in a gang, it is customary for the male coolies who have finished their work to lend a helping hand to their female co-workers and thus complete the day's output more quickly. In some cases, male coolies are even independently employed for full time on this process; the majority of ^{es} ~~them~~ ^{the makhana} are young lads from about 16 to 20 years of age. On the whole, however, women predominate in the lighter coolie work and men in the heavier work.

93 The female workers are everywhere paid a time rate wage. In the karkhanas of Gujrat their daily wages vary from 4 to 6 annas and in the Deccan they are paid anything from 3 to 5 annas per day. In the city and suburbs of Bombay wage rates are generally higher, and a woman employed in a brick or tile karkhana receives from 5 to 7 annas a day. The daily wages of adult male coolies in these concerns are from 8 to 10 annas in Gujrat, from 6 to 8 annas in the Deccan and from 8 to 12 annas in the city and suburbs of Bombay. There is no uniformity as regards the period of wage payment in these concerns. In some cases wages are paid daily; in other they are paid weekly or fortnightly.

The hours of women in these karkhanas usually vary from 9 to 10 per day. The men normally work for 10 or 11 hours a day.

Building Industry.

The building industry is one of the most important sources of employment of female labour. It has by far the largest number of women employed in any one unregulated industry of the presidency. No exact figures regarding the total number of building workers is available, and the Census returns seem to be very unsatisfactory in this respect. In the 1931 Census 67,135 persons were shown as being engaged in building, in the British territory of the presidency; of these 59,638 were males and 7,497 were females. The actual number of the workers seems to be much

94
 greater. This discrepancy is perhaps due to the fact that in the Census returns only those persons were enumerated as building workers who were more or less entirely dependent on this industry for their livelihood. Actually a majority of the workers in this industry are unskilled coolies who are very casually engaged in it. Whenever no building work is available they may take up any other unskilled work. Most of them are drawn from the poorer agricultural classes and therefore return to the village for agricultural labour during the sowing and harvesting seasons. It is perhaps this category of building workers who have not been enumerated in the census returns. Taking all categories of building workers into consideration, there are probably seventy to eighty thousand women employed in the industry in the whole of the presidency.

The building industry is more developed in the urban than in the rural areas and therefore the workers are mainly concentrated in the towns. A large majority of them are, however, drawn from the surrounding villages.

The women workers are generally related to the male builders. Wherever the system of gang labour prevails a man can easily find work for his female relatives, since an employer prefers that the members of a gang should have common social ties, a fact which is conducive to greater harmony and efficiency in work. The number of women who are employed independently of their male relatives is also fairly large. They usually belong to the necessitous sections of the pop-

95
ulation, and are in many cases widows with no other means of livelihood. Unskilled workers in this, as in all other industries involving manual labour of a rough and crude type, come from the so-called depressed classes, a majority of them being drawn from low caste landless agriculturists. The womenfolk of unskilled artisans in this industry, who stand comparatively higher in the caste system, are never employed.

Building is essentially a casual occupation, as the system of employment for specific piece work is almost universal, and there is always a time lag between the completion of one job and the commencement of another. Moreover, the monsoon months are a slack season for the industry, since excessive rains make building operations difficult. During these months the unskilled workers either return to their villages, or take up any coolie work available in the towns. The "Kharwas"¹ of Gujrat usually resort to fishing.

The recruitment of labour in this industry is almost universally done through mukaddams or headmen,

.....
¹ The Kharwas are a community whose caste occupation is building.

96
 in many cases two mukaddams being engaged, one for coolie labour and the other for the artisans. These mukaddams being in constant touch with the building workers can easily secure the necessary labour supply. In Bombay city and in all the towns of the Deccan it is customary for the unemployed coolie workers, both male and female, to assemble in a certain central place each morning, where mukaddams and other employers of labour go ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~place~~ and select the number of workers required. Female mukaddams are very rarely found, the great majority of the women are recruited and supervised headmen. Women in this industry are employed only on unskilled coolie work, all the skilled artisans being ~~all~~ males. More than three-fourths of the labour in the industry is unskilled, and women form an important part of it. Male and female coolies generally work together but there is a clear division of labour between the two, based on the difference in the physical strain involved in the different processes, the lighter processes being undertaken by the women and the heavier ones by the men. Nevertheless, as the coolie labour involves the lifting and transporting of weights, this is on the whole a physically strenuous occupation for female workers. Thus only young and strong women are drawn into this industry, middle aged and old women being everywhere in a very small minority.

The payment to the coolie workers, both male and female, is on the daily ^{time} rate system. The following table shows the

wage rates in different parts of the presidency.

Centre	Daily time rate wages of female workers	Daily time rate wages of male unskilled workers
Karachi city	10 to 12 annas	12 annas to Re 1.0.0
Towns of Gujrat	5 to 8 annas	7 to 10 annas
Villages of Gujrat	3 to 4 annas	5 to 6 annas
Bombay city and suburbs	5 to 8 annas	8 to 12 annas
Towns of the Deccan	3 to 5 annas	5 to 8 annas
Villages of the Deccan	2 to 3 annas	4 to 5 annas

As seen in the above table wages of building workers are higher in the towns than in the villages, which is obviously due to the comparative scarcity of labour in the towns. The exceptionally high wage rates prevailing in Karachi are attributable to the fact that the supply of both male and female labour in this industry there, is very limited. Building workers, not only in Karachi but all over Sind, are drawn from the immigrant Marwari, Meghwar, Bhil and Kathiawari communities. Local Sindhi labour does not compete with them at all. This is due to the small extent to which Sindhi agriculturists migrate from the villages to the towns, the strong attachment of a Sindhi peasant to his village being well known. A more important factor in this

98 respect is the industrial backwardness of Sind as the absence of big perennial factory industries in the towns seriously checks any large scale migration of labour from the rural to the urban areas.

The wage rates of building workers in certain mofussil areas undergo seasonal fluctuations. During the cotton picking season in Gujrat and in the Deccan, a large amount of unskilled labour, both male and female, is drawn to agricultural work which causes the wages of unskilled workers in the building industry to rise by about an anna per day. The same happens during the cotton ~~growing~~^{ginning} season especially with regard to the wages of women, since the ginning factories demand a large amount of female labour.

As noted in the above table, the daily wages of unskilled male workers in this industry are from two to three annas higher than those of the women.

The payment of wages is either daily or weekly. In the majority of cases the employers pay to the workers not directly but through the mukaddams.

The daily working hours in this industry seldom exceed ten since excessively long hours are not possible in a heavy occupation such as this. The men and women usually work for the same length of time per day.

There is no uniform system of intervals for rest and meals. If the work starts very early in the morning, a short break of about half an hour is taken between 9 and

10 a.m., and another slightly longer one between 1 and 2 p.m. In some cases one long midday interval is taken; in others two or three shorter ones are preferred. However, in every case the total rest periods per day ^{is} ~~xxx~~ more than an hour, and many even amount to two hours. The length of the intervals is dependent on the manner in which the working hours are distributed over the day.

"Aggar butti" and "Kankoo" Karkhanas.¹

The "aggar butti" industry employs a fairly large number of women. Several small "aggar butti" karkhanas are found in Hukeri, Pachapur, Pandharpur, Bijapur, Jalgaon and Poona, most of the workers employed in them being women and children. In fact, aggar butti making, like wool cleaning, is almost entirely a woman's industry, and there are at present, roughly about 1,500 women doing this work in the Bombay presidency. Poona, Hukeri and Pandharpur can claim well over a thousand, the rest of the total being divided more or less equally between the other centres.

Aggar butti making is a very low paid occupation and therefore only the poorest working class women are drawn

.....

¹ "Aggar butti" is the Hindustani equivalent of Joss Stick. "Kankoo" is the red powder used by the Hindus in religious ceremonies.

100
to it. They are either widows with no other means of livelihood or belong to those families which stand on almost the lowest rung of the economic ladder, as their male ^{members} ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ are petty hawkers, coolies, agricultural labourers etc.

Kankoo making resembles the "aggar butti" industry, both in the nature of the work, and in the employment of female labour. 'Kankoo' is manufactured on a large scale only in the village of Kem near Pandharpur. The work is done almost entirely by women who number about four to five hundred and are distributed in several small karkhanas. They are drawn from the same social classes as women in the aggar ^{butti} industry.

The recruitment of women in these karkhanas is done by the owners themselves, who as a rule manage their own workshops personally. The small number of workers employed in each concern does not necessitate the recruitment of labour through mukaddams or naikins. The supervision of female workers is often assigned to one of the senior female employees of the concern.

There are three main processes in aggar butti making, viz: Cutting the sticks, preparing the "aggar" solution and mounting the solution on the sticks, all of which ~~them~~ are performed exclusively by women and children. The work is done by hand, but required neither a high degree of skill nor any great muscular strength. The male employees of these concerns are engaged in heavy subsidiary processes, such as transporting the raw materials and the finished goods.

101
packing aggar butti boxes etc. In the kankoo industry, powdering and sifting the red dust by hand ^{which} ~~are~~ the main ^{are} process undertaken by women. ~~xx xxx. xxx xx xxx xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx xx xxxxx xxxxx~~. Heavier work, such as packing and transporting boxes of kankoo is done by men.

Piece rate wages are paid to women in all aggar butti and kankoo karkhanas. The following table shows the approximate daily wages of women in different centres of the aggar butti industry.

Centre	Approximate daily earnings of women in aggar butti karkhanas
Poona	4 to 6 annas
Jalgaon	3 to 4 annas
Hukeri	2 to 3 annas
Bijapur	3 to 4 annas
Pandharpur	3 to 4 annas

The wage rates are higher in Poona since it is a bigger town, where the alternative sources of employment for women are many. Hukeri is a small village without any other industry; hence the exceptionally low wage rates there. The women employed in the kankoo karkhanas of the village Kem normally earn a daily wage of 3 to 4 annas. The male

employees in these concerns are paid a time rate wage which usually varies from 7 to 9 annas a day in Poona, and from 5 to 7 annas a day in other centres.

The Payment of wages is weekly in all the karkhanas.

The number of hours worked by a majority of the women vary from about 8 to 10 per day. It is only in rare cases that the women are employed for more than 10 hours a day. The daily working hours of the male employees are 10 to 11. Intervals are taken by the female workers at will, and since piece rate payment is the rule, they are allowed to determine their own breaks for rest and meals. Many women come to the karkhanas fairly late in the morning after having discharged their domestic duties, and then work almost continuously till the evening. Others come early in the morning, have a break of about two to three hours during the middle of the day, and then continue working till the evening.

Calico printing Karkhanas.

Calico printing karkhanas are found in several parts of the presidency, but except in Ahmedabad the total number of persons employed in them as wage-earners is not very considerable. A majority of these concerns are small family workshops in which a few outsiders, either adult males or young apprentices, are found working alongside the owners of the concerns. It is in Ahmedabad town alone that a large number of male and female wage earners are employed in this industry. There are at present, at least 150 calico

103 printing karkhanas in Ahmedabad, employing on an average from 25 to 30 persons each, and the total number of the workers is roughly between four and five thousand. Women play quite an important part in these concerns and form about 30 to 40 per cent of the total labour force. Nearly all the women are related to the male artisans in the industry, who are Chippas by caste and have calico printing as their traditional family occupation. Only a small number of the women employed ^{who} do not belong to the Chippa community. They are low caste Marwaris and are not engaged on actual printing but on certain minor unskilled processes connected with it.

In Ahmedabad the industry does not afford a consistent employment to the workers throughout the year. Very little calico printing is done during the rainy season, as humidity is highly unfavourable to the work. Even during the dry season, not all branches of the industry can work continuously. "Sodagri" printing, for example, is done only for about 5 or 6 months in a year. Other branches may do slightly better, but none of them can afford a perfectly steady employment to the workers during the dry season.

Labour in these concerns is recruited personally by the owners who, in almost all cases, manage their own workshops.

The importance of female labour in the calico printing karkhanas of Ahmedabad can be ascribed to the variety of work done which involves a number of such semi-skilled and unskilled processes as can be easily undertaken by women.

104
The contribution of women to the industry is confined to the following four processes:-

1. Colouring the borders of printed sheets of cloth.
2. Doing simpler types of border printing called "Nakshi" work.
3. Plastering the borders of cloth with mud, called "patta" work.
4. Drying the printed sheets, wrapping and transporting them to the godowns.

The first three of these processes can be considered semi-skilled as they do not require any elaborate preliminary training of the worker, though a good experience of the work is necessary to secure the adequate quality and quantity of output. The highly skilled printing is done exclusively by men. In fact, there exists a clear division of labour between the sexes, the women confin^{ing} themselves to lighter coolie work, plus the semi-skilled ~~xx~~ printing, and ^{the} men to heavier coolie work, plus the skilled printing.

In the calico printing karkhanas of Ahmedabad, payment to all workers, excepting the unskilled coolies, is on the piece rate system. It is customary for each worker and the employer to come to an agreement regarding the daily output and the rate of payment for it. The worker guarantees a certain fixed output per day for which the employer promises to pay a fixed daily wage. The wages of the women doing "nakshi" work vary from Rs 30. to ^{Rs} 40. a month. The "patta" workers, or those who plaster the borders of the cloth with

165
 and
 mud are paid at a lower rate, ^{Rs} as their monthly wages vary from Rs 20. to 30. The female coolies are paid a time rate wage which is usually 8 annas a day. An adult male calico printer is paid anything from Rs 25. to Rs 50. a month, according to the quality and quantity of the output guaranteed by him.

The hours of the women are normally 8 to 9 per day, and those of the men 10 to 11. There are no restrictions imposed on the workers by the employers with regard to hours and intervals, since a fixed daily output is guaranteed by the former. Short breaks for rest and meals are taken by the workers at will.

Thread ball Karkhanas.

Thread ball making karkhanas ^{which} are found in a few bigger towns of Sind, viz: Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur and Shikarpur, ~~xxx~~ are small workshops fitted up with hand machines and owned by local dealers in these goods. The total number of women employed in them is roughly between 600 and 1,000 in the whole of Sind. It is noteworthy that this industry is confined to women of lower middle class families, this being due to the fact that normally there are better paid avenues of employment open to an average working class woman. The middle class women's range of work is very seriously limited by their notions of family respectability and by the fact that they have had a physically comfortable upbringing ^{and} since they overcrowd those occupations in which no men are employed and which involve no crude or dirty manual work. Their earnings are ~~xxxxxxx~~ as a rule much lower than those of working class

women.

106 A very large number of females employed in these karkhanas are Hindu widows and there are many employers who insist on having their karkhanas considered as charitable institutions since they provide a livelihood to the needy higher caste women of their community.

The recruitment and supervision of labour is done personally by the owners.

The processes involved in thread ball making are light and easy. Ordinary yarn is spun into a thicker thread and then wound into a thread ball with the help of an improved type of hand spinning wheel. No special skill is required although a considerable amount of practice is necessary to give a woman a good speed of output.

Piece rate wages are paid in all the karkhanas, ^{and} the daily earnings of the women normally vary from 3 to 5 annas. There is no well-defined period of wage payment, as whenever a woman finishes a certain fixed number of thread balls she is paid for her output. If she works at a good speed she may receive her wages about twice or thrice in a fortnight.

The women seldom work for less than 9 or 10 hours a day. The rate of payment is so low that a woman has to work about 11 hours to earn a daily wage of 5 annas. Intervals are taken by the workers according to their individual needs, and a break of about an hour at midday is quite common.

107
Leather Tanneries.

A majority of the organised tanning concerns in the Bombay presidency are still unregulated. Tanneries are found in almost every part of the presidency but their number is much greater in the Deccan than it is either in Sind or in Gujrat. The most important centre of this industry is Dharavi, near Bombay, where several tanning concerns have sprung up in recent years.

The employment of female labour in leather tanneries is not inconsiderable. There are no exact figures available regarding the number of men and women engaged in this industry, but, a rough idea of the sex distribution of the workers can be had from the Census figures. The Census of 1931 returned 14,543 males and 3,611 females as workers in leather, in the British territory of the presidency. A vast majority of these workers should be tanners, since other workers in leather were classified separately. Thus according to these figures female labour in this industry is roughly about one-fourth of the male labour.

Leather tanning is by custom confined to some of the lowest castes in Hindu society. The labour employed in these concerns is drawn from the local population everywhere, except in Dharavi where a large number of immigrants/ leather tanning families from Madras have settled down, and whose men, women and children all find employment in the local tanneries.

The recruitment of labour in a majority of the leather tanneries, which are small concerns employing about 10 to 20

108 persons each, is done directly by the employers. It is only in a few cases that recruiting mukaddams or headmen are found.

In all these concerns the work is done on the old traditional lines and no hand or power driven machinery is used. The employment of women in them is attributable to the fact that there is a certain amount of light and unskilled work subsidiary to the main tanning processes which can be easily undertaken by women, including the following:-

1. Cleaning the bark and transporting it from the godowns to the tanks where the hides are tanned.
2. Breaking myrobolams.
3. Cleaning and sorting out sheep and goats' wool.

The last two processes are very light in nature, and the first is ~~also~~ though heavier, but is far less laborious than coolie work in many other industries. Men are not employed in these processes. but are usually engaged in heavier and skilled work, such as scrubbing and cleaning the raw hides, transporting them to the tanks, and tanning them. Only children and young lads are sometimes found working along with the women on these same processes.

The women engaged in breaking myrobolams and cleaning wool are paid a piece rate wage. Those ~~who~~ doing the coolie work of transporting the bark are paid on the time rate system. The following table shows the daily time and piece rate wages of women in the leather tanneries of the Deccan, Gujrat and Dharavi respectively.

109

Centre	Daily time rate wages of women	Approximate daily piece rate wages of women.
Deccan	Annas 3 to 5	Annas 3 to 4
Dharavi	6 to 8	6 to 8
Gujrat	4 to 5	3 to 4

A majority of men employed in leather tanneries are piece rate workers and their daily wages vary from 6 to 10 annas in the Deccan, from 8 to 12 annas in Gujrat and from 12 annas to Re 1.0.0. in Dharavi. The payment of wages is weekly in the Deccan and either fortnightly or monthly in the rest of the presidency.

The number of hours worked by women in these concerns normally varies from 9 to 10 per day, the men usually working for about 11 to 12 hours per day. No uniform system of intervals is observed by the piece rate workers as they are allowed to determine their own periods of rest. ^{however} A break of not less than an hour at midday is very commonly taken by all the workers.

Grain cleaning, husking etc.

Most of the bigger grain shops of the presidency employ a few women for ~~xxxx~~ such miscellaneous work as husking and cleaning grain, splitting pulses and peas etc. The largest number of women employed in work

110 of this nature is found in the urban grain markets. In some cases, these women are organised in small workshops each employing about 5 to 10 workers, but the vast majority of them are, ~~however~~, found working individually near grain stores under no regular supervision or workshop discipline. On a very rough estimate the total number of women thus employed in the whole of the presidency is from about five to six thousand. They usually come from the lowest strata of the manual labouring classes, as in the towns they are the wives and daughters of the local male coolies, and in the bigger villages they generally belong to the landless agricultural families.

The recruitment of these women is done personally by the owners of the grain shops.

The nature of the work is absolutely unskilled.

Grain cleaning and husking involves no undue physical strain, and although Splitting peas and pulses with the help of the primitive hand mill is a heavier process, ~~but~~ it resembles corn grinding which is usually done at home by all women of the poorer labouring classes. The male coolies employed in the grain shops and stores are generally engaged in transporting heavy sacks of grain.

The payment to these women is on the piece rate system, and their daily wages normally vary from 3 to 5 annas in the Deccan, from 4 to 6 annas in Gujrat and from 5 to 8 annas in Sind. The male coolies are paid a daily time rate wage which fluctuates between 6 and 8 annas in the Deccan, between 7 and

10 annas in Gujrat and between 8 and 12 annas in Sind.

Daily payment of wages is very common although in certain parts of the Deccan, the weekly system is also found.

The women usually work from 8 to 10 hours a day, the daily working hours of the male coolies ~~are~~ ^{being} never below 10. The women are allowed by the employers to determine their own intervals. In some places they start work early in the morning and have a long break of about two hours in the middle of the day, in other they start later in the morning and have occasional short intervals.

Railway and Dock Godowns.

A considerable number of women are employed in the godowns attached to railways and docks in the two big commercial centres of the presidency, viz: Bombay and Karachi. In Bombay a majority of these women are Ghatia, ^{while} In Karachi they are drawn partly from the immigrant Makrani and Marwari communities, and partly from the local inhabitants, whose male relatives are generally town coolies. A fairly large number of them are widows, quite advanced in years. On a rough estimate, their total number ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ ~~is~~ is about five to six hundred, this being ~~is~~ one of the ~~main~~ ^{se} avenues of employment open to female coolie labour in the cities. The work is fairly casual as the amount of labour needed in the godowns fluctuates with the stocks.

The recruitment of labour in a majority of the godowns

112 is done through male mukaddams; Female mukaddams are found only in a small number of cases. The nature of the work done by the women is unskilled and includes cleaning and sorting of nuts, grain and cotton by hand. The male coolies usually undertake the heavier work of transporting loads.

The women are paid on both piece and time rate systems, but the former is far more common than the latter. The men are invariably paid a time rate wage. The daily wages of the time rate women vary from 6 to 8 annas in Bombay and from 8 to 10 annas in Karachi. The daily wages of the piece rate women in Bombay normally vary from 4 to 6 annas. The male coolies are paid ~~anywhere~~ from 9 to 12 annas a day in Bombay city, and from 10 to 14 annas in Karachi. Payment of wages to the piece rate workers is either daily or weekly, and to the time rate workers monthly.

The hours of the piece rate women normally fluctuate between 8 and 10 a day but all the time rate workers observe a 10 hour day. The piece rate women normally determine their own intervals; they may come to work early in the morning and have one long interval during the day or they may come late and have several short intervals.

Paper Karkhanas.

Hand-made paper is one of the very minor and rapidly decaying industries of the presidency. There are at present only two or three places where it is carried on, even that being on a very small scale. Junnar is the most

113

important centre of the industry, having six or seven paper-making karkhanas, each of which employs about five or six men and three or four women. In Ahmedabad town only two or three karkhanas are working at present, employing about 5 or 6 men and 2 or 3 women each. Bagalkot was once a well known centre of hand-made paper^{industry} but lately a few remnants of the old industry have also disappeared. Thus it will be seen that although the proportion of female to male in these concerns is not very low, yet the total number^{of women} employed is very small.

The recruitment of labour in these workshops is done by the owners who in many cases take part in the work personally.

The contribution of women to the industry is confined to the drying and glazing processes, as the rest of the work is either much too skilled or much too heavy for them. A time rate wage is usually paid to these women, which in Junnar ~~xxxxx~~ daily ~~xxxxx~~ varies from 3 to 5 annas, and in Ahmedabad from 5 to 7 annas^{2 day}. The male workers can earn ~~xxxxxxx~~ from 8 annas to Re 1.0.0. a day. The payment of wages is either weekly or fortnightly.

The daily working hours of both the men and women vary from 8 to 10 and a midday interval of at least one hour is observed in all the karkhanas.

Soap Karkhanas.

A number of small unregulated soap works are

114 found in several the towns of the presidency. ^{although} it is, in the Northern Division that soap making has attained its greatest development, Gujrat ^{well} having always been known for this industry. The washing soap of Prantij and Kapadwanj ^{for example} has been famous for nearly a century. ~~xxxxx xxxx xxxxxx xxx xxxxxxxx, xxx is xxxxxxxxxxxx in xxxxxxx xxxxx xx xxxxxx.~~ The methods of production are everywhere crude and primitive, and the raw materials used are obtained locally.

The role of female labour in this industry is a very minor one, The majority of employees in soap karkhanas being grown up men and young lads from 16 to 18 years of age. The main processes of soap making, such as preparing the solutions, kneading ~~xx~~ the soap paste, filling and emptying soap pans, cutting and moulding soap ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ cakes etc., being fairly heavy, are entrusted to men and energetic young lads. Lighter work, such as the weighing of small quantities of soap ^{paste} before it is shaped into balls, is usually assigned to children under 14 or 15 years of age who are available at much lower wage rates than women. Nevertheless, women are occasionally found engaged in such light and unskilled jobs as fetching water, scrubbing and cleaning the used pans etc, But their total number is very small.

All labour in soap karkhanas is recruited and supervised either personally by the owners or by their salaried managers. A monthly time rate wage is paid everywhere. The

women are usually paid Rs 6. to ^{Rs} 8 per month; the young lads between 16 and 18 years of age, from Rs 10. to ^{Rs} 15, and the men from ^{Rs} 15. to ^{Rs} 30 per month. The number of hours worked per day is never less than 10 and seldom exceeds 11. An interval of about an hour for the midday meal is universally taken.

Snuff Karkhanas.

There are a few snuff grinding karkhanas in Sind and Khandesh, each of which employs about 5 or 6 women, and the total number of women thus employed is roughly between 75 and 100 in the whole of the presidency, ^{most} these women being drawn ~~everywhere~~ from the local poorer classes. The work done by them is entirely unskilled and consists of sifting the snuff, ^{while} the men employed in these concerns are engaged in the heavier process of powdering the tobacco leaves. The daily time rate wages paid to these women vary from 4 to 6 annas in Sind and from 3 to 4 annas in Khandesh. The daily wages of the men fluctuate between 8 and 12 annas in Sind and between 5 and 7 annas in Khandesh.

The hours of both the male and female workers are about 10 a day. A midday interval of an hour is very commonly observed.

Candle Karkhanas.

Candles ~~are~~ are manufactured in two or three unregulated karkhanas in Bombay city. Female labour does not play an important part in them, ^{as} ~~xxx~~ only about

118
5 or 6 women are employed in each. These women are drawn mainly from the Ghati population of the city and their recruitment is done directly by the employers. The work done by them, i.e. the packing the candles ~~like~~ and labelling the packets by hand, requires no skill and is very light. They are paid a daily time rate wage which varies from 6 to 8 annas while the wages of a majority of the male workers who do either skilled or heavier work, fluctuate between 10 annas and Re 1.0.0. The payment of wages is monthly.

The hours of both the male and female workers vary from 10 to 11. A midday interval of one hour ~~is observed~~ is observed in all the karkhanas.

Confectionery Karkhanas.

A few small confectionery karkhanas are found in some of the bigger towns of the presidency, such as Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad, Karachi etc. They generally manufacture bon bons, peppermint, toffee and other similar sweets. The number of persons employed in them is small, rarely exceeding about 10 in each. Women form a fairly large percentage of the workers ^{and} on a rough estimate the total number of women thus employed in the whole of the presidency is between 150 and 200.

They are everywhere recruited locally by the owners of the workshops, who in many cases work alongside their employees.

The work is done mainly by hand and very little power-

117 driven ~~by~~ machinery is used. Light and easier processes such as wrapping the sweets in paper, packing confectionery tins and boxes, etc. are done by the women, ^{while} the men usually undertake the more skilled work of preparing the solutions, cutting and shaping the sweets, etc.

Daily time rate wages are commonly paid to all the employees. The daily wages of the women vary in different centres from 5 to 8 annas, ^{while} the men are paid anything from ^{annas} 10 [^] to Rs 1.0.0. per day. ^{The} payment of wages is weekly in the Deccan and monthly in the rest of the presidency including Bombay city.

The normal hours in these karkhanas are 10 a day, both for male and female workers. An interval of about an hour for the midday meal is very commonly taken.

Miscellaneous/Docks.

The employment of female labour is found in the Karachi docks only, and there, too, on a special type of work, viz: coal haulage, the rest of the dock work ~~is not~~ being done exclusively by men. In Bombay, male labour alone is now employed in the docks.

The demand for dock labour is always intermittent, as it depends on the coming and going of vessels and on the amount of the cargo to be loaded and unloaded. Coal haulage is thus a highly casual occupation. The workers engaged in it are not permanently employed by the stevedores, but are recruited from the Meghwar and Makrani communities of Karachi city, whenever their services are needed. Roughly 2000

196
persons in Karachi are partially dependent on this work for their livelihood, about half the number being women.

The recruitment of all labour thus employed is done by salaried agents of the stevedores, called the "tundales". Who is, not only recruits labour, but also organises it into gangs. A gang normally consists of 25 to 30 workers, about half of whom are women. All members of a gang work together under the supervision of a headman who also lends a helping hand in the loading and unloading operations.

Coal haulage involves coolie labour pure and simple. The women have to transport coal in baskets on their heads, The men being employed on similar but slightly heavier work. The basket load carried by a woman normally weighs about 50 lbs. and that carried by a man weighs ~~xxx~~ between 60 and 70 lbs. Thus for both male and female labour coal hauling is a very heavy occupation, ^{and} the physical strain involved is increased by the fact that the work is done with great rapidity.

A time rate wage is paid to all the workers and the daily wages of the men are Re 1.0.0. and of the women 12 annas. The Payment is made to the workers not directly but through the "tundales" and the headmen. The tundale gives the wages for a whole gang to its headman, who distributes the money among the workers. It is customary for the latter to give 1 anna each per day to the tundale who shares it with the headmen. The wages are paid daily.

119 The number of hours worked by the men and women does not exceed 10 in any one shift. The women are commonly employed in night shifts which usually start at 7.30 p.m. and finish at 5 a.m. with half an hour's interval at 12.30 a.m. During the day two intervals of half an hour each are commonly taken.

There are very few other unregulated industries which employ female labour to any appreciable extent.

A few colour grinding karkhanas in Bombay city employ a small number of women. Some women are found working in the gold and silver thread manufacturing karkhanas of Surat, Yeola, Poona etc. There are two or three waste mill yarn cleaning and sorting concerns in Ahmedabad town, each of which employs about four or five women. A few petty hosiery making establishments may give employment to a small number of women, ^{and} a few ~~xxxx~~ ^{others may} be found working as coolies in some of the unregulated flour or rice mills.

The nature of the work done by women in all these concerns is unskilled. Their earnings are approximately the same as those of the local female coolies. The number of hours worked by them seldom exceeds 10 a day.

Conclusions regarding the origin and the method of recruitment of female workers in the unregulated organised industries.

There is hardly any difference between the regulated and unregulated organised industries with regard to the origin of the labour employed.

120
In the karkhanas of Bombay city most of the women employed are Chatis. In all other towns the female labour is almost entirely local, or is drawn from ^{the rural areas of #} the immediate neighbourhood. In the karkhanas situated in villages both male and female labour is, as a rule, drawn from the local landless agricultural families.

In most of the unregulated concerns ^{the} recruitment is done directly by the employers. Which is due to the fact that the number of persons employed is generally small. In a majority of the cases the employers are in personal contact with the workers and can easily undertake their recruitment. In some of the smaller karkhanas the owners may be found working alongside their employees. It is only in a few bigger unregulated concerns that the system of recruitment through mukaddams and naikins is found. The most important of these concerns being wool cleaning karkhanas, leather tanneries, brick and tile factories and the bigger handloom karkhanas. In the building industry also, recruitment is done through the intermediaries, ^{though} Naikins are, however, found in a ~~very~~ few cases. It is only in the wool cleaning industry that female labour is entirely recruited through ^{the latter} them. Women in ~~the building industry and in a few aggar butti and~~ handloom karkhanas are also sometimes recruited through female mukaddams. The recruitment of female labour in all the other industries is done by men.

The Supervision of female workers is done by naikins wherever

they exist ^{they exist} but as stated above, they are found in very few cases, and therefore most of the women are supervised by males. In some of the smaller karkhanas the supervision of both male and female labour is done by the owners themselves.

The practice of bribing the mukaddams and naikins is fairly widespread. Of course, the abuse does not exist in those karkhanas where the owners themselves undertake the recruitment and supervision of female labour. But where mukaddams and naikins are entrusted with this work, the employees are invariably obliged to pay them a fee as the price of engagement or re-engagement and smaller periodical gratuities.

Conclusions regarding the nature of the work done by female workers in the unregulated organised industries.

The use of power driven machinery is almost negligible in the unregulated industries of the presidency, in which women are employed. Even hand driven machinery is used to a very limited extent. Thus the great bulk of the work consists of hand processes which can be divided into three categories, viz: skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. The skilled hand processes can be defined as those which necessitate an elaborate preliminary training of the worker. The semi-skilled ones require no regular training, but a considerable amount of preliminary practice. The unskilled processes are those which can be adequately undertaken by

any adult worker, not previously acquainted with them. Women in the unregulated industries are employed mainly in unskilled work. In a few cases, semi-skilled processes are undertaken by them, but never the skilled ones. Men are engaged in all the three types of work. The semi-skilled processes undertaken by them are in some cases the same as those undertaken by women, but there is a clear distinction between the work done by men and women in unskilled processes, the lighter unskilled work being done by women and the heavier by men.

The following table shows the nature of the work done by men and women respectively in the different organised unregulated industries.

INDUSTRIES		
<u>Nature of Work</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
1. Skilled	nil	Handloom weaving
2. Semi-skilled	Handloom weaving, bidi, calico printing, thread ball.	Bidi, candle, etc.
3. Skilled and semi-skilled	nil	Calico printing
4. Unskilled	Wool cleaning, rope, soap, brick and tile, building, tanning, corn grinding, godowns paper, snuff, candle, etc., confectionery.	Corn grinding, snuff, aggar butti, godowns.

INDUSTRIES

<u>Nature of Work</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
5. Semi-skilled and unskilled	Aggar butti	Rope, soap, brick and tile, confectionary.
6. Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled	nil	Building, tanning, paper.

Thus as seen in the above table women were employed in these industries, as follows:-

Unskilled work; 13 industries	Semi-skilled work; 5 industries	Skilled work; nil
----------------------------------	------------------------------------	----------------------

Employment of the men was as follows:-

Unskilled work; 11 industries	Semi-skilled work; 10 industries	Skilled work; 5 industries.
----------------------------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------------

Conclusions regarding the wages of female workers in the unregulated organised industries.

The following table shows the minimum and maximum daily wages of female workers in each of the industries considered in this chapter. The corresponding wages of those men who are employed either on the same work as the women or on the work which is similar to that undertaken by the latter from the point of view of the skill involved are also shown.¹

.....

¹ A table showing the wages of female workers in different centres of each industry has been given in the appendix to this chapter.

INDUSTRY	Normal daily wages of women.		Normal daily wages of men.	
	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Maximum
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Handloom	2. 0.	5. 0.	Men engaged in more skilled work.	
Wool Cleaning	3. 0.	5. 0.	Men not employed.	
Bidi	3. 0.	12. 0.	6. 0.	1. 4. 0.
Rope & Twine	2. 0.	8. 0.	Men engaged in more skilled work.	
Brick & Tile	3. 0.	7. 0.	6. 0.	12. 0.
Building	2. 0.	12. 0.	4. 0.	1. 0. 0.
Aggar butti	3. 0.	6. 0.	5. 0.	9. 0.
Calico printing	11. 0.	1. 6. 0.	13. 0.	1.11. 0.
Thread ball	3. 0.	5. 0.	Men not employed.	
Tanning	3. 0.	8. 0.	Men engaged in more skilled work.	
Grain cleaning, husking etc.	3. 0.	8. 0.	6. 0.	12. 0.
Railway & Dock godowns	4. 0.	10. 0.	9. 0.	14. 0.
Paper	3. 0.	7. 0.	Men engaged in more skilled work.	
Soap	4. 0.	5. 0.	7. 0.	9. 0.
Snuff	3. 0.	6. 0.	5. 0.	12. 0.
Candle	6. 0.	8. 0.	10. 0.	14. 0.
Confectionery	6. 0.	8. 0.	9. 0.	13. 0.
Average of all industries	3. 9.	8. 4.	7. 3.	14. 3.

925

Conclusions regarding the hours of female workers in the unregulated organised industries.

There is a greater lack of uniformity in the hours of women in the unregulated karkhanas than in the regulated factories. The following table has been prepared to show the number of hours normally worked by men and women in some of the important unregulated industries. It should be noted that in all those industries in which piece rate wages are paid, there is a considerable range over which the hours of different workers fluctuate. This is particularly so in the case of women, as not all of them can give an equal amount of time to ~~the~~ industrial work, due to differences in domestic responsibilities. The figures given in the following table, however, represent the normal working hours of the great majority of the female and male workers. The exceptionally short or long hours which may hold good in the case of a small number of piece rates have been neglected.

INDUSTRY	Number of hours normally worked by women per day.	Number of hours normally worked by men per day.
Handloom	7 to 9	10 to 12
Wool cleaning	10 to 12	men not employed
Bidi	9 to 10	11 to 13

INDUSTRY	Number of hours normally worked by women per day.	Number of hours normally worked by men per day.
Rope & Twine:-		
Bombay	9 to 10	10
Karachi	5 to 6	9 to 10
Soap	10 to 11	10 to 11
Brick and Tile	9 to 10	10 to 11
Building	9 to 10	9 to 10
Aggar butti	8 to 10	10 to 11
Calico printing	8 to 9	10 to 11
Thread ball	9 to 11	men not employed
Tanning	9 to 10	10 to 12
Corn grinding, husking etc.	8 to 10	10 to 11
Godowns	8 to 10	10
Paper	8 to 9	9 to 10
Snuff	10 to 11	10 to 11
Candle stick	10	10

One day of rest in the week is observed in a number of the unregulated karkhanas situated in cities and bigger towns. In the handloom karkhanas of Bombay city and Sholapur, for example, a weekly holiday is quite common. The existence of a six-day week in these concerns is probably due to the presence of regulated factories in their vicinity^{because} as a rule, certain practices in the regulated factories have a

considerable influence on practices in the bigger unregulated workshops of the neighbourhood. This is probably due to the competition for labour between the two types. Outside a few bigger towns, however, a regular weekly day of rest is very rare in the karkhanas. In certain parts of the presidency and especially in the Deccan, it is customary to give the workers a half day off on the weekly bazaar day. In addition to this, certain karkhanas observe one full holiday in a month, ~~however~~ but a very large number of the concerns do not observe any regular days of rest at all, holidays being granted only for religious or caste festivals. It is therefore not uncommon for the workers to take unauthorised days off occasionally. Such holidays are taken more frequently by women than by men since domestic duties make a great demand on the time of the former. A woman normally is absent from her work for at least 3 to 4 days in a month.

Regarding daily intervals for rest, meals etc. the conditions in the unregulated karkhanas are as good, as those prevailing in the regulated concerns. At least an hour's break during the day is taken in all karkhanas. Some of the concerns, having a greater spreadover of the working time, observe a longer midday interval, which may amount to a couple of hours or even slightly more. In a few karkhanas having a piece rate system of payment, women take a slightly longer midday interval than men, as they have very often to return home to cook the midday meal and to attend to their children. In the majority of the concerns however, the intervals for men

and women are equal.

Conclusions regarding dust, dirt and
general sanitation in the unregulated
organised industries.

In a majority of the unregulated concerns employing women the general working conditions with respect to proper ventilation and lighting, the removal of dust and dirt, the provision of adequate working accommodation, water supply, lavatories etc. are extremely unsatisfactory. In several cases the workshops are situated in old and dilapidated buildings which are seldom whitewashed inside. In the monsoon months the roofs may leak and defective drainage may cause excessive humidity in the workrooms. The building itself may be a constant danger to the lives of the workers.

In the wool cleaning karkhanas of Sind, there is no arrangement whatsoever for the elimination of the dust disseminated during the cleaning process, which consists mainly of beating all foreign matter out of the wool with sticks or iron rods. This naturally causes the atmosphere of the rooms and sheds, where hundreds of women are working at a time, to be charged with dust and wool fluff, which arise out of extremely dirty wool and the decaying organic matter sticking to it. A large number of the women are thus found working with pieces of cloth tied across their noses.

129 The Royal Commission on Labour stated in this connection:
 "The initial process consists of tearing or beating out with hands and with iron rods, lumps of dry mud, coagulated blood and other extraneous matter from the unsorted wool. This is a foul process and as no system of grids to remove the accumulated dust is provided, the air, the person and the ground quickly become covered with powdered dirt and wool fluff".¹

The smaller tanneries are some of the dirtiest unregulated concerns of the presidency. The offensive nature of the work is enhanced by the lack of adequate drainage and the collection of foul-smelling refuse in every part of the workshop. A good supply of fresh water for washing purposes is not always available.

In the bidi karkhanas of Bombay and Poona where women are employed in large numbers, clean and adequate working accommodation is very rare. The workers are usually herded together in small and ill-ventilated rooms, on narrow verandahs, under staircases, in ill-lighted corners of tobacco stores, etc. The Royal Commission on Labour stated with regard to the ^{bidi} workshops: "Many of these places are small airless boxes often without any windows, where the workers

.....
 1

Royal Commission on Labour in India ^{Report} p.94.
 ^

130 are crowded so thickly on the ground that there is barely room to squeeze between them. Others are dark semi-basements with damp mud floors unsuitable for manufacturing processes, particularly in an industry where workers sit or squat on the floor throughout the working day."¹

The conditions in the aggar butti karkhanas are no better. The women workers are overcrowded in small, and ill-ventilated dark rooms, squatting on mud floors, handling wet materials for long hours on end.

In the calico printing karkhanas of Ahmedabad, the working conditions are also highly unsatisfactory. The women are generally found working with wet mud, either in narrow dark rooms, or in unshaded open places. No attention is paid by the employers to keeping the workrooms in a well ventilated, clean and dry condition.

The nature of the working accommodation provided for women in such concerns as handloom, corn grinding, thread ball making and confectionery karkhanas is generally very unsatisfactory. The women are found either squatting in narrow and ill-lighted corners of badly ventilated rooms, or overcrowded in small workshops.

Conclusions regarding the provision of creches and other special facilities for female workers in the unregulated organised industries.

131
Creches for the children of women workers are not provided in any of the unregulated karkhanas. This is not surprising in view of the absence of creches in the majority of even the bigger regulated concerns. But while in the latter young children are not legally allowed inside the factories, in many of the karkhanas mothers bring their young boys and girls along with them to the work rooms. That this is highly undesirable for the health of the children is obvious, particularly as the sanitary conditions in these concerns are often very unsatisfactory. In the wool cleaning establishments of Hind for example, young children are found playing or sleeping on piles of dirty wool, their faces covered with dust and wool fluff. In some of the other concerns such as aggar butti karkhanas and tanneries, children are often kept by their mothers in the dirty and damp surroundings of the workshops for several hours every day.

Wherever children are not brought to the karkhanas they are left at home usually doped with opium and in charge of an elder sister or brother or an aged female member of the family. If the woman worker lives near the karkhana she may return home for a short time once a day to suckle her child, or the latter may be taken to the mother in the workshop for this purpose. But if she works far from her home, the infant has either to be fed on artificial diet or to remain without a feed at all. In many cases, however, it is customary for the women to take their infants along with them to the workshops where they are left to play and sleep in the open, usually

132 under a Shaded tree in charge of an older child. It is interesting to note that many female workers in the building industry in Karkachi city employ young boys and girls from about 10 to 12 years of age, on a daily wage of 1 or 2 annas to take care of their children at the place of their employment.

The absence of creches in these concerns is coupled with the complete absence of all other special facilities for women. Separate lavatories for men and women are rarely found. In fact, in several smaller karkhanas no lavatories at all are provided. Separate washing arrangements for men and women do not exist anywhere. Resting or dining sheds are provided neither for women nor for men.

APPENDIX

TABLE SHOWING NORMAL DAILY WAGES OF WOMEN
IN THE UNREGULATED INDUSTRIES

The following table shows the normal daily wages of a female workers in the ^{different centres of the} unregulated organised industries of the presidency which have been considered in this chapter. The corresponding wages of male workers who are employed either on the same work as women or on the work which demands the same kind of skill as that which is done by women, ~~have been~~ shown in a separate column.

Industry	Centre	Normal daily wages of female workers.	Normal daily wages of male workers employed on the same or similar work as women.
Handloom	Gujrat	3 to 5 annas	Men employed on more skilled work
Handloom	Deccan	2 to 3 "	
Wool Cleaning	Sind	3 to 5 "	Men not employed
Bidi	Bombay city	8 to 12 "	12 annas to Re 1. 4.
Bidi	Poona city	6 to 8 "	8 to 12 annas
Bidi	Other towns of the Deccan	3 to 5 "	6 to 8 annas

Industry	Centre	Normal daily wages of female workers.		Normal daily wages of male workers employed on the same or similar work as women.
Threadball-making	Sind	3 to	5 annas	Men not employed
Tanning	Deccan	3 to	5 annas	Men employed on more skilled work.
Tanning	Dharavi	6 to	8 annas	
Tanning	Gujrat	4 to	6 annas	
Grain and peas cleaning husking, splitting etc.	Gujrat	4 to	6 annas	7 to 10 annas
" " "	Deccan	3 to	5 annas	6 to 8 annas
" " "	Sind	5 to	8 annas	8 to 12 annas
Railway & Dock godowns	Bombay	4 to	8 annas	9 to 12 annas
" " "	Karachi	8 to	10 annas	10 to 14 annas
Paper	Junnar	3 to	5 annas	Men employed on more skilled work
Paper	Ahmedabad	5 to	7 annas	
Soap	Gujrat	4 to	5 annas	7 to 9 annas
Snuff	Sukkur	4 to	6 annas	9 to 12 annas
Snuff	Khandesh	3 to	4 annas	5 to 7 annas
Rope & twine	Bombay city & suburbs & Thana	4 to	8 annas	Men employed in more skilled work.

Industry	Centre	Normal daily wages of female workers.	Normal daily wages of male workers employed on the same or similar work as women.
Rope & Twine	Karachi	2 to 4 annas	Men employed in more skilled work.
Brick & Tile	Gujrat	4 to 5 annas	8 to 10 annas
" " "	Deccan	3 to 5 annas	6 to 8 annas
" " "	Bombay Suburbs	5 to 7 annas	8 to 12 annas
Building	Karachi city	10 to 12 annas	12 annas to Re 1.0.0
Building	Towns of Gujrat	5 to 8 annas	7 to 10 annas
Building	Villages of Gujrat	3 to 4 annas	5 to 6 annas
Building	Bombay city & suburbs	5 to 8 annas	8 to 12 annas
Building	Towns of the Deccan	3 to 5 annas	5 to 8 annas
Building	Villages of the Deccan	2 to 3 annas	4 to 5 annas
Aggar butti	Poona	4 to 6 annas	7 to 9 annas
" "	Rest of the Centres	3 to 4 annas	5 to 7 annas
Calico printing	Ahmedabad	11 annas to Re 1.	13 annas to Re 1.11.0
Candle	Bombay	6 to 8 annas	10 to 14 annas
Confectionery	Poona and Bombay	6 to 8 annas	9 to 12 annas

CHAPTER IV

FEMALE LABOUR IN THE COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyse the present position of female labour in the cottage industries of the Bombay presidency. It will be seen from the following account of the different cottage industries that women play a fairly important part in them. A cottage industry is essentially a family industry, and therefore all members of the family, whether male or female, young or old, make at least some contribution to the work. The exact role of women differs in different cottage industries. Here it suffices to mention that there are very few cottage industries in which women are not employed. The following table shows the approximate number of female workers in the different cottage industries of the presidency. It should be noted that the figures given in this table are mainly based on the rough estimates formed by the writer during his tour of the presidency in 1933-34, as no detailed census of the cottage workers of the presidency has as yet been attempted by any official or non-official agency. Only in the case of a few industries have the following estimates been based on the Census returns of 1931.

Cottage Industry	Approximate number of women employed
Handloom	90,000 to 100,000
Fraasi	500 to 700
Dhurry	800 to 900

137

Cottage Industry	Approximate number of women employed
Embroidery	15,000 to 16,000
Calico Printing	2,500 to 3,000
Bandhani	10,000
Pottery	13,000
Lacquer	500 to 600
Woollen Blanket	1,500
Bidi	100,000
Laundrying	9,000
Tailoring	10,000 to 11,000
Shoe	5,000
Rope, Twine, etc.	8,000
Bamboo, Cane, reed, leaf and straw	13,000
Niwar	1,000 to 1,200
Match box making	3,000
Bangle	100 to 150
Corn grinding	15,000 to 20,000
Grain parching	1,500
Miscellaneous	40,000
<hr/>	
All Industries	Roughly between 330,000 and 350,000.

138

Thus according to the above estimates, approximately 330,000 to 350,000 women are employed in the cottage industries of the Bombay presidency.

As there is absolutely no published information available on the condition of female labour in these industries, the following account is based almost entirely on the data collected personally by the writer during his tour of the presidency. The most difficult problem encountered during the investigation was the determination of the earnings of the female cottage workers. Since in the majority of cottage industries the work is done jointly by the whole family, it was necessary to determine what part of the price of a finished commodity was attributable to male and female labour respectively. This was far from easy, as not only were the processes undertaken by the men and women different, but also the time devoted to the work by either sex was unequal. However, the following methods were adopted to secure an approximate idea as to the earnings of the female workers.

1. If women were engaged in producing separately such commodities as were immediately marketable, their output per unit of time, ~~which was~~ usually a day, was determined and the cost of production was deducted from the price of the product. This gave the net earnings.

2. If the industry was carried on jointly by a male artisan and his family, an attempt was made to determine the amount of loss that would be caused to

production in case a woman ceased to work and the artisan had to curtail his own work in order to undertake all the processes usually performed by the woman.

3. Enquiries were made as to what wages would a male artisan be willing to pay to a woman whom he wanted to employ for doing the same quality and quantity of work as done by a female member of the family.

4. If the industry was also carried on in karkhanas, an attempt was made to determine the earnings of those women who were engaged in the same processes and for the same number of hours per day as the female cottage workers.

It should be admitted that none of these methods excepting the first can individually give an adequate solution to the problem. But if all the information thus collected is carefully sifted and analysed there is no reason why an approximately correct idea regarding the earnings of women should not be obtained. The economic loss caused to production by a man curtailing a part of his work for performing all the processes done by a woman can give us the value of a man's work on certain assumptions, viz: that the man takes the same time as the woman to do the latter's work and that he does not work for more than a specified number of hours per day. To illustrate this point:-

Let a man work for x hours

a day at a annas per hour. Let the woman work for y hours per day at b annas per hour. Let their total net earnings be c annas. Then,

$$ax + by = c.$$

Now, let the woman cease work and let the man spend y hours per day on the woman's work and earn ^{by} ~~by~~ annas. But since he may only work for x hours per day, he cannot devote more than x - y hours to his own work and thus earn a(x - y). Let his total net daily earnings be d. Then,

$$a(x - y) + by = d.$$

Now, in order to get the loss caused to production by the disappearance of the woman, we should subtract the second equation from the first:- Thus we get,

$$\begin{array}{rcl} ax + by - ax + ay - by & = & c - d \\ ay & = & c - d \\ a & = & \frac{c - d}{y} \end{array}$$

Now, if we know what c, d and y stand for we can easily find out what a stands for, and if a, i.e. the value of the man's work per hour is discovered, it would not be difficult to know the value of the woman's work per hour.

The third method can be fairly helpful in the investigation because an experienced male artisan invariably has a rough idea of the respective economic usefulness of his co-workers. The fourth method may not necessarily give us an exact measure of the value of a woman's work in the cottage industry since the earnings of women employed in karkhanas may be influenced by conditions different from those

obtaining in the cottage industries, especially in respect of steadiness and consistency of work, speed of output etc. Nevertheless such information would give us a fairly good standard for judging the value of a woman's productivity in the cottage industry. No doubt in an enquiry of this nature much depends on the personal judgement of the investigator. But given exhaustive data that has been carefully sifted, fairly reliable results can be secured.

The figures regarding the average daily earnings of the male and female cottage workers given in this chapter have been obtained after a careful enquiry on the above lines. In the case of each industry it has been pointed out as to which of the four methods have been used. No claim is made for the absolute correctness of the figures. They are presented merely as close approximations to the actual facts.

The arrangement of this chapter is the same as that of the previous two chapters. An analysis of the different cottage industries, particularly from the point of view of the employment of female labour has been attempted first. Conclusions as to the hours, earnings and the nature of the work done by women have ^{then} been drawn.
A

Handloom Weaving.

Handloom weaving is the premier cottage industry of the presidency, as it far excels all other cottage industries both in the value of the product and in the number of persons employed. In spite of the rapid development of the

142 textile mill industry it still holds a prominent position in the social and economic life of the presidency. According to an estimate of the Department of Industries, Government of Bombay, the annual value of the handloom cloth produced in this presidency amounts at present to about 4.5 crores of rupees. There are about 1100 centres where ~~the~~ handloom weaving is done and the total number of handlooms in the presidency was estimated by the same department at about a hundred thousand.¹

Since one loom is usually worked by one adult male weaver, we get according to the estimate a total population of a hundred thousand full time ^{male} weavers. The number of women employed in the industry should be at least as great, since all adult females in a weaver's family contribute to the work. Even if we consider the wife of a weaver as the only woman in the family engaged in the industry and thus neglect the widowed and the unmarried women, we get a total number of 100,000 female workers.

.....

¹ The vitality of the industry can be seen from the fact that the production of handloom cloth in India increased steadily from 784 million yards in 1896 - 97 to about 1,355 million yards in 1930 - 31. The recent trade depression has, however, caused the earnings of handloom weavers in the Bombay presidency to decline rapidly since 1929. (see Indian Tariff Board. Cotton Textile Industry, Vol. II pp 49-50)

Handloom weaving is done in every part of the presidency, but it is most widely practised in the villages and towns of the Central and Southern Divisions. The most important centres in these divisions are Sholapur, Hubli, Yeola, Poona, Ahmednagar, Bagalkot, Ilkal, Guledgud, Kasbag, Satara, Parola, Varangaon, Nasik and Ratnagiri. In Gujrat and Sind the industry is less extensively developed. It is concentrated mainly in the towns of Gujrat, the three most important of which, are Ahmedabad, Surat, and Broach. In Sind the bulk of the handloom cloth is produced in a few villages which have been traditionally famous for this handicraft.

Cotton and silk weaving are the two main branches of the industry. Silk goods which meet ^{more} than a purely local demand are manufactured in Ahmedabad, Bombay, Surat, Thana, Poona, Yeola, Hubli, Belgaum, Ilkal and Guledgud. In all these centres, however, the production of cotton cloth with silk borders is far more common than the production of pure silk cloth. Saris, "dhotis" and "khans" are the most important articles made from the silk bordered cotton and "Kinkhabas", "Mukatas", "dhulias" and "pitambars" are the best known and the most expensive silk goods. Pure cotton goods which are woven in every centre of the industry are far more important in total value than the pure silk goods.

From time immemorial there has been a well defined division of functions between the two sexes in this industry. Weaving was done exclusively by men, while women undertook all the preliminary processes of cloth manufacture. In the

44
 days when mill spun yarn had not come into the market, spinning was the most important work done by women. Winding was also entirely done by them. In warping and sizing they lent a helping hand to their male relatives. Thus with the exception of weaving, they took part in all the processes. The position to-day is different only in the sense that no spinning is done by them, since the mill spun yarn is now universally used. Otherwise they continue to play the same role in production. Weaving is rarely undertaken by them since it is a fairly heavy and skilled occupation. Moreover as there is at present a distinct oversupply^{of} male labour in this industry the women are not called upon to extend their scope of activity. On the contrary their sphere of work is being constantly restricted due to the general decline of the industry. The male workers who formerly used to devote themselves entirely to weaving have now enough spare time to undertake the preliminary processes as well.

The following table has been prepared to show the normal daily earnings of women employed in this industry in different parts of the presidency. The normal daily earnings of male weavers are shown in a separate column.¹

.....

¹ Methods II, III and IV discussed above were adopted in calculating the earnings in this industry.

145

Centre	Normal daily earnings of female workers.	Normal daily earnings of male weavers.
Bigger towns of Gujrat	3 to 4 annas	6 to 8 annas
Smaller towns and villages of Gujrat	2 to 3 "	5 to 6 "
Deccan	2 to 3 "	5 to 7 "
Sind	2 to 3 "	5 to 7 "

The general economic condition of the handloom workers to-day is far from satisfactory. Their earnings have been declining since about 1927. The fall in the agricultural prices has substantially reduced the buying capacity of the agriculturists who were the best customers of the industry. Moreover in recent years the textile mills of the presidency have started producing cloths which were formerly a monopoly of the handlooms. Thus for example the payment to a weaver for a "sari" of 20's counts (8 yards) fell between 1927 and 1929 from Rs 1.12.0 to Re 1.0.0. in Parola, from Rs 1.8.0. to 10 annas in Kharde and from 14 annas to 6 annas in Broach. The payment for a sari of 32's counts fell in this period from Re 1.0.0. to 10 annas in Dharangaon and from Rs 1.2.0. to 13 annas in Broach. On the whole the rates of payment decreased by 16 to 50 per cent between 1927 and 1930. In 1931 the rates dropped still further and were 16 to 60 ^{per cent} lower than in 1927.

Although there was a slight improvement in 1932, yet the rate stood $\frac{1}{4}$ to 50 per cent lower than the 1927 level.¹

The poverty of the handloom weavers is partly the cause and partly the result of the financial control of the industry by the middlemen. A weaver normally spends about Rs.100/- per month in the purchase of yarn. This he borrows from the middleman at a very high rate of interest and is thus obliged to sell his finished products to the latter at a price lower than the market price. Very few weavers can afford to buy yarn independently of the middleman and to finance the work without the latter's help. The handloom industry is also suffering due to its technical backwardness. In spite of the efforts of the Department of Industries to persuade the weavers to adopt improved implements and methods of production, the bulk of the cloth is still woven in the traditional primitive manner. The small response to these efforts are attributed partly to the low economic capacity of the weavers and partly to their conservatism.

The numbers of hours normally worked by the women vary from 4 to 7 per day. The male weavers rarely work for less than 8 hours or more than 10 hours a day.

The following factors are necessary for an improvement in the condition of the handloom industry.

- 1) Improvement in the purchasing power of the agriculturists.
- 2) Introduction of improved handlooms.
- 3) Greater variety in the production of those cloths which are not manufactured by the textile mills.

1. See Annual Report . Department of Industries Bombay . 1929 - 30 p.30 . Also the Report for 1931 - 32 . Page 40.

The first is an uncertain factor as it depends largely on the world agricultural prices. With regard to the second, the efforts of the Department of Industries have as yet been only partially successful. Demonstrations of improved handlooms are held by the Department from time to time in the important centres of the industry, and it is now recognised that they have borne fairly satisfactory results.

No exact information regarding the extent to which the improved handlooms have been adopted is available, but these handlooms are being used by at least some weavers in almost every centre. Unfortunately, the rapid decline of the industry since about 1927 has so seriously reduced the earning capacity of the weavers that very few of them are at present in a position to afford the necessary initial cost. It is however certain that propaganda in favour of improved handlooms through demonstrations will have a lasting effect. The conservatism of the weavers in this respect is fast disappearing and most of them realize the advantages of improved methods. The third factor has not as yet received its due importance at the hands of the Department of Industries. The weaver if left to himself can hardly be expected to exercise much initiative and enterprise in this respect. The Department being in touch with a wider market can study the tastes of the people and suggest new designs, patterns etc. to the weavers. In fact, if the handloom industry is to survive at all, in face of the completion with textile mills, it must specialize highly in those cloths which are not produced by the latter.

148 Carpet, "Fras" and "Dhurry" Industries.

Indian carpet and rug making is a very minor cottage industry in the Bombay presidency. At present there are only three centres where carpet weaving takes place and the work is carried on on a very small scale. The village of Bubak in Sind which was once famous for its artistic carpets has to-day no more than ten or twelve carpet weavers. Some amount of carpet weaving is done in the "Hindu Orphanage" in Surat. There is a carpet hand factory in Ahmedabad which at present employs only about 15 to 20 persons, the demand for its products being very small.

The weaving of carpets has always been done by male artisans as the work in addition to being very highly skilled is extremely laborious involving long hours of steady and patient toil. The womenfolk of a carpet weaver's family have neither the training nor the time for it, and have traditionally confined themselves to spinning ^{the} wool or to assisting their male relatives in the dyeing process. Since mill spun yarn became available their contribution to the work has diminished considerably in importance. Thus the number of female workers in the industry to-day is almost negligibly. Only a few women may be found in Bubak and in some of the surrounding villages, casually engaged in spinning wool for the Bubak carpets. In Ahmedabad and Surat no female workers are employed in any branch of the industry.

149

There is a special type of rough woollen fabric called "frasi", commonly used in Sind as a carpet, which is manufactured almost entirely by women. Frasi making is a cottage industry confined to the Baluch tribes of Sind. The important centres of the industry are the villages of Phuladyun, Khahi^h, Khipro, Baluch, Rind, Phulji, Ali Murad, Shahani and Padidan.

Almost all the processes of frasi making, i.e. the cleaning, spinning, dyeing and weaving of the wool, are undertaken by Baluch women in their leisure hours; in fact, men play a very small part in this industry. They are almost all agriculturists and it is only occasionally that they lend a helping hand to their women. There are at present about five to seven hundred women engaged in this handicraft in Sind.

The following table shows the approximate daily net earnings of the women for a full working day of 6 to 7 hours in some of the important centres of the industry.¹

Centre	Approximate daily net earnings of female frasi makers
Villages Phuladyun, Khahi, and Khipro	4 to 5 annas
Village Baluch Rind	3 to 4 "

.....

¹ Method I was adopted here as the women were engaged in producing independently such commodities as were immediately marketable.

Centre	Approximate daily net earnings of women frasi makers.
<hr/> Jacobabad town	3 to 4 annas
Villages Phulji and Ali Murad Shahani	3 to 4 "

The higher earnings of the frasi weavers in the villages of Phuladyan, Khahi and Khipro are due to the better quality of the work done there.

Normally the working hours of these women vary from about 4 to 7 a day. During the harvesting season they devote a part of their spare time to frasi weaving and a part of it to agricultural work.

Some of the frasis are of a high artistic quality, the geometrical designs on them being remarkably accurate and the patterns fine and elegant. An expensive frasi can cost as much as Rs 200 as the choicest handiwork is done on it. The consumption of such expensive articles is, however, rare and therefore coarser and cheaper frasis are more commonly produced.

The industry is carried on independently of merchants or other middlemen as the workers buy their own raw materials and sell their goods at the local fairs. The Baluch families engaged in this industry are not entirely dependent on it for their livelihood, the majority of the men being employed in agriculture.

151 Cotton "Dhurries" which are cheaper substitutes for rugs and carpets, are manufactured in several villages of the Deccan, the most important of them being Kasoda, Paldi and Asoda in ~~the~~ Jalgaon district and Murgod in ~~the~~ Belgaum district. Ordinary cheap dhurries are woven on a small scale in many other villages of Khandesh. A large number of dhurrie weavers are also found in Bombay city. The total number throughout the presidency of persons employed in this industry is roughly between 2,000 and 2,500; about eight or nine hundred of these are women.

The actual weaving of dhurries is done almost entirely by men. It is only in a few centres, as for example, Kasoda and Paldi that women are occasionally found lending a helping hand to their male relatives in weaving. Full time female weavers are nowhere to be found, as dhurrie weaving is a much heavier process than even cotton or silk cloth weaving. The women's contribution to the work is confined to the preliminary processes, i.e. winding, warping and sizing etc. Winding is done exclusively by them. In warping and sizing they are often assisted by men; but generally the greater part of the preliminary work is doneⁿ by the women. Men devote as much of their time as possible to the skilled and heavier process of weaving.

As regards the earnings of dhurrie weavers, it may be noted that in the villages of Kasoda and Paldi the net income of a family consisting of one adult male, one adult female and one child, all working together, is about 10 annas

152 for an average full working day. Out of this, the value of the man's contribution to the work is about 7 annas, the woman's about 2 annas and the child's about 1 anna.¹ A similar family group can earn about 8 annas in Asoda and in the other villages of the Deccan. Out of this amount the approximate value of the woman's work varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 annas and of the child's from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 anna. The higher earnings of the dhurrie weavers in Kasoda and paldi are attributable to the superior quality of the dhurries produced there. An experienced dhurrie weaver in Bombay can normally earn anything from 12 annas to Re 1.0.0, this higher income being due to a great^{er} local demand and the proximity to a bigger market.

The hours of the women normally vary from 4 to 6 a day, while the male weavers usually have a working day of 8 to 10 hours.

The dhurrie weavers of Khandesh are usually employed in agriculture also, either as landless wage workers or as petty landholders. In the villages of Kasoda and paldi where big dhurries are woven, the winter is the busiest season for dhurrie making since no agricultural work is then available.

The industry is partly financed by middlemen and is

.....

1

Methods II and III were adopted in this case.

153 partly independent of them as the raw materials for the bigger dhurries are borrowed from the local merchants while those for the smaller ones are usually bought by the workers themselves. The finished products are disposed of either to the consumers immediately, or, to the local dealers in dhurries, from whom the raw materials are borrowed.

We may note here the future prospects of this group of industries. It is doubtful whether the carpet or rug weaving handicraft of the presidency can develop much further. Greater publicity and better marketing may help it a little, but the demand for carpets of this type is very small as cheaper machine-made foreign carpets, "frasis" and "dhurries" are generally preferred to them. Moreover, as works of art they have little value since there is usually an indiscriminate and ugly mixture of Persian and Western designs. The "frasi" industry is capable of considerable expansion as "frasis" have a good demand in Sind, ^{although} outside Sind, ~~however~~, they are unknown. What the industry needs is a wider publicity and a greater variety and individuality in production. The "dhurry" industry can hardly be considered to be in a flourishing state. But as there is a good demand for cheap dhurries all over the presidency, given improved methods of production and better marketing, it can be developed considerably.

Embroidery.

154 The embroidery industry is concentrated in a few big towns of the presidency and in certain rural areas of Sind. The most important ^{Urban} centres of the industry are Bombay city, Ahmedabad, Surat and ^hSikarpur. The rural areas of Sind noted for this work are Chachro, Diplo and Nagar Parkar talukas in the Thar and Parkar district. In some of the towns of Gujrat Borah women may be found embroidering caps at home, which are worn by the male members of their community, but the commercial importance of their output is small.

Female workers predominate in this industry since embroidery has been traditionally a woman's occupation. In Surat, for example, there are about six to seven thousand embroidery workers, of whom about four to five thousand are women. In Ahmedabad, there are at least three to four thousand women in this industry, who form about 70 per cent of the workers there. The percentage of women employed in the industry in Bombay is equally high, their actual number being roughly from five to six thousand. In Shikarpur there are at present about four to five hundred female embroiderers. In the rural areas of Sind ~~women~~ are engaged in this industry, the number of women employed being about two to three hundred in ~~xxx~~ Chachro taluka, about five hundred in ~~xxx~~ Diplo taluka and about two to three hundred in ~~xxx~~ Nagar Parkar taluka. In the whole of the presidency, there are roughly fifteen to sixteen thousand female embroidery workers.

155 All women in this industry are home workers but men as a rule ^{are} employed in embroidery karkhanas which are mainly concentrated in Surat and Bombay city. The reason for the absence of women from the karkhanas is that they belong generally to middle-class families and are therefore prevented by considerations of respectability and "purdah" from working outside their homes. It should be noted that nowhere do the women in this industry belong to the manual labouring classes. The work being skilled and the material entrusted to the workers by the merchants being costly, the poorer working class women have not been able to find their way into the industry. Middle class women who have normally had a good training in the art during their childhood resort to it in times of economic need. Many widows and destitute women can thus manage to get a bare livelihood.

Gold and silver thread work on velvet and silk is most commonly done by the women in Surat, Bombay and Ahmedabad. The more expensive articles of this type are, however, made by skilled male artisans in the karkhanas, the women usually confining themselves to the simpler products. In Shikarpur town the women are engaged mainly on brocade and silk thread work whilst only cotton and silk thread embroidery is done in the rural centres of Sind. In the towns, the industry is under the financial control of the local dealers in embroidered goods. These middlemen lend out the raw materials to the women on a piece rate wage which is paid when the finished articles are delivered. In Thar and Parker district however

156
the industry is independent of middlemen as the workers buy their own materials and market the goods themselves. This is largely due to the fact that the raw materials used there are less costly than those used in the towns.

Embroidery is a very low paid occupation for women because the industry attracts a very large number of middle class women who have few other avenues of industrial employment open to them. The following table shows the approximate daily earnings of the female embroiderers and the type of work done by them in the different centres.¹

Centre	Approximate daily earnings of women embroidery workers.	Nature of the embroidery work done.
Bombay city	4 to 5 Annas	Gold Thread
Surat town	4 to 5	" "
Shikarpur town	3 to 4	Silk & brocade work
Ahmedabad town	4 to 5	Gold thread
Villages in Chachro taluka	1½ to 2½	Silk & cotton thread
Villages in Diplo taluka	1½ to 2½	" " " "
Villages in Hagar Parkar taluka	1½ to 2½	" " " "

.....
¹ Method I was adopted in this case as the women were independent producers.

57 The lower earnings of the women in the Chachro, Diplo and Nagar Parker talukas is due partly to ~~the~~ lower quality of the work done there, and partly to the fact that these centres are not in close proximity to big markets, and the embroidered articles produced there have a very limited local demand. In contrast to this, Surat, Bombay and Ahmedabad are well known centres of the industry whence embroidered goods are sent to all parts of India. There is a considerable amount of casualness in this occupation. The middlemen lend out raw materials to the home workers according to the demand for the embroidered articles which is at present not so steady as to ensure continuous employment to all the women. The average daily earnings of men employed in the embroidery karkhanas of Bombay city and Surat, fluctuate between 8 annas and Re 1.0.0. An experienced male embroiderer can earn ~~anything~~ from 12 annas to Re 1.0.0 per day.

The majority of women engaged in this work are not entirely dependent on it for their livelihood, with the exception of the widows who have no other source of income, ~~except~~ ^{whose} but ~~their~~ number is not very large. Generally, the husbands and other male relatives of these women are engaged in retail business as petty merchants or shopkeepers.

The majority of the women work for 6 or 7 hours a day while the men employed in the karkhanas usually work for 10 to 12 hours a day.

The embroidery industry has declined considerably in recent years due to change in tastes. Simplicity in dress

158 has been insisted upon by certain political movements in the country which have exercised a considerable influence over the habits of the people in this respect. Elaborate gold and silver thread embroidery has a far smaller demand among the richer classes to-day than it used to have ten or fifteen years ago. Nevertheless, the industry as a whole is not faring badly since cheaper embroidery has a fairly good local demand and is also sent to other parts of the country mainly from Surat. It is difficult to forecast the future of this handicraft. One thing is, however, certain that the use of embroidered articles is so deeply rooted in the habits of the people that it would take a long time for ^{embroidery} to go out of fashion.

Calico Printing and Dyeing.

Calico printing and dyeing is one of the most common handicrafts of India, since not only does printed calico find a local market everywhere but the habit of getting clothes coloured and re-coloured from time to time is widely prevalent among the poorer sections of the population. In the Bombay presidency, the art of calico printing is most extensively developed in Sind, the important centres of the trade being Tando Allahyar, Tatta, Araj, Hala, Matli, Umarkote, Diplo, Miti, Sambara, Shikarpur and Sukkur. In Gujrat the industry is mainly concentrated in two big towns, viz: Ahmedabad and Surat. A considerable amount of calico printing is done in Bombay city. In the

159
Deccan, Khandesh, Nasik and Dharwar are best known for this handicraft. The dyeing of yarn and cloth is done in almost every town and important village of the presidency.

"The dyeing and calico printing industry is a cottage industry perhaps next in importance to handloom weaving, as a large number of persons are engaged in it.¹ Unfortunately no exact information regarding the total number of male and female workers in this handicraft is available. The Census figures in this respect seem to be remarkably incorrect. In the 1931 Census for the British districts of the presidency, only 5,391 persons were returned as dyers, bleachers and printers of calico and of this number 4,325 were men and 1,066 were women. These figures are obviously wrong. Even a casual observer can note that the actual number of calico printers and dyers in the presidency is much greater. On a rough estimate the total would be about 20,000 and the cottage calico printers and dyers would form about 70 to 75 per cent of this number. The female workers in this cottage industry are roughly between 15 and 20 per cent of the male workers and their total number in the whole of the presidency is approximately between 2,500 and 3,000.

.....

1

Annual Report of the Department of Industries, Bombay presidency, 1924 - 25, page 15.

The role of women in this handicraft is a very minor one. This is due to the skilled nature of the work, for which the womenfolk of a calico printer's family have neither the necessary training nor the time. In Sind, for example, "ajrak" printing, which is the most important section of the trade, is done exclusively by men. In other branches of the industry in Sind, such as the printing of table cloths, bed sheets etc. women do take part in the work, but in a subsidiary capacity to their male printers. Their contribution to the family industry is confined to colouring the borders of bed sheets ^{although} in some cases they also do a little printing of a simpler type and lend a helping hand in preparing the dyes. In the rest of the presidency women play an equally minor role in the industry. The easier border printing seems to be the only process usually done by them.

The economic value of a woman's work in this industry varies from about 2 to 4 annas for a day. A male printer working alone can earn ~~xxxxxxx~~ between 8 annas and Rs 1.4.0. per day according to the quality and quantity of his output.¹

The daily working hours of the women normally vary from 4 to 6 and the men usually work from 10 to 11 hours a day.

.....
¹ Methods I, II and III were adopted in this case.

161 Calico printing, unlike many other cottage industries, cannot be said to be in a state of decay. The financial control of the middlemen is, however, rapidly increasing in it and the factors responsible for this are the general low economic capacity of the workers and their ignorance regarding the possibilities of marketing. The two greatest needs of the calico printers are cheap finance and scientific organisation of marketing. If these are adequately met there is no reason why the industry should not receive a fresh stimulus and develop further, since there is a good demand for its products, both inside and outside the country.

"Bandhni" work.

There is a minor handicraft allied to calico printing called "bandhni" or "choondhni" work. It consists of covering small bits of ^a cloth with fine thread and forming them into knots. The parts thus covered remain uncoloured when the cloth is dipped into the dye with the result that certain designs are left on the cloth. The work is done exclusively by women as a home industry. While its most important centres are Ahmedabad and Surat, it is also practised in some of the villages of Sind where calico printing is done. The number of the women employed is roughly three thousand in Surat and from four to five thousand in Ahmedabad. Approximately ten thousand women are engaged in this handicraft in the whole of the presidency. Bandhni work is a

162 highly congenial occupation for those women of the poorer labouring classes who cannot afford to leave their homes during the day for full time employment in factories or karkhanas and hence the number of female workers drawn to it is far in excess of the demand for them. This causes exceedingly low earnings which in their turn are responsible for the absence of male workers from this handicraft.

Bandhni work is a highly laborious occupation. The worker holds a thin bit of the cloth between the nails of the forefinger and the thumb of her left hand and ties a knot with the fingers of her right hand. The knot has to be neat, solid and of the required size, and therefore, great care and labour are necessary.

As stated above the earnings of women in this handicraft are very low. In the villages of Sind, for example, the women normally earn anything between one and two annas per day while in Surat and Ahmedabad where the demand for this work is greater, their daily wages vary from 3 to 4 annas.¹

Most of these women work from 6 to 7 hours per day.

Organisationally, "bandhni" work resembles the embroidery industry since the raw materials are lent out to the workers by the merchants, and ^{the} payment is made when the finished articles are delivered. But the women engaged in it are

.....
1

Method I was adopted in this case.

socially inferior to those employed in the embroidery trades, as they belong everywhere to the poorer sections of the local labouring classes.

Being a branch of the calico printing industry, the future prospects of this handicraft are dependent entirely on those of the former.

Pottery Industry.

Two types of pottery are made in the Bombay presidency; glazed and non-glazed. The former is a highly specialised handicraft and is confined to a few centres. The latter is manufactured in almost every town and village of the presidency. The important centres of the glazed pottery industry are Bombay city and the villages of Hala, Nasarpur, and Sehwan in Sind but the work is done everywhere on a very small scale. In Hala, for example, there are at present about 20 men and 6 women making glazed pots and tiles. In Nasarpur there are only three male artisans and in Sehwan about 20 men and 15 women who are doing this work. In Bombay city also there are only a few families who specialise in this handicraft. The industry is almost negligible in such minor centres as Rehri, Pano Akil, Jacobabad and Shikarpur.

Glazed pottery making requires a high degree of skill and hence very few women are employed in it. The total number of women thus occupied in the whole of the presidency would not exceed about a hundred. They are never found working as full time artisans but as helpers or assistants to

164
 their male relatives. The main part of the skilled work being done by men, the womenfolk of the family only give occasional assistance in the simpler processes. Thus modelling the clay pots and painting elaborate designs on them is undertaken exclusively by the male artisans. While the women generally mix and prepare the dyes and sometimes paint easier designs on the pots. They also do such unskilled work as filling or emptying the ovens, arranging the unbaked pots to be dried in the sun, etc.

Non-glazed pottery making is one of the most widespread cottage industries of India as every important village has its potter and every town has a number of potter families who supply the local demand for these articles.

In the Census of 1931, 48,423 persons were returned as potters and makers of earthenware for the British districts of the presidency and of these, 36,328 were males and 13,095 were females. Thus although the proportion of female to male labour in this industry is not very high, yet the total number of the women employed is fairly large. But women are never found working as independent full time potters. They usually do not possess the necessary skill for the handicraft, and therefore work along with their male relatives in a subsidiary capacity and on easier processes. The modelling of the pots is done almost entirely by the men. A few women may be found here and there, modelling rough and crude articles, but the commercial importance of their products is very small. The contribution of women to the industry is

mainly confined to the unskilled part of the work which includes helping the male potters in preparing the mortar, arranging the unbaked pots to be exposed to the sun, filling and emptying the oven, carrying the pots to the market, etc.

In the following table, the approximate net annual income of a family consisting of a potter, his wife and one working child has been shown for the different parts of the presidency.¹

Approximate net annual
income of a potter family.

	<u>Rupees</u>
Villages of the Deccan	100 to 125
Towns of the Deccan	150 to 200
Villages of Gujrat	100 to 150
Towns of Gujrat	175 to 225
Villages of Sind	100 to 150
Towns of Sind	200 to 250

The higher earnings in the towns are due to a greater demand for these articles there.

A male potter usually works for about 8 to 9 hours a day during the dry season but in the monsoon months he works casually, i.e. whenever he can get the sun for drying the pots.

.....

1

Method I was adopted in this case.

166 The womenfolk of his family normally assist him for 4 to 5 hours a day.

It is an interesting fact to note that pottery making is still a cottage industry, pure and simple. The capitalist forms of production have not yet developed in it. The only possible explanation for the fact seems to be that manufacturing cheap and crude earthenware on a large scale in factories is perhaps not a paying enterprise in view of the difficulties of transporting these articles, and the nature of the demand which is thinly distributed over a very large area. As a cottage industry it is free from the financial control of middlemen since the raw materials are inexpensive and are therefore secured by the workers themselves. The marketing of the goods is also done by them personally. The industry is not facing any competition with cheaper machine-made substitutes and thus in spite of the fact that the industry supplies everywhere a purely local demand, the general economic condition of the potters is more satisfactory than that of many other cottage workers.

It is doubtful if this industry is capable of any further expansion. Greater publicity and better organization of marketing may help the glazed pottery to some extent. But for the non-glazed pottery there seems to be hardly any scope for further development because it satisfies a well settled and inelastic demand which does not seem to have any possibilities of expansion.

Lacquer Work.

Artistic lacquer work of a good quality is done only in a few villages of the presidency, and that being on a very small scale. The industry is best developed in Sind, and is carried on mainly in Khanote, Khakri, Hala and Kashmore. Gokak in the Belgaum district is the only place outside Sind where articles of this type are produced. It is a luxury industry which in olden days used to be patronised by the rural aristocracy but is now in a condition of decay. The total number of persons employed in it is therefore very small. In the villages of Khanote and Khakri, for example, there are at present about 35 men, in Hala only about 10 men, and in Kashmore about 20 men who are engaged in it. In the village of Gokak only four or five families are at present doing this work. Being a very highly skilled handicraft, female labour plays an insignificant part in it, although the womenfolk of an artisan's family do give occasional assistance in the preliminary unskilled work, such as cutting rough blocks of wood, preparing the lacquer paint etc.

Ordinary lacquered articles are produced in several towns of the presidency, some of the important centres of this industry being Ahmedabad, Bombay, Poona, Nasik, Dohad, Jalgaon and Larkana. The demand for these articles being much greater than the demand for the more expensive, artistic lacquer work, the total number of persons engaged in their manufacture is larger. But the employment of women is

168 almost equally small in both branches of the industry. The reason why female labour is so unimportant in this handicraft is that it requires a fairly high degree of skill, and as a general rule skilled work is seldom undertaken by women. The process commonly ^{performed} ~~done~~ by them in this industry is the preparation of the lacquer paint. in addition to which they are sometimes found scratching certain crude designs on the painted articles. The total number of female workers who make any worth-while contribution to the industry is about five to six hundred in the whole ^{of the} presidency. The economic value of their work may be estimated to be between one and two annas per day.¹

The number of hours worked by the women vary from 2 to 4 per day and the normal daily hours of the men are 8 to 9.

The industry is generally financed by the workers themselves. The artistic lacquer work of Sind is capable of considerable expansion. It is beautiful and elegant, and possesses a high degree of decorative value. What it needs is ^{ex} great publicity outside Sind and a more extensive marketing. ^A The ordinary lacquer industry would also receive considerable stimulus if its marketing were more scientifically organised.

Woollen Blanket Making.

Woollen blanket weaving is carried on

.....

¹ Methods II and III were adopted in this case.

169 as a cottage industry in several villages of the presidency, the most important of which are Rannibennur in ~~the~~ Dharwar district, Kowalli and Kundargi in ~~the~~ Bijapur district, Anniali Bhi^mji in ~~the~~ Ahmedabad district, Limdi in ~~the~~ Panch Mahal district and Diplo and Tapo Sati Dera in ~~the~~ Thar and Parkar district. The approximate number of persons employed in these different centres ^{is} ~~are~~ as follows. There are in the villages of Dharwar and Bijapur districts about 800 to 1,000 men, and about four to five hundred women; in Diplo about 200 men and five hundred women; in Nagar Parkar taluka about 300 men and 300 women; in Anniali Bhi^mji about 20 men and 30 women, and in Limdi about 25 men and 30 women. No up-to-date figures regarding the total number of blanket weavers in the presidency are available. In the Census of 1931 the blanket weavers were not classified separately. In the 1921 Census, however, their total number in the British districts of the presidency was shown to be 6038 males and 3,156 females. The industry must have declined considerably since then, as the total number of persons employed in it to-day seems to be decidedly smaller. On a rough estimate, there are at present about 2,000 male and 1,500 female blanket makers in the whole presidency.

Women play an important part in this industry although their main contribution of work is in the preliminary processes i.e. wool cleaning, spinning, warping, winding etc. Blanket weaving being a fairly heavy process is done largely by men.

170 but women do occasionally lend a helping hand to the male weavers. The division of labour, between the sexes in this industry is the same as is found in the handloom, silk or cotton industry.

The following table shows the approximate economic value of the work done by male and female blanket makers in some of the important centres of the industry.¹

Centre	The approximate economic value of a man's work per day.	The approximate economic value of a woman's work per day
	<u>Annas</u>	<u>Annas</u>
Diplo	4	2
Nagar Parkar	4	2
Broach	4 to 5	2 to 3
Lindi	4 to 5	2 to 3
Anniali Bhinji	4 to 5	2 to 3
Rannibennur	4 to 5	2 to 3
Budihal, Kowalli and Kundargi	4 to 5	2 to 3

The women usually work from 6 to 7 hours per day and the men from 8 to 9 hours.

1

Methods I, II and III were adopted in this case.

The industry is partly financed by middlemen and partly by the workers, themselves. The blanket weavers of the Karmatak try to keep their work as free from the financial control of middlemen as possible and so they rear their own sheep and prepare the woollen yarn at home. But the yarn thus produced often runs short of the demand, and they are then obliged either to buy or to borrow it from the local merchants. In Sind, the system of taking advances in cash or in raw materials from the merchants to whom the finished goods are sold is quite common.

A majority of the blanket weavers are not entirely dependent on the industry for their livelihood/as the men are usually engaged in agriculture for a part of the year. Blankets are made mainly during the season when no agricultural work is available.

The industry is undoubtedly suffering from competition from machine-made goods. But the lack of adequate marketing is the main factor responsible for its decline. There is a considerable demand everywhere among the poorer sections of the population for rough hand-woven blankets and even some of the well-to-do people prefer a good hand-woven to a machine-made blanket because of the purer wool and the stronger texture of the former. However, if the industry is to expand further, the extension of the market must go hand in hand with an improvement in the technique of production.

172 The introduction of improved handlooms is not only desirable, but also possible in the near future, provided enough propaganda is done in its favour among the weavers both by official and non-official agencies. The adoption of warping, wind^{ing} and sizing hand machines can come later when the industry has attained a fair degree of prosperity.

Bidi Industry.

Bidi making is one of the most common home industries, as home bidi makers are found in all towns and important villages of the presidency. The production of bidis can be conveniently organised as a home industry since no machinery or even tools are necessary for the work, and little specialised skill is required. The raw materials are inexpensive and can be lent out by a merchant to the home-workers without the risk of any serious financial loss. A large number of persons willing to undertake work of this nature are available everywhere.

The vast majority of home workers in this industry are women who are widely distributed over the presidency and form perhaps the largest group of female workers in any one cottage industry. Even on a conservative estimate about a hundred thousand women are thus employed in the whole of the presidency. They are all independent producers and are never found working as assistants to their male relatives. In fact, men are rarely engaged in bidi making at home, most of them

being employed in bidi workshops. Bidi making is a highly convenient occupation for those women who, due either to "purdah" or to the pressure of domestic work cannot take up a full time employment in a factory or a karkhana. Bidis can be easily manufactured at home during leisure hours as the work involves little skill, is physically light and does not necessitate any investment of capital by the worker. It is, however, resorted to only by the poorer necessitous women of the labouring classes, many of whom are widows with young children to support.

All workers in this industry, whether employed at home or in the karkhanas, are paid a piece rate wages. The average earnings of the home workers for whom bidi making is a part time occupation are much lower than those of the karkhana workers. As stated in a previous chapter, the rates of payment in this industry vary considerably in different parts of the presidency, the maximum being Re 1.0.0. per thousand bidis in Bombay city, and the minimum 6 annas per thousand bidis in the Karnatak. Thus there is a considerable range over which the earnings of the bidi makers fluctuate. Generally most of the women earn anything between 3 and 10 annas per day.¹ It may be noted that the earnings of the women who work at home with their own raw materials are higher than the earnings of those who borrow the materials from the local merchants. In Ahmedabad town, for example,

.....

¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

174- the former can earn 8 to 10 annas for 8 to 9 hours' work, while the latter can earn about 6 to 8 annas for the same length of working time. The difference is attributable to the fact that women who work with borrowed materials are obliged to sell their products to the middlemen and accept whatever price is offered by the latter. Those who work independently of the middlemen can sell their goods at the highest price available in the market. However, The total number of bidi makers who finance their work themselves is very small, the great majority of women in this industry are dependent on the local bidi merchant for their raw materials and market. The daily earnings of men employed in bidi making at home vary from 6 or 7 annas to Rs 1.4.0. in different parts of the presidency.

The hours worked by the women vary from 6 to 9 per day. The daily hours of the men usually vary from 10 to 13.

The general economic condition of the bidi industry is fairly satisfactory. It flourishes everywhere on a good local demand as the use of bidis is very widespread throughout the presidency, both in the towns and the villages. The consumption of foreign or Indian cigarettes is confined to the richer sections of society. The development of the Indian cigarette industry has not yet been able to damage the bidi industry to any appreciable extent, as bidis are far cheaper than cigarettes and have been smoked by the majority of the

175
people for generations. The price of the Indian cigarettes generally varies from 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas for a packet of ten cigarettes, while 20 to 25 bidis can be bought for 1 anna. Thus it would probably take a long time for the Indian cigarette industry to be able to compete successfully with the bidi industry.

Laundering.

Laundering is still a cottage industry in the presidency and is carried on by individual "Dhobi" families working independently of each other.¹ Each dhobi has his regular clients from whom he gets his orders once a week or fortnight. He works along with his family and uses no machinery or any other modern device. Dhobis are mainly concentrated in towns and bigger villages, since the demand for their services is very limited in the poorer rural areas where the people wash their clothes themselves. The industry meets one of the most common needs of the people, and therefore the total number of the persons employed in it is fairly large. In the Census of 1931, $3\frac{3}{4}$, 558 persons were returned as being engaged in washing and cleaning in the British districts of the presidency and of these, 24,741 were males and 8,817 females. It is evident from these figures

.....
¹ The term Dhobi is the Hindustani equivalent of Washerman.

176 that the number of women in this industry is fairly large. In fact, almost all women belonging to a washerman's family lend a helping hand in the work, but very few of them follow this as an independent full time occupation. This is due to the fact that the main processes of hand laundering are much too strenuous for them, the washing of clothes by hand for several hours at a stretch every day being generally beyond their physical strength. They therefore assist their male relatives mainly in the lighter part of the work, i.e. in drying, counting, wrapping and ironing the clothes. They are occasionally found engaged in washing, but only for a part of the day.

The average monthly income of a dhobi family consisting of one dhobi, his wife and one or two children under fourteen years of age, all working together, is generally between Rs 20 and ^{Rs 40} ~~Rs 30~~ in the bigger towns of the presidency, and between Rs 15 and 20 in the smaller towns. The economic value of a woman's contribution to the family work can be roughly estimated to be between one-third and one-fourth of the value of a man's contribution.¹ The economic importance of the work done by children is almost negligible. The women work for about 5 or 6 hours a day, and the men for about 9 or 10.

A part of the labour employed in the laundering industry of the Bombay presidency comes from the United Provinces. Although in the mofussil, ^{the} washermen usually

1 Methods I, II and III were adopted in this case.

177 belong to the local dhobi families, in the bigger towns such as Bombay, Poona, Karachi etc. the work is almost entirely monopolized by up-countrymen who are drawn largely from the rural areas of Oudh. The presence of this element in the industry perhaps causes a smaller number of women to be employed in it than would have been the case if all the washermen belonged to the presidency itself. A large number of ^{the} up-country washermen do not bring their families along with them.

The industry does not suffer from any competition from machine laundering, and therefore the general economic condition of the workers is not very unsatisfactory. However, since washing clothes at home is a very common practice among large sections of the population, the supply of labour in the industry does seem at present to be in excess of the demand for it. In every locality there is keen competition between different washermen, and the undercutting of each other's rates is not uncommon among them.

It is extremely unlikely that capitalist forms of organisation will develop in this industry in the near future. The services of washermen are so cheap that machine production will perhaps not be able to compete with them very successfully. Even in cities such as Bombay, Karachi, Ahmedabad etc., there are very few laundries in which the work is done by employed wage earners. There are a large number of shops which receive clothes for being washed, but they get all their work done by the dhobis.

Tailoring and Dressmaking.

176
 Tailoring and dressmaking is a small scale industry widely distributed over the urban and semi-urban areas of the presidency. It is carried on mainly in small workshops where a master tailor usually works along with a few employed assistants and a few apprentices. There are thousands of such workshops in the presidency and the total number of persons employed in them is very large, but women are never found working in them. *Since* in this industry are all home workers. The only explanation for this fact seems to be that the women thus occupied usually belong to lower middle-class families and are prevented by notions of family respectability from working outside their own homes. The proportion of female to male labour in this industry is fairly low. In the Census of 1931, 56,973 persons were returned as milliners, dressmakers and darners for the British territory of the presidency, and of these, 46,442 were males and 10,531 were females. Tailoring and dressmaking, being a skilled occupation, women of the manual labouring classes have not taken to it *since they* lack the necessary training for the work which middle class women normally receive as a part of their domestic culture before marriage.

Tailoring and dressmaking differ in one important respect from other home industries carried on by women, such as bidi making or embroidery. While in the latter, the

179
workers deal with the middlemen, in the former they deal directly with the consumers. In every locality a few women are known to be professional dressmakers and if their services are needed by any family in the neighbourhood, they are either asked to come and take the orders, or the cloth is sent to them along with the necessary instructions while some of the dressmakers periodically go round for orders to their regular clients. They specialise in making women's and children's dresses, and are patronised mainly by richer families^{and} Purdah women usually prefer them to male tailors as they cannot discuss their dress freely with the latter.

The rates of payment of women in this industry are much lower than the rates of male tailors and dressmakers as a woman is paid ~~xxxxxxx~~ from one-half to one-third of a man's wage. This is due to the smaller clientele of the former. Female dressmakers, being engaged in the work at home, are patronised only by those families to whom they are known. Due partly to their lower rates, and partly to the fact that they are seldom full time workers, their average earnings are much lower than those of the male dressmakers. A skilled female dressmaker can rarely earn more than about Rs 15 a month even in the cities and bigger towns and in the less urbanised areas their average monthly earnings may fluctuate from about Rs 4 to Rs 6 or 7. A skilled male dressmaker employed in a tailors' shop ~~xxxxxxx~~ earns a monthly wage of ~~xxxxxxx~~ Rs 20 to Rs 40 in cities and bigger towns, and from Rs 15 to Rs 25 in smaller towns.¹

¹.....
¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

74⁰ The hours of the women vary from about 4 to 7, and those of the men from about 11 to 13 per day.

There is considerable scope for the expansion of female labour in dressmaking, particularly with regard to children's and women's dresses. As already stated, "purdah" women of the richer families generally prefer female to male dressmakers and even the majority of the non-purdah women would probably have their dresses made by the females if the latter could provide the same quality of service as the males. The main problem here is that of providing adequate facilities for the training of working class women in dressmaking.

Shoemaking.

Shoemaking resembles tailoring in being an industry carried out on a small scale in a large number of petty workshops distributed all over the presidency. The total number of persons engaged in it is approximately as large as in tailoring, but women in this industry are not entirely absent from the workshops. Of course, They are not employed anywhere as regular wage earners, but it is customary for the women relatives of the male shoemaker to go to the family workshops and give whatever assistance they can in the work. However, since shoemaking is a highly skilled handicraft, women play a very minor part in it. They are not employed anywhere as full time skilled shoe-makers, and

781
unlike tailoring, shoemaking is not done by them as a home industry. Their contribution to the work is confined to a few minor sem-skilled or unskilled processes, such as rough stitching, leather pasting, leather cutting etc. The difference between the number of male and female workers employed in this industry is evident from the following figures. In the Census of 1931, 54,728 persons were returned as boot, shoe, sandal and olog makers for the British territory of the presidency, and of these, 49,573 were males and 5,155 females.

There is, however, one process in the manufacture of a special type of shoe which is undertaken almost exclusively by women. This is embroidering fancy shoes made by the Sochis in several parts of Sind, and especially in Hyderabad town. There are roughly about 300 shops in Hyderabad where embroidered shoes, saddles and other leather goods are made and the gold, silver and cotton thread embroidery on these articles is done only by the womenfolk of the "Sochi" families. The total number of women thus occupied is about a thousand in the whole of Sind. In the majority of cases the work is done by them is not paid for directly. ~~yet~~ ^{however}, a fairly large number of these women receive orders from outside their families, either from other shoemakers or from the local consumers, and in that case, they are paid a piece rate wage. Their daily earnings normally vary from 3 to 5 annas.¹

They usually work from 6 to 7 hours a day.

.....
¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

142
The general economic condition of the indigenous shoemaking industry is fairly satisfactory, as the Indian machine-made shoes have not yet been able to damage it seriously. A "mochi"¹ has everywhere a good local demand for his articles. He is still mainly free from the financial control of middlemen and sells a large part of his products directly to the consumers, ^{and} ~~as~~ therefore his economic position is distinctly superior to that of the workers in many other cottage industries.

Rope Industry.

Rope making is an important cottage industry of the presidency and being an article of very common use, rope is manufactured in various parts of the presidency, both in the towns and villages. The industry is practised most extensively in the villages of the Central and Southern Divisions of the presidency. The total number of persons returned in the Census of 1931 as makers of rope, twine, string and other fibres for the British territory of the presidency was 28,133, of which, 19,957 were males and 8,176 females. These figures include the wage earnersⁿ employed in the rope and twine karkhanas whose total number is, however, very small, amounting at the most to about a thousand. It is obvious from these figures that women play an important part in the industry. In fact, in Gujrat rope making is almost entirely done by women and in Ahmedabad, Surat and Broach, which are important centres of the industry, roughly

183
between 80 and 90 per cent of the cottage rope makers are women. They belong to the Kharwa community in which the traditional occupation of men is building and fishing. In other parts of the presidency, women share the work almost equally with men. The importance of female labour in this industry is attributable to the nature of the work which is light and semi-skilled and all the processes, from the thrashing of coconut peel to the actual twisting of the rope, can be undertaken by women. Men and women usually work together on the same processes, and there is no division of labour between the sexes. Thus the economic value of a woman's work in relation to that of a man's is higher in this than in a majority of those cottage industries where a woman is a subsidiary worker. The following table shows the approximate net daily earnings of male and female cottage rope makers in different parts of the presidency.¹

Centre	Approximate net daily earnings of female rope makers.	Approximate net daily earnings of male rope makers.
Villages of Sind	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 annas	$2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas
Towns of Gujrat	3 to 4 "	4 to 5 "
Villages of Gujrat	$2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ "	$3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ "

1

Method I was adopted in this case.

Centre	Approximate net daily earnings of female rope makers.	Approximate net daily earnings of male rope makers.
Towns of the Deccan	5 to 6 annas	6 to 7 annas
Villages of the Deccan	2 to 3 "	3 to 4 "

The higher rates of earnings in the towns are due to the greater local demand for rope. The differences in the earnings of the male and female workers are mainly attributable to the longer time devoted to the work by the former.

Normally, the women work from 7 to 9 hours per day, whilst the men work from 9 to 11 hours.

The rope cottage industry is not suffering from competition from machine made articles to any appreciable extent. It has in every centre a small but steady local demand, and is almost entirely free from the financial control of the middlemen since the raw materials used are inexpensive.

In spite of this, it is not a highly remunerative occupation for the workers as the value of the product is so low that very long hours of work are necessary for earning a bare livelihood. Moreover, in several parts of the presidency no work is done during the monsoon months because of the difficulty of finding dry open spaces where rope can be stretched and twisted. Thus a large number of the workers have to resort to

agricultural labour for a part of the year.

185 It is doubtful if rope making can develop much further as a cottage industry without improvement in the technique of its production. What it needs is a greater speed of output, which is necessary in all those industries in which the value of the product is low. The demand for rough and cheap rope is considerable, and unless the cottage workers meet a good part of it by improving their methods, it might in due course of time, be supplied entirely by the cheaper and perhaps better machine-made articles.

Bamboo, Cane, Reed, Leaf and Straw Industries.

Female labour is very important in this group of industries. The sex distribution of the workers employed in it can be seen from the Census figures of 1931 for the British territory of the presidency. 26,080 persons were returned as being engaged in basket making and in other industries using wood and leaf as raw materials (excluding carpentry, furniture making and wood sawing) and of these, 13,197 were males and 12,883 females. The large number of women thus occupied is due to the nature of the work which is light and does not involve skill of a high order. In the bamboo, cane and reed industries, there are two main processes, viz: cutting the chips and weaving them into baskets, mats, chairs etc. The former requires no skill but only a certain amount of practice, and

the latter though fairly skilled can be easily learnt without any elaborate preliminary training, neither of them being physically strenuous. Leaf and straw work is not only easy and semi-skilled but also extremely light.

186
The bamboo industry is mainly concentrated in the Central and Southern Divisions of the presidency. In fact, from the point of view of the numbers employed, it is second only to handloom weaving in the Deccan. The amount of bamboo work done in Sind is negligible and in Gujrat, it is a minor cottage industry carried on by "Bhangi" families as a part time occupation. Women do the same kind of work as men in the making of bamboo baskets, mats etc. In fact, it is one of these rare cottage industries in which there is no well defined division of functions between the sexes.

In the Deccan the general economic condition of the Bamboo workers is distinctly superior to that of the workers in many other cottage industries. Firstly, the bamboo industry has a steady local demand everywhere; Secondly, it faces no competition from cheaper machine-made goods and thirdly, the industry is financed by the workers themselves. Thus a family consisting of one adult male, one adult female and one child, all working together, can easily earn ~~Rs 15 and 20~~ between Rs 15 and ^{Rs} 20 a month. The economic value of a woman's contribution to the work is higher in this than in many other cottage industries of the Deccan as not only are the processes undertaken by men and women the same, but the work is also shared by them almost equally. In fact, the

187
 earning capacity of a man and woman is approximately equal in this industry. A female bamboo worker¹, in the Deccan normally earns anything from 3 to 5 annas a day and a man from 4 to 6 annas. In Gujrat the average earnings of the Bhangis who are engaged in producing bamboo baskets and mats are much lower because the work is done by them very casually. A Bhangi woman normally does not earn more than Rs 3 to Rs 4 per month while a male Bhangi can earn a rupee or two more per month because of the greater time devoted by him to the work.¹

The hours of the female bamboo workers in the Deccan vary from 7 to 8 per day, and those of the men from about 8 to 9. In Gujrat the women work for about 3 or 4 hours, and the men for about 4 or 5 hours per day.

The cane industry is found in Bombay city alone. The workers engaged in it are up-country people belonging to the United Provinces. It is a very minor handicraft employing a small number of persons. Cane work being more skilled than bamboo work, the role of women in it is less important than in the latter as they ~~very~~ usually confine themselves to preparing cane chips and making the easier cane articles. Their net daily earnings vary roughly from 4 to 6 annas and those of the men from 8 to 12 annas.²

The hours of the women are from 6 to 7 a day, and of the men from 9 to 11.

.....
¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

² Methods I and III were adopted in this case.

148

who
Reed workers[^] are found mainly in Sind, ^{they} produce such articles as "Moodas", "Chicks"¹ etc. The three districts of Sind well known for work of this nature are Larkana, Upper Sind Frontier, and Sukkur ^{although} and [^] the industry is distributed over several small centres, ~~but~~ the total number of persons employed ~~is~~ is not very large. The proportion of female to male labour is very much smaller in this than in the bamboo and cane industries, and since there is no essential difference in the nature of the processes involved in these handicrafts, the only possible explanation for this fact seems to be that the Mohammedan women of Sind, being socially less free are confined more to their domestic occupations than the working class women in other parts of the presidency.

The general economic condition of workers in all these industries is fairly satisfactory. There is very little direct competition between their products and machine-made goods and they thrive mainly on a well settled local demand. Middlemen have little financial control over them, as their raw materials are quite inexpensive.

The leaf and straw industry is quite unimportant from the point of view of the value of its products, but since leaf and straw articles are cheap and useful and can easily find a market everywhere, the industry has developed several small urban and rural centres in different parts of the presidency. It is mainly concentrated in those areas

.....
1 "Mooda" is a reed chair and "chick" a reed curtain.

189
where the supply of straw and palm leaf is plentiful, although it is also found in a number of places away from the sea coast or the banks of lakes and rivers.

Women play an important part in this industry. In the villages of Sind, for example, the work is done entirely by them, their male relatives being fishermen or agriculturists and further south in the presidency, women share the work almost equally with the men. The importance of women in this handicraft is obviously due to the fact that its processes require skill of a very elementary order, and are extremely light. However, there does exist a division of labour between the sexes. In Gujrat, for example, small palm leaf baskets and leaf cups and toys are made only by women, while men make mats and brooms. In the Deccan brooms and "tattis"¹ are generally made by men, while women usually prepare the reed ropes for tying the brooms. On the whole, the division of labour seems to be on the principle of assigning the easier processes to women and the more difficult ones to men. But as all processes in this industry are light and easy, it is not uncommon to find women engaged even in those which are normally undertaken by men.

The following table shows the approximate daily earnings of female straw workers and the type of work done by

.....
¹ A "tatti" is a straw screen.

them in some of the important centres of the industry.¹

190

Centre	Approximate daily earnings of female workers.	Type of work done
<u>Annas</u>		
Villages of Saun & Kauchi in Karachi district	2 to 3	Straw mat, broom & basket making
Villages on or near the Manchar lake in Sind	3 to 4	straw mat making
Surat town	3 to 4	palm leaf basket making
Broach town	3 to 4	" " " "
Village of Bore Bhata in Broach district	3 to 4	" " " "
Ankolsvar town	2 to 3	leaf cup making
Jalgaon town	4 to 5	"khas tattī" "
Jalgaon town	2 to 3	broom making.

The local conditions of demand and supply are mainly responsible for the difference in the earnings in different centres, the quality of the products being almost the same everywhere. The earnings of male workers in this industry vary from 6 to 8 annas in the towns of Gujrat, from 5 to 7 annas in the villages of Gujrat, from 6 to 8 annas in

.....

¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

the towns of the Deccan and from 4 to 6 annas in the villages of the Deccan.

The normal daily working hours of the women fluctuate from 6 to 8 and of the men from 9 to 11.

(95) The work is never financed by middlemen, as the raw materials can be had either free of charge or at a very low cost. The marketing of the goods is also done personally by the workers.

The possibilities of the further development of this group of industries may be noted. There are very limited prospects for any appreciable expansion of the bamboo, cane and reed industries. With the exception of cane work of a higher quality, their products are mainly used by the poorer sections of the population and ~~also~~ the demand for these articles ^{which} has very little elasticity ~~xxx~~ seems at present to be adequately met by the existing supply.

The leaf and straw industry has a steady local demand everywhere, and is not suffering from competition from any cheaper-machine made articles. In spite of all this, it is not capable of much expansion because of its small commercial importance and the inelasticity of the demand which it supplies.

"Niwar" and Tape Making.

Niwar is made on a small scale in a number of towns and villages of the presidency but not being an

¹ Niwar is the coarse cotton band used for the meshes of bedsteads, chairs etc

192
 article of very common use, it has neither developed big centres like the handloom industry, nor has it spread extensively like the pottery industry. It supplies everywhere a limited local demand though it is more commonly produced in Gujrat than in other parts of the presidency, the Deccan perhaps being second in this respect. In Sind, niwar making is done mainly in Karachi city. Women play quite an important part in this industry and on a rough estimate, their total number is about one thousand to twelve hundred in the whole of the presidency. The making of niwar, which is one of the crudest handloom products, requires no highly specialised skill; nor is it physically strenuous. Thus women can take as important a part in the preliminary processes, viz; winding, warping, sizing etc., as in weaving. In Gujrat, niwar making is confined to the "Rawalia" community, whose caste occupation is that of tom tom beaters and musicians. It is however only the male members of these families who are thus occupied, the women stay^{ing} at home and dividing their time between domestic duties and niwar weaving. But since tom tom beating is a casual occupation, the men also take an important part in the industry and on the whole, the adult male and female members of a Rawalia family make an almost equal contribution to the work. The same is, more or less, true of the niwar weavers of the Deccan. The economic value of a woman's work in relation to that of a man's is therefore fairly high in this industry. In fact, in Gujrat the normal daily output of the male and female workers is approximately equal and their

193
 earnings for a full working day can be estimated at about 5 to 6 annas each.¹ There is, however, a considerable amount of casualness in this occupation in Gujrat as the local demand for niwar is not good enough to give all the Rawalia families consistent and steady employment and no work may be done by a family for two or three days in a week. In the Deccan the supply of labour seems to be better adjusted to the demand. There is little casualness and the approximate daily earnings of the women are 5 to 6 annas and of the men 6 to 8 annas.

The normal working day in Gujrat, both for the men and women, consists of about 6 to 7 hours. In the Deccan the men work for about 8 to 9 hours and the women for about 5 to 6 hours per day.

The financial control of middlemen over this industry is small, as the raw materials are quite inexpensive.

Ordinary tape making is a very unimportant cottage industry in the Bombay presidency. It is found mainly in those villages of Sind where handloom weaving is done, and is usually undertaken by the womenfolk of the weaving community, though women belonging to the poorer agricultural families may also be found engaged in it. The work is done casually during leisure hours. In view of the small economic importance of this industry, the earnings of the women engaged in it are very low. A tape maker normally earns ~~xxxxxxx~~ from one to two annas for a working day of about 5 or 6 hours.² The raw

.....
¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

² Method I was adopted in this case.

materials are generally borrowed from the local merchants, but in some cases they are bought by the workers themselves.

Match Industry.

194 There is only one process of the match industry, viz: making the inside and outside of the boxes, which is carried out on the cottage system. The work is done mainly in the suburbs of Bombay city where most of the bigger match factories are situated. Several of the factories have a number of cottage workers attached to them for box making. The raw materials are advanced by the factories to the workers who are never engaged in the work independently of the orders placed with them by the former. A few factories which are equipped with box making machinery do not get the work done by the cottage workers.

The total number of families engaged in this industry was estimated by the Department of Industries, Bombay presidency in 1929 at 2,800 and a family was taken to consist of 3 workers on an average. Thus, roughly about 8,500 persons were considered to be employed in it. The number of women engaged in this work is at least equal to, if not greater than that of men, since it is an occupation highly congenial to female labour. Its processes are easy enough not to require any special training, xxxxx x xxxxxxx xxxxxxx xxxxx xxxxx xxx xxxxxx x xx xxx xxx xxx xxx xx xxxxx, and are light enough not to put an undue physical strain on women.

A majority of the workers are Ghatia and belong

generally to the class of unskilled manual labourers.

During the monsoon months when box making is stopped due to excessive humidity, they resort either to ordinary coolie work or to hawking, grass cutting/ etc. Many of the families return to their villages and take to agricultural work.

195
An experienced box maker can earn about one anna for one hour's work and since the normal working hours of the women vary from 6 to 8 per day, their daily earnings can be considered to fluctuate between 6 and 8 annas. The men work for about 10 or 11 hours a day and therefore their daily wages normally vary from 10 to 11 annas.¹

The further development of this cottage industry is extremely doubtful. Several match factories have already equipped themselves with the box making machines, and there is every reason to suppose that eventually all the factories will do so. If this happens, box making as a cottage industry will naturally disappear and the women engaged in it would either find employment in the match factories or would transfer their labour to other industries.

Bangle Industry.

Glass bangle making exists as a cottage industry in the following villages of the presidency:

.....

¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

Chinchani, Tarapur, Nasirabad, Ghodgeri, Kapadvanj, Edlabad, Talagaon, Dabhade and Rajpur, the first three being comparatively more important centres of the industry. The total number of persons employed in this handicraft was estimated by the Department of Industries, Bombay presidency in 1931 at 280,¹ out of which Chinchani, Tarapur, Nasirabad and Ghodgeri together claimed about 240.

The role of women in this industry is not an important one as the work is, on the whole, much too skilled for them. They can only lend an occasional helping hand in some of the easier processes, such as joining the two ends of the bangles, sorting, counting and tying the bangles into bunches etc.

The bangle makers usually finance their work themselves, though they sell their goods generally to the local dealers in bangles. Their economic condition is, on the whole, much more satisfactory than that of many other cottage workers, since the demand for the crude glass bangles made by them is still fairly good in the villages. Their products are, however, of a very inferior quality, as their methods are all primitive and it is for this reason that the industry cannot make much headway at present. It confines itself to supplying a limited demand for crude and cheap articles.

.....

¹ Annual Report, Department of Industries, Bombay presidency, 1931 - 32 p.41

997 The total value of the bangles produced by the cottage workers in the presidency was estimated by the Department of Industries in the year 1931 - 32 at Rs 79,000.¹ There is undoubtedly a considerable scope for an expansion of the industry as the bulk of ^{the} bangles used in the presidency are imported partly from abroad and partly from other parts of the country. Very little expansion is however, possible unless the industry is technically re-organised and improved methods of production are introduced.

Lac bangles are manufactured on a very small scale in Bombay city, ^{being} there ~~are~~ at present only two workshops owned by a few up-country "Maniar"² families in which the work is done exclusively by the members of these families. The total number of persons thus engaged is about 25 to 30. The bangles are prepared by men but their ornamentation with gold paper and finely cut glass is done by women. The latter processes require a fairly high degree of skill. It is interesting to note that lac bangle making is one of those rare cottage industries in which women undertake highly skilled work. The ornamentation of bangles, being a very delicate process requiring light and careful handling of the materials can perhaps be done better by women than by men.

.....
¹ Annual Report, Department of Industries, Bombay presidency, 1931 - 32, p.41

² The Maniars are a caste of lac bangle and jewellery makers.

198
The average earnings of the lac bangle makers are very much higher than those of other cottage workers. The Swadeshi movement has given considerable impetus to the use of these bangles. An experienced male artisan in this industry can normally earn ~~xxxxxxx~~ from Rs 1.8.0. to Rs 2.0.0 for a working day of 9 or 10 hours. A woman can earn about 10 to 12 annas for a working day of 6 to 7 hours.¹

Corn grinding.

There is a considerable number of women who resort to corn grinding at home as a part time industrial occupation and who are found scattered in small numbers all over the rural and semi-rural areas of the presidency. The demand for their services is greatest in the smaller towns and villages, as in the cities corn grinding is done mainly by power-driven machinery. Womenfolk of the poorer classes grind their corn themselves, but the upper and middle classes get the work done by others on a piece rate wage. On a very rough estimate the total number of women thus engaged is at least between fifteen and twenty thousand in the whole of the presidency.

It is worth noting that corn grinding, in spite of being a physically strenuous work, has been traditionally done by women. The only explanation for this fact seems to be that since corn grinding is an item in the preparation of food, it naturally falls to the lot of women who are in charge of

.....
Methods I II III were adopted in this case.

the kitchen. It is extremely rare to find men engaged in it.

Corn grinding is a very low-paid occupation, because for work of this nature ^{the supply of} female labour is everywhere in excess of the demand. The women thus occupied belong to the poorest sections of the manual labouring classes. Their earnings hardly ever exceed about half an anna for one hour's work.¹ The employment is moreover extremely casual and normally a woman does not work for more than 3 to 4 hours a day.

Grain parching is another home industry in which a fairly large number of women are employed, grain parchers being found in every part of the presidency, parching and selling grain in small family workshops. In the Census of 1931, 3,437 persons were returned as grain parchers for the British territory of the presidency and of these, 1,846 were males and 1,591 females. A majority of the women are related to the male workers in the industry, and act as their assistants, although a fairly large number of them are also employed independently. Grain parching requires little skill, and can be conveniently undertaken by women.

Corn grinding and grain parching are home industries with very little commercial importance. Nor are there any possibilities of their further expansion. The use of power-driven machinery for corn grinding, which is rapidly growing

.....
¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

apace, would in due course of time, probably reduce the number of cottage workers in this industry to a negligible figure. Grain parching caters mainly for the poorer classes and is hardly capable of any further development since the demand which it satisfies is small and inelastic.

Wooden Comb Making.

There are about a hundred women making crude wooden combs in Surat town, all of whom belong to the local manual working class families. The work requires skill of a very ordinary character, and is done at home as a part time occupation. The daily earnings of these women normally vary from 3 to 5 annas.¹ The raw materials are bought by the workers themselves and the goods are sold to the local shopkeepers. The number of hours worked per day by these women vary from 5 to 7. There are very few men engaged in this handicraft.

Miscellaneous.

The following are the few cottage industries in which the part played by female labour is very small.

Sandalwood carving which is done in Surat, Ahmedabad and Kanara is such a highly skilled handicraft that

.....

¹ Method I was adopted in this case.

women cannot make any important contribution to it. The same is true of the ordinary wood carving industry of Ahmedabad, Surat and Kanara.

201
The part played by women in ivory carving and the manufacture of ivory bangles is almost negligible. These handicrafts require a degree of skill rarely possessed by female cottage workers. The jewellery industry is similar in this respect.

In the metal cottage industries, women's share of work is very small as these industries, in addition to being skilled are much too heavy for women.

The leather tanning cottage industry is slightly more important from the point of view of the employment of female labour. A considerable amount of leather tanning is done by cottage workers in the Deccan and the tanneries are generally small family concerns with about 4 to 6 members of the family working in each. The main part of the work is done by men and young lads, but women do give occasional assistance in some of the less strenuous processes.

In the indigenous vegetable oil manufacturing and refining industry women play a very minor role. The work requires little specialised skill, nevertheless, it is done mainly by adult males. ^{though} Women give a helping hand whenever necessary

The artistic horn industry of Viziadrug (Konkan) is carried on by a few male artisans. the help rendered to them by their womenfolk being unimportant. But, in the cruder horn and bone work done by the criminal tribes of Belgaum and Dharwar districts, women take a fairly good part. They share the making of such simpler articles as combs, rulers etc. almost equally with men.

The indigenous sweetmeat industry which is carried on in hundreds of small shops distributed all over the presidency employs very little female labour. The "halwai"¹ is everywhere a skilled male worker and though he does get a certain amount of assistance from his family members, the contribution of women to the skilled part of the work is small. The unimportance of female labour in this industry is evident from the census figures of 1931, which showed for the British territory of the presidency a total number of 6,520 sweetmeat and condiment makers, 5,774 of these being males and only 746 females. It is interesting to note that in spite of being a branch of the culinary art, sweetmaking has been traditionally a man's occupation. It is difficult to explain this fact, but probably the specialised skill necessary for the work has stood in the way of women taking a more prominent part in it.

.....

¹ Indigenous
Sweetmeat maker

Conclusions regarding the role of female labour in the Cottage Industries.

From the foregoing description of the different cottage industries of the Bombay presidency, it is evident that female labour plays a fairly important part in them. On a very rough estimate the total number of women employed in them is 350,000. Women are found working in all except a few heavy or very highly skilled cottage industries although the extent of their contribution to the work is different in different cases. In a majority of the industries they work in a subsidiary capacity to their male relatives but the extent of their employment as independent producers is by no means small. The following table has been prepared to show in what capacity women are engaged in the different cottage industries, whether as independent producers or as subsidiary workers.

The capacity in which
women are employed.

Industries.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. Subsidiary worker | Handloom, Dhurry, Calico printing, and dyeing, Pottery, Lacquer, Blanket, Laundering, Shoemaking, Bamboo, Cane and Reed, Bangle, Wood carving, Leather tanning, Vegetable oil, Sweetmeat, Carpet or Rug. |
| 2. Independent producer. | Frasi, Embroidery, Bandhni, Bidi, Tailoring, Rope, Straw and Leaf, Niwar, Match, Corn grinding, Grain parching. |
-

Thus in ¹⁵~~16~~ of the 26 industries shown in the above table, women were employed as subsidiary workers to their male relatives and in 11 as independent producers. The important point to be noted is that women are engaged as independent producers either in those industries which have been considered by tradition to be exclusively their occupations such as embroidery or corn grinding, or in those where the nature of the work is light and involves little skill such as bidi, rope, straw and leaf, "niwar" etc. Tailoring and frasi weaving seem to be the two exceptions to this rule. But tailoring is undertaken only by the womenfolk of the middle classes among whom it is considered ^{to be} exclusively a woman's art. Frasi weaving is thus the sole exception, as it involves a fairly high degree of skill, and being closely akin to handloom weaving cannot be considered to be traditionally a woman's work.

Conclusions regarding the nature of
the work done by female workers in
the cottage industries

A large number of cottage handicrafts such as handloom weaving, calico printing, artistic lacquer work, artistic pottery, shoemaking etc. are very highly skilled and the women employed in them as a rule confine themselves to the easier preliminary processes, which are either unskilled or semi-skilled, the skilled part of the work ^{being} done

invariably by the male artisans. In those cottage industries in which the main processes are semi-skilled, women take a more prominent part. The following table has been prepared to show the nature of the work done by men and women in the different cottage industries of the presidency.

Nature of Work	Industries	
	Women	Men
1. Skilled	Frasi, Embroidery, Tailoring, Lac Bangles	Handloom, Carpet, Dhurry, Pottery, Lacquer, Blanket, Laundering, Tailoring, Shoemaking, Cane, glass Bangle, lac Bangle, Tanning
2. Semi-skilled	Handloom, Carpet, Dhurry, Calico printing, Bandhani, Blanket, Bidi, Rope, Bamboo, Cane, Leaf & Straw, Niwar, Match, Grain parching.	Bidi, Rope, Bamboo, Leaf & Straw, Niwar, Match, Grain parching, vegetable oil
3. Unskilled	Pottery, Lacquer, Corn grinding, tanning, Vegetable oil.	Nil.
4. Semi-skilled and unskilled	Laundering, Shoemaking, glass Bangles.	Nil.

The above table shows that the great bulk of the work done by women in the cottage industries is either semi-skilled or unskilled. The nature of their employment as seen in this table can be summarised as follows:-

Unskilled work
8 industries

Semi-skilled work
17 industries

Skilled work
4 industries

The employment of the male workers in these industries is as follows:-

Unskilled work
N 11.

Semi-skilled work
8 industries

Skilled work
14 industries.

Conclusions regarding the earnings of female workers in the cottage industries.

The following table shows the minimum and maximum daily earnings of the female workers in the different cottage industries considered in this chapter. The corresponding earnings of the male workers are shown in a separate column.¹

.....

¹ A table showing the approximate daily earnings of female workers in the different centres of each industry is given in the appendix to this chapter.

Industry	Daily earnings of female workers			Daily earnings of male workers.		
	minimum	maximum		minimum	maximum	
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Handloom	0. 2. 0.	0. 4. 0.		0. 5. 0.	0. 8. 0.	
Frasi	0. 3. 0.	0. 5. 0.		Men not employed		
Dhurry	0. 1. 6.	0. 4. 0.		0. 5. 0.	1. 0. 0.	
Embroidery	0. 1. 6.	0. 5. 0.		men employed as wage earners.		
Bandhani	0. 1. 0.	0. 4. 0.		Men not employed.		
Calico printing	0. 2. 0.	0. 4. 0.		0. 8. 0.	1. 4. 0.	
Blanket	0. 2. 0.	0. 3. 0.		0. 4. 0.	0. 5. 0.	
Bidi	0. 3. 0.	0.10. 0.		0. 6. 0.	1. 4. 0.	
Tailoring	0. 2. 0.	0. 8. 0.		0. 8. 0.	1. 6. 0.	
Shoe embroidery	0. 3. 0.	0. 5. 0.		Men not employed.		
Rope	0. 1. 6.	0. 6. 0.		0. 2. 6.	0. 7. 0.	
Bamboo	0. 1. 6.	0. 5. 0.		0. 2. 6.	0. 6. 0.	
Cane	0. 4. 0.	0. 6. 0.		0. 5. 0.	0.12. 0.	
Leaf & Straw	0. 2. 0.	0. 5. 0.		0. 4. 0.	0. 8. 0.	
Niwar	0. 5. 0.	0. 6. 0.		0. 5. 0.	0. 8. 0.	
Match box	0. 6. 0.	0. 8. 0.		0.10. 0.	0.11. 0.	
Corn grinding	0. 1. 6.	0. 2. 0.		Men not employed		
Wooden comb	0. 3. 0.	0. 5. 0.		Men not employed		
Average for all industries	0. 2. 6.	0. 5. 3.		0. 5. 8.	0.11.11.	

As seen in the above table there are considerable differences between the earnings of workers in the different centres of any one industry. Thus, for example, in the embroidery industry, a woman normally earns $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 annas a day in the rural areas of Sind and 4 to 5 annas in Bombay, Surat and Ahmedabad. In Bandhai work, she can earn 1 to 2 annas a day in the villages of Sind and 3 to 4 annas a day in the towns of Gujrat. In the tailoring industry her daily earnings are 2 to 4 annas in the smaller towns and 6 to 8 annas in the cities. In the rope industry her daily earnings vary from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 annas in the villages of Sind, to 5 to 6 annas in the towns of the Deccan.

The explanation for these differences lies in the varying conditions of demand and supply in the different centres. It should be noted that almost every cottage industry depends mainly on a local demand which may vary considerably from centre to centre, according to differences in the local tastes, habits and the purchasing power of the people, the extent of local competition ^{from} ~~the~~ substitutes and the size of the local markets. On the supply side the factor which is mainly responsible for these differences is the complete absence of the flow of labour from one centre to another. That there is a high degree of inelasticity in the supply of labour in India is a well known fact. Here it suffices to note that this inelasticity is much greater in the cottage industries than it is in the organised industries. The migration of labour not only from one cottage industry to

209
 another, but also from any one centre of an industry to another is almost nil. The absence of a flow of labour as between different cottage industries can be explained by the fact that the nature of the skill involved in these industries is different. But the main reason for the lack of migration of cottage labour from one centre to another of the same industry is the deep rooted conservatism of the workers coupled with their love of home, and ignorance regarding the possibilities of work elsewhere.¹

Conclusions regarding the hours of
 female workers in the cottage industries.

Women in the cottage industries are generally part time workers as they lend a helping hand in the work whenever they are free from their domestic duties. Therefore their hours are considerably shorter than those of ^{the} men. [^] In the following table the number of hours worked per day by male and female workers in the different cottage industries of the presidency has been shown. It should be noted that the figures given below appertain only to a majority of the

.....

¹ Differences in the cost of living also have some influence on the differences in earnings.

workers, and not to all of them. The rare cases of certain individuals working exceptionally long or short hours have been neglected.

Industry	Number of hours normally worked by women per day.	Number of hours normally worked by men per day.
Handloom	4 to 7	8 to 10
Dhurry	4 to 6	8 to 10
Frasi	4 to 7	men not employed
Embroidery	6 to 7	men not employed
Calico printing	4 to 6	10 to 11
Bandhni	6 to 7	men not employed
Pottery	4 to 5	8 to 9
Lacquer	8 to 4	8 to 9
Woollen blanket	6 to 7	8 to 9
Bidi	6 to 9	10 to 13
Laundering	6 to 6	9 to 10
Tailoring	4 to 7	11 to 13
Shoe embroidery	6 to 7	men not employed
Rope	7 to 9	9 to 11
Bamboo (Gujrat)	3 to 4	4 to 5
Bamboo (Deccan)	5 to 6	8 to 9
Matchbox making	6 to 8	10 to 11
Lac Bangles	6 to 7	9 to 10
Corn grinding	3. to 4	men not employed
Wooden combs	5 to 7	men not employed
Tanning	4 to 5	9 to 10

It will be seen from this table that the hours of women are longer in those industries where they are employed not in a subsidiary capacity to their male relatives but as independent producers working either separately from men or on an equal footing with them. The most important of these industries are embroidery, bandhani, niwar, leaf and straw, bamboo, bidi, matchbox making, tailoring etc. In some of them, as for example, in bandhani and embroidery, men are not employed and therefore women have to undertake all the processes. In bidi making and tailoring, men and women work quite separately. In the rest of these industries, the longer hours of women are due to the fact that they make a substantial contribution to the main processes which are light and semi-skilled.

As regards the difference between the hours of men and women, it may be noted that in a majority of the cottage industries, the working time of women varies from about one-half to three-fourths of the working time of men.

The cottage workers have no regular days of rest. They are virtually their own masters and can take a holiday at will. However, in the southern parts of the presidency, it is customary for them to work half time on the weekly market day. quite a large number of women take the whole market day off as they have not only to do the weekly shopping but also to take their own products for sale in the market. In other parts of the presidency, occasional half day holidays are not uncommon.

212

As regards intervals, the cottage workers distribute their hours over the day at their own convenience. Generally, a break of about a couple of hours is taken by the men at midday. The women usually start work much later than men in the morning, have a short break at midday, and then finish in the afternoon.

A P P E N D I X -----

Table showing the normal daily earnings of
male and female cottage workers in the different
centres of each industry.

Industry	Centre	Normal daily earnings of women.	Normal daily earnings of men.
Handloom	Sind	2 to 3 annas	5 to 7 annas
"	Towns of Gujrat	3 to 4 "	6 to 8 "
"	Villages of Gujrat	2 to 3 "	5 to 6 "
"	Deccan	2 16 3 "	5 16 7 "
Frasi	Sind	3 to 5 "	men not employed.
Dhurry	Villages of the Deccan	1½ to 2 "	5 to 7 annas
"	Bombay city	3 to 4 "	12 annas to Re 1.0.0
Embroidery	Bombay, Surat & Ahmedabad town	4 to 5 ") Men not employed as cottage workers.
"	Shikapur	3 to 4 "	
"	Chachro, Diplo & Nagar Parker talukas	1½ to 2½ "	
"			
Bandhni	Villages of Sind	1 to 2 ") Men not employed.
"	Ahmedabad & Surat	3 to 4 "	
Calico printing	All centres	2 to 4 "	8 annas to Rs 1.4.0.

Industry	Centre	Normal daily earnings of women.	Normal daily earnings of men.
Blanket	All centres	2 to 3 annas	4 to 5 annas
Bidi	" "	3 to 10 "	6 annas to Rs 1.4.0
Tailoring	Cities	6 to 8 "	12 annas to Rs 1.6.0
"	Towns	2 to 4 "	8 to 14 annas
Shoe embroidery	Sind	3 to 5 "	Men not employed.
Rope	Villages of Sind	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 "	$2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ annas
"	Towns of Gujrat	3 to 4 "	4 to 5 "
"	Villages of Gujrat	2 to 3 "	3 to 4 "
"	Towns of the Deccan	5 to 6 "	6 to 7 "
"	Villages of the Deccan	2 to 3 "	3 to 4 "
Bamboo	Deccan	3 to 5 "	4 to 6 "
"	Gujrat	$1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 "	$2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 "
Cane	Bombay city	4 to 6 "	8 to 12 "
Leaf & Straw	Villages of Sind	2 to 4 "	Men not employed
" " "	Towns of Gujrat	3 to 4 "	6 to 8 annas
" " "	Villages of Gujrat	2 to 3 "	5 to 7 "
" " "	Towns of the Deccan	4 to 5 "	6 to 8 "

Industry	Centre	Normal daily earnings of women.	Normal daily earnings of men
Leaf & Straw	Villages of the Deccan	2 to 3 annas	4 to 6 annas
Niwar	Gujrat	5 to 6 "	5 to 6 "
"	Deccan	5 to 6 "	6 to 8 "
Matchbox making	Bombay suburbs	6 to 8 "	10 to 11 "
Corn grinding		1½ to 2 "	Men not employed
Wooden Comb	Surat town	2 to 5 "	" " "

CHAPTER V

SOME PROBLEMS REGARDING THE SPHERE OF WORK
AND EARNINGS OF WOMEN.

The problems of the limitations on the nature and sphere of women's work.

From the foregoing analysis of the role of women in industry, the following conclusions regarding the nature of work done by them may be drawn.

1. That the employment of women on machinery whether hand or power driven is very limited.
xxxx by xxxxx.
2. That highly skilled hand or machine work is very seldom ^{done} by women.
3. That women are mainly engaged
 - a) in hand processes which necessitate neither great skill nor heavy labour
 - b) in coolie work, usually of a lighter nature than that which is done by men.

Explanation of these conclusions are given below.

Regarding the limited employment of women on machinery, it may be noted firstly, that the use of elaborate mechanical labour-saving devices, being as yet not very extensive in India, a considerably large amount of machine work involves such heavy labour that it cannot be undertaken by women. Secondly, even where the physical labour involved is not ~~very~~ great, very steady and consistent work on the part of operative is necessary and it is the general experience of the

Indian employers that for long and steady manual work, however light, the physical stamina of an Indian male worker is much greater than that of an Indian female worker.¹

217
Thirdly, a woman is as a rule far more irregular and unsteady in her ^{employment} ~~work~~ than a man for reasons already noted; ~~xxx xxx~~ and this ~~xxxxxxx~~ makes an employer reluctant to put her in charge of important manufacturing processes. Fourthly, the general social segregation of the sexes in India, seriously limits the employment of women on those machines processes in which men are engaged. Fifthly, it is held by many factory managers that the dress of an Indian woman makes it highly dangerous for her to be employed on big power-driven machinery as the loose end of a "Sari" may be caught by any machine in motion. Lastly, there is at present no scarcity of male labour in any part of the presidency. All these factors together, seriously limit the field of women's employment on machinery.

The second conclusion, viz, that skilled or hand machine work is seldom done by women can be understood only in view of the social and economic position of the Indian woman. She is never considered to be the breadwinner of the family. Her place is in the home. It is the man who is responsible for feeding her and the children. Her complete economic dependence on her male relatives both before and after marriage is considered to be quite natural. Conceptions such as these

.....
1.

Opinion to this effect was expressed to the writer by many employers.

are breaking down in Western European countries but they are as yet remain~~xxx~~ unquestioned in India. The significant point is that they tend to reduce the Indian women to a position of very minor economic importance in production. Thus as a woman is supposed never to have an independent industrial career, it is extremely rare for girls to receive any industrial training whatsoever whether at home or outside. Even if the training of the female child be attempted, an early marriage would curtail it before any proficiency could be attained. In the cottage industries, for example, at the age at which the male child starts learning the family industry seriously, the female child is usually married and during her married life she has neither the will nor the time to learn a skilled trade. As a consequence most of the women drawn into industry are unskilled manual labourers who are generally capable of doing nothing better than ordinary coolie work.

The third conclusion which follows from the first two needs no special explanation. As women are not very commonly employed in machinery or in skilled handicrafts, they are mainly engaged either in coolie work pure and simple or in such manufacturing hand-processes as involve only light and easy labour.

The scope of women's industrial employment in the future will depend on the relative conditions of the supply of and demand for male and female labour. A greater use of the mechanical labour-saving devices in the power driven factories and a consequent reduction in the amount of physical labour involved in the manufacturing processes might react

219
favourably on the demand for female labour in these concerns. In the handicrafts, the introduction of improved hand-machinery might in some cases enable women to take a more prominent part in production. Thus, for example, women are very rarely employed on pit loom weaving because it is a fairly strenuous occupation, but where fly shuttle handlooms are introduced the work is rendered so light that it can be easily done by them. The development of new industries particularly suited to female labour in the sense that they involve only light and semi skilled or unskilled hand work or such machine work as does not require a high degree of skill would naturally increase the demand for female labour. An expansion of the existing industries of this nature would have a similar effect, A factor which would have an important influence on the demand for female labour is the industrial training of the women.

One of the most important reasons for the limited field of women's employment is that they are not trained for any skilled work. No doubt there are great difficulties in the way of evolving an adequate system of industrial instruction for them. But if such a system does come into existence it would extend considerably their scope of employment.

The supply of female labour would be influenced to a large extent by more widespread female education, the removal of "purdah" and the development of the ideas of social equality between men and women. A greater social freedom for women would naturally increase the flow of female labour into industry. The possible future mechanisation of agriculture may cause the total demand for labour in agriculture

to fall and thus increase the number of women who would be competing for industrial jobs.

It is, however, very likely that the present position with regard to the supply of and demand for female labour would remain unchanged for a long time to come. There are no immediate prospects of any large scale development of such industries as are particularly suited to female labour. The industrial training of working-class women presents a very big problem and even a beginning has not been made in this direction. The development of greater social freedom for women will naturally be a very slow process since tradition dies hard in India. The mechanisation of Indian agriculture presents great difficulties and will probably take a long time to be accomplished on a large scale.

Thus so far as the influences of supply and demand from the side of female labour are concerned very little extension in the scope of women's employment can be expected in the near future. But the important consideration in this respect is the relation between the supply of and demand for male and female labour. It is difficult to forecast how this relation will develop in the future, but it is very likely that for at least some time to come it will not be favourable to an extension in women's field of activity, since there are at present no indications of the demand of male labour ever becoming greater than its supply.

Comparative earnings of female workers in the regulated, unregulated and cottage industries.

The table given below shows the maximum and minimum average daily earnings of women in the regulated, unregulated, and cottage industries respectively.

Industries	Minimum average daily earnings of women			Maximum average daily earnings of women.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Regulated	0.	5.	2.	0.	10.	7.
Unregulated	0.	3.	9.	0.	8.	4.
Cottage	0.	2.	6.	0.	5.	3.

The table shows that:-

1. The average daily earnings of women are highest in the regulated industries and lowest in the cottage industries.
2. In the unregulated industries women's average daily wages, both minimum and maximum, come to about three-fourths of the average daily wages of women in the regulated industries.
3. The average daily earnings of women in the cottage industries are about half of the average daily earnings of women in the organised industries, including the regulated and unregulated.

The following facts seem to be responsible for the difference between the earnings of women in the regulated and

and the unregulated industries. In the first place the former are more commonly situated in the cities and bigger towns where the general wages are higher, due partly to greater scarcity of labour and partly to higher cost of living. Secondly, while in all the unregulated industries women are employed on *hand* work, in some of the regulated industries they are engaged in machine work which is invariably better paid since it involves greater output and demands a more steady and consistent effort. Thirdly, in the unregulated industries the number of piece-rate women is much larger than in the regulated industries. As a rule the earnings of piece rate women are lower than those of time rate women since the former usually work for slightly shorter hours. Fourthly, the complete absence of trade unionism in the unregulated industries has an important bearing on this problem. It is a well known fact that wage rates in several bigger organised industries have been favourably influenced by trade union activity on the part of the workers. Although the number of organised female workers is very small the question of their wage rates is usually linked up with that of male workers in strikes and wage negotiations.

With regard to the difference between the earnings of women in the organised and the cottage industries it may be observed that since a large number of the cottage industries are in a state of decline, the general level of earnings of all cottage workers both male and female is lower than that of the *karkhanas* or factory employees. Moreover, women in many cottage industries are not employed on the main manufacturing

processes but on subsidiary unskilled work, and in these cases the value of their contribution is very small. Then again, women are casual part time workers in the cottage industries while they are full time wage earners in the organised industries.

These differences lead us to consider the extent to which they influence the distribution of female labour between the organised and the cottage industries. The flow of labour from the organised to the cottage industries is nil, ^{while} the movement of labour in the opposite direction, i.e. from the cottage to the organised industries is as yet very slow. That there is no economic incentive for the factory or karkhanas workers to resort to cottage work is obvious. But the slowness in the flow of labour from the cottage to the organised industries, in spite of the higher rates of earnings in the latter can be explained on the following grounds. The weight of tradition is on the side of keeping the cottage worker in his own family industry. Moreover ^e a cottage worker is as a rule completely ignorant [^] regarding the industrial openings in the towns where the organised industries are situated. His migration to the towns is virtually a leap in the dark. In his village home he lives in a social atmosphere which is neither hostile nor unfamiliar and in which thanks to ^{his} low standards of life and the low cost of living he can manage to subsist, however poorly. As a member of the town proletariat, he is exposed to the vagaries of unemployment with all their attendant hardships, that being in an unsympathetic and strange social

224
 milieu. There are some other factors which impede the flow of female labour in particular from the cottage to the organised industries. Untrained and unskilled as women usually are they have no better prospects of employment in the towns than as poorly paid coolie workers. Moreover the demand for their labour in factories is generally not large and hence the uncertainty of employment is much greater in their case than in that of ~~xxx~~ men. Another factor is the absence of social freedom for women which makes it impossible for them to migrate to the towns independently of their male relatives. Even when the male cottage workers migrate temporarily ^{to} the towns they often leave their wives behind them in order to look after the family homes. Then again, women are as a rule more deeply attached to their village homes than are men.

These considerations lead us to the conclusion that female workers in the cottage and the organised industries form two distinct groups which are almost entirely non competing. This is true of the male workers as well but to a smaller extent. Thus the predominant feature of the Indian labour market to-day is its division into two sections, one consisting of those workers who are traditionally tied down to their cottage industries and are therefore extremely immobile ; the other consisting of those who constitute a large mass of floating labour power, obeying, however imperfectly, the laws of supply and demand . It may be noted that the slowness in the flow of labour from the cottage to the organised industries is one of the manifestations of the general rigidity in the

in the economic life of the country.

Comparitive earnings of male and female workers.

225
The following table shows the average daily minimum and maximum earnings of male and female workers in the regulated, unregulated and cottage industries respectively. With regard to the average daily earnings of the male factory and karkhana workers, given below, it should be noted that they relate only to those men who are either employed on the same work as women or on the processes which demand the same skill as those performed by the latter. As a rule, widely different categories of male workers are employed in a factory or a karkhana ranging from the highly paid mechanics to the poorly paid coolies. The female workers, on the other hand, form a fairly homogeneous labour force, as in most of the industries they are employed either in semi-skilled or in unskilled work. Now, it is obvious that if the average earnings of all men, including highly skilled and unskilled are taken together and compared with those of women, we would not get a fair comparison since one side of the equation would represent ~~xxxxxx xxxxxxxx~~ ^{widely different from} grades of workers, ~~xxxx~~ those represented on the other side. Now, it is generally a well known fact that skilled work is better paid than unskilled work and because men are employed on the former much more commonly than women, their wages are on the whole, higher. What we want to note here are the factors which cause the wages of men and women to differ when they are engaged in the same type of work. A comparison of this

nature has been made in the table given below. The figures for men in the cottage industries represent the earnings of all male cottage workers.

Industries.	Average minimum daily earnings.			Average maximum daily earnings.		
	Women		Men	Women		Men
	Rs.	a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs.	a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Regulated	0.	5. 2.	0. 7. 11.	0. 10. 7.	0.	15. 4.
Unregulated	0.	3. 9.	0. 7. 3.	0. 8. 4.	9.	14. 3.
Cottage	0.	2. 6.	0. 5. 8.	0. 5. 3.	0.	11. 11.

The table shows that:-

1. The average daily earnings of women are lower than the average daily earnings of men in all the three categories of industries.
2. The average daily earnings of women in relation to those of men are:-
 - a. Slightly less than three-fourths in the regulated industries.
 - b. Slightly more than half in the ^{un}regulated industries.
 - c. Slightly less than half in the cottage industries.

These differences demand explanation. To consider the organised industries, both regulated and unregulated, it may be noted that the limited field of women's employment as compared with that of men causes the overcrowding of female labour in a few industries which depresses seriously the gen-

eral level of its wage rates. Moreover, the mobility of female labour is much smaller than that of male labour. This causes the wages of women to be fairly high in a few bigger towns and cities and very low in the rest of the presidency. Secondly, for coolie labour the wage rates of men are higher because they are always engaged in heavier work than women. Thirdly, although the rates of payment for the men and women employed on the same piece rate processes, as in the textile mills, match factories, bidi karkhanas etc. are equal, the average earnings of the men are higher since they work more steadily and for longer hours per day than the women. Fourthly, the absence of trade unionism from a very large number of these industries has a particularly important bearing on the lower level of women's wages. It is a recognised fact that male labour is always more assertive in demanding the redress of its grievances than female labour. In cases of gross underpayment men are, as a rule, able to get their wages raised more easily than women.

With regard to the difference between the earnings of male and female cottage workers, it may be observed that in a large number of cottage industries, women are mere assistants or helpers to their male relatives. Their contribution to the main skilled processes is almost insignificant and therefore the economic value of their share of work is much smaller, than that of the men. Secondly, where the men and women are engaged in the same processes, as in the bidi,

bamboo, rope, niwar, straw and leaf industries, the hours of the men per day are usually longer than those of the women. This causes the average output of the women to be smaller and hence the lower average earnings.

Customary determination of wages.

228

We should examine here a point of view often put forward in discussions on wages in India that whilst in the bigger towns and cities wages are determined by the forces of supply and demand, in the industrially less developed parts of the country, they are determined essentially by custom. This theory of customary determination of wages owes its origin to the commonly observed fact that wages in the industrially backward areas of India remain more or less stationary for long periods of time ~~xx x xxxxxx~~. The theory maintains that in these areas the factors of production are ^{highly} so, immobile that a marginal determination of their values does not hold good. Certain important social and economic causes give such a rigidity to the economic life of these parts of the country that a normal operation of the forces of supply and demand is extremely difficult. Under these conditions, it is maintained, custom and not marginal productivity becomes the main determinant of the values of the factors of production.

The assumption on which this theory is based, viz: a high degree of immobility in the factors of production is correct. But its conclusion is wrong because it supposes that the so-called customary wage rates are determined independently of the forces of supply and demand. Actually, a custom is always a mere outward expression of certain important sociological phenomena. If the latter ceases to exist, the former also disappears. In this case, behind the so-called customary wage rates stand the fundamental conditions of the labour market. These wage rates could not possibly come into existence except as expressions of the prevailing conditions of the supply and demand of labour. They have a tendency to remain stationary for a considerable length of time, essentially because the supply/^{of} and demand for labour in the industrially less developed areas does not fluctuate over short periods. The factors responsible for the stagnant supply of labour over short periods are the caste divisions of functions and a consequent occupational stratification of society, the ignorance of the worker regarding ~~xxx~~ industrial employment in other places, his deep-rooted attachment to his village home, his contentment with a low standard of life etc. The demand for labour is rendered stationary over short periods by the industrial backwardness of the country and the slow pace at which industrialisation is proceeding outside a few towns and cities, the stagnant condition of rural markets, the slackness of productive enterprise, the conservatism in the tastes and habits of the people, the smallness of the scale

930
of production etc. The important point to be realised is that in the industrially backward areas of India, the values of the factors of production are determined according to the ordinary pricing process, but in view of a considerable rigidity in the supply of and demand for these factors, the economic equilibrium once attained is much longer lived than is the case in the industrially more developed parts of the country. A more concrete proof of the influence of supply and demand over wages in the rural areas can be found in the seasonal fluctuations in wage rates. In the cotton growing tracts of the Bombay presidency, for example, it is noticed that during the cotton picking season when a large part of the local coolie labour is drawn to agricultural work, the wages of unskilled workers in the building trade increase by one to two annas per day. In the busiest part of the cotton ginning season, the wages of unskilled workers in other seasonal factories of the neighbourhood, as for example, oil mills, are similarly raised.

It is thus obvious that the conception of a customary determination of wages, independently of the forces of supply and demand is wrong.

CHAPTER VI

CHILD LABOUR IN INDUSTRY

Section I

(REGULATED INDUSTRIES)

231

The employment of child labour in ^{the} regulated industries of the Bombay presidency is very small.¹ The number of children in these industries has declined rapidly since the passing of the Factory Act of 1922. This will be seen from the following figures:

Year	Number of children employed in the regulated industries.
1918	16,534
1920	15,433
1923	8,460
1930	4,389
1933	2,112

The decrease in child labour has been due partly to the trade depression which has caused such an abundance

.....

¹ A child is defined by the Factory Act of 1922 as a person between 12 and 15 years of age. Boys and girls under 12 years of age cannot be legally employed in regulated factories. The Factory Act of 1934 has not made any change in the age limits.

of cheap male and female labour that the employers do not feel the need of engaging children and partly to the strict enforcement of the provisions of the 1922 Factory Act, relating to child labour, which has made it very difficult for unscrupulous employers to obtain any undue advantage from the employment of children.¹

232
The largest number of child workers is found in the cotton mills and the seasonal factories of which cotton spinning concerns are the most important. In 1933, 1,183 children or 56 per cent of the total were employed in the former while 354 or 26 per cent were employed in the latter. Thus the cotton mills and the seasonal factories together engaged 82 per cent of the total number of children in these ^{regulated} industries. Other concerns which employ child labour but on a much smaller scale are printing presses, leather tanneries, brassware factories, cigarette factories, match factories and some brick and tile and manure factories.

Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills.

As stated above, in 1933, 1,183 children were working in the cotton textile industry, The cotton mills of Ahmedabad employ^{ing} by far

.....
¹ The greater efficiency in inspection in this respect has been due to improved certification. In 1923 a full time certifying surgeon was appointed in Ahmedabad and one of the main reasons for the rapid decline in the number of children employed was the extreme care taken by the surgeon (see Annual Factory Report, Bombay 1924 - p.9) (Continued)

the largest number of children. Child labour is employed, though to a much smaller extent, in most of the other centres, excepting Bombay from where it has been virtually eliminated.¹

Children in these mills are usually related to the male operatives. In every important centre a number of families have made employment in cotton mills their hereditary occupation and as a rule the boys of these families try to enter the mills at as early an age as possible.

Almost all the children are engaged as doffers in the ring spinning or in the slubbing, inter and ring frame departments. The boys usually pass on to more skilled work as they grow older and eventually become spinners or weavers.

Time rate wages are paid to all doffers, both adult and child; the latter are usually paid at half the rates for the former. Their daily wages fluctuate between 5 and 6 annas

.....
(cont.)

Approximate standards regarding the height, weight, etc. of children between 12 and 15 years of age were worked out, and the system of recording identification marks and thumb impressions was improved. All this facilitated the detection of illegal practices. To prohibit the double employment of children, Section 44A was added to the Factory Act in 1926.

¹ The number of female children in the regulated industries is much smaller than that of male children. Thus in 1933, of the 2,112 children employed, 409 were girls and 1,703 were boys. In the same year the cotton mills alone employed 1,063 male children and 120 female children. With the sole exception of the cotton ginning concerns, the number of female children in the ~~other~~ regulated factories is almost negligible.

in Ahmedabad, between 3 annas, 6 pies and 4 annas in Sholapur and between 5 annas and 5 annas, 6 pies in the Southern Mahratta country.

234
The hours of the children in most of the mills have been 6 a day and 36 a week until the new Factory Act came into force in 1934. Only a few mills ^{have} observed a 6 hour day and a 36 hour week.¹

Printing Presses.

Boys between 12 and 16 years of age are employed though in small numbers in some of the printing presses, and ~~xxxx~~ are mainly engaged in such light and unskilled work as sorting out paper, transporting it in small quantities, wrapping and tying it into bundles or packets, etc. They are usually given a systematic training by the employers in the art of printing. At the age of 14 or 15 years they start learning compositing and in one or two years' time can do the easier compositing quite efficiently. Most of them eventually become skilled printers.

They are usually paid a monthly time rate wage which varies from Rs 5 to Rs 10 in Bombay and from Rs 4 to Rs 8

.....

¹ The Factory Act of 1934 has reduced the maximum number of hours that a child can legally work per day from 6 to 5. Since one holiday in the week is compulsory the weekly limit has thus been reduced from 36 to 30 hours.

in the Mofussil. In some of the presses they have worked for 5 hours a day and 30 hours a week, and in others for 6 hours a day and 36 hours a week.¹

Leather Tanneries.

Most of the leather tanneries employ a few male children who are mainly engaged in turning raw hides inside the tanks. ~~It~~ which involves neither manual skill nor heavy physical labour. The child has to stand in a tank filled with the solution, take out a raw hide, turn it over and then return it to the tank. This has to be done continuously in order to soak the hides well in the solution. As the children have to stand in dirty and foul smelling water for long hours on end, the work is highly objectionable from the point of view of their health, ^{since} most of the boys and young lads employed in leather tanneries have leather tanning as their hereditary occupation, ~~XXXXXX~~, ~~XXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXX~~ they pass on to more skilled work as they grow older, and at the age of 18 or 19 years are, ~~xx x xx~~, capable of undertaking all the skilled processes.

The time rate wage of these children vary from 4 to 6 annas a day in Bombay and from 2 to 4 annas a day in Gujrat and the Deccan. Their hours have been 6 a day and 36 a week in all the concerns.

.....
¹ The hours of children for all the regulated industries considered in this chapter relate to the period immediately preceding the coming into force of the new Factory Act in 1935

Brassware Factories.

236 A few male children are employed in some of the brassware factories as assistants to the skilled workmen. They are mainly engaged in attending to the minor odds and ends connected with the work, such as holding metal plates in front of the workmen, handing over the instruments required by the latter, transporting light materials etc. They usually enter the factories at the age of 12 or 13 and gradually pass on to more skilled work as they advance in years. They eventually become skilled workers in the industry.

The starting wage of these children varies from Rs 2 to Rs 5 a month in different factories. Periodical increments are given as the boys grow older and at the age of 14 or 15 years, they can earn as much as Rs 10 a month.

The hours of most of these children have been 6 a day and 36 a week.

Cigarette Factories.

Almost every cigarette factory employs a few male children between 12 and 15 years of age. There are two processes in which these children are engaged, i.e. wrapping cigarettes in silver paper and filling cigarettes packets. The work is done entirely by hand but involves no skill whatever; only a rapid movement of the fingers is necessary and this a child easily acquires after a few months' practice. The nature of the work is not such as to give the

children any training for a skilled occupation, but since young lads are quite commonly employed in these concerns, the children can be sure of a permanent employment as they grow older.

Some of the concerns pay a piece rate wage to the children, whilst others pay a time rate wage. In the cigarette factories of Bombay city and island, the monthly wages of both piece and time rate children vary from Rs 6 to Rs 10, the age and the working capacity of a child determining his individual wage. In one of the two big cigarette factories of Sukkur town the piece rate wages of children vary from 3 to 5 annas a day, ^{while} in the other factory monthly time rate wages are paid and they vary from Rs 4 to Rs 8.

The hours of children in almost all of these concerns have been 6 a day and 36 a week.

Match Factories.

In some of the match factories a few male and female children are found engaged in box making and box filling by hand, ^{though} wherever machinery is used for these two processes, no children are employed. Although the work does not train the children for any independent skilled occupation, it affords them permanent employment, since persons

of all ages are engaged in box making and box filling. Moreover, the children thus occupied come into fairly close contact with the other processes of the match industry and the boys can therefore easily take up machine work as they grow older.

Payment to all box makers and fillers is on the piece rate system, and the wages of children in the match factories of Bombay town and island vary from 3 to 5 annas a day. Young lads between 15 and 18 years of age earn anything from 6 to 10 annas a day.

The hours of these children have been 6 a day and 36 a week in all the factories.

Brick and Tile Factories.

Some of the regulated brick and tile factories employ a few male children who are usually engaged in light coolie labour and are found working alongside the female employees of these concerns. They generally pass on to heavier work as they grow older, but do not receive any training for a skilled occupation because very little skilled work is done in these factories.

The wages of these children usually vary from 2 to 4 annas a day.

Their hours have been in almost all of the factories 6 a day and 36 a week.

Bone and Manure Factories.

239

Only one bone and manure factory in the presidency employs a few male children who are engaged in the same work as women, i.e. grading the manure and feeding the crushing machines with bones, though the weights carried by the children are slightly lighter than those carried by the women. The work involves coolie labour, pure and simple, and as such, does not give any industrial training to the children. The boys usually pass on to heavier work in the same factory as they grow older, but if their services are no longer required, they are left to compete in the labour market as ordinary coolies.

The wages of the boys under 15 years of age in this factory vary from 5 to 6 annas a day. Their hours have been 6 a day and 36 a week.

Cotton Ginning Factories.

As already stated, next to cotton spinning and weaving mills, the largest number of children work in the cotton ginning factories. It is an interesting fact to note that child labour in these concerns is found almost exclusively in Sind. Thus in 1933, of a total of 554 children employed in the seasonal factories of the presidency, 536 were found in Sind alone. The explanation of this fact lies in the scarcity of female labour in Sind. It should be noted that in a few industries of which cotton ginning is the most important, there is a latent competition between child and female labour. Wherever the latter is scarce, and therefore, more expensive, the former is preferred.

The children are employed on the same work as women, i.e. feeding the gins with cotton, but they are paid at a lower rate than the latter. Their wages normally vary from 1 anna and 6 pies to 3 annas.

The work done by them is entirely unskilled in nature, and has therefore no importance from the point of view of their industrial training. The children, as they grow older can continue working, but always as coolies, since no skilled labour is required in these concerns.

The hours of children in most of the ginning factories have been 6 a day and 36 a week.

ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT OF UNDERAGE CHILDREN.

The illegal employment of underage children is not found in any of the regulated perennial factories of the presidency. This is attributable partly to the increased efficiency in certification brought about after the passing of the 1922 Factory Act, and partly by better factory inspection. It is only in some of the ^{seasonal} cotton ginning concerns of Sind that underage children are employed. Most of the cotton ginning factories situated in the rural areas of Sind do not conform to the Factory laws with regard to the age of children, and even in a big town like Hyderabad, many young boys and girls are illegally employed in the ^{seasonal} concerns. In this respect, the contrast between the ginning and the perennial factories of Sind is very striking. The sight of

241

boys and girls between 7 and 12 years of age feeding the gins for hours on end reminds one of the 19th century conditions. It seems incredible that these concerns are supposed to be working under modern restrictive factory legislation. The temptation to employ young children on cotton ginning is considerable in view of the fact that feeding the gins is a process which involves neither skill nor heavy physical labour. The child has merely to pick up handfuls of cotton and drop them on the revolving gins. But as noted elsewhere, children are engaged in these concerns, only in those parts of the presidency where female labour is not cheap and plentiful. This is true of Sind for reasons already observed. What leads to the employment of underage children is not merely a considerable demand for child labour, but a very inadequate system of factory inspection. Both of these conditions are found in Sind. The only remedy against this abuse seems to be a stricter enforcement of the factory laws and more frequent factory inspection.¹

.....

¹ There is at present no separate full-time factory inspector for Sind. The inspection is done by an inspector who goes to Sind from Ahmedabad, once or twice a year. Usually, the months in which he tours Sind are known to the employers, and once he returns to Ahmedabad, the unscrupulous employers feel quite safe. Inspection through ex officio inspectors has been notoriously unsatisfactory, as these officials have generally taken very little interest in the work.

PLEDGING OF CHILD LABOUR IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES

242

It is a well known fact that until some years ago the pledging of child labour was quite commonly found in the textile mills of Ahmedabad. The jobbers used to recruit children from the surrounding villages, and enter into an agreement with their parents to the effect that the children shall be entrusted to the jobbers for a specified period of time, and that in return, the parents shall receive from the latter a lump sum of money at the time of signing the agreement, and also smaller amounts periodically. The jobber was expected to secure employment for the children, receive their wages and pay for their boarding, lodging and other necessities of life. This system, apart from being morally objectionable, on the ground that it involved mortgaging of persons who were not free agents, led in many cases to severe physical hardships on the children who were not only overworked but also ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed and often subjected to corporal punishment. It is estimated that in the pre-war years, from about 50 to 70 per cent of the children employed in the cotton mills of Ahmedabad were pledged in this manner. The practice has been declining steadily during the last 15 or 20 years, and to-day, it is almost negligible in extent. This has been due partly to the decline in the number of children employed, and partly to ~~the~~ the growth of a permanent labour force in Ahmedabad town. The system came into existence at a time when the ^{demand} demand for child

243
labour was considerable and could not be adequately met by the local supply. To-day the number of child workers in the mills is very small, and more than enough child labour is available in the town itself. To prohibit this practice, the Government of India passed, in 1933, an Act, according to which "An Agreement written or oral, express or implied whereby the parents or guardian of a child in return for any payment or benefit received or to be received by him, undertakes to cause or allow the services of the child to be utilised in any employment." was declared to be illegal. In case of violation of this law, a fine extending to Rs 50 can be imposed on the parent or guardian, and a fine extending to Rs 200 on "Whoever makes with the parent or guardian of a child an agreement whereby such parent or guardian pledges the labour of the child" or on "Whoever knowing or having reason to believe that an agreement has been made to pledge the labour, permits such child to be employed in a premise or place under his control"¹.

DOUBLE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES

The double employment of half-timers which was fairly common in the textile mills of the presidency and particularly

.....
¹ Act No. II of 1933. see "A Collection of The Acts of the Indian Legislature for the year 1933"

in those of Ahmedabad until a few years ago has now disappeared entirely. This has been brought about partly by the decline in the number of children employed and partly by the enactment of stricter legislative measures against this practice, coupled with better inspection. The addition to the Factory Act of a section, in 1926, making parents or guardians liable to prosecution if the children were employed in two mills at one time had a very salutary effect. The system of certification was also improved considerably by the appointment of a full time surgeon in Ahmedabad in 1923. Thus by 1928 this evil was stamped out from the textile mills. It does not exist in any of the other regulated industries.

BLIND ALLEY EMPLOYMENT IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES.

Blind alley employment is found to a very limited extent in the regulated industries of the presidency, since as a rule the industries which engage children engage young lads as well. In most cases the children are for several years of continuous service become skilled workers. It is only in a few concerns where skilled labour is employed to a very small extent as, for example, in the bone and manure, cotton ginning and brick and tile factories, that children continue to be engaged in unskilled work even when they grow up into adult persons.

WAGES OF CHILDREN IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES

The following table shows the daily wages of children in the different regulated industries of the Bombay presidency.

Industry	Normal daily wages of children
Cotton textile	3 annas, 6 pies to 6 annas
Printing	2 annas, 6 pies to 6 annas
Leather tanning	2 annas to 6 annas
Brassware	1 anna, 6 pies to 6 annas
Cigarette	2 annas, 6 pies to 6 annas
Match	3 annas to 5 annas
Brick and Tile	2 annas to 4 annas
Bone and Manure	5 annas to 6 annas
Cotton ginning	1 anna, 6 pies to 3 annas

It will be seen from these figures that the highest daily wage of a child in these industries is 6 annas and the lowest 1 anna and 6 pies. The highest and the lowest average daily wages of children for all these industries are 5 annas, 4 pies and 2 annas, 7 pies respectively.

HOURS OF CHILDREN IN THE REGULATED INDUSTRIES

The following figures taken from the Annual Factory Report for the presidency of Bombay for 1933 shows the normal weekly hours of children in all the regulated factories, until 1

the New Factory Act came into force.¹

Number of factories in which the normal weekly hours of
children are

<u>Not above 30</u>	<u>Above 30</u>
<u>51</u>	<u>69</u>

It should be noted that the cotton mills have generally observed a 5 hour day and a 30 hour week for children. In most of the other factories, both perennial and seasonal children have usually worked to the full legal limit.

.....

¹ As already stated the new Factory Act which came into force in 1935 has reduced the daily hours of children from 6 to 5. No information is as yet available on the working of this Act.

SECTION II.

(UNREGULATED ORGANISED INDUSTRIES.)

The number of child workers in the unregulated industries of the Bombay presidency, though not very large, is much greater than it is in the regulated industries. On a very rough estimate, about seven to eight thousand children are employed in the former. These children are mainly distributed in the industries given below.

1. Handloom weaving.
2. Aggar butti.
3. Bidi.
4. Wool cleaning.
5. Building.
6. Tanning.
7. Brass and other metal ware.
8. Soap.
9. Rope.
10. Leather goods.
11. Calico printing.

The following is a brief account of the nature of the work done by children, their hours and wages in each of these industries considered separately.

Handloom Weaving.

Boys between 10 and 14 years of age are employed

249

in most of the handloom karkhanas of the presidency. Their number in any one concern is not large, varying from two or three to about seven or eight. This is due partly to the small scale of the karkhanas and partly to the fact that there are very few processes in handloom weaving which can be adequately performed by children. Moreover, since the children are mainly engaged in pirn¹ winding, which is also done by women, there is a certain amount of competition between female and child labour, ^{and} as a rule the former is preferred to the latter wherever it is cheap and plentiful. In addition to pirn winding, children are employed in certain handloom karkhanas of Sholapur in turning the hand-driven reeling machines.

Payment to all child and female workers in these concerns is on the piece rate system. In the karkhanas of Gujrat, the wages of the boys between 10 and 14 years of age varies from Rs.3 to Rs.5 a month. In Sind, the number of children thus employed is very small, because the organised handloom industry there has not developed to any appreciable extent. It is only in the silk weaving karkhanas of Rohri town that a few boys under 15 years of age are found working. Their monthly wages vary from Rs.5 to Rs.7.

The hours of children in these concerns fluctuate between eight and ten per day in all parts of the presidency.

Most of the boys in the handloom karkhanas develop into skilled weavers. They usually commence weaving at the

...../.....

1. A pirn is a small bobbin.

248
age of 16 or 17 years, and in two or three years' time are able to undertake all the skilled processes of the trade.

Aggar Butti.

249
A considerable number of boys and girls between 10 and 15 years of age are employed in the aggar butti karkhanas. Children below the age of 10 years, who are sometimes found working in these concerns, are not employed as wage earners, but come to the karkhanas to give whatever assistance they can to their female relatives. The children are engaged in the same processes as the women, i.e., cutting the sticks and mounting the solution on them. Payment to all aggar butti makers is on the piece rate system and boys and girls under 15 years of age can earn from two to three annas a day in Poona, and from one to two annas a day in the rest of the centres. Their hours normally vary from eight to ten a day.

The work does not train a child for any skilled occupation. In fact for the boys it is a 'blind alley' employment, since adult males are very rarely engaged in aggar butti making.

Bidi.

Boys between 12 and 15 years of age are found working in many bidi karkhanas of the presidency. Since bidi making involves a certain amount of manual dexterity, young children cannot make any important contribution to it, and up to the age of 13 or 14 years they are engaged partly in learning the trade and partly in assisting the adult bidi makers in such easier unskilled work as sorting out the tobacco, cutting the leaves,

etc. It is only when they have passed their fourteenth or fifteenth year that they start manufacturing bidis independently. All these children eventually become skilled bidi makers.

A nominal monthly payment is made to the boys under 14 years of age, since they are considered apprentices rather than wage earners. Their wages usually vary from Rs.2 to Rs.5 a month. Young lads between 15 and 18 years of age can normally make about four to five hundred bidis a day, and their daily wages may be considered to vary from three to eight annas in different parts of the presidency. The hours of children in this industry are seldom less than eight or more than ten a day.

Wool Cleaning.

Child labour is quite commonly employed in the wool cleaning karkhanas of Sind and boys and girls from the age of 11 or 12 years are engaged in the same processes as women, i.e., cleaning and sorting out wool by hand. The speed of output of a child is much lower than that of a woman, but since payment is on the piece rate system, the employers do not object to the children working as independent wage earners. The wages of children from 11 to 15 years of age normally fluctuates between 1 anna 6 pies and 3 annas a day. Their hours are nine or ten a day.

Wool cleaning is an unskilled work and, as such, affords no training to the children for any well paid industrial

occupation. It is a 'blind alley' occupation for the boys, since young lads above the age of 15 or 16 years are very seldom engaged ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~.

Building.

The building industry in the Bombay presidency employs very little child labour. Which is due to the fact that building is a heavy occupation, in which children below 14 or 15 years of age cannot be of any great use. No doubt there is always a certain amount of light and easy miscellaneous work in which they can be engaged, but for this there is competition between female and child labour, the latter being employed only where the former is scarce and therefore expensive. Thus children are very rarely found in this industry in the Deccan where the supply of cheap female labour is abundant. They are more commonly employed in Sind and in Gujrat, where female labour is comparatively scarce.

Most of the children in the building industry are drawn from the unskilled labouring classes. They usually pass on to heavier work as they grow older, but very few of them develop into building artisans. The male children who receive a regular training in the skilled sections of the trade are mostly those who are related to the skilled workers. The rest of the boys and girls either grow up into ordinary building coolies, or drift away to other better paid occupations.

The payment to children, as to all adult unskilled workers in this industry, is on the daily time rate system. The following

table shows the daily wages of the children below 16 years of age in the different parts of the presidency.

Centre.	Daily wages of children below 16 years of age in the building industry.
Bigger towns of Gujrat.	3 to 5 annas.
Smaller towns of Gujrat.	2 to 3 annas.
Bigger towns of Sind.	4 to 5 annas.
Smaller towns of Sind.	3 to 4 annas.
Bigger towns of the Deccan.	3 to 4 annas.
Smaller towns of the Deccan.	2 to 3 annas.

The hours of the children are the same as those of the adult persons, i.e. nine or ten a day.

Leather Tanning.

Every unregulated tannery of the presidency employs a few male children who are, as a rule, related to the skilled male tanners. As already observed, children in these concerns are engaged mainly in turning the raw hides inside the tanks. They start working at the age of 12 or 13 years, and gradually pick up all the skilled processes of the trade, but heavier work is, ~~however~~, not undertaken by them before the age of 16 or 17 years. Their daily wages vary from two to four annas in Gujrat, and from two to three annas in the Deccan. Their normal hours of work are seven or eight a day.

Metal Ware.

Male children between 10 and 15 years of age are found working in many brass and other metal ware workshops of the presidency. Most of them are related to the artisans who own these workshops, and are therefore apprentices rather than wage earners. But a fairly large number of the boys are employed on a time rate wage. All of them act as assistants to the skilled workmen and a majority of them develop into artisans. At the age of 19 or 20 years a boy who has received a systematic training can do fairly skilled work.

The wages of these children ^{employed} usually vary from Rs.2 to Rs.6 a month. Their hours are from eight to nine a day.

Soap.

Children under 14 or 15 years of age are not very commonly employed in the soap karkhanas of the presidency, as the work involved in soap making is much too heavy for them. It is only in some of the soap concerns in Gujrat that a few boys of 12 to 14 years of age are found doing whatever light miscellaneous work is available. but ^{Since} are mainly engaged in weighing the paste for making soap balls. [^] Young lads above the age of 15 years are much more commonly employed in these concerns, ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ the children are sure of a permanent employment as they grow older. Most of them eventually become skilled workmen in this industry.

The wages of the boys below 15 years of age vary from Rs.2 to Rs.5 a month. Their hours are from eight to ten a day.

253

Rope.

In almost every rope karkhana a few male children are found engaged in cleaning and polishing the twisted rope and assisting the adult workers in light and easy miscellaneous work. As young lads are quite commonly employed in these concerns, the children can normally be sure of permanent employment as they advance in years. But very little skilled labour is required in rope karkhanas, and therefore many of the boys drift away to other occupations.

Payment to children in these karkhanas is on the time rate system, ^{and} The boys under 16 years of age receive from three to five annas a day. Their hours normally vary from eight to nine a day.

Leather Goods.

There are several karkhanas in Bombay city which manufacture such articles as suit cases, handbags, etc. Each karkhana employs a number of artisans alongside whom a few children are found working, these children ^{being} ~~are~~ [^] ~~not~~ engaged ~~not~~ by the karkhanas but by the artisans. Since the latter are paid on the piece rate system the employers have no objection to their engaging a few children for assistance in the work. The children not only help the artisans but also learn the trade ~~and~~ after five or six years' training they can undertake most of the skilled processes.

Only a nominal monthly payment is made to these children at first, ^{but} [^] As they grow older and become more useful in

the work they are paid a regular monthly wage. Boys between 13 and 15 years of age receive from Rs.6 to Rs.9 a month. Their normal hours are nine or ten a day.

Calico Printing.

Boys between 12 and 15 years of age are found working in many calico printing karkhanas of the presidency, and most of them, being related to artisans in the industry, are apprentices. The number of boys employed as wage earners is very small, since calico printing is a highly skilled handicraft. The children's contribution of work is limited to the easier border printing and to assisting the adult workers in the preparation of the dyes, the drying and folding of the printed cloth, etc. Almost all of these children eventually become skilled printers.

The wages of the boys under 15 years of age vary from two to five annas a day in different centres of the industry. Their hours are eight or nine a day.

Age of the children employed in the unregulated industries.

Children below 10 years of age are very seldom employed in these industries. A few very young children who are found working in the wool cleaning and aggar butti karkhanas are not the employees of the concerns, but are brought there by the female workers to act as their assistants. The employers have no objection to the women getting whatever help that they can from their children, since payment is on the piece rate system. Boys and girls between

10 and 12 years of age are more commonly employed in the unregulated concerns. though the majority of the children are between 12 and 15 years of age.

256 The limited employment of very young children, in the absence of any legal restrictions to that effect, is due entirely to the nature of the work in these industries. In almost all cases the manufacturing processes are done by hand, and demand at least a certain amount of manual dexterity. ^{Hence} Very young children cannot ~~therefore~~ be usefully engaged in them.

'Blind Alley' Employment in the Unregulated Industries.

Blind alley' employment exists only for male children in the aggar butti and wool cleaning karkhanas. In all the other unregulated industries children have good prospects of continuing in employment as they advance in years. In many cases they develop into skilled workmen, as in the handloom, bidi, metal ware, calico printing, leather tanning and soap industries. In the building industry it is only a small percentage of children who eventually become artisans. It is only in the wool cleaning and aggar butti industries that children continue to be engaged in unskilled work even as adult persons.

Pledging of Child Labour in the Unregulated Industries.

The pledging of child labour in these industries is found only in certain handloom weaving centres of Gujrat. In Dholka (Ahmedabad district), for example, it is customary for handloom

weavers to entrust their children, 11 or 12 years of age, to other weavers. A written agreement is entered into by the father and the employer of the child to the effect that the services of the child shall be entirely at the disposal of the latter for a specified period, which is generally two years; that during this period the child shall receive an adequate training in the craft; and that the father shall receive from the employer a fixed lump sum payment for the services of his child. There is no doubt that this is meant to be a system of apprenticeship, but what makes it different from ordinary apprenticeship is the fact that payment is made not by but to the father or guardian of the child. The child is thus virtually sold to the employer for a period of time. In those cases where the transaction is between relatives this may not lead to any physical hardship for the child, but it is not uncommon for the employers to more than compensate themselves for the payment made by getting as much work from the child as possible, both industrial and domestic.¹

Wages of Children in the Unregulated Industries.

The table given below shows the normal daily wages of children in the unregulated industries of the presidency:

.....

1. No information is available as to how far the pledging of child labour in industry has been reduced by Act No. II of 1933.

257

Industry.	Normal daily wages of children.
Handloom.	1 anna, 6 pies to 4 annas.
Aggar butti.	1 to 3 annas.
Bidi.	1 to 3 annas.
Wool cleaning.	1 anna, 6 pies to 3 annas.
Building.	2 to 5 annas.
Leather Tanning.	2 to 4 annas.
Metal ware.	1 to 3 annas.
Soap.	1 to 3 annas.
Rope.	3 to 5 annas.
Leather goods.	2 to 5 annas.
Calico printing.	2 to 5 annas.

It will be seen from this table that 1 anna a day is the minimum wage of a child in these industries and 5 annas is the maximum. ^{and the highest} The lowest average daily wages of the children for all the above industries are 1 anna and 8 pies and ~~the high-~~ ^{respectively} ~~4 annas~~. It should be noted that the average wages of children are higher in the regulated than in the unregulated industries, because the former are more commonly situated in bigger towns and cities where the scarcity of labour, both adult and child, is greater than in the rural or semi-urban areas.

Hours of children in the Unregulated Industries.

The following table shows the hours of children in the different unregulated

Industries of the presidency:

Industry.	Normal daily hours of children.
Handloom weaving.	8 to 10.
Aggar butti.	8 to 10.
Bidi.	8 to 10.
Wool cleaning.	9 to 10.
Building,	9 to 10.
Metal ware.	8 to 9.
Soap.	8 to 10.
Rope.	8 to 9.
Leather goods.	9 to 10.
Calico printing.	8 to 9.

It will be seen from this table that the hours of children are much longer in the unregulated than in the regulated industries. In fact in the former children and adult persons work for almost the same length of time. This is the most important point of difference between the working conditions of children in the regulated and the unregulated industries.

SECTION III.

(COTTAGE INDUSTRIES.)

As already stated, a cottage industry is a family industry, and therefore all members of the family, excepting the very young children, make at least some contribution to the work. Moreover, since in most cases it is a hereditary occupation, the male children start learning the trade at quite an early age. Generally the training of a child begins at the age of 10 or 11 years, its duration varying in different industries. If the manufacturing processes do not involve a high degree of skill, a child can undertake them independently after four or five years' training, but in the highly skilled handicrafts the period of training may last for as long as seven or eight years. It should be noted that children learn their family trades by actually taking part in the work, and are therefore in most cases of considerable help to the artisans. They begin by assisting in the unskilled processes and pass on to more skilled work as they grow older. Up to the age of 15 or 16 years the economic value of their contribution is however very small. It is only when they start taking part in the skilled processes independently that they can make any substantial addition to the family income.¹

.....

1. Female children give whatever assistance they can to their parents but are never given any systematic training in the family trade.

The nature and the economic value of the work done by children in the different cottage industries of the presidency, must now be considered.

Handloom Weaving.

Children in this industry are mainly engaged in pirn winding. They may also lend an occasional helping hand in the other preliminary processes, viz., sizing, warping, reeling, etc, ^{but} Weaving is ~~never~~ never undertaken by boys before the age of 16 or 17 years, as it is a fairly heavy and skilled occupation. The economic value of the work done by children between 12 and 15 years of age in this industry can be estimated to vary from one to two annas a day.¹ The number of hours normally worked by them per day are from four to six.

Carpet, Frasi and Dhurry Industries.

Indian carpet or rug making is a very highly skilled occupation, and therefore none of its processes can be undertaken by children below the age of 14 or 15 years.

In frasi making children play a more important part, as the nature of the work is less skilled. The younger children are mainly engaged in cleaning, spinning and winding the wool. Girls about 15 or 16 years of age can easily undertake all the processes of the industry. The approximate economic value of

1. The methods adopted for determining the economic value of the work done by children in the cottage industries were the same as those adopted in the case of women (see chapter IV, p. 137). Methods II, III and IV were ~~adopted~~ adopted for estimating the value of the work done by children in the handloom weaving industry.

the work done by the children below 15 years of age varies from 1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies a day.¹ Their normal daily hours of work are five or six.

In the dhurry industry, the children's contribution is mainly confined to the winding process. As dhurry weaving is a fairly heavy process, and is seldom undertaken by boys below the age of 16 years. The earnings of the children can be estimated to vary from 1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies a day.² Their daily hours are from five to six.

Lacquer Work.

The artistic lacquer industry requires a fairly high degree of skill and therefore children under the age of 14 or 15 years cannot make any useful contribution to the work. It is only when a boy has undergone about three or four years' training that he can be of any help to the artisans. Thus boys 15 or 16 years of age are found engaged in the easier wood carving and the colouring of such articles as toys, rulers, etc. ^{and} their net earnings can be estimated to vary from two to three annas a day.³

In the ordinary lacquer industry children start helping their skilled relatives at an earlier age. A boy about 13 or 14 years old does a certain amount of the easier colouring, in addition to assisting in such preliminary work as preparing the lacquer paint, cutting rough blocks, etc. The economic value

-
1. Methods I, II and III were adopted.
 2. Methods II and III were adopted.
 3. Methods I, II and III were adopted.

262

of his work normally varies from one to two annas a day.¹ His daily hours hardly ever exceed six or seven.

Bamboo, Cane, Straw and Leaf Industries.

These industries do not involve a very high degree of skill and therefore the children engaged in them can become independent producers at quite an early age. Boys about 14 or 15 years old can be found manufacturing straw and leaf brooms, mats, baskets, etc. They can also make the simpler bamboo articles. Cane work being more skilled, ~~and therefore~~ boys under 16 or 17 years of age cannot take an independent part in its main processes. The economic value of the work done by a child from 12 to 15 years of age in the bamboo industry of the Deccan can be estimated to be between 1 anna 6 pies and 2 annas 6 pies a day; in the straw and leaf industry it may vary from 1 anna to 2 annas 6 pies a day.² The daily hours of these children hardly ever exceed six or seven.

Bidi.

In this industry children from 10 to 13 years of age usually assist their female relatives in such easier subsidiary work as cutting the bidi leaves, sorting and cleaning the tobacco, etc. It is only the boys and girls above 13 years of age who can manufacture bidis independently, ^{although} up to the age of 15 years their speed of output is very low. They can rarely make more than about two hundred bidis a day, ^{and} their daily earnings can therefore be estimated to vary from one to three annas in different

1. Methods I and III were adopted.

2. Methods I and III were adopted.

263

parts of the presidency.¹ The number of hours normally worked by them per day does not exceed about seven.

Embroidery.

Very few young children are engaged in the embroidery industry as independent producers; most of them help their female relatives in the easier needlework. The girls usually get a systematic training in the art and are able to make embroidered articles of a fairly good quality at the age of 15 or 16 years. The approximate value of the work done by the children below 16 years of age varies from 1 anna 6 pies to 3 annas a day in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Surat, and from 1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies a day in the Diplo and Chachro talukas.² The daily hours of these children hardly ever exceed six or seven.

Calico Printing.

In this industry children below 15 years of age are usually engaged in the easier border printing and helping the artisans in the preliminary miscellaneous work, elaborate skilled printing being seldom undertaken by boys before the age of 17 or 18 years. The value of the children's output can be estimated to vary from 1 anna 6 pies to 3 annas.³ Their daily hours fluctuate between four and seven.

Rong.

Children's contribution of work in this industry is confined to helping their male and female relatives in such easier processes

1. Method I was adopted.
2. Methods I and III were adopted.
3. Methods I and III were adopted.

264

as polishing the rope, stretching and holding it when it is being twisted, etc. As the industry requires very little skill the boys and girls usually begin undertaking the main processes independently at the age of 16 or 17 years. The economic value of the work done by the children under the age of 15 years varies from 6 pies to 1 anna in the villages of Sind, and from 1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies in Gujrat and the Deccan.¹ Their hours are from about five to seven a day.

Pottery.

In the artistic pottery industry, children are usually engaged in writing on the pots and painting very easy designs on them. They also lend a helping hand in such unskilled work as filling or emptying the ovens, arranging the pots to be dried in the sun, etc. In the ordinary pottery industry, the moulding of the pots is seldom undertaken by boys before the age of 16 or 17 years, the younger children being occupied mainly in helping their female relatives in the unskilled subsidiary work, i.e., preparing the mortar, drying and baking the pots, etc. The economic value of their work may be considered to vary from 6 pies to 1 anna 6 pies in different parts of the presidency.² Their hours hardly ever exceed five or six a day.

Leather Tanning.

The male children of a cottage tanner are of considerable help to him in the unskilled subsidiary part of the

.....

1. Method III was adopted.

2. Method III was adopted.

and
work. [^] ~~They~~ are usually found working alongside their female relatives in transporting and breaking the bark, breaking my-roholams, etc. They are also occasionally engaged in turning the raw hides inside the tanks; the rest of the work, being heavier and skilled, is very seldom undertaken by boys before the age of 16 or 17 years. The approximate value of a child's work in this industry is from one to two annas a day.¹ His hours are normally five or six a day.

Woollen Blanket.

266
Children in this industry are engaged partly in wool cleaning and spinning and partly in winding ^{and} [^] most of them work alongside their female relatives. The weaving of blankets, being a heavy and skilled process, is seldom undertaken by boys before the age of 16 or 17 years. The economic value of the children's work can be estimated to be between 1 anna and 1 anna 6 pies a day.² The number of hours normally worked by them are five or six.

Tailoring.

Most of the boys found in the tailoring workshops are apprentices ^{who} [^] up to the age of 14 or 15 years they are engaged mainly in hand stitching. Cutting and dressmaking is seldom entrusted to them before the age of 16 or 17 years. As a rule they become fairly efficient tailors and cutters after a systematic training in the art for seven or eight years. A nominal payment is made to the apprentices for the first one or two years
.....

1. Methods III and IV were adopted.
2. Methods II and III were adopted.

of their employment, but they get increments in wages as their proficiency in the work increases. Boys between 13 and 16 years of age are paid from Rs.2 to Rs.7 a month.¹ Their hours are seldom less than nine or ten a day.

Shoemaking.

Shoemaking being a very highly skilled handicraft children under 15 or 16 years of age cannot make any important contribution of work. The only assistance that they can give to the artisans is in the pasting and cutting of leather and in rough stitching. Not before the age of 17 or 18 years can a boy lend a helping hand in the skilled processes. The economic value of the work done by the boys between 13 and 15 years of age varies approximately from two to three annas a day.² Their normal daily hours are six or seven.

Metal.

The young male children of a blacksmith's family usually assist their male relatives in the general light and easy subsidiary work, but since this is a fairly heavy and skilled occupation, boys can hardly make any independent contribution to the main processes before the age of 17 or 18 years. The value of the work done by the boys below the age of 16 years may be estimated to vary from one to three annas.³ Their hours normally vary from six to seven a day.

.....

1. Most of the apprentices who are not related to the tailors receive a small monthly payment; hence the use of the word wages. The value of the work done by the children who are related to the tailors, and who therefore do not receive any regular payments, may be roughly estimated to be equal to the amount paid to the former since the work done by all the apprentices is the same.

2. Method III was adopted.

3. Methods III and IV were adopted.

Laundering.

Washermen's children usually help their parents in the drying, collecting, folding and wrapping of clothes. The washing process is much too strenuous for boys below 16 or 17 years of age. Since hand laundering does not involve skill of any high order, a boy can become a skilled washerman at the age of 18 or 19 years.

Carpentry.

As carpentry is a fairly skilled occupation, children cannot make any important contribution of work before the age of 15 or 16 years. They usually start learning the trade when they are 12 or 13 years old, but do not take an independent part in the skilled processes before the age of 17 or 18 years. During the period of training they assist the artisans in such unskilled or semi-skilled work as cutting rough blocks of wood, nailing, rough polishing, etc. The economic value of their work may be estimated to be between two and three annas a day.¹ Their hours are normally six or seven a day.

Miscellaneous.

There are a few industries which are so highly skilled that children under 14 or 15 years of age can hardly take any part in them, the most important of them being ~~the~~ wood carving, ivory carving and jewellery making. In all of them there is very little subsidiary work which can be usefully undertaken by children. The boys usually start learning

.....

1. Method III was adopted.

their family trades at the age of 13 or 14 years, but cannot as a rule make any independent contribution of skilled work before the age of 18 or 19 years.

Conclusions regarding the Employment of Children in the Cottage Industries.

It will be seen from the above analysis of the part played by children in the cottage industries that although their contribution to the main manufacturing processes is very small, yet they are able to give fairly useful general assistance to the artisans. The following table shows the approximate economic value of the work done by children under 15 years of age in the different cottage industries.

Industry.	Approximate economic value of the work done by children, per day.
Handloom weaving.	1 to 2 annas.
Frasl.	1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies.
Thurry.	1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies.
Lacquer work.	1 to 3 annas.
Bamboo, cane, straw and leaf.	1 anna to 2 annas 6 pies.
Bidi.	1 to 3 annas.
Embroidery.	1 to 3 annas.
Calico printing.	1 anna 6 pies to 3 annas.
Rope	6 pies to 1 anna 6 pies.
Ordinary Pottery.	6 pies to 1 anna 6 pies.

Industry.	Approximate economic value of the work done by children, per day.
Leather tanning.	1 to 2 annas.
Woollen Blanket.	1 anna to 1 anna 6 pies.
Shoemaking.	2 to 3 annas.
Metal.	1 to 3 annas.
Carpentry.	2 to 3 annas.

270
The above table shows that the highest economic value of the work done by a child in a cottage industry is 3 annas, and the lowest 6 pies. The highest and the lowest average values of the work done by children in all the industries are 2 annas 4 pies and 1 anna 1 pie respectively.

With regard to the hours of children in the cottage industries, it may be observed that the minimum number of hours worked by a child per day is about four and the maximum about seven. In a majority of the industries, however, children work from five to seven hours a day.

Lastly it should be noted that in spite of the decaying condition of many cottage industries, there is no appreciable tendency among the children of the cottage artisans to leave their family occupations. This is due mainly to three reasons. Firstly, the avenues of employment open to children in the organised industries are very few. Secondly, the cottage children can get very limited opportunities for industrial training outside their homes. If they leave their family occupations and are not able to secure jobs with good prospects in the organised

271 industries, they may be condemned to ordinary coolie work for a whole lifetime. Thirdly, the children render fairly useful help to their skilled relatives and can therefore, in most cases, contribute at least something to the meagre family income. Their leaving the family industry may entail an appreciable economic loss to the parents.

SECTION IV.

SUMMARY.

The following statements summarise the information presented in the preceding three sections of this chapter:-

1. The employment of child labour is very small in the regulated industries of the presidency. In the unregulated industries it is greater, though not very large.

2. The main reasons for the limited employment of children in the regulated industries are, firstly, the abundance of cheap male and female labour, and, secondly, the strict enforcement of the factory laws regarding child labour. In the unregulated industries children are not employed on a very large scale, since most of the work demands either a considerable amount of manual dexterity or heavy physical labour.

3. The ages of the children in the regulated industries vary from 12 to 15 years which are the legal age limits. In the unregulated industries children below the age of 10 years are very seldom employed, ^{while} the number of boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 12 years is very small. Most of the children in these industries are above 12 years of age.

4. The illegal employment of under-age children is found only in some of the seasonal cotton-ginning factories of Sind.

5. The double employment of children is found neither in

272

the regulated nor in the unregulated industries.

6. The pledging of child labour exists to a negligible extent in the cotton mills of Ahmedabad. In the unregulated industries it is found on a small scale in some of the handloom weaving centres of Gujrat.

273
7. 'Blind alley' employment exists to a very small extent both in the regulated and in the unregulated industries. In a majority of the industries children develop into skilled workmen after several years of continuous service.

8. The hours of children in the regulated industries have varied from five to six a day.¹ In most of the unregulated industries they vary from eight to ten a day.

9. The average daily wages of children vary from 2 annas 7 pies to 5 annas 4 pies in the regulated industries, and from 1 anna 8 pies to 4 annas in the unregulated industries. The higher average wages in the former are due to the fact that the regulated factories are more commonly situated in bigger towns and cities, ~~than the unregulated factories.~~

10. In the cottage industries, the children of the artisans start learning their family trades at quite an early age; their training usually commences at the age of 11 or 12 years. In most cases they are fairly helpful to their parents ~~in the~~

.....
1. Until the new Factory Act came into force in 1935.

294
~~work~~, but in very few cases do they begin taking an independent part in the skilled processes before the age of 17 or 18 years. The highest and the lowest average economic values of the work done by children under 15 years of age, in the cottage industries considered in this chapter, are 2 annas 4 pies and 1 anna 1 pie respectively. The hours of children in these industries normally vary from four to seven.

CHAPTER VII

SOME PROBLEMS REGARDING HEALTH AND WELFARE OF THE
FEMALE WORKER

275

In this chapter some problems associated with the health and welfare of the female worker have been noted, and a few suggestions regarding the measures necessary for an improvement in the existing conditions have been made.

Industrial Training of Women.

As already observed, the fact that women are not trained for skilled occupations causes a serious limitation in the scope of their employment. In the Bombay presidency, of a total of 292,035 girls under instruction in 1932, only 793 were receiving industrial education, mainly in a few missionary and other voluntary institutions, some of which are aided by the Department of Education. There are no separate industrial schools for girls, and except for certain wards in Bombay city, instruction in handicraft is not included in the ordinary primary or secondary school curriculum.¹

.....
¹ In 1929 the Bombay municipal schools committee resolved to introduce instruction in handicrafts in a few selected girls' schools and in 1932 there were 354 girls in these schools. Instruction is given in paper work, fretwork and needlework, but due to the limited attention devoted to these subjects, the progress made is small and the benefit to the girls is not of a permanent nature. (See Memorandum from the Secretary, Bombay Municipal Schools Committee, dated 4th January 1932.)

Thus from 1927 to 1932 no female candidate has offered herself for the technical and industrial examinations held in the presidency.

There are a few private institutions, many of them being denominational which provide facilities for the training of adult women in such handicrafts as sewing, weaving, hosiery, embroidery, toy-making, laundry, dyeing, printing etc., the most important of these ^{institutions} being the Seva Sadans of Bombay and Poona, Mahila Mandal (women's branch of the Social Service League, Bombay), All Saints Community Bombay, American Maratti Mission Bombay, Bombay Catholic Women's Social Guild, Community of St. Mary Wantage, Christian Women Workers' Union Bombay, Parsi Ladies Industrial Home Karachi, Shri Maharani Chinnabai Mandal Navsari, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Shri Zarthosti Mandal Industrial Institute Bombay, Women's Industrial Classes Sanana Mission Karachi etc. It should be noted firstly, that since a majority of these institutions are run on sectarian lines, the scope of their activity is limited; secondly, that except for certain Christian Missionary institutions, the women who take advantage of the facilities provided belong to middle and lower middle class families.

The greatest obstacle in the way of developing a system of industrial training for girls is early marriage. Instruction in handicrafts cannot be usefully imparted to children before the age of 10, but it is at about this age that the girls start leaving the schools in large numbers. The following statement shows for the British districts of the presidency in 1931-32,

the number of female scholars from Class I to XII.¹

Class	Number of female scholars	Approximate age
Primary:		
Class I	125,466	from 6 to 12 years.
Class II	49,674	
Class III	38,260	
Class IV	26,857	
Class V	17,857	
Middle:		
Class VI	9,859	from 12 to 15 years.
Class VII	6,998	
Class VIII	2,363	
High:		
Class IX	1,798	from 15 to 19 years.
Class X	1,173	
Class XI	847	
Class XII	812	

It will thus be seen that the number declines very rapidly from class to class, the scholars in Class VI being about 13 per cent of the scholars in Class I. Even if industrial instruction were introduced in Class IV, a majority of the girls would withdraw from the schools before any proficiency could be attained. Moreover, as most of the girls who remain in the senior classes belong to the higher strata of society, the industrial instruction imparted would not be of great avail since very few of these girls would eventually take up paid employment.

.....
1
See *Quinquennial Report on Public Instruction, Bombay presidency, 1927-32.* p.p. 308 - 309.

Due partly to these considerations and partly to the fact that the school going female children form a very small percentage of the total female population, it is suggested by the writer that if an adequate system of industrial training for women is to be evolved, attention should be paid primarily to the training of adult working class women.¹ The development of such a system might be planned as follows:-

1. The provincial government may impress on the local government bodies the advisability of opening industrial training centres for women in those areas which are largely inhabited by the non-agricultural manual labouring classes. In the initial stages, the cost of these centres may be shared by the provincial government.

2. Every district may determine its own course of instruction in accordance with the local demand for hand manufactured articles.

3. The instruction in these centres may be confined to such handicrafts as can be carried on by women at home without expensive tools or machinery. Only those handicrafts may be selected in which competition with male labour is not great.

4. Long drawn out courses may be avoided and attempt may be made to enable a woman to earn at least something after a few months' training.

.....

¹ The percentage of girls under instruction to the female population of the presidency was 2.8 in 1927-32. (See Quinquennial Report. Public Instruction, Bombay. p.158)

5. The teaching staff may be composed mainly of women. This may not be possible in the initial stages due to the scarcity of trained women, but if the scheme develops on a large scale, it may not be difficult to replace male by female instructors in a few years' time.

6. Preferably a marketing department may be attached to each centre and the work of this department may be to advertise the handicrafts carried on by women and to help the latter in the marketing of the goods.

7. Each centre may have a small female staff who may be in charge of carrying on propaganda in favour of industrial training among the working class women of the locality.

The above measures, if adopted would no doubt benefit only those women who are not full time wage earners in factories or karkhanas and who can therefore afford the time to attend the classes, but the full time female employees are everywhere in a small minority. The writer believes that most of the women who are not in a position to take up regular employment outside their homes would devote at least some time during the day to learning the trades which can be financially helpful to the family, provided through consistent propaganda, the usefulness of such a training is brought home to them.

Maternity Welfare.

It is not proposed to discuss here the problem of maternity welfare in India as the subject has been

dealt with exhaustively in current literature.¹ Only a few salient points regarding the maternity conditions in the Bombay presidency are noted and the importance of certain aspects of the welfare work which concern the working women in particular has been emphasised.

In spite of the efforts of a few progressive municipalities and voluntary organisations at improving the maternity conditions in the Bombay presidency, the position today is most unsatisfactory. Outside Bombay city, the notorious Indian "Dai"² continues to cause havoc to the health and lives of expectant mothers and their infants. Thus, for example, in 1933, according to the official records, in Bombay city, one mother died for every 131 births, in Junnar 1 to 21 births, Navalgund 1 to 30, Virangaum 1 to 47, Erandol 1 to 63, Belgaum 1 to 66, Karwar 1 to 72, Jalgaon 1 to 76, Ahmedabad 1 to 80, Broach 1 to 81, Pandharpur and Hubli 1 to 85 each, Dharwar and Gokarn 1 to 89 each, Surat 1 to 97 and Poona city 1 to 98.

.....
¹ The following works are suggested for information on the subject. "The Work of Medical Women in India" by Balfour and Young. Maternity and Child Welfare Conference Report, Delhi 1927. Annual Reports of the National Association for Supplying Medical Aid to the Women in India. "Diseases of Pregnancy and Labour in India" by Margaret Balfour, Haffkine Institute Bombay, "The Purdah System and its Effects on Motherhood" by K.O. Vaughan, "Still Birth and Neo-natal Death in India" by Christine J. Thomson.

2. A "Dai" is an ~~untrained~~ untrained Indian midwife.

Defective ante-natal advice and assistance causes a high rate of infant mortality. As observed by Dr. Balfour "A large part of the infant mortality is due to ante-natal conditions leading to the birth of infants deficient in vitality, which soon fall victims to troubles which would not affect stronger children. If they do not die during the first month, their feeble existence continues until death claims them at some later period, or possibly they grow up lacking the strength and energy necessary for success in life".¹ Thus, in 1933 for the whole of the presidency, the urban and rural infantile death rates per 1,000 registered births were 219.18 and 148.14 respectively. The rates for some of the larger towns were as follows: Yeola (432) Barsi (388) Garhiyasin (361) Poona (360) Pandharpur (354) Nasik (346) Nawabshah (344) Virangaum (339) Satara (315) Ilkal (306) Surat (292) Ahmedabad (275) Nadiad (264) Sholapur (230) Karachi (173) and Bombay city (269).²

The Bombay municipality has been the most active in promoting maternity and child welfare among the working classes, and the work done by it includes the following:-

.....
¹ "Maternal and Infant Mortality" Margret I. Balfour, reprinted from the Times of India.

² See Annual Report, Director of Public Health, Government of Bombay, 1933.

1. Visits by 10 municipal district nurses to the localities and chawls inhabited by the poorer sections of the population, in order to render ante-natal advice to expectant mothers, and to induce them to take advantage of the maternity homes.

2. The provision of ^{free} facilities for adequate attendance on confinement at home.

3. The provision of 5 maternity homes with 134 beds.

There are several other municipalities which have taken measures, though on a much smaller scale to provide maternity homes and trained municipal midwives.

Of the organisations interested in child and maternity welfare which are either independent of the local government bodies or aided by the latter, are the Bombay presidency Infant Welfare Society, the Lady Wilson Maternity Association, Poona, The Dais Improvement Scheme, Hyderabad and the Bombay presidency Baby and Health Week Association. The work done by these organisations includes the provision of maternity homes and child welfare centres, the training of dais and the conducting of propaganda regarding maternal health and hygiene. The Bombay presidency Infant Welfare Society is by far the most important, as not only are its activities more extensive than those of the others, but in Bombay city, it has done very good work among the working classes in particular. It maintains in Bombay

9 child welfare centres which are situated in the mill area, runs three big maternity homes and a creche for the babies of the working women, and gives financial help to other bodies doing similar work in other parts of the presidency.

The important point to be noted is that except for Bombay the working class women have not yet taken advantage of the maternity homes in large numbers.¹ Most of the women who resort to these homes for confinement, outside Bombay city belong to middle or lower middle class families. This is obviously due to the fact that the extreme conservatism of the poorer uneducated women in this respect has not yet been broken down.² It should also be noted that since ante-natal clinics in the maternity homes are conducted either in the morning or in the afternoon, the women who are employed in factories or workshops cannot possibly take advantage of them.

In the opinion of the writer the present scheme of maternity welfare in the presidency needs re-organisation. In view of the existing limited resources, much too much money and energy seems to have been spent in providing maternity homes which have not largely benefited those women among whom the conditions are the worst. A programme of maternity welfare in

.....
¹ Out of 33,264 births (including still-births) registered in Bombay city in 1933, 23,487 or 70.60 per cent took place in maternity homes as against 63.51 per cent in 1932. (See Annual Report of the Director of Public Health, Government of Bombay, 1933. p.12)

² Note: Most of the maternity homes maintain free wards for poorer women.

India should be based on a clear understanding of the position that the conditions of the poorer working class women have to be improved first; that in the beginning all efforts should be directed to the removal of the age-long prejudices by extensive propaganda; that since it is not easy to get rid of the "dai", attempts should be made to improve her and that as long as the prejudices have not been broken down to any appreciable extent, heavy expenditure on maternity homes is wasteful. The writer believes that at this stage much more effective work can be done by establishing small maternity welfare centres all over the country and particularly in the areas populated by the poorer working classes. These centres should be in charge of trained nurses who should not only do antenatal work in the locality, but should also carry on propaganda in favour of improved conditions through magic lantern slides, lectures, demonstrations and above all, by personal visits to the homes of the workers. One of the important duties of these nurses should be to train the local "daies". The registration of "daies" ^{being} ~~xx~~ an urgent necessity, the municipalities and district local boards should be empowered by the Provincial government to make it illegal for persons to practise midwifery unless trained in recognised institutions. If the registration is made compulsory, the training of "daies" can be entrusted to these centres which can grant the necessary certificates.

The expenses of the scheme may be met by reducing the present expenditure on maternity homes and by special grants from the provincial government, municipalities and district local boards.¹ The existing voluntary organisations may also be induced to help the scheme.

Lastly, it is suggested by the writer that since most of the women working in factories cannot take advantage of the ante-natal clinics in the maternity homes, it may be made legally compulsory for the employers who engage more than 50 women to provide free ante-natal advice within the factory for at least two hours, twice a week.

.....

¹ A reduction in the present expenditure on maternity homes might be avoided by making the middle classes contribute more to the expenses.

General Medical Aid for Women in Factories.

As stated in a previous chapter, of the factories employing women, it is only in the cotton mills that the provision of adequate medical facilities by employers is fairly general. Thus an enquiry held by the Bombay Labour Office in 1926 into the extent of medical aid provided in factories showed that 69 of the 76 cotton mills which supplied information in Bombay city maintained dispensaries. In Ahmedabad, of the 59 mills working, 41 had dispensaries, 4 having hospitals in addition. In all of the 6 mills of Sholapur, arrangements for medical attendance were found to exist.¹ In the rest of the regulated concerns employing women, the extent and quality of the medical facilities provided by employers are far less satisfactory, as in most cases there is either no provision for medical aid, or medicines are kept in the factory without a qualified person to administer them.

The important point to be noted here, is that, except for a very small number of cotton mills, the factory doctors and their assistants are all males. This, it is believed, causes the women to utilise the facilities to a much smaller extent than

1

Royal Commission on Labour in India. Vol.I part I p.32.

the men. The memorandum submitted by the Government of Bombay to the Royal Commission on Labour in India stated "As regards women, they are less willing to take advantage of the available medical facilities than are men".¹ That the Indian women of all classes are extremely shy about consulting the male doctors regarding their special internal disorders is a well known fact. This has particularly harmful consequences for the women employed in factories and workshops who have neither the resources to get paid advice from the lady doctors, nor the time to attend the free general hospitals. It is, therefore, suggested by the writer that it may be made legally obligatory for the employers who engage more than 50 women to provide the services of lady doctors for their female employees, either free of charge or at a nominal fee for at least two hours thrice a week.

Protection of the Health and Safety of Women in the Unregulated Concerns.

The Factories Act of 1934 empowers of the Local Government to "Declare any premise whereon or within the precincts whereof a manufacturing process is carried on whether with or without the aid of power and whereon or within the precincts whereof on any one day of the twelve months preceding the notification, ten or more workers were employed, to be a factory for all or any of the purposes of this Act".²

1
1 Royal Commission on Labour in India. Vol. I part I. p. 32

2
2 The Factories Act, 1934. section 5.

It is suggested by the writer that in view of the extremely unhealthy conditions of work prevailing in most of the unregulated workshops employing women, the Government of Bombay may henceforth proceed to exercise the above power in respect of the application of the health and safety provisions of the Factories Act of 1934 to the following unregulated concerns of the presidency:

1. Wool cleaning karkhanas.
2. Bidi karkhanas.
3. Aggar butti and kankoo karkhanas.
4. Leather tanneries.
5. Calico printing karkhanas of Ahmedabad.
6. Bigger handloom karkhanas.
7. Thread ball karkhanas.

The sections of the Factories Act which may be applied to these concerns are, section 13 (Cleanliness); Section 14 (Ventilation); Section 16 (Cooling); Section 17 (overcrowding); Section 18 (Lighting); Section 19 (Water); Section 20 (Latrines and urinals); Section 21 (Doors to open outside); Section 22 (Precaution against Fire); Section 23 (Means of Escape); Section 26 (Safety of Buildings and Machinery); Section 33 (Additional Powers to make Health and Safety Rules).

The importance of extending the health and safety provisions of the Factories Act to the above-mentioned concerns is particularly great in view of the fact that they employ a fairly large number of woman.

Weight Lifting by Women.

As already observed, a large proportion of female labour is engaged in coolie work which involves the lifting and transporting of materials. The question of weight lifting by women is of considerable importance, since the physical strain caused by the work, if excessive, may prove highly injurious to the health of the female workers, almost all of whom are of a child-bearing age. The coolie work done by women, although lighter than that done by men, is fairly heavy in certain industries. Thus, for example, in the building industry, the weight carried by a woman normally varies from 20 to 35 lbs. In the stone-crushing establishments of Bombay, the basket load of a woman weights from 30 to 35 lbs. In one of the two manure factories of Karachi, the average weight of a woman's basket load is about 30 lbs., while in the other, the minimum weight carried by a woman is about 20 lbs. and the maximum about 55 lbs. The basket loads of the women engaged in coal haulage in Karachi docks weigh from about 40 to 53 lbs.¹ It should be noted that where piece rate wages are paid for coolie work, the tendency among the workers is to achieve a bigger output by increasing the weight transported. This tendency is most commonly found where labour gangs are entrusted with piece rate jobs, since the attempt is always made by the gang to complete the work as soon as possible.

.....
 1 These weights were ascertained personally by the writer.

The writer believes that there is a need for legislation against heavy weight lifting by women. He suggests that a maximum weight limit for the loads carried by women may be fixed and the employers may be made liable to punishment if their female employees are found carrying weights beyond this limit. Care should be taken in fixing the limit, which, if too low, may cause the replacement of female by male labour on a large scale. If the legal maximum is fixed at 30 lbs. the curtailment of female labour will probably be very small.

Compulsion Regarding Creches.

The Royal Commission on Labour in India recommended "That creches should be provided in all places where women are employed in considerable numbers, and we would make the obligation a statutory one in all factories employing not less than 250 women." ¹ The numerical limit recommended by the Commission was much too high and if applied to the Bombay presidency, would have meant the inclusion of only the bigger cotton mills within the scope of the legislation. The Factories Act of 1934 having substantially reduced this limit has empowered the Local Government to make rules "(a) requiring that in any specified factory wherein more than fifty women workers are ordinarily employed a suitable room shall be reserved

.....
¹ Royal Commission on Labour in India, Report p.66.

for the use of children under the age of six years belonging to such women, and (b) prescribing the standards for such room and the nature of the supervision to be exercised over the children therein".¹ This is an important piece of legislation and satisfies a long-felt need. In view of the absence of creches in the majority of industrial concerns in the Bombay presidency it is advisable that the Government of Bombay should make the provision of creches obligatory at as early a date as possible. It is suggested by the writer that in order to maintain the necessary standard of sanitation in the creches, the factory inspectors may be empowered to declare a creche unfit for use on the strength of a certificate obtained to that effect from a government doctor. The employer should be made liable to punishment if the creche is not brought up to the necessary standard of sanitation within two months of its being condemned.

Suggestions for Reducing Bribery in Factories.

The following measures are suggested by the writer as effective checks to bribery in the bigger industrial concerns.

1. Employment officers having a good education and moral character, ^{should} be engaged on decent salary for recruiting labour instead of the jobbers or maling.

2. An employment officer should have no connection with

.....
¹ The Factories Act, 1934. Section 33, Clause 2.

the departments in which the employees work and should have particularly no voice in the dismissal of the workers. This would eliminate the possibility of dismissals actuated by the temptation to receive bribes from new employees.

3. The powers of the subordinate staff with regard to recruitment, leave, promotion etc. should be clearly defined. Notices in vernacular should be prominently displayed in every part of the factory, stating the rights of the workers, the responsibilities and powers of the subordinate officials and the penalties for unauthorised practices.

4. Deterrent punishment should be meted out to the officers found guilty of repeatedly taking undue financial advantage of their official position. A black list of such officers should be sent round to other factories of the locality.

5. Every dismissal should be counter-signed by the head of the department after an investigation into the case.

6. The workers should have the right to approach directly a senior official of the factory for ventilating their grievances with full guarantees against victimisation, this official being invested with certain powers of control over the subordinate staff. He should, moreover, be in constant touch with the workers, and should be in a position to represent their grievances to the heads of the departments and to protect them against victimization.

.....

1

Where Welfare Officers are appointed, this should be made one of their main duties.

These measures, if adopted by the employers, can prove fairly effective in reducing bribery in factories. The necessary pre-requisite for all this, however, is that the employers should take an active interest in the removal of the grievances of their workmen. The Labour Office of the Government of Bombay can do useful work in this respect as it can collect and publish information on the question of bribery in factories, bring it to the notice of the employers and impress ^{on} them the advisability of improving the existing conditions.

A Scheme for the Promotion of Welfare work among Women.

The welfare work among female industrial workers in the Bombay presidency is suffering considerably from the absence of a central body for co-ordinating and directing the activities of the different organisation interested in women's welfare.¹ The writer believes that there is need for a central organisation of this nature not only for the better utilisation of the existing resources but also for

.....
1

For a brief account of the existing welfare work done among women in the Bombay presidency see Royal Commission on Labour in India. Vol. I, part I. p.p. 37 - 47. Also see "Handbook of Women's Work" published by Bombay Presidency Women's Council, 1928 - 1929.

a consciously planned development in the future. He therefore suggests the following scheme for a Board of Welfare for female workers in the Bombay presidency:—

1. The Bombay Government may take the initiative in forming a voluntary body called "The Board of Welfare for Female Workers" which may consist of representatives of the Government, the central organisations of workers and employers and all the important associations interested in welfare work among women.

2. The Board may receive in the initial stages an adequate financial grant from the Provincial Government.

3. The Board may immediately proceed to appoint a paid staff of industrial investigators including qualified lady doctors who may conduct an exhaustive enquiry into the working conditions of women, and the extent and nature of the existing welfare activities. The report of the enquiry may be given wide publicity.

4. A central fund for promoting welfare work among women may be started and appeals for contributions may be made to private organisations and individuals.

5. A scheme for co-ordinating and promoting the existing welfare activities may be drawn up. Extensive publicity may be given to the scheme and measures may be taken to put it into operation.

6. The Board may maintain a permanent staff of trained welfare workers recruited preferably from those who have received

their training in Europe and which may be in charge of conducting enquiries from time to time regarding the existing position of the welfare activities and the possibilities of further improvement.

7. The Board may advise and assist the employers in their attempts at improving the working conditions of their female employees. It may also be in a position to give information and advice to the Provincial Government regarding the steps necessary for the promotion of the health and welfare of the female worker.

8. The Board may not only direct and co-ordinate the activities of the existing welfare organisations, but may also be in a position to give some initial financial help to any voluntary body formed for the purpose of welfare work among women workers.

9. Lastly, the Board may make adequate arrangements for the training of female welfare workers in the presidency.