

**ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS
OF
WOMEN WORKERS
IN INDIA**



सत्यमेव जयते

**LABOUR BUREAU, MINISTRY OF LABOUR
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA**

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN WORKERS IN INDIA

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PREFACE

It is inevitable that in a study of the kind attempted in this publication there should be several pitfalls. In this country, so far, there has been no publication or report, official or unofficial, solely devoted to the problems of women workers in industry. The Bureau had, therefore, to break much fresh ground in preparing the present publication. It is, therefore, hoped that in the reception of this work consideration of the difficulties involved in its preparation would temper criticism.

It was my predecessor, Shri S. R. Deshpande, who initiated the enquiries and guided the research in the early stages and any credit for this publication should, in a large measure, go to him. Several State Governments furnished us valuable data after conducting special enquiries for the purpose and the assistance which they and some departments of the Central Government as also a few employers' and workers' organisations rendered to us is gratefully acknowledged. Miss Edith Wall of the American Embassy gave us some valuable suggestions and sent to us several publications of the Women's Bureau of the United States.

The research staff of the Bureau has borne the brunt of the work involved in analysing, sifting and processing of the material and in the drafting of the various sections in this publication.

LABOUR BUREAU,
Simla,

Dated 10th October 1953.

N. K. ADYANTHAYA
Director

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Woman is a fascinating subject for study. Forming roughly half the human race since creation, the status of women has not yet been clearly defined. Nor, down the ages, does history narrate the evolution of her rights and duties. Speculations in regard to the evolution of primitive society stress two divergent views. Some adduce that primitive society evolved from a primordial state of mother right. They stress the incidence of matrilineal social forms in the primitive world where social groups were defined by relationship traced through the mother which provided also a certain degree of female dominance. On the other hand others emphasise the almost universal subordination of women in primitive and ancient societies. In pursuing the subject of male or female dominance in primitive times one can easily get lost in conflicting hypotheses and confusing theories. In primitive society we could, however, distinguish a fundamental division of labour under which men fought, hunted and went to sea and women engaged in less dangerous and more circumscribed occupations. This basic division of labour illustrates most aptly the forces which probably operated to give human society its orientation toward a division of activities between men and women.* It is probably this sentiment that Charles Kingsley has immortalised in his words: "Men must work and women must weep." Nevertheless, every known economic system has utilised and presumably required the work of women and women obviously need work both for their maintenance and for their happiness as human beings and members of society.

Marx declared that social progress can be measured with precision by the social position of the female sex. When the prevailing spirit of an era has been liberal, humanitarian and rationalistic, women's rights have been extended and in periods of counter revolution restrictions are intensified. Especially in modern times political and economic revolutions have embraced or have been reflected in the struggle for women's rights†. Perhaps the most insistent and aggressive of women's struggles for their rights has been, particularly in the West, the struggle for the franchise; and many feminists came to regard the franchise as a goal to which all else was subordinate. While the struggle for women's civic rights was going on, significant advances were made throughout Western Society in the status of women, particularly in the case of the property rights of married women, in the Laws of divorce and in women's educational and professional opportunities. We are, however, more concerned with their struggle for economic rights and with the social and economic status of women in modern society.

Women's work has been of much significance and value from pre-historic times. Even when 'Adam delved and Eve spun' woman was not a 'drone' in the household but an active 'bee' and had distinct economic functions to perform. Primitive society offers many instances of vigorous work in hunting and in cultivation by the female. With the evolution of an agricultural economy the women's role became more real and defined. In Great Britain, for example, "in the economy by which the family was provided with food and clothing before the Industrial Revolution, women's share was definite and visible. Women spun and wove in their houses, brewed the ale, looked after the pigs and fowls; their functions, if different from those of their husbands, were not less important."‡ Cooking for the male members of the family, assisting them in the tending of cattle, the care of children and generally looking after the household was the assignment in life for women. It still

*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences Vol. VIII pp. 439-40.

†Ibid p. 442.

‡J. Hammond and B. Hammond. The Rise of Modern Industry p. 242.

continues to be so in agricultural societies in many parts of the world including this country.

In Great Britain, under the guild system, although girls were seldom apprenticed to the guild trades, marriage to the member of a guild conferred upon a woman her husband's rights and privileges as his assistant or partner and she shared in the social and religious life of the guild. As a widow she continued to control and direct the business which she had inherited from her husband*.

The beginning of the modern industrial era starting with the Industrial Revolution witnessed a tremendous change in the character of work assigned to women. As the technological changes of the Industrial Revolution transformed the processes of production, the women of the urban proletariat and many of the artisan class were drawn into the factories, mills and mines as unskilled wage earners. The majority of women found it necessary to work outside the household in order to augment the family income. The leisure which the Industrial Revolution brought to a relatively small number of women of the upper classes was made possible in part by the labour of the women of the proletariat†. One result of the Industrial Revolution was that many of the tasks formerly undertaken in the home were removed to the factory. The family income now had to be expended on the purchase of goods formerly made in the home. When the increased cost of living necessitated earnings supplementary to those of the chief wage earners, it was deemed preferable that the daughters and young children should work for wages. At the same time, industry, seeking to keep down costs of production in order to keep up profits, offered only this supplementary wages to the daughters, while the wages of men were reduced to a level which made it necessary for the daughters to work. Women thus came to occupy the position of marginal workers in the new economy. "The employment of women in countries of industrial capitalism has thus been a development arising neither from society's requirement of women's work in industry nor from women's inherent need for work, but in the main from the desire of entrepreneurs to utilise cheap labour for profit making purposes."‡

• Working women, however, acquired a certain element of power within family councils by virtue of their contributions to the support of their families. Their employment away from home increased their personal contacts and released them to some extent from domestic controls and thus modified male dominance within the family.††

The transition from work at home to work in the factory was not, however, a smooth one for women. Although they could adapt themselves to their new conditions, they could not visualise the tremendous changes in their social and economic life brought about by modern industrialisation. The factory system destroyed a great body of significant custom throwing the workers into an unfamiliar world where they had neither experience nor tradition to help them.** In the early stages of industrial development women and child workers were victims of long hours, insanitary conditions of work and low wages. In fact the beginnings of sociological investigations can be traced to the sweated conditions prevailing in trades where women and children were largely employed. The instinct of chivalry in man urged him to run to their rescue. Thomas Hood in his 'Song of the Shirt' depicted the sad plight of women employed in clothing factories:

*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences Vol. VIII p. 444.

†Ibid p. 444.

‡Ibid Vol. VIII, p. 453.

††Ibid p. 444.

**Philip Taft: Economics and Problems of Labour, p. 247.

“With fingers weary and worn
 With eyelids heavy and red
 A woman sat in unwomanly rags
 Plying her needle and thread.

* * * * *
 O! Men with sisters dear!
 O! Men with mothers and wives!
 It is not linen that you are wearing cut,
 But human creatures lives!”

Present day protective legislation was initially devised to protect working women and children. This is true of India also where for three decades of factory legislation, from the first Factories Act in 1881 to the Act of 1911, the law only dealt with the hours and conditions of work of women and children. The hours and conditions of work of women before they were brought under regulation were hard. The worst conditions were in the cotton gins and presses. One witness stated before the Factory Commission of 1885: “The ginning season lasts about eight months, about five of which the hands work 5 a.m. to 10 p.m. and the remaining three months they work day and night. The hands are mostly women. Gins and presses never stop for meals; as a rule the hands take their meals at the gins, and he has often seen them taking their food and supplying the gins at the same time. He has often seen them supplying the gins thus mechanically three parts asleep, and a child at the breast sucking one minute, and throwing cotton in the machine the next. They go on working day and night until they are completely worked out..... The women would have worked 23 out of 24 hoursThe women are looked on as part of the gins and they belong to the establishment.”* The conditions in coal mines were in some respects worse than in factories. Though the hours were not excessive, women and children were working at all hours of the night.**

Women in Indian industry, as elsewhere, were assigned those occupations which did not call for any particular skill or those for which they showed special aptitudes such as reeling and winding in the cotton and feeding and receiving in the roving department in the jute textile industry. By long usage these occupations came to be regarded as “women’s jobs” and men often thought it *infra dig* to work on these jobs. Customs and traditions restrict in a large measure industrial occupations for women. Prof. Pigou has stated: “There are a number of occupations in which the value of the marginal net product, and, therefore, the wage, of women’s work would, if women were admitted to them, be larger than it is in occupations where they are in fact engaged; but they are excluded from these occupations by tradition and custom. When new occupations such as the working of typewriters and telephones, are introduced, or when old occupations are transformed by the introduction of new types of machinery, women are, indeed, generally offered a free field. But in occupations which men have for a long time been accustomed to regard as their own, even though under present conditions women could adequately pursue them, tradition and custom frequently exercise a powerful excluding influence.”†

The first World War changed some of the conceptions regarding women’s capacity to work. “In the war period the theory that women’s capacity and physical strength limited their range of occupations, which had been used to justify lower wages and exclusion from skilled trades, was discredited in the face of the feverish desire of industry to produce for the war. Women were

*Dr. Buchanan : The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India pp. 304-5.

**Ibid p. 367.

†A. C. Pigou : Economics of Welfare, pp. 507-8.

drawn into men's work in production and began to handle machines which they had never operated before and to take part in many new tasks in the heavy industries, in metal trades, in engineering trades and in transportation."* The second World War accentuated the importance of the role which women could take in economic activity outside the occupations assigned to them by custom and usage. "First in thousand and then in tens and hundreds of thousands young and not so young women voluntarily entered industry or agriculture "substituting" themselves for men who were taken into the armed forces".†

Political ideologies, no doubt, play a very significant part in the role assigned to women. Under the Fascist rule in Italy and Germany a new social philosophy of women's status and functions was built up for removing women from competition with men for the insufficient jobs available during the industrial depression. This philosophy demanded that women should recognise wifehood and motherhood as their great contribution to society and that they should therefore remain at home. On the other hand the policy of the Soviet Union related women on an equal basis with men, as workers, to the whole system of production with the objective of raising the standard of living of all workers. Women's work at home which was hitherto unpaid for was organised as an integral part of the national economy for the purpose of raising standards of living and freeing women from uncompensated drudgery.‡

We cannot, however, ignore the fact that, compared to men, women workers are in many respects handicapped on account of their physical structure and social and psychological backgrounds. A recent survey conducted in Canada brought out the following significant facts:** (i) on an average women are only 85 per cent. as heavy as men and have only 60 per cent. as much physical strength. Therefore they cannot lift or hold as heavy weights; (ii) women are built on a smaller anatomical scale than men. Because of this, machines built to the scale of men often require excessive reaching or stretching on the part of women and the height of the work bench is often unsuitable; (iii) usually women are more vulnerable than men to situations in industry which produce fatigue. Many women have home responsibilities before and after work which cause excessive fatigue; (iv) women are ill more frequently and lose more time from work than men; and (v) women with young children and pregnant women are at a disadvantage from the point of view of employment. In their study of the Law and Women's Work the I. L. O. has described some of the special problems arising out of women's employment. "The employment of women has certain special aspects which can be considered apart. There are, for example, the consequences in the field of labour of the physical differentiation between men and women. Woman is generally less resistant to physical strain..... So that when she engages in manual work she is exposed to special dangers which threaten not only herself but also future generations. Moreover, the social position of women is very different from that of other workers. By custom and tradition she is responsible for the management of the home; in addition to her occupational task, there are a multitude of domestic tasks which she assumes; house-keeping, the care of children and the repair of clothing for members of the family. A first consequence of this is that the working woman would inevitably be overworked and would ruin her health if certain measures of social protection were not taken; in the second place her attention is to some extent distracted from the collective interests of the workers, and in particular, she shrinks from the

*Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VIII, p. 455.

†Cole and Postgate : The Common People : pp. 532-33.

‡Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences Vol. VIII pp. 452-3.

**Article on "Women, Work and Health" in Industrial Health Bulletin (Ottawa) October 1951.

extra effort involved in taking an active part in the trade union movement. In addition, the fact of the woman's time being divided between her occupational work and her numerous domestic tasks, which at times make particularly heavy and urgent demands on her strength, often makes her economic activity unsuitable and reduces her occupational value and her ability to defend her interests as a worker."*

Marriage also proves a great obstacle in the way of women's employment. Prof. Pigou observes; "Women, looking forward as they do, to matrimony and a life in the home, are not trained to industry as men are and do not devote to it that period of their lives when they are strongest and most capable. Thus between the age periods of 18-20 and 25-35 there is a great decrease in the percentage of women who are engaged in wage earning occupations, and this is due, no doubt to the withdrawal of many of them at marriage" † Again: "There are many jobs one might teach women to do, but it does not seem worth while to risk a quarrel with the men, when you know that, the brighter a girl is, the more likely she is to go off and get married just as she is beginning to be of some use." ‡

Women's work and women's employment, thus, raise several social and economic problems. Whether the women's place is in the home, in the field, in the factory or in the Council Chamber—the sociologists should answer; whether they should be paid equal wages for equal work—the economists and industrialists should determine; whether work in factories and mines is deleterious to women's health—the medical profession should examine and decide. The present report is modest in purpose and scope. It seeks only to present some of the salient facts arising out of women's employment in important industries in India and to discuss their wages and conditions of work as far as information is available.

The present enquiry was undertaken on a suggestion of the Indian National Trade Union Congress that the subject of the economic and social status of women workers should be placed on the agenda of the Indian Labour Conference for discussion and that the Ministry of Labour should prepare a memorandum on the subject on which the discussions could start. The Labour Bureau was accordingly asked to prepare a brief report on the economic and social status of women workers in India. On account of financial stringency, the Ministry of Labour could not, however, sanction for the Bureau any additional staff or financial resources. Much as the Labour Bureau would have desired to cover all avenues of women's employment in the country and all aspects of their work, its hands were tied on account of its very limited staff and financial resources, and the enquiry had to be confined to the important industries in the country employing women in large numbers, namely, cotton and jute textiles, coal mining and plantations. The Labour Bureau issued a somewhat elaborate questionnaire on the subject to the State Governments; but, here again, their staff and financial resources being limited and the nature of information called for being of a type which could not be furnished except after elaborate special enquiries, the State Governments could not furnish the required information. Some Governments, however, furnished some data which were limited in scope and substance. All the women's Organisations in the country were addressed but they had no information to furnish on the subject.

During recent years a vast volume of literature has become available in this country on various problems relating to industry and labour. Although publications specially devoted to problems arising out of women's employment in industry are not available, the subject of women's work and wages is dealt

*I. L. O. The Law and Women's Work : Introduction pp. viii and ix.

†Economics of Welfare : p. 564.

‡Ibid p. 508.

with in several of such publications. The Bureau has examined several official and non-official reports and other publications with a view to collecting all available data relevant to the enquiry and utilising it in the present report. The Bureau also conducted some rapid on-the-spot investigations into the social conditions and conditions of work and wages of women employed in jute mills, coal mines and the cotton textile industry in Ahmedabad. The possibility of utilising information collected through the National Sample Survey was explored and though the officers connected with the survey were kind enough to undertake special tabulation and analysis of the relevant data in regard to selected centres of industry, we found on scrutiny that the coverage was too meagre to warrant some of the conclusions reached.

The present report, therefore, deals mainly with the cotton and jute textile industry, coal mining and plantations. We have also utilised the data collected in connection with the All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry to discuss briefly wages working conditions of women engaged in agriculture. It is probably in the unorganised industries that women are employed more than in factory industries. The system of industrial home work under which women pursue gainful occupations in their homes during spare time is common in the bidi industry, in mica splitting and in the match industry in South India. Our enquiries could not adequately cover the unorganised industries.

The Report has been divided into the following chapters : (1) Legislative measures for the protection and welfare of women workers (2) Employment (3) Wages and Earnings (4) Working conditions (5) Social conditions and (6) Health and Welfare. Each chapter has been made as self contained as possible and as much information as could be gathered either from published reports received from various sources in connection with this enquiry has been compressed into it. Subject to the limitation already pointed out, every effort has been made to make each chapter as comprehensive as possible. A large number of life histories of women workers in various industries were collected for the present enquiry. Some of the salient points from these have been utilised, especially in the chapter on social conditions. A few selected life histories have also been appended to the report.

CHAPTER II

Legislative measures for the protection and welfare of women workers

Women and children have a special place in the history of labour legislation in India in so far as it was the desire of the State to protect these workers which marked the beginnings of factory legislation in the country. Early measures adopted by the State for the protection of women workers were simple in character and were designed only to regulate the hours of work and employment. The establishment of the International Labour Organisation in 1919 influenced considerably the activities of the State in this field and at present laws are in force in India which not only regulate the hours of work but also contain provisions for the health, safety and welfare of women workers. Most of these have been inspired by the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Organisation. The I. L. O. have so far adopted the following Conventions and Recommendations concerning women.

Conventions :

1. Maternity Protection, 1919.
2. Night work (Women), 1919.
3. Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1934.
4. Underground Work (Women), 1935.
5. Night Work (Women) (Revised), 1948.
6. Equal Remuneration, 1951.

Recommendations :

1. Lead Poisoning (Women and Children), 1919.
2. Maternity Protection (Agriculture), 1921.
3. Night Work of Women (Agriculture), 1921.
4. Migration (Protection of Females at Sea), 1926.
5. Equal Remuneration, 1951.

India has ratified 4 out of the above 6 Conventions. These 4 relate to night work of women and employment of women underground. With a view to implementing these conventions, the necessary provisions have been made in the various labour Acts. Though the Convention relating to maternity protection has not been ratified by India, legislative measures have been adopted by the Central and State Governments to grant maternity protection to women employed in the various industries. Besides measures adopted for the implementation of the I. L. O. Conventions, various other provisions have been made in labour Acts for the protection and welfare of women workers. The following paragraphs describe briefly the main provisions concerning women contained in the various labour Acts.

Recruitment:— Except for the Tea Plantations in Assam there is no restriction in India regarding recruitment of women. Under the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act, 1932 no married woman who is living with her husband can be assisted to proceed to Assam unless her husband gives his consent.

Employment:— Employment of women is prohibited between 7 p. m. and 6 a. m. in factories, mines and plantations under the Factories Act, 1948, the Mines Act, 1952 and the Plantations Labour Act, 1951. The State Governments in the case of factories and the Central Government in the case of mines are empowered to relax this restriction and to permit employment of women between 5 a. m. and 10 p. m. ; The State Governments are further empowered to exempt women employed in fish curing or fish-canning factories from the restriction regarding employment during night if they consider that relaxation is necessary to prevent damage to, or deterioration in, any raw material.

Under the Factories Act the daily hours of work of adult workers have been fixed at 9. Though the Act permits men, under certain circumstances, to

work for more than 9 hours or any day it does not permit women to work beyond this limit.

Section 46 of the Mines Act prohibits employment of women below ground in mines.

Health and Safety:

Maximum loads:—To safeguard women against the dangers arising out of lifting of heavy weights both the Factories Act and the Mines Act authorise the appropriate Government to fix the maximum load that may be lifted by women. Rules framed by all the State Governments except U. P. have fixed the following maximum weights for women employed in factories :

Adult females :	65 lbs.
Adolescent females :	45 lbs.
Female Children	30 lbs.

Under the U. P. Factories Rules the following weights have been fixed :

Category	For intermittent work	For continuous work
	lbs.	lbs.
Adult female	66	44
Adolescent female	50	33
Female child	30	20

Dangerous operations:—Section 87 of the Factories Act empowers State Governments to prohibit employment of women in dangerous operations. Similarly under section 57 (j) of the Mines Act the Central Government are empowered to make regulations for prohibiting, restricting or regulating the employment of women in mines or in any class of mines or in any particular kinds of labour which are attended by danger to the life, safety or health of women workers. The Factories Act prohibits employment of women for pressing cotton in any part of a factory in which cotton opener is at work. Women, however, can be employed on the side of the feed end if the feed end is in one room and the delivery end is in another and there is a partition wall.

Bathing and washing facilities etc.:—The Acts regulating the employment of workers in mines, plantations and factories lay down that the employers shall provide separate urinals and latrines for the use of women. Under the Factories Act it is necessary for employers to provide separate washing facilities for women. The Mines Act empowers the Central Government to make rules for requiring employers to maintain at or near the pit heads bathing places equipped with shower baths and locker-rooms separately for men and women.

Welfare

Creche:—Maintenance of creches for the use of children below the age of 6 is obligatory in factories and plantations where 50 or more women are employed. The Mines Act authorises the Central Government to frame rules requiring employers to maintain creches in any mine wherein any women are employed. The number and standards of creches, amenities, to be provided, etc., are to be laid down under the rules framed under the Act concerned. Rules framed by the State Governments under the Factories Act lay down that the employers shall make available for each child in the creche at least half a pint of milk every day. In addition, they prescribe that children above 2 years of age* shall be given wholesome refreshment by the employers. The rules also

*Under the U. P. Factories Rules refreshment is to be provided to children who do not require milk.

provide for the grant of additional rest intervals to working mothers to enable them to feed their babies. The number and duration of rest intervals fixed under the rules in the different States are as follows :

State	Rest Intervals
1. West Bengal, Madhya Bharat, Ajmer, Delhi and Bombay.	2 intervals of at least 15 minutes each.
2. Orissa and Viodhya Pradesh.	2 intervals of 15 minutes.
3. Uttar Pradesh.	2 intervals of at least 30 minutes.
4. P. E. P. S. U.	2 intervals of at least 20 minutes.
5. Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Madras and Coorg.	Intervals of at least 15 minutes.
6. Saurashtra	3 intervals of at least 10 minutes each.
7. Assam	3 hourly intervals of at least 20 minutes each.

Maternity Benefits : Maternity protection to women employed in factories is granted in India by the Acts passed by the State Governments. At present 15 States have adopted legislative measures on the subject. Orissa among part A States and Jammu and Kashmir, Patiala and East Punjab States Union and Rajasthan among Part B States have so far not passed any Maternity Benefit Act. The Government of Orissa are at present considering enactment of legislation on the subject. Among Part C States, Delhi, Ajmer and Bhopal are the only three States where Acts on the subject are known to be in force. For the benefit of women employed in mines, the Central Government passed the Mines Maternity Benefit Act in 1941.

Legislative measures for the grant of maternity benefits to women in Plantations have been adopted only by the Governments of Assam, West Bengal and Travancore-Cochin. Nevertheless in some of the other States women employed in plantations receive benefits on a voluntary basis. It is expected that women employed in plantations in all the States will secure maternity protection when rules are framed under the Plantation Labour Act. Section 32 of the Plantation Labour Act entitles women to receive maternity allowance from their employers in case of confinement or expected confinement. The rate, period of benefit and qualifying conditions are to be prescribed under rules.

The scope, qualifying conditions and the period and rate of maternity benefits vary under different Acts. While the Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Mysore, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Travancore-Cochin, and the Punjab Acts apply to women employed in all regulated factories, other State Acts apply to women employed in non-seasonal factories only. The qualifying period of service is 150 days in Assam, Travancore-Cochin and for plantation workers in West Bengal, 240 days in Madras and 6 months in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and for women employed in mines. In all other States it is 9 months. The period of benefit under the Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin Acts and the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Act is 12 weeks. In Madras it is 7 weeks and in the Punjab it is 60 days. Rest of the Acts prescribe 8 weeks as the benefit period. The rate of benefit in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal is average daily earnings or annas 8 per day whichever is greater. In Madhya Pradesh, Bombay,* Mysore and Bhopal the daily rate of benefit is average daily earnings or annas 8 whichever is less. Benefit at a flat rate of annas 8 per day is payable under the Madras Act and annas 12 under the Hyderabad Act and the Mines Maternity Benefit Act. In the Punjab the rate is 12 annas or average daily earnings whichever is more. Under the Assam Act women employed in plantations are entitled to Re. 0-11-6 per day plus food concessions.

*For the cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad it is annas eight per day.

In other industries women are entitled to their average weekly earnings subject to a minimum of Rs. 2 per week. The Travancore-Cochin Act and the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Act provide for the payment of benefit at the rate of Rs. 5-4-0 per week.

The Assam Act lays down that employers shall provide free medical aid to women during the period of confinement. Under the Mines Maternity Benefit Act employers are required to pay a bonus of Rs. 3/- to women if they do not provide free services of a qualified midwife or other trained person. Under the U.P. and Bihar Acts women who avail themselves of the services of a qualified midwife or a trained woman health visitor at the time of confinement are entitled to a bonus of Rs. 5/-. These two Acts provide that working mothers of children below one year of age shall be entitled to two extra rest intervals of half an hour each. However, if there is a creche the duration of rest intervals shall be only 15 minutes. The Bihar and U.P. Acts further provide that in every factory in which 50 or more women are employed or where not less than 25 per cent. of the workers employed are women and the number of such women is not less than 10, a creche shall be maintained. In the case of miscarriage the U.P. Act provides for three weeks' leave with pay.

Provision exists in all the Acts for protection of women against dismissal by the employers, during the period they are enjoying maternity benefit.

As is evident from the foregoing, there is a considerable amount of diversity in the provisions of the various State Acts relating to maternity benefit. It is expected that when the Employees' State Insurance Act is put into force in all the States there will be uniform provision regarding payment of maternity benefit to women employed in perennial factories throughout India. Under this Act women will be entitled to claim maternity benefit for confinement occurring or expected to occur in a benefit period (generally of 26 consecutive weeks) if, during the corresponding contribution period, weekly contributions in respect of them were payable for not less than 2/3rd of the number of weeks during which they were available for employment, subject to a minimum of 12 contributions. Out of these contributions, at least one must have been paid between 35 and 40 weeks before the week in which the confinement takes place or in which notice of pregnancy is given. The period of benefit is 12 weeks of which not more than 6 can precede the expected date of confinement. During this period women are entitled to benefit either at the rate at which they could have claimed sickness benefit, if they were qualified for it, or annas 12 per day whichever is greater. Women are also entitled to medical benefit during the period they are receiving maternity benefit. The Act protects women against dismissal or punishment during the period they are receiving maternity benefit or are under medical treatment for sickness arising out of pregnancy or confinement.

Repatriation : The Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act, 1932 confers upon every emigrant labourer the right of repatriation as against the employer employing him or her on the expiry of three years from the date of his or her entry into Assam. The right of repatriation is not confined to the worker alone but extends to his or her family also irrespective of whether his wife herself is an emigrant labourer or not. However, if the worker concerned is a married woman living with her husband who is also an emigrant labourer, her right of repatriation extends only to herself and any children dependent on her. The family of an emigrant labourer, other than that of a married woman living with her husband and having no child living with her is entitled to repatriation in case of death of the labourer before the expiry of three years.

CHAPTER III

Employment

Complete information regarding gainfully employed persons in agriculture in the whole of India is not available and, therefore, it is not possible to estimate the total number of women workers in the whole country. Information, however, is available in respect of nine Part A States. According to the data collected during the 1951 Census there were 109,018,995 gainfully employed persons in nine Part A States. Out of these, 31,184,479 or 28.6 per cent. were women. A statement showing the number of men and women engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits in the different States is shown in Appendix II.

Of the total number of (1,09,018,995) persons gainfully employed in all the States, 78,772,298 or 72.3 per cent. were in agricultural pursuits and the remaining 30,246,697 or 27.7 per cent. in non-agricultural pursuits. The percentage of women to total in agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits was 31.7 and 20.6 respectively for all the nine States together varying from 14.6 per cent. in West Bengal to 45.4 per cent. in Madhya Pradesh in the former case and from 15.6 per cent. in West Bengal to 31.5 per cent. in Madhya Pradesh in the latter.

Statistics regarding the number of persons employed are not available in all the sectors of economic activity. Information is available regarding the number of workers employed in factories, mines and plantations; partial information is also available regarding workers employed in municipalities, public works departments and river valley projects. The following tabular statement shows the total number of adult workers and also the number of women workers employed in some of the sectors :—

Table 1

Sector	Total No. of adult workers	Number of women workers	Percentage of women workers to total
1. Factories*	27,74,557	3,42,148	12.3
2. Mines**	4,71,761	96,506	20.5
3. Plantations†	11,41,647	5,32,406	46.6
4. Municipalities‡	1,18,647	28,269	23.7
5. Public Works Departments and River Valley Projects@	20,59,579	4,58,936	22.3

*From Factory Statistics, 1950. Information relates to all Part A States and to Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, PEPSU, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin among Part B States and to Ajmer, Bhopal and Delhi among Part C States.

**Source: Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines for 1950—Covers mines in 9 Part A States and the Part C States of Ajmer and Delhi. Coal mines in the Part B (excepting Jammu and Kashmir) and the Part C States and Diamond mines in Vindhya Pradesh are also covered.

†Information relates to the year 1949. Total employment figures are as furnished by the Ministry of Agriculture. Employment figures of women include female children also. Employment figures for women and children have been estimated on the basis of the proportion of employment as revealed in the Annual Reports of the Working of the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act in the case of Assam and on the basis of the proportion as contained in the reports of the Labour Investigation Committee in other cases.

‡Information relates only to some important municipalities in various States for the year 1951.

@Information relates to 10 States and 5 river valley projects and pertains to the year 1951.

In other industries women are entitled to their average weekly earnings subject to a minimum of Rs. 2 per week. The Travancore-Cochin Act and the West Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Act provide for the payment of benefit at the rate of Rs. 5-4-0 per week.

The Assam Act lays down that employers shall provide free medical aid to women during the period of confinement. Under the Mines Maternity Benefit Act employers are required to pay a bonus of Rs. 3/- to women if they do not provide free services of a qualified midwife or other trained person. Under the U.P. and Bihar Acts women who avail themselves of the services of a qualified midwife or a trained woman health visitor at the time of confinement are entitled to a bonus of Rs. 5/-. These two Acts provide that working mothers of children below one year of age shall be entitled to two extra rest intervals of half an hour each. However, if there is a creche the duration of rest intervals shall be only 15 minutes. The Bihar and U.P. Acts further provide that in every factory in which 50 or more women are employed or where not less than 25 per cent. of the workers employed are women and the number of such women is not less than 10, a creche shall be maintained. In the case of miscarriage the U.P. Act provides for three weeks' leave with pay.

Provision exists in all the Acts for protection of women against dismissal by the employers, during the period they are enjoying maternity benefit.

As is evident from the foregoing, there is a considerable amount of diversity in the provisions of the various State Acts relating to maternity benefit. It is expected that when the Employees' State Insurance Act is put into force in all the States there will be uniform provision regarding payment of maternity benefit to women employed in perennial factories throughout India. Under this Act women will be entitled to claim maternity benefit for confinement occurring or expected to occur in a benefit period (generally of 26 consecutive weeks) if, during the corresponding contribution period, weekly contributions in respect of them were payable for not less than 2/3rd of the number of weeks during which they were available for employment, subject to a minimum of 12 contributions. Out of these contributions, at least one must have been paid between 35 and 40 weeks before the week in which the confinement takes place or in which notice of pregnancy is given. The period of benefit is 12 weeks of which not more than 6 can precede the expected date of confinement. During this period women are entitled to benefit either at the rate at which they could have claimed sickness benefit, if they were qualified for it, or annas 12 per day whichever is greater. Women are also entitled to medical benefit during the period they are receiving maternity benefit. The Act protects women against dismissal or punishment during the period they are receiving maternity benefit or are under medical treatment for sickness arising out of pregnancy or confinement.

Repatriation : The Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act, 1932 confers upon every emigrant labourer the right of repatriation as against the employer employing him or her on the expiry of three years from the date of his or her entry into Assam. The right of repatriation is not confined to the worker alone but extends to his or her family also irrespective of whether his wife herself is an emigrant labourer or not. However, if the worker concerned is a married woman living with her husband who is also an emigrant labourer, her right of repatriation extends only to herself and any children dependent on her. The family of an emigrant labourer, other than that of a married woman living with her husband and having no child living with her is entitled to repatriation in case of death of the labourer before the expiry of three years.

CHAPTER III

Employment

Complete information regarding gainfully employed persons in agriculture in the whole of India is not available and, therefore, it is not possible to estimate the total number of women workers in the whole country. Information, however, is available in respect of nine Part A States. According to the data collected during the 1951 Census there were 109,018,995 gainfully employed persons in nine Part A States. Out of these, 31,184,479 or 28.6 per cent. were women. A statement showing the number of men and women engaged in agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits in the different States is shown in Appendix II.

Of the total number of (1,09,018,995) persons gainfully employed in all the States, 78,772,298 or 72.3 per cent. were in agricultural pursuits and the remaining 30,246,697 or 27.7 per cent. in non-agricultural pursuits. The percentage of women to total in agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits was 31.7 and 20.6 respectively for all the nine States together varying from 14.6 per cent. in West Bengal to 45.4 per cent. in Madhya Pradesh in the former case and from 15.6 per cent. in West Bengal to 31.5 per cent. in Madhya Pradesh in the latter.

Statistics regarding the number of persons employed are not available in all the sectors of economic activity. Information is available regarding the number of workers employed in factories, mines and plantations; partial information is also available regarding workers employed in municipalities, public works departments and river valley projects. The following tabular statement shows the total number of adult workers and also the number of women workers employed in some of the sectors :—

Table 1

Sector	Total No. of adult workers	Number of women workers	Percentage of women workers to total
1. Factories*	27,74,557	3,42,148	12.3
2. Mines**	4,71,761	96,506	20.5
3. Plantations†	11,41,647	5,32,406	46.6
4. Municipalities‡	1,18,647	28,269	23.7
5. Public Works Departments and River Valley Projects@	20,59,579	4,58,936	22.3

*From Factory Statistics, 1950. Information relates to all Part A States and to Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, PEPSU, Saurashtra and Travancore-Cochin among Part B States and to Ajmer, Bhopal and Delhi among Part C States.

**Source: Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines for 1950—Covers mines in 9 Part A States and the Part C States of Ajmer and Delhi. Coal mines in the Part B (excepting Jammu and Kashmir) and the Part C States and Diamond mines in Vindhya Pradesh are also covered.

†Information relates to the year 1949. Total employment figures are as furnished by the Ministry of Agriculture. Employment figures of women include female children also. Employment figures for women and children have been estimated on the basis of the proportion of employment as revealed in the Annual Reports of the Working of the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act in the case of Assam and on the basis of the proportion as contained in the reports of the Labour Investigation Committee in other cases.

‡Information relates only to some important municipalities in various States for the year 1951.

@Information relates to 10 States and 5 river valley projects and pertains to the year 1951.

It will be seen from the above table that women form a considerable proportion of the adult labour force in the major sectors of economic activity in the country. In factory industries out of a total of 27,74,557 adult workers 3,42,148 or 12.3 per cent. are women. In mines 20.5 per cent. of the total number of adult workers i. e., out of 4,71,761 workers, 96,506 are women. The percentage is highest in plantations. In this industry women (including female children) constitute 46.6 per cent. of the total labour force.

Factories. The following tabular statement shows the total number of workers employed in factories since 1927 and the proportion of women among the factory workers.

Table 2
Average Daily Employment in Factories

Years	Total No. employed	Women workers employed	Percentage of women to total
1927	1,432,029	242,666	16.95
1932	1,329,133	215,381	16.20
1937	1,675,869	237,933	14.20
1942	2,282,237	265,118	11.62
1943	2,436,312	265,509	10.90
1944	2,522,753	273,244	10.83
1945	2,642,949	306,626	11.60
1946*	2,314,587	271,997	11.75
1947	2,274,689	263,923	11.60
1948	2,360,201	268,615	11.38
1949	2,433,966	275,710	11.33

Source : Statistics of Factories.

*Figures up to 1946 relate to British India. The subsequent figures relate to the corresponding States of the Indian Union, i. e., 9 Part A States and 3 Part C States viz., Ajmer, Delhi and Coorg. Figures for Andaman and Nicobar Islands are also included. Figures for 1946 exclude Punjab and the N. W. F. P.

It will be seen from the above table that though the total employment in factories has increased considerably since 1927 there has been no appreciable increase in the total number of women workers. The percentage of women workers to the total labour force has actually fallen from 16.95 in 1927 to 11.33 in 1949.

A study of the distribution of labour according to industries shows that the largest number of women workers are employed in the textile industry. Other important industries from the point of view of the number of women workers are food, gins and presses, tobacco, non-metallic mineral products and chemicals and chemical products. The table below shows the distribution of employment in the different industries :

Table 3
Table showing adult employment in factories during the year 1950

Industry (1)	Men (2)	Women (3)	Total (Men and Women) (4)
1. Processes allied to agriculture (Gins and Presses)	68,811	48,797	1,17,608
2. Food except beverages	2,85,465	83,377	3,68,842
3. Beverages	6,393	68	6,461

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
4. Tobacco		69,583	46,326	1,15,909
5. Textiles		10,18,411	1,14,755	11,33,166
6. Footwear, other wearing apparel and made up textile goods		8,316	117	8,433
7. Wood and cork (except furniture)		22,870	2,220	25,090
8. Furniture and fixtures		6,535	184	6,719
9. Paper and paper products		22,264	1,326	24,490
10. Printing, publishing and allied trades		72,273	317	72,590
11. Leather and leather products (except footwear)		13,832	624	14,456
12. Rubber and rubber products		21,634	582	22,216
13. Chemicals and chemical products		64,353*	10,716	75,069
14. Products of petroleum and coal		12,205	589	12,814
15. Non-metallic mineral products (except products of coal and petroleum)		1,01,582	16,750	1,18,332
16. Basic metal industries		98,369	9,964	1,05,333
17. Manufacture of metal products (except machinery and transport equipment)		53,378	1,398	54,776
18. Manufacture of machinery (except electrical machinery and transport equipment)		97,829	1,046	98,875
19. Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies		29,017	871	29,888
20. Transport and transport equipment		2,00,617	665	2,01,282
21. Miscellaneous industries		1,07,665	3,561	1,11,226
22. Electricity, gas and steam		25,122	318	25,440
23. Wate. and sanitary services		3,928	72	4,000
24. Recreation services (cinema studios)		4,111	30	4,141
25. Personal services (laundries, dyeing and cleaning)		1,196	56	1,252

The percentage of the number of women employed to total adult labour force is highest in gins and presses (41.5). Next comes Tobacco. (40.0) followed by Food except beverages (22.6), Chemicals and chemical products and Non-metallic mineral products (14.2 each) and Textiles (10.1). In the remaining industries, the percentage of women's employment to total is less than 10.

Detailed statements showing the number of men and women employed in the different industries in the different States (Part A, B and C separately) are shown in Appendices III, IV and V.

The largest number of women are employed in Madras State. This State employs 86,810 women in factories. Next in the order is Bombay where, 81,533 women are employed. Other Part A States in the order of importance are West Bengal (56,969), Madhya Pradesh (20,537), Assam (12,240), Bihar (11,535), Orissa (3,150), U. P. (2,399) and the Punjab (2,396). In Madras out of a total of 86,810 women workers, 25,351 are employed in tobacco factories, 21,620 in textile factories and 21,126 in food (except beverages) factories. In Bombay State textile factories employ the largest number of women workers, *i. e.*, 36,706 out of a total of 81,533. Other industries which employ considerable numbers of women workers in the State are tobacco

*Includes 900 workers for whom sex classification is not available. (Information relates to all Part A States, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Mysore, PEPSU, Saurashtra, Travancore-Cochin, Ajmer, Bhopal and Delhi).

(12,972) and gins and presses (15,899). In West Bengal the largest number of women (37,584) are employed in textile factories.

Among Part B States the largest number of women are employed in Travancore-Cochin. Most of them i. e., 21,517 out of a total of 25,404 are employed in factories in the group 'Food except beverages'. In Hyderabad 12,951 women are employed—5,738 in gins and presses, 2,574 in 'Food except beverages' and 2,283 in tobacco factories.

The incidence of women's employment in the three Part C States is very small and of the order of only 3.8 per cent out of a total employment of 61,537 men and women.

As stated earlier, the largest number of women workers in the factory group of industries are employed in textile factories. The bulk of women workers in this industry are employed in cotton and jute mills. Serial statistics of employment in textiles are available only for cotton and jute factories and these are given in the tabular statement below for the period 1927 to 1950—quinquennially upto 1942 and annually thereafter.

Table 4

Table showing total employment in cotton and jute mills and the proportion of women therein

Year	COTTON		JUTE	
	Total No. of workers	No. of women workers	Total No. of workers	No. of women workers
1927	3,42,941	66,532 (19.4)	3,32,119	55,412 (16.7)
1932	3,96,523	67,756 (17.1)	2,63,442	41,581 (15.8)
1937	4,74,134	65,417 (13.8)	3,05,785	39,336 (12.9)
1942	6,11,025	69,927 (11.4)	3,09,962	36,859 (11.9)
1943	6,50,793	72,282 (11.1)	3,02,304	36,592 (12.1)
1944	6,56,613	70,464 (10.7)	2,88,663	37,869 (13.1)
1945	6,57,882	69,706 (10.6)	3,03,319	40,963 (13.5)
1946*	6,30,609	68,530 (10.9)	3,13,133	43,165 (13.8)
1947	6,37,090	64,430 (10.1)	3,19,302	41,872 (13.1)
1948	6,43,492	61,743 (9.6)	3,29,429	41,966 (12.7)
1949	6,53,309	59,531 (9.1)	3,22,159	41,576 (12.9)
1950	6,22,339	52,628 (8.5)	3,03,364	37,531 (12.4)

As in the case of the factory industries taken as a whole the percentage of women to the total employment in the cotton and jute mills has fallen considerably since 1927. The figures are, however, subject to the reservation that there is a change in coverage due to partition of the country in 1947, but the effect of that on the textile industry has been so small that it may be ignored for statistical purposes. In cotton mills in 1927 out of a total of 3,42,941 workers 66,532 or 19.4 per cent. were women. In 1950 only 52,628 women were employed in cotton mills forming only 8.5 per cent. of the total labour force. This drop in the number of women employed is significant in the face of the fact that the total labour force in the industry increased by 81.5 per cent. during the period. A study of the trend of employment in the various centres shows that there has been a gradual fall in the number of women employed in cotton textiles in all the States. In Bombay, for instance, the percentage of women workers fell from 13.7 per cent. in 1939 to 7.7 per cent. in 1950, although the total number of workers increased from 2,95,138 in 1939 to 3,88,549 in 1950.

*The figures from 1927 to 1946 relate to pre-partition British India. The subsequent figures relate to the corresponding States of the Indian Union. Figures for 1946 exclude Punjab and N. W. F. P. Figures in brackets denote percentage of women to total.

This decline in the incidence of women's employment in cotton textiles has been mainly due to the introduction of the system of multiple shift working and change over of shifts. Because of the restriction imposed by the Factories Act regarding employment of women during night men workers had to be employed in the night shifts even in those occupations which were traditionally considered to be women's occupations. The fixation of uniform minimum wages and dearness allowance and the introduction of the system of rationalisation also caused the decline in the number of women workers. During the war years there was a sudden increase in the employment of women because mills considered efficiency per machine and not per worker as a criterion for making profits. With the fixation of minimum workloads and standardisation of wages it was impossible to continue such conditions and the surplus labour among women workers was retrenched. Women were retrenched because workloads amongst male workers were not so low as in the case of winders and reelers who were women. As a result of standardisation of wages, etc., a number of miscellaneous departments, e.g., cotton waste, bobbin picking, etc., were also closed affecting a number of women workers.

In the jute mill industry in 1927 women formed 16.7 per cent. of the labour force *i.e.*, 55,412 out of 3,32,119 workers were women. In 1950 women employed in jute mills numbered 37,531 forming only 12.4 per cent. of the labour force. The reasons for the fall in the number of women appear to be :

(1) Statutory obligations imposed upon employers e.g. restriction on night work of women, restrictions regarding lifting of weights, maternity benefits, obligations regarding maintenance of creches, etc.

(2) Rationalisation and introduction of new machines. The new machines which are being installed eliminate various manual processes which are being performed by women. Moreover some of the machines involve more strain which women cannot bear.

(3) In the softener feeder section, one of the main sections where women were employed, employment of women has been prohibited under the West Bengal Factories Rules. This ban was imposed as a result of a number of serious accidents which occurred due to the entanglement of bangles or saris of women while feeding jute to machines.

In the jute industry the process of elimination is gradual. Employers are trying to recruit men in the vacancies created by the retirement of women. Sometimes vacancies are not filled.

An interesting feature of women's employment in the cotton textile industry is that as we go from North to South the proportion of women seems to increase. The following table shows the number of men and women employed in different centres of the industry during 1950.

Table 5
Employment of women in certain centres of the cotton textile industry (1950)

Centre	Total No. of workers employed	No. of women employed	Percentage of women workers
Delhi	12,641	88	—
Kanpur	39,730	84	—
Ahmedabad	91,424	5,431	5.9
Sholapur (4 units)	13,337	1,092	8.1
Indore & Gwalior (7 units)	32,205	458	—
Bombay City	223,795	26,302	11.7
Hyderabad (2 units)	7,109	455	6.4
Madras	14,071	—	—
Madura	13,095	2,254	17.2
Bangalore (3 units)	10,675	1,476	13.8
Travancore-Cochin (2 units)	2,870	950	33.8

Similarly in the jute mill industry the percentage of women workers to the total labour force is highest in Madras, being 14.4 per cent. In West Bengal it was 13 in 1950 and 12 in 1951. The corresponding percentages for U. P. and Bihar were 2.5 and 2.4 respectively in 1950. Despite the fact that the industry is concentrated in West Bengal nearly 85 per cent. of the women employed in the jute mills in that State belong to other States. Most of them belong to the States of U. P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Madras. The following tabular statement shows the frequency distribution of women workers from different States in certain units in West Bengal which were surveyed in connection with the present enquiry.

Table 6

State	No. of women	Percentage
Bihar	498	17.7
Madhya Pradesh	375	13.3
Orissa	225	8.0
U. P.	635	22.6
West Bengal	411	14.6
East Pakistan	18	0.6
Madras & other States	652	23.2
Total	2,814	100.0

The employment of women in cotton and jute mills has for a long time now been confined to certain departments. Such concentration has been the outcome of tradition and history and is not the result of any deliberate or pre-conceived plan of division of labour. In both the industries women are generally employed in unskilled occupations. The departments in which women are employed in large numbers are winding and reeling. In these departments women form a considerable proportion of the labour force. The following tabular statement shows the percentages of men and women workers in the winding and reeling departments in cotton mills in certain centres of the industry.

Table 7

Centre	Winding Deptt.		Reeling Deptt.	
	Men (%)	Women (%)	Men (%)	Women (%)
Ahmedabad	46	54	23	77
Bombay Island & City	39	61	75	25
Bhavnagar	17	83	22	78
Hyderabad	44	56	31	69
Indore	7	93	20	80
Trichur	—	100	—	100

In the jute mill industry most of the women are employed in batching, preparing and finishing departments. They are generally employed in occupations which are of a routine or mechanical character involving little or no skill. In West Bengal, where the industry is concentrated, 80 to 100 per cent. of workers in batching, preparing and finishing departments in the mills are women. In some of the mills a few women are employed in spinning departments as twisters and in the winding departments as winders.

It is interesting to note that while in India women are mostly employed in unskilled occupations in the textile industry, in foreign countries they are generally employed in more skilled occupations. They are extensively employed on weaving and spinning and are considered valuable in operations requiring

precision and dexterity. No conclusive information is available regarding the reason why employment of women in the cotton and jute industry is confined to a few limited unskilled occupations in this country. Probably their employment in these occupations has the force of tradition behind it. In the jute mill industry certain occupations in which women are employed are known as 'maghi' jobs or women's jobs. Following the acute shortage of labour after the bombing of Calcutta during World War II, women were tried as spinners and weavers in jute mills in West Bengal but were found to be unsuitable. The available information shows that no woman is employed in any supervisory post in jute mills. In the course of the enquiry efforts were made to collect information regarding comparative efficiency of men and women workers doing the same work but no conclusive information was available. While some mill managers and labour officers expressed the view that there was no difference in efficiency, others held that women were more efficient in occupations which involved routine or mechanical work. The Indian Jute Mills Association in their reply to a questionnaire issued by the Labour Bureau have stated that women are more suitable for hand sewing and breaker card feeding operations.

There is practically no occupational mobility in the jute mills as between men and women and between women and women. There is no ladder for promotion for women nor do they seem to be keen on taking up other jobs. Due to employment of women in certain occupations for a long time a sort of convention has developed whereby these occupations have come to be known as 'maghi' jobs or women's jobs. Men generally do not like to take up such jobs.

Silk and Woollen Industries :

The following tabular statement shows employment in silk and woollen mills in certain States during 1950.

Table 8

State	SILK MILLS			WOOLLEN MILLS		
	Total employment	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employment	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers
Assam	...	...	...	...	—	...
Bihar	205	...	...	546	...	...
Bombay	29,616	4,373	14.8	4,623	374	8.1
Madhya Pradesh	...	...	...	—	...	...
Madras	860	286	33.3	693	275	39.7
Orissa	...	...	...	...	...	...
Punjab	5,168	230	4.4	3,840	173	4.5
U.P.	2,040	...	...	3,236	41	1.3
West Bengal	2,543	87	3.4	531	...	...
Ajmer	...	...	...	...	...	...
Delhi	27	...	...	4	...	...
Total	40,459	4,976	12.3	13,473	863	6.4

Women form 12.3 per cent. of the total labour force in silk mills and 6.4 per cent. in woollen mills. In these two industries also the percentage of women to the total labour force is higher in South India than in the North. In silk mills women are mostly employed in winding departments. A considerable number of them are also employed in folding and piru-winding departments.

Other Industries

The frequency distribution of women's employment in certain other factory industries is shown in Appendix VI from which can be seen also how the employment of women in the different industries stands in relation to total employment.

It will be seen from the Appendix that of the industries covered Tea accounts for the largest number of women workers. In tea factories women form 25.2 per cent. of the labour force. Women are generally employed in tea factories to carry tea leaves in various stages of production from one machine to another. They are also employed in separating stalk and coarse leaves from manufactured tea.

Next to the cotton textile industry, the cashew nut industry is probably the largest employer of women workers among factory industries. Appendix VI contains information regarding only Part A and some of the Part C States. Cashew nut factories are largely concentrated in the Quilon district of Travancore-Cochin State. In this State about 40,000 women are employed in cashew nut factories and they form about 95 per cent. of the total labour force. The shelling, peeling and grading of cashew nuts are done by women.

Women form 33.8 per cent. of the total labour force in rice mills. The percentage is comparatively high in West Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Madras. In West Bengal they are generally employed as 'Chatal' mazdoors and 'Huller' mazdoors. 'Chatal' mazdoors are responsible for the proper drying of boiled paddy. Huller mazdoors feed the husking and fanning machines and carry the finished rice to the godowns. In Madras they are employed in drying and steeping of paddy and carrying husk and rice from one place to another. They are also employed in separating stones and hay from paddy and broken rice from whole rice and for sweeping. Women are preferred to men for these jobs because they are considered to be more suitable for such work and also because their labour is cheaper.*

The *bidi* industry is one of the biggest unorganised and far flung industries in India. Bidis are manufactured at factories as well as at homes. The number of workers employed in factories covered by the Factories Act is given in Appendix VI. In the units covered by the Factories Act, women form 28.5 per cent. of the labour force. The percentage is highest in Ajmer being 63.5. In Bombay it is 52.6 per cent. and in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh it is 35.7 per cent. and 34.5 per cent. respectively. A much larger number of workers who are employed in the industry are not covered by the Factories Act. Due to the unorganised nature of this part of the industry it is not possible to give any information regarding the number of workers employed. A part of the work in the industry *i.e.* cutting of wrapper leaves is usually carried out at home. In this system which is known as *gharkhata* (work at home) women are mainly engaged. The nature of work of women varies from place to place, ranging from mere cutting of leaves to making finished bidis. In Madras, women find employment in all stages of *bidi* manufacture, though they do all their work in their homes. Materials are supplied to them at their doors by the agents of manufacturers and the finished products are collected the next day.

Mines

In the mining industry women form approximately one-fifth of the total labour force. In 1950, out of a total of 4,71,761 persons employed in mines 96,506 or 20.5 per cent. were women. 59.5 per cent. of the women employed in the mining industry are employed in coal mines, 16.6 per cent. in manganese mines, 6.3 per cent. in iron ore mines, 3.8 per cent. in mica mines and the rest (*i.e.* 13.8 per cent.) in other mines. Appendix VII gives the employment figures in the mining industry for the decennial period ending 1950.

*Report on Labour Conditions in the Rice Mills by B. P. Adarkar page 13.

Subject to the reservation that the figures from 1947 onwards are not strictly comparable with those for the previous years owing to partition of the country, though its effect was not significant, the number of women employed in mines increased considerably during the decade ending 1950. The percentage of women to the total labour force employed in the industry also increased during the period from 17.9 to 20.5. The increase in the number of women employed in coal and iron ore mines was nearly 100 per cent. in each case. In manganese mines the number increased by 15.8 per cent. Mica is the only major industry which recorded a 15.8 per cent. fall in the number of women employed during the period. The year 1946 was the peak year from the point of view of employment of women in mines. The number of women employed in mines in 1946 was 1,01,820. The proportion of women to the total labour force during this year was also the highest being 24.7 per cent. The increase in the number of women during war years was specially due to shortage of labour. Appreciable increase was recorded after 1943 when the Government of India lifted the ban on the employment of women underground. As a result of this the number of women employed underground increased from 7,111 in 1943 to 22,517 in 1945. The ban was reimposed in February 1946 as a result of which the employment of women underground fell to 10,782 in 1946 and disappeared completely in 1947.

The percentage of women to the total labour force is highest (45.9) in manganese mines. Next in the order are the iron ore mines in which the percentage of women employed is 34.9. In coal mines where the largest number of women are employed the percentage is only 16.4.

In the earlier stage of development of coal mining industry, some of the important communities of colliery workers like *Bauris*, *Santhals*, *Dhangars* and *Koras* migrated to the coalfields along with their families and worked in family groups underground. The miners used to work in pairs—the *malkats* and his *kamin*—the former cutting the coal and the latter loading the tubs. In 1919, women formed 38.1% of the colliery labour force and for every 10 men employed underground there were about 7 women for the same job. In the year 1929, the Government of India laid down that there should be a progressive reduction in the number of women working underground and they promulgated regulations under Section 29 (j) of the Indian Mines Act prohibiting employment of women underground in collieries in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and C. P. which came into effect from July 1939. As a result of this the percentage of women to total employment in coal mines dropped to 11.4 in 1939. During the period 1939 to 1942 women were not employed underground. However, as stated earlier during the second World War, as a result of shortage of labour in coal mining areas, Government had to permit employment of women underground under certain conditions. During 1944-45, the employment of women in coal mines attained the level of 1929 and women formed about 24.7 per cent. of the total labour force. With the end of the war the ban was reimposed by Government from 1st February 1946. During the period 1948-1950, the employment of women in coal mines remained more or less stationary and their number fluctuated round about 55,000. Compared to 1946 which was the peak year of employment of women there has been a reduction of about 24,000 in the number of women workers in coal mines during the period 1947-49.

An examination of the figures for 1950 shows that the largest concentration of women workers was in coalfields in Bihar where they formed about 20 per cent of the total labour force. In the coalfields of West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh the percentage of women workers was about 14 and 12 respectively. In Vindhya Pradesh it was slightly above 10 and in Assam, Orissa and Hyderabad it was generally of the order of 5.

Due to the ban imposed by Government on employment of women under-

ground, women are at present employed in the open workings and on the surface only. On the surface the most important occupation of women workers is wagon loading. According to the Senior Personnel Officer of the Indian Mining Association "It is the general opinion of employers in coal industry that there are certain jobs for which women are more suitable than men. These are jobs like sand loading and wagon loading". Other occupations in which women are employed in coal mines are ash cleaning, pallet making, surface trimming, carrying of brick, sanitary and conservancy work, shale picking on the mechanical loading, screening plant, etc.

In manganese mines women are employed for loading of tubs and wagons, dressing, sorting, picking, screening, raising and selection of ores. In mica mines they are employed for the removal of muck and earth from the pit to the mouth.*

Plantations

This section offers the largest employment to women workers as was observed earlier. During the year 1949 plantations in India employed on average 11,41,647 workers per day. The bulk of the employment was in tea plantations which accounted for 9,35,616 workers and more than half of them were employed in Assam. Coffee and rubber estates which employed 2,06,031 workers in 1949 are all located in South India where, besides, 1,78,290 workers were employed in tea plantations during that year. Figures of employment separately for men and women are available only in respect of Assam where, in 1949-1950, 47.2 per cent. of the adult labour force was female. According to the estimates of the Labour Investigation Committee 44.7 per cent. of the total labour force in the Dooars, 47.4 per cent. in the Terai and 44.8 per cent. in the Darjeeling tea gardens were adult women. In South India 47 per cent. of the total labour force in tea, 40 per cent. in coffee and 24 per cent. in rubber estates were adult women. On the basis of these percentages the total number of women workers in the plantations all over the country in 1949 may be estimated to be 5,32,406 or 46.6 per cent. of the total.

Serial statistics regarding the proportion of women employed are available only in respect of Assam and these are shown in the table below :

Table 9

Year	Total number of adult workers on books	Number of women workers on books	Percentage of women workers
1933-34	5,37,723	2,50,347	46.6
1934-35	5,20,053	2,45,095	47.1
1935-36	5,80,717	2,70,387	46.6
1936-37	5,55,242	2,61,898	47.2
1937-38	5,58,128	2,63,280	47.2
1938-39	5,70,888	2,71,446	47.5
1939-40	5,64,452	2,69,480	47.7
1940-41	5,28,353	2,55,061	48.3
1941-42	5,59,790	2,70,168	48.3
1942-43	5,23,188	2,60,621	49.8
1943-44	4,99,184	2,49,813	50.0
1944-45	5,02,391	2,50,628	49.9
1945-46†	5,02,387	2,38,201	47.4
1946-47	4,40,339	2,05,635	46.7
1947-48	4,48,568	2,11,012	47.0
1948-49	4,82,251	2,28,928	47.5
1949-50	4,81,752	2,27,478	47.2

*Labour conditions in the Mica Mining and Mica Manufacturing Industry by B. P. Adarkar, p.7.

†Figures for 1945-46 and the preceding years include figures for Sylhet now in Pakistan. (Source :— Annual Reports on the working of the Tea District Emigrant Labour Act).

Except during the war years, when there was a slight increase in the proportion of women workers probably due to the drafting of male workers in plantations, for war projects, the proportion of women workers to the total labour force has been evenly maintained. From the tabular statement above it will be noticed that the number of workers fell considerably during 1946-47. This fall was largely due to the transfer of certain gardens in the Sylhet district to Pakistan as a result of partition of the country. If the transfer of Sylhet district to Pakistan is ignored there was actually a slight increase in employment.

The reasons for the employment of women in such large numbers in plantations are : (1) the nature of work on plantations, being more of an agricultural character, requires little skill and women from the Indian villages who have been traditionally following agricultural pursuits can easily adapt themselves to the work ; (2) recruitment to plantations is on a family basis. The plantations were opened on virgin land far removed from settled villages and often at high altitudes on the hills. There local labour was not available and the planters had to depend on labour recruited from distant places. The planters naturally desired to have a more or less settled labour force and, therefore, they recruited entire families and provided living facilities to them so that the craving for home and the hearth among the new recruits may not interfere with their attachment to the plantations. They promised to find work on the estates for women and children as well and this gave a further incentive for the labourers to emigrate to the plantations; and (3) the low wages prevailing in the plantations necessitate that all members of the family including women and children should work.

The occupations in which women are generally employed are plucking of leaf in tea estates and picking of berries in coffee estates. They are also engaged on weeding in tea, coffee and rubber plantations. In several occupations they are as efficient as men and in some, such as the plucking of the tea leaf, they are considered more efficient than men. Although in Assam and West Bengal men are also employed on tea plucking, in South India leaf plucking can be said to be the exclusive field of women. In the busy season the earnings of women workers doing plucking on piece basis are higher than those of men. Similarly, during the crop season women workers in coffee estates earn much more than men on coffee picking. Generally women are employed in forking and cheeling and do hand weeding in all plantations. A few women also do semi-skilled work such as pruning in tea and tapping in rubber estates. In tea factories only the aged and infirm women are employed on picking out stalks, etc.

Recruitment

With the exception of a few employers who utilise Employment Exchanges, all employers recruit workers directly. In the cotton textile industry women are recruited directly by the mill authorities through the employment bureau. In some of the centres of the industry the services of jobbers and *Mukaddams* are still being utilised for the purpose of recruitment. In a number of units workers are recruited through Labour or Welfare Officers who register the names of applicants and recommend workers to the various departments. It would appear that, generally speaking, preference is given to wives or relatives of the workers. An important development in the system of recruitment in recent years has been the introduction of the Textile Employment Decasualisation Scheme for the cotton textile industry in centres like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur and Kanpur. In the jute mill industry in West Bengal recruitment is done through the Labour Bureau set up by the

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mills. These Bureaus are in charge of Labour Officers or Welfare Officers. In coal mines recruitment is generally done through *Sirdars* or *Mukaddams*. Sometimes workers obtain employment through the help of their relatives already working in coal mines.

The problem of recruitment to the tea plantations of Assam has a long history. The shortage of local labour available for work on the tea plantations of Assam had in the olden days necessitated special recruitment of labour from far-off places through professional recruiting agents called *Sardars*. Labour was being recruited mostly from the States of Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Madras and Uttar Pradesh. The extent of recruitment depended each year on the conditions prevailing in the estates, and the availability of local labour. The following table shows the number of men, women and children who migrated to Assam from the various States for work in the tea plantations during the period 1929-30 to 1949-50 quinquennially from 1929-30 up to 1945-46 and annually thereafter.

Table 10
Number of Emigrants to Assam*

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1929-30	33,510	14,117	12,169	59,796
1934-35	7,317	6,286	6,365	19,968
1939-40	9,488	7,792	7,497	24,777
1944-45	18,615	12,690	13,842	45,147
1945-46	17,912	12,580	14,082	44,574
1946-47	17,529	11,985	13,493	43,007
1947-48	15,610	10,103	11,045	36,758
1948-49	13,264	9,838	9,330	32,432
1949-50	13,085	7,919	7,096	28,100

*Figures for 1946-47 and earlier years relate to pre-partition Assam.

As the emigrant labour got settled in the estates, the need for further recruitment naturally diminished. Thus in 1934-35 less than 20 thousand persons migrated to Assam as against nearly 60 thousand in 1929-30. In the subsequent five years, there was a slight increase in the volume of migration, but it was during the war period that there was a considerable increase in the volume of fresh recruitment as a result of the demand for labour created by the diversion of the local and settled labour to war projects in the frontier State of Assam. After the termination of the war, emigration to Assam has again shown a downward trend.

It will be seen from the figures given above, that women form a considerable proportion of the emigrant labour accounting for about 28 per cent. in 1949-50. This is due mainly to the fact that recruitment to the Assam tea plantations is made mostly on a family basis.

The system of recruitment of workers for tea plantations in Assam is now regulated by the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act. The Act provides for the licensing of recruiting *Sirdars* and prescribes the routes through which workers shall be sent to Assam and the facilities which shall be provided to them during transit. Under the Act no married woman who is living with her husband can be assisted to proceed to Assam without the consent of her husband. Recruitment is made through the established planters' Associations. Persons recruited are given housing facilities and employment to their family members is also found in the plantations. In West Bengal persons recruited for tea gardens get one week's free ration and a blanket and cooking utensils free of cost. In South India recruitment of workers for coffee and

rubber plantations is made partly locally and partly from neighbouring areas through *Kanganis*.

Workers for Public Works are recruited locally as well as from outside depending upon the availability of local workers. Though recruitment is not exactly on a family basis, it is reported that often both husband and wife (along with their other family members) come and seek work. Whenever contractors import labour from outside, they usually pay advances to workers.

Employment Exchanges

Employment Exchanges set up by the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment provide special facilities to women seeking employment. At every Employment Exchange there is a separate section which deals with the special employment problems of women applicants. The following tabular statement shows the number of women on live registers of the Exchanges at the end of 1951 and the number of women placed in employment in different occupations during 1949, 1950 and the first eleven months of 1951.

Table 11

Occupations	No. of women placed in employment during			No. of women on live Registers on 31-12-1951
	1949	1950	1951*	
Telephone Operator	316	414	758	911
Doctor	2	7	6	22
Health visitor, vaccinator, nurse and midwife	93	88	101	350
Dispenser, compounder, dresser and hospital servant	91	213	280	533
Professor, lecturer and demonstrator	4	1	5	35
Teacher	333	296	254	849
Administrative Officer, Office Superintendent, general manager	53	18	9	49
Personnel Officer	—	—	1	6
Receptionist	14	9	15	22
Secretary	8	6	8	11
Social Welfare worker	—	7	14	33
Clerk	713	532	1,098	3,350
Typist and stenographer	536	438	412	670
Domestic servant	32	35	36	60
Cook	34	28	22	33
Tailor	236	10	4	56
Sweeper	217	789	1,234	646
Ayah	99	144	142	383
Packer filler	23	53	42	105
Unskilled worker	7,378	16,963	15,414	1,486
Reeler and winder*	8	38	163	26
Weaver	225	—	19	15
Grader tobacco	—	3,044	3,222	—
Miscellaneous	1,205	1,007	3,158	723
TOTAL	11,690	24,140	26,417	10,374

*Figures relate to the first 11 months of 1951.

The largest groups of applicants belong to the trades of telephone operators, nurses, midwives, hospital servants, school teachers, clerks, *ayahs*

and unskilled labourers. Thirty seven per cent. of women applied for clerical posts.

The extent to which women workers are recruited through the Employment Exchanges is as yet limited. While comparatively large numbers are registered and placed in some States, *e. g.*, Madras and Bombay, the number is small in other States. Shortage of women applicants is reported in the occupations of nurses, *ayahs*, midwives, doctors, stenographers and trained teachers. There is a surplus of women applicants for clerical posts. One of the problems facing the Exchanges in finding employment for women registrants is that they are not willing to accept employment away from their homes. Many of them are untrained or insufficiently trained as teachers or nurses. Mobility is very limited and the absence of suitable housing facilities at places where jobs are available is the most important single factor that limits mobility. Unattractive wages and conditions of service are also factors which prevent women from accepting employment in distant places. It is reported by the Exchanges that women are not willing to accept employment in rural areas. Some of the employers are reluctant to employ women as it involves, in their view, making some special arrangements exclusively for them.

Training

The available information shows that in no case have employers made any special arrangements for the training of women workers. Arrangements for the vocational training of women workers have been made by the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment. The training of women formed a part of the training scheme which was started by the Ministry of Labour in 1946 to provide training for ex-service personnel. Under this scheme training was given to ex-service women, who were employed in Auxiliary Services of the armed forces in handicraft and clerical and commercial occupations. This scheme which came to an end in 1948, was followed immediately by the training programme for displaced women. The adult civilian training scheme at present in force was started in 1950 and caters for all categories of women applicants. The trades in which training is imparted include knitting (hand and machine), hand weaving of fancy fabrics, bleaching and dyeing of cloth, embroidery and needle work, manufacture of sports goods, stenography, cutting and tailoring, preservation of fruits and vegetables and manufacture of confectionary. These are occupations which women applicants usually prefer and which enable them to start work on their own or on a co-operative cottage industry basis without necessarily going in for employment on completion of the course. At present there are four training centres for women — two in Madras and one each at Delhi and Dehra Dun. In addition, women are also being trained along with men at some of the other centres of the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment. No special qualifications are insisted upon for admission to training except such as are necessary for the trainee to understand the subject and follow the exercises that are given. The period of training extends up to one year in accordance with the nature of the subject taught. Upto the December 1951, 274 women had completed training, passing the prescribed trade tests and 362 were undergoing training at the end of the month. According to the Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment, women are generally not attracted to technical trades. At one centre facilities for the training of women in radio servicing and draughtsmanship were provided, but the response from women applicants was extremely poor.

Miscellaneous

Among the other non-agricultural sectors women are employed in considerable numbers in municipal services and construction. Complete and reliable information regarding the number of women employed in these sectors is, however, not available.

So far as municipalities are concerned, it would appear from the available information that women form about 20 to 25 per cent. of the total employment. The following table (Table No. 12) which gives the available information State-wise, shows that the percentage of employment of women is comparatively high in Bihar, Hyderabad, PEPSU, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore and low in the Punjab, U. P., Bombay and West Bengal. Women are employed in municipalities mostly as sweepers.

Table 12
Number of women workers employed by the Municipalities (1951)

State (1)	Total No. of workers (2)	No. of women workers (3)	Percentage of (3) to (2) (4)	Coverage (5)
1. Assam	1 370	336	24.5	5 municipalities.
2. Bihar	12,879	4,675	36.3	24 municipalities.
3. Bombay	36,002	6,412	17.8	Relates only to Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona.
4. Madhya Pradesh	13,883	3,381	34.4	
5. Madras	24,322	6,062	24.9	13 municipalities.
6. Orissa	631	261	41.3	Relates only to Cuttack.
7. Punjab	1,865	277	14.9	
8. Uttar Pradesh	15,818	2,657	16.8	7 municipalities.
9. West Bengal	20,291	995	4.9	Relates only to Calcutta.
10. Hyderabad	8,013	4,087	51.0	
11. Madya Bharat	N. A.	450	—	Relates only to Indore.
12. Mysore	2,420	883	36.5	Relates only to Bangalore.
13. PEPSU	972	425	43.7	11 municipalities
14. Saurashtra	N. A.	N. A.		
15. Travancore-Cochin	2,574	903	35.1	23 municipalities
16. Ajmer	2,099	249	11.9	3 municipalities
17. Bhopal	960	350	36.5	Contract labour not covered.
18. Bilaspur	27	9	33.3	
19. Coorg	137	49	35.8	
20. Delhi	5,351	682	12.7	3 municipalities
21. Himachal Pradesh	108	34	31.5	4 municipalities.
22. Kutch	190	93	48.9	
23. Tripura	97	41	42.3	
24. Vindhya Pradesh	800	—	—	
	1,18,647	28,269	23.7	

N. A.—Not available.

In regard to the construction industry, information is available only in respect of some of the Public Works Departments and River Valley Projects. The available information is given in the table:—

Table 13.

Average daily employment in public works (1951)

	Total No. of workers employed	No. of women employed			Percentage of women to total labour
		Direct	Through Contractor	Total	
I. Central	3,35,865	10,252	73,912	84,164	25.059
II. States :					
Bihar	2,05,269	14,145	...	14,145	6.891
Bombay	1,01,366	8,414	9.7	9,314	9.215
Madhya Pradesh	1,72,657	53,042	14,508	67,550	39.124
Madras*	4,27,894	64,909	81,604	1,46,513	34.24
Punjab	33,333	...	1,310	1,310	3.93
Uttar Pradesh	3,70,557	20	12,145	12,165	3.283
Hyderabad	6,999	1,910	†	1,910	27.29
PEPSU	433	2	15	17	3.926
Rajasthan	1,22,002	17,001	33,779	50,780	41.622
Travancore-Cochin	1,64,353	...	44,572	44,572	27.119
TOTAL	16,04,868	1,59,443	1,88,860	3,48,303	21.703
III: River Valley Projects:					
Damodar	25,254	942	1,516	2,458	9.733
Hirakud	20,430	314	5,009	5,323	26.055
Bhakra-Nangal‡	21,850	3	2,427	2,430	11.121
Tungabhadra	38,723	5,751	6,286	12,037	31.085
Tapi	12,589	40	4,181	4,221	33.529
TOTAL	1,18,846	7,050	19,419	26,469	22.272
GRAND TOTAL	20,59,579	1,76,745	2,82,191	4,58,936	22.283

* In certain cases, where separate figures are not available in respect of contract labour, combined figures have been shown under Direct Labour.

‡ Figures are incomplete.

† Figures are not available.

Source : Indian Labour Year Book, 1950-51 p.21.

It will be seen from this table that women formed roughly 22 per cent. of the total employment in public works, in 1951. The percentage was comparatively high in the Public Works Departments of Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Hyderabad and Rajasthan and low in Bihar, Bombay, Punjab, U. P. and PEPSU. In the River Valley Projects, the percentage of women labour to total varied from 26 to 34 per cent. in the Hirakud, Tungabhadra and Tapi schemes located in Orissa, Madras, Hyderabad and Bombay respectively. The proportion of women was relatively small in the Damodar and Bhakra-Nangal projects.

It will also be noticed from the table that nearly two-thirds of the female labour force in Public Works are employed through contractors. The proportion of women employed through contractors to the total female employment in Public Works was far higher in the C. P. W. D. where nearly 74 thousand out of the 84 thousand women employed were engaged through contractors than in State P. W. D.s.

CHAPTER IV

Wages and Earnings

Women go in for employment, generally to add to the family income and at times to maintain themselves as in the case of widows, unattached women, etc. The idea of seeking work for the sake of work or for benefits other than wages has not taken root among Indian women to any large extent.

Earning Strength of Women Workers

The family budget enquiries conducted by the Director, Cost of Living Index Scheme in 1944-46 afford valuable information on the earning strength of women in working class families. According to these enquiries, the average number of adult working women in working class families varied from 0.01 per family in Ajmer and Cuttack to 0.73 in Jharia. Their contribution to the family earnings varied on the average from 0.16 per cent. in Ajmer to 29.11 per cent. in Jharia where women are employed in large numbers in coal mines. The following table gives the relevant data for twenty industrial centres in India :

Table 14

*Statement showing the earning strength of women workers in selected cities of India.

City or Area	Total earning strength per family	Average earning strength of adult women	Percentage of earnings of women workers to the total earnings in the family
1. Ahmedabad	1.56	0.16	8.06
2. Ajmer	1.16	0.01	0.16
3. Bombay	1.53	0.24	N. A.
4. Berhampur	2.05	0.45	N. A.
5. Cuttack	1.45	0.01	N. A.
6. Calcutta	1.43	0.09	2.26
7. Dehri-on-Sone	1.64	0.15	1.60
8. Delhi	1.34	0.11	2.42
9. Jamshedpur	1.33	0.09	N. A.
10. Jharia	2.02	0.73	29.11
11. Jalgaon	1.66	0.28	4.93
12. Gauhati	1.32	0.09	1.65
13. Kharagpur	1.57	0.12	6.02
14. Akola	1.84	0.44	22.92
15. Ludhiana	1.34	0.07	1.06
16. Monghyr & Jamalpur	1.57	0.06	N. A.
17. Jubbulpore City	1.66	0.29	4.73
18. Silchar	1.40	0.03	1.32
19. Tinsukia	1.21	0.07	N. A.
20. Sholapur	1.85	0.39	7.37

*Source: Family Budget Enquiry Reports by S. R. Deshpande.
N. A.=Not available.

Similar enquiries conducted in 1947 in respect of plantation workers in Assam and Bengal show that the average number of women earners per family was 0.96 in Assam Valley, 0.81 in Surma Valley and 0.93 in Bengal compared to an average earning strength of 2.44, 2.29 and 2.52 per family respectively. In South India, the average number of women earners per family was 1.02 in

tea plantations, 0.98 in coffee plantations and 0.27 in rubber plantations with an average earning strength per family of 2.41, 2.38 and 1.40 respectively. Information in regard to the share of women's earnings in the total family income is, however, not available in the plantation enquiries.

The pattern of employment revealed in the agricultural sector is somewhat different. According to All-India Agricultural Labour Enquiry conducted by the Ministry of Labour, the average earning strength per agricultural worker's family was 1.53, of which women workers accounted for 0.35. The incidence of women's employment varied considerably from State to State. Thus, the average number of women earners per family varied from 0.11 in the Punjab to 0.66 in Madras and it was 0.5 or more only in Madras, Madhya-Pradesh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Bhopal and Manipur.

Wages of Women Workers. The wages of women workers are usually fixed at rates lower than those for men either because the relative value and nature of work are different in the two cases or because historical developments and social and economic factors have generally made for the fixation of lower rates for women workers irrespective of the nature of their work. As has been observed in a Report of the I.L.O., "Indeed, most of the problems of women's employment have some bearing upon the relative level of women's remuneration..... One of the specific and permanent factors which influences the level of their remuneration is that the vocational training of women is in many cases inferior to that of men, both because the available facilities are limited in the case of women and because women are less eager than men to improve their vocational skill. This lessens the demand for female labour when demand and supply have free play in the employment market and consequently makes for a lower level of remuneration among women..... The level of remuneration in industries and occupations in which women are traditionally employed is undoubtedly lower than in other fields of employment; the existence of these groups of relatively lower paid women workers has favoured the payment of lower rates to men in mixed industries and occupations. It should also be recognised that prevailing social customs and preconceived notions about women's employment tend to favour the establishment of differential rates for women workers."* The report goes on to say that social developments such as progress in rational utilisation of man-power resources in increasing labour productivity in social security and generally, the improvement of social conditions have a direct bearing upon the position of women in the labour market and consequently upon their remuneration.

Until recently the principle of equal pay for equal work was not accepted in India even in large scale organised industries and considerable differences existed between the wages and earnings of men and women. Women workers have traditionally been in receipt of a lower wage than men in almost all industries. As a matter of fact, such differentiation was advocated by responsible bodies such as the Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee which examined the question and observed:

"The question of the earnings of female workers has to be treated separately. In countries like Australia, Canada or U. S. A., where a basic or minimum wage for women is set up, the standard prescribed for evaluating it is different from the standard for the wage of adult male workers"**, and the Committee came to the conclusion that such a differentiation was justified.

The practice of paying a lower wage for women workers is not peculiar to or confined to India but seems to exist generally in most countries. For instance, in Australia the basic wage for women workers is approximately 54

* Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for work of Equal Value, Report V (1), 33rd Session of the I. L. C. published in 1949, pp. (98-99).

** Report of the Textile Enquiry Committee (Bombay) 1940, Vol. II Final Report, p. 80.

Table 15

Average daily earning of men and women workers in certain departments of cotton mills in Bombay State

Centre/Year	Reeling Department			Winding Department			Drawing Tenters														
	Men		Women	Men		Women	Men		Women												
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.												
BOMBAY																					
1921	—			0	13	6	0	12	8	—	—										
1926	—			0	10	11	—			1	4	8									
1933	—			0	11	0	—			1	2	8									
1937	—			0	9	0	0	11	7	0	9	11	—								
AHMEDABAD																					
1921	0	14	0	*0	9	0 and 0	15	0†		0	13	3	0	11	1	—	—				
1926	0	15	0				0	14	5	0	14	10	0	11	9	1	1	3	0	15	8
1933	0	14	11				0	12	2	0	12	1	0	10	11	1	3	11	1	2	4
1937	0	11	6				0	8	7	0	9	11	0	8	5	1	0	4	1	0	2
SHOLAPUR																					
1921	— ⁶			0	6	0	0	10	10	0	6	6	—			—			—		
1926	—			0	6	9	—			0	6	2	0	12	4	—			—		
1933	—			0	5	6	—			0	4	11	0	12	11	—			—		
1937	—			0	4	1	—			0	4	6	0	9	8	0	9	8	0	9	9

* for time-workers

† for piece-workers

Table 16

Average daily earnings of men and women workers in certain occupations in the cotton mill industry (1944)

	Grey winders		Reelers		Doffers		Siders																	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women																
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.															
Ahmedabad	0	9	11	0	8	5	—			0	9	11	0	10	9	0	15	9	0	15	7			
Nagpur	1	6	0	1	6	8	—			1	10	1*	1	10	0*	—			—		—			
Indore	1	14	10	1	14	6	2	1	3	1	14	3	—			—		—		—	—			
Madura	1	8	7	1	8	0	1	5	3	1	6	1	1	6	0	—			—		—			
Coimbatore	0	12	2	0	11	10	0	13	6	0	10	6	0	8	0	0	6	9	1	1	8	0	14	2
Mangalore	1	1	1	1	0	11	0	15	2	1	1	3	—			—			1	3	1	1	2	5
Cochin	—			0	7	8	—			0	7	7	0	4	6	0	3	4	0	12	3	0	12	6

*for coolies.

per cent. of the basic wage for men workers and in England generally the rates for women workers are 50 to 60 per cent. of those for men. However, recent trends have been in favour of abolishing this distinction between wage rates based merely on sex. As a result of the efforts of the I. L. O. in recent years, the principle of equal pay for men and women for work of equal value has been gradually gaining ground in the various countries and steps are being taken to reduce the existing inequalities.

The position in regard to the levels of wages and other allowances of women workers in relation to those for men in the various industries and regions in this country is indicated briefly in the following paragraphs.

Cotton Textile. According to the Textile Labour Inquiry Committee, Bombay, women winders in the cotton mills in Bombay were in receipt of an average wage of Re. 0-9-11 per day in 1937 while men in similar jobs were getting an average wage of Re. 0-11-7 per day. Details regarding the average earnings of men and women working in the same Departments in cotton mills in Bombay City, Ahmedabad and Sholapur in the years 1921, 1926, 1933 and 1937 are given in the table 15:—

Data regarding the average earnings of men and women workers in the cotton mill industry were collected by the Labour Investigation Committee in 1944-45 on a more extensive scale covering all major centres of the industry. Some of the relevant figures are shown in the table 16.

It will be seen from the above table that although the differences in the earnings received by men and women were not very pronounced in most cases, women's earnings were in most cases lower than those of men doing the same work. The wage structure in the cotton mill industry has, however, since changed considerably as a result of standardisation of wages by Industrial Courts, Industrial Tribunals, etc. Most of the Adjudicators who have recently dealt with the question of wages in this industry have awarded the same basic wages and allowances for men and women mainly on grounds of equity and justice. However, there are still a few centres and units of the industry where women get lower wages than men. For instance, in the industry in West Bengal, women get wages and allowances at three-fourths of the rates for men.

The minimum monthly rates of basic wages in the cotton mill industry now are Rs. 30 at Bombay and Kanpur, Rs. 28 at Ahmedabad, Rs. 20 at Sholapur, Indore, Nagpur and Madras and Rs. 20-2-5 in West Bengal. Dearness allowances which are linked to cost of living indices in most of the centres varied from about Rs. 42 at Nagpur to about Rs. 73 in Ahmedabad in June 1952. In West Bengal dearness allowance is paid at a flat rate of Rs. 30 p.m. According to information available in the Report on the Census of Manufacturing Industries for the year 1948 the average annual earnings of women workers in the cotton textile industry amounted to Rs. 847 as compared to Rs. 1124 for men. The average hourly earnings of women during the same year amounted to Re. 0-5-11 as against Re. 0-7-8 for men.

Jute Mill Industry. The Report of the Labour Investigation Committee (1944) contains some information on the rates of wages and earnings of men and women workers employed in the jute mill industry. The following table which gives the relevant information in respect of some of the occupations in which women are employed shows that such differences as existed in the rates of wages and average earnings for men and women were not pronounced even as early as 1944.

Table 17

	Average weekly basic wages earned			Average weekly net earnings		
	Men		Women	Men		Women
WEST BENGAL	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Roving feeders	3	4	0	3	3	0
Drawing Feeders	2	14	0	2	13	0
Finisher Feeders	2	13	0	2	9	0
Breaker Feeders	3	7	0	3	2	0
Teaser Feeders and Receivers	3	5	0	3	3	0
Hand sewers	3	5	0	2	13	0
	Average daily basic wages earned			Average daily net earnings		
	Men		Women	Men		Women
UTTAR PRADESH	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Breaker Feeders and Receivers	0	7	3	0	7	3
Finishing Feeders and Receivers	0	7	0	0	7	0
Drawing Feeders and Receivers	0	7	0	0	6	9
Roving Feeders	0	9	3	0	8	11
Hand Sewers	0	7	10	0	6	11
MADRAS						
Jute selectors	0	8	7	0	7	10
Softener Feeders and Receivers	0	6	7	0	6	11
Teaser Feeders and Receivers	0	6	11	0	7	6
Breaker Feeders and Receivers	0	7	1	0	7	2
Drawing Feeders and Receivers	0	7	2	0	6	11
Roving Feeders	0	8	11	0	6	0
Spinning shifters	0	7	0	0	4	7
Warp Winders	0	8	3	0	8	1
Coolies	0	8	0	0	5	3

The differences appear to have since been further narrowed down as a result of the fixation of wages by Industrial Tribunals. In West Bengal, wage rates for the different occupations in the jute mill industry were fixed by an Industrial Tribunal in 1948. No distinction was made between male and female workers for purposes of wage fixation and the following rates were fixed for occupations in which women are mostly employed.

Table 18

Occupations	Basic wages per month of 26 days or 208 hours.
1. Softener Receiver	} Rs. 26.00
2. Teaser Feeder	
3. Drawing Receiver ordinary	
4. Breaker Receiver ordinary	
5. Card Feeder ordinary	
6. Card Receiver ordinary	
7. Drawing Feeder ordinary	
8. Roving Feeders	
9. Sweepers	

10. Breaker Feeder		Rs. 27.08
11. Drawing Feeder rolls	}	
12. 1st Drawing Receivers & 2nd Drawing Feeder Rolls		Rs. 30.33
13. Twister		
14. Hessian Warp Winder		Rs. 33.58
15. Sacking Warp Winder		Rs. 32.50
16. Hand Sewers		Rs. 28.17

In Madras, the minimum daily basic wage of jute mill workers was fixed at As. 12 by an Industrial Tribunal in March 1950. Workers in the jute mills in U. P. and Bihar were paid minimum monthly basic wages of Rs. 12-3-0 and Rs. 24-6-0 respectively in 1951.

Dearness allowance is paid at the same rates to both men and women in all the centres of the jute mill industry. In West Bengal upto November 1951 the mills were paying dearness allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 32-8-0 p.m. to all workers. As a result of an award of an Industrial Tribunal, the allowance was raised to Rs. 37-8-0 p.m. in November 1951. Mills in Madras also pay a dearness allowance at a flat rate. In September 1951 workers were paid Rs. 19-10-3 as dearness allowance and Rs. 4-7-0 in the shape of food concessions in U. P. dearness allowance which is linked to the cost of living index amounted to Rs. 1-12-9 per day in September 1951. In Bihar, jute mills pay dearness allowance at a flat rate of Rs. 30-7-6 per month.

Jute mills in West Bengal do not pay any other allowances but mills in other centres do. One of the mills in U. P. pays grain allowance at the rate of Re. 0-1-3 per day of attendance. Mills in centres other than in Bihar and West Bengal have been paying profit bonus (or gratuity) to their employees the actual rate of bonus varying with the profits made in any particular year. The tabular statement on the next page gives average weekly earnings of men and women in selected occupations in different States; it shows that there are at present little differences in the wages paid to men and women in the jute mill industry for similar jobs.

Statistics available in regard to the earnings of men and women employed in the jute mill industry for the year 1948 show that on the whole the average annual earnings of Rs. 507 for women were only three-fourths of the annual earnings of Rs. 672 for men. The average hourly earnings also bore about the same ratio, being Re. 0-3-6 for women as against Re. 0-4-10 for men. The disparity in the average earnings for men and women inspite of almost equal rates of wages received by them for industrial jobs is presumably due to the fact that the employment of men in skilled and semi-skilled jobs for which wage rates are comparatively high is relatively more than that of women.

Other Factory Industries. A table showing the comparative figures for average annual earnings and average hourly earnings for men and women workers employed in ten other factory industries which employ more than 1,000 women in each case is given below. The figures have been compiled on the basis of the data relating to employment and wages collected under the Census of Manufacturing Industries Rules for the year 1948. Data for subsequent years are not yet available.

Table 20

Average earnings of workers in factory industries, 1948

Industry	Average annual earnings		Average hourly earnings					
	Men	Women	Men		Women			
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Rice milling	292	163	0	3	0	0	1	9
Vegetable oil	545	200	0	4	9	0	2	1
Cement	697	438	0	4	2	0	3	3
Glass	549	313	0	4	3	0	2	5
Ceramics	658	466	0	4	4	0	3	0
Paper	795	438	0	5	0	0	2	10
Match	949	272	0	6	0	0	2	0
Chemicals	782	530	0	5	3	0	3	5
Iron and Steel	1273	557	0	7	8	0	3	4
Engineering (General & Electrical)	824	494	0	5	11	0	3	4

The table shows large differences in the average earnings of men and women workers employed in the factory industries. These differences, however, do not necessarily imply similar differences in the rates of wages paid to men and women for the same job. As explained previously, the concentration of women mostly in the lower paid unskilled jobs and larger percentages of men employed in the skilled and semi-skilled jobs are mainly responsible for the higher average earnings of men.

An important feature revealed from the table is the large variation in the average earnings of both men and women alike as between industries. The average hourly earnings of women workers vary from Re. 0-1-9 in rice mills to Re. 0-3-4 in chemicals, iron and steel and engineering industries. The hourly earnings of women were higher in the textile industries being Re. 0-5-11 in cotton and Re. 0-3-6 in jute as shown previously.

Unorganised Industries. In the *bidi* factories women are usually employed on packing, labelling etc., and are generally paid at piece rates. According to the Labour Investigation Committee which made its enquiries in 1944 women employed in this industry were generally paid at the same rates as men but in the case of home workers, many of whom were women, the rates were somewhat lower. The payment of lower wages for home workers was justified by the fact that the work was done at home at the convenience of the workers and without proper supervision. At the time of the Labour Investigation Committee enquiries, the rate for rolling 1000 *bidis* was Re. 0-13-0 to Re. 1-0-0 in Madhya Pradesh, Re. 0-12-0 to Rs. 1-4-0 in Bombay, Rs. 1-10-0 to Rs. 1-14-0 in Bengal and Rs. 1-2-0 to Rs. 1-4-0 in South India. Minimum wages for the *bidi* workers have since been fixed by the various State Governments under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. The rates fixed vary from centre to centre in some of the States and are as follows :—

Table 21
Minimum wages fixed in the Bidi Industry

	Rate per 1000 bidis.
Bihar	As 12 to Rs. 2-8-0
Madhya Pradesh	As.10 to Rs. 1-6-0
Madras	Rs.1-2-0
Orissa	Rs.1-6-0
Bombay	Rs.1-4-0 to Rs. 2-8-0
West Bengal	Rs.1-12-0 to Rs. 2-4-0
Mysore	Rs.1-6-0
Ajmer	Rs.1-2-0
Vindhya Pradesh	Re.1 to Rs. 1-4-0

The rates are all-inclusive and apply to both men and women.

Coir mats and matting industry. In this industry the system of payment by piece-rates predominates and only a small portion of workers is paid at time rates. Because of the prevalence of the piece-rate system as also because women are almost exclusively employed in occupations like braiding, spooling and sorting and not generally in other occupations in which men are employed, it is rather difficult to draw any conclusions as to whether women's wages and earnings are lower than those of men doing the same work. However, from the data regarding earnings of men and women workers collected during the Labour Investigation Committee's enquiries in 1944-45, it would appear that women's earnings are considerably lower than those of men in the same occupation. These are given below :—

Table 22
Wages and earnings of women workers in the Coir Industry (1944)

Occupation	Average daily wage		Average daily net earnings	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Dyeing	0 11 8	0 6 8	1 4 5	0 11 8
Coiling and Rehanking	0 9 8	0 5 1	1 0 11	0 8 11
Tent components	1 0 2	0 6 5	1 12 4	0 11 3

Time-rated women workers were getting 9 annas per day, as against Re. 1/- paid to men, Thus, there existed a large disparity in the earnings of men and women workers. This disparity seems to have narrowed down considerably during recent years as may be seen from the fact that in 1952 time-rated men workers were getting about Rs. 1-6-0 per day, while time-rated women workers getting Rs. 1-4-0 per day.

Coal Mines. It was estimated that during the pre-war year 1938 the average cash earnings of women working on surface and on quarries did not exceed Rs. 5-0-0 to Rs. 5-4-0 per month in Giridih, Jharia, Raniganj and Pench Valley*. The total value of all supplementary benefits viz., free housing, free fuel, some monetary allowances during sickness or on festive occasions, some allowance on child birth, etc, was estimated at not more than Rs. 4-13-0 a month. Thus, the total earnings of a woman worker in cash and kind in 1938 came to Rs. 10/- p. m. only. The following observations in the publication "Labour in the Indian Coal Industry" are revealing: "Men are

*Labour in the Indian Coal Industry by Dr. B. R. Seth, pp. 134-35.

paid more than women for the same amount and the same kind of work..... It is held that generally men are bread-winners for the whole family and colliery owners think they ought to get higher wages. Most women work either to supplement their husband's or their parent's income or earn their pocket money. So they gladly accept whatever the employer offers them. If they demand more, they are threatened to be replaced by men. This was actually done in the days of depression. Not only the women working underground but also those working on the surface were faced with unemployment on account of the substitution of women by men. There was a keen competition between men and women for jobs and it brought down the daily earnings of surface women workers to as low a figure as three to four annas a day". The following table shows the trend of earnings of both male and female workers in the major coalfields during the war and after.

Table 23

Average daily earnings in Jharia and Raniganj coalfields

	J H A R I A						R A N I G A N J																	
	Open workings			Surface			Open workings			Surface														
	Men	Women		Men	Women		Men	Women		Men	Women													
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.									
Dec. 1942	0	7	9	0	6	3	0	8	3	0	5	3	0	11	3	0	6	6	0	7	3	0	4	9
Dec. 1943*																								
Dec. 1944	0	15	6	0	12	9	0	13	6	0	10	6	0	9	0	0	13	6	0	12	9	0	9	6
Dec. 1945	0	14	6	0	15	0	0	14	0	0	11	0	1	1	0	0	12	0	0	14	3	0	10	6
Dec. 1946	1	2	9	1	1	9	1	2	0	0	14	0	1	0	9	0	15	9	1	1	9	0	12	9
Dec. 1947	1	8	3	1	6	3	1	7	9	1	1	6	1	7	3	1	3	3	1	8	9	1	0	9
Dec. 1948	1	10	6	1	9	0	1	9	0	1	1	6	1	10	0	1	5	6	1	10	6	1	1	6
Dec. 1949	1	10	3	1	8	6	1	9	9	1	2	9	1	9	6	1	6	6	1	11	3	1	5	0
Dec 1950	1	10	3	1	8	3	1	10	9	1	3	0	1	15	3	1	7	0	1	11	3	1	2	0

*Figures are not available.

Source: Annual Reports of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

During the war, due to the acute shortage of labour, women were also employed underground and paid higher wages. In December 1945, women working underground in coal mines were earning on an average Re. 0-15-3 per day at Jharia and Re. 0-13-6 per day in Raniganj. With the end of the war in 1945 employment of women underground was again banned. In 1947 wages of colliery workers in Bihar and Bengal were standardised by the Award of the Conciliation Board appointed by the Government of India. Similar Boards or Committees fixed wages for workers in the coalfields of Madhya Pradesh, Assam, and Hyderabad also. So far as piece-rates are concerned, there is no differentiation between men and women. The position in regard to time-rated workers, however, varies. In the Bihar and West Bengal coalfields, both men and women workers on the surface get a minimum basic wage of As. 8 per day. In Madhya Pradesh, wages for unskilled time-rated workers are fixed at As. 8 per day for men and As. 6 per day for women. In Assam, men and women time-rated surface workers get minimum basic wages of As. 8 and As. 7 respectively. In Hyderabad minimum basic wages of surface workers amount to Re. 0-10-0 per day for men and Re. 0-9-0 for women. Besides basic wages, workers in collieries are entitled to dearness allowance, bonus and food concessions. Both dearness allowance and bonus are linked to basic wages. Statistics of weekly cash earnings of men and women workers in December 1951 are furnished in the statement below :—

Table 24

Average weekly cash earnings (basic wages, dearness allowance and other cash payments) of men and women workers in various coalfields during December, 1951.

Coalfields	Open Workings			Surface		
	Men	Women		Men	Women	
	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.		Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.	
Assam	12 3 10	8 13 8		11 6 0	8 2 3	
Raniganj	9 1 6	9 11 1		11 12 2	7 4 0	
Jharia	9 12 9	7 10 8		11 1 10	6 11 8	
Madhya Pradesh	5 9 5	4 12 11		9 5 1	4 10 6	
Orissa	—	—		8 4 6	3 7 5	
Hyderabad	—	—		13 3 4	7 11 3	
Bikaner	—	—		8 12 8	4 1 6	
All fields	8 15 2	7 11 6		11 3 10	6 11 4	

N. B.—The rates given for men are exclusive of miners and loaders.

Source :— Monthly Coal Bulletin of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

It will be seen that in all the coalfields the cash earnings of women workers are less than those of men. One reason for this is that a majority of women workers are on a piece-rate basis and it is not always possible for them to get regular full-time work throughout a week. In fact, life histories collected for a number of women workers reveal that many of them usually work for five days in a week. Several of them have indicated strong dissatisfaction over the system of piece-rated weekly payment as it does not give them stability of income.

Bonus is granted to colliery workers under the Coal Mines Bonus Scheme framed by the Government of India according to which workers qualifying for bonus are entitled to receive 1/3rd of their basic wage as bonus. Statistics furnished to the Labour Bureau by 141 coalmines employing some 21,000 women workers show that 13,736 of them qualified for bonus during the quarter ending June 1950 and the total amount of bonus payable was Rs. 1,37,284. The average bonus earned by a woman worker during the quarter was thus about Rs. 10.

Food concessions are also given to colliery workers. The value of these concessions worked out to about Rs. 1-15-0 per worker per week during 1951 on the basis of the figures published in the Monthly Coal Bulletin of the Chief Inspector of Mines on the loss to employers due to such concessions.

Other Mines. Wages of workers employed in the mica mines in Bihar are determined in terms of the award of an Industrial Tribunal to which the matter was referred by the Government of India in 1948. According to this award surface workers, both male and female, are entitled to a minimum basic wage of As. 6 per day. Besides, dearness allowance amounting to 150 per cent. of the basic wages is also payable. In Madras, unskilled surface workers for the mica mines get a basic wage of Re. 1 a day and dearness allowance of Rs. 19 p.m. In the manganese mines in Madhya Pradesh where women are employed in large numbers the minimum daily wages of women workers amount to Re. 0-14-0 as against Rs 1-2-0 for men. The Shivrajpur Syndicate, Bombay, which controls some of the manganese mines pays As. 12 per day to men and As. 10 per day to women of the unskilled category. The Syndicate also pays a dearness allowance of As. 3 per day to men and As. 2½ per day to women for every 25 points rise in the Ahmedabad Cost of Living Index. In the Kolar Gold Fields women workers employed on the surface are given a basic wage of As. 9

per day as against As. 13 paid to an unskilled male worker employed on the surface. A monthly dearness allowance of Re0-2-3 for every point of rise in the Kolar Gold Field cost of Living Index is also paid to all the daily rated workers.

The following table based on data furnished by the Chief Inspector of Mines shows the average daily earnings of men and women workers in the mica, manganese, iron and gold mines in December 1951.

Table 25
Average daily earnings of workers in mines
in December 1951

	Open Workings		Surface	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.
Mica :				
Bihar	1 7 3	1 6 6	1 10 9	1 8 3
Madras	1 5 3	1 0 6	1 7 0	1 5 6
Manganese -				
Madhya Pradesh	1 7 0	1 4 0	1 5 0	1 3 0
Iron Ore :				
Bihar	1 4 3	1 2 0	1 8 3	1 2 6
Gold :				
Mysore	—	—	3 4 6	2 6 9

Plantations. Women are employed in large numbers in plantations growing tea, coffee and rubber in Assam, Bengal, Madras and other South Indian States. Statistics relating to the earnings of these workers for a series of years are, however, available in respect of the Assam tea plantations only. The following table compiled from the annual reports of the Controller of Emigrant Labour shows the trend in the average monthly cash earnings of male and female workers in the tea plantations in Assam during the last two decades.

Table 26
Average monthly earnings of settled labour
in Assam Tea Plantations

Year	Assam Valley		Surma Valley	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.	Ks. as. ps.
1929-30	10 2 5	8 5 2	10 11 0	8 6 1
1939-40	7 14 1	6 3 8	6 4 7	4 7 3
1944-45	8 11 9	7 0 11	8 4 6	5 10 6
1945-46	9 13 1	7 15 1	8 15 0	6 3 1
1946-47	14 5 2	11 3 5	14 3 8	10 0 4
1947-48	17 13 11	14 13 11	15 14 9	13 4 0
1948-49	19 4 3	15 3 4	15 13 1	10 9 6
1949-50	21 12 5	15 15 1	17 8 5	11 14 7

These data show large differences between the earnings of men and women. The earnings of women have been consistently lower than those of men and continue to be so even now. In 1949-50 earnings of women workers were less than three-fourths of the earnings of men. While the main reason for this would be the lower rates of wages paid to women workers, a part of this difference may, however, be due to the higher absenteeism among women.

in the plantations. According to an *ad hoc* enquiry * conducted by the Labour Bureau in 1947 absenteeism among women workers was as high as 30 per cent. as against 22 to 23 per cent. among men. As a matter of fact, differences in the potential monthly wages of men and women are somewhat lower than is apparent from the earning figures. In 1949-50, for instance, the average monthly cash wages of women workers in the tea plantations in Assam amounted to Rs. 19-8-5 as against Rs. 24-9-3 for men.

Earnings of plantation workers, both men and women, show marked seasonal variations depending on the availability of work. During the flush season in tea plantations, women earn nearly as much as men. They earn even more than men during certain months in the South Indian estates. In the rubber plantations in particular, while comparatively less work is available for men on rainy days, women carry on with their weeding and other cultivation work and consequently earn more than men. The following monthly data of average earnings of men and women workers in plantations collected in 1947 are of interest in this connection as they reveal the seasonal variations in earnings. Incidentally, the table also gives some information relating to the earnings of plantation workers in areas other than Assam. (See Appendix VIII).

Enquiries recently conducted by the Labour Bureau on a sample basis in the tea gardens of Assam show that although the rates of wages are generally the same in all the estates in a locality the earnings of workers are generally lower in the Indian-owned estates than in the European-owned. The table below gives the monthly figures of average cash earnings of men and women in the European-owned and Indian-owned tea estates in the Assam Valley in 1950.

Table 27
Average monthly cash earnings of plantation workers in the Assam Valley in 1950

	European Estates			Indian Estates		
	Men	Women		Men	Women	
January	17 11 6	13 2 8		16 12 8	11 6 5	
February	17 10 5	13 14 6		16 11 2	11 8 0	
March	19 15 0	15 6 11		17 11 9	11 6 8	
April	19 1 10	14 11 6		17 1 3	11 8 9	
May	19 11 1	14 15 10		17 8 11	12 1 1	
June	21 0 2	18 9 9		17 8 0	14 4 8	
July	18 6 9	19 0 8		18 0 6	14 0 5	
August	23 10 6	21 1 10		18 13 11	16 2 11	
September	24 2 6	20 14 11		20 11 11	16 3 6	
October	23 6 6	19 15 5		18 9 0	15 5 9	
November	21 5 2	16 10 11		18 3 4	13 15 11	
December	19 2 9	12 14 7		17 8 9	11 10 1	

The reasons for the difference in the earnings of men and women in the European and Indian-owned estates appear to be (1) the higher rate of maternity benefits paid by the European-owned estates in the case of women workers; and (2) greater availability of work and lesser absenteeism in the European-owned estates than in the Indian-owned.

Minimum rates of wages for time-rated plantation workers have been

* Shri Deshpande : Report on an Enquiry into the Cost and Standard of Living of Plantation Workers in Assam and Bengal. Published by Government of India 1948, p. 59.

fixed by various State Governments under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948. The table below shows the rates of wages fixed :

Table 28
Minimum wages fixed under the Minimum Wages Act

	Men			Women		
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Assam (Tea)	0	15	0 to 1 2 0	0	14	0 to 1 0 0
Madras (Tea, coffee and rubber)	1	5	0	1	0	0
Punjab	0	11	0	0	8	6
West Bengal (Tea)	0	15	0 to 1 3 0	0	14	0 to 1 1 0
Mysore	1	0	0	0	13	0
Coorg (Coffee)	1	2	9	0	14	0
Travancore	1	9	6	1	3	3

It will be observed that the time-rated wages fixed for women are lower than those for men. Women are, however, mostly employed on a piece basis and piece rates are the same for men and women. In work connected with cultivation, such as, forking, weeding, etc., although the rates of wages for women are less the tasks assigned are also comparatively lighter. Generally speaking, wherever there is a differential in the wages of men and women, it is mainly so because of the difference in the nature or amount of work assigned in each case.

Agriculture. Wages of agricultural workers, both men and women, vary from State to State and from occupation to occupation. The results of the agricultural Labour Enquiry conducted recently by the Ministry of Labour show that the average daily wages of women workers range from about As. 6 for irrigating in Bombay to Rs. 3-11-2 for harvesting in the Punjab, (vide Appendix IX). Agricultural wages are comparatively low in Madras, Orissa, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh among the Part A States, Hyderabad and Mysore among the Part B States and Ajmer, Manipur and Vindhya Pradesh among the Part C States. On the other hand, the wages are generally on the high side in the Punjab, West Bengal and Assam among the Part A States, in P. E. P. S. U. among the Part B States and in Delhi and Himachal Pradesh among the Part C States.

Wages for women workers in agriculture are found to be lower than those of men for the same jobs. These differences may be due partly to differences in the hours of work put in by men and women and partly to the lower output of women in the purely manual and strenuous jobs associated with agriculture.

The enquiry showed that it was fairly common to pay a part of the agricultural wages, if not the whole in kind. Thus, taking the overall position in all the States, in 52.3 per cent. of the wage quotations for women, wages paid were entirely in cash. In 37.6 per cent. of them, they were entirely in kind ; and in the remaining 10.1 per cent. the wages were partly in kind and partly in cash. In the last kind of payment, cash wages are sometimes supplemented with perquisites such as cooked food like *chappatis*, refreshment like 'muri' (parched rice) in West Bengal, *sathu* in Bihar and gruel known as *kanji* in Madras, drinks like tea and buttermilk and other commodities like tobacco and betel leaves, etc.

Municipalities. Municipalities employ a considerable number of women, mostly as sweepers. From the latest information available in respect of 18 major municipalities in the country, it appears that in most cases the wages of women sweepers are the same as those of men. The following table

shows the minimum monthly earnings of the lowest paid conservancy staff in 18 major municipalities in July 1951 :—

Table 29

Statement showing minimum monthly wages, dearness allowance, etc., of the lowest paid conservancy staff in certain municipalities.

Municipality	Minimum monthly basic wage	Minimum monthly dearness allowance	House Rent allowance	Other allowances	Total minimum monthly earnings
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.
Bombay	35 0	36 0	6 0 [‡]	—	77 0
Amedabad	25 0	35 0	—	—	60 0
Poona	30 0	35 0	5 0	—	70 0
Madras	15 0	18 0	4 0	2 0 [@]	39 0
Coimbatore	17 8	18 0	—	—	35 8
Bangalore	18 0	15 0	2 0	—	35 0
Hyderabad	20 0	15 0	5 0	8-8%	48 8
Ajmer	30 0	12 0	—	—	42 0
Delhi	30 0	40 0	7 0	3 0	80 0
New Delhi	30 0	40 0	7 0	3 0	80 0
Ambala	20 0	25 0	—	—	45 0
Simla	†60 0	—	—	—	60 0
Lucknow	25 0	6 4	0 8	2 0	33 12
Kanpur	25 0	6 4	—	7 0	38 4
Patna City	18 8	17 0	—	—	35 8
Calcutta	25 0	25 0	1 8	3 8	55 0
Gauhati	20 0	—	—	15 0	35 0
Cuttack	15 0	14 0	—	5 0	34 0

The minimum monthly earnings of women workers employed in these municipalities varied from Rs. 30 to Rs. 80, being higher in the large cities.

Wages of municipal workers are generally fixed in terms of time scales, although the range of the scales is narrow. The basic pay scales of sweepers in six of these municipalities are shown below :

Table 30

Pay scales for sweepers in Municipalities

Ahmedabad	Rs. 23—1—30
Bombay	Rs. 35—1—40
Calcutta	Rs. 25—1—34
Delhi	Rs. 30— $\frac{1}{2}$ —35
Hyderabad	Rs. 20—1—25
Poona	Rs. 30— $\frac{1}{2}$ —35

Public Works: Women are employed in large numbers in the Public Works Departments of the Central and State Governments. Rates of wages paid to men and women in these departments usually differ.

In the Central Public works Department, monthly paid labour employed departmentally get a basic wage of Rs. 30 p.m. and in addition, the usual

†An all inclusive minimum wage of Rs. 60 per mensem plus free quarter (or Rs. 2 house rent allowance) has been introduced with effect from 1st April, 1951.

‡In addition, a special allowance of Rs. 5 p. m. is given to workers doing unclean work.

@To those who handle filth, sewage, etc.

%Only to permanent employees.

rate of dearness allowance admissible to Central Government employees which amounts to Rs. 40 p. m. for the lowest paid workers. In 1951 the Central Government fixed all inclusive minimum wages payable to Central Public Works Department contractors' labour in the different regions in the country as shown below :

Table 31
Minimum Daily Rates of wages fixed for Central Public Works Department labour

	Men			Women						
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.				
Assam	1	12	0	1	4	0				
Bihar	1	8	0	1	4	0				
Bombay	2	0	0	to	2	2	0			
Madhya Pradesh	0	13	0	to	1	0	0			
Madras	1	4	0	to	1	8	0			
West Bengal	1	6	0	0	10	0	to	0	14	0
Uttar Pradesh	1	12	0	1	0	0				
Madhya Bharat	1	4	0	1	0	0				
Mysore	1	8	0	1	0	0				
Ajmer	1	8	0	0	13	0				
Delhi	1	12	0	1	8	0				

In the Public Works Departments in the States, the rates of wages prescribed for the daily rated workers vary from district to district and also from season to season depending upon the availability of the labour and the pull of agricultural or other seasonal operations in the locality. The daily rates of minimum wages obtaining in some of the States for men and women mazdoors are given below:

Table 32
Minimum rates of wages for Public Works Department labour in States

States	Men			Women			
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.	
Bihar	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Bomay	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Madhya Pradesh	1	0	0	to	1	2	0
Madras	1	0	0	to	1	12	0
Uttar Pradesh	1	0	0	to	2	0	0
Mysore	1	8	0	1	0	0	
Rajasthan	0	12	0	to	1	8	0
Hyderabad	1	8	0	1	0	0	
Travancore-Cochin	1	0	0	to	1	9	0
Bhopal	1	0	0	to	2	0	0
Coorg	1	8	0	to	2	0	0
Vindhya Pradesh	1	0	0	to	1	2	0
	0	12	0	to	0	14	0

Departmental workers who are monthly rated, get dearness allowance at rates fixed by the respective Governments, while daily rated workers do not get any separate dearness allowance.

Women are also employed for unskilled work in the various River Valley Projects undertaken by the Central and State Governments. Information in regard to the daily wages of unskilled men and women workers employed in

some of these projects is given below :—

Table 33
Daily wages of unskilled labour employed in
River Valley Projects

	Men			Women		
	Rs.	as.	ps.	Rs.	as.	ps.
Hirakud	1	8	0	1	0	0
Bakhra-Nangal	2	0	0	1	12	0
Tungabhadra	1	2	0 to 1	4	0	0 10 6 to 0 14 0
Damodar Valley	1	8	0 to 2	1	0	1 2 0 to 1 4 0
Tapi	1	8	0 to 2	0	0	1 0 0 to 1 8 0

Wage rates fixed under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948

An examination of the wage rates fixed under the Minimum wages Act (vide Appendix X) would show that in a majority of cases no differentiation has been made between men and women and the same rates of wages have been fixed for both. However, this matter has been dealt with on a different basis for different industries even in the same State mainly in view of the special features of employment in particular industries. Thus, in the State of Madras, different rates for men and women were fixed in plantations while in a number of other employments the same rates were fixed irrespective of sex. Generally speaking, the Minimum Wage Committees in Bombay have recommended equal pay for men and women workers, for the same type of work, although in particular cases they have made a departure from this principle. For instance, while they made no distinction between men's and women's wage-rates in industries like oil mills, tobacco (including *bidi*) manufactories, rice, flour and dal mills, etc., the Committee for Road Construction and Building Operations recommended lower rates of wages for women. In the words of the Committee :—

“Women workers are invariably paid less compared to men workers. This appear to be the case as most of the jobs in which women workers are employed in these trades require mere physical effort and because of this the output of women workers is generally less than that of men. The Committee, therefore, considers that in the interest of women workers themselves, lower wages for them as compared to those for men should be prescribed as otherwise it is very likely that women will be thrown out of employment in those activities. If employers are compelled by law to pay the same wages for a measurably lower quantum of turnout, they would prefer not to employ persons who would inflate their bill of cost but would restrict their recruitment to men workers alone. This practice would certainly prevail so long as men workers are readily available. We, therefore, venture to recommend lower minimum rates of wages for women workers.” *

The Committee in West Bengal also took the view that a woman, not being the main breadwinner of the family, should not be paid the same wage as man. In the words of the Minimum Wages Committee for Plantations: “It has to be borne in mind that the nature of work in which males and females are employed varies except, perhaps in plucking. The Committee has decided that the principle of equality of remuneration for male and female workers for work of equal value cannot yet be applied so far as tea Plan-

* Report of the Committee (Employment in Road Construction and Building Operations) appointed by the Government of Bombay under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 (1952) p 7.

tations are concerned and that the proper course would be to maintain the existing differentials.”† While this committee laid stress on the “existing differentials”, another Committee for Rice Mills emphasised the fact that a woman worker has to earn for a smaller family and that she is physically inferior to men workers.*

The Minimum Wages Committee on plantations (Madras), while accepting the principle of equal pay for equal work, fixed the minimum wage rates for men and women in the ratio of 4 to 3 on the ground that the tasks allotted to women in the plantations are lighter and that, therefore, the existing differentials between the wages of men and women should be maintained**. On similar grounds, the Committee for Building, Road Making, Stone Breaking and Stone Crushing fixed the wages of women mazdoors at two-thirds of the wages of men workers.†

Generally speaking, differential rates for men and women have been awarded in specific industries like plantations, road construction and building operations in certain States while in some others (e. g. Madhya Pradesh), differential rates have been awarded in almost all the industries.

Equal pay for equal work. It may be observed from the data given above that the earnings of women workers, are generally speaking, somewhat lower than those of men workers due to various reasons. From such evidence as is available it would appear that these differences are gradually tending to disappear or, at any rate, being narrowed down. Important among the factors that have influenced this welcome trend are (i) fixation of statutory minimum wages under the Minimum Wages Act, (ii) standardisation of wages for different jobs by Industrial Courts, Tribunals, etc., and (iii) pressure of public opinion and the efforts made by the I. L. O. in this direction.

According to the Labour Bureau's ‘Analysis of the Industrial Awards in India’ “most of the recent Adjudicators have awarded the same basic wages for men and women workers, mainly on grounds of equity and justice”. The observations of the Industrial Tribunal in the award relating to the Cotton Textile Industry in Madras may be quoted here: “With regard to wages, women are, in my opinion, paid very low and this is an undeserved discrimination. There is no reason why a woman should not be paid the same wage as a man and the rates must be the same for both.”†† In a large majority of the awards this question has not been dealt with specifically and in clear terms; the Adjudicators have contended themselves with fixing the minimum wage of the least skilled workers and the practice has been to assume that it applied to both men and women workers of the same category (e. g. awards relating to cotton textile industry in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Sholapur, etc.).

In quite a few cases, especially in West Bengal and in some of the minor industries in Madras, Adjudicators have granted lower rates of wages to women workers. For instance, the Bengal Cotton Textile Tribunal awarded that women should get wages and allowances at 3/4th of the rates for men. In the words of another Tribunal in the same State, “as regards the women workers, their wages have always been somewhat lower than the wages of men. In fixing the minimum wages, the Central Pay Commission has proceeded on the basis that a man has to maintain a family of three units, consisting of himself, his wife and two minor children, but in the case of women

† Report of the Minimum Wages (Plantations) Committee, West Bengal, 1952, p. 28.

* Report of the Minimum Wages (Rice Mills) Committee, West Bengal, 1952 p 21.

** Report of the Minimum Wages (Plantations) Committee, Madras, p. 14.

† Report of the Minimum Wage Committee for Road Making and Building Construction, Madras, p. 13.

†† Award of the Industrial Tribunal on the conditions of labour in the textile industry in the Madras Presidency (1947), p. 30.

workers, the basis of three units does not apply, and there is, therefore, justification for fixing lower wages for women workers."*

The recommendations of the Fair Wages Committee are of interests in this connection. They have stated that "where employment is on piece-rates or where the work done by men and women is demonstrably identical, no differentiation should be made between men and women workers regarding the wages payable. Where, however, women are employed on work exclusively done by them or where they are admittedly less efficient than men, the fair wages of women workers should be calculated on the basis of a smaller standard family than in the case of a man."**

*Award of the Industrial Tribunal in the dispute between Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., and their employees at Asansol, enforced under Order No. 1664 Lab., dated 25th May 1948.

**Report of the Committee on Fair Wages, p. 33.

CHAPTER V

WORKING CONDITIONS

The available information on working conditions of women workers is very scanty. Firstly, information is available only on some of the aspects covered by the term "working conditions" such as hours of work. Secondly, the available information relates to some of the organised sectors of employment such as factories, mines and plantations where conditions of employment have been regulated to some extent under the Factories Act, the Indian Mines Act† and the Plantation Labour Act‡, respectively. The Agricultural Labour Enquiry recently conducted by the Ministry of Labour provides some information on hours of work in agriculture. For want of the necessary field enquiries, no detailed information is available on certain aspects of the problem such as the environmental conditions of work at the places where women carry on their avocations whether it be in factory or in the field. The scope of this section has, therefore, to be restricted to certain well-defined aspects of the problem such as hours of work, holidays and leave, absenteeism, etc.

Hours of Work

The hours of work of women workers employed in factories, mines and plantation are determined in terms of the relevant statutory provisions incorporated in the Factories Act, the Indian Mines Act and the Plantation Labour Act. The maximum permissible hours of work for men and women under these enactments are the same being 48 per week in factories and mines and 54 in plantations. The maximum daily hours have also been fixed at 9 for work in factories and on surface in mines. No such limits have, however, been fixed for work in plantations although it has been laid down that the period of work of an adult worker should be so arranged that it does not spread over 12 hours including his rest interval and time spent in waiting for work on any day. The daily spread-over of working hours has been limited to 10½ hours in factories and 12 hours for surface work in mines subject to certain relaxations by special permission.

Provision also exists in these Acts prohibiting the employment of women at night between 7 p.m. and 6 a.m. in factories, mines and plantations. In the case of mines, however, provision has been made for a relaxation of this restriction under special permission but subject to the condition that no woman should be employed between 10 p.m. and 5 a.m.

In regard to rest intervals, the Acts referred to above lay down that no adult worker, whether man or woman, employed in factories and plantations and on surface in mines shall be allowed to work for more than 5 hours at a stretch without a rest interval of at least half an hour.

Statistics relating to the hours actually worked are not available in all cases. So far as factories are concerned, the annual reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories on the working of the Factories Act give a distribution of the working factories in the State according to the normal weekly hours of work for men and women. The following table compiled from the reports referred to shows the distribution of factories employing women in the various States according to the normal hours of work for women. The number of female workers employed in the factories is also shown in each case.

† The provisions given in this section are those of the 1952 Act which replaces the old Act.

‡ Passed in 1952 but not yet fully enforced.

Table 34

**Distribution of factories according to the normal weekly hours
of work for women, 1950**

State	Below 42		42 to 45		45 to 48		Above 48	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Assam	291	5,744	194	4,029	117	1,966	8	221
Bihar	—	—	1	2	183	9,259	—	—
Bombay	114	883	96	1,261	2,165	64,519	—	—
Madhya Pradesh	62	828	53	611	621	19,141	—	—
Madras	59	1,225	121	1,324	3,588	84,794	8	56
Orissa	19	601	9	133	128	2,416	—	—
Punjab	10	53	5	56	203	2,208	8	98
Uttar Pradesh	5	41	19	101	202	2,257	—	—
West Bengal	124	3,435	213	32,074	520	20,958	15	516
Ajmer	—	—	—	—	28	1,771	2	11
Delhi	5	22	4	36	24	384	2	2
Coorg	—	—	—	—	9	152	—	—
Andaman & Nicobar Islands.	—	—	—	—	1	18	—	—
TOTAL	689	12,232	715	39,827	7,789	209,843	35	904

A. No. of Factories.

B. No. of women workers.

It will be seen from the statement that although women are permitted to work up to 48 hours a week, a considerable number of them actually work less. The normal hours of work for nearly 52 thousand or about 20 per cent. of the women employed in factories did not exceed 45 in 1950. The bulk of the women workers normally work 45 to 48 hours per week. In a few cases, however, the normal weekly hours for women were reported to exceed 48. These cases were reported from Assam, Madras, Orissa, West Bengal, Ajmer and Delhi.

Information relating to the total number of man-hours actually worked by men and women in various factory industries is available in the annual reports on the Census of Manufacturing Industries. The average daily number of hours worked by men and women as worked out on the basis of the data referred to for the year 1948 are shown in the following table in respect of some of the industries in which women are employed in considerable numbers. In rice milling, vegetable oil and cement industries, the average daily number of hours worked by women was less than 8 while in eight other industries including cotton and jute, it varied from 8 to 9.

Table 35

Average daily number of hours worked in 1948

Industry	Men	Women
Cotton	8.3	8.0
Jute	8.1	8.1
Rice Milling	8.0	7.9
Vegetable Oil	9.5	7.7
Cement	7.9	6.3
Glass	9.0	9.0
Ceramics	8.6	8.8
Paper	8.8	8.6
Matches	8.8	8.3
Chemicals	8.1	8.6
General & Electrical Engineering.	8.1	8.7

Conditions in the various industries have, however, changed considerably since 1948. In the jute mill industry, in particular, mills in West Bengal have not been working full time in recent years for want of raw jute. For a long time during this period the weekly hours of work were reduced to 42½, work being available for 8 hours a day from Monday to Friday and for 2½ hours on Saturday every week. These changes applied to men and women equally. Rest intervals in the jute mills in West Bengal vary from 1½ hours to 2 hours in the day. Nursing mothers are allowed additional rest to feed their babies.

In the cotton textile industry the system of working multiple shifts is very common. In October 1952 as many as 163 out of the 386 mills were working 3 shifts, while an additional 188 were working 2 shifts. Women, however, are generally employed in the day shifts only in view of the statutory ban on their working in the nights. Although the time-schedules for men and women are otherwise the same, some of the mills in Bombay are reported to be a little lenient towards women in cases of late attendances and early departures.

Mines :—In mines, although employment of workers upto a maximum limit of 54 hours per week was allowed till recently under the Indian Mines Act, the actual number of hours worked per week by men and women was, however, generally less. The following table shows the average weekly number of hours worked by men and women in various mines in 1951.

Table 36
Average weekly number of hours worked in Mines, 1951

	Open Working		Surface	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Coal :				
Jharia	46	45	46	47
Raniganj	47	47	47	47
Mica :				
Bihar	48	48	48	47
Madras	48	47	48	48
Manganese :				
Madhya Pradesh	45	44	45	48
Iron Ore :				
Bihar	48	47	48	48
Gold :				
Mysore	...	...	48	48

It will be seen from the table that generally women in mines work either the same hours as men or a little less. It is reported, however, that some of the collieries give special privileges to women workers—particularly to nursing mothers—in regard to hours of work, mainly in the form of brief intervals to feed their babies.

Plantations : Although the law allows working upto 12 hours a day on plantations women employed on the plantations generally work for 7 hours in the North and 8 hours in the South with a rest interval of about an hour at mid-day. In Assam and Bengal, women, it is reported, generally work longer hours than men on plantations. While men who are employed mainly on cultivation finish their allotted task in about 4 or 5 hours, women who work on plucking leaf on piece-rates of wages have to work for 7 to 8 hours a day to earn a proper day's wage. There is, however, no rigidity in regard to working hours for this type of work and women are free to work shorter hours if they choose to do so. In the South men and women both work the same hours, namely, 8 a day.

Agriculture : Hours of work in agriculture depend mainly on the type of work and exigencies of the different seasons. According to the results of the recent Agricultural Labour Enquiry women work for 6 hours a day in Madhya Pradesh and 7 to 7½ hours a day in Assam and Bengal while men work for 8 hours. The working hours were usually longer in operations such as transplanting, weeding, harvesting and thrashing. Hours are shorter in strenuous operations like ploughing and embanking. In Mysore, where the hours of work for men and women are generally the same, women are employed on embanking work only for 4 hours a day as against 7 hours worked by men. Hours of work in agriculture are the same for men and women in Ajmer and Vindhya Pradesh being generally 7 to 8 a day.

Holidays and Leave

Under the provisions of the Factories Act, the Indian Mines Act and the Plantation Labour Act, men and women workers employed in factories, mines and plantations are entitled to compulsory weekly holidays. Exemptions from this provision are allowed in the case of factories and mines under special circumstances. It is laid down, however, that workers who have thus been denied their weekly holidays should be given compensatory holidays of an equal number within three months.

Provisions also exist in the Acts referred to above for the grant of annual leave with wages for all workers, who have put in 12 months' continuous service, within the subsequent 12 months. Leave is granted under these provisions at the rate of one day for every 20 days of work put in during the 12-months period in the case of factories and plantations (subject to a minimum of 10 days in factories) and at the rate of 14 days for the twelve months' service to the monthly paid employees and seven days for twelve months' service to the weekly paid employees. Wages are paid for the leave period at a daily rate equal to the average full-time earnings of the worker including the dearness allowance and concessions in kind, if any.

In addition to these leave facilities, women workers are granted maternity leave together with certain allowances in most States in accordance with the relevant provisions of the State laws. The extent of such leave and the benefit available in the various States are referred to in the Chapter on Legislation affecting Women Workers. The Plantation Labour Act, 1952, contains a section with all-India application regarding the provision of sickness and maternity benefits to the plantation workers subject to rules to be framed by the State Government in this regard.

Absenteeism

Factories :—From such information as is available it is difficult to say whether the extent of absenteeism among women workers differs significantly from that among men. Replies received from a few cotton mills in the country show no definite trend. According to information furnished by the Bombay Millowners' Association, in Bombay the percentage of absenteeism among reelers and winders, in which occupations a majority of the women in the cotton textile industry were employed, was of the order of 7.9 as compared to an over-all absenteeism rate of 11.8 per cent. in 1951. The Association, however, observes that the low rate of absenteeism among reelers and winders was due to a system of rotation of employment being resorted to by the mills and that otherwise absenteeism among women workers would be as high as among men if not higher. The Bangalore Cotton, Wollen and Silk Mills have reported a higher percentage of absenteeism among men, the relevant figures being 18.2 and 13.9 respectively. A return filed by the South India Millowners' Association shows that while in 8 of the mills absenteeism among women was higher than among men, in 5 others it was lower and in another it was equal being about 10 per cent. Considering, however, the social customs and obligations of

women workers who besides attending to their duties have to look after their household affairs and to attend to domestic exigencies, it might be expected that absenteeism among women workers would ordinarily be higher than among men. However, so far as factory industries are concerned, there is no clear evidence in this regard.

Mines :—Although better information is available on this aspect from coal mines from the Office of the Chief Inspector of Mines, Dhanbad, no decisive conclusion can be drawn from the data furnished in regard to the relative rates of absenteeism among men and women. The following table which shows the percentage of absenteeism among women workers employed in coal mines as compared to general rates of absenteeism, month by month, for the year 1951, indicates no significant difference between the two series. The monthly average rate of absenteeism among women workers in 1951 works out to 13.34 per cent. as against the general rate of 13.31 per cent. which indicates only a slight difference between the percentage of absenteeism among men and women. The main causes of absenteeism among women workers in the coal mines are reported to be maternity, menstrual periods, domestic duties, seasonal agricultural operations, festivals, sickness, etc.

Table 37
Percentage of absenteeism among labourers employed in all coalfields in India during the year 1951

Month	Percentage of absenteeism	
	Women workers	All workers
January	13.00	14.03
February	12.24	11.96
March	13.07	13.59
April	12.95	13.10
May	13.58	13.10
June	13.88	13.30
July	14.72	14.28
August	12.69	12.88
September	14.10	13.20
October	14.49	14.67
November	12.68	12.93
December	12.63	12.66
Average	13.34	13.31

Source :—Office of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

The reports of the Royal Commission on Labour (1931*) and of Mr. S. R. Deshpande (1946**) give the impression that in those days workers in the coal mines worked on an average only 4½ days in a week which suggests an absenteeism rate of 25 per cent. The statistics for 1951 given above show a remarkable improvement in this respect.

Plantations : Enquires made from time to time in regard to the labour conditions on plantations and the current statistics available in respect of the tea plantations of Assam conclusively show that absenteeism among women workers employed in Plantations is generally higher than among men and is also higher than in other industries. The following table shows the percentage of absenteeism among men and women workers employed in the tea plantations of Assam as calculated from the data relating to the number of workers on

*Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, pp. 117-18,

**Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in the Coal Mining Industry in India by Shri S. R. Deshpande, p. 37.

books and the average daily employment published by the Controller of Emigrant Labour.

Table 38
Percentage of absenteeism in the tea plantations of Assam

	Settled labour		<i>Fal u</i> or <i>Basti</i> Labour	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
1938-39	21.6	28.3	38.8	35.1
1944-45	22.0	34.2	38.9	40.5
1945-46	19.9	29.0	33.9	36.1
1946-47	21.6	29.4	34.9	36.9
1947-48	19.9	24.9	43.1	32.9
1948-49	17.9	33.5	32.7	33.6
1949-50	14.1	21.5	24.4	32.1

The percentage of absenteeism in the tea estates, it will be seen, is much higher among the *fal u* or *basti* labour than among the settled labour and the rates of absenteeism even among the settled labour are far above the corresponding rates observed in factories and mines.

These figures are, however, subject to the criticism that the data relating to number of workers on books and average daily employment are based on information collected in respect of two months during the year, namely, March and September, which may not be representative of the year as a whole. Monthly statistics relating to absenteeism were collected by the Labour Bureau for all the twelve months of 1950 during the course of a sample enquiry conducted in 1951 in the Assam Valley. The relevant figures are quoted below.

Table 39.
Percentage of absenteeism in the Plantations of Assam Valley 1950

Month	European-owned estates		Indian-owned estates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
January	21.0	18.2	18.2	30.7
February	17.1	20.9	17.0	24.9
March	17.9	21.5	18.5	26.9
April	17.0	23.0	19.8	28.1
May	17.6	25.6	22.2	27.3
June	17.5	26.3	21.2	34.8
July	18.9	29.8	19.6	28.8
August	21.3	30.5	20.8	23.6
September	16.7	26.9	17.7	24.3
October	16.4	26.1	16.2	21.7
November	18.7	32.0	18.7	27.6
December	22.1	37.3	20.1	37.1
Average	18.5	26.5	19.2	28.0

These figures broadly corroborate the general conclusions that could be drawn from the figures of the Controller of Emigrant Labour given above. Incidentally, the table also reveals the important fact that absenteeism whether it be among men or women is generally higher in the Indian-owned estates than the European-owned.

In regard to the labour employed in the plantations in other States, especially in the South, the only recent information available on absenteeism

is that collected by the Labour Bureau during the course of an enquiry into the cost and standard of living of plantation workers in Madras, Coorg and Cochin. The following table shows the percentages of absenteeism among men and women workers employed in plantations in those States.

Table 40
Percentage of absenteeism in the plantations in South India, 1947.

	Tea	Coffee	Rubber
Madras and Coorg			
Men	22.4	29.5	24.1
Women	22.0	34.9	35.2
Cochin			
Men	22.6	20.8	27.4
Women	20.9	24.6	29.9

The figures relating to the coffee and rubber plantations in the South show a higher percentage of absenteeism among women than among men. The figures for the tea plantations, however, show a lesser rate of absenteeism among women than among men.

Dealing with the question of the high rate of absenteeism among the plantation workers in Assam, the Royal Commission on Labour in India observed as follows :- "In considering the extent of absenteeism in the Assam tea gardens, it is important to bear in mind the subsidiary occupations of the garden worker. The most important is private cultivation, but household duties in agricultural surroundings such as the purchases of weekly supplies from the market, the collection of firewood, the grazing of cattle, the thrashing of corn, etc. make a considerable demand on the workers' time and *particularly on that of women.*"* In addition to the above reasons, a considerable part of the absenteeism is also caused by debility due to malaria, anaemia and malnutrition.** In the South, the causes of high absenteeism are reported to be generally sickness and fatigue and the consequent desire for rest. According to the Labour Investigation Committee, sheer idleness on the part of the worker was also not a negligible factor: "The workers being illiterate and ignorant seldom look forward and plan for the future. In fact, many employers attribute the prevalence of absenteeism among the workers to their outlook on life and stress that absenteeism has increased in recent years side by side with the increase in their wages. The workers, on the other hand, give out sickness and want of rest as main cause of absenteeism. This appears to be true, especially as the workers come from distant villages and life in the plantations involve for them change in climate, diet etc., which acts as an unhealthy influence."‡

Conditions of Work

Factories : As stated earlier, not much information is available in regard to the actual conditions under which work is done by the workers in factories and other places of work. So far as factories are concerned, it would appear from the reports on the working of the Factories Act that the environmental conditions such as sanitation, ventilation, lighting etc., at the places of work are generally satisfactory at any rate in the larger concerns, thanks to the vigilance of the Inspectors of Factories and the gradual change in the outlook of the employers. In certain types of small factories, however, the conditions are reported to be not so very satisfactory. The special pro-

* Royal Commission on Labour in India, p 388.

** Labour Investigation Committee—Report on Plantations, p. 38.

‡ Ibid p. 117.

visions relating to the maintenance of creches etc. incorporated in the Factories Act go a considerable way in improving the conditions of work of women workers in particular.

Mines : Work in the mines is comparatively more strenuous. Women who are employed mostly on the surface have to work in the open in the scorching sun of the summer and in the rains of the monsoon. In the quarries in particular, the work is heavy as the women have to carry loads of 30 to 35 seers of coal up a steep incline, often 1 to 4 or 5 gradients. In loading wagons also they have to work amidst smouldering and burning heaps of soft coke. Most of the women who were interviewed in connection with this enquiry, however, had no complaint about the hard work because they were used to it. The main complaint appeared to be against night work. There were objections against the system of changing shifts also because such changes interfered with the household routine of the workers. Some of the workers complained against the heat and rain under which they had to work, while some others were troubled about the long distances between their homes and places of work.

Plantations : In the plantations too, most of the work had to be done in the open air. In Assam the busy season in the tea industry synchronises with the hot weather which is followed by the rainy season. From the beginning of the flush season in March till the setting in of the monsoon in June the workers have to work under the hot sun with little or no shade to protect them. When the monsoon sets in, the ground is infested with leaches which create additional trouble to the workers who work bare-footed. In the South, most of the tea and coffee estates are in the hills and the workers have to face the rigours of climate due to low temperature, drizzling rain and biting cold.

The Plantation Labour Act, 1952, requires the maintenance of creches in every plantation where 50 or more women workers are employed for the use of the workers' children. The Act being of recent origin, there is still no such arrangement in many plantations in the North - East. Women workers in such estates who happen to have small children have often to carry the children on their backs even while working. Some arrangements in this respect have been made in several estates in South India but such arrangements have not been quite adequate. Another difficulty which is faced by the women workers in tea plantations is that they have to carry the leaf plucked to the factory which is, at places, miles away. This could be avoided if arrangements were made for weighing the leaf at the spot.

CHAPTER VI

Social Conditions

For want of a detailed socio-economic enquiry into the conditions of women workers, it will not be possible to present a comprehensive picture of their social conditions. The scope and limitations of the material used in the preparation of this report have already been discussed in the introductory chapter. Much of what is contained in the present chapter has been based on the information furnished by the Employers' Associations and Trade Unions. Use has also been made of the results of some rapid on the spot enquiries in selected industries undertaken by the officers of the Bureau and also of the life histories collected of women workers in the various industries.

The life histories of the women workers show that a large number of them have migrated to the industrial areas either with their parents or husbands or their other relations. The reasons for their migration are mainly economic. Coming as they do from agricultural workers' or artisans' families, their customs and mode of living conform closely to those prevalent in their ancestral homes. Early marriage has been, and still is, quite a common feature among workers' families; in the jute mill areas of West Bengal, for instance it is not unusual to find married girls between the age of 6 and 10.

A study of the marital status of women workers in the different industries and regions will be of interest as it has a bearing on their work in factories in relation to their family responsibilities. Some data were collected by the Bureau on the marital status of women workers in some of the industries. The available information is shown in the tabular statement below:

Table 41

Industry	No of workers in respect of whom informa- tion is avail- able	Percentage of		
		Married women	Unmarried women	Widowed women
Cotton Textile :				
Bombay City and Island	18,426	48.4	0.9	49.7
West Bengal	*	60.0	—	40.0
Kanpur	57	59.6	—	33.3
Indore	940	67.0	—	33.0
Bangalore	286	64.0	2.5	33.5
Coimbatore	—	63.9	4.3	31.8
Trichur	466	55.4	25.3	19.1
Madura	2,371	69.8	0.1	30.1
Silk :				
Bombay	483	46.1	28.4	25.6
Jute :				
West Bengal	3,483	77.9	0.2	21.9
Coal Mines :				
	**	73.0	9.0	18.0
Municipalities :				
Bombay	2,920	72.0	4.0	24.0
Ahmedabad	1,055	72.5	—	27.5
Calcutta	1,037	62.0	—	38.0
Paper mills :	444	74.0	—	26.0
Chemicals :	724	65.5	10.1	24.4
Steel :	200	66.5	5.5	28.0

* Relates to six cotton mills.

** Relates to 15 collieries affiliated to the Indian Mining Association.

It will be seen from the above statement that a considerable proportion of women workers are either married or widowed. Married women form roughly 50 to 80 per cent. of the women workers and widows 20 to 50 per cent. With the exception of silk mills in Bombay and cotton textile mills in Trichur and to a lesser degree coal mines and chemicals, the percentage of unmarried women in all other industries and centres is almost insignificant. In some of the industries no unmarried women is employed. The low percentage of unmarried women is mainly due to the system of early marriage among working classes and to the prevalence of the system of second marriage.

Age Distribution. Data collected by the Bureau in respect of some of the industries show that the proportion of very young women workers is very low. The following statement shows the frequency distribution of women workers according to age in six jute mills in West Bengal.

Table 42

Age group	No. of women	Percentage
Above 15 but below 18	—	—
18 and above but below 20	11	0.6
20 " 25	118	6.8
25 " 30	331	19.2
30 " 35	370	21.4
35 " 40	283	16.4
40 " 45	241	14.0
45 " 50	158	9.1
50 " 55	105	6.1
55 and above	111	6.4
Total	1,728	100.0

It will be seen from the above statement that there are no women below the age of 18 employed in jute mills. There is a high concentration in the age limit 25 to 45 which accounts for nearly 71 per cent. of the women workers. An analysis of the service cards of 1,169 women employed in jute mills in West Bengal showed that usually women enter into service after the age of 20. Only 16.5 per cent. entered into service before the age of 20. Data furnished by the Millowners' Association of Bombay in respect of 18,426 women workers employed in cotton mills in the city and island of Bombay show that only 5.6 per cent. of the women workers were below the age of 26 and 68.8 per cent. of them were between 26 and 45 years of age. The actual age distribution of the 18,426 workers is given below :

Table 43

Age group	No. of women workers	Percentage
Upto 25	1,037	5.6
Over 25 and upto 30	2,243	12.2
Over 30 " 35	3,422	18.6
Over 35 " 40	3,864	20.9
Over 40 " 45	3,149	17.1
Over 45 " 50	2,338	12.7
Over 50 " 55	1,489	8.1
Over 55 " 60	585	3.2
Over 60 " 65	203	1.1
Over 65	93	0.5
Total	18,426	100.0

Information in respect of other industries is very scanty. However such information as is available is given below :

Table 44

Age group	Salt*	Wollen mills†	Paper mills‡	Chemical industry‡‡
Below 20	5.9	—	3.2	0.9
20 to 30	64.7	—	38.0	58.1
30 to 40	23.5	16.7	34.2	35.9
40 and above	5.9	83.3	24.6	8.1

From the information available in respect of a few coal mines it would appear that in this industry there is a concentration of women workers below the age of 35.

Three of the major local bodies, viz., Bombay, Ahmedabad and Kanpur, have furnished the following information regarding the age distribution of women employed by them.

Table 45

Age group	BOMBAY		AHMEDABAD		KANPUR	
	No. of women	Percentage to total	No. of women	Percentage to total	No. of women	Percentage to total
Below 30	1,541	52.8	397	37.6	288	34.0
31 to 40	843	28.9	426	40.4	307	36.2
Above 40	536	18.3	232	22.0	253	29.8
Total	2,920	100.0	1,055	100.0	848	100.0

✓ **Effect on work-life.** Apart from those in the agricultural sector, there are about 15 lakhs of women workers who are employed in various organised industries and services on a full-time basis. The work-life of these women has its effects not only on themselves, but on their families and even on the community at large. They shoulder a dual responsibility, one in regard to their work and the other in regard to their family. It has already been observed that a large proportion of the women workers (varying from about 50 to 80 per cent.) are married and have to function as the wife and house-keeper. In the case of widowed workers, the problem is only slightly different and though some of them live alone or with their relatives, the majority of them have their own household duties to perform including the care of children. The extent of employment of unmarried girls is comparatively small and, therefore, does not constitute a serious problem. There are however, exceptions. In the match industry in South India, for instance, a considerable proportion of the labour force consists of unmarried girls.

In the course of the present enquiry, a few life histories of women workers in various industries were collected. A study of these life histories reveals that the immediate effect of woman's work in factories, mines, etc., is a strain resulting from over-work—work in the factories besides her regular domestic work. In organised industries, the daily working hours are generally eight; the time taken to go from residence to the work-place and back may be another hour or two unless workers have their residence close to the work-place. Thus work-life itself takes away 8 to 10 hours of the day. The duties

*Information relates to one unit employing 51 women.

†Information relates to one unit employing 36 women.

‡Information relates to 3 units employing 468 women.

‡‡Information relates to 3 units employing 669 women.

at home, according to the life histories collected generally take a minimum of 4 to 5 hours, spread over the morning and evening. The work-life and the domestic responsibilities, put together will take about 12 to 15 hours, leaving 9 to 12 hours for rest, recreation, etc. Work of 12 to 15 hours necessitates early rising, say at 4 or 5 in the morning, and going to bed only at about 9 at night. The physical strain involved is considerable; added to it are the care and worries of family, which should tell further on the women's health and efficiency. The possibilities of child-birth, perhaps at frequent intervals adds considerably to the stress and strain of women. The cumulative effect of all these can be seen from the fact that there is hardly any leisure, much less recreation for women workers.

The effect of woman's employment on the family may be broadly classified into relations with and effects on children and the husband. It is a well-recognised fact that children need the care and attention of the mother, at least during the first few years. The fact that the mother is away at work, for a major portion of the day tells upon the growth of children, both physical and mental. In the absence of a proper factory creche, the children will have to be left to the care of elder children, or relatives, if any, or to neighbours. According to a recent enquiry in the jute industry, out of 97 young children of 276 working mothers, 47 were kept in the creche, 44 were looked after by other members of the family and the remaining six were attended to by neighbours or left to themselves.* It is well known that the practice of 'doping' with opium is not uncommon, though the extent of this practice is not known. In the jute industry, according to one of the branches of the Bengal Provincial National Trade Union Congress, 'very few workers dope their children'. Such practices will only retard the growth of children. Want of proper parental care increases the possibility of the children becoming delinquents. According to Kanji Dwarkadas, "The children take to begging and loafing and the unhealthy environments are bound to affect them adversely."†

Work-life of women may possibly strain relationships with their husbands, unless the latter are accommodative and willing to share the domestic responsibilities. Women's life in India, has proverbially been associated with the home and it is perhaps a little too early to expect such a sharing of domestic responsibilities. The net consequence of all this has been to add to women's responsibilities; even though both husband and wife are employed, it is the latter who has to mind the home. It is difficult to say how and in what way such a set-up would affect the husband-wife relationship; possibilities in marital relationships and consequent domestic discord cannot be overlooked specially when a great majority of the women workers are in the age groups between 25 and 45.

The effect of women's employment on the community may be conveniently classified under two categories viz., economic and social. The immediate economic effect would be on the employment situation. To the extent that women perform jobs that can be and are usually done by men, women's employment will mean replacement of men, specially in a country where there is surplus man-power. Partly this is an inevitable result of industrialisation. Nevertheless, the question of re-orientation of the nature of women's work needs emphasis. The re-orientation may be in the direction of giving such work to women, to which they are both physically and mentally better suited than men such as in the field of education, nursing and other services allied to the welfare of the family and community. Such a re-

*Messrs. M. N. Rao and H. C. Ganguli: "Women Labour in Jute Industry of Bengal"—an article in the Indian Journal of Social Work, September 1950, p. 185.

†Kanji Dwarkadas: "Women and Children in Industry"—an article in the Indian Journal of Social Work, June 1948 issue, p. 8.

distribution, based on a proper study would no doubt be to the ultimate advantage of the community.

The social effect of women's employment has in the first instance been the creation of a new class of persons among women. The new class viz., the working-class women, creates several problems to the community such as the problem of care and upbringing of children, possible lapses of children into delinquency, domestic disharmony and broken families etc.; some of these problems are being tackled by provision of creches, nursery schools, etc. But there is still a lot of scope for organised social services to step in and stem the rot. A second aspect of the question would be contacts that women workers will have with co-workers of their own sex and also with male workers. These contacts enable the women workers to get a broader perspective of the problems facing not only their own occupations but also the community in general. Thirdly, it results in what may be termed 'raising of social status' in the sense that women earners come to feel that they are not inferior to men and their sense of importance in the family and the community increases. But how far this elevation of social status is helpful in cementing or destroying the family unity remains problematic. Fourthly, it has also to be seen whether employment of women, would ultimately result in the improvement of working conditions in the industry itself as it happened in Britain during the war years,* when due to shortage of men, women came into the factories and when they saw conditions 'dirtier and more unkempt' than usual inside the factories they rose in their might and would not accept them. The pressure of public opinion was so great that certain amenities had to be provided in spite of war-time scarcities. As against this general background it will be interesting to give some details of social conditions of women workers in a few important industries.

Jute : Life histories show that most of the women get up at 4 or 5 in the morning and prepare tea and some food for their husbands and children before leaving for the mills which generally start at 6 a.m. During the lunch hour they hurriedly cook their meal and rush back to the mill. Evening time is again spent in cooking, and cleaning utensils, washing, etc. It is estimated that they have to spend 3 to 4 hours each day on domestic duties. Almost all the women whose life histories were collected were married at an early age i.e., between 6 and 10. The most common age of marriage was seven. Second marriage is quite common among women workers.

Coal : Life histories reveal that the woman worker's day generally commences at 4 or 5 a.m. She finishes her household duties and then goes to work. On her return from work, she has again to attend to domestic duties and is completely fatigued when she goes to bed. Of the domestic worries mentioned by women workers are sickness of children, family debts and marriages of children.

It may be mentioned here that dowry system is generally prevalent among the castes and tribes to which the workers belong. In some castes and tribes dowry is to be paid for the marriage of boys and in others for girls.

Desertion and separation are not, if the life histories collected are any indication at all, uncommon. In such cases women often remarry if customs permit, or choose some other partner. There has often been criticism regarding lack of morality among women workers in the collieries but this criticism has to be viewed against the peculiar usages and customs prevailing in the communities from which the women come. According to the Personnel Officer of the Indian Mining Association, 'women employed in the mines are no better or no worse than women employed in other industries'.

*Sir Wilfred Garret—Elements of Industrial Well-being, p. 7 published by the Labour Bureau, Ministry of Labour.

Plantations: A woman's day generally begins at 4 or 5 a.m. when she has to get up and cook meals for the family before going out to work by 6 or 7 a.m. After the day's work she has to fetch water and firewood and then cook the meal. She has thus to be 5 or 6 hours on household duties in addition to her normal working hours in the field.

Social habits : Social habits are to a large extent, products of environment and provide an index of the cultural life. Such habits should necessarily be viewed against the background of living conditions which are none too satisfactory. An official of a State Government commenting on a few life-histories of women workers in Jute Industry collected by him has remarked in his reply : "the stimulus to action (among women workers) is absent and the emotional reaction of unpleasantness, disgust and monotony in the various types of occupations vary only in slight degree..... slum psychology carries the same defects—the want of stimuli, unhealthy emotional reactions and a disinclination to action". This may not necessarily be true of workers in all industries ; nevertheless, there is a considerable section of workers, in cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Kanpur, etc., who cannot but belong to this category.

Social habits, reported to be existing among the workers range from the use of such simple luxuries like *pan* to intoxicating drinks. In the jute industry it is stated that the practice of eating 'gool' is very common. In this connection the following remark of a woman Labour Officer of the Indian Jute Mills Association are revealing :

"Every woman almost, with a few exceptions takes a powder called *gool* which is a mixture of dried tobacco and cocconut leaves mixed with *chun* (lime). This powder is taken more as something to suck and becomes a habit just as much as smoking. Its bad effect, as far as I have been able to find out is that it affects the teeth and very often the front teeth after a few years fall off, due to the constant contact of *gool* with the gums. Some creche nurses are also of the opinion that it encourages Pyorrhoea. No woman will admit that she takes any other drugs, though I feel there is some incidence of the habit of taking *dhokta*, *ganja* or opium".

What portion of the earnings is spent up on account of this or similar practices is not known. In the coal-fields, the habit of pan-chewing, smoking beedis and 'hukkas' is common ; it is stated that some women drink also. "A very interesting feature of the labour of the coalfield" according to a woman Labour Officer" is the use of cheap intoxicating liquors of various kinds, i.e., 'Hariya', 'Maru' made of fermentation of cooked but stale rice and indian liquor, which men and women enjoy together with equal right. Though workers of all the castes drink in moderation it is the 'Bhauris' who drink most. The women in general use 'biri' (Beedi) while at work and 'hukka' at home." In the plantations, particularly in Assam, women as well as men are drink-addicts.

Literacy : The standard of literacy is very low in India and it is more so among working classes specially among women workers. In Bombay, according to the Millowners' Association, Bombay, the percentage of literate women workers in 1951 was 2.75. Information furnished by the Madhya Bharat Millowners' Association shows that in 6 of the cotton mills the percentage of literate women workers varied from 0 to 2.1. Statistics collected by the Southern Indian Millowners' Association in respect of 3,583 women workers in 17 units show that the percentage of literate women was 18. In the individual units the percentage of literate women however varied from 3.5 to 70.

In 8 of the silk mills in Bombay employing 483 women workers the percentage of literate women varied from 0 to 40. Data collected in respect of

982 women workers in jute mills in West Bengal showed that only 4 or 0.4 per cent of them were literate. Only 4 per cent. of the women workers employed by the Bombay Municipality and 8.4 and 3 per cent. respectively of the women workers employed by Ahmedabad and Cuttack Municipalities were literate.

Recently some of the State Governments have launched adult education and social education schemes. These schemes cover both men and women workers. Information regarding the benefits conferred on women workers by such schemes is available in respect of Madhya Pradesh only. In this State social education work for working classes was started for the first time in April 1949 in various industrial centres and nearly 3 lakhs of adults including nearly 73,000 women were made literate by the end of April 1950. This included 24,564 adults and 43,757 women taking advantage of the 5-week intensive social education courses conducted in 531 summer camps which started their work on 1st May 1949. In U.P., the State Government have started several social education camps. One of the camps which has been opened in Jharia is for women.

Trade Unionism. Trade unionism is an important factor in measuring the class consciousness of workers as also their interest in and association with the occupations in which they are employed. Information in regard to the number of women trade unionists etc., is available in respect of trade unions registered under the Indian Trade Unions Act, 1926. The following statement shows the variations in the number and membership of Trade Unions during the period 1927-28 to 1949-50 and the percentage of women membership to total in the different years.

Table 46
Women members of Registered Trade Unions*

Year	No. of Registered Trade Unions	No. of Unions furnishing information	Total Membership	Women membership	Percentage of women to total membership
1927-28	29	28	1,00,619	1,168	1.2
1932-33	170	147	2,37,369	5,090	2.1
1937-38	420	343	3,90,112	14,703	3.8
1938-39	562	394	3,99,159	10,945	2.7
1939-40	667	450	5,11,138	18,612	3.6
1940-41	727	483	5,13,832	19,417	3.8
1941-42	747	455	5,73,520	17,094	3.0
1942-43	693	489	6,85,299	25,972	3.8
1943-44	761	563	7,80,967	20,866	2.7
1944-45	865	573	8,89,388	36,315	4.1
1945-46†	1,087	585	8,64,031	38,570	4.5
1946-47	1,833	998	13,31,962	64,798	4.9
1947-48	2,766	1,620	16,62,929	1,02,299	6.2
1948-49	3,150	1,848	19,60,107	1,19,355	6.1
1949-50	3,522	1,919	18,21,132	1,19,565	6.6

*Statistics upto 1945-46 relate to undivided British India; thereafter to Part A and C states of the Indian Union.

†Excluding Punjab.

It will be seen from the above statement that the percentage of women members is quite low. However, compared to 1927-28 the number of women members and their percentage to the total membership of the unions has increased considerably. In 1927-28 the percentage of women to the total mem-

bership of the unions was 1.2. It increased to 2.1 in 1932-33 and to 3.8 in 1937-38. Thereafter it fluctuated between 2.7 and 3.8 till 1942-43. However, since 1944-45 the percentage has increased almost steadily from 4.1 to 6.6.

A study of the frequency distribution of women trade unionists according to industries for 1949-50 as shown in the table below shows that the percentage of women members to total is highest in plantations (25.8). The corresponding percentages for certain other industries are—coal 15.2, mines (other than coal) 10.5, jute 8.7 and cotton textiles 8.5.

Table 47

Table showing membership of women in trade unions (workers' unions) in different industries* (1949-50)

Industry	Total membership	Number of women members	Percentage of women members
1. Plantations	1,38,706†	36,063	25.8
2. Cotton textiles	3,24,818	27,828	8.5
3. Mines :			
Coal	1,10,750†	16,848	15.2
Others	24,773	2,599	10.5
4. Jute	81,086	7,080	8.7
5. Food, beverages and tobacco	1,12,222	5,798	5.1
6. Services	48,198	4,294	8.9
7. Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	28,116	2,037	7.2
8. Iron and Steel	58,126	1,859	3.2
9. Railways	3,37,219	1,563	0.5
10. Chemicals and chemical products	28,721	1,330	4.6

The regional distribution of women members of Trade Unions in relation to total membership in 1949-50 is shown in the following table :—

Table 48

State	Total membership of unions	No. of women members	Percentage of women members
Assam	1,18,188	26,220	22.2
Bihar	1,83,060	24,168	13.2
Bombay	5,21,459	29,924	5.7
Madras	1,36,005	13,038	9.5
Madhya Pradesh	58,720	7,780	13.2
Orissa	23,286	1,015	4.3
Uttar Pradesh	2,18,067	2,007	0.9
West Bengal	4,87,162	14,417	2.9
Punjab	14,605	229	1.6

Though the number of women members of trade unions is largest in Bombay, the percentage of women members to the total membership is highest in Assam, where women, who are mostly plantation workers, form 22.2

*The figures relate to Part A and Part C States of the Indian Union. Only those industries, which have more than 1,000 women trade unionists have been shown in this table

†Sex classification in respect of 648 members in plantations and 5,533 members in coal is not available.

per cent. of the total membership of the unions. Next to Bombay and Assam the largest number of women trade union members are in Bihar. The percentage of women members in this State is 13.2. This high percentage is due to coal mines. In Madhya Pradesh also the percentage of women members is 13.2. In this State the high percentage of women members is due to the textile industry and the collieries.

Though trade unionism among women workers in this country has made rapid strides during the last six or seven years, it has yet to go a long way before it can claim to be established on the same scale as in some of the countries of the west. Thus, not more than 6.6 per cent. of the trade union membership of this country was accounted for by women in 1949-50 whereas the corresponding percentage for the United Kingdom at the end of 1950 was 18.1.* Nor is the percentage of women membership of trade unions in this country on a par with their relative working strength in the industries. Thus in the three important industrial sectors-factories, mines and plantations-the percentage of women's employment to total was 12.3, 20.5 and 46.6 respectively while the percentage of women membership of trade unions in these sectors was 6.6, 14.3 and 25.8 respectively. Whilst this is true of industrial sectors taken as a whole, there are indications of progress in specific industries. Thus, in cotton textiles, the percentage of women workers to total was 9.1 in 1949 and the percentage of women membership of trade unions to total was 8.5 in 1949-50. Likewise in coal, the percentage of women workers to total was 16.4 in 1949 and the percentage of women members of trade unions to total in 1949-50 was only slightly less being 15.2.

* Ministry of Labour Gazette, November 1951, p.2.

CHAPTER VII

Health and Welfare

Questions relating to health and welfare of the workers are becoming increasingly important in modern industry with the growing recognition of the role of human factor in production. In this Chapter an attempt is made to describe briefly the measures taken by the various organisations of Government, Employers and Employees to meet the needs of the woman worker in relation to her health and welfare. It should however be remembered in this connection that Health and Welfare Services are largely common to both men and women alike and it, therefore, becomes difficult to demarcate and state precisely the position in regard to women workers alone. However, attempts have been made to distinguish between the services available to both men and women workers on the one hand and those available mainly or entirely to women workers, on the other. Emphasis has been laid, as far as possible, on the latter. For the sake of convenience, a broad distinction has been made between Health and Welfare. Under the former head items, such as, general health, nutrition, etc., have been covered while under the latter, pre and post natal facilities, maternity, creches, canteens and other welfare measures have been discussed.

General Health. Health, according to the Health Survey and Development Committee, "implies more than an absence of sickness in the individual and indicates a state of harmonious functioning of the body and the mind in relation to his physical and social environment, so as to enable him to enjoy to the fullest extent possible and to reach his maximum level of productive capacity."* Referring to the vulnerable groups, *i. e.*, children and old people the Report states: "In addition, women at the reproductive stages are exposed to special risks during pregnancy and child bearing and maternal morbidity and mortality are factors which require special consideration....."† Elsewhere in this Report reference has been made to the fact that a considerable proportion of the women workers are married and they are in the reproductive ages. It may, therefore, be concluded that from the point of view of health women workers form a vulnerable class.

Important among the factors that contribute to the health of the industrial workers are (i) housing, (ii) food and (iii) working conditions. The last of these factors has formed the subject of a separate chapter earlier in the Report. As regards the first, it may be stated that the housing of industrial workers is, generally speaking, none too satisfactory although efforts are being made, in recent years to improve it. In this connection the following observations of Margaret I. Balfour are of interest: "The kind of housing differs of course in different places. In Calcutta, the jute mills are situated mostly outside the city and there is plenty of space. There is not overcrowding as one family will usually occupy one hut, but the houses are too small and poorly ventilated. In Bombay most of the cotton mills are in the City and space is limited, hence the people live in tall tenement houses, closely set together. The rooms are larger than those in Calcutta and ventilation is better, but the over-crowding is often acute owing to the high rents required by landlords, which lead several families to share one room. Of course this results in a total lack of privacy and even of decency. The type of housing in other industrial towns tends more to resemble that in Calcutta than in Bombay, although there is more frequently lack of space and overcrowding. It may be said briefly that the housing of industrial workers is not worse than that of most slum dwellers and in some cases it is better, but their general

*Report of the Health Survey and Development Committee, 1946, Vol. I, p. 7.

†Ibid p. 8.

conditions are worse because of the shifting nature of the population.'

Food. Apart from housing and working conditions, food and dietary habits are potent factors which affect health. There have been some studies in the past regarding the nutritive value of the diet of the working classes. Reference is made below to a few of these.

In 1931 a survey on a small scale was undertaken by Dr. Lucy Wills to study the diets of textile workers and their families in Bombay. She was struck by the fact that most cases of pregnancy anaemias encountered by her in Bombay were from the mill labour class. She pursued the matter by studying the diets and found that they were defective and these studies confirmed her suspicion that iron deficiency could be one of the causes of microcytic anaemias encountered in pregnancy or in certain apparently healthy people.

The diet of industrial workers in Madras City formed the subject of study by a special analysis of 641 family budgets. The nutritive value per unit of consumption as revealed in this study was as follows :—

<i>Item of food value</i>		
Proteins	...	47.30 grammes
Fats	...	25.36 "
Carbo-hydrates	...	495.92 "
Calorific value	...	2,404.13 calories.

Comparing these data with the schedule of energy requirements estimated by an expert Commission of the League of Nations, the Report observed thus. "The quality of the diets is on the whole low. It is both insufficient and ill-balanced and is characterised by an excess of carbo-hydrates and deficiency of proteins and fats. The amount of proteins is much below the physiological minimum requirements, that of fats is barely a third of the amount needed and the proportion of carbo-hydrates is too high."†

As early as 1941 Dr. Mitra studied the diet of coal miners at Jharia. This was followed by repeat surveys by Dr. Lall in 1947-48 in the same area. Dr. Lall found that though as compared to income levels of the miners in 1939-40 the levels in 1947-48 had risen by 330 per cent. the rise in income was not commensurate with the rise in prices. He also found that although the calorie intake had not shown any appreciable difference as compared to the pre-war period, the nutritive value of diets had definitely deteriorated. As a result, the health of the community had suffered as was evident from the increased morbidity rate and deterioration of children's health accompanied by greater incidence of nutritional deficiency.

In 1946 the Labour Bureau undertook an enquiry into the family budgets of plantation labour. These data were analysed from the nutritional point of view by the Director, Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor. The diets of the workers were found inadequate, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The main findings in respect of the plantation workers in Assam Valley were as follows :

(i) The calorific value of the diet of the Assam Valley labourer is 2,746 which is low when compared to the standard set by the Nutrition Advisory Committee for manual labourers.

(ii) From 90 to 94 per cent of the calories are obtained from cereals which is a sign of grossly unbalanced diet ; and

(iii) diets are grossly insufficient in calcium, iron, vitamin A and vitamin C.

The health of plantation workers was subsequently studied in 1947 by Major Lloyd Jones. He has made a pointed reference to the poor health and acute malnutrition among the plantation workers in the following terms :

*Margaret I. Balfour : Indian Women in Industry, Journal of the A. M. W. I. 1933 Vol. 21, No. 1, Reprint, page 7.

†N. K. Adyanthaya — "Report on an Enquiry into the Family Budgets of Industrial Workers in Madras City, 1935, pp. 28-30.

"The general impression gained during the tour of Assam was that the state of health of the labour was poor. Under-nourishment and general weakness were evident even among the people seen working on the gardens, or walking along the roads. There seemed a general lack of vitality. Children were rarely seen running about or playing. They ambled along like old men. The women in their general demeanour were very different from the coolie women of Northern India, with whom the writer is more familiar. At work on the gardens or taking in their tea to the factory, they trudged along, silent, morose, their eyes fixed on the ground in front of them. The contrast with a crowd of Delhi coolie women was most marked. Part of this may be due racial differences, but probably most of it is due to the fact that by reason of under-nourishment their vitality is at such a low ebb that there is none to spare for the lighter aspects of life".

Prior to Major Lloyd Jones' investigations, certain other investigations made by Dr. Napier and his colleagues had shown the presence of widespread anaemia among tea plantation labourers in Assam. It later came clear, however, that conditions in tea gardens were not necessarily such as to induce anaemia where it did not already exist; they only perpetuated the state of affairs or rather provided no better environment for the disease than that in which the workers were accustomed to live before they migrated to Assam.

Diseases Very little information is available regarding the prevalence of diseases among women workers. In the coalfields, according to the Superintendent, Central Hospital, Dhanbad, the incidence of malaria records a very high percentage especially in Assam Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Other diseases from which women suffer are anaemia, osteomalacia boils and avitaminosis. These diseases generally arise from malnutrition.

The most prevalent diseases among the plantation workers in Assam are malaria, bowel diseases and anaemia. In regard to the state of health of women workers in Assam plantations, Major Lloyd Jones has remarked that apart from Hypochromic and microcytic anaemias which are mostly secondary to malaria, bowel diseases and hook-worm, microcytic anaemias of the nutritional and pregnancy types are very common and are the cause of a large proportion of enormous maternal mortality. Excessive child bearing must also be a potent cause of anaemia and debility among women workers in tea plantations. Very often a woman is no sooner rid of one child than she starts to bear another*. This is further borne out by the mortality rates given by the same author. The average mortality rates per thousand in the tea estates of Assam, West Bengal and South India were 21.5, 20.1 and 14.0 respectively.

The Indian Tea Association, Calcutta, has kindly furnished some figures relating to birth death and morbidity in tea gardens in Assam and West Bengal which are reproduced below :

Table 49
Vital Statistics for 1948

	No. of gardens	Total population	Births	Deaths
			(per 1,000 population)	
1. Assam :				
i) Assam Valley	15	36,717	48.75	18.72
ii) Cachar	3	8,868	43.30	12.86
iii) Total	18	45,585	47.69	17.56
2. West Bengal :				
i) Darjeeling	5	7,321	44.94	21.17
ii) Dooars	5	12,222	49.91	19.39
iii) Terai	1	1,141	35.06	19.29
iv) Total	11	20,684	47.33	20.02
Total (Assam and West Bengal) 29		66,269	47.57	18.33

*Standards of Medical Care for Tea Plantations in India, E. Lloyd Jones, pp. 8-9.

Table 50
Deaths and Morbidity per 1,000 of the garden population for 1948†

	Deaths	Morbidity
1. Acute Respiratory diseases	1.85	228.58
2. Tuberculosis	1.62	3.08
3. Acute gastro-enteritis	1.56	117.21
4. Dysentery	1.11	29.36
5. Malnutrition	1.02	14.37
6. Infectious fever	0.69	60.69
7. Helminthisis	0.47	92.36
8. Malaria	0.37	56.68
9. Injuries	0.35	132.47
10. Skin diseases	0.01	42.50
11. All others	9.28	462.65

Quite a large number of plantation labourers in Assam and West Bengal are reported to be suffering from T. B. The following figures pertaining to the working of the B. C. G. Vaccination Scheme in the tea plantations of Assam and West Bengal which have been furnished by the Chief Adviser of Factories are of interest in this connection.

Table 51
Statement showing the number of women tuberculin tested and vaccinated in tea gardens

1.	Age group	No. completing Tuberculin test	Positive reactors	No. vaccinated
2.	3.	4.	5.	
Assam	0-9	80,909	14,958	65,946
	10-19	60,736	28,368	32,368
	20-29	51,174	29,845	21,662
	30-39	41,993	28,106	13,887
	40-49	22,888	16,544	6,344
	50 and above	18,515	13,568	4,950
West Bengal	0-9	14,931	2,713	11,908
	10-19	14,216	6,188	8,028
	20-29	13,589	7,044	6,545
	30-39	11,326	6,804	4,522
	40-49	5,717	4,016	1,731
	50 and above	3,224	2,392	832

Occupational Diseases. No information is available regarding occupational diseases among women. This is largely due to the fact that no adequate machinery exists at present for providing such information. According to the Labour Investigation committee, ".....although some of these (occupational diseases) have been included under schedule III to the Workmen's Compensation Act, it is virtually inoperative..... This is largely because the diseases enumerated in the Schedule are difficult of early detection by ordinary medical men and unfortunately we have few medical experts in India who have any specialised knowledge of industrial diseases."* The report goes on to say that "We have no doubt that in mines and factories, the incidence of

*Labour Investigation Committee, Main Report, p. 377.

† The information relates to 29 gardens only.

occupational diseases must not be inconsiderable." A recent report from Uttar Pradesh on the working of the Workmen's Compensation Act states: "This conspicuous absence of occupational diseases was no index to the actual state of affairs."

Accidents. The following statement shows the number of women workers who were awarded compensation for accidents under the Workmen's Compensation Act during 1949 and 1950.*

Distribution of adult workmen to whom disablement compensation was awarded or disbursed

	Total number of workmen involved	Number of women workers	Percentage of women to total
1949	3,169	137	4.3
1950	3,265	173	5.3

The number of women workers who were involved in accidents and who were paid compensation is comparatively small. Of the 173 women workers involved in accidents in 1950, 38 or 22.0 per cent. died; 48 or 27.7 per cent were permanently disabled and 87 or 50.3 per cent. were temporarily disabled.

Welfare

Pre-natal and post-natal conditions: The facilities available for pre-natal and post-natal treatment of women in general are very limited; even where such facilities are available they are not always utilised to the fullest extent on account of the barrier of traditions and social customs. In this respect women workers have a distinct advantage in the sense that they are entitled to the facilities made available by the employers in addition to and over and above those that are available for the general population. But the extent to which these facilities are utilised depends primarily on whether the women workers continue to stay in their work places during pregnancy. Quite often they go away to their native places for delivery and sometimes they stay away from work at an early stage of pregnancy. In this connection the following extract from Margaret I. Balfour's article referred to earlier is of interest. "In Bombay I found that nearly 50 per cent. of the women gave up work before completing 7 months of pregnancy. An enquiry made by the Bombay Labour Bureau (Office) in 1924 gave the same result nearly 50 per cent. had ceased to work before 7 months. In Calcutta a number of women were similarly questioned and it was found that 52 per cent. had given up work before the end of the 7th month."†

In the cotton textile industry some mills have made special provision for the treatment of their women workers. The Madura Mills Co., the Jaiyaji Rao Cotton Mills at Gwalior, the Empress Mills at Nagpur, the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills at Madras and the Bangalore Woollen, Cotton and Silks Mills have provided child welfare and maternity centres in their workers' colonies and appointed trained nurses and experienced lady doctors and health visitors to treat the women workers.

In the Jute industry only a few units have made arrangements for the treatment of women workers. So far only 7 units in West Bengal have set up maternity clinics and 3 have opened maternity hospitals.

In the coal mines provision of adequate hospitalisation and medical facilities is largely under the control of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund

*These figures cover all the Parts. A States and three Part C States, viz., Ajmer, Delhi and Coorg.

†Ibid, p. 12.

Organisation. The regional hospitals at Tisra and Katras in Jharia coalfields and at Chora and Searsole in the Raniganj coalfields have maternity beds. A maternity centre at Chanda is also proposed to be set up. A Lady Health Visitor has been posted in the Sambalpur coalfield for giving pre-natal and post-natal advice to workers.

In some plantations, particularly in South India, special measures are taken for ante and post-natal care of women workers. These include free supply of cod-liver or shark-liver oil and milk to expectant mothers. Pregnant women are admitted into hospitals where available and cared for until after their confinement. "On most estates a woman attendant for five to ten days after child birth is provided. A remarkable improvement in average birth weight—from 3 lbs. in 1930 to 5 lbs. 14 ozs. to 6 lbs. 12 ozs. in 1944 is reported as a result of pre-natal hospitalisation of two or three months".* The old prejudices in this respect are slowly vanishing and where hospitals and other facilities are provided women workers are taking advantage of them.

Very often the plantations do not have on their medical staff a mid-wife or a nurse and in some cases not even a qualified doctor. A doctor may be in charge of a group of estates and in individual estates more often than not, only a compounder or a dresser may be in charge.

Maternal mortality. The high incidence of maternal mortality in India is a known fact. However, the maternal mortality rate among working women has, been found by Margaret I. Balfour to be lower than among non-working women. She observed that "in spite of poverty and over-crowding, industrial workers have easier confinements and lower mortality than majority of Indian women."** She held that this was probably due to the fact that women workers led active life and moved freely out of doors. A study made by her of 576 women workers in Bombay revealed a maternal mortality rate of 1.7 per 1,000 among them as compared to 16 per 1,000 among non-working women. Figures obtaining from the records of the Maternity Benefit Scheme in Calcutta by the same author showed that among 2,380 women workers confined in 1931, the death rate was 7.9 per 1,000 births as against a general maternal mortality rate of 20 per thousand births in the same year in Calcutta. According to Major Lloyd Jones the average maternal mortality rate in tea estates of Assam, West Bengal and South India in 1947 was 33.8, 14.8 and 6.5 respectively.

One of the causes contributing to the high incidence of maternal mortality in this country is the practice still prevalent of utilising the services of 'dais' in confinements at home even when proper medical facilities are available. A recent survey of women in jute mills in West Bengal showed that a large number of them still utilise the services of 'dais'. Some of the employers of jute mills are taking special pains to educate women workers in regard to the benefits of hospitalisation and the response seems to be encouraging.

Infant mortality. Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births) in Registered Areas of India was as follows:-

1938	...	167†
1943	...	165
1948	...	130
1949	—	123

*I. L. O. Committee on Work on Plantations-2nd Session—Havana 1953—Health and Social Services on Plantations, p. 10.

**Indian women in Industry by Margaret I Balfour, p. 15.

†Source: Statistical Abstract, India 1950 p. 50. Figures for 1938 and 1943 relate to undivided India.

These figures show that the infant mortality rate among all classes of women had gone down by about 26 per cent. within the space of 11 years between 1938 and 1949. No separate figures of the trend in the infant mortality rate among women workers are available, but in view of the fact that the population of working class women forms a very large percentage of the total female population, it seems probable that there has been a progressive reduction in the infant mortality rate among women workers also in recent years.

Discussing the infant mortality among the jute workers, Dr. D. F. Curjel stated as early as in 1923 "... the death-rate among infants born while the mother is engaged in mill work is high, even in comparison with the known high death-rate among young children in and around Calcutta".* The conditions of infants born during 1926-29 according to Margaret I. Balfour were no better. She found that "the infant birth-weight was lower in the children of industrial mothers than in the children of non-industrial mothers. The mean birth weight of 223 infants of women mill-workers (in Bombay) was 5.502 lbs. as compared with a mean birth-weight of 6.095 lbs. for 518 infants of non-industrial mothers.**" The same writer referring to the increased poverty among workers due to a prolonged strike of seven months in Bombay, reported: "The mean (birth-weight) before the strike was 5.377. lbs. and during and immediately after the strike it became 5.713 lbs., while the still-birth rate fell from 178 per 1,000 to 98 per 1,000".† Among the more recent enquiries in this connection mention may be made of the enquiry conducted by Messrs. M. N. Rao and H. C. Ganguli of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health.‡ This enquiry was confined to women workers in jute mills in 1950. Among other things, their report reveals that there is a significant increase in vital loss as measured by abortions and still-births in women on account of industrial employment. Amongst the 347 working women, 10.9% of the total 311 conceptions after entry into industry resulted in abortions and still-births as compared to 4.2% of the total 670 conceptions before joining the industry. The difference was found to be statistically significant. Considering still-births alone for those women before and after joining the industry the increase in vital loss following industrial employment was 4.3% i. e. one in 22 pregnancies. Among the non-working group the vital loss was 6.7% of the total pregnancies. In this study, the experience as regards still-births and abortions was studied for the same group of women separately before and after joining the industry and, therefore, it seems not unreasonable to ascribe the adverse experience to the effect of employment.

According to Major Lloyd Jones' enquiries the average infant mortality rates per 1,000 live births in the plantations of Assam, West Bengal and South India were 190.9, 134.1 and 122.4 respectively.

Maternal Benefits.—The existing legal provisions in respect of maternity benefits have already been indicated elsewhere in the report. The following statement gives some statistics in regard to the actual working of the Maternity

*Dagmar F. Curjel: 'Women's labour in Bengal Industries', 1923, p. 21.

**Margaret I. Balfour: Indian Women in Industry—an article in the Journal of A.M.W.I. 1933 Vol. N. 1.

† *Ibid* p. 16.

‡B. N. Rao and H. C. Ganguli: "Women Labour in Jute Industry of Bengal"—published as an article in the Indian Journal of Social Work—September 1950 issue.

Benefit Acts in the various States in 1950 :—

Table 52

State/Area	Average No. of women employed in establishments to whom the Act is applicable	Number of women who were paid maternity benefit	Total amount paid as maternity benefit	Average amount of benefit paid per case
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
			Rs.	Rs.
Assam	2,12,463	44,339	17,14,707	39
Bihar	11,535	1,027	64,314	62
Bombay	58,454	4,531	1,18,147	39
Madhya Pradesh	5,256	581	27,343	47
Madras	88,526	3,249	1,36,181	41
Punjab	2,376	15	634	42
Uttar Pradesh	919	21	2,375	113
West Bengal	78,450	10,374	7,03,832	68
Ajmer	1,336	39*	900	25
Delhi	551	14†	428	30
Mines-Coal	36,447‡	3,806	1,43,658	37
Others	39,116	2,519‡‡	94,467	37

In Assam, the high figures in columns 2 and 4 are due to the large number of women workers in plantations employed on a family basis; the high figures for West Bengal are due to jute mills and tea plantations where women are employed in large numbers. The average amount of benefit paid per case varies from Rs. 25 in Ajmer to Rs. 113 in Uttar Pradesh. The average amounts are influenced by the rate of benefit prescribed under different State Acts and also by the general level of wages wherever the rate of benefit is linked to earnings.

With the introduction of equal pay for men and women in certain industries, maternity benefits have tended to increase the labour costs of the employers. To the extent that a comparative labour costs of women workers are more than those of men, it follows that the tendency among employers would be to restrict the recruitment of women. In this connection, the following remarks occurring in an official report on the working of the Maternity Benefit Act are interesting: "While a number of factories employ elderly women, widows and unmarried girls to avoid complying with the Maternity Benefit Act, there are others who go beyond the provisions of the Act and provide for free medical supervision, treatment when necessary, and protective food in the form of milk to expectant and nursing mothers for a period of 5 months".†† Life-histories of women workers in coal industry reveal that most of them are conscious of their rights and privileges under the Mines Maternity Benefit Act. While some admit of having spent the money obtained under the Act on new clothes or payment of debts, most of them seem to spend at least a part of it on better food for themselves. From the reports of the working of the Maternity Benefit Acts in 1950, received from the States, it would appear that the employers' attitude to the Act specially of those employing a large number of women, is one of the co-operation and understanding.

†Relates to women who worked for a period of not less than 6 months.

†Includes one case of the previous year.

‡‡Includes 180 cases relating to 1949. In these cases second instalment was paid during 1950.

*8 cases are pending.

††Report on the working of the Factories and other Acts in Bombay State for 1950, p.35.

Creches. Next in importance to the facilities available for maternity etc., comes the provision for the care of infants and children of working mothers. Provision of creches and nurseries is necessary not only in the interests of women's welfare, but also equally in the interests of child health and welfare.

The available information in respect of the number of creches that were in existence in 1950, the attendance there at, etc., is given below :*

State	Number of creches	Number of children attending the creches	Average no. of children per creche
1. Bihar	26	796	31
2. Bombay	177	2,671†	22
3. Madhya Pradesh	16	360	23
4. Madras	93	2,334	25
5. Uttar Pradesh	7	126	18
TOTAL	319	6,287	24

In the cotton textile industry, though most of the mills employing more than 50 women maintain creches, the type and quality of staff and equipment available, differ from unit to unit. While in some mills creches are properly equipped and well-staffed, in others they are dirty and inadequately furnished. The standard of creches maintained by some of the cotton mills in Bombay, and Madura is generally good and they have arrangements for bathing the children and giving free clothing, milk and fruits to them. These creches are well-equipped with cradles, toys, etc., and staffed by trained 'Ayahs'. As regards the popularity of creches the following remarks of the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association may be of interest ".....on the whole, a mill creche would be more preferred by a woman worker as the child is better taken care of during the hours of her employment in the mill and is also supplied amenities like milk, toys and clothes. If this means popularity, then the mill creche is certainly popular among the women workers of mills".

In the jute industry in West Bengal only 44 out of the 94 units have established creches. Almost all the creches which were visited in West Bengal seemed to be well maintained. In these creches children are given milk, snacks and one mid-day meal. The attendance of children in the creches generally varies with the confidence which the creche staff inspire among the working mothers. From such information as could be collected as also from the report of the Indian Jute Mills Association, it appears that the creches are becoming popular, but so far, they have not been able to win the complete confidence of working mothers. Early establishment of creches in all the units seems to be necessary in the interests of women workers and their children.

Under the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Act, so far 89 creches have been constructed in various coal fields. The Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Organisation has also introduced a scheme for the training of 600 creche attendants in batches. The duration of the training course is over six months. However, even in mines which had provided creches, children were seen under wagons, in empty tubs and in shades of coal-stocks near the sites of work of women workers. Strong propaganda for making the women workers 'creche-minded', is, therefore, needed.

In regard to the provision of creches in plantations, the Labour Investigation Committee observed that "Even though the industry employs a very

*Source: Factories Act Returns, 1950. Information in respect of other States is not available.

†Relates to only 120 creches.

large number of women, there are practically no creches for children. Infants are generally taken by mothers with them while working in the gardens while toddlers are left behind in the lines in charge of grown-up children or old women."* According to a recent survey into the Conditions of Plantation Labour in Assam Valley 'there does not appear to have been any improvement in regard to the provision of creches in tea gardens. Out of the 38 tea estates included in the survey only 5 had any arrangements for looking after the children while their mothers were at work. Even in these estates the arrangement consisted of only a *kutch*a shed or two where the children could be left with an old woman to look after them. Usually the shed was the same as the one used for weighing the leaf at mid-day. In this connection many managers stated that creches were once provided but did not prove popular and then even if creches were provided they would not be used. So far as is known no estate had ever provided a proper creche on the lines of those existing in some of the factories in the country. Judging from the experience of factory industries, there is no doubt that if proper creches are provided with proper attendants and facilities for feeding and the workers are assured that their children will be well looked after, creches will prove not only useful but popular. Creches on plantations are much more of a necessity than in factory industries for here not only the proportion of women workers is much larger but all grown up persons in the family are workers. At present the way little children and babies are strapped to the backs of women while they work, in fair weather and in foul, is a sorry sight."†

Canteens. The effect of a poor, unbalanced diet on the health of a worker is obvious. It has been suggested by the Director of Nutritional Research Laboratories that community feeding through canteens is one of the best methods by which information regarding sound dietary practices can be conveyed to the workers‡ Under the new Factories Act every factory employing 250 or more persons is required to establish a canteen. So far as is known, however, no studies have been made of the effect of canteens on the health of the workers concerned.

The following statement shows the number of canteens that were in existence in factories in 1950 :—

Statement showing the number of canteens in the factories coming under the scope of the Factories Act, in 1950**

State	Number of canteens
1. Bihar	43
2. Madhya Pradesh	34
3. Madras	171
4. Punjab	16
5. Uttar Pradesh	105
Total	369

In the Jute industry, 38 units in West Bengal and one unit each in U. P., Bihar and Madras are known to have had canteens during 1951. In a majority of the canteens in West Bengal separate arrangements have been made for women workers. The available information shows that, on the whole, canteens are not very popular among women workers.

*Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in Plantations in India p 69.

† Plantation Labour in Assam Valley, pp. 60-61.

‡ For details, see Indian Labour Year Book, 1949-50, p. 253.

**Note : The law requiring the establishment of a canteen in factories employing 250 workers or more came into force during 1950. The exact date from which the rule came into operation varies from State to State. These figures are therefore not complete. Information for other States is not available.

In the plantations of Assam, according to a recent Survey* there were no canteens. The survey reveals that : "neither cooked food nor tea and snacks canteens were found in the tea gardens. Once or twice during working hours the managements provide free liquid tea to the workers. No sugar, *gur* or milk is added but the infusion is salted. Some estates instead of giving liquid tea provide each worker with about half a pound of tea per month."†

Miscellaneous welfare activities. The available information in regard to the provision of special welfare measures instituted for the benefit of women workers by both non-official and official agencies is given below :

Non-official agencies :

The Bombay Millowners' Association have been kind enough to supply information regarding special amenities given to women workers. The amenities provided by some of the units comprise (i) free supply of milk, medicines, etc., to expectant and nursing mothers (ii) provision of special literacy classes, reading rooms, sewing and knitting classes, etc., and organisation of picnics, film-shows etc., in a few units. One of the mills has also a special welfare nurse "to study personal problems of each and every woman worker and help her as a friend and guide in her day-to-day difficulties". Regarding co-operative societies, the Association states "though on the whole, women are slow to join Mill Co-operative Credit Societies, there is a good number now who are members of these societies in Bombay mills. Not a single worker has so far been elected in the managing committee of these societies." In South India also a few mills provide facilities for adult literacy classes, child welfare, teaching in sewing and embroidery, etc.

In the jute industry, some welfare work has been organised by the Indian Jute Mills' Association. It has opened 5 welfare centres and appointed a Woman Labour Officer also. The Woman Labour Officer has organised *Zenana* clubs and sewing classes at two welfare centres and a cooking class at one of the centres. At some of the centres milk is distributed free to under-nourished mothers and children. The Association has organised a Women's Welfare Society, which organises socials and entertainments in the different mills by rotation. An annual Health Week is also arranged by the society. During this week interesting programmes of entertainment and education are provided and a baby show is arranged.

No welfare centres as such exist at present in the plantations. However, the Indian Tea Association has drawn up a scheme for opening five welfare centres in Assam for the training of women for welfare work in tea gardens. These centres will train women workers in house-keeping, rules of hygiene, sanitation, domestic economy, etc., and also in the organisation of evening classes, clubs, dramatic performances, dances, folk songs, etc.

Official agencies :

As regards the institution of welfare centres by official agencies, there were in all 53 such centres functioning under the Labour Department in Bombay State in 1950. These centres are open to all men, women and children. Lady welfare workers at some of these centres conduct sewing and embroidery classes for women. Special 'Charkha' classes, entertainment programmes, excursions, etc., were also organised for the benefit of the workers. There were also 2 creches and six nurseries, attached to these centres. In Uttar Pradesh 26 'A' and 'B' type welfare centres out of 33, have nurses and *dais* attached to them. These nurses and *dais* examine ante-natal cases coming to the centres. They visit workers' quarters to attend to delivery cases and give advice on pre-natal and post-natal care and educate women on the care of children. According to information available, over 69,000 seers of milk were

*Plantation Labour in Assam Valley. 1951

† *Ibid*, p. 62.

distributed free of cost to 9,017 women workers at these centres in 1950. In the same year, the total number of women who attended these centres for medical examination and advice was 1,44,512. Twenty of these centres have been provided with sewing machines and women workers are taught tailoring, lace-making, knitting, etc. During 1950, 3,917 trainees were on the rolls of these classes and the daily average attendance was 560.

In the coal mines, the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Organisation started a women's welfare section in April 1947, with the object of improving the standard of living of women workers and also making the miners' children 'Education-minded'. During 1951, there were 22 women's welfare centres functioning in different coalfields. The average attendance of *Kamins* per centre per day worked out to 11 during 1950-51. At these centres, the *Kamins* are trained in handicrafts e.g. weaving, knitting, embroidery, repairing of old garments, etc. Altogether 870 *Kamins* received such training during the same period viz., 1950-51. The field workers of these welfare centres also pay daily visits to the *Dhowrahs* for instructing the *Kamins* on the benefits of clean living, hygienic and economic methods of food preparation, etc.

Women workers in the coalfields, as elsewhere have little leisure left to themselves for the lighter side of life. Most of the workers do not have any recreation at all. Life histories reveal that some of the women attend mobile-cinema shows organised by the Organisation and occasionally they attend musical recitals. Marketing on holidays is taken as recreation by some of the women.

Some municipalities such as those of Bombay, Hyderabad and Bangalore have provided welfare centres for municipal staff (both men and women). In the welfare centres of Bombay and Hyderabad, women are taught sewing, knitting, embroidery work, etc. In Bombay, various recreational and educational activities such as picnics, 'garbas' (folk-dance), film-shows, etc., are also organised, specially for women workers.

In the River Valley Projects, medical and welfare facilities available are common to all workers and these generally consist only of free medical treatment at the dispensaries. In one project at least prophylactic treatment is available for workers. Wherever possible civic facilities such as provision for education of children, co-operative stores or grainshops, etc., have been made available for the workers.

APPENDIX I

A few selected life histories

(1)

Radhi Domin, a labourer in the coal mines at Jharria, Bihar

Radhi Domin was born in or about 1917, in a village of Manbhanga district (Bihar). The family belongs to 'Dom' caste-Hindu. The father of Radhi, was among the ten or twelve persons who were recruited by an agent of a colliery. Radhi's mother also accompanied her husband and both of them started working as quarry labourers. Radhi was married when she was aged about two years but the husband died while she was still living with her parents. She remained a widow for about eight years and was remarried, at the age of sixteen to a widower of 19. Her second husband, had at the time of marriage a two year old daughter. The family consists of three persons viz. husband, wife and a child; besides this, assistance has also to be given to some more persons viz, her mother-in-law, two brothers of her husband and their families who stay in the village. In the village the family owns a small plot of land, yielding about 2 maunds of rice every year.

Though the present colliery is the fourth one in which she has been working, she did not leave the first three of her own accord. She had to leave them either because of the closure of the colliery or retrenchment. She is not able to recall how long she worked in each of these collieries. Her present work consists of loading of coal wagons on the surface. She is a piece-rated worker and she earned in all about Rs. 38/- per month during the month of enquiry. On an average she works for about five days in a week, the number of working-days varying from time to time depending on the availability of work. When the position regarding despatch of coal is bad, the raising of coal is reduced and she may have to lose the job. Her husband is a coal-cutter in an incline, working under-ground. He earned about Rs. 32/- during the month of enquiry; his earnings were less than the usual, as he was absent from work for a long time. The weekly expenditure of the family is somewhat as follows: Food-Rs. 12/-, drink-Rs 2/-, remittance to mother-in-law at her native place-Rs.5/-. The family takes its requirements on credit for which high rates of interest are to be paid. The family has no savings, Radhi keeps the earnings of both and manages the house-hold.

Her work-life begins at 5 a. m. For about two hours she attends to house-hold duties and then gets off to work. The hours of work in the colliery are 7 a. m to 11 a. m. and, again from 2 p. m. to 6 p. m. During the interval she has her lunch and some rest. After coming home in the evening she cooks the family meal, and attends to other domestic duties.

The only difficulty that Radhi experiences in her work is in the summer months when it gets too hot. She has no child of her own except the 12-year old step-daughter. Radhi's present worries are with regard to maintenance of the family with their meagre earnings and secondly arranging for the marriage of her step daughter. She has a fairly good health and has had no occasion to go home on account of sickness. They visit their native place twice a year—once in 'Til Sankranti' (which usually comes in January) and a second time for 'Mansha-Puja' in 'Shravan-Sankranti' (usually coming in August). Questioned whether she is satisfied with her present surroundings, she stated that they were happy. She is not a member of any trade union; nor does a trade union exist at her work-place. She is illiterate and never goes to the theatre. Her recreations if any are: (i) drinking "marhi" on Sunday evenings, but only in very moderate quantities, (ii) listening to the beating of drums, or playing on flute which the husband does either on festival days or in free-time.

(2)

Somi Bowri—a manual labourer in a coalfield in Jharia, Bihar

Somi is about 40 years old and comes of an agricultural labourer's family. She is a 'Bowri' by caste. She was married when she was twelve and she joined her husband at the age of fourteen. The couple migrated to the coalfield about seven years ago, as the income derived from cultivation of land was too meagre. Both husband and wife are working in the same colliery which is 12 miles from their native place. The family consists of eleven members, viz., husband, wife, 5 sons and 2 daughters and two young sisters of the husband. The ages of children are : Sons-12, 10, 7, 5, 3; daughters-14 and 1. Besides these, two children (both boys) died in infancy—each on the sixth day after birth.

Somi is a coal loader and works on an average for six days in a week. She is a piece-rated worker paid weekly. Her monthly earnings are about Rs. 48/- per month. Somi's husband is a coal-cutter and earns about Rs. 50/- per month. Their second son, aged twelve is also working in the colliery and contributes to the family income. The family has no other source of income. Somi hands over her pay to her husband who manages the family budget.

Questioned whether she would like any other work in preference to her present one, she stated that she would prefer any other job and is also willing to learn anything. She is not satisfied with her present surroundings either. Her health has deteriorated after coming to the coalfield. Somi has menstrual trouble every month and will have to be absent from work on account of this for three days in a month. There is no medical aid in the colliery, except for the services of a visiting doctor who visits the colliery once or twice a week. She does not go to her native place (though it is only 12 miles away) for confinement, or when she falls sick. She is aware of the maternity benefits and uses part of the benefits to pay a village 'dai' who comes for delivery. When she goes for work, the little children are looked after by the elder ones. There is no creche in the coalfield where she is working. Most of her time is spent on house-hold work. She has no recreation of any kind except seeing of films shown occasionally by the mobile cinema of the Coal Mines Welfare Organisation. Somi is addicted to chewing of tobacco on which she spends about four rupees per month.

Her main worry, is that of the marriage of her children—5 boys and one daughter, the eldest daughter having been already married. According to their customs, she is required to incur a considerable expenditure as dowry for the bride when her boys are married, the amount being payable to the parents of the bride. There are no schools in the vicinity; even the women's welfare centre is half-a-mile away from her residence.

(3)

Samful—a worker in a jute mill in 24 Parganas—West Bengal

..... was born in 1915 in a very poor peasant family in Bihar. She belongs to *Chamar* (Harijan) community of scheduled castes. Though she was married at the age of six, she joined her husband's household when she was thirteen. Samful's father did not pay any dowry to the son-in-law, but asked him to take care of his (Samful's father's) land which would in due course come to him. Samful's husband, Sowki also comes from an equally poor family. Even though Sowki, was a little more intelligent than the average villager he was unable to find enough money to improve the land. Nevertheless the couple pulled along for seven years i. e. till 1935 and finally they migrated to.....a town in 24 Parganas on the advice of some friends employed in jute mill.

On their arrival in the town, Samful and Sowki lived with some of their friends for sometime. They used to go to the labour office of a mill daily in

earch of a job. Sowki being clever managed at times to get inside the mill during working hours and learnt a Piecer's job. Soon he got a job as a piecer in the spinning department of the same mill and was paid Rs. 3-10-0 for 40 hours of work. After a couple of weeks Samful also managed to get a Drawing Feeder's job in the same mill and was paid Rs. 2-1-0 for 40 hours. Now Samful earns Rs 14-10-0 (Rs 6/- as basic pay and Rs. 8-10-0 as dearness allowance) for 48 hours. Her husband (who is now working in a different mill) earns Rs. 14-14-0 for the same period. Their present total earnings per week come to about Rs. 29-8-0, as against Rs. 5-11-0 which they got in 1936.

Samful's family now consists of 4 members viz., husband, wife and two children aged 10 (son) and 8 (daughter). Two of her children died in infancy, due to 'carelessness' according to her. Both the son and daughter were until recently going to a school, located in the workers' colony where the family lives. However, in 1951 Samful took the children out of this school and put them in a different school where she has to pay a fee of Rs. 6/- (per month) for both of them. She is conscious of the adverse conditions in which she herself grew up and she would like her children to grow up under better conditions. Her eldest son was married at the age of nine.

But for Sowki's qualities of leadership, intelligence and organising ability, family life for them would perhaps have been smooth. Sowki, immediately after his arrival in the town made friends with Congress workers and was elected to attend the Congress Session held at Allahabad in 1936. During the next year when the mill where he was working started a Labour Office and assigned to it the functions relating to recruitment, he organised a strike of workers against the policy of the mill and the strike lasted for seven weeks. Soon his name was in the black list and he was got rid of by the mill. Although Sowki was a thorn in the flesh of the management Samful was just the opposite. Being of a quiet nature, she was rather afraid of the trade union activities of her husband. Out of her fear, she acted as a spy and reported frequently to the labour office about Sowki's union activities. When Sowki was dismissed by the management, the employees of the mill demanded that Samful should also be discharged. The management did not agree. Later, she was involved in a theft case and was dismissed. Samful feels that the case was pre-arranged just to get rid of her. However she was employed in the same mill a year later. Sowki also got a job in a neighbouring mill after sometime.

Samful and her family live very close to the mill in the accommodation provided by the mill management. She pays a rent of twelve annas per month. She would prefer to go to a better house, if she could get one. She is illiterate. Nevertheless, she is keen that her daughter should be educated and get a rich husband. Samful is not a member of any trade union, but she keeps herself in close touch with all the activities of her mill union. In the beginning she found working conditions in the mill none too good with its dust and noise and it took her a long time to get used to it. Questioned whether she would like to change her job, she said that she was quite happy with her present work and did not want to change it. She does all the household work herself. She does not drink or smoke. She is clean and tidy both at her work and in the home. She does not go out very much for shopping etc., as there is no one to look after the children while she is out. Though she herself would like to go to theatres at times, she does not want her children to start the habit from a young age. Sowki continues to take keen interest in trade union work and often holds union meetings in his home, while Samful sits listening. Sowki seldom discusses union affairs with his wife, nor does he pay any attention to family affairs. He gives his pay packet to his wife and they consult each other as regards family expenditure, savings, repayment of debt etc. Samful is very

happy with her children, and wishes her husband would find a little more time to spend at home with the family.

(4)

Sobraten—A warp winder in a jute mill in 24-Parganas (West Bengal)

Sobraten is about 26 years of age and comes from a Muslim family in Chapra. At the age of fifteen she and her husband migrated to Howrah where they both joined a Jute Mill. Sometime later, when Calcutta was bombed (during World War II) they went back to their native place where they stayed for a year. Thereafter both of them came to a town in 24-Parganas in search of jobs. At that time, i.e. in 1945, there was a shortage of women workers and Sobraten got a winder's job in a mill (where she continues to work) after being in the waiting list only for a few weeks. Her family consists of seven persons viz., herself, her parents, husband and three children. Though she gave birth to three boys and five girls, four of the children (2 boys and 2 girls) died in infancy; and the eldest son was a victim of the communal disturbances that took place immediately before and after the partition of the country.

Sobraten is the only earning member of the family. She is a piece worker paid at the rate of Rs. 16-2-0 (Rs. 7-8-0 basic pay plus Rs. 8-10-0 as dearness allowance) for 48 hours. When Sobraten and her husband came to 24-Parganas, Sobraten secured a job earlier than her husband. The husband took advantage of wife's employment and did not make much effort to look out for a job. His unemployment caused discontentment in the family and later he started complaining that he was not fit for work. Sobraten got him medically examined and there was really nothing wrong with him. Often the husband would leave the family for weeks on end and suddenly put in his appearance looking really ill. Sobraten was almost certain that her husband was living with another woman. The parents advised her to divorce the husband, but she would not countenance such a proposal. Each time the husband returned from his frequent escapades his condition was so bad that Sobraten felt it impossible to turn him out. His demands on the slender resources of his wife were always insistent. With a broken home and with the responsibility of maintaining a large family, with the slender resources at her command, the end of Sobraten's misery seemed endless when to her great relief, her son got a job in the mill. He used to hand over his pay to the mother and was always solicitous about her needs. But unfortunately for her, he soon became a victim of communal disturbances. This was a great blow to the mother.

In spite of all the hardship and misery, Sobraten is a very pleasant and healthy woman. Though she is the only muslim worker in one row of mill workers' quarters, she is friendly with her neighbours every one of whom assists her in times of need. She is illiterate. She likes her work, but will change it if only she can earn more. At times she does not have enough money to clothe the children; still the family is not indebted. She does not drink, nor smoke; her only recreation was to see pictures occasionally when her son was alive. Ever since his death she has not been to see any picture. She leaves the household duties to her mother and daughters. After the day's work in the mill is over, she makes paper toys which the father sells in the local market and thus supplements her income.

(5)

Naraini Moolji- A winder in a textile mill in a town in Ajmer

Naraini was born in 1917 in a peasant's family in a village, 15 miles away from the town where she is now working. She is a Rajput (Hindu) by Caste. She was married at the age of 12 and three years later she joined her husband (also a Rajput) who was living in the town of Mewar (Rajasthan). Being a Rajput she had to observe 'Purdah' and avoid out-door work under her husband's

instructions. The husband engaged a 'water carrier' to supply water to the family and Narain fell in love with him. With the death of her first husband two or three years later she eloped with the water-carrier against the wishes of her relatives and both of them settled down ina town 15 to 20 miles from Mewar. After coming to the town, she had the second marriage solemnised in a temple.

Naraini's second husband was a widower about 45 years of age at the time of second marriage. He is a Hindu 'Sadhu' by caste and has a son from his first wife. Because of short sightedness to which he became a victim after his marriage he is unable to work. He owns a small house which is located in a suburb of the town. In order to maintain the family, it was necessary for Naraini to earn. She started working, after coming to the town as a wool-cleaner in a wool press and worked there for about a year as a daily-rated employee, earning a rupee per day. This income was insufficient and she wanted to change her job; but it was not easy. With great difficulty she managed to get a recommendation to the mill authorities, which got her the present job. She is now a piece-rated winder being paid monthly. During March 1952 her income was Rs. 45.

The family at present consists of Naraini, her husband and a step son of 18 years. She likes her present work and does not want to change it. Nor does she want to leave the town where she is working. Rural life has no attractions for her and she would like to remain in urban surroundings. She has not been to her village on any occasion after her second marriage; moreover, her relations with other members of the family are strained on account of the second marriage. At times, she suffers from ordinary diseases like cough, cold, etc., otherwise she is quite healthy. She is illiterate. She is member of a textile labour union to which she pays a membership fee of annas two per month. She also participates in the union meetings, etc., whenever they are held. She does not drink or smoke. Her only recreation is to see pictures of a religious nature whenever such pictures are exhibited in the town. She leads a simple life and is frugal.

Naraini's day commences at 4 a.m., when she rises from her bed. Her morning duties are to fetch water from a well (which is about two miles off from the house), grind the corn and cook the meal. She finishes all this by 6-30 a.m. and then leaves for work. She returns from the mill at 4-30 p.m. and again fetches water from the well, cooks the evening meal and attends to other household duties. She has also kept two cows which give enough milk for the family.

(6)

Laxmi Sadu Masavkar a winder in a textile mill in Bombay

Laxmi was born in a town in Ratnagiri district in 1922. By caste, she is a chamar (Harijan). Her father was an agricultural labourer on daily wages. The father's family consisted of 6 persons, viz., himself, his wife, 2 sons and 2 daughters. Laxmi was married when she was 2½ years old to a boy of sixteen working in a textile mill in Bombay. She stayed with her parents till the age of 7 and then joined her husband at Bombay. By the time she attained the age of 30, Laxmi had four deliveries and one abortion. Of the four children, two died in infancy, and she now has two children, of the ages of 12 and 9.

Laxmi's husband is a jobber in a mill and earns about Rs 75 per month. The family consists of five persons viz., husband, wife, two children and Laxmi's mother-in-law. Laxmi served as an apprentice under the mother-in-law, who was working in a mill and thereafter joined the same mill, with the object of improving the family's economic condition. She has been working in the same mill for 20 years now. She works for about 3 to 4 days in a week and earns Rs. 3-5-0 per working day. The expenses of the household are met from the

combined earnings of her husband and herself. She tries to live economically and has not incurred any debt so far.

Laxmi is fully satisfied with her present work and has no liking for any other job. She feels that she receives good treatment from her employer and has nothing to complain about the work. She is a member of a trade union, but does not take part in its activities. Laxmi is satisfied with her surroundings and does not go to her native village for delivery or sickness; moreover, she has no living relatives now in her native place. At present she stays in one small room, which is shared by two other families. Her house is about 3½ miles away from her work place.

Laxmi's daily routine consists of attending to her household duties, washing clothes, cooking food, etc. She takes her lunch to the mill. After returning from work, she attends to her household work, which takes about six hours every day. She has no special hobbies or recreation; she goes to pictures only on rare occasions along with her family members. She is not given to smoking or drinking; occasionally she chews *pan supari*. She has been taking advantage of the benefit available under the Maternity Benefit Act and also of the mill creche.

(7)

Janabai Sabaji Walawalkar-a waste-picker in a textile mill in Bombay

Janabai was born in or about 1892 in a village in Ratnagiri district. Her father was a peasant and they belong to Gaud-Saraswat community. She did not attend any school. She was married at the age of eight and was sent to her husband's house at the age of thirteen. Her husband was then aged 20 years. In the course of 37 years of married life (her husband having died at the age of 57), she gave birth to nine children of whom only four are now living. According to her, 'children upto five years of age belong to God and He takes them away if He so wishes'. She had no miscarriages. Janabai lives with her eldest son who is employed as a supervisor in the painting section of a railway workshop. Janabai's daughter-in-law is a quiet sort of person and manages the household efficiently. Of Janabai's four grand children, one grand daughter has passed her Secondary School Certificate Examination and another grand son has appeared for Inter-Arts Examination.

Though it was not absolutely necessary for her to supplement her husband's earnings, she joined a mill with the object of helping her husband as long as she could to meet the increasing responsibilities of the family. For eight months she persisted in regularly going to the mill and standing near the entrance before she could succeed in getting a job. During the twelve months ending June 1952, on an average she worked 5.5 days in a week and earned about Rs. 3-9-0 per working day. Besides this, her eldest son also earns. The family expenses are now met entirely by earning of the eldest son, Janabai keeping her earnings to herself for religious purposes. The family is not indebted to any one.

Janabai does not experience any difficulty with her work and she does not like any other work in preference to the existing one. For her own deliveries, she never went to her native place where the family has a house and a small piece of land. She never sent her children to creche as her husband's sister used to take care of them. She has a good knowledge of the Maternity Benefits Rules etc. and has utilised the benefits fully in her case. She does not drink, or smoke; but she is very fond of *pan supari* and tobacco on which she spends about two annas and a half daily.

(8)

**Kochupappy—a worker in a coir factory in
Travancore-Cochin**

Kochupappy was born in 1913 and comes from 'Ezhava' community. Both her parents are dead. She was married at the age of eleven. Until she was 23 years of age *i.e.* for 12 years of married life, she did not go in for any employment. By the time she was twenty nine she had given birth to six children—4 boys and 2 girls. Of the four male children, two died in infancy. At the age of 30, Kochupappy deserted her husband and accepted a second one illegally. She had two more children, out of the second marriage. The family now consists of Kochupappy, her second husband and four children—two each from the first and second marriage. The eldest son and the eldest daughter born out of the first marriage have married and settled down separately. Her second daughter who is still unmarried gave birth to a male child which, however, died within three months.

The income of Kochupappy's first husband was insufficient to maintain the family and hence she went in for employment at the age of 23. Without much difficulty she secured a job in the dyeing section of a factory as a daily-rated worker, where she still continues. When she took the job in 1936, her daily wages were 3½ annas a day. Now after 16 years of service she gets in all a daily wage of Rs. 1-3-6 (consisting of 8 annas basic wage and Re. 0-11-6 dearness allowance). Though she is a daily-rated worker, now-a-days she gets work only for one day in the week due to the slump in coir industry. Her working hours are from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. with an hour's interval between 12 noon and 1 p.m. Her husband is also working in the same factory.

Kochupappy is not satisfied with her work; nor with her earnings which she considers inadequate. Nevertheless, she goes to pictures every week. She does not take proper care of her children nor does she trouble herself with their habits and morality. The older children go to pictures almost daily. Irrespective of whether there is work or not in the factory, she leaves her home at 6-30 a.m. and returns at 10 p.m. If there is no work, she just wanders about the town during the whole day; often she takes coffee in the hotels. On her return at night, if there is any food left, she eats it and goes to bed. The general impression of her neighbours is that she is care free and leads a loose life. She leaves the responsibility of house-hold affairs to her daughters. She has no regard for the husband; nor does she attend to his requirements. She is an active member of the trade union in the town.

(9)

**Lakshmi Kutty—a worker in a cashewnut factory in Quilon Taluka
(Travancore-Cochin)**

Lakshmi Kutty is about 28 years of age and she is a native of a town in Quilon Taluka. She belongs to 'Ezhava' Community (Hindu-Scheduled Caste). The factory where she is working at present is also located in the same town. Lakshmi's father was a gate-keeper in the South Indian Railway and at the time of enquiry he had been posted for duty at Madura, about 100 miles away. Her mother died when she was twelve years old. Two years later *i.e.* at the age of fourteen she was married and she joined the husband's household located in the same taluka at the age of sixteen. She gave birth to a male child when she was eighteen. When the boy was barely two years of age, Lakshmi was asked by her husband to go to her father and bring her share of property etc. Lakshmi's father was unwilling to give the share and her husband would not take her back to the household until she brought the share. Eventually Lakshmi was deserted and had to join again her father's household. By this

time, Lakshmi's father had remarried and the household consisted of Lakshmi's father, her step-mother, her son, her brothers and sisters.

The work-life of Lakshmi began in 1938, i. e., at the age of fourteen in a factory which had just then started. As the factory was at that time in need of workers, she could easily secure a job in the shelling section. After working for two years she left the job with the consent of the factory manager and went to her husband's place. When her husband deserted her finally in 1944 she came back and rejoined the same unit and in the same section after a lapse of four years. She is piece-rated and paid weekly. She works for six days in the week and earns on an average between Rs. 4-8-0 and Rs. 5-0-0. Her working hours are from 8 a.m. to 5 p. m. with an interval of one hour between 12 noon and 1 p. m.

Though Lakshmi is satisfied with her work she feels that the earnings are insufficient and would be contented if she could get about Rs 7/- per week. She is liked by almost all the female workers in the factory. Being a woman of strong principles, she is very critical of the factory management, which according to her, does not comply with all the rules, etc., under the Factories Act. The day commences for her at 5 a. m. After getting up from her bed, she fetches water from an adjacent house and cleans the house and its premises. Then she attends to her son, who is schooling. At 7 a. m. she has her breakfast with *kanji* and then starts for the factory half an hour later. She carries her lunch (consisting of rice) in a tiffin carrier and walks the distance between her house and the factory, which is about a mile. After returning from the factory at 5-30 p. m. she calls her son and makes enquiries about his day's schooling etc. Between 6 p. m. and 9 p. m. she assists her step-mother in household work and at 9 p. m. the family has its supper. She goes to bed at 10-30 p. m. or at 11 p. m.. if she happens to sit chatting either with the step-mother or sisters.

Lakshmi has studied upto the 4th standard (in Malayalam language) and is able to read and write. Once a month she goes to pictures with her son when they purchase four-anna tickets and sit in the 'bench' class. Although she herself goes only once a month to the pictures, she sends her son twice a month. Her father comes from Madura once every half year, when Lakshmi arranges a feast for him at her expense. Though she is contented, she feels sorry that her husband should have deserted her.

(10)

Bachamma—a sweeper in a Municipality in South India

Bachamma is about 35 years old and comes from a Harijan family. She did not attend any school during her childhood. She was married when she was only seven years old and first entered employment at 23. Her family consists in all of 8 persons, viz., husband, wife and six children. Of the six children five are boys of 18, 15, 12, 9 and 2 years and one is a girl of 7.

Bachamma has put in 12 years of service in the Municipality and holds a permanent post. She works for $5\frac{1}{2}$ days in a week her daily hours of work are from 6 a. m. to 11 a. m. and again from 4 p. m. to 6 p. m. Her monthly earnings are Rs. 35/- per month; her husband and two elder sons are also working and earn Rs. 38., Rs. 36/- and Rs. 18/- respectively. The total earnings of the family is thus about Rs. 127/- for a family of eight. Nevertheless, the family had to incur a debt of Rs 200/- to 300/- for the son's marriage, for which an interest of one anna per rupee per month is paid. The family has no savings.

The family lives in a single-roomed hut, owned by it. The distance between her residence and the work-place is about a furlong. She attends to household duties between 11 a. m. and 4 p. m. and again after six in the evening. Though she has not suffered from any diseases recently, she feels tired after the day's work. She is not a member of any trade union. The Municipality gives her 4 to 7 weeks' leave with full salary during maternity.

APPENDIX II

STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS (MALE AND FEMALE) ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS

S. No.	Agricultural Pursuits							Non-agricultural pursuits						Agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits (combined)						Total	Percentage of females to the total		
	Self-supporting		Earning dependents		Total		Total	Self-supporting		Earning Dependents		Total		Self-supporting		Earning Dependents		Total					
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female			Male	Female
1. Assam	1,341,122	282,576	467,373	661,969	1,808,495	944,545	2,753,040	718,252	270,336	71,765	86,842	1,790,017	359,178	1,145,195	2,059,374	552,912	539,138	748,811	2,598,512	1,301,723	3,900,235	33.38	
2. Bihar	7,852,050	3,197,549	753,413	648,880	8,605,463	3,846,429	12,451,892	1,859,906	297,194	126,653	108,550	1,486,559	405,744	1,892,303	9,211,956	3,494,743	880,066	757,430	10,092,022	4,252,173	14,344,195	29.64	
3. Bombay	4,686,507	752,704	1,226,690	3,372,358	5,913,197	4,125,062	10,038,259	3,889,523	463,527	398,938	601,356	4,288,461	1,064,683	8,353,344	8,578,030	1,216,231	1,625,628	3,978,714	10,201,658	5,189,945	15,391,603	33.72	
4. Madras	7,627,995	1,938,797	835,283	1,041,284	8,463,278	2,980,091	11,443,369	4,564,075	831,674	421,509	398,106	4,985,584	1,229,780	6,215,364	12,192,070	2,770,471	1,256,792	1,439,400	13,448,862	4,209,871	17,658,733	23.84	
5. Madhya Pradesh	4,004,700	846,193	1,184,729	3,476,629	5,189,429	4,322,822	9,512,251	1,374,464	213,545	217,687	518,095	1,592,151	731,640	2,323,791	5,379,164	1,059,738	1,402,416	3,994,724	6,781,580	5,054,462	11,836,042	42.70	
6. Orissa	2,727,437	497,170	552,613	597,584	3,280,050	1,094,754	4,374,804	742,504	215,345	123,335	139,354	865,839	854,699	1,220,538	3,469,941	712,515	675,948	736,938	4,145,889	1,449,453	5,595,342	25.90	
7. Punjab	1,944,083	204,436	517,035	674,403	2,461,118	878,839	3,339,957	1,086,005	76,304	209,209	167,916	1,295,914	244,220	1,539,434	3,030,088	230,740	726,244	842,319	3,756,332	1,123,059	4,879,391	23.02	
8. Uttar Pradesh	12,659,071	1,262,460	1,768,497	4,881,590	14,427,568	6,144,050	20,571,618	4,751,964	586,015	350,867	578,852	5,102,831	1,164,867	6,267,698	17,411,035	1,848,475	2,119,364	5,460,442	20,530,899	7,308,917	26,839,316	27.23	
9. West Bengal	3,263,870	430,740	399,024	193,474	3,662,894	624,214	4,287,108	3,513,018	609,122	103,350	61,540	3,616,368	670,662	4,287,030	6,776,888	1,039,862	502,374	255,014	7,279,262	1,294,876	8,574,138	15.10	
Total	46,103,835	9,412,625	7,704,657	15,548,181	53,811,492	24,960,806	78,772,298	21,999,711	3,563,062	2,023,313	2,660,811	24,023,024	6,223,673	30,246,697	68,106,546	12,975,687	9,727,970	18,208,792	77,834,516	31,184,479	109,018,995	28.60	

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APPENDIX III
AVERAGE DAILY EMPLOYMENT OF ADULT WORKERS DURING 1950
(PART 'A' STATES)

Industry	ASSAM			BIHAR			BOMBAY			MADHYA PRADESH			MADRAS			ORISSA			PUNJAB			UTTAR PRADESH			WEST BENGAL			GRAND TOTAL			Percentage of women workers to total adult workers		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total			
1. Processes allied to agriculture (Gins & Presses)	137	110	247	—	—	—	22,409	15,899	38,308	11,417	8,298	19,715	5,883	8,248	14,131	—	—	—	2,687	1,017	3,704	829	88	917	4,498	293	4,791	47,860	33,953	81,813	41.5		
2. Food except beverages.	39,392	11,882	51,274	30,376	856	31,232	28,965	4,529	33,494	7,172	3,205	10,377	49,767	21,126	70,893	2,163	1,827	3,790	3,231	242	3,473	62,207	1,044	63,251	35,410	13,479	48,889	2,58,673	57,990	3,16,663	18.3		
3. Beverages.	207	—	207	448	4	452	1,056	17	1,073	36	—	36	385	7	392	104	10	114	469	1	470	1,536	—	1,536	1,100	23	1,123	5,341	61	5,402	1.1		
4. Tobacco.	—	—	—	20,391	984	21,375	11,519	12,972	24,491	5,531	2,930	8,467	20,097	25,351	46,448	1,724	962	2,686	—	—	—	2,509	76	2,585	2,093	4	2,097	63,864	43,285	1,07,149	40.4		
5. Textiles.	71	17	88	8,157	340	8,497	4,04,859	36,706	4,41,565	25,636	3,844	29,480	93,456	21,630	1,15,076	1,990	62	2,052	15,661	831	16,492	61,919	607	62,526	2,83,702	37,584	3,21,286	8,95,451	1,01,611	9,97,062	10.2		
6. Footwear, Other wearing apparel and made-up textile goods.	—	—	—	1,503	—	1,503	767	26	793	—	—	—	696	16	712	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,262	—	3,262	1,185	—	1,185	7,413	42	7,455	0.6		
7. Wood and Cork except furniture.	1,270	204	1,474	550	4	554	5,247	615	5,862	2,038	139	2,177	3,537	849	4,386	527	34	561	411	—	411	1,221	—	1,221	3,516	13	3,529	18,317	1,858	20,175	9.2		
8. Furniture and Fixture.	—	—	—	203	1	204	1,989	41	2,030	402	10	412	1,285	76	1,361	—	—	—	31	—	31	127	—	127	2,057	58	2,110	6,094	181	6,275	2.8		
9. Paper and paper products.	—	—	—	1,163	—	1,163	2,179	410	2,589	—	—	—	687	70	757	1,363	53	1,416	1,632	20	1,652	1,920	—	1,920	9,893	501	10,394	18,837	1,054	19,891	5.2		
10. Printing, publishing and allied trades.	550	1	551	3,045	2	3,047	21,380	92	21,472	2,378	35	2,413	13,290	134	13,424	876	—	876	1,545	—	1,545	9,460	—	9,460	11,912	3	11,915	64,436	267	64,703	0.4		
11. Leather and leather products (except footwear).	—	—	—	318	—	318	1,180	168	1,338	—	—	—	8,513	371	8,884	47	14	61	191	—	191	2,218	14	2,232	244	—	244	12,711	557	13,268	4.2		
12. Rubber and rubber products.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,820	222	3,042	143	20	163	352	59	411	—	—	—	99	3	102	84	—	84	16,525	140	16,665	20,023	444	20,467	2.2		
13. Chemicals and chemical products.	1,328	1	1,329	4,968	497	5,465	17,374	2,829	20,203	263	418	681	7,163	3,247	10,410	185	122	307	435	3	438	4,016	21	4,037	17,890	691	18,581	53,623	7,829	61,451	12.7		
14. Products of petroleum & coal.	1,501	—	1,501	2,128	347	2,475	41	27	68	—	—	—	1,412	—	1,412	—	—	—	41	—	41	—	—	6,950	215	7,165	12,073	589	12,662	4.7			
15. Non-metallic mineral products (except products of coal and petroleum).	107	15	122	29,260	4,078	33,338	13,021	3,839	16,860	6,532	1,251	7,783	15,086	3,333	18,419	712	241	953	2,660	255	2,915	10,032	317	10,349	11,967	1,232	13,199	89,377	14,561	1,03,938	14.0		
16. Basic metal industries.	—	—	—	31,846	3,784	35,630	10,649	352	11,001	157	—	157	3,320	217	3,537	81	12	93	734	—	734	4,632	22	4,654	34,523	1,990	36,513	85,942	6,377	92,319	6.9		
17. Manufacture of metal products (except machinery & transport) equipment.	84	—	84	668	13	681	17,480	523	18,003	380	35	415	4,483	765	5,248	933	1	934	3,267	5	3,272	2,184	1	2,185	20,116	39	20,155	49,595	1,382	50,977	2.7		
18. Manufacture of machinery (except electrical machinery and transport equipment.)	1,400	7	1,407	8,593	310	8,903	18,535	224	18,759	12,379	231	12,610	10,723	122	10,845	150	—	150	8,902	2	8,904	5,712	5	5,717	23,826	114	23,940	90,220	1,015	91,235	1.1		
19. Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies.	—	—	—	1,257	93	1,350	5,355	344	5,699	1,674	—	1,674	1,581	—	1,581	—	—	—	484	—	484	63	—	63	14,487	53	14,540	24,901	490	25,391	1.9		
20. Transport and Transport equipment.	2,269	3	2,272	14,850	37	14,887	51,649	74	51,723	1,783	32	1,815	22,159	76	22,235	63	—	63	2,453	—	2,453	22,339	26	22,365	53,251	337	53,588	1,70,816	685	1,71,401	0.3		
21. Miscellaneous industries.	—	—	—	877	92	969	39,267	1,569	40,836	80	27	107	6,354	1,075	7,429	191	4	195	2,010	17	2,027	29,762	137	29,899	21,132	180	21,312	99,673	3,101	1,02,774	3.0		
22. Electricity, Gas and steam.	250	—	250	2,712	34	2,746	4,399	16	4,415	1,127	56	1,183	1,960	16	1,976	96	—	96	438	—	438	3,340	31	3,371	6,442	26	6,468	20,764	179	20,943	0.8		
23. Water and sanitary services.	—	—	—	277	34	311	825	14	839	133	—	133	122	14	136	—	—	—	44	—	44	643	10	653	1,111	—	1,111	3,155	72	3,227	2.2		
24. Recreation services (Cinema studios).	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,653	15	2,668	—	—	—	1,458	15	1,473	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,111	30	4,141	0.7		
25. Personal services (Laundries, dyeing & cleaning).	—	—	—	25	25	50	435	20	455	—	—	—	152	3	155	53	8	61	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	435	—	435	1,100	56	1,156	4.8
Total	48,560	12,240	60,806	1,63,615	11,535	1,75,150	6,86,053	81,533	7,67,586	79,261	20,537	99,798	2,73,911	86,810	3,60,721	11,268	3,150	14,408	47,425	2,396	49,821	2,30,015	2,399	2,32,414	5,84,265	56,969	6,41,234	21,24,369	2,77,569	24,01,938	11.6		
Percentage of women workers to the total number of adult workers (men and women) in each State.		20.1			6.8			10.6			20.6			24.1						4.8			1.0				8.8						
Percentage of women workers in each State to the total number of women workers in all the A.B. & C. States.		3.6			3.4			23.8			6.0			25.3						0.7			0.7				16.6						

APPENDIX IV
AVERAGE DAILY EMPLOYMENT OF ADULT WORKERS DURING 1950
 (Part 'B' States)

Industry	HYDERABAD			MADHYA BHARAT			MYSORE			PEPSU			SAURASHTRA (19.9)			TRAVANCORE-COCHIN* (1951)			GRAND TOTAL			Percentage of women to total number of adult workers.
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
1. Processes allied to agriculture (Gins and Presses).	6,005	5,738	11,743	8,936	5,597	14,533	—	—	—	2,355	546	2,901	2,697	1,881	4,578	—	—	—	19,993	13,762	33,755	40.8
2. Food except beverages.	7,666	2,574	10,240	8,532†	419†	8,951†	1,674	478	2,152	3,500	12	3,512	2,072	790	2,862	10,063	21,517	31,580	24,975	25,371	50,346	50.4
3. Beverages.	417	5	422	—	—	—	103	2	105	319	—	319	—	—	—	—	—	—	839	7	846	0.8
4. Tobacco	3,051	2,283	5,334	—	—	—	2,143	524	2,667	—	—	—	2	12	14	—	—	—	5,196	2,819	8,015	35.2
5. Textiles.	12,688	1,352	14,040	42,916	2,419	45,335	19,794	4,572	24,366	997	13	1,010	11,663	1,321	12,984	11,306	2,628	13,944	99,364	12,315	1,11,679	11.0
6. Footwear, Other wearing apparel and made-up textile goods.	204	75	279	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	18	—	18	222	75	297	25.3
7. Wood and Cork except furniture.	119	—	119	2,097	60	2,157	417	1	418	—	—	—	369	65	434	1,291	236	1,527	4,293	362	4,655	7.8
8. Furniture and Fixtures.	126	3	129	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	—	28	49	—	49	203	3	206	1.5
9. Paper and paper products.	1,807	—	1,807	1,062†	—	1,062†	(Furnished unclassified)	—	900	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,251	257	1,508	3,058	257	4,215	7.8
10. Printing, publishing and allied trades.	1,536	—	1,536	—	—	—	87	—	87	136	—	136	531	—	531	1,097	49	1,146	3,387	49	3,436	1.4
11. Leather and leather products (except footwear).	530	56	586	137	—	137	345	11	356	109	—	109	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,121	67	1,188	5.6
12. Rubber and rubber products.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	80	—	80	206	—	206	1,031	137	1,168	1,317	137	1,454	9.4
13. Chemicals and chemical products.	634	231	865	824	—	824	1,039	152	1,191	2,607	168	2,775	2,857	2,200	5,057	1,850	129	1,979	9,811	2,880	12,691	22.7
14. Products of petroleum and coal.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	—	24	—	—	—	24	—	24	—
15. Non-metallic mineral products (except products of coal and petroleum).	4,130	572	4,702	2,015†	—	2,015	1,674	300	1,374	1,055	—	1,055	2,111	880	2,991	2,975	340	3,315	11,345	2,092	13,437	15.6
16. Basic metal industries.	1,387	52	1,439	—	—	—	6,064	492	6,556	1,936	18	1,954	1,347	20	1,367	395	5	400	11,129	587	11,716	5.0
17. Manufacture of metal products (except machinery and transport equipment).	847	—	847	—	—	—	53	—	53	432	—	432	188	—	188	205	11	216	1,725	11	1,736	0.6
18. Manufacture of machinery (except electrical machinery and transport equipment).	—	—	—	4,121†	—	4,121†	2,028	28	2,056	1,753	—	1,753	491	2	493	578	—	578	4,850	30	4,880	0.6
19. Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies.	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,108	275	3,381	141	—	141	88	65	153	123	40	163	3,458	380	3,838	9.9
20. Transport and transport equipment.	6,679	10	6,689	—	—	—	10,515	68	10,583	110	—	110	2,273	1	2,274	365	—	365	19,942	79	20,021	0.3
21. Miscellaneous industries.	500	—	500	86	—	86	1,121	322	1,443	—	—	—	457	24	481	612	45	657	2,776	391	3,167	12.3
22. Electricity, Gas and Steam.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,042	136	2,178	238	—	238	756	3	759	8	—	8	3,044	139	3,183	4
23. Water and sanitary services.	—	—	—	—	—	—	133	—	133	—	—	—	15	—	15	—	—	—	148	—	148	—
24. Recreation services (Cinema Studios)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25. Personal services (Laundries, dyeing and cleaning).	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	48,326	12,951	61,277	70,726	8,495	79,221	51,738	7,361	59,999+	15,768	757	16,525	28,175	7,264	35,439	33,217	25,404	58,621	2,32,220@	61,813&	2,94,933†	
Percentage of women workers to the total number of workers (men and women) in each State:		21.1			10.7			12.3			4.6		20.5				43.3					21.0
Percentage of women workers in each State to the total number of women workers in all the A. B. & C. states.		3.8			2.5			2.1			0.2		2.3				7.4					20.0

* Information supplied by the Travancore-Cochin Government pertain to Travancore area only.

† As the industry-wise classification of these workers is not known, the figures have not been included in the totals in columns 20, 21 and 22 which show the classification according to industry.

‡ This figure does not include 10,149 persons working in a group of industries in the State of Madhya Bharat.

& This figure does not include 419 women working in a group of industries in the State of Madhya Bharat.

@ This figure does not include 15,730 men working in a group of industries in the State of Madhya Bharat.

+ This figure includes 900 persons who have not been classified sex-wise by the State of Mysore.

APPENDIX V

AVERAGE DAILY EMPLOYMENT OF ADULT WORKERS DURING 1956

(PART 'C' STATES)

Industry	AJMER			BHOPAL			DELHI			GRAND TOTAL			Percentage of women to total adult workers.
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
1. Processes allied to agriculture (Gins and presses)	793	1,082	1,875	165	—	165	—	—	—	958	1,082	2,040	53.0
2. Food, except beverages.	59	—	59	526	8	531	1,232	11	1,243	1,817	16	1,833	0.9
3. Beverages.	—	—	—	36	—	36	177	—	177	213	—	213	—
4. Tobacco.	127	221	348	396	1	397	—	—	—	523	222	745	29.8
5. Textiles.	5,430	479	5,896	2,046	24	2,070	16,120	326	16,446	23,596	829	24,425	3.4
6. Footwear, other wearing apparel and made-up textile goods.	—	—	—	—	—	—	681	—	681	681	—	681	—
7. Wood and cork except furniture.	—	—	—	—	—	—	260	—	260	260	—	260	—
8. Furniture and Fixtures.	—	—	—	—	—	—	238	—	238	238	—	238	—
9. Paper and Paper products.	—	—	—	275	15	290	94	—	94	369	15	384	3.9
10. Printing, publishing and allied trades.	365	—	365	144	—	144	3,941	1	3,942	4,450	1	4,451	—
11. Leather and leather products (except footwear).	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12. Rubber and rubber products.	—	—	—	—	—	—	294	1	295	294	1	295	0.3
13. Chemicals and chemical products.	—	—	—	—	—	—	920	7	927	920	7	967	0.6
14. Products of petroleum and coal.	—	—	—	—	—	—	128	—	128	128	—	128	—
15. Non-metallic mineral products (except products of coal and petroleum).	—	—	—	—	—	—	860	97	957	860	97	957	10.1
16. Basic metal industries.	18	—	18	—	—	—	1,280	—	1,280	1,298	—	1,298	—
17. Manufacture of metal products (except machinery and transport equipment).	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,058	5	2,063	2,058	5	2,063	0.2
18. Manufacture of machinery (except electrical machinery and transport equipment).	35	—	35	—	—	—	2,724	1	2,725	2,759	1	2,760	—
19. Electrical machinery apparatus, appliances and supplies.	—	—	—	—	—	—	658	1	659	658	1	659	0.2
20. Transport and transport equipment.	7,587	1	7,588	173	—	173	2,099	—	2,099	9,859	1	9,860	—
21. Miscellaneous industries.	122	—	122	696	69	765	4,398	—	4,398	5,216	69	5,285	1.3
22. Electricity, gas and steam.	270	—	270	268	—	268	776	—	776	1,314	—	1,314	—
23. Water and sanitary services.	—	—	—	—	—	—	625	—	625	625	—	625	—
24. Recreation services (Cinema studios).	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25. Personal services (Laundries, dyeing and cleaning).	—	—	—	—	—	—	96	—	96	96	—	96	—
Total :—	14,806	1,783	16,589	4,725	114	4,839	39,659	450	40,109	59,190	2,347	61,537	3.8

Percentage of women workers to the total number of workers (men and women) in each State.

10.7

2.3

1.1

Percentage of women workers in each State to the total number of women workers in all the A. B. & C. States.

0.5

0.003

0.1

APPENDIX VI

EMPLOYMENT IN CERTAIN SELECTED INDUSTRIES DURING 1950

(Information relates to factories covered by the Factories Act).

State	Rice mills			Edible oil industries			Tea Factories			Cashew nut industries		
	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers
Assam	1,540	116	7.5	867	11	1.3	49,303	11,845	24.0	—	—	—
Bihar	4,298	341	7.9	1,988	94	4.7	570	290	50.9	—	—	—
Bombay	737	152	20.6	10,163	1,533	15.1	—	—	—	324	282	87.0
Madhya Pradesh	4,603	1,651	35.9	3,668	1,049	28.6	570	3	0.5	—	—	—
Madras	16,680	5,310	31.8	11,763	3,286	27.9	4,124	1,269	30.8	8,363	7,607	91.0
Orissa	3,430	1,593	46.4	218	30	13.8	—	—	—	—	—	—
Punjab	348	6	1.7	584	21	3.6	657	192	29.2	—	—	—
Uttar Pradesh	1,276	95	7.4	6,791	149	2.2	859	615	71.6	—	—	—
West Bengal	14,631	6,834	46.7	2,393	139	5.8	25,927	6,453	24.9	—	—	—
Coorg	44	8	18.2	—	—	—	19	5	26.3	—	—	—
Ajmer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delhi	—	—	—	142	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total:	47,587	16,106	33.8	38,577	6,312	16.4	82,029	20,672	25.2	8,687	7,889	90.8

State	Bidi industry			Lac (including shellac) industry			Match industry			Glass industry		
	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers	Total employed	No. of women workers	Percentage of women workers
Assam	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,312	1	0.07	—	—	—
Bihar	16,971	925	5.5	4,317	452	10.5	34	—	—	1,054	121	11.5
Bombay	20,208	10,628	52.6	—	—	—	2,173	104	4.8	5,180	614	11.8
Madhya Pradesh	8,600	2,968	34.5	212	139	65.6	147	35	23.8	1,063	211	19.8
Madras	6,683	115	1.7	—	—	—	6,567	3,513	53.5	1,468	497	33.9
Orissa	2,692	962	35.7	197	92	46.7	54	17	31.5	544	26	4.8
Punjab	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	360	10	2.8
Uttar Pradesh	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,515	—	—	9,964	289	2.9
West Bengal	—	—	—	1,010	108	10.7	1,891	58	3.1	6,230	305	4.9
Coorg	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ajmer	348	221	63.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Delhi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—
Total:	55,502	15,819	28.5	5,736	791	13.8	13,693	3,728	27.2	25,878	2,073	8.0

APPENDIX VII

AVERAGE DAILY EMPLOYMENT IN MINES COVERED BY THE INDIAN MINES ACT

Year	COAL			IRON ORE			MICA			MANGANESE			OTHER INDUSTRIES			ALL MINES			Percentage of women to total
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	
1941	1,89,536	28,745	2,18,280	7,138	3,024	10,162	44,464	4,444	48,908	16,509	13,841	30,350	28,181	12,056	40,237	2,85,827	62,110	3,47,937	17.85
1942	1,83,472	31,614	2,15,086	6,983	3,349	10,332	51,360	5,531	56,891	17,177	15,037	32,214	30,309	12,814	43,123	2,89,301	68,345	3,57,646	19.11
1943	1,73,971	39,125	2,13,096	6,253	3,094	9,347	54,713	6,747	61,460	12,974	11,297	24,271	29,047	12,140	41,187	2,76,958	72,403	3,49,361	20.72
1944	1,94,309	61,055	2,55,364	5,630	2,536	8,166	40,519	6,726	47,245	8,229	7,568	15,797	26,564	11,812	38,376	2,75,251	89,697	3,64,948	24.58
1945	2,22,097	72,805	2,94,902	4,711	2,172	6,883	32,982	5,226	38,208	4,972	4,608	9,580	26,550	10,167	36,717	2,91,312	94,978	3,86,290	24.59
1946	2,46,208	77,784	3,23,992	4,766	2,277	7,043	28,184	4,756	32,940	5,421	5,238	10,659	26,320	11,765	38,085	3,10,899	1,01,820	4,12,719	24.67
1947	2,55,282	66,255	3,21,537	4,612	2,043	6,655	27,238	4,228	31,656	7,513	7,579	15,092	21,373	10,950	32,323	3,16,013	91,250	4,07,263	22.41
1948	2,52,292	55,971	3,08,268	4,899	2,169	7,068	27,048	4,442	31,490	8,350	7,718	16,068	21,774	11,202	32,976	3,14,363	81,502	3,95,865	20.50
1949	2,64,354	54,000	3,18,354	10,137	5,696	15,833	25,160	3,748	28,908	12,255	10,204	22,459	24,083	11,522	35,605	3,35,989	85,170	4,21,159	20.22
1950	2,92,499	67,390	3,49,889	11,317	6,062	17,379	27,329	3,681	31,010	18,919	16,033	34,952	25,191	13,340	38,531	3,75,255	96,506	4,71,761	20.46

Notes :— (i) Figures for the year 1947 and onward relate to all the 9 Part 'A' States and the Centrally administered States of Delhi and Ajmer, whereas the figures for previous years relate to pre-partition British India.

(ii) Figures for the year 1950 cover, in addition, the coal mines in Hyderabad, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh and Kutch and the diamond mines in Vindhya Pradesh.

Source : Annual Reports of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

APPENDIX VIII

AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS OF MEN AND WOMEN WORKERS ON PLANTATIONS, 1946

Month	T E A						COFFEE		RUBBER			
	Assam Valley		Cachar		West Bengal		Madras		Madras			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	Rs. as.	
January	11 10	9 4	10 5	8 2	13 8	9 10	16 4	13 6	14 0	12 6	18 7	9 1
February	11 0	8 15	9 15	8 13	13 7	9 3	15 6	13 12	14 8	10 10	9 12	6 1
March	12 12	9 15	10 15	8 1	14 2	10 2	14 13	12 11	12 0	10 3	14 0	15 9
April	12 7	10 8	12 8	9 15	14 3	10 13	16 3	19 14	12 1	10 12	18 2	8 11
May	12 14	10 13	12 4	9 4	14 14	1 ² 13	16 9	14 3	12 1	9 1	19 10	11 6
June	12 15	11 10	11 15	10 1	17 14	15 0	14 10	14 12	12 0	8 10	6 9	7 0
July	14 10	14 5	12 12	11 1	18 15	15 9	15 3	13 4	13 2	9 2	6 10	8 6
August	15 11	15 7	12 13	11 3	16 13	17 1	15 12	13 2	12 11	9 5	7 2	6 11
September	15 13	15 8	12 8	10 9	18 13	14 14	15 13	13 9	12 2	9 7	20 2	11 15
October	16 6	14 15	13 0	11 0	20 5	16 8	21 12	22 0	15 5	11 1	21 14	17 5
November	16 2	13 2	15 6	11 11	20 11	16 10	21 3	17 11	14 13	9 15	22 6	15 13
December	15 4	10 8	14 9	10 10	19 9	14 10	21 1	13 10	14 10	11 4	23 2	18 2
Average for 12 months	13 15	12 1	12 6	10 1	16 15	13 8	17 2	15 1	13 2	10 3	15 14	10 7

Source : Reports on the Cost and Standard of Living of Plantation Workers, Assam and Bengal and South India (figures rounded to the nearest anna).

APPENDIX X

MINIMUM WAGES FIXED UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGES ACT IN
THE DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES

State	Minimum wages fixed for (daily rates)		Remarks
	Men	Women	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
RICE, FLOUR OR DAL MILLS			
	Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.	
Assam	1 8 9 to 1 11 9	—	Rs. 40 to Rs. 45 p. m.
Bihar	1 8 7	—	
Bombay	1 8 9 to 2 5 0	—	
Madhya Pradesh	0 12 0 to 1 0 0	0 8 0 to 0 12 0	
Madras	0 12 0	—	
Orissa	1 0 0	—	
Punjab	1 12 0	—	
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0	—	
West Bengal (Rice mills)	0 13 6 to 1 2 0	0 11 6 to 0 12 0	In addition, dearness allowance of Re. 0/4/6 to Re. 0/6/0 for men, Re. 0/4/0 for women is given. In addition dearness allowance of Re. 0/12/4 is given.
(Flour mills)	1 2 6	—	
Mysore	1 0 0	0 12 0	
Rajasthan	1 2 0	—	Rs. 30/- p. m
Saurashtra	1 4 0 to 2 0 0	—	Rs. 32/8/- to Rs. 52 p. m.
Delhi	1 12 5 to 1 15 7	—	
OIL MILLS			
Bihar	1 8 7	—	
Bombay	1 8 9 to 2 5 0	—	
Madhya Pradesh	1 2 0 to 1 4 0	—	
Madras	1 0 0	—	
Punjab	1 12 0	—	
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0	—	
West Bengal	1 13 6* to 1 14 9†	1 7 2 to 1 8 7	*Includes dearness allowance of Re. 0/13/6 †Includes dearness allowance of Re. 0/14/9
Mysore	1 0 0	0 12 0	
Rajasthan	1 2 0	—	Rs. 30/- p. m.
Saurashtra	1 8 0 to 2 0 0	—	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-----	-----	-----	-----

ROAD CONSTRUCTION AND BUILDING OPERATIONS

Bihar	1 4 0	—	
Bombay	1 12 0	to	—
	2 6 0		
Madhya Pradesh	0 9 0	to	0 7 0 to
	1 0 0		0 10 0
Madras	0 13 0	to	—
	1 4 0		
Orissa	0 12 0	to	0 8 0 to
	1 0 0		0 12 0
Punjab	1 12 0		1 8 0
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0		—
West Bengal	1 4 0	to	0 14 0 to
	2 0 0		1 12 0
Mysore	1 0 0		0 12 0
Rajasthan	1 2 0*		0 12 0†
			*Rs. 30/- p. m. †Rs. 20/- p. m.
Saurashtra	1 2 0	to	—
	1 12 0		
Bhopal	1 0 0	to	0 12 0 to
	1 4 0		1 0 0
Delhi	1 12 0		1 8 0
Vindhya Pradesh	0 8 0	to	—
	0 10 0		

STONE BREAKING OR STONE CRUSHING

Bihar	1 4 0	—	
Bombay	1 8 9	to	—
	2 5 0		
Madhya Pradesh	0 9 0	to	0 7 0 to
	1 0 0		0 10 0
Madras	0 13 0	to	—
	1 4 0		
Orissa	0 12 0	to	0 8 0 to
	1 0 0		0 12 0
Punjab	1 12 0		1 8 0
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0		—
West Bengal	—		—
Mysore	1 0 0		0 12 0
Rajasthan	1 2 0*		0 12 0†
Saurashtra	1 8 0		—
Bhopal	1 4 0		1 0 0
Delhi	1 12 0		1 8 0
Vindhya Pradesh	0 8 0	to	—
	0 10 0		
			*Rs. 30/- p. m. †Rs. 20/- p. m.

TANNERIES AND LEATHER MANUFACTORIES

Bihar	2 6 0	—
Bombay	1 8 9	to
	2 5 0	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Madhya Pradesh	1 3 0*	—	*Rs. 30 p. m. minimum wages fixed in tanneries. In leather manufacturing wages are fixed on a piece-rate basis.
Madras	1 0 0* 1 5 0†	—	*Helpers, Seasoners, etc. †For casual labour
Punjab	1 12 0	—	
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0	—	
West Bengal	1 15 6	—	
Mysore	1 5 1*	1 1 5†	*D. A. Re-/11/1) } is also paid †D. A. Re.-/7/5) }
Hyderabad	1 0 0*	0 12 0†	Excluding D. A. *Rs. 26/- p. m. †Rs. 20/- p. m.

LOCAL AUTHORITY

Bihar				
a) District Boards	25 0 0	p. m.	—	
b) Municipalities	27 0 0	p. m.	—	
Madhya Pradesh	0 12 0	to	0 8 0	to
	1 0 0		0 12 0	
Madras	25 0 0		—	
Punjab	50 0 0*	to	—	*All inclusive wage according to areas.
	60 0 0	p. m.		
Uttar Pradesh	17 8 0	to	—	
	36 4 0	p. m.		
West Bengal				
a) Municipalities	10 0 0	to	11 0 0	to
	52 8 0	p. m.	30 6 0	p. m.
b) District Boards	18 4 0	to	—	
	50 0 0	p. m.		
Mysore	35 0 0	p. m.	30 0 0*	p. m. *Includes D. A. Rs. 15/- p. m.
Rajasthan	30 0 0	p. m. or		
	1 2 0	per day		
Saurashtra	32 8 0	to		
	52 0 0	p. m.		
	1 6 0	to		
	1 12 0	per day		
Ajmer				
a) Local Bodies	47 8 0*	p. m.		*Wage Rs. 30 plus D.A. Rs. 17/8/0 p.m.
b) Ajmer & Beawar Municipality and District Board	49 4 0†	p. m.		†Wage Rs. 30 plus D.A. Rs. 19/4/0 p.m.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Delhi	{ 51 0 0 to 65 0 0 p.m. 1 11 0 to 2 2 6 per day 20 0 0 p. m.			
Vindhya Pradesh				
		or		
		0 13 0 per day		
Bhopal	1 0 0 to	0 12 0 to		
	1 4 0 per day	1 0 0 per day		
MOTOR TRANSPORT				
Bihar	1 12 0	—	Rs. 45/- p. m.	
Bombay		—		
Unskilled	1 8 9 to			
	2 5 0			
Conductors	2 2 0 to			
	2 5 0			
Madras				
Conductors	1 14 8	—	Rs. 49 (30+19D.A.) p. m.	
Unskilled	1 7 4	—	Rs. 38 (20+18D.A.) p. m.	
Madhya Pradesh	1 4 0	—		
Assam				
Unskilled	1 13 0	—	Rs. 47 p. m.	
Conductors	2 1 10	—	Rs. 55 p. m. (Trip allowance is also given).	
Orissa				
Conductors	1 12 0	—	Rs. 45/- p. m.	
Unskilled	1 2 4	—	Rs. 30/- p. m.	
Punjab				
Conductors	1 14 9	—	Rs. 50 and Rs. 20	
Cleaners	0 12 5	—	p. m. Excluding D. A. Travelling allowance & Simla Compensatory allowance.	
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0	—		
West Bengal				
Cleaners	2 1 10	—		
Conductors	2 14 0 to	—		
	3 0 0			
Mysore				
Conductors	1 12 0	—	Rs. 45 (25+20 D. A.) p. m.	
Cleaners	1 8 7	—	Rs. 40 (20+20 D. A.) p. m.	
Rajasthan	1 3 0	—	Rs. 30 p. m.	
Saurashtra				
Unskilled	1 0 0*	—	*In addition D. A.	
Conductors	1 8 0*	—	Re. 0 13 0 to Re. 1 0 0 per day.	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Delhi			
Unskilled	2 0 0 or	—	
	60 0 0 p. m.		
Conductors	2 3 9 or	—	
	67 0 0 p. m.		
Vindhya Pradesh	1 4 0 or	—	
	30 0 0 p.m.		
TOBACCO (INCLUDING BIDI) MANUFACTORIES			
Bihar			
(a) Bidi	0 12 0 to 2 8 0		
	per 1,000		
Bombay			
(a) Bidi	1 14 0 to 2 8 0		
	per 1,000		
Madhya Pradesh			
(a) Bidi	0 10 0 to 1 6 0		
	per 1,000		
Madras			
(a) Bidi	1 2 0 per 1,000		
(b) Scented tobacco	0 12 0 to 0 14 0		
	per day		
(c) Cigars	2 0 0 per 1,000		
(d) Tobacco curing	1 4 0 per day		
Orissa			
(a) Bidi	1 6 0 per 1,000		
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0 per day		
West Bengal			
(a) Bidi	1 12 0 to 2 4 0		
	per 1,000		
(b) Cigarettes	2 2 6 (1 0 0+		
	1 2 6) D. A.		
	per day.		
Hyderabad			
(a) Bidi	1 4 0 per 1,000*		*Excluding dearness allowance.
Mysore			
(a) Bidi	1 6 0 per 1,000		
(b) Tobacco curing	1 2 0 per day*	1 0 0 per day*	*Including D. A. of Re. 0/8/0 per day.
Rajasthan			
(a) Bidi	1 2 0 per day		Rs. 30/-p. m.
Saurashtra			
(a) Bidi	2 0 0 to 2 8 0		
	per 1,000		
Ajmer			
(a) Bidi	1 2 0 per 1,000		
(b) Snuff	1 0 0 per day		
Bhopal			
(a) Bidi	1 4 0 to 1 8 0		
	per 1,000		
Vindhya Pradesh			
(a) Bidi	1 0 0 to 1 4 0		
	per 1,000 or		
	1 2 0 per day		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Travancore-Cochin			
(a) Bidi	1 14 0	per 1,000	
	MICA (a) Mines		
	(b) Works		
Bihar			
(a) Mines	5 9		
(b) Works	4 6		
Madras			
(a) Mines	1 0 0		
(b) Works	1 4 0		
Ajmer			
(a) Mines	{ 45 0 0	p. m. or	
(b) Works		1 8 0	per day
Rajasthan			
(a) Mines	30 0 0	p. m.	20 0 0 p. m.
(b) Works	or		or
	1 2 0	per day	0 12 0 per day
AGRICULTURE*			
Bihar	1 sr. 12 chks of rice or wheat <i>plus</i> ½ sr. of sattoo.		
	to		
	3 srs. 12 chks. of rice or wheat <i>plus</i> 1 sr. of sattoo.		
	3 srs. 10 chks. (paddy) <i>plus</i> ½ sr. of sattoo.		
	to		
	5 srs. 10 chks. of paddy <i>plus</i> 1 sr. of sattoo.		
	1/16th of the harvest (for harvesting)		
Punjab	Re. 1/- to Rs. 2/8/-	Re. -/12/- to	Rs. 1/8/-.
Ajmer	Re. -/12/- to Re. 1/-	Re. -/12/- to	Rs. 1/-.
Delhi	Rs. 1/8/- to Rs. 2/-	Rs. 1/4- to	Re. 1/8/-
Coorg	Rs. 1/5	Re. -/15/9	
Bilaspur	Rs. 1/8	Rs. 1/4/-	
Himachal Pradesh	Rs. 1/8	Rs. 1/4/-	
Kutch	Re. -/12/-	Re. -/9/-.	
U. P.	Re. 1/-	Re. 1/-.	
LAC MANUFACTORIES			
Bihar	1 4 0	1 0 0	
Madhya Pradesh	0 15 6	0 11 6	
Uttar Pradesh	1 0 0	—	
PLANTATIONS			
Assam †(Tea)	0 15 0 to	0 14 0 to	†Inclusive of D. A.
	1 2 0	1 0 0	
Bihar (Tea)			
Ranchi	1 6 0	—	
Purnea	1 3 0	1 1 0	

*Note:—Where different wages have been fixed for different agricultural operations the ranges have been indicated. The minimum rates relate to casual labour.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Madras *(Tea, Coffee Rubber and Cinchona)	{ 1 5 0 grade I 1 0 0 Grade II	—	*The rates given in the Notification refer to Grades I and II which correspond to male and female workers.
Punjab	0 11 0	0 8 6	
West Bengal*			*Provision exists for the revision of dear- ness allowance accord- ing to changes in the cost of living.
Tea (Gardens)	0 15 0 to 1 3 0	0 14 0 to 1 1 0	
(Factory)	1 0 0 to 1 3 0	0 15 0 to 1 1 0	
Cinchona	1 8 9	1 2 0	
Uttar Pradesh-Tea (Dehra Dun Distt.)	1 0 0	—	
Mysore*	1 0 0	0 13 0	*Including D. A.
Tripura			
Tea (Gardens)	1 0 0 to 1 2 0	0 14 0 to 1 0 0	
(Factory)	0 14 0 to 1 0 0	0 9 0 to 0 11 0	
Coorg*			
Coffee	1 2 9	0 14 0	*Including D. A.
Cardamom	1 2 9 to 1 5 0	0 14 0 to 0 15 9	
Travancore-Cochin*			
Tea (Garden)	1 9 6	1 3 3	*Including D. A.
(Factory)	1 13 0	1 6 0	

WOOLLEN CARPET MAKING OR SHAWL WEAVING

Bihar	1 12 0	—	Rs. 45/-p. m.
Madras	1 0 0	—	
Punjab	1 8 0	—	
Rajasthan	1 2 0	—	Rs. 30/-p. m.

CEMENT

Madhya Pradesh	1 6 0	1 4 0
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POTTERIES

Madhya Pradesh	1 6 0	1 2 0
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GLASS

Madhya Pradesh	1 8 0 to 1 12 0	—
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