

**CHIKAN WORKERS OF LUCKNOW:
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND
THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTH**

Dissertation submitted to
Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

BHAVANA GULATI

Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi – 110067
INDIA

1999



CENTRE OF SOCIAL MEDICINE & COMMUNITY HEALTH
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

New Delhi-110067


Dated: 21st July, 1999


CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled "*Chikan Workers of Lucknow : Socio-Economic Conditions and Their Implications for Health*", is submitted in partial fulfilment of six credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University and is my original work.


(BHAVANA GULATI)

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


(Dr. K.R. Nayar)
for CHAIRPERSON
Chairperson
CSMCH/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110 067.


(Dr. K.R. Nayar)
SUPERVISOR
Dr. K. R. NAYAR
Associate Professor
CSMCH/SSS
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110 067

*We're all only fragile threads,
But what a tapestry we make!*

- Jerry Ellis, Walking the Trail

To
Mamma
& Papa

CONTENTS

	PAGES
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	(i)
LIST OF TABLES	(ii) - (iii)
 CHAPTERS	
I INTRODUCTION	1- 12
II STRUCTURE OF THE HANDICRAFTS SECTOR IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON CHIKAN INDUSTRY	13-56
III A PROFILE OF THE CHIKAN WORKERS	57-72
IV WORKING CONDITIONS AND HEALTH OF CHIKAN WORKERS	73-89
V CONCLUSION	90-95
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 96-97
 APPENDIX	 98-122

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am highly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. K.R. Nayar for his invaluable guidance, immense support and encouragement. I express my sincere gratitude for his thorough and conscientious efforts in guiding me to come up with this accomplishment.

I thank the other members of the faculty and the staff for their enormous help and co-operation.

Thanks are due to Mr.B. Singh and Mr.D. Bhattacharya of the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) office, Lucknow, and the staff of Giri Institute of Economic Development and Industrial Relations, Lucknow, & U.P. Export Corporation, Lucknow.

I also express deep appreciation to Mrs. Ruby Bhattacharya, Librarian, Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) office, New Delhi, for extending the library facilities to me.

I acknowledge the painstaking efforts of the respondents who form the conspicuous foundation of this work.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to the very special and invaluable presence of my friends who stood by me throughout the task and made it a memorable experience.

My grand parents, my parents & my brother provided their unstinting support and love all along. My very special thanks to Biji, Bauji, Mumma, Papa and Ashish.

Thanks to all.


BHAVANA

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NO.	TITLE	PAGE
Chapter I		
1.	Structure of Workforce and Income per Worker	2
Chapter II		
1.	Employment in selected Handicrafts (Main Workers)	23
2.	Export of Handicrafts (Excluding Hand-knotted Carpets) for the last Ten Years	27
3.	Export of Handicrafts (Excluding Hand-knotted Carpets) during the period of April-March 1997-1998 compared to corresponding period of 1996-1997	28
4.	Item wise Target and Export Projection for Export of Handicrafts for the four years, i.e. from 1998-1999	29
5.	Average Rates paid and The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog. taken by the Workers to complete different Chikan items (Lucknow; NGOs)	51
6.	Average Rates paid and The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog. taken by the Workers to complete different Chikan items (Mahajan, Contractor; Lucknow etc.)	52
7.	Average Rates paid and The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog. taken by the Workers to complete different Chikan items (U.P. Export Corporation)	53
Chapter III		
1.	Age wise distribution of Chikan Workers in the different processes of Chikan Work	58
2.	Gender wise classification of Chikan workers across different processes	60
3.	Educational Status of Chikan Workers	61
4.	Marital Status of Chikan Workers	62
5.	Educational Level of Spouses of Chikan Workers	63

TABLE NO.	TITLE	PAGE
6.	Occupational Level of Spouses of Chikan Workers	64
7.	Monthly Income and other Sources of Income	65
8.	Liabilities of Chikan Workers	67
9.	Housing Pattern of Chikan Workers	69
10.	Availability of Sanitary Facilities	70

Chapter IV

1.	Location of Work Place	75
2.	Posture adopted during Work	77
3.	Working pattern of Chikan Workers	79
4.	Availability of Work in a Year	80
5.	Number of years in Chikan Work	81
6.	Perceived Health Problems of Chikan Workers	82
7.	Duration of Health Problems	83
8.	Consultation for Health Problems	84
9.	Perception of Service in Government Hospitals	85
10.	Source of Medicine and Related Expenditure	86

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

According to the 1991 census, the size of the workforce in India stood at 314.73 million which accounted for 37.29 per cent of the total population. On the occupational distribution front, the workforce has been categorised into organised and unorganised sector. Those employed in the organised sector accounted for 8.5 per cent (26.75 million) while the unorganised sector accounted for the remaining 91 per cent (287.98 million) of the total workforce.¹

Those who are organised into trade unions, registered, or unregistered, fall in the purview of organised sector. The unorganised sector consists of those who have not been able to organise in pursuit of a common objective because of constraints, such as casual nature of employment, ignorance and illiteracy, small size of establishments with low capital investment per person employed, scattered nature of establishment, and superior strength of the employer operating singly or in combination.

The unorganised sector suffers from cycles of excessive seasonality of employment. Majority of the workers do not have stable and durable avenues of employment. Those who appear to be visibly employed are not gainfully and substantially employed, a phenomenon known as disguised employment. The primary concern regarding labour in the unorganised sector is that most of them live below the poverty line. Their access to the basic necessities of life such as food, clothing, health, education and other forms of social security is extremely poor. One of the reasons for this is that they lack organisations which can effectively represent their issues and problems at the national level, the established trade unions in the country. There are, of course, certain structural difficulties in organising workers in the unorganised sector. Unlike the organised structure, the existing conditions are not conducive to the functioning of trade unions. In the organised sector, the means of struggle for better

wages and working conditions are institutionalised. This is, however, not the case with the unorganised sector.

In terms of wages and earning, there exist a substantial difference between the organised sector and unorganised sector. Table 1 shows aggregate figures for the year 1981

TABLE 1 - STRUCTURE OF WORKFORCE AND INCOME PER WORKER (1980-81)

<i>Category</i>	<i>Workforce (million)</i>		<i>Income (crores)</i>		<i>Average Annual Income</i>
	No.	%	Rs.	%	Rs.
<i>A. Organised Sector (Salaried Regular Employment)</i>	22.9	10.3	24,850	28.3	10,851
<i>B. Unorganised Sector</i>	199.6	89.7	62,990	71.7	3,056
<i>(i) Self Employment</i>	126.0	56.6	44,719	50.9	3,549
<i>(ii) Casual Wage Employment</i>	73.6	33.1	18,271	20.8	2,482
<i>Total (A+B)</i>	222.5	100	87,840	100	3,948

Source: Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy, 'Basic Statistics Relating to Indian Economy. (Bombay: CMIE, 1989, Table 10.1)

The Production organisations in the garment-manufacturing sector can broadly be classified as: Merchant entrepreneurs, merchant manufacturers, processing establishments and intermediaries. The organisations have a direct link with the home-based workers. It is remarkable that these workers, most of them women, devote sizeable work hours to garment production activities by squeezing time from the interestices of their household duties, and leisure. Nevertheless, they are not considered qualified as full-fledged workers as per official norms. Another important feature is that these women serve not only the needs of the domestic market, but also

that of the export market. Yet, they continue to remain under the purview of the unorganised sector.

The description given above points out that the chikan industry of Lucknow has all the characteristics of an unorganised industry. Most of the workers employed in it, whether adults or children, men or women, are illiterate, ignorant, and also there is low capital investment per person employed.

Chikan Industry is a totally home based industry. In its booming days, in the past, chikan work was done mostly by men. The women known as 'chuktis' worked at home while men worked in the workshops. The Karkhanas (workshops) which had come to be established when the demand for chikan embroidery was at its peak under the patronage of the Oudh Nawab's Court, gradually disappeared. The first setback to the artisans came from the establishment of the British rule under which was a shift in taste favoring western modes and designs. The British encouraged, by their favour, westernised garments and materials manufactured in England. The second setback came through the development of cotton mill industries in India, which made cheaper cloth. Finally, the Zamindari system broke off the Jajmani ties and deflated an important segment of the market backed goods made by the artisans.

When the market for chikan craft began to decline, the wages in chikan Industry got depressed and men found more remunerative options elsewhere, and left the craft almost entirely in the hands of women. The quality of chikan work also deteriorated as the number of those who valued this exquisite form of embroidery dwindled, and the demand from the middle class, who were content with inferior quality at a lower price, came to bulge.

Today 96% of the chikan workers are women and the 4% men still in the industry are involved not in doing embroidery, but in other related processes, such as tailoring, printing, washing, etc.

The production of chikan work involves the following processes, each carried out by a different set of workers.

1. **Tailoring:** - Before any embroidery can be done, the material needs to be tailored, in order that the embroidered design can be placed at the desired parts of the garment. Cutting and tailoring is done mostly in workshops.
2. **Printing:** - The design desired for embroidery is printed on the tailored garments by professional male printers known as 'chipis'. They use wooden blocks for printing.
3. **Embroidery:** - Chikan embroidery is done almost entirely by women in their homes on tailored and printed material supplied by the contractors. A combination of various stitches is used to bring the pattern to life.
4. **Washing:** - The embroidered items or garments are set for washing which is done by special washermen. After washing, the items are heavily starched and ironed.

The chikan workers are extensively exploited by their employers and middlemen who, taking advantage of their poor conditions, pay them very low wages. This accrues a very large profit for them.

Traditionally, chikan work was the domain of Muslims. Even today, 90% of the workforce employed in the chikan industry comprises of Muslims. By now quite a few people belonging to different religious faiths and communities have been pushed into

chikan work by their abject poverty. Like other unorganised sectors in India, chikan industry is characterised by absolutely onerous working conditions and abysmal living conditions.

The wages that they receive for working 8-10 hours a day are meagre. Most of them are required to work for all seven days a week. The bad working and living conditions have serious implications for their health. Apart from this, the basic civic amenities and medical facilities are entirely lacking. All these factors, take a toll on the general well being of the workers in a cumulative manner. They live in a vicious circle of destitution and ill health.

METHODOLOGY

The general aim of the study is to explore the linkage between the economic, social and ecological conditions and health and well being of the workers involved in the chikan industry. The study aims to place the living and working conditions of the chikan workers within the socio-economic and sociological context.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The specific objectives include:

1. To study the socio-economic and living conditions of the chikan workers.
2. To analyze the working conditions such as working patterns, availability of work, location of work place and posture adopted during work etc.
3. To study the health problems in association with the working and living conditions.
4. To study the action taken in response to the health problems, and the perceptions of the workers regarding available health services.

CHAPTER II

STRUCTURE OF THE HANDICRAFTS SECTOR IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON CHIKAN INDUSTRY

UNIVERSE OF STUDY

The study is carried out in the Nishatganj and Daliganj wards of the Lucknow district. According to the 1991 census, the area of Lucknow is 2528 square kilometers out of which 2169.49 sq. km. covers the rural areas and 359.51 sq. km is comprised of the urban areas. The total population of the district is 27,62,801.

Though chikan work is also done in areas adjoining the district of Lucknow, the main center for chikan production is located within the Lucknow city. In the city there are certain wards which are predominantly inhabited by chikan workers. The wards selected for the study are among a few such wards.

The wards for the study were selected on the basis of a scouting investigation in the district. The Daliganj and Nishatganj wards fall in the Zone 3 and Zone 4 of the district respectively. While Daliganj is somewhat centrally located, Nishatganj is slightly towards the east. Most of the workshops are in Daliganj and a sizable number of workers also stay in the same ward. Also, quite a few workers live in Nishatganj but work in the workshops or centres in Daliganj. According to the Municipal Corporation of Lucknow, the total population of Daliganj is 14,554 while that of Nishatganj is 15,926.

SELECTION OF SAMPLE

A pilot study was undertaken to identify the various wards where chikan work is done and where chikan workers live. Also, the concentration of these workers on the basis of their activities was studied. On the basis of these activities, four categories of workers were identified: -

- (i) Workers involved in tailoring of the items/garments.
- (ii) Workers involved in making blocks of designs and printing the designs on the garments.
- (iii) Workers embroidering the garments.
- (iv) Washermen who wash the finished goods.

Keeping in mind the availability of all four categories of workers, the two wards of Daliganj and Nishatganj were selected.

METHOD OF SAMPLING

The workers associated with the four activities were selected randomly from each of the wards.

For administering the interview schedule, a break-up of the workers on the basis of their activities emerged:

- (i) Out of 25 stitching workers, 16 were from the Daliganj ward, and 9 from Nishatganj.
- (ii) In printing, 19 workers belonged to the Daliganj ward and 5 to Nishatganj.
- (iii) In embroidery, 37 workers were from Daliganj and 43 from Nishatganj.
- (iv) Finally, 12 washermen belonged to the Daliganj ward and 9 to the Nishatganj ward.

For the case studies, of all the 13 eleven workers were selected in the Nishatganj ward, and two in Daliganj. It was ensured that for the case studies as well as interviews, only one person was selected as a respondent from one particular family. The sample size thus consisted of 150 respondents for the interview schedule and 13

for case studies. Thus, along with the quantitative data, qualitative insights into the living and working conditions of the workers were obtained.

TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

The tools for collecting the data were selected considering the objectives of the study and also the nature of the problem to be studied.

The tools used in this study were

- (i) ***Interview Schedule***:- An interview schedule was prepared for exploring the problem area effectively considering the objectives of the study, the interview schedule was developed so as to cover all the areas intended: identification/personal data, family details, education, housing and basic amenities, working conditions. Income and Expenditure, and their perception of health problems and availability of health services.
- (ii) ***Case Studies***: - A very useful profile regarding the workers' working conditions, living condition, and pattern of living of their whole family was obtained through intensive case studies. Details about their households were also obtained. The case studies were supported, to a marked extent by information obtained through observation.
- (iii) ***Observation Technique***:- While conducting the interviews, and collecting case studies, information about several aspects of the respondent's living and working conditions can be obtained by observation. Information was obtained in this manner regarding the housing patterns, sanitary facilities, facilities at work place, posture adopted while working etc. The qualitative data thus obtained provides a strong base to the study.

- (iv) ***Informal Interview:-*** Informal interviews were conducted with the other family members of the respondents, their neighbours, money lenders etc. Discussions with the officials of the Uttar Pradesh Export Corporation, Development Commission (Handicrafts),U.P., and the employers and traders also yielded some information. Care was taken that the information obtained through informal interviews was simultaneously cross-checked.
- (v) ***Secondary Sources:-*** The government reports on the worker's conditions, annual reports of institutes and other survey reports were collected from respective source and utilized for the study.

PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION

Scouting Investigation:- In order to identify the field area, the Lucknow district was visited and information obtained about the concentration of the chikan worker's population in various wards of the district. These wards were then visited to choose two wards, keeping in mind the availability of all the four categories of workers. This exercise helped to get acquainted to the workers and the working and living environment.

Field Study:- The tools which were finalised after the scouting investigation, were administered to the sample. The process of data collection included visits to Information Directorate U.P., U.P. Minorities Financial and Development Corporation, U.P. Export Corporation, Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) office, Industrial Tribunal, U.P., a Government Hospital, meeting the Chief Medical Officer, visit to a Government Chikan Production Centre, and a private workshop, in Lucknow. Visits were also made to the Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) Delhi, and to the

Exports Promotion Council for Handicrafts, Delhi. About three months, from January, 1999 to March 1999 were spent in the study area.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

1. The sample size was required to be limited in different categories due to paucity of time. As compared to the workforce employed in the chikan industry, the sample size is quite small. In order to bring out the results more clearly and to increase their reliability and generalizability to other unorganised sector industries, a larger sample size would have been appropriate.
2. Since we have tried to explore the linkage between the health problems and the living and working conditions of the chikan workers, the result about the health of the workers lacks an epidemiological base. An epidemiological study linking the health problems with the occupational hazards would be more enlightening.
3. The analysis of the living conditions of the workers make it clear that the ecological factors also have strong implications on their health. Again, due to time constants, the link between ecology and health could not be explored in depth.

In the next chapter, i.e. Chapter II, the Handicrafts Industry of India, in general, with special emphasis on the chikan industry is reviewed in terms of their historical background, development processes and contemporary trends. After the historical examination, the phases of change brought about by the advent of British, the industrial revolution and a consequent mechanization in India, have been discussed. The effects of these changes on the handicrafts industry as well as the chikan Industry

in terms of production, marketing, labour related issues, exports etc. have also been discussed.

In Chapter III, the living conditions of the workers in relation to several socio-economic and sociological variables have been presented. The quantitative data obtained through the variables such as age, gender, religion, education, income, marital status, expenditure, housing patterns, availability of basic sanitary facilities are obtained to present an objective profile of an average chikan workers.

Chapter IV, again, is based on the analysis of the quantitative data regarding the working conditions and health of the chikan workers. The variables that are analyzed include location of work place, posture adopted, working pattern of the workers, availability of work in a year, duration of employment, perceived health problems and the span of the problems. Also, data regarding the action taken by the workers in response to their illnesses and the perception of the availability and accessibility of health services has been analyzed.

In Chapter V, the summary of the results is reported and the conclusions of the study are drawn.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Davala, Sarath (ed.). *Unprotected Labour in India: Issues and Concerns*. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, New Delhi. 1994. p. V.

INTRODUCTION

*H*andicrafts are a form of industry and products, that are for the greater part, made by hand. They are usually produced with low initial capital investment from materials available mostly within the producing country, the designs reflecting local cultural, factors and skills.¹ The Indian handicrafts thrived through the ages, helped by a vigorous folk tradition, a benign culture and an age when individualism was cherished, and detail and precision valued. The labour of India's handicraftsmen showed up in the unique objects of beauty they made. In time, these went beyond the confines of their centres of production and spread out to all corners of India, and then the world. Varied articles of beauty in pottery, brass, bronze, copperware, silver, ivory and sandalwood, gorgeous brocades, silks, gossamer muslins, embroidered goods and carpets were carried as treasures along the Silk Route by camel caravans to Samarkand, Baghdad, and to the farthest outposts of the vast Mongolian Empire, to Egypt and Africa in the west and to the Indonesian Archipelago in the East. The court of Solomon and Genghiz Khan, and the Palace of the Ceasars received these objects of beauty as tributes from vassals or as gifts from friends.²

From time immemorial, the village and cottage crafts seem to have played a pivotal role in the social and economic life of the Indian people. The excavations from Mohenjodaro and Harappa show that as early as the second millenium before Christ, there were busy metropolitan commercial centres from where, economic and cultural influences spread over a wide area. This was possible because of the existence of an extensive circle of numerous village communities producing the surplus on the accumulation and exchange of goods on which the cities thrived. The

continued existence of cottage industries meant the creation of an institutional plurality which effectively stood between the ordinary citizen and a powerful state. Besides providing ample employment to the rural folk, the cottage industries played an important role in the process of decentralization of economic its own manufacturing needs gave it a remarkable social cohesion which could not be loosened by even the most devastating war.³ The cottage industries almost acted as a defensive economic wall against the ravages of time and man. Through the centuries, until the calculated destruction of the indigenous industries in British times, the products of India were famed in all the markets of the world.

Handicrafts is rightly described as the craft of the people. In India, it is not an industry, as the word is commonly understood; for the produce is also a creation symbolising the inner desire and fulfilment of the community. The various pieces of handicrafts whether metal-ware, pottery, mats or wood work clearly indicate that while these are made to serve a positive need in the daily life of the people, they also act as a vehicle of self-expression for they reveal a conscious aesthetic approach. At the same time, they manifest, in their structure, the principles of Silpa Sastra, the ancient scientifically evolved formulae and regulations for manufacturing.⁴

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The craftsman's position in the predominantly agricultural society was pivotal, for it made the village society self-contained. The social functioning was based on a code of personal relations and duties handed down from generation to generation instead of on contract and competition, with services being paid in kind, normally in grains in harvest time or a share in the communal land. The execution of the craft was

not just an economic compulsion, but a sacred duty. This largely explains the care and devotion with which the work was performed. The craftsmen made things mainly for the use of the people around him and not so much for sale in a distant market-place. He was not at the mercy of the middle-men or a changing clientele. The bold local styles that the village artisans evolved operated as a great lever in the evolution of Indian art adding to the wealth and variety of colour and design. In the traditional feudal system of economic and social stratification, artisans were an essential component. They were tied to the land economy through the jajmani system which established a customary pattern of exchange between the jajman or the land owner and the artisan. The artisan was obliged to produce for the jajman, products of his craft, in return for which the jajman gave food and other products from his land. The system provided security for the artisan as the jajman was obliged to sustain him. In the cities, artisans were patronised by the aristocracy or the court. The patronage not only provided an assured market but also a market sensitive to good taste, and therefore, an incentive for the development and refinement of the crafts.

Innumerable invasions of nomadic people who migrated to India, the intermingling of vast civilizations, the impacts of alien myths, symbols and superstitions, the ancient Gods and cults of this land, the geographical distribution of mountains, deserts and lush vegetation and the presence of minerals, salts and water were factors that moulded the aesthetic norms of people which were formulated through the milleniums. It was against this backdrop, that hereditary groups of every type of artisans arose, organised within the rigid systems and protected by rigid laws, which ensured the high standard and continuity of these crafts. Tracing their origin to Viswakarma, the deity of crafts, the craftsmen combined with his being the functions of both conceiver and executor.⁵

On the organisational side, community of interests drew together the artisans who soon came to form guilds in India, ever as in Europe, Egypt and other regions. The guilds did not originally correspond to a sectarian or ethnical caste as is generally believed. As a matter of fact, the same trade was sometimes followed by men of different castes. Membership was normally hereditary, but new comers were admitted on payment of fee. The guilds regulated the hours of labour and the quantity of work for each through strictly enforced bye-laws and fining defaulters. The guild also prevented undue competition between guilds and negotiated in cases of dispute. No overtime in a trade was allowed to any workman if there was unemployment in the same trade. The guilds not merely regulated wages but enforced the use of pure material and a high excellence of workmanship. Each guild was managed by a court of Mahajans, or kind of aldermen, with a special position to the Seth or chiefs of the guilds. In the larger towns and cities, the guilds wielded considerable influence, for the Seth of the guild became Nagar Seth, the titular head of all the guilds and the highest personage in the city and accepted as its representative by the government.⁶

Based as the craft tradition was on a background of myth, symbol and fantastically rich imagery called from the stories of the Puranic legends, there was no scope for stagnation. Each productive act was spontaneously linked with the stream of man's life and was a dynamic symbol of man's endeavour to express universal human emotions and interests. Two main channels of craft expression developed. The one concerned with the treatment of surface as symbolized by inlay or enamel reflecting the streams of people's lives and culture patterns that, for a time, commanded its patronage, responding to every sophistication and rarity of elegance. The other, structural in concept, rooted in the endless search, reflecting the familiar forms of the unchanging pattern of the village unit, the romance and emotional

background of nomadic tribes, the rituals that bound man in invisible chains of a hoary past. In the handicrafts, beauty was an isolated item, it was an integral part of one's intimate life. Decoration was not an end in itself. It had to serve a social purpose. Ornamentation and decoration were not divorced from utility.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF HANDICRAFTS

Enamoured by the success the Industrial Revolution in the developed world, many developing countries began their quest for modern economic growth focusing their efforts on import substituting industrialization. Implicit in this approach was the belief that the spread and trickle down effects of the resultant growth would eventually take care of the problems of poverty and income distribution.⁷ It came to be recognized that (urban – biased) capital intensive industrialization could not employ the growing numbers being added to the labour force each year, and that employment intensive activities especially in the rural sector, would have to be given a boost. State support to handicrafts has a long history in India. Arts and Crafts flourished under the benign patronage of Hindu and especially Muslims rulers. However, under the British rule and particularly, due to the flood of factory-made imports after 1800, some handicraft were adversely affected. The British period could, perhaps, be characterized as one of indifference wherein the craftsmen and artisans were left at the mercy of the market forces. After independence, the Government of India allocated resource for the growth of the handicrafts Industry.⁸

Handicrafts provide productive employment to the underemployed and to the unemployed ; they earn foreign exchange for the economy ; they help to redistribute income among the poor ; and create employment opportunities for disadvantage social

groups. They also aiding the preservation of traditional skills and cultural heritage. But, they are particularly vulnerable for the present tempo and economic pattern of the society, and their marketing, therefore, requires specialised attitudes and measures. Fortunately, a healthy process of revival and renaissance with regard to handicrafts started after Independence, largely due to the stress on the economic and social value of the reviving cottage and village industries by Mahatma Gandhi. Today, India offers an expanding domestic as well as International market with an increasing awareness of the value of handicrafts especially with a rising standard of living among the urban population.⁹

In terms of the planning process, handicrafts are considered in the overall context of village and small industries. Products that fall under the category of handicrafts include gems and jewellery, rugs, and druggets, art metalware, cotton rugs and 'durries' hand—printed textiles and scarves, shawls, embroidered and zari goods, ivory products, imitation jewellery, ceramics, stone work, cane and bamboo, incense, paintings, papier mache, etc. The Khadi and Village Industries (KVI) have enjoyed protection and reservation of certain products for exclusive production in the KVI sector. They have also enjoyed tax exemptions and subsidies and preferential access to credit.

The marketing of handicrafts involves two aspects – Public Marketing (when the Government takes the initiative of setting up production units and taking care of export), and Private Marketing (when private traders purchase goods from independent artisans or workshop owners).

Public Marketing

The All India Cottage Industries Board, established in 1948, recommended the setting up of handicrafts emporia at the centre and the states for the marketing of cottage industries products. Before independence, a few small government sales depots had been started in some states, viz. Assam, Bihar, Hyderabad, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh, and Orissa. In 1949, the central cottage industries emporium was established in Delhi, and a large number of states have since expanded their old marketing organisations or established new emporia.¹⁰

In November, 1952, the Government of India set up the All India Handicrafts Board. Its mandate was to advise the Central Government the problems confronting the development and progress of handicrafts including problems of skills formation, productions techniques and marketing at home and abroad. The Board is headed by a development commissioner and is under the Ministry of commerce. The office of the Development Commissioner for handicrafts, is currently the nodal agency for the implementation of all the Central Government Schemes, designed to handle the above mentioned development problems. The All India Handicrafts Board was reconstituted as the All India Handlooms and Handicrafts Board in July, 1981 to render joint advice on both handlooms as well as handicrafts.¹¹ Under the constitution of India, development of Industries is the responsibility of the State Government and is looked after by the respective directors of Industry. However, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal and Gujarat have special Directorate to look after cottage industries and handicrafts. Besides this, most states have set up development corporation to help artisans in production and marketing. These corporations also provide assistance in internal and external marketing, viz. The handicrafts and handlooms export

corporation, the Central Cottage Industries Emporium, and the North Eastern Handicrafts and Handlooms Development Corporation.

The Government of India has approved a scheme for giving financial assistance to State Government/Apex Co-operative societies for setting up common facility service centers. The pattern of assistance to state corporation/apex co-operative societies for setting of common facility service centers envisages that the office of Development Commissioner (Handicrafts) will provide grants to the corporation/Apex Co-operative societies for equipment and machinery while the government/corporation/apex co-operative societies will provide land and building for the purpose and also bear the recurring expenditure. The state corporations, apex co-operative societies are required to formulate proposals and prepare detailed project report for setting up common facility service centers along with its justification and viability and after getting the necessary clearance from the state governments/administration of union territories in case supplemental assistance is envisaged from State Government/Union Territory, send the same to the office of the development commissioner. Financial assistance, as decided on the merits of several schemes by the office of the development commissioner (handicrafts), financial assistance flows directly to the corporations/apex societies.¹²

Private Marketing

The general pattern of the marketing of handicrafts is that independent artisans working in their homes or workshop owners (karkhanadars, master craftsmen, sub-contractors) sell the goods manufactured by them either to big stockists (merchants-exporters) or to small shopkeepers, directly or through brokers. The stockists and small dealers in turn sell them either to local consumers or out-station merchants or

foreign importers, again either directly or through specific intermediate agencies. The big dealers have relatively high financial resources and some of them have goods made to order directly from the artisans, advancing money to them for the purchase of materials. Artisans working on this basis were generally regularly in debt to dealers on account of these advances. Though a more liberalized credit policy is being followed by banks in India and the current emphasis on easy credit facilities are being extended to the weaker sections of the society, a lot more needs to be done to improve the situation of indebtedness among the handicraft artisans. The role of private enterprise in the field of handicrafts marketing has been, and is today, overwhelmingly important. About 90 per cent of handicraft production is handled by private agencies and the rest by public marketing and co-operative agencies. The role of co-operatives in this field which could be by far the best form of organizing a major part of the production and marketing of handicrafts, has been rather weak and tardy. Promotion of a co-operative enterprise is beset with numerous difficulties, but measures can certainly be taken to overcome them.

Kashmir has pioneered in establishing a central handicrafts market as early as 1940. Encouraging the setting of such crafts markets in important urban centres, where craftsmen could preferably sell their products directly, has been suggested. Simultaneously, 'Village Haats' or weekly markets where, among other commodities, certain rural crafts are also sold, should be supported and strengthened as sales centers for crafts.¹³ In order to develop private marketing of handicrafts, it has been suggested that its working be reformed partly through legislation and partly through persuasion and voluntary discipline by recognized dealers associations. The Government should also provide certain facilities to help dealers improve their production and expand their market.

Y, 9(NL).445258



According to a scheme approved by the Planning Commission as part of the Integrated Rural Development Programme, Rural Marketing and Service Centres (RMCs) have been established at the block level for village artisans and Villages and Small Industries including handicrafts, handlooms, sericulture and coir. The object is to stimulate the production of goods required for local consumption as much as possible. The agency that runs an RMC can be a co-operative society, Panchayat Udyog, a registered society or a corporation. Financial assistance from the Government, towards rent or putting up a building, fixtures and fittings, samples, seed capital and management subsidy, according to an approved pattern, is also provided for in the scheme.¹⁴

Coming to the structure of employment in handicrafts, the data presented in Table 1 is extracted from census surveys.

TABLE 1 : EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED HANDICRAFTS (MAIN WORKERS)

	<i>Jewellery</i>		<i>Carpets</i>		<i>Embroidery, Knitting/Lace Making</i>		<i>Products of Bamboo, Cane, Rattan, Leaf etc.</i>		<i>Earthen ware pottery</i>	
	1961	1981	1961	1981	1961	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
<i>Total Employment</i>	310,713 (100)	796,392 (100)	81,412 (100)	304,499 (100)	140,874 (100)	242,707 (100)	516,566 (100)	905,807 (100)	568,076 (100)	682,697 (100)
<i>Male</i>	304,499 (98)	783,831 (98)	69,246 (85)	279,466 (92)	80,328 (57)	198,311 (82)	347,735 (67)	544,114 (60)	470,695 (83)	537,172 (79)
<i>Female</i>	6,214 (2)	12,561 (2)	12,166 (15)	25,032 (8)	60,546 (43)	44,406 (18)	168,831 (33)	361,693 (40)	97,381 (17)	144,925 (21)
<i>Urban</i>	136,714 (44)	507,021 (64)	21,411 (22)	50,197 (16)	78,656 (56)	154,518 (63)	110,861 (21)	176,016 (19)	76,192 (13)	116,709 (17)
<i>Household Industry</i>	195,749 (63)	230,087 (29)	56,213 (69)	194,852 (64)	84,858 (60)	79,345 (34)	--	706,950 (78)	--	--
<i>Change (in lakhs) 1961-81</i>	4.86		2.23		1.01		6.09		1.15	
<i>Change (in percent) 1961-81</i>	156		274		72		205		20	

Notes : For Pottery, the "change" relates to the period 1971 - 81.

Total employment in jewellery in 1971 was 540, 901, and in Bamboo in 1961 in was 296, 843

Source:IDS (1985 a) drawing from Census Surveys.

There is substantial increase in total employment between 1961 and 1981, with the maximum percentage change occurring in carpets being 274. In terms of numbers, bamboo and cane products record the largest incremental employment of 6.09 lakhs. Most crafts are male dominated particularly jewellery and carpets. Moreover, during 1961-81, the proportion of male workers in carpets has increased from 85 per cent to 92 per cent, in embroidery from 57 per cent to 82 per cent, and in jewellery it has remained constant at 98 per cent. On the other hand, female workers shared increased in Bamboo and Pottery over 1971-81 from 33 per cent to 40 per cent, and 17 per cent to 21 per cent respectively. In embroidery, there was a decline over in terms of absolute number of female workers. There is a marked shift in jewellery from rural to urban areas from 44 per cent in 1961 to 64 per cent in 1981. The shifts are relatively minor for other crafts with decline in urbanisation for carpets and bamboo, and increase in embroidery and pottery. There is a significant decline in the household industry status of jewellery and embroidery from 24 per cent in 1961 to 51 per cent in 1981. In carpets, there is a slight decline from 69 per cent. Bamboo shows the highest percentage of household employment with 78 per cent in 1981. Within the household industry segment, jewellery shifted strongly towards the urban areas from 24 per cent in 1961 to 51 per cent in 1981. In carpets, there was a slight decline from 19 per cent to 14 per cent, while it is unchanged in embroidery at 45 per cent. In embroidery, urban employment is 15 per cent of household employment in 1981. In all cases, the proportion of female workers is higher in household industry than in non-household industry. Similarly, the number of rural workers is higher in household industry. In case of relatively minor crafts such as 'musical instrument', employment between 1961-81 rose from 8492 to 13003 main workers and in "printing of textiles" from 49181 to only 51866.¹⁵

WAGES

The proportion of wages in total cost varies widely between products and even between different quality levels of the same products (IDS, 1985a). Same products such as white “chikan kurtas” of average quality can be highly raw – material intensive, with the wage share being even less than 9 per cent. On the other hand, the wages for a Chikan mat may be quite high. Various field surveys show that the gains of the substantial increase in exports have not been shared by the craftsmen [IDS (1985a); AIHB Annual Report 1978-79 ; cable et al. 1986]. Wage rate have improved over time in real terms, but this does not necessary depend on the degree of employment over the year, which has fluctuated with the fluctuating demand, particularly when the product is export dependent. Even the wage rates are very susceptible to economic activity. For example, with a sudden slump in export demand for carpets in the early eighties, wages for manufacturers of Agra Carpets were cut from Rs. 900 to Rs. 600. Similar was the case with the textile hand-printing artisans of Rajasthan.¹⁶

EXPORTS

The product basket of handicrafts as perceived by the Indian Exporters and government, consists of nine major products. Of these, handprinted textiles account for more than 70 per cent of the exports. The present composition of Indian handicrafts is such that except for carpets and rugs, all other commodities are competing with products from the developed countries. India has had a more concentrated market structure than its competitors. This has posed a serious handicap to the Indian exporters, because they could not benefit from the new growing markets

like Japan, Spain, Italy etc. The main buyers for handicrafts (other than carpets) are U.S.A., U.K., Germany, France, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Japan, and Italy. The major buyers for handicrafts (other than carpets), as classified item-wise are as under:

1. Art Metalwares – U. S. A., Germany, U. K., and Italy
2. Wood wares – U. S. A., U. K., Germany and France
3. Hand-printed Textiles and Scarves – U.S. A., U. K., Germany and Canada
4. Embroidered and Crocheted Goods – U.S.A., Saudi Arabia, U.K., Germany and Canada
5. Shawls as artwares – Saudi Arabia, U.S.A., Japan, and U.K.
6. Zari and Zari goods – U.K., U.S.A., Japan and Saudi Arabia
7. Imitation Jewellery – U.S.A., U.K., Saudi Arabia and Germany
8. Miscellaneous Handicrafts - U.S.A., Germany, U.K., and France¹⁷

According to the provisional data available at the Exports Promotion Council for Handicrafts, export of handicrafts excluding hand-knotted carpets performed well during April – March '97-'98.

TABLE 2 - EXPORT OF HANDICRAFTS (EXCLUDING CARPETS) FOR THE LAST TEN YEARS

<i>Items</i>	<i>1987-88</i>	<i>1988-89</i>	<i>1989-90</i>	<i>1990-91</i>	<i>1991-92</i>	<i>1992-93</i>	<i>1993-94</i>	<i>1994-95</i>	<i>1995-96</i>	<i>1996-97</i>	<i>1997-98</i>
<i>1. Art metal wares</i>	169.01	228.39	124.73	289.05	341.04	480.05	680.20	1022.25	1205.95	1370.60	1540.12
<i>2. Woodwares</i>	20.01	24.96	18.25	41.83	50.50	68.20	98.50	136.90	155.65	188.45	227.83
<i>3. Hand-printed textiles and Scarves</i>	56.74	80.81	75.62	127.45	149.81	196.50	354.25	475.12	580.45	695.17	870.08
<i>4. Embroidered Goods</i>	6.14	8.93	7.89	21.65	33.20	42.70	70.45	102.20	115.30	131.10	248.67
<i>5. Shawls as art wares</i>	1.46	3.48	4.64	1.55	23.18	28.15	32.95	36.90	39.75	36.43	40.02
<i>6. Zari and Zari goods</i>	4.97	8.54	6.87	23.59	30.60	42.65	40.90	57.95	70.95	79.78	91.34
<i>7. Imitation jewellery</i>	4.06	4.31	7.54	5.80	14.90	19.05	28.75	36.88	40.20	44.13	62.16
<i>8. Miscellaneous handicrafts</i>	152.33	191.21	343.02	358.12	421.75	534.70	656.20	767.70	812.10	1022.92	1225.61
<i>Total</i>	415.37	550.63	588.56	869.04	1065.00	1412.00	1970.00	2635.90	3020.35	3568.58	4305.88

Source - Spring '99, 26th Feb - 1st March '99 Export of Handicrafts - An overview, Exports Promotion Council for Handicrafts, 1999.

An assessment of the world market trade in handicrafts show that unlike the period 1980 to 1988, there has been a visible increase in the world demand for handicrafts since 1988. As is clear Table 3., the exports increased from Rs. 3568.58 crores in April – March 1996-1997 to Rs. 4305.82 crores during the same period in 1997-1998, recording an increase of 20.66 per cent in Rupee terms. In dollar terms exports increased from 1005.23 Million U.S. \$ in April – March 1996-1997 to 1107.47 million U.S. \$ in April – March 1997-1998, recording an increase of 10.17 per cent.

TABLE 3 - EXPORT OF HANDICRAFTS (EXCLUDING HANDKNOTTED CARPETS) DURING THE PERIOD OF APRIL-MARCH, 1997-1998 COMPARED TO CORRESPONDING PERIOD OF 1996-1997

<i>Items</i>	<i>Rupees in Crores</i>		<i>Increase per cent</i>	<i>US \$ in Millions</i>		<i>Increase per cent</i>
	1996-97	1997-98		1996-97	1997-98	
1. <i>Artmetal wares</i>	1370.60	1540.12	+12.37	386.08	396.12	+2.60
2. <i>Wood wares</i>	188.45	227.83	+20.90	53.08	58.60	+10.40
3. <i>Hand printed textiles and scarves</i>	695.17	870.08	+25.16	195.82	223.79	+14.28
4. <i>Embroidered and Crocheted goods</i>	131.10	248.67	+89.68	36.93	63.96	+73.19
5. <i>Shawls as artwares</i>	36.43	40.02	9.85	10.26	10.29	+0.29
6. <i>Zari and Zari goods</i>	79.78	91.34	+14.49	22.47	23.49	+4.54
7. <i>Imitation jewellery</i>	44.13	62.16	+40.85	12.43	15.99	+28.64
8. <i>Miscellaneous Handicrafts</i>	1022.92	1225.61	+19.81	288.15	315.23	+9.40
<i>Total</i>	3568.58	4305.82	+20.66	1005.23	1107.47	+10.17

Source: Spring '99. 26th Feb – 1st March '99, Export of Handicrafts, An Overview, Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts (1999).

The highest increase from 1996-97 to 1997-98 has been recorded for embroidered and crocheted goods, +89.68 per cent, followed by imitation jewellery,

per cent, Miscellaneous Handicrafts, +19.81 per cent Zari and Zari goods, +14.49 per cent, Art Metalwares, +12.37 per cent, and Shawls as art-ware, +9.85 per cent.

The rising trends have been observed during the year 1997-98 the trend indicates the export potential of India's handicrafts abroad. A target of Rs. 5249 crores; 1350 Million US Dollars has been fixed for 1998-99.¹⁸

An item-wise target and export projection for export of handicrafts for the next four years has been prepared by the Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts.

TABLE 4 - ITEM-WISE TARGET AND EXPORT PROJECTION FOR EXPORT OF HANDICRAFTS FOR THE FOUR YEARS i.e. FROM 1998-99 (RS. IN CRORES)

Items	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02
1. Art Metalwares	2100	2900	4100	6175
2. Woodwares	270	315	375	415
3. Hand Printed Textiles	1024	1124	1250	1310
4. Embroidered goods	235	265	290	312
5. Shawls as artwares	45	52	60	75
6. Zari & Zari goods	114	125	155	180
7. Imitation jewellery	81	82	100	115
8. Miscellaneous handicrafts	1380	1425	1543	1652
Total	5249	6298	7873	10234

Source-Spring '99. 26th Feb-1st March '99, Export of Handicrafts-An overview, Exports Promotion Council for Handicrafts (1999).

The rising trend indicates the rich market potential for Indian handicrafts abroad. Although export of handicrafts appear to be sizeable India's share in the world imports is very small. Despite the existence of production base and a large number of craftsmen, India has not been able to encash the existing opportunities. It is generally stated that this is mainly because of certain specific reasons: -

- i) The major crafts concentration areas have problems of infrastructure. The delivery schedule cannot be maintained due to transport bottlenecks, power shortage and lack of proper port facilities etc.
- ii) The production and supply have continued to be inadequate due to non-availability of raw material for some of the important crafts.
- iii) The quality and finish are not up to the mark due to non-availability of seasoning plants for wood and transport crafts.
- iv) Product development is not fully conceived.

The prospects for increasing handicrafts exports are bright, provided the problems as being given under each category of crafts are acted upon immediately.¹⁹

INDIAN HAND EMBROIDERY

Hand embroidery has been widely practiced in India since very early times. At the excavated site of Mohenjo-Daro, bronze needles have been found, and they were most probably used for the purpose of embroidery; besides the figurines found at this site and others of the Indus Valley Civilization show indications of drapery that seems to be of an embroidered type.²⁰ Ancient literature and sculpture also go to prove the antiquity of the art of embroidery in India. It is referred to in the Vedas and in the Indian Epics. Buddhist sculptural representations, especially at Bharut and Sanchi, show patterned clothing that appears to be embroidered, most clearly seen in the veils and head-brands of the carved figures on the pillars of the Stupas. The frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh also confirmed this fact. Coming to the Mughal times, and the workshops or 'Karkhanas' maintained by the rulers, the famous French

traveler Bernier has thus described one of the workshops of the middle of the seventeenth century :

*“In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another, you see goldsmiths, in a third, painters, in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors and shoe makers, in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and the fine muslins”*²¹

Sir George Watts has pointed out that a peculiarity of all Indian needlework is that *“the needle is pulled away from, not drawn toward the operator,”* as done in the west.²²

The craftsman of India have always excelled in hand embroidery on cotton, silk, wood, velvet, even leather, and their creations have been a source of admiration. Like so many other crafts, the peasants and tribals, especially the migratory ones, have contributed a great deal to the development of embroidery. Because embroidery is an art of leisure, being time consuming, and peasants have whole seasons when their hands are not occupied. So also with migratory tribes who are not tied to any routine chores.

Probably, the sewing of gold and silver thread on fabrics was the earliest specimen of embroidery work. Gems and other precious metals were also used. Later, beads, glass pieces, shells and similar cheaper type of decorative substitutes introduced to suit the less affluent classes.

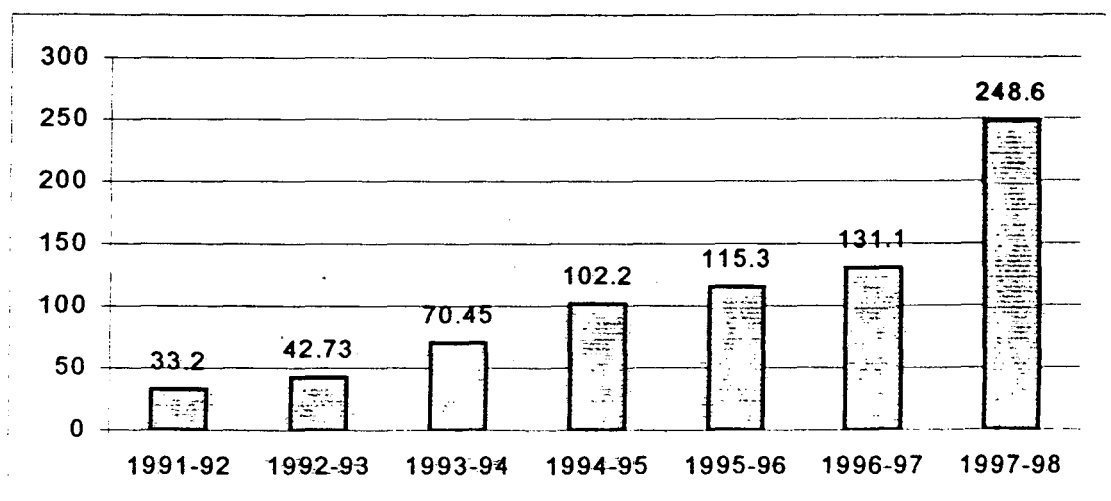
Different kinds of beautiful hand embroidery can be witnessed in different parts of the country. The ‘Kasida’ of Kashmir displays all the charm of free hand

drawing and composition. 'Phulkari' is the embroidery peculiar to Punjab, though it is also found in parts of Rajasthan and a version of it is found in Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. Traditionally, it is meant for large pieces such as bed covers, though now the stitch is being used for ornamenting table linen. Saurashtra and Kutch in Gujarat state and parts of Rajasthan have perhaps the most decorative, colourful and ornamental embroidery. There is a close resemblance in the embroideries of each of these regions, though each is distinctive. In Karnataka, areas of Mysore are famous for a beautiful style known as 'Kasuti'. It seems that this found patronage under the Chalukya and Vijaynagar rulers. Bearing a close resemblance to the Kasuti, is the 'Kashida' of Bihar also worked only by women. Like in Kasuti, Kashida is made to depict geometrical patterns, birds, flowers, animals. Delicate embroidery is also done in North Bihar on quilts, 'Suznis' as they are called. Here, they closely resemble the Kantha of Bengal. Extremely delicate, in plain spotless white is the 'Chikan' embroidery of Uttar Pradesh, especially of Lucknow, of almost equal delicacy but much rarer is the 'Kantha' of Bengal, worked only by women. Little known, and not in the market is the 'Chamba' embroidery, from the remote areas in the south – western ranges of Himalayas. It is a part of the region which was once noted for the exquisite style of Pahari or Kangra school of painting. This embroidery is really a transcription of the paintings in stitch. The peasant women of Haryana and the rural areas of Delhi have a style of their own. Though their embroidery has a superficial resemblance to Phulkari, yet is different. Manipur has its own unique embroidery. It is done on the border of the cloth which is worn by the women like a wrap around their waists. Apart from these, the tribal embroidery produces gorgeous effects both in silk stitches as well as by the use of mirrors, shells, beads, metallic pieces, etc. The Lamanis and the Banjaras are famous throughout India for their rich costume. Also,

very outstanding is the embroidery done by the Todas of the Nilgiris. It is flat and has a sculpturesque effect. Among the outstanding and famous of Indian embroidery, and probably the earliest, is gold and silver work. From the Vedas down to the epics, there are elaborate references to this art, known as 'Karchob'. This is divided into two main categories, 'Zardozi', the heavy and elaborate, and the 'Kamdani', the lighter and simpler kind. Benares, Surat, Rajkot, Ajmer, Agra, Delhi, Bhopal are well known for the this type of work.²³

The demand for hand-embroidered goods has constantly been increasing in the world market over the years. The data available shows that the exports for embroidered goods rose from 6.14 crores in 1987-1988 to 248.67 crores in 1997-1998 (Export Promotions council for Handicrafts, 1999). Since the demand has been increasing, the appropriate promotion of the craft can certainly be expected to bring high returns. For this purpose, the export bottlenecks, already discussed earlier in the chapter, are required to be overcome by both, public as well private exporters.

The exports of embroidered goods, over the last 7 years are depicted in the graph given below.



Source: Spring '99. 26th Feb-1st March. Export of Handicrafts: An Overview, Export Promotion for Handicrafts (1999).

CHIKAN WORK OF LUCKNOW

'Chikankari' is the name given to the delicate art of embroidery traditionally practised in the city of Lucknow and its environs. Originating as a court craft, it became a widely practised tradition and an important activity today. The name 'Chikan', appears to have its roots in the Persian Language being a derivative of 'Chakin', 'Chikin' or 'Chikeen', which means a kind of cloth wrought in flowers with needle-work. 'Chikankari' is a delicate embroidery done in white cotton thread upon fine cotton fabric. The thread is worked in a variety of stitches on sheer white or pastel coloured muslins, voile, organza and sometimes silk. Originally, the embroidery was restricted to the use of white 'tanzeb', or muslin brought from Dacca, variations being brought in through the rich variety of design and the subtly different stitches. Today, the commercially made products are restricted as far as stitches and the quality of embroidery are concerned the variables being the colour and type of fabric used and, the garments and products on which the embroidery is done.

Historical Background

There is very little published information, available, on the historical evolution of Chikankari. Kamaladevi Chottopadhyaya holds the view that, "*it can be dated back to the time of Sri Harsha, who is said to have had a liking for Muslim garments, embroidered with patterns, but no colour and no ornamentation*". There is a possible reference in literature dating back to the third century B.C., in which Magesthenes had mentioned the use of flowered muslins by the Indians in the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Bana, a contemporary of Harsha has referred to garments of muslin and fine silk embroidery, but there is no historical authenticity to the fact that some sort of 'Chikankari' was prevalent in those days.²⁴ It is said that

Empress Noorjahan visited Iran and was very much impressed by the decorative motifs on the walls of the beautiful buildings. The Empress attempted to have these motifs copied on cloth through needles and thread work. Initially, the designs of trees, plants, flowers and leaves were embroidered with coloured threads. In due course of time, embroidery on white cloth with white thread came into vogue. Such type of embroidery later on developed into what we call 'Chikan'. The local tradition asserts the Begum Bismillah, a maid servants of Empress Noorjahan brought this art to Awadh. According to Dr. Amir Hassan, the birth of 'Chikan' embroidery took place in Lucknow in the harem of one of the early Nawabs. In his famous work, "*The palace Culture of Lucknow*", Dr. Hassan tells the following story about the birth of 'Chikan' work in Lucknow. "*One of the Nawab's wives or concubines was from Murshidabad, then famous for 'Chikan' work. She was a skilled seamstress. To escape the boredom of harem life, she embroidered a 'chikan' cap and presented it to the Nawab. This was later taken up by other inmates of the harem, who used their individual skills and imagination to make new stitches and patterns. In due course of time, the art came out of the harem and developed into a flourishing craft*".²⁵

However, the most probable explanation which has historical backing reveals that chikan craft originated in West Bengal, where the word 'Chikan' means 'Fine'. It is thought to have been practised in Dacca and Calcutta.²⁶ The jamdani weaving of Dacca was very influential. The visual effect of the jamdani weaves is of a series of flowers or geometric designs set against a semi-translucent mesh background. Bengali chikan work produced the same kind of effect through embroidery-a method both simpler and cheaper than the more skilled weaving process. It is worth noting in

this respect that while jamdani weaving was previously confined to Dacca, from 1850 onwards very fine white on white jamdani was produced in Tanda, near Faizabad, to the east of Lucknow, to which period Hall and Irvin, in *'Indian Embroideries'*, ascribe the beginnings of Lucknow Chikankari Industry.²⁷ William Hoey, writing of the chikan embroidery of Lucknow in 1880, describes it as having flourished there for about twenty years. He says that it was, then, well established as a prosperous trade within Central, Northern and Western India, and extended also to Calcutta. In addition to the skilled professional embroiderers, he noted that Chikankari was worked by women to augment the family income.

*"When one wanders through the mohullas of the city where reduced Muhammadan families reside, and where there are poor Hindu families who need to add to the scant subsistence afforded by a small shop or by service, one sees women and even small children busy with needle and muslin. Thus the labour at the manufacturers command is cheap and abundant. He is able undersell those who go to the market from other places. This is one reason why the chikan business has taken deep roots in Lucknow".*²⁸

The Nawabs of Awadh, great lovers of grace, style and beauty were greatly attracted by this craft and it must have been gradually imported. Many craftsmen and women were patronised by the Nawabs, Sultans, Rajahs and Zamindars in and around the state of Awadh. Chikankari, therefore, received much impetus and was at its peak during the central part of the 19th Century.²⁹ The articles used by men-folk were generally 'Topis' (caps), skull caps for prayer, 'Angarkhas' & 'Chogas' (tunics), 'Archkans' & 'Kurtas' (for leisurely wear), 'Rumals' (Kerchiefs), Pyjamas & Cummer Bundhs (Sashes). The women used articles like Veils, Dupattas, Lehngas

(Skirts), Kurtas, Rumals, Prayer cloths (worn over the head for 'Namaz') and special pleated dresses (like angarkhas) – worn mainly by Kathak dancers. Apart from these articles, runners, mats, light drapes, bed canopies, palanquin curtains and tray clothes (for court offerings) were also made by Chikankars. Chikan work is ideally suited for the seemingly hot climate of the Northern Plains region. In those days, only the finest muslins and a little silk was used, which apart from keeping cool, provided adornment and beauty. While Lucknow's Chikankari evolved and acquired an identity of its own, there were numerous other courts where a similar embroidery was being practised—they were Calcutta, Dacca, Gaya, Benaras, Allahabad, Bhopal, Delhi, Rampur and Peshawar. But, in these places, the embroidery tradition has long since died out. One reason was lack of stable patronage owing to political and social upheaval. Also, these places did not have the cohesive framework of the strong cultural backdrop that Lucknow had.³⁰

With the coming of the British to Awadh, after the first war of Independence in 1857, there was, for a short while, a great impetus to chikankari. But once the British established themselves, the Nawabs lost their power and wealth, and the process of degenerating started. There was a shift in tastes favouring western modes and designs. The British encouraged the Chikankars to make new articles like Napkins, runners, table cloths, materials for ladies gowns, etc., The hand woven 'Mulmuls' (Muslin) of Dacca began to be replaced by the British machine made voiles which were imported in large amounts.³¹ The quality of embroidery also suffered because the Nawabs now did not have the resources and wealth to patronize the really good craftsmen. The 'Karkhanas' (Workshop) which were all located in the heart of the city of Lucknow were taken over by the British. They entered a phase of decline and eventually disappeared as organised centres for the manufacture of chikan

embroidered garments. The chikan embroidery work confined mainly to the men who worked in the Karkhanas, was passed on during this period, to women in the household, who were able to cope with the dwindling demand for chikan embroidery, while the men sought more lucrative employment elsewhere. Since the families working in the karkhanas lived in the vicinity, skilled embroidery workers came to be concentrated in the city.³²

Chikan embroidery skill continued to be passed on from mothers to daughters among the same families which were originally involved with the karkhanas. As the demand for chikan work was at a low ebb for a considerable time, women who moved out of the city as a result of marriage, ceased to maintain contact with the chikan embroidery industry. The revival of domestic demands and the emergence of a substantial export potential, introduced a new dimension in the location of the industry. As the demand in either case was, initially not for the superior quality of embroidery, trade sought out less skilled workers in the villages on the periphery of Lucknow, who were prepared to work for lower wages. As a result, the proportion of chikan workers living in the urban area of Lucknow reduced and is now estimated at 70 per cent. The remaining 30 per cent of the workers are spread out in the rural areas all around Lucknow.³³ There are today over 60,000 people involved in the chikan craft as a commercial activity at various levels-in the printing tailoring and embroidery, in washing and processing and in the marketing activities. At several points, there are middle men in the business. State government organizations like the U.P. Export Corporation and the U.P. Handicraft Board are attempting to regularize wages and do away with the exploitation practised by middle men and private traders on the poorer section who actually do the work. Such efforts have hardly been effective and the workers' condition remains more or less the same. In the early parts

of the twentieth century however, a number of zamindars, and lesser Nawabs continued to patronize the craftsmen, but the number of both the patrons and the chikankars was gradually diminishing. With the struggle for Independence and the turmoil of partition, the true 'Chikankari' further languished.

After Independence, The Directorate of Industries, U.P. attempted to revive the craft by setting up the Government chikan Embroidery scheme in 1947. Chikan centres were set up during 1952-1964 and attempts were made to widen the market. The schemes, attempted also to improve the standard of workmanship and to provide regular employment to craftsmen or fair wages. By the end of the second plan, a little over 1,000 craftsmen and women were enrolled in the scheme and their output worth Rs. 2 lakhs amounted to 15 per cent of the total production.³⁴ Several 'innovations' were introduced by this time, for instance, the use of fabrics like brightly coloured cambrics and rubias, and the use of coloured thread apart from white. But gradually, the deterioration in the quality of embroidery had set in. For various reasons including financial constraints, the centres set up were closed in 1964. The U.P. Handicrafts board and U.P., Export Corporation have set up centres to encourage craftsmen and try and have some sort of quality control. Another organised intervention was made in the industry by U.P., Export Corporation (established in 1971) in the year 1976. At present, UPEC is running a scheme and has above 2000 workers attached to it. The corporations operations are carried out in its main office situated in Moti Mahal, Lucknow. The planning, designing and co-ordination of the production process is done at this office. The raw material is acquired directly from the traders. The designing cutting, tailoring and printing are done at the office. The distribution of work for embroidery and payment is done at its

six production centres situated at Malihabad, Kakori, Bijour, Koneswar (Chowk), Adam Nagar and City Station in Lucknow district.³⁵

Apart from UPEC, the other Government Agencies which have entered into the industry to promote Chikan craft include District Industries Centres (DIC) Development Commissioner (Handicrafts), Ministry of Textile, Government of India, and U.P. Mahila Kalyan Nigam, Lucknow. Among the NGOs promoting the chikan craft, names of 'SEWA' (Self Employed Women's Association), Lucknow and 'Sankalp', Lucknow are noteworthy.³⁶ In spite of concerted efforts by Government agencies, NGOs and social workers, the progress in the industry remains far from satisfactory. Today, the majority of workers, including those living in the rural areas surrounding the city and suburbs are not much affected by these Government schemes. The middle men and traders manage the business and dole out work on a piece – wage basis. There is much room for exploitation and consequently there is a flow of goods which are poorly made. The total contribution of this industry to the unorganised sector is meagre, if not insignificant.

At present, India's exports of ready made garments account for more than Rs. 4000 crores a year. Yet, the share of Chikan Industry in this export is almost negligible. Almost the entire product is sold in the domestic market itself. However, majority of the domestic customers go for only ordinary type of embroidery items. There are very few entrepreneurs who engage expert craft persons for superfine work, which has market in the cosmopolitan cities. In the absence of rewarding patrons (earlier Nawabs, and Hindu rulers used to patronise export crafts-persons) and lack of adequate demand for superfine items, which take months of time of a crafts person, the number of expert 'Karigars' (craftsmen) knowing all the 36 stitches is diminishing

day by day. Moreover, rather less skilled workers are engaged in the craft, who are lowly paid and their economic, health and nutritional conditions are appalling.³⁷

According to a Rapid Survey of Chikan work Artisans of Lucknow by the All India Handicrafts Board, U.P. (1968) the craft employed about 5,940 women, and they constituted 99 per cent of the artisans. Working for 3 to 5 hours a day, they could earn between Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per month (Rs. 0.40 to Rs. 0.50 per day). The full time workers, working for piece rate wages, could earn between Rs. 50 to Rs. 250 per month.³⁸ As per the report of Giri Institute of Economic Development and Industrial Relations (1974), out of the total sample, 996 were women, and they formed 97 per cent of the Chikan artisans. The average per capita monthly income of a contract worker's household in the Chikan Industry was reported at Rs. 30.65; self-employed cum contract worker's households at Rs. 36.47; wage employees households at Rs. 15 and self-employed as Rs. 57.14. the income of the self-employed is the highest. But out of 996 women workers, the self employed is the highest. But out of 996 women workers, only one woman worked as self-employed. 74 per cent of the surveyed workers earn less than Rs. 40.00 per month and 15 per cent earn between Rs. 40.00 to Rs. 60.00 per month.³⁹

Techniques of Embroidery

Chikankari was not an isolated craft as certain other forms of embroidery were being practiced, such as on silk in Madras, and on sozni and quilts in Peshawar and Srinagar. This embroidery differs vastly from Chikankari, but the stitches employed are similar to some of the Chikan stitches. There have been local stylistic variations in embroideries akin to Chikankari, but Lucknow's Chikankari was the most highly developed. The needle is held in the right hand of the embroiderer while inserting in

into the fabric, the left hand supports and controls the thread so that the right shape of the stitches is formed. The portion of the cloth likely to be embroidered is placed over the index finger of the left hand supported by the rest of the fingers, leaving the left thumb free. There are various stitches used in chikankari which vary according to the kind of designs and materials used. The most frequently used stitch is the satin stitch, which is of a delicate and minute nature. Other stitches like the darning stitch, stem stitch, chain stitch, feather stitch like the darning stitch, stem stitch, chain stitch, feather stitch, box-work, button hole stitch, etc. Are also used.

The following are the main stitches with their traditional names: -

Taipchi: - In this stitch, the thread is arranged in straight lines with dripping at shorter gaps. It is occasionally done within parallel rows to fill petals and leaves into a motif. This is called Ghaspatti. This is the simplest chikan stitch.

Pechani: - The Tepchi is sometimes used for working other variations covered by entwining the thread over it in a regular manner to provide the effect of something like a level spring. The technique of entwining is known as 'Madhava'. This stitch is always practised on the right side of the cloth without disturbing the underlying fabric.

Bakhia: - This is the most commonly practised stitch. Bakhia, generally is a minute Satin stitch. There are two kinds mainly- 'Uthi Bakhia' and 'Sidhi Bakhia'.

Dhoom or Thum: -This stitch is very similar to the Sidhi Bakhia, except that it is much more closer packed and there is more criss-crossing of individual threads. This is used to fill the forms and there is no light or shade effect.

Khatao, Khatava or Katava: - This is the well-known cut-work or applique. As such, it is not a stitch, more of a technique. It is not very common and is hardly seen now-a-days. Pieces of the same fabric on which embroidery is done are cut in foliar and floral forms and sewn on from the reverse side by minute stitches along the edges. Madhava stitches are also used for tucking in the fabric, so in Sidhi Bakhiya, the floats of thread lie on the surface of the fabric from one outline of the form to the other. As the thread accumulates in compact masses underneath the motif, the transparent muslin becomes opaque in these places and provides a beautiful effect of light and shade-it is hence known as Shadow work.

Gitti: - This is the combination of button-hole stitch and the long satin stitch. Here a round, wheel like motif (Gitti) is formed, and warp and weft threads are so teased and held back by the long satin stitches, that a hole is formed in the centre of the wheel. The spokes of the wheel are encircled by a continuous row of minute stitches. The motif is called a 'hool', which may presumably be a colloquial distortion of the word 'hole'.

Janjira: - This is the name given to the Chain stitch. Usually motifs are outlined by two rows of stitch with line of pechani or a thick taipchi in between. The chain is formed by the interleaving of loops, one growing out of the other.

Apart from the stitches mentioned above, most of which have a more-or-less flat appearance, there are stitches which have a bolder or knottier appearance. They are sometimes known as embossed stitches.

Murri: - It is also known as the rice-shaped knotted stitch. It is actually a very minute satin stitch in which a knot or ward of a pyriform shape is formed over already

outlined taipchi stitches. The size of the embroidered patches so produced is 1/8 or 1/16 of an inch. Murri is mostly classified into two sub-varieties, by the craftsmen and scholars. These sub-varieties are determined by the shape of the motif. When the Murri is elongated, it is known as 'Nukili Murri' and if it is used to fill a blunt edged form, it is known as 'Mundi Murri'. In the former, the stitches are vertical, whereas in the latter, they are somewhat diagonal.

Phanda: - This is the minutest form of Murri stitch measuring about 1/32 of an inch. The knots initially formed by the satin stitch over Taipchi are practically spherical and that is why it has been called as the 'Millet shaped knotted stitch'.

Balda: - When minute stitches are used to fill a motif and are used on the outline as well, a pearl shaped raised area is called 'Balda'. It is basically a modification of the Phanda and is rarely seen in contemporary chikankari. It was more commonly used in earlier days.

Jali: - The 'Jalis' or trellises created in Chikankari are a specialty of this craft. In other centres of embroidery, where 'Jalis' were done on cloth, threads (warp and weft) had to be drawn out. In chikankari, however, no threads are drawn out. The Names of some of the different 'Jali' techniques indicate that they were imported from other centres, where they died out. For instance, Madrasi Jali and Bangla Jali were clearly brought from Madras and Bengal and were probably modified to suit chikankari. Jalis are created by pushing aside warp and weft threads in a fashion that minute openings are created. Some of these openings are held by minute button-holing stitches. There are numerous Jalis. Some of them are Madrasi (Mandrasi), Bangla, Bulbul-Chasma, Chataiya, Set Kherri, Tabar, Chitegul, Makra, Sidhaur, and naming for various stitches.

Materials and Products

The materials used in Chikankari today are many and varied, as dictated by market demand. Originally, Tanzeb and Aab-e-Rawa muslins from Dacca and handwoven silks from Benaras and Bihar were only used. Today, mill made voiles are being used and there is no availability of hand made muslins. These fabrics do not have the same fineness. Because of the commercial demand, and the attempt by traders and government organizations to diversify, fabrics like cambrics, poplin, coloured rubias, handloom silk, khadi etc. have become popular.

The Cycle of Production

In Chikan business, which is an important commercial activity of Lucknow, the shopkeepers and traders, (who are also wholesalers, for the external market) indicate their demands and their particulars to the middleman. Middlemen have entered the industry, because there are various levels at which people are involved and they are scattered all over the city and its suburbs. Often, some traders are also middlemen (it is like a family business, where some members do the job of middlemen, while others look after the selling and marketing. Often the middlemen may own a small business of their own, such as block-printing or tailoring, which are important part of the production cycle. According to the indication of the shopkeepers and traders (based on market demand), the middleman arranges for wholesale cloth bales of the kind and quality required. Often dyeing of fabric has to be done in various colours. The dyed or white fabric now has to be cut in lengths, for the garments or other products that will be embroidered. The middleman either does this himself or gets it done by a tailor, who is also given the job of marking and cutting the cloth into the shapes required for different dresses. The left over pieces of cloth, are used for

other goods such as duchass sets, handkerchiefs etc. Now, the middleman, who knows a number of crafts women, gives out the cut fabric to those of them who are seamstresses, who specialize in hand stitching. Traditionally, 'Kurtas' have always been hand-sewn. Only the neck and the 'button patti' (button strips) of Kurtas are left out by the women. The stitched pieces are now returned to the middleman, who takes them to the block printers. The block printers print the intricate designs so that the embroiderer can follow them with his needle.

Block-making itself is an important craft, and Lucknow has been a well-known centre for designing blocks. The block makers are, in a sense, artists besides being highly skilled in the art of carving and chiseling wooden blocks. While some merely trace out the traditional designs on to the blocks and carve them, there are a few who can create new designs. The block-makers generally use 'sisam' wood which is well-seasoned and oiled. The design on the paper is traced on the block and scratched in with a sharp metal pin. Sometimes, the design may be directly drawn on the block, if the block maker is experienced enough. Once the block is chiselled and carved, it is sand-papered till it is smooth, then soaked, dried and oiled. It is left like this for same time until it is dry and is now ready for use. The blocks last for years despite constant use and contact with glue, dye-stuff and water. In fact, according to the block-printers, they grow better and harder with use. There are numerous block-printing workshops scattered in the old city and usually rates and other arrangements are fixed. There are blocks for sarees, for table-linen, for ladies' and men's kurtas; the block designs are suited to the different styles of embroidery. The printer uses a fugitive chemical dye. This is mixed with glue and soaked into cloth pads on trays. The dye-mixture drains out when the fabric is washed in warm water, although it sticks fast and remains on it for day altogether, when the fabric is being embroidered.

Usually, in a printing workshop, there are several workers who work on a daily wage basis or on a regular monthly wage basis, if they are older.

For the printing, the cloth is spread out on a low table about a foot higher than the floor. The printer lifts the block off the pad-tray and places it on the fabric, bangs it with his fist and moves the fabric to where the next motif is to be printed. The glued dye dries immediately on coming in contact with the fabric. Usually printing is done only in summer and winter months, as the dye does not mix well with the glue in the monsoons and does not dry well on the fabric too. The printed pieces are collected by the middle man, who now takes them to a tailor for 'gala-taabiz', or rounded hemming of the neck portion, and machine stitching of the 'button patti' or the button strip. The dress is now ready for embroidery.

The middleman now allots the dress to craftswomen who either come to him if he has a shop of his own, or he goes to them and gives it in their houses. Time for the embroidered dress to be collected back and payment rates are fixed. After sometime, depending on the amount of work (pieces, quality of embroidery, etc.) the finished pieces are returned to the middleman. By now they have become extremely dirty and have to be made ready for the shops.

There are 'dhobis' or launderers whose main job is laundering of chikan articles. All white articles are washed in hot water. Sometimes, if they are very stained, they have to be heated in a 'Bhatti' - that is - they are put in heating water, over fire. After washing, they are starched heavily and ironed. Coloured articles have to be washed more carefully and only those in pastel coloured voiles and cambrics are starched. Dark coloured articles cannot be easily starched, as the starch shows on the dark background. The chikan business is largely conducted in the old part of the

Lucknow city. There is large concentration of this craft (mainly craftsmen and craftswomen) in the Unnao district which lies on the road between Lucknow and Kanpur.

Design

The source of most of the design motifs in chikankari kurtas, sarees or angarkhas have a very distinct quality that is closely akin to the Moghul motifs that are seen in several places such as the ornamentation of Moghul buildings, like the Taj Mahal, and the monuments of Fatehpur Sikri.⁴⁰ In Chikankari, the popular motif seems to have been a 'Bel' or a creeper. It is generally in straight lines, between two invisible parallels, and is seen around the neck, around cuffs, and hem of garments as also along the button-flaps. Individual motifs like the 'amia' or mango, cone shaped forms, peacocks, flower and leaf forms, bells arranged in simple geometrical grids and stylized forms that may have had their origin in nature are used. If the motifs are small, they are called 'Butis' (size may be half inch by one inch or four inches by six inches or more). The bigger sized motifs are called 'Butas'.

The Living Conditions

There are several acute problems which the majority of the working people face and not much has been done to help them solve these problems. Chikan workers, being relatively poor, have been progressively pushed into the more congested localities in the old city, which reflect the inability of the city to cope with its urban development problems. The workers live in small, dilapidated dwellings with little evidence of normal urban facilities. There is dirt and filth everywhere with seemingly no provision for affective drainage. Most dwellings are 'Kutchas' made of mud walls

and tiled roofs and consist essentially of one living room and a small courtyard. As there are no kitchens, food is normally cooked in the corner of the courtyard. On the days it rains, the cooking is transferred to the one room in which the family lives.

According to a study conducted by the Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies Lucknow (1995), around 67 per cent household depend on hand-pump for drinking water. The tap water supply is available to less than 20 per cent households. In rural areas, nearly 72 per cent households depend on handpumps for water, while 19 per cent take water from the well.⁴¹ Some dwellings have rudimentary and most unhygienic latrines; others do not have even those. Inside, all the houses are dark and dingy with hardly any provision for ventilation. The lack of light inside, even during the day, creates questions about how women are able to do such fine embroidery as chikan work involves. The strain imposed on the eyes takes its toll on the workers, as they either give up the finer type of embroidery or sustain an early damage to their eyes. Their children have bloated bellies, a common symptom of malnutrition. In the study by Institute of Applied Research and Development Studies, Lucknow, (1995), 45 per cent of the respondents were found Anaemic, some of them having severe Anaemia, 34 per cent respondents reported of eye problems and 35 per cent had constant headache problems.⁴² It is really not only a problem of increasing the earnings of the chikan workers, because even with substantially higher earnings, their living conditions would only marginally improve. The dwelling areas or the localities need to be freed of the dirt, congestion and pollution. The problem is therefore, as much of urban development as of securing a better deal in an under paid trade.

The Working Conditions

The majority of the workers are Muslim women who observe 'purdah'. Consequently they can only work in their homes and are subject to a number of pressures. A study conducted by the Giri Institute of Developmental Studies at Lucknow reveals that roughly 92 per cent to 95 per cent of the workers are women. About 70 per cent of them live in the city itself while the rest stay at the suburbs surrounding the city. Because of these and various other conditions, these women are subject to exploitation from the contractors and middlemen. The middlemen who want to get their share of the profits, dictate wages doled out per lot of pieces, or per piece. They seem to have indiscriminate powers to decide the quality of embroidery. They often withhold the payment of workers if finished work is considered as having poor quality of stitches or is not submitted in time. Since there are thousands of working women, there is strong competition and consequently great scope for the middlemen and contractors to keep the wages low and dictate terms and conditions. The overall result is that there is little improvement in the conditions of these women, the quality of work remains poor, and the vicious circle cannot be broken. Since it is in the middlemen's interest to keep the situation as it is, they keep seeking out newer sources of workers in the rural areas around the city. These are economically backward areas and women in these areas are ready to get work at any price. The entry of more people into the business reinforces the competitiveness of the situation.

Because of the abject poverty there is a high preponderance of Child Labour. More than 90 per cent of the girls learn the craft from their mothers and start working at a very early age to increase the family income. But the wages being low, the addition to the income is not substantial. Since the earnings of women are regarded as supplementary to the household income, they are usually willing to work for whatever

wages are offered. They generally come from families in which the husbands are rickshaw pullers, vegetable vendors, labourers, masons etc. There is virtually no co-operative or union. The efforts by several government organisations and NGO's have been able to improve the conditions of only a fraction of these workers. The whole lot of the workers, especially crafts women continue to be exploited by the traders and middlemen.

TABLE 5. AVERAGE RATES AND TIME TAKEN BY THE WORKERS TO COMPLETE DIFFERENT CHIKAN ITEMS (LUCKNOW, NGO's)

Item	Work Activities	Average Rates (Rs.)	Time Taken (In Days)	Rates (Rs)		Time Taken (In Days)	
				Min.	Max.	Min	Max.
Saree	1. Narrow Border Pallu (Bakhia)	75.00	17	60.00	90.00	15	20
	2. Narrow Border Pallu (Phanda)	97.00	20	70.00	125.00	15	25
	3. Broader Border Pallu (Bakhia)	128.00	25	105.00	150.00	20	30
	4. Broader Border Pallu (Phanda)	150.00	27	125.00	175.00	25	30
	5. All Over Jalidar	212.00	35	175.00	250.00	25	45
	6. All Over Tepchi	525.00	50	450.00	600.00	40	60
Ladies Salwar Suits	1. All Over Jali (2 Pcs)	165.00	30	130.00	200.00	25	35
	2. All Over Jali (3 Pcs)	207.00	37	165.00	250.00	30	45
	3. Ordinary Embroidery	112.00	20	100.00	125.00	15	25
	4. Dupatta (Ordinary)	65.00	12	55.00	75.00	8	15
Gents Suits	Codes as per Embroidery Designing						
	1. K-4	10.00	3	9.00	12.00	2	5
	2. K-3	12.00	3	10.00	15.00	2	5
G Kurta	1. Super Fine	102.00	20	80.00	125.00	15	25
	2. Fine with Kangan Keel	19.00	7	18.00	21.00	4	10
	3. Fine	17.00	7	15.00	20.00	4	10
	4. Ordinary	10.00	3	10.00	10.00	2	4
	5. Ordinary (Murri)	11.00	3	9.00	12.00	2	4

Source: A study on Chikan crafts-women in Lucknow and Unnao Districts, U.P. Export Corporation, Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies, Lucknow, 1995.

TABLE 6. AVERAGE RATES PAID AND TIME TAKEN BY THE WORKERS TO COMPLETE DIFFERENT CHIKAN ITEMS (MAHAJAN/CONTRACTORS, LUCKNOW)

Item	Work Activities	Average Rates Rs.	Time Taken in Days	Rates (Rs)		Time Taken (In Days)	
				Min.	Max.	Min.	Max.
Saree	1. Narrow Border Pallu (Bakhia)	65.00	17	40.00	75.00	15	20
	2. Narrow Border Pallu (Phanda)	78.00	19	45.00	110.00	15	20
	3. Broader Border Pallu (Bakhia)	113.00	29	100.00	125.00	20	30
	4. Broader Border Pallu (Phanda)	145.00	30	110.00	160.00	30	30
	5. All Over Jalidar	211.00	40	160.00	200.00	40	40
	6. All Over Tepchi	467.00	50	350.00	525.00	45	60
Ladies Salwar Suits	1. All Over Jali (2 Pcs)	189.00	33	110.00	275.00	30	35
	2. All Over Jali (3 Pcs)	217.00	44	120.00	350.00	40	45
	3. Ordinary Embroidery	84.00	25	60.00	100.00	25	25
	4. Dupatta (Ordinary)	46.15	15	30.00	60.00	15	15
Gents Suits	Codes as per Embroidery Designing						
	1. K-4	9.00	5	5.00	13.00	5	5
	2. K-3	10.00	5	7.00	15.00	5	5
G Kurta	1. Super Fine	87.00	33	50.00	125.00	25	35
	2. Fine with Kangan Keel	20.00	15	17.00	25.00	15	15
	3. Fine	13.00	10	10.00	15.00	8	10
	4. Ordinary	8.00	2	5.00	10.00	1	5
	5. Ordinary (Murri)	7.00	2	4.00	9.00	1	5

Source: A study on Chikan crafts-women in Lucknow and Unnao Districts, U.P. Export Corporation, Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies, Lucknow, 1995.

**TABLE 7. AVERAGE RATES PAID and TIME TAKEN BY THE WORKERS
TO COMPLETE DIFFERENT CHIKAN ITEMS
(U.P. EXPORT CORPORATION)**

Item	Work Activities	Average Rates (Rs.)	Time Taken (in Days)	Rates (Rs)		Time Taken (In Days)	
				Min	Max.	Min.	Max.
Saree	1. Narrow Border Pallu (Bakhia)	55.00					
	2. Narrow Border Pallu (Phanda)	60.00					
	3. Broader Border Pallu (Bakhia)	115.00					
	4. Broader Border Pallu (Phanda)	125.00					
	5. All Over Jalidar	170.00					
	6. All Over Tepchi	450.00					
Ladies Salwar Suits	1. All Over Jali (2 Pcs)	125.00					
	2. All Over Jali (3 Pcs)	160.00					
	3. Ordinary Embroidery	90.00					
	4. Dupatta (Ordinary)	45.00					
Gents Suits	Codes as per Embroidery Designing						
	1. K-4	8.00					
	2. K-3	9.00					
G. Kurta	1. Super Fine	75.00					
	2. Fine with Kangan Keel	24.00					
	3. Fine	12.00					
	4. Ordinary	9.00					
	5. Ordinary (Murri)	8.00					

Source: A study on Chikan crafts-women in Lucknow and Unnao Districts, U.P. Export Corporation, Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies, Lucknow, 1995.

In general, then, the picture is one of poverty, poor wages, exploitation and all these factors reinforce the growing deterioration in the quality of the work. The crass commercialization further makes for articles of poor quality and as such, the true craft of chikankari has degenerated.

For the purpose of skill upgradation, Craft Development Centres (CDCs) have been set up at Kursi, Malihabad and Barabanki. The U.P. Government has also started on Apprentice Training Scheme (ATS). In ATS-A, the NGO's are helped to organize training schemes for craft workers. In ATS-C, skilled master craftsmen are made instructors and the trainees are persons already involved in the craft. Compensation packets have also been introduced to provide incentives to the instructors and trainees. The instructors are paid Rs. 3000 per month whereas the trainees are paid Rs. 250 per month. Yet, very few workers and craftsmen have come forward to join the Training Programme. This can be attributed to the inability of the organizations to effectively inform and convince the craftsmen, along with the ignorance and lack of awareness in the crafts persons themselves. Hence, the struggle for better working environment, better payment and therefore better living conditions still goes on.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Taneja, Nisha and Sharma, Pooja. Handicrafts Exports: Global Trends and Future Prospects, Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations, Westville Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995, p. IX-XII, 1-3.
2. Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi. Indian Handicrafts, for Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1963. p.1
3. Ibid., p.2
4. Ibid., p.3
5. Ibid., p. 5
6. Kathuria, S. Indian Handicrafts Exports : Constraints and Prospects, Tata Mc Graw Hill Publishing Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1988. p.1
7. Ibid., p.2-3
8. Ibid., p. 3.
9. Saraf, D.N., Indian Crafts – Development Potential, Vikas Publishing House Private Limited, New Delhi, 1982. p. 251.
10. Ibid., p. 251
11. Kathuria, S. op. cit., p.4
12. Sanjeet (ed.) Handicrafts India Year Book, including Handlooms, Fashion and Silk (4th Edition), Handicrafts India (Pub.) New Delhi, 1990, p.40
13. Saraf, D.N. op. cit. p.251
14. Ibid., p.252
15. Kathuria, S. op. cit. p.118-120
16. Ibid., p.121
17. Spring '99, Export of Handicrafts: An Overview. Exports Promotion Council for Handicrafts, New Delhi. 1999 .p.8
18. Ibid., p.8
19. Ibid., p.10
20. Mehta, Rustom, J. The Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India. Taraporevala's Treasurehouse of Books , Bombay, 1960. p.106
21. Ibid., p.106
22. Ibid., p.107
23. Chattopadhyaya, K. op. cit. p.43-52

24. Chattopadhyaya, K. Handicrafts of India, for Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Age International Publishers, Wiley Eastern Limited, New Delhi, 1995. p. 53.
25. Hassan, Amir. Palace Culture of Lucknow, Lucknow p. 172-173
26. Morrell, Anne. The Techniques of Indian Embroidery. B.T. Batsford Ltd. London. 1994. p.68-69
27. Irwin, John, and Hall, Margaret. Indian Embroideries. p.186
28. Ibid., p.186
29. Rai, Ashok; and Ranjan, Aditi. Chikankari Embroidery of Lucknow, National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad, 1992. p.6
30. Ibid., p. 7,8.
31. Ibid., p.9
32. Women's Employment in Handicrafts Industry, A Monograph. Indian Council for Social Science Research and Indian Co-operative Union, New Delhi. p.11
33. Ibid., p.12
34. Lucknow Chikan: A Report. U.P. Export Corporation,
35. Study on Chikan Crafts-Women in Lucknow and Unnao Districts, U.P. Export Corporation, Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies, Lucknow, 1995. p.1
36. Ibid., p.2
37. Ibid., p.2
38. Report on Rapid Survey of Chikan Work Artisans in Lucknow Report No. 114, All India Handicrafts Board, 1968
39. Mathur, R.S. Chikan Handicraft of Lucknow. A Technical Report; Giri Institute of Economic Development and Industrial Relations, Lucknow(1974)
40. Rai, A. and Ranjan, A. op. cit. p.44
41. Study on Chikan Crafts, I A S D S, op. cit. p.27
42. Ibid., p.28

CHAPTER III

A PROFILE OF THE CHIKAN WORKERS

Chikan work is a part of almost every Muslim household of Lucknow. While some do it as a hobby or for their own requirements, a lot of others find their daily subsistence in this art. About 99 per cent of the artisans in the craft are women and as many as 95 per cent are Muslims.¹ The “social restrictions” on their easy movement outside domestic environments, ample spare time in between household chores and economic compulsion are mainly responsible for their taking to embroidery as a source of income. The unorganised nature of the Chikan Industry provides a lot of opportunities for exploitation of the workers by the employers, traders and middlemen. Chikan is the culture of Lucknow, a culture of livelihood that passes on from generation to generation. While Lucknow has almost lost a lot of its old culture, etiquette and celebrations, it is the Chikan Industry which has survived to this day and perpetuates the memory of past Lucknow.

We shall first present a profile of the Chikan workers in terms of their age structure, distribution across different processes on the basis of age, gender, education, income etc. This would give insight into their living conditions. The workers get into Chikan work quite early in their lives. The incidence of children actively involved in all the processes is quite high. As a result, quite early in their lives, they are exposed to a lot of physiological, psychological and other problems. Let us first take a look at the age wise distributions of the workers across different processes of work.

TABLE 1 - AGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION IN THE DIFFERENT PROCESSES OF CHIKAN WORK

Age	Stitching		Printing		Embroidery		Washing	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10-20	-	-	5	20.83	26	32.5	1	4.76
20-30	7	28	9	37.5	22	27.5	5	23.81
30-40	6	24	6	25	19	23.75	9	42.86
40-50	9	36	2	8.33	5	6.25	6	28.57
50-60	3	12	1	4.16	6	7.5	-	-
60 >	-	-	1	4.16	2	2.5	-	-
Total	25	16.67	24	16	80	53.33	21	14

Table 1 gives the age groups of the chikan workers across the four types of processes of 'stitching', 'printing', 'embroidery' and 'washing'.

A perusal of the table reveals that the maximum number of workers in stitching are from the age group of 40-50 years, followed by the age group of 20-30 years, and then by that of 30-40 years. There are only three workers in stitching from the age group of 50-60 years. There are, however, no workers from the first and last age groups, that of 10-20 years and 60 and above respectively. In printing, a majority of workers are from the age group of 20-30. This is closely followed by workers in the age group of 30-40 years, and 10-20 years. Two workers fall in the age group of 40-50 and one each in the later age-group of 50-60 and 60 and above. In the category of embroidery the maximum number of workers fall in the age-group of 10-20, followed by those in the age-group of 20-30 and then that of 30-40 years. There are lesser workers in the older age groups and only two in the age-group of 60 and above. In the category of washing, maximum number of workers are in the age-group of 30-40 years, followed by those in the age-group of 40-50 years. There are lesser workers in the age-group of 20-30 years and only one in the youngest age-group of 10-20 years.

This shows that the maximum number of workers fall in the age range of 20-40 years. But exceptionally, the majority of embroidery workers and quite a few printing workers fall in the age group of 10-20 years. This is because young children start learning the work of 'chikankari' from their parents(who are already in this profession), at a very early age. By the time the children reach the age of 13-14 years, they become bread-winners for the family. The long hours of work and absolutely awful working and living conditions take their toll on the health of these workers in a very short span. That is why, even the best of craftspersons are in no condition to continue working when they reach the age of about 55 to 60. Safia Khatun, an old embroidery worker and one of the very few finest of workers knowing the traditional craft of Chikankari, stopped the embroidery work at the age of 57 since she was on the verge of losing her eyesight. To earn her livelihood she now prefers to do the work of stitching curtains and quilt covers rather than the intricate kind of embroidery. It is because of the horrible working and living conditions that the craft of chikan loses its finest of craftsmen.

In term of religion, the chikan workers are by and large, a homogenous group. Most of them are Muslims. As the data from the Deputy Commission (Handicrafts), U.P. indicates 95 per cent of the workforce employed in the Chikan industry are Muslims. The Report on Rapid Survey of Chikan work artisans in Lucknow, All India Handicrafts Board,(1968) provides the same information.² In the booming days of the industry, Chikan work was done by both men and women. The women worked at home while men worked in the '*karkhanas*'. When the market for Chikan began to decline, wages in chikan industry got depressed. Therefore, men found more remunerative options elsewhere and left the craft almost entirely in the hands of women. Today, 95 per cent of the chikan workers are women and 5 per cent men still

in the industry, are involved in tailoring, printing, washing etc. (Development Commissioner Handicrafts, U.P.).

TABLE 2 - GENDER-WISE CLASSIFICATION OF CHIKAN WORKERS ACROSS DIFFERENT PROCESSES

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Stitching</i>	6	24	19	76	25
<i>Printing</i>	24	100	-	-	24
<i>Embroidery</i>	4	5	76	95	80
<i>Washing</i>	21	100	-	-	21
<i>Total</i>	55	36.67	95	63.33	150

Looking at the table, a very clear picture emerges about the genderwise distributions of the Chikan workers of Lucknow. Stitching and embroidery are mainly women dominated fields while printing and washing are male dominated ones. While washing and printing are more or less completely in the hands of males, in stitching and embroidery too, apart from the majority of women, there is some participation by men as well, though, the number is not significant. In the sample taken, there are only males in 'printing and washing'. In stitching, on the other hand, there are 76 per cent females and 24 per cent males. Also in embroidery, there are 95 per cent females and just 5 per cent males. Apart from this, there is another important factor which needs to be considered. Although washing is basically a male dominated field, a lot of females are indirectly involved in it. The wives of all the washermen participate to a great extent in their work. Most of them help their husbands in starching and often take charge of ironing. Along with the worker, his or her family members are generally directly or indirectly involved with the work.

TABLE 3 - EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>		<i>Lower Primary</i>		<i>Upper Primary</i>		<i>High School</i>		<i>Above High School</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Stitching</i>	13	52	7	28	1	4	3	12	1	4	25
<i>Printing</i>	20	83.33	4	16.67	-	-	-	-	-	-	24
<i>Embroidery</i>	45	56.25	21	26.25	7	8.75	7	8.75	-	-	80
<i>Washing</i>	13	61.91	5	23.81	3	14.28	-	-	-	-	21
<i>Total</i>	91	60.67	37	24.61	11	7.33	10	6.67	1	0.66	150

In all developing nations including India, there are many constraints which come in the way of achieving the educational requirements of the general population. Poverty and the consequent neglect of education for want of more earners in the family are factors which contribute to early entry into the work force. The most obvious observation from Table 3 is that out of the sample of 150, 91 workers are illiterate. The highest percentage of illiterate workers are in 'printing' (83.3 per cent) followed by those in 'washing' (61.91 per cent). Among the 'embroidery' workers 56.25 per cent and among the 'stitching' workers 52 per cent are illiterate. Few workers have completed their lower primary education and still lesser workers have done their upper primary and high school education. There is, however, just one worker who has studied beyond high school.

Although their parents are aware of the importance of education, yet they cannot send their children to school for various reasons. Poverty was stated by many as the main cause for not sending the children to school. They could not afford educating their children. Regarding school dropouts, the main reason stated was that the girls belonged to the Muslim community where there is a very strict 'purdah system'. On attaining teenage, the girls are made to observe 'purdah'. Therefore, their parents keep the girls at home rather than sending them to school. Their parents

prefer that the girls do Chikan work and add to the family income, rather than sitting idle at home. Though some of the families are now getting liberal enough to send their girl to work at one of the Government Chikan Production Centres, if it is nearby. The boys are expected to start earning quite early, so, they, either do not go to school at all, or if they do, they drop out by the time they reach the fourth or fifth standard. In most of the Muslim families, it is considered mandatory for the boys to receive some religious instructions (*Din-e-Islam*) at the 'Madarsa' (Islamic Educational Institution). There is, as the table shows, a higher level of dropout after lower primary, rather than after upper primary.

TABLE 4 - MARITAL STATUS OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Unmarried</i>		<i>Married</i>		<i>Separated</i>		<i>Widowed</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	5	20	19	76	-	-	1	4
<i>Printing</i>	10	41.69	12	50	1	4.16	1	4.16
<i>Embroidery</i>	23	28.75	50	62.3	3	3.75	4	5
<i>Washing</i>	3	14.28	18	85.71	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	41	27.33	99	66	4	2.67	6	4

An examination of the table reveals that most of the workers are married in all the four processes of chikan work. In comparison to the married workers, the number of separated and widowed workers is quite low. Unmarried workers are relatively higher in number across the four processes. On the whole, the unmarried workers equal to almost half of the married ones. The unmarried workers are young boys and girls, most of them in their early teenage, who started working quite early in their lives.

Only the female workers reported cases of separation. The situation generally arises when their husbands abandon them and live with or marry some other woman. In such cases, apart from other responsibilities, even the earnings pose a great

problem for these women. Though they knew the art of 'chikan' since their childhood, two of the three separated women(embroidery workers) in the sample started earning only after their husbands abandoned them. In such households, since the income is quite less, as soon as the children are of age, they are engaged into the work in order to supplement the family income. The education of children can hardly be paid attention to when they are not even able to manage two square meals a day. A similar trend of children getting early into earning is observed in families with widowed women. Apart from this, the utter poverty, even in the normal families, often leads children to start working at an early age.

TABLE 5 - EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSES OF THE WORKERS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>		<i>Lower Primary</i>		<i>Upper Primary</i>		<i>High School</i>		<i>Above High School</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Stitching</i>	3	12	5	20	6	24	4	16	2	8	20
<i>Printing</i>	8	33.33	5	20.83	1	4.16	-	-	-	-	14
<i>Embroidery</i>	19	23.75	23	28.75	14	17.5	1	1.25	-	-	57
<i>Washing</i>	14	66.67	4	19.05	-	-	-	-	-	-	18
<i>Total</i>	44	40.37	37	33.94	21	19.27	5	4.58	2	1.84	109

Table 5 reveals that out of the 109 married workers in a sample of 150, the spouses of 44 workers are illiterate. The incidence of illiteracy is much higher among the spouses of washermen and printers than in the other two processes of stitching and embroidery. Since washing and printing are male dominated areas, hence, it becomes clear that illiteracy is much higher among females as compared to males. On the whole, the spouses of 37 workers(across all processes) are educated till lower primary. The spouses of comparatively lesser number of workers have had their education till the upper-primary and even lesser(only 5) have studied till high-school. The spouses of only two female stitching workers have studied above the high school

level. Thus, the table clearly brings out gender differences in the educational levels. Though even the male educational level is not so high, considering the fact that even the men who are educated, hardly go beyond lower primary or upper primary. Yet, males are at a better level of literacy as compared to females. The 1991 census reports that in Lucknow district, the literacy of males is 55.72 per cent and that of females is only 38.5 per cent.

TABLE 6 – OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF SPOUSES OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type of Workers</i>	<i>Chikan</i>		<i>Vegetable Vendor</i>		<i>Repair Work</i>		<i>Household Helper</i>		<i>Other</i>		<i>No Job</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	1	4	3	12	7	28	-	-	7	35	2	10
<i>Printing</i>	6	25	2	8.33	-	-	4	16.67	2	8.33	-	-
<i>Embroidery</i>	8	10	13	16.25	18	22.5	2	2.5	11	19.29	5	8.77
<i>Washing</i>	14	66.67	--	-	-	-	3	14.28	1	4.76	-	-
<i>Total</i>	29	26.61	18	16.51	25	22.94	9	8.26	21	19.26	7	6.42

The table reveals that the spouses of chikan workers are largely involved with 'chikan', though this tendency is more clearly evident with the spouses of washermen. As mentioned earlier, the wives of these washermen participate to a marked extent in their work, especially in the starching and ironing of clothes. Other occupations which the spouses of these workers take up are that of repair work, selling vegetables, or working as a household helper. Also some of them make signboards, some work as private watchman, some others sell cheap cosmetics in the weekly markets at nearby villages, etc. Some women, wives of chikan craftsmen work as domestic helpers or maid servants in nearby houses. Apart from this, in all, the spouses of seven workers, two in 'stitching' and five in 'embroidery', are not working, the reasons being either diseases or old age. In some families, apart from both the husband and wife, even the children earn; still their economic conditions are far from satisfactory.

TABLE 7 – MONTHLY INCOME AND OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

Type of Work	>100		100-200		200-300		300-400		400-500		500 and >		Other Sources of Income	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Stitching	-	-	1	4	2	8	5	20	7	28	10	40	2	8
Printing	7	29.17	10	41.67	5	20.83	2	8.33	-	-	-	-	3	12.5
Embroidery	9	11.25	21	26.25	8	10	21	26.25	20	25	1	1.25	21	26.25
Washing	-	-	2	9.52	5	23.81	3	14.28	8	38.09	3	14.28	2	9.52
Total	16	10.67	34	22.62	20	13.33	31	20.67	35	23.33	14	9.33	28	18.33

The economic conditions of the workers are very bad mainly because they are paid such meagre sums of money which are extremely insufficient for them. A few chikan embroidery workers who are young are paid as less as Rs. 100 per month when they work a minimum of eight hours a day. This is the name of training; 'since they are new to work and they are still learning, they are paid less amount till they learn the work properly'. Even after they have learnt the work, their income does not go beyond Rs. 200 per month. It is only after years of toiling in the same exploitative environment, that gradually their income increase to something around Rs. 500-600 per month. Apart from them, only very few of the extraordinarily efficient craftspersons are able to earn about Rs. 800 to 1000 per month. A study conducted by the Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies, Lucknow (1995) reveals that 35.1 per cent of the chikan craft households have a monthly income of Rs. 501-1000; 26 per cent of the households have a monthly income or Rs. 1001-1500. 43 per cent of the households can earn only about Rs. 500 per month. Very few households have a monthly income beyond Rs. 2000 per month. This whole process is quite clearly evident in Table 7. There are very few workers who are paid Rs. 500 and above per month. Only a few workers in 'stitching' and 'embroidery' respectively fall in this category. The workers getting the low income of Rs. 100 per month are

also less, but that could be because there are fewer young and new workers in the sample (Table 1). Probably, a larger sample of young and new workers would bring out this fact more appropriately. Most of the workers are paid something between Rs. 100 to 400 per month depending upon the clarity and intricacy of their work, which comes from years of experience. Also a worker who has knowledge of more stitches in 'embroidery' can earn more.

The workers in 'stitching' are paid relatively high. The highest paid worker in the sample is a stitching worker who earns Rs. 950 per month. The table also points out to the high level of differences among the workers in terms of their monthly income. Even after toiling so hard, they are not able to manage their meals, so they have to rely on additional sources of income, if any. Still only 18.66 per cent of these workers have other sources of income, which are stitching clothes, working as housemaids or domestic helpers, rent from their houses (in case of workers who own a house, usually, ancestral). Most of the women who do chikan embroidery at home, also work as housemaids in nearby houses. Of those workers, who have an additional source of income, embroidery workers are maximum.

TABLE 8 – LIABILITIES OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type Of Work</i>	<i>Need To Borrow</i>				<i>Debts</i>				<i>To Whom</i>							
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Shop-Keepers</i>		<i>Relatives</i>		<i>Friends</i>		<i>Neighbours</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	22	88	3	12	21	84	4	16	11	44	4	16	6	24	-	-
<i>Printing</i>	21	87.5	3	12.5	21	87.5	3	12.5	12	62.5	1	4.17	5	20.83	-	-
<i>Embroidery</i>	72	90	8	10	70	87.5	10	12.5	41	51.25	12	15	14	17.5	3	3.75
<i>Washing</i>	17	80.95	4	19.05	16	76.19	5	23.5	14	66.67	-	-	2	9.52	-	-
<i>Total</i>	132	88	18	12	128	85.33	22	14.67	81	54	17	11.33	27	18	3	2

It is very obvious that it is not possible for the chikan workers to sustain themselves on whatever meagre amount they are able to earn. Since their incomes, and also those of their spouses and other earning members, if any, are highly insufficient, they borrow money to fulfil their very basic needs. Very few workers in the different processes are able to manage without taking money on debt, perhaps because their total family income (including the other sources of income) is comparatively better. A majority of the workers (almost 90 per cent) need to borrow money only to provide two square meals to their family members. Almost all of them are constantly under debt, and instead of paying back the debts, their burden goes on increasing. This trend is seen across all the different groups of workers.

Apart from this, at times, emergency expenditures, like some family member's sudden illness or other tragedies also increase their liabilities. In such cases, they often require a large sum of money immediately. Therefore, they usually take debts even if they get it at a very high rate of interest. For instance- the case study of Mehsar Jaha, an embroidery worker reveals that she had to borrow Rs. 2000 from one of her employees (where, despite the chikan work, she works as a maid servant) when her son had suffered from gastroenteritis a year ago. Mehsar is a widow. She had two operations a few years ago, one of the small intestine and another of the gall bladder. At that time, her husband had borrowed huge sums of money from a shopkeeper nearby. Since, their daily substance is hardly manageable, they have never been able to repay even some amount of her debts. Similarly, Shanno, another craftswoman reported of having a debt of Rs. 8500 to one of her distant relatives. Maximum numbers of workers are indebted to shopkeepers. They also borrow money from relatives, friends and neighbors. But indebtedness to relatives and neighbours is

comparatively lesser. Some workers even reported of borrowing money in order to marry their children. Hence, apart from their daily subsistence, they have several other reasons to borrow exorbitantly. As a result, they are constantly indebted.

TABLE 9 - HOUSING PATTERNS OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Own House</i>				<i>Kutchra</i>		<i>Semi-Pucca</i>		<i>Pucca</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>						
<i>Stitching</i>	4	16	21	84	3	12	18	72	4	16
<i>Printing</i>	5	20.83	19	79.14	7	29.16	15	62.5	2	8.33
<i>Embroidery</i>	14	17.5	66	82.5	31	38.75	44	55	5	6.25
<i>Washing</i>	3	14.28	18	85.71	2	9.52	19	90.47	-	-
<i>Total</i>	26	17.33	124	82.67	43	28.67	96	64	11	7.33

The above data reveal that a large majority of workers (82.66 per cent) do not own a house at all. Most of them live in huts and temporary houses made on others/unauthorised land or in slums. A very few better off workers live in houses on rent, where their parents or grandparents came to live years ago. Most of the people who do not own their houses live in the 'kutchra' and 'semi pucca' houses, with thatched roofs covered with thin plastic sheets as a preventive measure from the rain. The walls are erected with the help of bricks and mud. The floor is made by sprinkling water consistently settling the mud till it is hard.

For the few workers who own their houses, they are an inherited ancestral property. Some of them own semi-pucca houses, whereas very few others own pucca houses. Since they do not have a proper income, some of these workers manage to stay in just one room and give the remaining portion of the house (usually a room) on rent. This complements their family income. The houses of most of the workers are in a dilapidated condition, but lack of money prevents them from getting them repaired. One of the respondents reported that while they were living in a slum on an

unauthorised land, the owner of the land demanded them to vacate it. So, they had to shift their dwellings. In doing so, the respondent, along with several other workers had to miss a day's work and also, therefore, a day's earnings.

TABLE 10 - AVAILABILITY OF SANITARY FACILITIES

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Yes</i>		<i>No</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Stitching</i>	11	44	14	56	25
<i>Printing</i>	8	33.33	16	66.67	24
<i>Embroidery</i>	27	33.75	53	66.25	80
<i>Washing</i>	9	42.86	12	57.14	21
<i>Total</i>	55	36.67	95	63.33	150

Most of the workers' houses (63.33 per cent) do not have sanitary facilities. Only the remaining 36.67 per cent workers have sanitary facilities in their houses. Those who do not have sanitary facilities, usually go out in the open. Often, some such houses pool in to get a common toilet made. A few respondents reported doing the same. These are service latrines which are cleaned up by a daily visiting sweeper, whom they all pay jointly. Also, there is a highly inadequate drainage system, due to which water clogging often takes place, so much so, that in the rains the water tends to enter their houses. In wake of such insanitary conditions, it is hardly surprising that the workers are vulnerable to various health problems.

A Profile of Chikan Workers - Chikan work is a tradition passing on in every Muslim household of Lucknow, from generation to generation. 95 per cent of the total workforce employed in the chikan industry comprises of Muslims. Though they start working at a very young age. Most of the workers fall in the age range of 15-55 years. The highly inadequate working and living conditions make it impossible for the workers to continue working beyond 50-55 years of age. Traditionally, a field dominated by males, females, now contribute to 99 per cent of the workforce in the

chikan industry. Though, washing and printing are still domains of men. Most of the chikan workers are illiterate, some of them have had the primary education and very few have studied till high school. Again maximum number of workers are married. The incidence of divorce and separation is quite low. The educational level of the spouses of the chikan workers is far from satisfactory. Often even the spouses of chikan workers are largely involved with 'chikan'. Apart from this, the other occupations taken up include those of vegetables vendor, repair work, household helper, etc. The earnings of the chikan workers are extremely insufficient, hence they have to depend heavily on borrowed money, even for bare subsistence. Very few of them live in slums established on unauthorised lands, where there is no provision for sanitation. Improper sanitary conditions lead to a higher frequency and magnitude of diseases and illnesses.

Along with the inappropriate and insanitary living conditions, the factors related to work, long, improper working hours, wrong postures and location of work, availability of work, etc. all leave a long lasting impact on the life and health of the workers.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Women's Employment in Handicrafts Industry: A Manograph. ICSSR. p.4-9.
2. The Report in Rapid Survey of Chikan work artisans in Lucknow: All India Handicrafts Board, 1968.

CHAPTER IV

WORKING CONDITIONS

AND HEALTH OF

CHIKAN WORKERS

The expansion and growth of both the organised and unorganised sectors has been more or less simultaneous as far as the garment industry is concerned. However, a large segment of the activities is confined to the ever increasing unorganised sector. A noteworthy feature is that the production process is fragmented and is mainly organised in decentralised units. In the process, the organised sector, unorganises itself and transfers part of the production process to the decentralised unorganised sector, with a view to exploit the cheap labour, to avoid wage hike pressures of trade unions, and to escape governmental regulatory provision.¹ The Indian garment industry owes its growth to the 'big business', who, in their efforts to reap super normal profits, have been operating in the domestic as well as the export sector by practicing wage-exploitation, particularly of the home-based workers, either directly or through a chain of intermediaries. The labour market which these workers face is unregulated with freedom of entry. These workers, finding barriers to the entry to the organised sector (which has standard norms and formalised recruiting procedures), join the unorganised labour force as piece rate workers. Consequently, the burden of the surplus labour falls on the unorganised sector, leading to a situation of underemployment and depressed wages.

The adverse and despicable working conditions under which these workers are destined to work not only reflect the seasonal variations in their employment, but also have a bearing on their production and productivity. These two factors have a combined effect on the total level of wages. In this sense, the working conditions of the workers attain great significance.

In the previous chapter, the living conditions and personal characteristics of the workers were discussed, which would form an essential backdrop for

understanding the working. It would, thereby provide an overall life pattern of the chikan workers. In this chapter, a health profile of the workers is presented apart from studying the work-related variables.

The factors affecting the health of these workers are of two types. First, there are health problems to which the workers are exposed because of the nature of their work. Secondly, they are also exposed to certain environmental, social and biological factors together with the poor economic conditions which take a toll on their health. The approach in this chapter would be to evolve a general picture of the health problems directly or indirectly related to the working condition. This would involve a detailed analysis of the working conditions including the location of workplace, working pattern, availability of work etc. along with a study of the perceived health problems, their duration and magnitude, the steps taken by the workers to cope with them and the expenditure incurred in the medicines.

ANALYSIS OF WORKING CONDITIONS

The Chikan Industry involves four major processes. On the basis of their activities four types of Chikan workers can be identified. The processes are: -

- (a) Cutting the cloth at units of large scale contractors who buy the same at wholesale rates. Sewing into various popular items of consumption such as 'Kurtas', 'Suits', 'Sarees', 'Table Cloths', 'Luncheon Mats', 'Caps', traditional garments such as 'angarkhas' (long loose top garment worn by men).etc.
- (b) Embossing of designs on wooden blocks and then block-printing the desired motifs on the cloth or garment.

- (c) Embroidering the motifs and designs printed with a particular combination of stitches, styles and patterns.
- (d) Washing of finished chikan goods, a specialised skill, in which only some washerman are adept. Starching the clothes heavily and ironing them before sending back to the contractor, from where, the product reaches to the traders, in the market.

Hence, in the sample, there are 25 workers who are involved in the process of stitching, 24, who are involved in embossing the designs on wooden blocks and then printing them on the cloth, 80 workers, most of them women, involved in embroidering the various types of garments, and 21 workers who specialise in washing, starching and ironing of the finished chikan goods.

TABLE 1 - LOCATION OF WORK PLACE

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Own House</i>		<i>Workshop</i>		<i>Production Centre</i>		<i>River Bank</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	6	24	12	48	7	28	-	-
<i>Printing</i>	-	-	24	100	-	-	-	-
<i>Embroidery</i>	35	43.75	12	15	33	41.25	-	-
<i>Washing</i>	17	80.95	-	-	-	-	21	100
<i>Total</i>	58	38.66	48	32	40	26.66	21	14

*Washerman work at home as well as on river bank, because of the nature of their work.

Most of the workers involved in the process of stitching (48 per cent.) work in the workshops. Out of the 25 workers in this category, 7 work in the production centres and 6 work in their own houses. The workshops where these people work are generally owned by businessmen and traders, who purchase the cloth and make all the necessary investments. They have workers employed in different sections of their

workshops for different kinds of processes. Those workers, who, due to their own responsibilities or circumstances are not able to work at the workshops, carry the work at their respective homes. Still others work at the Government Chikan Production Centres (CGPC). The payment made to workers working at home and at the production centres is definitely less as compared to the payments made at workshops. Among workshops, those which are meant to manufacture mainly export goods pay comparatively better to their workers, since the kind of work done is of a better quality as compared to that done for the domestic markets. The carving and embossing of the designs on the wooden block and then, the printing of these designs on the fabric is done in special 'chapakhana's or workshops meant exclusively for printing work. It is from here, after printing, that the clothes are sent to the production centres or to the workshops for the workers to embroider them. Since printing is done only in the workshops or 'chapakhana's, all the 24 printers in the sample work in the workshops only.

In case of embroidery, the table shows that a large number of women work in their own houses as well as in the production centres (43.75 per cent and 41.25 per cent respectively). Very few women work at the workshop. The women who have responsibilities at home, like taking care of young children and those who observe 'purdah' do not go out for work. They prefer to earn staying confined to the four walls of their houses. The proportion of such women, as is evident from the table is quite high (43.75 per cent).

The workers involved in washing work at their own houses as well as at the river banks. All the washermen have their washing stones at the river banks, where they wash the clothes. The clothes which become very dirty in the process of

embroidery, usually white, are even kept in boiling water over the fire, before washing. After the clothes are starched and dried, the ironing is usually done by them at their own houses. Some washermen have their ironing sheds somewhere nearby the river. Thus, all the 21 washerman in the sample, work at the river bank, and 17 of them also work at home (i.e. ironing of clothes).

Thus, the maximum number of workers in the sample work at their own house (38.66 per cent). This is the characteristic feature of an unorganised sector industry like 'Chikan'.

TABLE 2 - POSTURE ADOPTED DURING WORK

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Sitting on Chair</i>		<i>Sitting on Ground or Cot</i>		<i>Standing</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	19	76	6	24	-	-
<i>Printing</i>	-	-	24	100	-	-
<i>Embroidery</i>	-	-	80	100	-	-
<i>Washing</i>	-	-	-	-	21	100
<i>Total</i>	19	12.67	110	73.33	21	14

The different kinds of activities and processes of the chikan industry require the workers to adopt specific postures. If the workers are required to stitch the clothes, they have to sit either on the chair or on the ground, depending on the type of sewing machine.

The making of block for printing also requires the workers to sit on the ground. After the embossing, printing is also done in a sitting posture. As already mentioned in chapter 2, the cloth is spread at a table, a little higher than the ground, and design is block printed on it. A certain amount of pressure is given with the bang of the first on the block, for the print to come clear on the cloth.

The embroidery workers have to adopt a specific posture while embroidering. They sit on the ground, while one knee is drawn up to provide support to the hand which is holding the piece to be embroidered. This is done in order that the hand does not shake while embroidering.

In washing, all the work, that is, washing, starching, ironing are required to be done in a standing posture. The pathetic condition is that while washing, the washermen are required to stand in the knee high river water for hours altogether. This naturally, exposes them to several skin allergies and diseases; their feet almost get rotten. Munawwar, a washerman reported that since they use strong soaps and chemicals for washing the clothes, the skin of their hands and feet rots. Munawwar, now uses rubber gloves for his hands. But, his feet still have deep cracks, sometimes so deep that they bleed. He says that this happens so often that he does not feel the need to visit a doctor everytime. Washermen have their own indigenous method of 'treating' it. They rub a ripe banana on the affected area, and do not go to work the next day. The wounds heal over a period of 24 hours and then, they start working again. Another washerman, Shamshad, complained of blisters and white patches on the skin, accompanied by a severe itching. He said that he takes medication for it, but, doing the same work again does not prevent him from further infections. In the other three processes the workers are more vulnerable to bodyaches, headaches and digestive problems. This will be discussed later in the chapter.

~~A perusal of Table 2 reveals that all the workers involved in stitching, printing and embroidery are required to do their work sitting, whereas the washermen are required to stand while working. Irrespective of whether they are sitting or standing, all the workers have to keep their heads bent for long hours while working. That is why spondylitis and other back aches are among the commonly reported problems.~~

TABLE 3 - WORKING PATTERN OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Working Hours in a Day</i>								<i>Work -- Week</i>			
	<i>> 6 Hrs</i>		<i>6 - 7 Hrs.</i>		<i>7 - 8 Hrs.</i>		<i>8 & > Hrs</i>		<i>7 Days</i>		<i>6 Days</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	2	8	4	16	13	52	5	20	14	56	11	44
<i>Printing</i>	-	-	-	-	15	62.5	9	37.5	3	12.5	21	87.5
<i>Embroidery</i>	5	6.25	27	33.75	38	47.5	10	12.5	64	80	16	20
<i>Washing</i>	-	-	2	9.52	12	57.14	7	33.33	21	100	-	-
<i>Total</i>	7	4.67	33	22	78	52	31	20.67	102	68	48	32

The working pattern of the chikan workers include the working hours in a day and also the work-week. The data in Table 3 points out that the maximum number of workers, irrespective of their type of work, put in 7-8 hours of labour each day. They include, apart from those who work at home, the workers who work either at the production centres or at the workshops. Their timings are usually from 9 in the morning to 5 in the evening. But, they are often required to work overtime for an hour or two. Sometimes, the women who do stitching and embroidery work at the centre, or the workshop, take up other private work to add to the family's income. The data clearly shows that among the embroidery workers, 33.75 per cent work 6-7 hours a day while very few women work less than 6 hours. In printing and washing, the workers usually work for 7 hours or more in a day. Regarding the work-week, most of the workers (68 per cent work on all the 7 days in a week. Only 32 per cent of the workers get a day off from work per week.

TABLE 4 – AVAILABILITY OF WORK IN A YEAR

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>9-10 Months</i>		<i>11 Months</i>		<i>12 Months</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	5	20	12	48	8	32
<i>Printing</i>	11	45.33	12	50	1	4.16
<i>Embroidery</i>	59	73.75	17	21.25	4	5
<i>Washing</i>	19	90.47	2	9.52	-	-
<i>Total</i>	94	62.67	43	28.67	13	8.67

Chikan work is based, to a marked extent, on the seasons. Work is mostly available for only 9-10 month in a year. During the monsoon season, the availability of work is very less. Although the stitching of clothes does take place during the monsoons, but due to several reasons, the Chikan Industry comes almost to a stand still during this time. The workers who live in highly improvident and unsanitary

conditions often face problems in maintaining the clothes. The women who work at home find it difficult to protect the garments from being spoiled. Shanno, an embroidery work reported that if the cloth gets spoiled in the rain or due to any other reason, the contractor deducts their payment by half, saying that since the cloth is spoilt, it will be sold for less price. Also washing and starching of clothes on such a large scale is not possible during the rains. It is obvious from Table 4 that the maximum number of workers (62.67 per cent) reported the availability of work only for 9-10 months in a year. Work is available for 11 months or round the year only for those workers whose work is not much affected by the rain, such as those involved in stitching.

TABLE 5 - NUMBER OF YEARS IN CHIKAN WORK

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>0-5</i>		<i>5-10</i>		<i>10-15</i>		<i>15-20</i>		<i>20 & above</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	4	16	6	24	8	32	32	12	4	16
<i>Printing</i>	5	20.8	9	37.5	4	16.6	3	12.5	3	12.5
<i>Embroidery</i>	22	27.5	13	16.25	21	26.25	18	22.5	6	7.5
<i>Washing</i>	-	-	1	4.76	4	19.04	8	38.09	8	38.09
<i>Total</i>	31	20.67	29	19.33	37	24.67	32	21.33	21	14

The number of years in doing chikan work have been considered since that gives some idea about the duration for which the workers have been exposed to the work related problems. In the sample, the maximum number of workers have been working for about 10-20 years (24.64 per cent). Closely following are the workers who have been working for five years, and then those who have been working for 5-10 years. These two categories include teenagers who start working at a very young age. The number of workers who have been working for 20 years or more is comparatively less.

TABLE 6 - PERCEIVED HEALTH PROBLEMS OF CHIKAN WORKERS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Digestive Problems</i>		<i>Bodyache</i>		<i>Skin Allergies</i>		<i>Headache</i>		<i>Eye Problems</i>		<i>Spondylitis</i>		<i>Anaemic Symptoms</i>		<i>Respiratory Problems</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	12	48	13	52	-	-	11	44	16	64	17	68	2	8	3	12
<i>Printing</i>	6	25.0	11	45.8	8	33.33	9	37.5	5	20.8	18	75	1	4.83	5	20.8
<i>Embroidery</i>	67	83.75	22	27.5	13	16.25	61	76.25	77	96.25	59	73.75	13	16.25	16	20
<i>Washing</i>	3	14.3	10	47.61	21	100	15	71.4	3	14.2	15	71.48	-	-	18	85.7
<i>Total</i>	88	58.67	56	37.33	42	28	96	64	101	67.33	109	72.67	16	10.66	42	28

The perceived health problems can either be work related problems or general health problems. The data on perceived health problems reveal that maximum number of workers in stitching suffer from spondylitis, eye problems, bodyache and digestive problems and headache. In printing too, spondylitis, body aches, and headaches are among the most often reported health problems. The printers also reported suffering from skin allergies and digestive problems. Among the embroidery workers, the most prominent health problems perceived are eye problems (96.25 per cent), digestive problem (33.75 per cent), headache, spondylitis etc. Other health problems from which the embroidery workers suffer are bodyaches, skin allergies, respiratory problem. Some of the women workers also reported anaemic symptoms. All the 21 washerman in the sample reported of suffering from skin allergies more than once. Other health problems most common among the washerman are respiratory problems, spondilitis, headaches etc. This, therefore, makes clear that the nature of work of these workers has made them vulnerable to certain specific types of health problems and diseases. The number of years for which they have been working also makes them more and more prone to several health problems. Therefore, as the number of years in the work increase, the magnitude of the problem also tends to increase. Here we would also take a look at the duration of some of these health problems.

TABLE 7-- DURATION OF HEALTH PROBLEMS

<i>Types Of Problems</i>	<i>0-5 Years</i>	<i>5-10 Years</i>	<i>10-15 Years</i>	<i>15-20 Years</i>	<i>20-25 Years</i>
<i>Digestive Problems</i>	16	25	12	19	14
<i>Eye Problems</i>	27	33	27	8	6
<i>Spondylitis</i>	17	28	33	21	7
<i>Headache</i>	11	23	17	9	6
<i>Bodyache</i>	17	19	21	18	13
<i>Allergies (Skin And Respiratory)</i>	9	14	16	13	7
<i>Total</i>	97	142	126	88	53

It is clear from the table that a majority of workers have been suffering from the health problems for a period of 5-10 years. A lot of workers also fall in the category of 10-15 years. A lot of workers have been suffering from the health problems for 5 years or less. This could be an indicator of the fact that as soon as they start working, the impact of it tells on their health. It is the monotonous nature of their work, and the posture adopted during work, among other things, that often takes the toll on their health.

TABLE 8 - CONSULTATION FOR HEALTH PROBLEMS

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Government Hospital</i>		<i>Private Clinics/ Hospitals</i>		<i>Other Means</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	11	44	12	48	2	8
<i>Printing</i>	13	54.16	11	45.83	-	-
<i>Embroidery</i>	49	61.25	27	33.75	4	5
<i>Washing</i>	10	47.61	11	52.38	-	-
<i>Total</i>	83	55.33	61	40.67	6	4

It is evident from table 8 that 55.33 per cent of workers seek medical help from the government hospital. Though the number of those seeking help from private practitioners and private hospitals is not quite low. 40.67 per cent of workers prefer to go to the private practitioners. Very few workers opt for homeopathy or indigenous methods to seek a cure for their problems. Some of them also go to the Medical College to seek medical help. Most of them prefer going either to the Government Hospital or to the nearby private consultant only because they don't have to travel a long distance for that. Those who prefer going to the government hospitals, do so in order that they don't have to pay. They find that the services in government hospitals are not satisfactory and that they have to wait for long hours. Among those consulting

the private practitioners, there are several such workers who, earlier used to visit the government hospitals but because of inappropriate services and wastage of time they started consulting the nearby private practitioners.

Mohd. Israr, an artisan, says that his family has more faith on private doctors than the government hospitals. They go more often to private clinics than to Government Hospitals. Israr says that it takes a lot of time and patience to stand in the long queue, and then the doctors do not even do a proper check up.

Rukaiya Bano narrated an incident – when her daughter suffered from diarrhoea for the third time, a neighbour of hers took them to the private doctor, whose treatment she found more effective as compared to the government hospital. Some other carry out their own home remedies for cure. Some workers admitted of consulting quacks once or more, but finally sought medical help form private or government hospitals.

TABLE 9 - PERCEPTION OF SERVICE IN GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS

<i>Type Of Work</i>	<i>Long Wait For Help</i>		<i>Improper Attention</i>		<i>Medicines Not Available</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Stitching</i>	22	88	21	84	22	88
<i>Printing</i>	22	91.6	20	83.3	22	91.6
<i>Embroidery</i>	76	95	72	90	78	97.5
<i>Washing</i>	21	100	18	85.71	20	95.23
<i>Total</i>	141	94	131	87.33	142	94.67

Perceptions about the services of government hospitals were sought from all workers, irrespective of whether they visited the Government Hospital or not. All the workers were of the opinion that they had to wait for long hours in the queue. They also felt that the doctors in the government hospitals do not pay proper attention to the

symptoms of the patient. They give only the prescriptions; the medicines are almost never available. They have to purchase medicines from the market.

These workers who depend on their daily work for their earnings, miss one whole day of work, if they go to the government hospital. This means, missing a day's wages. Then, they also have to purchase medicines from the market. Due to these reasons, while some switch on to private practitioners, some others have not other alternative but to seek whatever medical help is available at the government hospitals.

TABLE 10 - SOURCE OF MEDICINE AND RELATED EXPENDITURE

Type of Work	Source				Expenditure							
	Medical Shop		Hospitals		50-100		100-150		150-200		200-250	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stitching	21	84	4	16	8	32	13	52	3	12	1	4
Printing	22	91.67	2	8.33	12	50	7	29.16	5	20.83	-	-
Embroidery	68	85	12	15	39	48.75	35	43.75	6	7.5	-	-
Washing	17	80.9	4	19.04	10	47.6	8	38.09	3	14.25	-	-
Total	128	85.33	22	14.67	69	46	63	42	17	11.33	1	0.66

An analysis of Table 10 reveals that a majority of workers, 85.33 per cent purchase their medicines from a medical shop. These include those workers who consult the private practitioner and also those who consult at the government hospital, but do not get the medicines there. On the whole, only 14.67 per cent of workers reported of generally obtaining medicines from the government hospital.

From the sample, a maximum number of workers spend about Rs. 50-100 per month on their medicines, 42 per cent spend Rs. 100-150 per month on medicines. Fewer workers medical expenditures rise beyond Rs. 150 and only one worker reported of spending more than Rs. 200 per month for this purpose. Considering the fact that the earnings of these workers are very low, they have to spend a substantial amount of what they earn, on their medicines. Often, they stop taking medicines, as

soon as there is some initial relief in order to save expenditure. Some workers reported of borrowing medicines for minor illnesses, aches and eye problems from their employers. It is likely that these medicines have crossed their expiry dates or, are not even appropriate for the illness. Still, in order to save their expenditure, they borrow medicines

With the meagre income that is not even sufficient to provide them with two square meals a day, it is not possible for the workers to manage their medical expenses as well. Therefore, they borrow exorbitantly from relatives, neighbours and friends.

Conclusion - The above analysis given an idea of the workforce which is unorganised and does not have any access to social security. Their employment is unprotected, their wages are extremely low and a large section of them live under conditions below the poverty line. Working in highly unhygienic and adverse conditions, these workers have never been able to improve upon their immeasurably dilapidated lives. This has several implications for their health, as well as for their future generations. The despicable working conditions and the postures adopted during work easily take a toll on their health, showing in the form of diseases like spondilitis, eye problems, headaches, skin allergies body aches, to name a few. Though most of the workers utilize the Government Health Services, a substantial amount of their meagre earnings is spent for buying medicines.

Apart from that, they are also exposed to the vagaries of the market forces controlled by the seasonal nature of the industry. There have been only half hearted attempts by NGOs as well as by the state to uplift them from their impoverished

conditions. In the absence of any co-operative society or union, they can only give in to the incessant exploitative demands of their employers.

They are deprived of the benefits accruable to them as workers. It is, primarily due to their unorganised and non-unionised nature that the concerned authorities are able to ignore them.

The vicious circle of the working and living conditions of the chikan workers, and the indifference of the state towards them, tell a story of exploitation and oppression.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Women workers in an unorganised sector: A Study of the garments industry in Lucknow, Kanpur.

CHAPTER –V

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

The Chikan Industry of Lucknow has all the characteristics of an unorganised industry. Several factors work in unison, resulting in the extensive exploitation of the workers at the behest of their employers, or more often, the middlemen.

The main objectives of the study was to analyze the working and living conditions and their implications on the health of the chikan workers. For this purpose, the variables that were explored include the socio-economic conditions, housing pattern and sanitary conditions, working patterns and working conditions, availability of work, workers' perceptions of their health problems and steps taken by them in this regard. All these variables helped to evolve a general picture about the life pattern of the chikan workers.

The study was conducted in the Nishatganj & Daliganj wards of the city of Lucknow. Prior to the study, the city was visited in order to collect preliminary information about the working and living conditions of the workers, and the identify the area (wards) in which to conduct the study.

The tools used for obtaining the data were interview schedule, observation and case studies. Apart from these general discussions with the artisans and their family members also yielded some important information. Bibliographical studies and the data available were also utilized.

The primary data consisted of interviews with one hundred and fifty chikan workers. Apart from these, case studies of thirteen households associated to chikan work were also prepared to gain qualitative insights into the living and working conditions of chikan workers. Though the data was collected through simple random sampling, the workers were divided into four categories on the basis of their type of

work. The interview schedule was administered to twenty five workers involved in stitching, twenty four in printing patterns, eighty embroidery workers and twenty one washermen.

The following inferences have been drawn from the study.

1. Most of the chikan workers start working at a very young age, though in the sample, maximum belong to the age-range of 20-50 years. In terms of religion and gender, the chikan workers form a more or less homogenous group, since most of the workers are women belonging to the Muslim religion. The educational status of the chikan workers is extremely low as very few of them are literate. Most of the literate have had their education only till the primary level. Hardly any workers have reached the high school level.
2. A lot of workers are married and the educational and occupational status of their spouses are no better than their own, most of them associated to chikan work itself. Hence, the economic conditions of these families are miserable. As a result, their children start working at a young age in order to contribute to the family income. Because of the abject poverty, the incidence of child labour is very high. But the wages being low, the addition to the income is not substantial.
3. ~~The workers engaged in stitching are paid a little more as compared to those of~~ the other three categories; also, embroidery workers who can do the exquisite and fine type of embroidery have an edge over their fellow embroiderers. Yet, very few workers have alternative sources of income, which include taking up

private stitching work, working as household helpers, and rent from their houses, if any.

4. With such a meagre income, it is hardly possible for them to make both ends meet. Therefore, they have to borrow money even for their day to day expenses. It is not surprising then are that they constantly under debt.
5. Most of the workers do not have houses of their own. They live in kutcha or semi pucca houses made on unauthorised lands or in slums. The few workers who own their houses, receive them as ancestral property. They live in conditions where sanitary facilities are far from satisfactory. The environment in which they live is conducive to various health problems.
6. A lot of workers work in their own houses, but this is mostly true of women workers, who observe 'Purdah'. Others work at workshops and production centres. The washermen wash clothes at the banks of the river Gomti.
7. The postures that the workers adopt while working have serious implications for their health. They are required to adopt specific postures for specific kinds of activities. For stitching, printing & embroidery, for instance, they are required to do the work while the head is bent continuously. As a result, maximum number of workers have reported of spondylitis & severe backaches, apart from several other problems. A large number of workers work under poor lighting arrangement which seems to be the main cause for eye problems. A very small proportion (below 10%) of workers use spectacles, which further aggravates the problem. Sitting in the same posture for long hours also exposes them to digestive problems.

8. Apart from these, the washermen have to use strong soaps and chemicals and wash clothes standing in knee deep water for hours altogether. Then, they are also supposed to starch & iron the clothes using a heavy iron. All these activities predispose them to skin allergies, respiratory problems, bodyaches, spondylitis.
9. Thus, the health problems are normally found to be associated with the working conditions and the postures adopted during work. Since they have been working for years in the same unimproved conditions, they have to live with their health problems. Most of the workers have been suffering from these problems for 5-15 years.
10. In order to deal with their health problems, the workers take necessary action, usually, only when it is impossible to neglect it any more. Most of them seek help from the government hospitals, though they have to miss a day or a half of their work, and therefore, also the earnings due to long queues. Apart from that, since the medicines are not available, they are often supposed to spend on medicines as well. Others, who go to the private practitioners, do so for better service and to save time and a day's earnings. Thus, apart from food, medicines amount to a major portions of their expenditure.
11. Most of the workers put in eight to ten hours of work in a day. Some others who take up additional work to increase their income, work for as much as ten to eleven hours. They work all days in a week except for those workers who work at the government chikan production centres, where they work six days a week. Work is available for only about nine to ten months in a year. Because

of the seasonal nature of the industry, there is practically no work available in monsoons. The pressure of work is maximum from March to June.

12. A lot of workers have been working for 10 to 20 years, though some of them keep on working for as long as their health permits, but due to the highly tedious working conditions affecting their health, quite a few workers discontinue or take up lighter work as their age increases.

Thus, we see that the working and living conditions are clouded with adversity, throwing them in utter poverty and predisposing them to various problems, health problems featuring most prominently among all. There is virtually no co-operative society or trade union to come to their rescue. The steps taken by the government have hardly yielded any results. The training programmes started by the U.P. Export Corporation, and other agencies of the government have been able to recruit only a negligible number of workers as members. There are only two non-governmental organisations – SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) and Sankalp, working for their cause, but they have not received any success either. As the fame of chikan spreads far & wide, its creators live the life which is no more than the slough of despond. Any action taken for the well-being of these workers has to address the issues of production, marketing and worker's welfare. For this, they have to be freed from the noxious clutches of the middlemen and traders.

Unionisation may help in the better welfare of workers including regulation of wages, fixation of the minimum hours of work etc. The association between the living conditions, working conditions including posture adopted during work and health throws up a number of relevant issues for the welfare of the workers. Technically, labour laws do not differentiate between organised and unorganised sectors. However,

in practice, they provide ample opportunities to the employers and their contractors to deny basic rights to certain categories of workers. They are deprived even of the benefits accruable to them as workers. For instance, keeping in mind the gender of the workforce involved in chikan work, maternity benefits are the minimum they can ask for. Yet, there is easy denial of this fair claim. This is just one example; the list is endless! More than 90 per cent of the workers are not satisfied with the health services provided by the government. Yet more than 55 per cent of the workers have to seek medical help from the government hospital as private sector is beyond the reach of many of the workers. There is also a strong linkage between the living conditions – including the ecology of their settlement and health, since most of the workers reside in slums. Apart from the fact that their socio-economic conditions are in desperate need for improvement, to provide them with better ecological environment, it is also to a marked extent, an issue of urban planning. When the sanitation provisions for the whole district are going from rags to ruins, it is hardly surprising that the slums are facing such a fate.

The exports of chikan goods have, in recent years been increasing by leaps and bounds, while the condition of the workers is going from bad to worse. The workers who create such elegance and charm through the magic of their hands, now hardly have any feelings attached to their work. They continue to suffer for sheer need of ‘a few rupees more’ at the hands of their employers, the middlemen & the state; at the work place as well as at home, while their products find their way into the exclusive metropolitan markets.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Study on Chikan Crafts-women in Lucknow and Unnao Districts. UPEC. Institute of Applied Statistics and Development Studies. Lucknow. 1995. p.1-2, 24-31.

All India Handicrafts Board. Draft Review of the Development of Handicrafts. AIHB. New Delhi.®

Birdwood. George. C.M. 1997. *Arts of India. Part I.* New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.

Chattopadhyaya Kamaladevi. 1995. *Indian Handicrafts for Indian Council for Cultural Relations.* New Delhi: New Age International Publishers, Wiley Eastern Limited. p.53.

Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi. 1963. *Indian Handicrafts for Indian Council for Cultural Relations.* New Delhi: Allied Publishers. p.1-6, 43-52.

Chikan Industry in Lucknow. 1987. *A Survey Report on Chikan Workers.* Lucknow: U.P. Minorities Financial and Development Corporation Limited. p.12-18.

Craftcil. 1999. *An In-house Journal of The Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts.* Issue 42: p.35

Davala, Sarathi (ed). 1994. *Unprotected Labour in India: Issues and Concerns.* New Delhi. India: Friedrich Ebert Stifting.

Dongekery, Kamala, S. 1961. *Traditional Embroidery of India Part I.* New Delhi: All India Handicrafts Board.

Dongekery, Kamala. S. *Embroideries of India. Part II.* Kashmir and Chamba Embroideries. New Delhi: All India Handicrafts Board.

Irwin, John, And Hall, Margaret. *Indian Embroidery.* p.186-187.

Jaitly, Jaya. 1990. *Crafts Tradition of India.* New Delhi: Lustre Press.

Jani, V. K. and Pandya, B.A. 1994. *Rural Artisan and Modernization.* Jaipur: Illustrated Book Publishers.

Jeffs, Angela. *Creative Crafts.* Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited.

Kathuria, S. 1988. *Indian Handicrafts Exports.* New Delhi: McGraw Hill Publishers. p.1-8

Kathuria, S. 1988. *Indian Handicrafts Exports: Constraints and Prospects.* New Delhi: Tata McGraw Hill Publishing Company Ltd..

Lucknow Chikan: A Report, U.P. Export Corporation.

Mathur, R.S. *Chikan Handicraft of Lucknow.* A Technical Report. Giri Institute of Developmental Studies. Lucknow.

Mehta, R. J. 1960. *The Handicrafts and Industrial Arts of India.* Bombay: Taraporevala's Treasure House of Books. p. 106-109.

Morrell, Anne. 1994. *The Techniques of Indian Embroidery*. London: B.T. Batsford Limited. p.68-74.

Naik, Shailja, D. 1996. *Traditional Embroideries of India*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation.

Paine, Sheila. 1990. *Embroidered Textiles*. London: Thomas & Hudson.

Rai, Ashok and Ranjan Aditi. 1992. *Chikankari Embroidery of Lucknow*. Ahmedabad: National Institute of Design.

Rao, R. V. *Indian Handicrafts*. Hyderabad: Book Lovers Private Limited.

Report on Rapid Survey of Chikan Work Artisans in Lucknow. Report No. 114. All India Handicrafts Board. 1968.

Sanjeet (ed). 1987. *Handicrafts India Year Book Including Handlooms. Fashion and Silk*. New Delhi. (2nd Edition). Handicrafts India (Pub.) P.12-13.

Sanjeet (ed). 1990. *Handicrafts India Year Book Including Handlooms. Fashion and Silk*. New Delhi: (4th Edition). Handicrafts India (Pub.) p.21-23. 40- 41.

Saraf, D. N. 1982. *Indian Crafts Development and Potential*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Private Limited. p. 251-258

Spring '99. *Exports of Handicrafts: An Overview*. Export Promotion Council for Handicrafts. New Delhi. 1999. p. 1-3, 5,8,9,30.

Taneja, Nisha and Sharma, Pooja. 1995. *Handicrafts Exports Global Trends & Future Prospects*. New Delhi: Indian Council for Research on Industrial Economic Relations. Westville Publishing House. p.IX- XII.1-3

Upadhyay, M.N. *Handicrafts of India*. Secunderabad. Andhra Pradesh: Book Distributors

Women's Employment in Handicrafts Industry. A Monograph, Indian Council for Social Science Research and Indian Co-Operative Union. New Delhi. p.9-10.

APPENDIX

CASE STUDIES

Case Study-1

Rukaiya Bano works at the Chikan centre in Nishatganj. She lives in the second lane of the Nishatganj ward. They are a family of four. The family comprised of Rukaiya, her husband, Mohd. Atique, their daughter Masarrat Bano, & Atique's Mother, Fatima Beghum. Rukaiya's husband is a vegetable seller. He sites at his small & temporary vegetable shop in the nearby vegetable market. He is illiterate & about 29 years of age. He started selling vegetables at a very young age of 15 because of the death of his father. Atique's father was also a vegetable seller, but he used to sell vegetable on a pushcart. Their daughter, Masarrat Bano is only 3 years old & stays at home with her grandmother when both Rukaiya & Atique go off to work. Rukaiya's mother-in-law, Fatima Beghum stays at home looking after her granddaughter & helping Rukaiya in the household chores. She has never gone out of the house to earn a living, though even she has ample knowledge of chikan. When she was young, she used to do some embroidery for family & friends, but never earned out of it. Once she had some problem with her left eye, which she was getting treated at the civil hospital. The eye got infected, according to Fatima, because of the carelessness of the doctors & now, her vision from the left eye is almost negligible.

Rukaiya has been going to the centre only for about a year now. Earlier she used to do some embroidery only at home, as & when she got the work. She has been married to Atique for four years now. Before her marriage, she used to live with her maternal grandmother in Golaganj. Her mother had died when she & her two sisters were quite young. Their father remarried & was not interested in keeping the girls with him. So, all the three sisters stayed with their grandmother. The two elder sisters were married off quite early. It was with her grandmother that Rukaiya learnt chikan embroidery. Her grandmother used to do very intricate & fine embroidery. But now, due to poor eye sight, she cannot continue any more. After marrying of Rukaiya, her grandmother went to Barabanki to stay with Rukaiya's youngest aunt. Just like before marriage, Rukaiya continued to do chikan embroidery at home only. But, after the birth of her daughter, a lot of her time was spent in looking after her. So, she got very irregular with her work for about a year. Then, she decided to go to the centre & work, so that she could earn a certain amount of money regularly. She talked to her husband & mother-in-law about it, who had no objections. Her mother-in-law offered to take care of the kid, when the two of them when the two of them were off to work. Now, Rukaiya gets up early in the morning to prepare the meals for the day. Then, she goes off to work at about 8:45 A.M.. Atique, after having his breakfast goes to the shop & returns in the afternoon for lunch, since the house is quite close. Again, he goes back after lunch & return only around 9:30 P.M.. Rukaiya usually get back home by 5:30 P.M.. As soon as she is back, she start preparing for the dinner. Although she is very busy & hardly gets any time for herself or her family, she is glad that she is earning Rs. 400 per month. But, she says that in comparison to the amount of work they are made to do at the centre, Rs. 400 is a meagre amount. They are hardly given any breaks or rest pauses. In fact, they only get a half an hour break for lunch at 1:00 P.M.. They are required to keep on working continuously. Also, at times, when there is an urgent assignment, they are also asked to work overtime, irrespective of the fact

that they have their responsibilities towards their families as well. Since her daughter is young, Rukaiya has not done overtime for more than two or three times in the last one year. The payment in overtime is more than the regular payment that is made to them. Rukaiya is paid approximately Rs. 13 per day but for an overtime from 5 o'clock in the evening, they are paid an additional Rs. 7.50.

Atique's income is not fixed. His income per month range from Rs. 1000 to 15000. So, the total income of the family is about Rs. 1800-2000 at the best of times. The house in which they live is their own house, They used to live her as tenants, but when the owner of the house died, his window sold it off to Atique's father at a low price. He bought the house by borrowing money from one of his better of relatives. After that, he kept on paying the money in installments for quite a few years. The debt has now been cleared. It is a small house comprising of one room, a semi-covered courtyard, an enclosed space for bathing & another enclosure, away from the room, is the lavatory. A sweeper comes everyday & is paid Rs. 30 per month. They have a community tap right in front of their neighbours house. They get the water for all the household work & bathing from there. Early morning, Atique has his bath at the tap itself & then fetches water for the household purpose & for bathing purposes. They have an old tank in which they store water for all these purposes. For drinking & cooking, the water is stored in two big clay pots. Earlier they did not have an electricity connection. But, three years ago, Atique got an illegal connection from the electricity wire passing right in front of their house.

Rukaiya's mother-in-law, apart from having a limited eye-sight also complains of pain in her knee joints, because of which she is not able to walk a lot. Whatever work she does is usually done sitting on a cot. Perhaps that is also the reason for her gastric problems. Her husband does not have any specific or permanent health problem. He does not smoke, drink or chew to tobacco. He family prepares very occasionally because of the expense involved in it. Rukaiya gets tired working daylong & at times her arms & legs pain, which she treats by massaging with lukewarm mustard oil before going to bed at night. She told that she had suffered from jaundice during her pregnancy. Her daughter also suffered from jaundice soon after birth. Since her birth, her daughter has suffered thrice from diarrhoea. She usually consults the doctor in the Civil Hospital. But, when her daughter suffered from diarrhoea for the third time, a neighbour of hers took them to the private doctor, whose treatment, she found more effective. She says that although she had to pay, but the private doctor's medicine gave a quicker relief to the child. Rukaiya feels that one should be educated in order to earn well & have a better living. She wants to educate her daughter properly so that she gets a government job. She does not want her daughter to be directed to things like embroidery or stitching, because there is no respect & money in it.

Case Study-2

Rukhsana, 19 years, work at a chikan centre in Nishatganj word. Her house is in Daliganj near the Shia College. She has been doing chikan embroidery for the past 5 years. They are a family of seven. Her father, Mohd. Afaq is a painter. He paints & whitewashes buildings & also makes signboards. He can earn about Rs. 800 to 900 per month on an average, but his work depends more on the season (when people prefer

getting their houses whitewashed). Her mother, Parveen, has ample knowledge at chikan embroidery but she hardly does the work. Only at times, when she feels like, does the work. Only at times, when she feels like, does she embroider a piece or two. Otherwise, she keeps herself involved in the household work or takes care of the children. Rukhsana is the eldest of her siblings. Younger to her is her brother, Mohd. Ashfaq who is 17 years old. He studied till class VII, but now he is learning Zardosi work. He paid only about Rs. 150 per month. Only after he has learnt the whole thing, will he be paid as much as an adult artisan is paid. Younger to Ashfaq is another brother, Mohd. Irfan. He is 14 years of age & is studying in Class VII. Mohd. Islam, the brother youngest of all is Shabana, her sister, who is 8 years of age & studies in class II. all three of the younger children study in a private school nearby.

Rukhsana has learnt chikan embroidery from her mother, Parveen. She used to do the embroidery at home even when she was quite young, i.e. around 9-10 years of age. At that time her mother used to take up comparatively more embroidery work. Now, for the last few years, her mother has stopped taking work regularly. Since, Rukhsana was interested in the work, she started going to the centre in order to contribute to the family income. As both her father & her brother earn, her mother was not in favour of sending her out to earn. But, Rukhsana says that because she has stopped going to school after her V Standard, she had a lot of free time during the day. Therefore, she decided to work at the centre in order that her younger brother & sisters could continue their education. When she joined the centre, she was earlier paid only Rs. 5 or 6 per day. But, now she earn Rs. 450 per month, which is Rs. 15 per day. She gets up early in the morning to help her mother in some household chores, & in sending off her siblings to school. Then, after having her breakfast, she goes to the centre. At about the some time, her brother also pushes off to work. Her father does not go out daily. He usually stays at home & is contacted for work there itself. During peak seasons, i.e. during the months of September, October, March etc., he can earn almost double or even more, of what he does in other times. The family is cautious enough for saving money for emergency or for future. Rukhsana's mother has a bank account & keeps on depositing any amount of money that is earned or saved, especially during the peak season.

Sometimes Rukhsana also does an overtime at the centre. She says that for overtime, the payment is increased. She is paid Rs. 15 per day for working from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. with a lunch break of only half on hours. There are absolutely no other rest pauses during the day. But, if she works overtime from 5:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M., she is paid an additional Rs. 7:50. Although, according to her, the employer does not treat them badly, yet working without any break for long hours is very tiring & stressful. She generally feels that everyday she returns home with backache, headache & an itching sensation in the eyes. Earlier she used to be very troubled by this, but now she takes it more as a part of the her life. After returning from home, she washes her face & eyes with fresh water & rests for some time in order to feel better. The house in which they live has built by Rukhsana's grandfather & since his father the only son (all others being daughters), it was passed on to him. It is a very small house with two small rooms, a bathroom & a kitchen. They have a tap at their place but there is no water supply. A few years ago they had paid some amount to a 'Jal Sansthan' worker to give them connection to another pipeline so that they could have water, but to no avail. Now, Rukhsana & her brother usually draw water from a handpump in one of

their neighbour's courtyard. They have a lavatory at their place, which Rukhsana's mother cleans every 3-4 days.

Rukhsana told that she had suffered from tuberculosis about 3-4 years ago. It was only when she used to cough continuously for about a month & that she has lost weight drastically, that she was taken to the nearby private doctor, who referred her to the King George's Medical College. There her sputum & Blood examination was done & she came to know that she suffered from tuberculosis. The doctor told her that she could be all right if she continued her course of medicines regularly. She did so for about an year. Every Saturday, she used to take a half day off from the centre to go for her weekly check up. She says that now she is perfectly all right. She believes that she had contracted it from a neighbour, who, she came to know later, was also suffering from the same disease. No one else in the family contracted the disease, because the moment they came to know of her disease, her mother had kept all her articles of use, especially utensils & clothes separately & the whole family took utmost care to carry out the instructions given by the doctor. No one else in the family has had any major disease. Her younger siblings keep on suffering from occasional colds & stomach upsets. Her mother often complains of a peculiar kind of pain in her fingers, & palm. She says that whenever she works in water for a long time, like washing clothes or utensils, she gets the swelling & pain in her hands. But, since there is no other way out, she keeps on doing the work. Rukhsana also helps her mother in washing the utensils & clothes. Her mother had taken some medication for it but it gave only a temporary relief. Rukhsana's father often suffers from cough & throat problems, but that could be because he smokes the bidi & chews tobacco. The total monthly income of the family is approximately Rs. 1400-1500. At the best of times, it may go as high as Rs. 2000-2200. Rukhsana & her mother feel they should save as much money as possible for any emergency or requirement in future.

Case Study-3

Munawwar stays in the Hata Takiya of the Nishatganj ward. He is a washerman, 30 years of age, & washes Chikan dresses. He has a family of 6, which includes, apart from him, his father, mother, wife, one son & one daughter. Munawwar's father, Md. Mushtaq is about 65 year old. He was a washerman in his times. Now, his son has taken up the same work. Md. Mushtaq's other two sons work at an electronic repair shop & at a general store each. They do not stay with him. Both of them are elder to Munawwar & have big families. Munawwar's mother, Shaikat Bibi was a housewife. At times, she used to help her husband in ironing the clothes. Mushtaq did not wash chikan dresses exclusively. He used to get dresses from the nearby households to wash, starch & iron them. When Munawwar grew up, he started helping his father in his work. Soon, he took over the whole work. At some point of time then, due to some contact, he got in few chikan dresses to wash, starch & iron. He did that & since then he has been into this work. Munawwar's wife Abida helps him in starching & ironing the dresses. It is often that Abida does the whole ironing after Munawwar has finished up with the washing & starching. They have a son & a daughter. Their son, Shakil, is four years old & daughter Rukhsar is 3 years old. Since the children are very small, along with the work Abida also has to take care of them. Though, when she goes off to work, i.e. wash clothes at the river with her husband, her mother-in-law takes care of the children.

Munawwar goes to the river for washing the clothes only once or twice in a week. After washing & starching the dresses. They are dried at the river bank on drying ropes. Then, they are brought back, ironed & sent back. After this, they are packed, & sold. Munawwar says it is quite a tiring task taking all the clothes to the river, washing & bringing them back. In the process, he is also required to pay attention to the fact that none of the dresses is spoilt. He earns about Rs. 1800-2000 per month from the work. Chikan dresses are not available for washing throughout the year. During the rains, chikan work is almost negligible. Then, they do not get any work. During those days, he relies more on washing & ironing dresses of people nearby, which also fetch him approximately Rs. 1400 per month. During the rains, the income of the washermen generally goes down. There is hardly any work, because clothes do not dry due to humidity & rains. Their house in the Hata is an area enclosed by mud walls with two living rooms & one bathroom in it. There is also a courtyard, one part of which is covered by a tin sheet. Under the tin sheet their lie cots on which, Munawwar's parents rest during the day. In the evening, they sit in the open courtyard. One corner of the courtyard is used for cooking purposes, where a mud store (chulha) is made on the floor.

In the courtyard, under the tin shade, there is a table where Munawwar & his wife iron the clothes. He uses a charcoal iron for ironing. They don't have a water supply in their house, but the community tap is almost in front of their house. They wash their utensils & articles of daily use on the tap. Since the tap is close by, storing water is not a problem. But, often they are accused of using the tap only for their own purposes. They have an electricity connection in their house because, Munawwar says that it is necessary to light at least a bulb in the dark, because lighting an oil lamp would not help for all the rooms. Munawwar said that since they have to stand in the water upto the knee & use strong chemicals & soaps for washing the clothes, the skin of his hands & feet seems rotten. Now, that he has been using rubber gloves for washing the clothes, his hands are somewhat protected. But, the feet still have deep cracks; which at times are so deep, that they bleed. Earlier, he used to have such a problem with his hands as well. He never went to a doctor for the treatment, only rubbed a ripe banana on the hands & feet on the affected area. Then, he did not do any work the next day. The indigenous way of treating such bleeding cracks is rubbing a ripe banana & leaving it, so that the wounds had over a period of 24 hours & then start working again. Apart from this, ironing the clothes continuously for long hours also renders some problems. Since the iron is quite heavy, both he & his wife experience pain in their right arm & at the nape. They had consulted a private doctor once who had advised them not to work in the same posture for long. But, if they have to earn their bread, they have to do it. Munawwar says that since they have to work throughout the day, they cannot go to government hospital, therefore, they usually consult a private doctor because this suits their work. Also, according to him, it is well known that doctors in the government hospitals are hardly concerned. It gives more of a trouble going to the government hospital. So, he prefers a private doctor to a government hospital. Munawwar does want his son to get into this profession. He wants to educate his children, so that they pick up a respectable profession.

Case Study-4

Meher Jahan, is a chikan embroidery worker who stays in the Hata (Takiya) of the Nishatganj word. They are a small family of three, which consists apart from her, of her husband & a daughter. Meher is 28 years old & has been doing the chikan work for the last 15-16 years, since she was 12 years old. Before her marriage she stayed in chaupatiya. There, along with her mother & sister, she learnt chikan work & then started contributing to the family's income. Her husband Suleiman is 35 year old & is a labourer. He earns Rs. 50 per day. Since it is not a regular job; sometimes he does not get any work & sometimes he does not go to work. Therefore, at the best of times, he can earn about Rs. 1200-1250 per month.

Meher's daughter, Aftan is just about 4 years old. Meher wanted to send her daughter to school but she has not been admitted yet. Meher says that they do not have enough money to send their daughter to school. Before that, they have to think of fulfilling their basic necessities. One of Meher's neighbour, who is also an embroidery worker goes & fetches work for herself as well as for a lot of other women nearby. Meher does the work at home. After the work is finished, the women again takes the work back & the payment for the work. Meher says that since she does the work at home, she & a lot of other women like her are paid less. Working at the centre women are paid more as compared to those who work at home. The reason she says is that at the centre the women have to work continuously for fixed hours, whereas at home, women work according to their convenience. Meher is a specialist in jali making. Whenever the contractors give work, they distribute work to women on the basis of the stitched in which they specialise. Meher says that for making jali in one suit, she is paid approximately Rs. 2.50. for doing shadow work or Ulti Bakhiya in the whole dress, they are paid only about Rs. 20. Meher says, that it takes not less than a week for completing on dress & that too, if the work is done continuously. A work which fetches them only Rs. 20 in some 7-8 days is hardly good for them. In this manner she, can earn only about Rs. 100-150 per month.

They earn & spend the money on a daily basis, while returning home from work, her husband, Suleiman buys some eatable, pulses, rice & vegetables, which need to be cooked. They usually procure grains & flour for some two three tomes from a nearby shopkeeper, who gives them articles on debt. The Hata in which they live is an urbanised slum. Their house is only a small room, where, Meher does the cooking in one corner. There are two small cots-one which is kept up the whole day & is laid down only for sleeping at night. The whole hata has only two community taps of which only one has proper water supply. In the other one, the supply of water is quite irregular. Suleiman fetches water for household purpose from the community tap which is almost 400 meters away from their house. Meher & a lot of other women wash their clothes at the stone near the tap. Since the water supply is only for a limited period of time, all the work has to be done within that time. They do not have an electricity connection in their house. When it gets dark, Meher light up an oil lamp. Since the water supply is so less, Meher can bathe only once every alternate day. Suleiman has his bath after returning from work, in the evening. Being a labourer, Suleiman's work is very tiring. He feels more tired than sick. In his work, there is often a chance of accidents. Even Suleiman has often got hurt, but, usually, he gets

medicines or ointments from the place where he works. He has not suffered any major accident till now.

As for Meher she says that embroidering continuously for long hours is very tiring. She has often had a burning sensation in the eyes along with a sticky watery fluid coming out of them, when she gets up in the morning. She got herself checked up by a private doctor & was prescribed some medicines which she took for a few days & then, discontinued, due to lack of any effect or improvement. Now, she washes her eyes quite regularly with water. The family usually prefers to go to a private doctor, because, she says that there proper attention is paid to the patient & his symptoms. Going to the government hospital is quite a lot of trouble. Since they earn their living by working daily, they are required to do their work regularly; but when they go to the government hospital, they have to remain standing in a queue for a long time. This whole process consumes one full day, which could fetch them some money had they been at work. Also, she feels that after standing queue for so long, the doctors in the government hospitals do a check for 1-2 minutes & prescribe the medicine. The medicines are hardly available in the hospital, so they have to purchase the medicines from the private medical store. So, they have several reasons as to why they don't go to the government hospital.

Caste Study-5

Khatija is 50 years old & a chikan embroidery worker. She stays with her family of seven in the hata (takiya) of the Nishatganj ward. Her husband, Md. Farooq runs a small roadside hotel from which he can earn about Rs. 1000 per month. Khatija's eldest son, Md. Races is 29 years old. He is tempo mechanic & is married. He earns about Rs. 750-900 per month. His wife is a Zardozi worker & goes off to the workshop in the morning & returns at 6 in the evening. She earns about Rs. 300 per month. Md. Races has never been to school but he has received some religious instructions at the Madrasa (Islamic Educational Institution). Khatija's next daughter is Masarrat Jahan. She is 23 years old & has never gone to school. She has learnt chikan work from her mother. Masarrat stays at home & helps her mother in the chikan embroidery. After Masarrat Jahan, is his brother, Md. Saeed who is 20 years old & works at a cloth store. He earns approximately Rs. 450 per month. He has also obtained religious instructions at the Madarsa. Younger to him is Zeenat, Who is 18 years of age & does Zardozi work. She goes to the Zardozi workshop along with her sister-in-law. She earns about Rs. 300 per month. The youngest one among Khatija's children is Md. Najeez, who is 16 years of age & is learning Zardozi work. Since he is still learning the work, she is paid only Rs. 100 per month.

Khatija has been working for the last 30 years. She says that if one works properly one can earn only about Rs. 3-4 per day. In the last 30 years, the prices of things have gone so high, that the amount paid for the chikan embroidery is just to less. Chikan work has spread to a marked extent only in the last 5-6 years. Also, the prices of chikan dresses have increased drastically because of designing of the suits according to fashion. The suit which are sold for such high prices do not even fetch them Rs. 25 per piece. In this way, Khatija can manage to earn only about Rs. 150-175 per month. They have a temporary house made of mud & brick walls & covered by tin sheet. The house comprises of a room, where Khatija her daughter-in-law cook the meals for the

day. There is another small room, next to this room. Both these rooms are living rooms, but are also meant for storing some materials. They do not have a bathroom or toilet in their house. For the ablutions, just as most other people of the hata do they go out near the railway tracks. Khatija said that the corporator of that area once came & assured them of setting up a public toilet nearby, but there has been no indication of it ever since. The women of the family bathe quite early in the morning, at dawn on the community tap. The clothes are also washed at the tap & then all the women fetch some water while returning.

As for the men, they are also required to fetch some water for home, when they return from their bath. They have an electricity connection in the house, which they have arranged for illegally. Therefore, they have a bulb in one of the rooms & for summers, they use a pedestal fan while all of them sleep outside the house. The total family income averages to about Rs. 3000 per month in the best of time Md. Farroq is quite old, about 60 years of age. Therefore, he suffers from some occasional age related problems & disorders e.g. pain in the limbs after some heavy work. Khatija says her husband often experiences a feeling of restlessness & suffocation.

Khatija also feels that she gets tired very soon. She can experience the lack of energy now. She said, that earlier she all the household work & still was able to do the embroidery very easily. Now, she finds it difficult to do it, but her daughter helps her in the work as well as in the embroidery. She also suffers very regularly from cough & cold. She used to chew tobacco until about 2-3 years ago. Then, she had a major complication with her throat & was operated upon in a Government Hospital. Khatija says that through they have to wait in long queues & waste a lot of time, she always prefers to go to the Government Hospital. This is because she knows that their family cannot afford the prices to be paid for private clinics & private medication.

Case Study-6

Rabia is an embroidery worker. She is 22 years old & works at a centre in the Nishatganj ward. She stays in Mahanagar, along with her husband. Shamshad. Shamshad work at a tempo repair shop & earns about Rs. 800 per month. Shamshad's family lives in Unnao, a small town near Kanpur. He came to Lucknow about 8-9 years ago along with his maternal uncle. He had been to school only till the 3rd standard. After that he never wanted to go to school, neither could his family afford sending him. When his uncle brought him to Lucknow, he was admitted to a school, but he did not want to study & started learning the work of a scooter mechanic at the repair shop of his cousin's friend. He did not go for anything else, he has ever since been earning his livelihood by repairing scooters. It was only about 9 or 10 months ago, that she got married to Rabia. Before her marriage, Rabia stayed quite nearby, in Nishatganj & used to go to the same centre of work where she goes now Rabia has had her education till the V standard. When she was about 13 years of age, she went to a nearby training centre of 3 months in order to learn the chikan embroidery. After that, she started working at the centre. Initially, she was paid only about Rs. 150 per month. Rub says that this is what generally happens with small girls or new people who join the centre. Since they have not been working in the centre for a long time, they are not paid as much as the older workers, even if their work is good. It often takes seven to eight months or even more for a person to get a raise in her payment. Rabia, now, get

Rs. 450 per month. Rabia is very disappointed with the fact that after toiling hard continuously for so many hours during the day, & without any breaks or rest pauses in between, they can earn only about Rs. 15 a day. The monthly income of the family on an average is about Rs. 1200-1250, though it is not constant. At times, it keeps on increasing or decreasing. At times, Rabia also does overtime at the centre from 5 to 7 in the evening. She says that while the whole day's work pays her Rs. 15, the two hours of work in the evening pays her Rs. 7.50 extra so, she does this overtime for the money, otherwise she never wants to do it, because she has to be on time back home to prepare for the dinner.

In the morning, the couple has the left over chapatis of the previous night either with some dal or with tea. Razia prepares the lunch early in the morning & both of them carry their lunch with them. Razia returns a little early in the evening from her work, though, Shamshad often gets late because of the nature of his work. They have made a small mud hut(jhuggi) on one of the relatives land. They are paying a rent of Rs.100 per month for occupying a portion of the plot. They don't have a tap or a water supply in their house. Usually, shamshad gets all water of daily use from a handpump installed at the corner of the lane. Razia says that fetching water from the handpump is difficult at times. When Shamshad is there, he fetches the water. But, in his absence, Rabia has to bring it by herself. Often, she even washes clothes at the handpump itself, so that they do not need to fetch so much of water for washing purposes at home. Water is fetched daily & without fail for drinking & cooking purposes. If the left over water of the previous day is still there, Rabia uses it for washing purposes & fills up fresh water each day.

Their house comprises of a small, low ceiling room covered with tin & rugs, & there is a cooking space just not to the room, with a little enclosure attached for it to the wall of the wall of the room. She cooks on an indigenous stove made of mud by burning cow dung cakes. There is close to a rectangular stone enclosed by short mud walls. This is meant for washing small articles & for bathing purposes. They do not have a toilet in their house & for their ablutions they go out near the railway tracks. They do not have an electricity connection. Generally, an oil lamp is used by them. Some four-five months ago they got a connection from the neighboring house, so that a bulb could be lighted, but due to some problems between the two household, this facility exists no more.

Rabia said that Shamshad wants to become a tempo driver in order to earn more. There have recently been signals that the administration may evacuate the city off tempos, because of the pollution. That is why he has not taken up tempo driving. But, Rabia feel that that tempos would ply in the city as earlier, so it would be advisable if Shamshad becomes a tempo driver. Shamshad often complains of back ache which probably he has had for a long time now. Rabia feels that it is because of continuous working & irregular hours of work. But, after massaging for sometime & treating with hot water, he feel better. He has never taken any medication for it. Rabia, on the other hand says, she does not have any health problem, as such, since they have fixed working hours, though long. It is only once in a blue moon that they are bound to do an overtime. Otherwise, she has been working in the same schedule for so many years, she has adjusted to it now. Though the strict manner in which they are made to work is liked by no one; but still none of them have the guts to raise a voice. They get

only a short break for lunch . In between, they can only manage their own breaks by stealing a few minutes here & there while going to the toilet or for drinking water.

Rabia says that when she returns home, she experiences a peculiar pain & burning sensation in the eyes, & also pain in the nape of her neck. But, she says, this is a problem which would be faced by all the chikan workers in general. Rabia & Shamshad have not been frequent visitors to the doctor, but whenever they go, they go to the private doctor, close to their place. At times, they also go to the government hospital, but since the nearby doctor is known to them, he is aware of the type of problems. That is why she feels that the medicines of this doctor are more suitable for them. Rabia wishes to start some stitching at home in order to earn some money. But, she has no money. But, she has no money to begin with it. But, still, she says, she will have to find out some way to increase their income, because they can hardly pull through with an irregular income of 1200. She is worried of the fact that when she has children, she will have to stop going to the centre, & stay at home. Then, probably like several other women, she will have to work at home & her income would decrease almost by half.

Case Study-7

Mohd. Shamshad Alam is a washerman, 40 years of age, & lives in the 11th lane of the Nishatganj ward. He has a family of 8 which constitutes apart from him, his wife, Saleema Bano & Bano & their 6 children, 4 sons & two daughters. Shamshad started working as a washerman while he was quite young. His father grandfather & great grandfather, all were washerman. He started going to the river with his father while he was just 12 years old. Shamshad wife Saleema also assists him in the process of starching & ironing. She seldom goes with him to the river. Like Shamshad, Saleema has also never been to school. Both of them are illiterate. His eldest son, Shahjad Alam is 15 years old. He studied till class II & then was taken out of school. Now, he is a Zardosi worker. He started learning Zardosi about 3 years ago. In the beginning, he was paid absolutely nothing. Gradually, the employer started paying him; first Rs. 75, then Rs. 100. Now, he is paid Rs. 150 per month. When he will learn the art fully, he will be paid approximately Rs. 250-300 month. His second son, Shadab Alam is 11 years of age & studied till the second standard. He is at present doing nothing. After Shadab, is his younger brother Khurshid Alam, who is 10 years old. Khurshid has never been to school. Younger to Khurshid, are his two sisters-Naima & Fatima. Naima Bano is 7 years old and she too has not been admitted to school. Fatima Bano is 4 years old & she too stays at home. Younger to Fatima is the youngest child of Shamshad Alam, his son, Mahtab Alam, who is 2 years old.

Shamshad does not go to the river everyday. He goes for washing clothes only once in a week. At times, he may also go twice. On all other days he stays at home ironing the clothes. He irons the clothes in the morning from about 10.00 A.M. till the afternoon. Then, in the afternoon, after having his lunch, he takes rest for some time & again starts ironing from about 3:30 - 4:00 A.M. & irons till late in the evening. In the middle, he also takes some short breaks. Apart from the chikan dresses, at times, people from the nearby houses also give their clothes for ironing. Which his wife irons. Since the iron is heated with burning charcoal, they cannot leave the charcoal burning & not iron. So, when Shamshad gets tired ironing, Saleema does the work. While they

are ironing, their sons, Shadab & Khurshid, deliver the ironed clothes to the respective house & bring back the money. When Shamshad goes to the river for washing clothes, he is accompanied with his wife, Saleema or by his son Shadab. There he stands on the washing stone for hours, in knee deep water & washes the cloths. When they have to go for washing, they so quite early in the morning so that they can start spreading the clothes for drying, by the time the sun rises. They stay there for almost the whole day. When the clothes are dried, they collect & bring them back. After that, the ironing is done before set sending the clothes back to the owner.

The monthly income of the family ranges from Rs. 1800-2200 in the best of times the family has it own house. The house comprises of a small room which opens into a big room & a toilet cum bathroom. A part of the big room is used as a kitchen. The small room is more or less a store room. The entrance of the house is the door of the big room, which opens on to the pavement of the lane. There is a big & old Neem tree right next to the house, whose shade is there on the pavement through out the day. Shamshad has made a bamboo shade on the pavement, occupying almost the whole pavement in front of his house. Here he has a high table where he irons the clothes. Although they have a toilet in their house, they do not have a tap. But, there is a community tap just at the turn of the lane in which the lives. This is quite close to their house. Usually the men of the family have their bath on the tap itself. Saleema bathes her younger children, the two daughter & son on the tap & sends them home, while she does her washing of clothes. Shamshad, Saleema & Shaljad, all bring buckets & plastic cans full of water from the tap to store water for the day in the house. They have an electricity connection in the house which they have taken from the neighboring house, just in order 'to light a bulb or two'. They pay some amount to the neighbour for this purpose.

Shamshad says that since they use some chemicals in the process of washing & since they are required to stand in water for long hours, it is very harmful for the washermen. Apart from the feet & hands, which almost go rotten, standing in the water, Shamshad has also suffered from very colds & backaches, especially during the winters. Also, there are several types of skin disease to which they are exposed. Often he has suffered from he has had blisters & white patches on his skin with a severe itching. He takes the medication, but then, doing the same work continuously does not prevent him from further infections. Shamshad & his family always consult a nearby private physician. Earlier, he used to go to the government hospital. But, now, he prefers to go only the private doctor, because he feels that since they have been consulting him for a long time, he has an idea of which medicines suit them better, & that going somewhere else would consume much more time.

Case Study-8

Kishwar Bano is a chikan embroidery worker who lives in the third lane of the Nishatganj word. They are a big family. It comprises of Kishwar's husband, Salim & six children, five daughters and one son. Kishwar's husband, Salim is 45 years of age, is illiterate & works at a general store in the Aminabad ward. He earns Rs. 700 per month. Her eldest daughter Anjum studied till class XI. She didn't show any interest in the embroidery though, she knows some of it. She is 25 years of age & got married 2 years ago. Kishwar's second daughter Tabassum is 23 years old & helps her mother in

the chikan embroidery. She studied till class X. Her third daughter, Simmi is 20 & she also does the embroidery to add up to the family income, She, too, studies till class X. The fourth daughter, Yeasmeen, who is 18 years of age studied till class XI & started helping her mother & sisters in the chikan work in order to contribute to the family income. After Yasmeen, Kishwar has a son, Fareed, who is 16 years of age & is studying in class IX in a nearby school. The youngest daughter is Rooj, who is 11 years of age, & studying in class IV.

Kishwar goes & bring the work & returns it back after the completion. Since the four women of the family together do the embroidery, they can finish it sooner & thus, earn more. Anjum & her mother specialize in jali marking. They say that the payment of the jali is made according to the size of the motif, called the 'Phal', which varies from one to another. The payment of one unit of a design ranges from paise 25 to 50. The total payment therefore, depends on the total no. of motifs in a dress. Kishwar brings the work directly from the shopkeepers who sell it. She says that if work is taken from the contractors, they take away a large sum of money as their share or commission. The family has a house of their own which is quite old & was built by Kishwar's father-in-law. The house consists of two room which are quite big, one bathroom one kitchen & a relatively bigger courtyard in the middle. It is in this courtyard where, during the day, they sit on a cot under a jasmine bush, embroidering the dress.

The work is done in such a manner that it does not stop through out the day. Whenever one of the women gets up to do some household work, the other remain sitting with the work. And when there's no other work, all four of them keep on embroidering, often throughout the afternoon, till evening. In the morning, while Kishwar & one of her daughters prepare for breakfast & the meals of the day, the other two keep on doing the embroidery. The meals for the day are prepared in the morning itself, so that they don't have to leave the work to get up in the middle. Then, they get up only in the evening to make preparations for the dinner. Often, they sit even after dinner to finish off some piece of work in order that they may start with some new piece the next day. They have a tap in the house, but there is very little water supply & that too only in the morning & evening for about 1-1 1/2 hours each. In that much of a time, all the family members have to have their both, do all the household chores & store water for the whole day. At times, Kishwar said, that the water supplied is dirty & gives a fowl smell. In that case, they leave the tap open for some time for the water to flow out. Also, she has seen insects in the water once or twice. When this happens, they store the drinking water only after filtering & boiling it. Water for other purposes in stored only after draining it. They usually store four big bucket full of water, along with a bucket of water for kitchen purpose (not drinking). Drinking water is stored in a steel container.

Since they work at home & all of them together. But, Kishwar says that chikan workers are badly exploited by the contractors & the shopkeepers. It is therefore, to save themselves from the contractors, that Kishwar herself took up the responsibility of going & bringing the work home. She says that since most of the workers are Muslim women who observe purdah; therefore, the contractors come & give the work at home & then take it back after it finishes. Thus, they get an opportunity to take their large share in the money. This, Kishwar says, can be avoided by doing what she does. On the

whole, they can earn approximately Rs. 1500-1600 per month from the chikan embroidery. The total family income, therefore, averages to about Rs. 2000-2200 per month. On the whole, the family does not report of any particular health problems. In general, all of them keep on suffering from some occasional seasonal illnesses, which are of a very short duration & can be treated quite soon. Among all her children, Kishwar says, Yasmeen has fallen ill the most. They usually go to the government hospital in Golaganj, but it often depends on the fact that whether the medicine suits them or not. If it does not suit them, they discontinue & go to the private doctor. They agree that the services of the private clinics are definitely better than those of the government hospitals. Kishwar says that she does not have any health problem due to working or doing embroidery for long hours. It is only that continuous sitting & in one posture or continuous concentration to the patterns leads to pain in the neck & back & also in the eyes. But, that is something which is felt even by her daughters while doing the work. Kishwar says that though they can earn better as compared to other families involved in chikan work, still for a big family like theirs. They can hardly make both ends meet. Kishwar feels that they have to work hard to earn more since she has yet to marry off four of her daughters. Apart from that Kishwar wants to educate her son properly, so that he gets a good government job.

Case Study-9

Shanno is 45 years old & is a chikan embroidery worker she lives in the paper mill colony of the Nishatganj ward. Her family comprised, apart from her, of her husband, & eight children; four sons & four daughters. Her husband, Mohd. Mukhtar is 52 years old & is employed in the Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited. He earns about Rs. 2000 per month. The eldest son of Shanno is Vakil, 25 years of age & does Zari work. He goes to work in the Kashmiri Mohalla where Zardozi work is done in almost every household. Vakil did not study beyond the IInd Standard. He started Learning Zardozi at the age of 14. He earns Rs. 350 per month. The second son is Shakil. He is 20 years old & does the work of iron welding, & earns Rs. 300 per month. Shakil did not go to school. Though he has received some religious instructions ('Den-e-Islam') at the Madarsa (Islamic Educational Institution). The third son, Bhugin is 18 years old & he too does the work of iron welding & earns Rs. 300 per month. He has also not gone to the school, but only to the Madarsa. Younger to Bhugin, is his sister, Phool Barno who is 16 years old. She studied till class V; then she was taken out to school, & now she helps her mother in the household chores & in the embroidery work. Younger to Phool Barno is Rukaiya, another daughter of Shanno. Rukaiya is 12 years of age & has studied till class V. She was in school till the last year, but she was taken out of school, because, according to Shanno, the family could not afford their education any more. After Rukaiya is her sister Khatija, who is 10 years old. She does not go to school. She studied only upto the IInd standard. Her education was also cut short because of lack of money. Next is Mutin, Rukaiya's younger brother, who is 9 years old & is studying in class II. Youngest of all is Suraiya, who is 8 years old & is not studying.

Shanno has been working for the last 15 years. Although she learnt jali work later. She earns around Rs. 400-450 per month. With such a big family & a lot of responsibilities, she gets very little time for embroidery. Though, since she has taught the work to two of her daughters, they help her in the embroidery work, and thus

contribute to the family's income. Her husband Mohd. Mukhtar goes off to work early in the morning. Therefore, Shanno gets up early to prepare the meals for the day. Mukhtar takes a light breakfast of chapatis with tea or rusks, with tea & carries his lunch with him. Three of her elder sons who work also carry their lunch with them. The family has its own house. It was constructed by Mukhtar's elder brother, about 15 years ago, but he handed it over to Mukhtar before he died. Mukhtar's elder brother was unmarried, so the house was given to Mukhtar. The house has one small room & two comparatively bigger rooms. There is an open space in the centre where at one corner, there is a handpump. The women sit in this verandah & do the embroidery lavatory in the hose. The small room is used as a kitchen. Since they have a handpump in the house, also come & fetch water from their handpump. They also have an electricity connection in the house. Earlier they did not have it, but since the children are fond of watching Television, they got the electricity connection & also bought a T.V. set.

Shanno does not go out to fetch work. For herself. The contractor visits every few days he bring some work with him & takes away the finished pieces. The payment is made after that. Shanno said that if there is any defect or problem with the clothe which was not seen before the work was given, he deducts the money by half. At times, they don't even make the payment, saying that since the piece is spoilt, it would not be sold now. This, she says, is just one example of how the workers are exploited by the contractors & traders. For the last 10 years, according to shanno, there has hardly been any increase in the payments made to the workers, while the prices of chikan dresses, have increased manifold because of the commercialisation. Shanno gets no time to rest during the day. As soon as she finishes the household work, she sits down with her daughter to do the embroidery. Working together, all three of them can earn only about Rs. 450 per month. The total family income average to approximately Rs. 3200 -3400 per month. Shanno says that in a family of so, it is very difficult to run the expenditure with this small children are much more than with elder ones. There are also, at times, some emergency expenditures, for which they can never be prepared since they have absolutely no savings. Often, they have to borrow from their relatives or friends or take a loan from the shopkeeper nearby.

Shanno, often does not keep well; she is anaemic. Earlier, she used to continue working even if she was not well, which led to a lot of complications. Now, she does not take much risk or strains she is not well. When she had fallen ill the last time, the doctor had advised her to take a lot of fruits & vegetables. But, the limited family income does not allow that. They already have a debt of Rs. 8500 which they have to repay to a distant relative. The children often suffer from some occasional fevers & cold, otherwise, she says, there is no specific health problem with them. Shanno says that they have no specific likes or dislikes regarding the private or government clinics. They go both to the private & the government hospitals. But she says that there definitely, is a difference between the two in terms of efficiency. The private doctors provide services more efficiently. Is lesser time & are available on time. It takes almost a whole day when they go to the government hospital. Therefore, the work of one full day comes to a standstill.

Case Study-10

Mehsar Jahan along with her 5 children lives in a Hata (Takiya) of the Nishatganj word. Nishatganj is almost centrally located in the city of Lucknow. The area of this Hata was a graveyard about 15 years ago, but now it has developed into an urbanised slum, with the Muslims of the Shia sect as a majority. The land on which the Hata is settled belongs to the railways. Mehar's husband, Mohd. Arif was a Tailor was employed at a shop, & used to earn around Rs. 600 per month. He died 5 years ago due to heart failure. Meh sar said that her husband was not caught in any 'bad habits' of drinking & smoking. He only used to chew tobacco, that too once in a blue moon. He had not been suffering from any disease. Meh sar & Mohd. Arif had three sons & two daughters. The eldest Raju a now 18 year of age & works in a cloth store. He earns Rs. 600 per month. The next one, raja is 15 and works at an electric repair shop as an electrician. He earn Rs. 350 per month. The third son Raj is 12 years of age & is learning Zardosi work. Since he is still learning the work he is paid only about Rs. 100 per month, that too on quite an irregular basis. Next to him is their daughter Husnuma who is 9 years of age. The youngest is Rehnuma who is 6 years of age. Both the daughters study in the nearby railway school. The boys did not go to school, though they have received some religious instructions at the 'Madarsa' (Islamic Education Institution).

The family is a native of Nagram in district Rae Barielly. Mohd. Arif came to Lucknow to earn a living. He had some idea of sticking clothes. He started working at a shop with very low payment. Soon he became adept in the are & began to earn more. Sometime during this period, he was married to Meh sar who also hails from Rae Barielly. Meh sar's mother used to do chikan embroidery, therefore, she & her sisters had also picked it up. Before marriage, she used to help her mother. After her marriage, she came to Lucknow & with the contacts of her husband, soon got some work, which, because she observe purdah, she did at home. She used to get a meagre amount of Rs. 1.75 to Rs. 2 for embroidering all the 'Phals' (motifs) in one dress. She specialises in doing 'Jali', though she says, she says, she knows all the other stitches of chikan embroidery. There is hardly any change in the amount that she is paid for the embroidery. Even now they get approximately 15-20 paise per 'Phal' which adds up to about Rs. 3 to 4 for a dress. 'Jali' making consumes a lot of time, so she prefers to take up work with 'Ulti Bakhiya' which is comparatively easier. After the household chores & the prayers, she gets roughly 8-9 hours to spend for the work which pays her about Rs. 300 to 350 per month. Since it is difficult to work continuously during the day, she makes up for the lapses by working at night, after the children to bed. All night, she embroiders for about 2-3 hours.

Earlier when her husband had expired & even her sons were earning quite less, she used to work as a housemaid at one or two nearby houses to supplement the family income, especially during the rains when there is absolutely no chikan work available. She doesn't observe Purdah anymore, but never prefers to go to the centre (where a lot of women prefers to got to the centre (where a lot of women collect to work from 9:00 A.M. To 5:00 P.M. & a paid a fixed salary per month), because she feels that the women there are exploited much more at the hand of the employers. Even it they are paid Rs. 400-450 as a fixed salary per month, they are required to do much more work & there are no rest pauses in the middle of the work. Also, she says that it is very

difficult for women with small children to stay away from home for the whole day. Mehsar told that there is trouble also with bringing work home. When they return the completed work, the pieces are thoroughly checked. If it has even a slight cut or a defect that can be attributed to the embroidery workers, the payment is not made. The total monthly income of the family is about Rs. 1300, but it keeps on fluctuating due to availability of work. Work is available only for about nine to ten months per year. Therefore, at times to deal with the expenses, they also have to borrow money. Last year, for example, when her youngest son suffered from gastro-enteritis & need to be hospitalised, she had borrowed Rs. 2000 from one of her employers where she was working as a housemaid. She still has to pay the rest. Mehsar can, otherwise, somehow pull along with the expenditure, but they have to take debts only to time of unexpected expenses.

Their houses do not have an individual tap connection. They draw water from a community tap nearby, which is the only one in the whole locality. Usually, water is available only in the mornings & evenings. People of the whole area queue up to fetch water, which also at times leads to trifles between them. In winters the water is available for longer hours during the day. Sometimes, usually during the day. Sometimes, usually during the rains, they find worms in the water. At times, it is also very muddy & dirty & stinks. In such circumstances, they cannot use the water. If it's only muddy, they store it, & after the mud settles, they start using it. When there are worms in the water, she filters it before using. The people of the locality have dug pits near the tap for the excess water to get absorbed or else it might lead to their huts. There is no drainage system in area, so they generally prefer to throw the used water across the road. There is no lavatory in their house, so they go out near the railway tracks for their morning ablutions.

Mehsar says that at times, because of working for the whole day with hardly any rest, she feels very sick & tired. Three of her younger children were born by caesarean section. She has also had two to three operations, one of the small intestine & another of the gall bladder when she had stones in it. Therefore, she feels that after these five operations, there has been a considerable decrease in her stamina, & she feels weak almost all the time. Apart from this, working for long hours sitting in the same posture leads to severe pain in the neck & back, & gastric problems. She also complains of itching & burning sensation in the eyes because of doing this intricate embroidery for long hours, especially at night, in the light of a small oil lamp. The children do not suffer from any permanent health problem, but only from occasional fevers, coughs & colds which can be attributed to seasonal variations. For any kinds of ailments, they go to a government hospital as well as to a private doctor. But, she has more faith over the nearby private doctor as she says that he pays more attention to the symptoms & therefore, his medicines suit them unlike the doctors in the government hospital. Though, she had all her operations done in the government hospitals, she said she would never advise anyone to go there because she had faced a lot of problems there. That is why she wants her children to earn well, so that they don't have to face any such problems in their lives.

Case Study-11

Mohd Israr lives in the third lane of Nishatganj. He has been associated with chikan work for the last 7-8 years. He is 25 years of age & has been making efforts to make his own work successful. He started his own work about 3 years ago. He lives in a family of four members, which consists, apart from him, of his elder brother, sister-in-law & a 2 years old nephew. Israr's father passed away when he was teenager, his mother died last year. Israr's brother Mohd. Iftakhar was involved in the repair of wristwatches & locks. He worked at a clock repair shop, & earned around Rs. 800 per month. About a year ago he felt that work. Israr's sister-in-law is adept in crochet work which she has been doing for some 5-6 years now. Since Israr had started his own work of stitching & embroidery, Iftakhar also left his work in order to start off his own business. To begin with Mohd. Iftakhar & his wife Zubaida have both recently started business in crochet work. Israr also helps them because he has contacts with a lot of people in this field. They have employed a few women who make laces, caps, scarves etc. Which Mohd. Iftakhar & Zubaida in turn sell at some shops in Aminabad. Their income has recently increased significantly. Both of them can manage to earn approximately Rs. 2500 per month. Since the work has just about started, they expect to earn much more in future.

Israr started work as a printer with Mohd. Lucknow. Since he showed interest in printing designs in a manner different from the conventional system, Mohd. Ali encouraged him. Mohd. Ali often worked with well-known fashion designers like Asu Jani. Looking at their way of working. Israr felt the urge to start his own work. By the time he had learnt stitching & also quite a lot of chikan embroidery. With the background & experience of working with Mohd. Ali, he set up his own workshop in Nishatganj. He took with him some two three artisans & started the work. Now, he designs dresses on his own, stitches & also embroiders them. He can earn approximately Rs. 2000-3000 per month. Very few people around here know about his workshop. Probably, that is why, he says, he is not able to increase his income, or even keep it constant. He had applied for a loan to start off his work on a larger scale. But, since he has studied only upto class v, he could not get the loan. So, he had to borrow approximately Rs. 30,000 from his maternal uncle which he has to repay as & when he earns. He has not yet started repaying it.

Although he stays in the same house along with his brother & sister-in-law, he has a small, separate room with a ceiling of tin. His sister-in-law cooks for the whole family but since his brother is also not in a good financial condition, so Israr pays some amount of money to them per month. Apart from the small attic (room) which Israr uses just for sleeping at night, the house comprises of one room, a small tin covered enclosure for a kitchen & a bathroom. They have water supply in one tap but only for the limited hours in the morning as well as in the evening. Since in the other houses nearby, they have suction pumps connected to the water supply line, the pressure of water at all. In such circumstances, Israr & his brother fetch water from a community tap, which is at quite some distance from their house. Therefore they fetch only that much of water which is urgently required at home. They have an electricity connection at home, but there is none in Israr's room.

Israr reported of frequent headaches & an itching in the eyes. His brother did not report of any illness or disease or any kind of problem. Israr's nephew, Suleiman needs to be taken to the doctor frequently because he often suffers from cold, stomach upsets & fever. Though at times, they also treat him with their home remedies. Zubaida complains certain problems like backache, headache & mild breathlessness at times. The family has more faith on private doctors rather than government hospitals. They go more often to the private clinics, rather than to government hospitals. Esrar says that it takes a lot of time & patience to stand in the long queue, & then, the doctors don't even do a proper checkup. He says that since the doctors are not paid directly by the patient, they don't show any interest in the problems & symptoms of the patient, whereas in private clinics, the patient pays for the services, that is why a proper check up is done. Israr wishes to expand his work so that he doesn't have to sit & stitch each of the dresses or embroider them personally. He wants to work with some 4-5 people, among whom he would divide the work. He likes designing dresses in his own way & embroidering them. For this he keeps on taking help from his earlier employer. On earning, he first wishes to repay his debt & then to start saving some money to get his own house.

Case Study-12

Safia Khatun is an old embroidery worker of chikan & has been doing the work for the last 50 years. She is 68 years of age & stays alone in her small house in the Nishatganj ward. Her husband, Safdar Mian, was a laborer & died of liver cancer about 22 years. She has one son & two daughters, all of whom are married. Her son Javed, married a girl of his choice, which Safia did not approve of since she was not on good terms with her daughter-in-law, his son & daughter-in-law went away to live separately. Her son sells inexpensive jewelry, bangles & cosmetics. He has two sons & one daughter. Safia's elder daughter, Rukhsana was married to a clerk in all India ratios. She has two daughters. Safia married her younger daughter Ahsana to a man who did the printing of patterns for chikan embroidery. He earns quite less as compared to Safia's elder son-in-law. Since Ahsana is not so well off, Safia keeps on helping her with whatever meagre income she has. Ahsana also does some embroidery though, she has small children she does not have the time to do much embroidery work. Both of them can earn only about Rs. 1200-1300 per month.

Safia had learnt chikan embroidery when she was very young. She has been doing it ever since. Her whole family i.e. her mother, father, brother and sisters, were all related to chikan work in some way or the other. Till about a few years ago, she worked at a chikan boutique in Nishatganj. A lot of new & young workers have also been learning the work from her. When she used to work in the center, Safia says, she was paid only about Rs. 300 per month. Because the meagre amount was not serving her necessities, she started working at the boutique, where she was paid approximately Rs. 700-800. But now, since her eyesight is very weak, she is not able to do the intricate kind of work any more. She takes up only some of the shadow work (Ueti Bakhiya) & other big stitches along with the embroidery, in order to increase her income, she also does the work of stitching curtains, which fetches her very little money. She has no one to take care of her or to help her in any of her daily chores. It is her neighbours who help her in her times of need.

Her work does not fetch her enough for her living. That is why, she has recently set up a small stall at the entrance of her house. Here, she sells cheap eatables, & toffees & also other items of daily use as soaps, detergents, cigarettes, bidis, match boxes, etc. besides the stall, she has a small cot on which she sits the whole day doing her embroidery or stitching curtains. She says that in comparison to the way the costs of different objects have been increasing, the workers are paid very less. About 10-15 years ago, workers were paid just about the same or Rs. 50-100 less. But, the costs of chikan dresses themselves have increased to a marked extent, due to commercialisation of the chikan industry. Suits are fashionably designed & then the embroidery is done, due to which, they are sold at a much higher price. A suit, which is sold for Rs 1500, may not fetch even Rs .100 to the worker. It takes more than a week, at times, to embroider a dress. 'If the payment done is so less, how can the workers survive'? Now, since her days are gone, she says, she feels very strongly for the younger generation of embroidery workers.

Safia Khatun's house is merely an enclosure made, on all sides, by bamboo frames covered big old rags & cloth. Inside, there is a room made by the mud walls & covered by a tin sheet, on top of which several items of daily use & various bricks are kept to prevent the sheet from flying off in a wind or storm. There is no tap in or near her house. She washes her cloths & bathes at a neighbouring house, where her daughter had been working as a housemaid before her marriage. One or two of the boys who stay nearby help her fetch some water for her household chores. There is no electricity connection at her place either. When it gets dark, she uses an oil lamp.

Her total income per month does not generally exceed Rs. 1000. Since she is very old now, she says, she has started experiencing a lot of health problems. Her mobility is restricted to a marked extent because of pain in her knee joints & back. Her eyesight has gone weak, so she has to wear spectacles now, but she is not very comfortable with them either. She feels that her eyes have gone weak further & that she needs to change her glasses. Earlier, Safia Khatun used to go to the government hospital for any ailments. She says that although the services there are not as efficient as in the private ones, yet it is, she feels, alright keeping in mind, several other disadvantages of the private clinics; where the doctors charge high fees & give long & expensive prescriptions. She also felt that the medicines from the government hospital have also suited her children in the past. Now, she generally prefers to go to the nearby private doctor, since she does not have the patience or energy to sit in the long queue of the hospital. Since she is earning money she doesn't have any problems spending it for her health. Now, she has any problems spending it for her health. Now, her desire is that her grand children are educated properly, so that they have a bright future. She feels that she committed a mistake by not educating her children. She keeps on telling her daughters not to repeat the mistake.

Case Study-13

Sudha Vaish, 36 works at a Chikan boutique in the Nishatganj ward. She is involved with the stitching of the dresses on which the design is printed & then the embroidery is done. She stays in Daliganj. They are a family of four, which includes, apart from her, her husband, Om Prakash, her daughter Renu & her son Amit. Earlier they were joint family, all staying together in the big house. But, soon after the death

of their father, Om Prakash & his 4 brothers split off & divided the whole house into 5 sections. The elder two brothers of Om Prakash were well off, so they gave their small brothers of the house on rent, & went to live away in a 'better' place. Now Om Prakash, his two younger brothers & the two tenants of his elder brothers, all stay in the house in their own respective portions. Om Prakash, 40, is an electrician & works at an Electric repair shop in Aliganj. He earns Rs. 1300 per month. He goes off to work at 10 in the morning & comes back around 8:00 p.m. Their daughter Renu is 18 years of age & is in class XII. Their son Amit is 16 & is studying in class VIII. Sudha has been stitching dresses, especially suits for Chikan for the last 9 years. Apart from working at the boutique, she also takes up some stitching work in her neighborhood. At the boutique, she is paid Rs. Per month. Sudha told that the payment for stitching is more than that of embroidery. She accepts that this is not fair, since, the workers have to work really hard for the embroidery. At this, she said, she felt that if she herself is not satisfied with this, according to her is such a field where workers are exploited at almost every level. Since both her children are ready for higher studies, she wants to earn & save for their future. That is why she feels that meagre family income of about Rs. 2500 would do them no good. In addition to her work at the boutique. Therefore, she decided to start off with her own work. She stitched some 100 clothes, & contacted her neighbours who could do fine embroidery. She got her clothes embroidered for which she had to mobilize money. She borrowed money from a family friend to begin the work. Then, she had to run from pillar to post in order to seek permission for the office of the Development commissioner (Handicrafts) to put up her exhibition at the Dilli Haat in New Delhi. She could not, eventually, get the permission, since the concerned officer wanted her to pay a heavy bribe. Since she could not pay the amount, all her preparations went in vain. She has now been selling off these suits to people through personal contacts at a much lower price. Still, she feels that her efforts have all not been in vain. She has not yet been able to pay the debt, which she aims to pay sometime during the next year. She thinks that she should continue making & selling her own dresses so that she can contribute to the family income. Whatever money she has earned till now by selling of these dresses, she has been depositing it in her bank account, from which she will pay her debt & possibly start off some more work.

Sudha's portion of the house is a two room set on the first floor. A very narrow & dark stair case leads to her portion. The rooms are also not well ventilated. There was a window each on either side of the walls of both the rooms, but when the brothers separated, one window of both the rooms was closed (plastered) because they were opening into the portion of the elder brother. This led to a gloomy & congested set of rooms. The problem is even more aggravated since they do not have a kitchen in their portion. So, Sudha had to convert a part of one of the rooms into a kitchen. Even if one of the windows is open, when she works is very suffocating inside. This, she says causes a lot of problem. At times her children cannot stay in the room while she is cooking. The other room is a small living room with two cats. All the dresses that she has made are kept in chests which are underneath the cots. The bathroom & the toilet are downstairs. There is also no top upstairs in her portion. For drinking & cooking purposes, the family has to fetch water from downstairs, which is very troublesome since the staircase is very narrow. After they have saved some money, Sudha wants to get tap installed in her portion so that at least some of the water problem is solved. They have an electricity connection in the house.

Sudha's husband, Om Prakash does, not suffer from any specific or permanent health problem. Sudha too says that she does not have any particular disease or disorder. Some occasional colds & fevers once or twice a year are normal. About a year & a half ago, Sudha's daughter Renu had a continuous watering of the eyes for some one or two weeks. They took her for a check up. The doctor told them that Renu's had scarcity of water, & that the capillaries connecting to the eye were drying up. So, he advised her to drink lots of water & to eat vegetable & fruits rich in Vitamins A. Sudha's makes sure that her daughter drinks lots of water. Also, she cooks food which would be nutritious. Sudha's son Amit also not suffer from any specific problems, apart from such colds & stomach aches. Though, she told that when Amit was younger, i.e. about 11-12 years of age, he had undergone an operation for appendicitis. Since the operation was carried out during Amit's final examinations of class V, he could not appear for the exams & Therefore, had to repeat class V.

Sudha's says that at times she feels that she is not able to pay appropriate attention to her children's earn. She says that she wants to expand her own contacts with embroidery workers. In this manner she will be able to increase her income & will probably be able to pay more attention towards her family. She wishes that her children study hard & get settled properly in their lives. Although her schedule throughout the day is quite busy. Yet she says, she doesn't have any specific health problem apart from the tiredness of the daylong work. When is of the opinion that had her employer made provision for some rest pauses in the middle of the work, the workers would be more satisfied, less tired & the quality of work would also improve. The only break they get is for half an hour for lunch.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Identification Data :-

1. Name
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Religion
5. Caste
6. Education
7. Marital Status
8. Occupation
9. Income
10. Type of family – Nuclear/Joint/Extended
11. Place of residence – Rural/semi-Urban/Urban

Family Details: -

1. No. of members in the family
2. Names of the members of the household
3. Age
4. Sex
5. Education
6. Occupation
7. Relation to the respondent
8. Contribution to the family income, if any.

Education: -

1. Are you educated/studying at present?
2. Have you ever been to school?
3. If no, then why? / If yes, till what standard?
4. Is anyone else in your family educated/studying at present?
5. If yes, how does your family meet the expenses?

Housing & Basic Amenities: -

1. Do you have your own house? Yes/No
2. If yes, is it a Kutcha or a Pucca house?
3. If no, where do you live? Rented house/Parent's house.
4. Do you have an electricity connection?
5. Details of accommodation with respect to family members.
6. Do you have sanitary facilities in your house?
7. If yes, what type of sanitary facility?
8. Do you have a water tap in your house?
9. If no, where do you get clean, potable water from?

Working Conditions: -

1. Where do you work? In you're won house/workshop/employer's house.
2. At what age did you start working?
3. How many members of your family are involved in this work?
4. When children start learning, are they paid?
5. If no, when do they start setting their wages?
6. What is the nature of your work? Stitching/Printing/Embroidery/Washing & Starching?
7. What posture do you adopt while you're working?
8. Duration of working hours in a day (along with timings).
9. How many days a week do you work?
10. Do you get rest intervals in the middle of you work?
11. If yes, what is their duration & frequency?
12. If no, did you ever demand for it?
13. Do you get work throughout the year? Yes/No.
14. If no, on an average, how many months do you work in a year?
15. State the months in which there is no work.
16. State the months in which there is minimum work?
17. Do you get weekly or daily wages?
18. Do you work overtime? Yes/No.
19. If yes, do you get any extra wage for that.
20. What is your gross payment in a week?
21. How do you view the changes in the last 10-15 years regarding working conditions?
22. What according to your are the reasons for the changes?
23. What are the daily problems that you have to face in your work area?
24. If there are small children at home, who takes care of them when you come for work?
25. In case of pregnancy, till which month do you work?

Income & Expenditure: -

1. Do you have any other source of income other than from your job? Yes/No.
2. If yes, specify - Agriculture/Cattle/Other.
3. How much do you spend for it (each of them)?
4. Do your children contribute to the family income? Yes/No If yes, how much?
5. Is the income you get sufficient for your livelihood?
6. If no, how do you manage?
7. Do you need to borrow money?
8. If yes, from whom do you usually borrow?
Friends/Neighbors/Relatives/Shopkeeper
9. State the reasons for borrowing money.
10. Have you got any debts to clear - Yes/No.
11. If yes, to whom
12. Are you able to save any amount of money?
13. If yes how much do you save in a month?

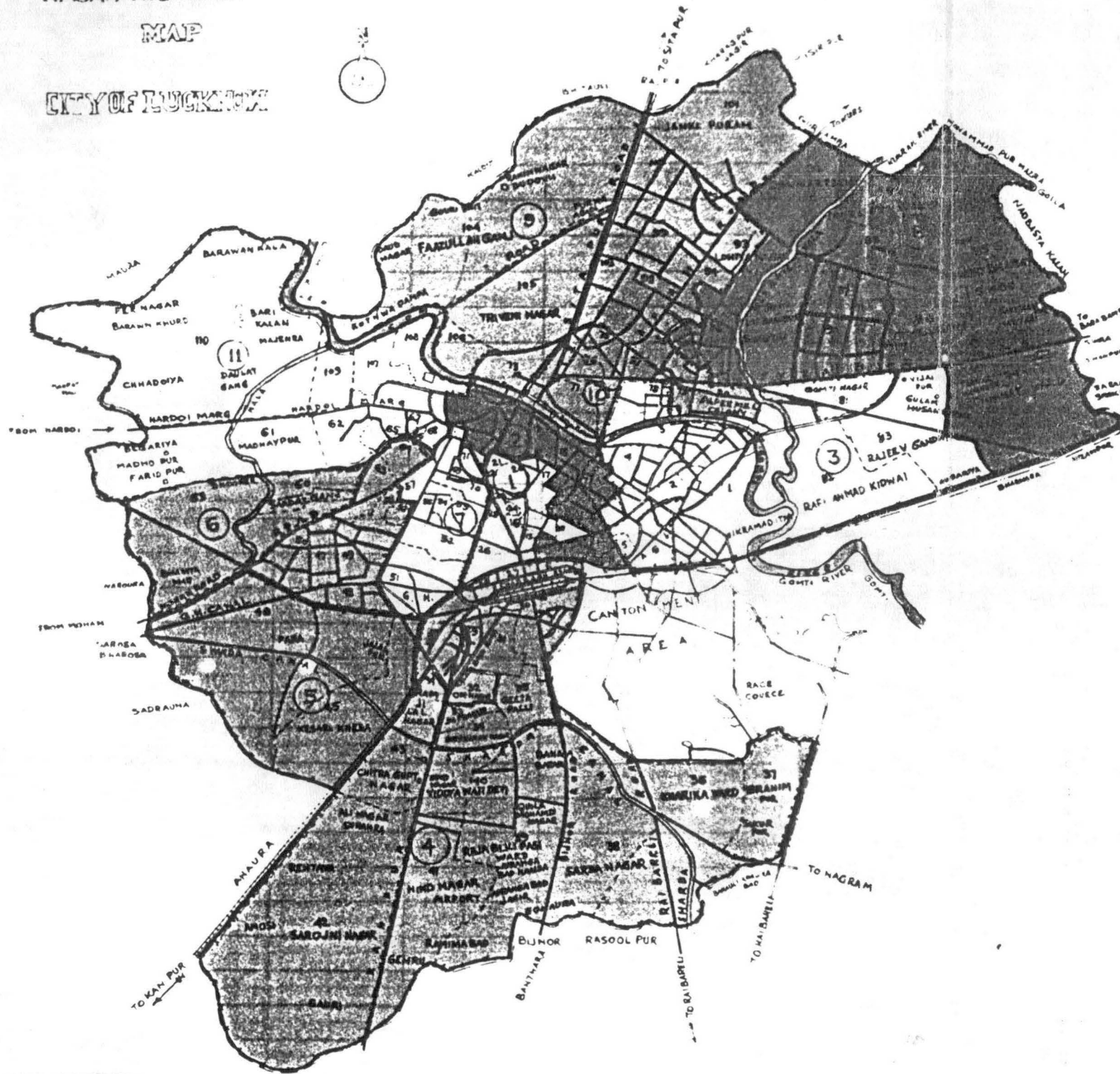
Health:-

1. What are the problems you face after a day's work?
2. If you have health problems, specify (in terms of duration, frequency & magnitude; rank according to the magnitude of illness/problem).
3. What are the common ailments, you & your family often suffer form?
4. Where do you usually go when you fall sick? Govt. Hospital/Private Hospital (Practitioner)
5. If it's a Govt. Hospital-
What are the services you get there?
Do you get it at the needed time?
6. If it's a Private Hospital-
What are the reasons for going to a private hospital?
7. Where do you usually buy your medicines from?
Hospitals/Private Medical Shops.
8. On an average, how much do you spend on medicines?
9. What do you generally do when you're ill during working hours?
10. In case of accident/injury at work place, are you paid any compensation? Yes/No.
11. If yes, state details.
12. Do you meet collectively to discuss you problem & find solutions to them?

NAGAR NIGAM LUCKNOW

MAP

CITY OF LUCKNOW



REFERENCE	
1	NAGAR NIGAM BOUNDARY
2	EXISTING ROADS
3	RIVER GOMTI
4	RAILWAY LINE
5	NALA
6	WARD BOUNDARY
7	SAMITI BOUNDARY

S.NO	NAME OF WARDS	W.M.C.	S.NO	NAME OF WARDS	W.M.C.
1	VIKARMA DITYA WARD	11	56	BHAWANI GANJ WARD	94
2	RAM TIRTH	46	57	ASHARFA BAD	90
3	RAM MOHAN RAI	22	58	SEETLA DEVI	102
4	HAZARAT GANJ	42	59	HAIDAR GANJ	17
5	MURLI NAGAR	13	60	SAJAT GANJ	71
6	MAHATMA GANDHI	31	61	MAGHAV PUR	26
7	JAGDISH CHANDRA BOSS	32	62	GARHI PEER KHAN	87
8	NAZAR BAGH	80	63	KASHMIR MOHALLA	92
9	SHIVA JI MARG	81	64	MOULANA KALVE AY D	83
10	YADUNATH SAINIYAL WARD	67	65	AMBER GANJ	104
11	BABU BANARSI DASS NAGAR	50	66	ACHARYA NARENDRA DE.	95
12	HUSAIN GANJ	78	67	BAZAR KALI JI	106
13	LAL KUNAN	15	68	CHAUK	105
14	GAUTAM BUDH	68	69	YAHYA GANJ	91
15	GANESH GANJ	89	70	KUNDRI RAKAB GANJ	110
16	BASHIRAT GANJ	82	71	RAJA BAZAR	101
17	AMINA BAD	65	72	NETA JI SUBHASH	70
18	RANI LAXIMI BAI	25	73	KADAM RASUL	10
19	PEER JALUL	54	74	DALI GANJ	46
20	GOLA GANJ	62	75	NIRALA NAGAR	93
21	WAZIR GANJ	77	76	ASHOK NAGAR	60
22	MASHAK GANJ	59	77	MAKKAM JHWAR MANDIR	45
23	MOLVI GANJ	76	78	KALVIN COLLEGE	61
24	ABDUL HAMEED	101	79	NISHAT GANJ	10
25	RAJENDRA NAGAR	47	80	PAPER MILL COLONY	88
26	MOTI LAL NEHRU NAGAR	85	81	GOMTI NAGAR	79
27	CHANDRA BHAN GUPT NAGAR	98	82	RAFI AHAMAD KIDWAI NAGAR	33
28	SEWA GRAM STADIAM	100	83	RAJEEV GANDHI NAGAR	18
29	SARDAR PATAIL NAGAR	56	84	CHINHAT	20
30	GURU GOVIND SINGH	6	85	SHAHFED BHAGAT SINGH	5
31	BABU KUNJ BIHARI LAL NAGAR	23	86	ISMAIL GANJ	73
32	OM NAGAR	30	87	INDIRA NAGAR	96
33	JAI PRAKASH NAGAR	19	88	BABU JAGJEEWAN RAM	58
34	GURU NANAK NAGAR	35	89	INDRA PRIYADARSHANI NAGAR	28
35	GITA PALLI	29	90	MAITHALI SHARAN GUPTA NAGAR	55
36	KHARIKA	2	91	LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI	86
37	IBRAHIM PUR	1	92	SHANKAR PURWA	37
38	SHARDA NAGAR	7	93	LOHITA NAGAR	40
39	RAJA BIJLI DASI	3	94	BEGAM HAZRAT MAHAL	44
40	VIDDYA WATI DEVI NAGAR	12	95	CHAND GANJ KALAN	57
41	HIND NAGAR	16	96	MAHA NAGAR	34
42	SAROJNI NAGAR	4	97	VIVEKA NAND PURI	97
43	CHITRA GUPT NAGAR	64	98	ALI GANJ	72
44	RAM JI LAL NAGAR	24	99	BAJRANG BALI MANDIR	51
45	KESHARI KHERRA	53	100	LALA LAJ PAT RAI	38
46	ALAM NAGAR	63	101	JANKI PURAM	14
47	HARDEEN RAM NAGAR	75	102	BHARTENDU HARISH CHANDRA	66
48	RAJA JI PORAM	109	103	MAHA KAVI JAI SHANKAR PRASAD	27
49	LABOUR COLONY	8	104	FAZULLA GANJ	9
50	KUNWAR JOTI PRASAD	107	105	TRIVENI NAGAR	43
51	AMBEDKAR NAGAR	21	106	AYODHYA DASS	69
52	MALVIYA NAGAR	99	107	DAULAT GANJ	84
53	TILAK NAGAR	8	108	HUSAINA BAD	41
54	JAL SANSTHAN	49	109	MALIAHI TOLA	39
55	AISH BAGH	74	110	BALAK GANJ	36