

ASIAN AND PACIFIC CENTRE FOR WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT



A CASE STUDY

on

*THE MODERNIZATION OF THE TRADITIONAL
HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY IN
THE KASHMIR VALLEY*

The Integrated Development Project
for the Woollen Handloom Weaving Industry
in Jammu and Kashmir

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FOREWORD

Development policies affect both men and women for they are intended to transform conditions to 'improve' life for them. That they have a greater impact on women than on men, is generally true but less well known. Evidence must be made available to those who do not perceive the differential impact of development on men and women. This is so even, though the classic example of the Industrial Revolution in England is indisputable experience of how "modernisation" can make life miserable for children and women, before it brings about improvement for society. The poor and relatively disadvantaged sections of people have the motivation, but they cannot avail of the opportunity given by development because of the inevitable adjustments to be made. It is much harder for women with cultural constraints and expectations of role concepts and compulsions that bind them to their homes and home towns. Therefore appropriate conscious efforts have to be made to make these implications known so that they can be kept to the minimum by adopting suitable policies.

This study turns the spotlight on a situation where, unthinkingly, the new technology, will displace large numbers of women. There is sex segregation, and the technology to be used is to be physically located in a central shed - in that sphere of operations - pre-weaving - which is done by women. The pre-feasibility study did not consider the factors which would prevent the women to leave their homes and come to the shed, and thus the negative consequences on the women displaced. Nor did it think of the alternative now suggested to the authorities, of giving the new looms to unemployed persons rather than using them in the place of existing looms and displacing thousands of women engaged in pre-weaving. Further the market for the increased stocks has not improved and the 'enhanced' income for families is still a dream.

The task of undoing the effects of anything is always greater than when precautions are taken. "Undoing", presents such problems as "Who will take the blame", "Better to justify the stand taken than admit the mistakes made because it is so troublesome" and so the vested interest hardens and it is difficult to make it thaw. The intervention when done at such a stage needs perseverance and money for carrying it right through, even to partial success, as the study shows.

There are many messages and lessons here for women and for planners. Its lucid and easy style gives the study a readability that is so important in research work, if it must serve a practical use.

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Modernisation of the Traditional Handloom Weaving Industry in the Kashmir Valley: The Integrated Development Project for the woollen Handloom Weaving Industry in Jammu and Kashmir

Introduction

1. The Asian & Pacific Centre for Women & Development commissioned a case study to be done by the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) New Delhi in 1977-1978, on the Modernisation of the Traditional Handloom Weaving Industry in Jammu and Kashmir (India). The purpose of this study was to ascertain whether and to what extent the integrated project for the modernisation of the traditional woollen handloom weaving industry in the Kashmir Valley is adversely affecting the employment and income of the traditional artisans, especially women.

The project is sponsored by the Government of India in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, with assistance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

2. Some of the major findings of the ISS Study are as follows:

The manner in which the IDP is being implemented is certain to cause large scale displacement of women workers.

Their displacement is threatened by the following facts:

- (a) The new looms being installed are using only mill made yarn which will displace thousands of women engaged in handspinning.
 - (b) The new high production looms being installed are not in addition but in replacement of the existing relatively low-production looms. This will disrupt the existing product pattern which is geared to meet local demand. This will affect local consumption and may also affect weaver's employment if the Project fails to find a market for the new products geared for export demand, which was not studied in any detail prior to launching the project.
 - (c) Under the existing system, warp and weft are prepared manually by family labour. For the new looms the preparation of warp and weft have been mechanised. Ready made warp and weft are provided to the weavers from a central facility. This will also affect employment of family labour.
3. These observations were brought to the notice of the project authorities by the ISS. The following specific suggestions were made to mitigate the adverse consequences of the project on women's employment.

"If the new looms were to be given to those who are not already weaving, the programme would generate additional employment and not cause immediate displacement. When a certain number of new looms have been established under the programme and their products have been successfully marketed, then alone should the project consider the conversion of existing (throwshuttle or fly-shuttle) looms by the new frame looms and that too after thorough examination of the likely consequences on employment."

"Only 140 traditional looms have been replaced by new looms so far against a target of 1000 looms. Therefore it is still possible to prevent further damage by taking corrective

steps on the line suggested above. It must be ensured that IDP does not create displacement and distress even though unintended."

3. The results of these efforts to persuade the authorities to modify the project design were reported in a follow-up report towards the close of 1978.

To recapitulate, the review had reported that the project authorities did not subscribe to the apprehension that woman's employment will be affected much by the project. They also argued that there was not much scope for modifying the project since the assumptions on which the project was started were still valid. The substance of the position taken by the Project authorities was:

"the prime objective of Intensive Development Handloom Project is to improve the economic condition of the existing weavers by increasing his productivity. This has been sought to be achieved by meeting their working capital requirements, supply of designs, speeding up of production and providing marketing cover."

The functions have been incorporated in the project on the obvious presumption that:

- (i) the raw material requirements cannot be met out of hand spun yarn.
- (ii) there is a sizeable demand of handloom production made of mill yarn.
- (iii) productivity shall remain at low ebb if warp and weft are prepared in the traditional style.
- (iv) the demand for handloom cloth in the market could not be met if all the yarn required for it is spun by hand only because of the limitations in the hand spinning capacity.

The presumption mentioned above are very much valid. Enough quantity of hand spun yarn is not available to be fed into all the modernised looms which are proposed to be installed under this project. This object of the project is not to extend the weaving industry by training new weavers and giving them handlooms but to improve the economic condition of the existing weavers by increasing their production. This cannot be done if the weavers are asked to prepare their own warp and weft with the yarn to be supplied by the project, whether mill made or hand spun. This will definitely be resulting in some saving of labour in the families of the weavers which need to be tapped primarily for spinning of yarn and for preparing warp and weft for the cloth which is to be woven on behalf of the Khadi & Village Industries Board/Commission (KVIC) out of hand spun yarn.

It is proposed by the J&K Government to cover only one thousand looms under this project and the field is for the remaining 90 to 95% looms for operations of Khadi & Village Industries. There are no restrictions that the weavers included in this project should not use hand spun yarn. In fact, the J&K Government have kept away from procurement and supply of hand spun yarn, exclusively on the insistence of Khadi & Village Industries Board because they wanted exclusive working with the hand spun yarn. Further, though J&K Small Industries Corporation have modernised the looms with the weavers under this project, there is no binding upon them (weavers) to use only the yarn or to have warp and weft supplied by the J&K Small Industry Corporation which is implementing the Project. The weavers can continue to help the Khadi & Village Industries Board and modernised looms provided by the J&K Small Industry Corporation shall give them better returns with which they will be merely required to procure the loans required for purchase of these looms.

4. One immediate gain was that the project conceded that there will be no binding upon the weavers to use only the mill spun yarn. However, the other assertions made that the raw material requirements cannot be met out of hand-spun yarn and that there is a sizeable demand of handloom production made out of mill yarn, were without material support. The Khadi & Village Industries Commission (KVIC) contested the statement that the raw material requirements cannot be met out of the hand spun yarn. KVIC also asserted that the woollen khadi produced in the Kashmir Valley using hand spun yarn can match any product of mill yarn. In some of the varieties, items produced from the hand spun yarn are in fact superior to mill yarn products e.g. Lois cannot be manufactured out of mill yarn. Similarly, Pashmina items cannot be produced out of the mill yarn. KVIC further asserted that if the Project organisation is prepared to undertake the responsibility of marketing, the KVIC will be willing to organise supply of hand spun yarn in any quantity required.
5. In view of these conflicting assertions, the All-India Handicrafts Board in the Ministry of Industry, Govt. of India, appointed an independent expert team to make an on-the-spot study especially to examine the possible threat to women's employment.

Subsequent Developments

1. Several encouraging developments have taken place since the last review report. Some of these have clearly been influenced by the findings of the ISS study on Impact of the Integrated Development Project for woollen handloom industry in J&K on women's employment.
2. The foremost gain is visible at the policy level. According to the All-India Handicrafts Board, the Government has recognised the vital need to protect the traditional employment of women spinners of woollen yarn in J&K and elsewhere. The expansion of factory capacity for woollen spinning is henceforth to be consciously regulated in a manner that employment in hand spinning of woollen yarn is not affected adversely.
3. The next gain is that technical improvements are being attempted to raise the productivity and income of handspinners of woollen yarn in India-estimated 200,000 women. Government has sponsored research to improve the traditional hand-spinning wheel. It is pertinent to point out that improvement of the traditional hand-spinning wheel was not a part of the UNDP/Government of India aided "modernisation" project.
4. Some initial experiments made in recent months by several groups especially the Indian Appropriate Technology Development Association (ATDA) with the expert help of the Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) U.K. justify confidence in the possibility of (a) increasing productivity of women hand-spinners (b) improving the quality of yarn and (c) improving the earnings of the spinners. Conclusive results of this R&D effort are expected to be available in a year.
5. The success of the above R&D efforts will have profound implications not only for the 200,000 women hand-spinners of woollen yarn in India but also on the approach which development agencies (such as UNDP etc) need to follow in developing countries where it is essential to first study the existing pattern of employment, tools and techniques in traditional industries before launching "modernisation" programmes.
6. It is also noteworthy that the total investment on the R&D now being undertaken to improve the productivity of the traditional woollen spinning wheel, as well as the likely cost of extension of the improved spinning wheel technology are not expected to be more than a fraction

of the vast funds being spent by UNDP/Government of India on the modernisation of the J&K Woollen Handloom Industry.

7. The J&K project authorities have also shown some positive response to the findings/suggestions of the study. The study had recommended that the new looms installed under the project should not be forced to use only mill-spun yarn as that would affect the employment of the women hand-spinners of woollen yarn in the Kashmir valley. The project authorities have now formally decided that the new looms installed by the project may be shared 50:50 between the project and the Khadi (handspinning and weaving) producing agencies. This is a welcome, albeit partial relief, and under the circumstances perhaps the only feasible solution since huge investment has already been made on the modern new looms. Introduction of additional new looms has slowed down. But it is not clear whether the slowing down is based on any conscious decision.
8. However, the Intensive Development Project continues to suffer from lack of demand for the products, despite the earlier assertions of the Project authorities to the contrary. There is considerable accumulation of unsold stocks. This reconfirms the ISS finding that this UNDP aided project was launched without any market study. It was all too readily assumed that anything produced on a modern loom will sell easier than that produced on the traditional loom. The production of modern woollen goods which are not required for local consumption, is continuing to cause problems for the project. The project has yet to find a product mix which is appropriate to the new equipment installed and for which there is adequate demand.
9. The expert committee set up by the All India Handicrafts Board to assess the impact of the project has not yet concluded its deliberations. The Institute of Social Studies is represented on this committee and proposes to press for consideration of all the issues raised in the case study for firm protection of women's employment.

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I THE TRADITIONAL INDUSTRY

The woollen handloom industry in the Kashmir Valley is an ancient craft. The skill in weaving is handed down from one generation to the next. The looms and equipment used are simple and are made locally. The raw wool is also produced in the valley.

The handwoven woollen fabrics have a local market because of the severe winter.

Also because of the climatic conditions, only one crop can be grown annually, in the warm season. Thus for the winter period many rural households would be without employment were it not for the weaving industry. The industry becomes their most important supplementary source of income.

In short, the industry uses local materials, satisfies local demand and provides essential work for rural household labour during the off-season.

The main constituents of the industry are the hand spinning of the woollen yarn, the hand preparation of warp and weft and the hand weaving of fabrics.

Yarn making is the first step in the process of woollen fabric production. In the Kashmir Valley an estimated 16,000 rural women are engaged as hand-spinners. They earn an average of Rs. 1 a day for about four to five months a year. They work about four to five hours a day. Ordinary wooden spinning wheels are used and spinning wages account for 15 to 17 per cent of the value of the spun yarn.

It is estimated that a further 10,955 persons are engaged in the preweaving and weaving operations. Of these, one quarter are weavers and three quarters are allied workers who carry out pre-weaving operations, such as preparation of the warp and weft. Allied workers are generally members of the weavers household and are most often women. The weaving work is contracted by the weavers on a piece-rate basis, which invariably includes charges for pre-weaving operations. It has been estimated that allied workers contribute about 15 per cent of the weavers earnings. The weaver's wages range from Rs. 6 to Rs. 10.40 per day, depending on the quality and quantity of work available to them. They work for a little over seven hours a day for about five to six months of the year.

The Marketing and Servicing Structures

There are three independent public-spirited marketing organisations serving the industry in the State, namely, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Gandhi Ashram and Kashmir Dastakar Anjuman. They have a large field organisation reaching out to the villages which distributes the raw wool to the spinners to whom they pay wages. They collect the spun yarn, have it dyed, distribute the dyed yarn to the weavers, specify the products and designs to be woven, fix weaving charges, collect the woven fabrics and arrange for their final finishing at their respective centralised post-loom processing facilities. They have a marketing network for retail and wholesale disposal of the finished products in different parts of India. There are also private trading firms marketing these products. Annual estimated sales in 1975-1976 were over Rs. 30,000,000 or approximately US\$ 3.75 m.

II THE INTRODUCTION OF INTERMEDIATE TECHNOLOGY

Domestic demand for traditional products of the industry has been growing and in recent years supply has been short of demand. Consequently, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) started to introduce intermediate technology, replacing the traditional throw shuttle loom with a fly shuttle loom. KVIC also provided training to weavers who opted for this change.

By December 1977, nearly half of the total number of looms had been converted to fly shuttle looms. These looms can produce nearly twice the yardage of the throw shuttle loom. Eight hours of weaving by a fly shuttle loom can produce seven to eight metres as compared with the three to four metres produced by the more traditional loom.

It is important to note that the fly shuttle loom raises productivity and income per weaver without affecting the pattern of employment in the rest of the industry. The work of the spinners and allied workers is correspondingly increased with the increased productivity of the weavers.

III THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PROJECT FOR WOOLLEN HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY BACKGROUND

In 1975 the Government decided to modernise the Kashmir woollen handloom industry. One of the important objectives of this modernisation was to equip the industry to produce hand woven woollen fabrics for the export market. It was believed that the present products were not suitable for export and that the industry was not adequately equipped to produce exportable quality and width of fabrics.

A. Detailed Description Of The Modernisation Project

The development of the handloom industry is the responsibility of the Directorate of Industries. In previous plans, a few schemes for providing training to weavers and some facilities such as improved equipment had been implemented but due to the constraint of resources, as well as the absence of an integrated programme, the efforts were deemed to be marginal and inadequate. As a result, weavers continued to remain in depressed conditions, with low earnings, etc.

In the absence of any large and medium industry in the State, the handloom industry was one of the important planks in the overall strategy for industrial development of the region. It has immense potentiality for development and growth since the state is a large wool producer and the availability of this raw material is increasing rapidly.

Apart from meeting the basic need of the local population, woollen products can meet external demands including foreign markets which remain untapped. To satisfy these demands, what is needed is to increase productivity maximise added value, enlarge production capacity and improve marketability.

Keeping the above factors in view, the Government launched a two-pronged programme: one constituent is the Wool Utilisation and Development Project, partly funded by the UNDP and the other known as the Intensive Development Programme which is to be financed entirely by the Government. The two components are integrated and complementary.

I. Wool Utilisation and Development Project

Objectives: Long Range

The long range objective of this project is to assist the Government in its efforts to raise the incomes of the weaving community. It is expected that the wool producers will benefit economically from improved utilisation and marketing and that the foreign exchange earnings of the country will benefit from the increased sale abroad of improved woollen products.

Immediate Objectives

The immediate objectives of the project are:

1. To advise the Government on the construction of a development and training centre and particularly on the lay out of the equipment.
2. To assist the Government in establishing and running a centre which has the following functions:
 - (i) Developing appropriate intermediate techniques for the handloom cottage industry with respect to the processing of raw wool, designing, weaving, knitting and finishing.
 - (ii) Training 20 master-craftsmen a year and 10 extension officers and implementing an extension programme in the State.
 - (iii) Providing guidance to producers on the marketing of wool and wool products.

Span of Project

Duration of the Project is 4 years. It was launched in the latter part of 1975-1976 and is expected to start operation in early 1978. After this period, it will be a continuing Government responsibility.

Site of Project

The project is located in the industrial area at Nowshera, Srinagar.

Financial Outlay

The Project will be financed both by UNDP and Government. The UNDP contribution will be US\$ 807,450 and that of the Government Rs. 3,890,600. Finance is to be provided under Sector-35-Industry; Sub-sector: 3523-Handicrafts and Small Scale Industries.

Government Co-Operative Agency

The control of the project is vested with the Ministry of Commerce through the Department of Commerce and Industry, Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The executing Agency for the Project is the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations.

Organisation

At present 17 personnel have been engaged and 63 more are to be recruited.

Installed Capacity

Installed Capacity of the Project when completed will be as under:

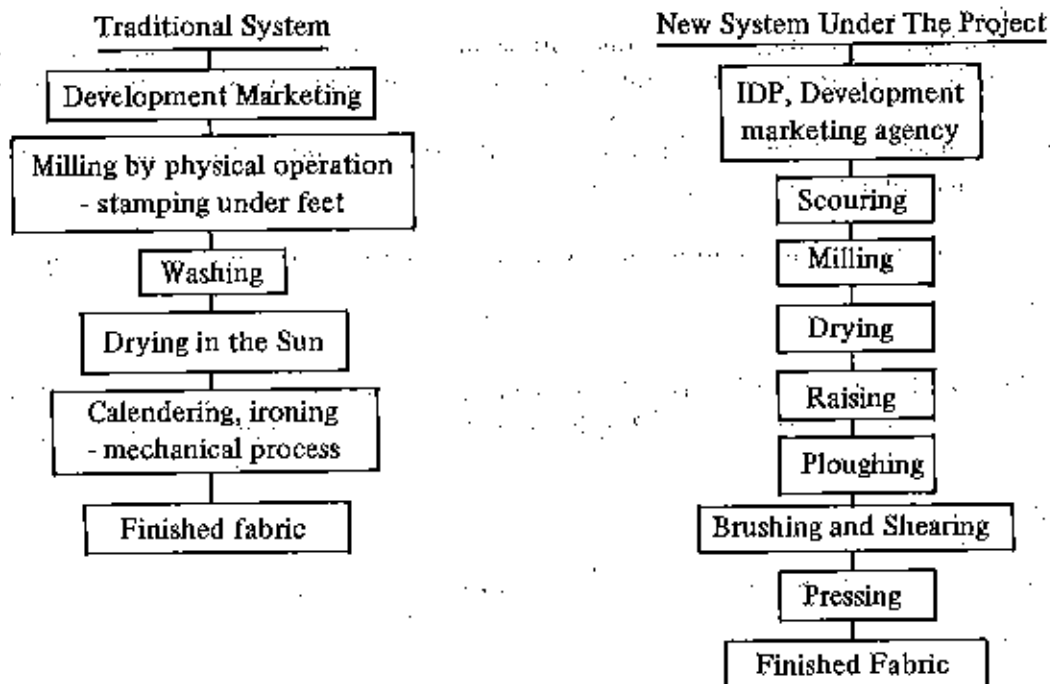
Scouring	-	120,000 kgs. annual
Dyeing	-	100,000 kgs. annual
Finishing	-	200,000 kgs. annual

Process Facilities To Be Provided

The Project primarily seeks to diffuse improved technology by providing capacity for pre-loom and post-loom processing. It will create a mechanical capacity for scouring, dyeing, finishing, calendaring, etc. to improve the standard and market price of the end products. The changes/improvement

it will bring out in processing sector over the current system are illustrated in the following flow charts (Table 1):

Table 1: Processes Flow Chart For Woven Fabric



The process of scouring will be both for raw wool and woven fabrics. Similarly, dyeing will be both for woollen yarn and woven fabrics.

Rates for various processes will be evolved in consultation with Intensive Development Project and the three marketing agencies after the trial run of the Project which is to be carried out in the early part of 1978.

2. Intensive Development Project

Objective

The Project will provide a total package of inputs including raw material, finance, improved equipment, pre-weaving and post-weaving processing facilities, design assistance, training and marketing for a given number of looms.

Area Limits

The project will cover the following areas which lie in Amantmag and Srinagar districts:

1. Pampore
2. Inder/Gadoora
3. Tral
4. Badgam
5. Chadura

Starting Date

The Project started its initial operation from Inder/Gadoora Centre towards the end of June 1977. Now it is operating at 3 centres, Inder/Gadoora, Pampore and Chandura.

Span of the Project

The span of the Project as stipulated is 5 years during which period it is expected to achieve the targeted provisions of new looms, setting up of workshop/facility Centres and other allied services.

Financial Outlay

The Project envisages an outlay of Rs. 31,988,000 for 5 years.

For the year 1977-1978, against the estimated requirement of Rs. 3,836,000 a sum of Rs. 2,522,000 was allocated. In the Revised Estimates, a provision of Rs. 5,080,000 has been requested to meet the Project requirements. For the year 1978-1979, the budget estimate is Rs. 6,700,000.

Organisation

Control of the Project is vested with the Directorate of Industries. For operational purposes, it has come under the jurisdiction of the Small Industries Corporation, Jammu and Kashmir State.

The Project envisages setting up of its Headquarters at Pampore with five sub-zones at the places mentioned above. So far, the headquarters at Pampore and two sub-zones one each at Inder/Gadoora and Chandura have been set up.

Productivity of Loom

The new loom is said to have advantage over the traditional fly shuttle in terms of volume of production, productivity and finish. It can undertake weaving of fabrics of any length up to 100 metres. The productivity of the weaver averages 10 metres per day of various widths. This compares with 7 to 8 metres on traditional fly shuttle turning out fabric of a fixed width with a maximum length of 15 metres.

A further advantage is that the weaving process can continue uninterrupted since the woven portion is automatically wound on, whereas, on the traditional loom the weaving process has to be suspended after every six inch weave for winding.

Supply of Prepared Warp and Weft

The Project has taken upon itself the supply of prepared warp and weft to its weavers. Currently only prepared warp is supplied and yarn is issued for weft. Winding of weft bobbins is attended to by the family members of the weaver and this process calls for less hands as well as a shorter span of engagement. The Project is installing machinery for preparing weft. When this is completed, the weaver will receive the prepared weft also. In this case no pre-weaving activities will be carried out at the weaver's household and thereby all allied workers will become redundant.

Inouts To Be Provided

Supply of Looms

The project envisages the supply of 1,000 new looms with take up and let off motions in a phased manner to the weavers, on subsidised rates: of the total cost of Rs. 1600 each, 75% will be borne by the Government and 25% by the Weavers. Installation of the looms at the Weaving Centres was started towards the end of June 1977 and the number of looms installed and commissioned so far is as follows:

Name of Centre	No. of Looms installed	No. of Looms commissioned	Percentage of commissioned Looms to the total looms installed
1. Inder/Gadoora	224	125	55.8
2. Chadura	18	13	72.0
3. Pampore	2	2	100.0
	244	<u>140</u>	<u>57.4</u>

Size of Loom

The new loom is very solid and its standard size-6' (length) X 8' (width) X 6½' (height), whereas the size of traditional loom varied: 8' X, 6' X 6' and 4½' X 4½'.

B. The Main Features

The modernisation project can be broadly divided into three components:

- (1) the replacement of hand spun yarn with mill made yarn; replacement of existing looms including fly shuttle looms with more modern looms fitted with 'take up and let off' motion; and, the replacement of the manual preparation of warp and weft by a central mechanised unit to prepare and supply ready-made warps and wefts.
- (2) Installation of modern plant and equipment for all pre-loom and post-loom processing, including scouring, dyeing and finishing.
- (3) Training and marketing support.

Out of a target of 1,000 looms, the Project has so far installed 244, and of these only 140 have as yet been commissioned to produce. These looms with their 'take up and let off motion' can produce up to double the width of existing looms. Their output is 10 metres per 8 hours compared to the 7 or 8 metres of the fly shuttle loom. The cost of each loom installed by the project is Rs. 1,600, that is more than three times the cost of the intermediate fly shuttle loom, and more than six times the traditional throw shuttle loom.

The project has also established central mechanised facilities for the preparation of warps and equipment for mechanical preparation of weft is being installed. However, the warp making capacity established so far is not adequate to supply ready-made warps to the 140 looms so far commissioned. As a result these looms are working below capacity.

The weaving wages presently being offered by the Project for work on the new looms is Rs. 1.75 per metre. But this is expected to be reduced to Rs. 1.50 per metre when the Project begins to supply ready-made weft. This wage rate is for double the width fabric. For single width fabric produced on the traditional looms the marketing agencies pay Rs. 1 to Rs. 1.50 per metre.

The Project is using only mill-made yarn brought in from Amritsar in the neighbouring state of Punjab. All the project looms have discontinued the use of handspun yarn made locally.

The initial project design was to advise the weavers on the market possibilities and was itself to market 50 per cent of the total production. The remaining 50 per cent was to be left for the traditional marketing outlets, and also to allow the weavers to produce according to their own judgement. In actual practice, the Project has bound every weaver to whom it has provided new looms to work exclusively for the project. It has taken the total quantity of fabrics produced so far. Furthermore, the Project has not allowed these weavers to work for any other traditional marketing channels even though the Project itself has not been able to provide them with an adequate quantity of warps.

The project has not set up any marketing organisation of its own. The finished products that it has acquired are accumulating in its warehouses.

IV SOME NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

The project so far has made only partial progress in installing all the facilities that were intended. However, even at this stage it is possible to feel as well as foresee some of the unfortunate consequences that are arising from it. The effect on rural women's traditional employment is of particular concern.

As part of this study, case studies of six weaving households were carried out. These studies show that in all cases there has been a sharp reduction - ranging from 40 to 80 per cent - in the employment of allied workers, mainly women belonging to the weaver households, and that all the weavers have suffered a fall in their monthly income since they joined the Project. In three cases, the decline in income ranged from 60 to 80 per cent. The studies below and the tables which have been drawn from them, highlight the dilemmas inherent in the Project.

Weaver "A"

Weaver "A" is a cultivator. He owns a small piece of land which yields him an income of Rs. 1,500 annually. He started working for the Project in September, 1977. The composition of household workers is 1 weaver and 4 allied workers - 2 adult females and 2 female children.

He was earlier weaving for the Dastakar Anjuman which provided him work for 10 months in a year, 25 days in a month and 10 hours daily, fetching him a monthly income of about Rs. 245. The Project has provided him only 2 warps in two months. This means 5 days work for each month, fetching him an income of about Rs. 96. Thus there is a precipitous fall in income of about 60 per cent.

For the winding of the weft bobbins, the services of one female allied worker only were required. The remaining allied workers - 1 adult female and 2 female children became redundant. All of them will be similarly affected with the supply of prepared weft.¹

1 Income from the craft was worked out on the basis of the weaver's monthly output and weaving charges paid to him by the agencies.

Weaver "B"

Weaver "B" owns a piece of land which yields him an income of about Rs. 3,750 annually. He started working for the Project in September 1977. The composition of household workers is 1 weaver and 3 allied workers - 1 adult female, 1 male child and 1 female child.

He was formerly working for Gandhi Ashram which provided him work for about 10 months in a year, 25 days in a month and 10 hours daily. His monthly output was 12 thaans (lengths) of tweeds providing him an income of about Rs. 230 per month.

Since joining the Project he received only one warp in two months, that is the equivalent of 5 days' work, which fetched him an income of only Rs. 48 per month. His earnings fell by 80 per cent.

Only one female child carried out parn (weft) making and the remaining allied workers - 1 adult female and 1 male child became redundant. When the Project supplies the weft all of them will be redundant.

Weaver "C"

Weaver "C" does not own any land. Weaving is the only source of his income. He started work for the Project in June, 1977. The composition of household workers is 1 weaver and 5 allied workers - 2 adult males, 1 adult female, 1 male child and 1 female child.

He was earlier working for KVIC and Gandhi Ashram which provided him work throughout the year for about 10 hours daily.

He produced 13 thaans (lengths) of tweeds in a month which provided him a monthly income of Rs. 330.

The project provided him 263 metres of warp in the month of September and only 55 metres in October 1977. It meant 26 days work in the month of September 1977 and 5 days work in the month of October 1977. The corresponding income was Rs. 460 in September 1977 and Rs. 96 in October 1977 averaging an income of Rs. 278 per month.

Of the total allied workers of 5 only 3 allied workers - 1 adult female, 1 female child and 1 male child could be engaged for weft work in September. Thus 2 adult male workers became redundant. The situation worsened in October 1977 because there were only 5 days of work for the weaver.

Weaver "D"

Weaver "D" owns a tiny piece of land which yields him an income of Rs. 750 annually. He started work for the Project in August 1977. The composition of workers in the family is 1 weaver, and 5 allied workers - 1 adult male, 2 adult females, 1 male child and 1 female child.

He was working earlier for the traditional marketing agencies which provided him work for about 9 months in a year, 25 days in a month and 9 hours daily. His average output was 9 thaans (lengths) of tweeds per month providing him a monthly income of Rs. 250.

The project provided him only one warp in two months, that is September and October 1977, which fetched him an income of only Rs. 96. In contrast to the earnings of Rs. 250 per month under the old system, he earned Rs. 48 per month.

Except for one adult allied worker, all other allied workers were unemployed.

Weaver 'E'

Weaver "E" owns some agricultural land which yields approximately Rs. 1,100 per annum. He has one son who is employed on a monthly salary of Rs. 150. He started work for the Project in June 1977. The composition of artisans in the family is 1 weaver and 4 allied workers - 1 adult male, 2 adult females and 1 female child. He was working earlier for the marketing agencies which provided him work for about 9 months a year - 25 days in a month and 9 hours daily. His output on an average was 10 thaans (lengths) a month fetching an income of Rs. 250 per month.

The Project issued him 208 metres of warp in the month of September 1977 and 55 metres in October 1977. The combined work load provided an average income of Rs. 230 per month.

Out of the 4 allied workers, only 2 were employed in weft preparations.

Weaver 'F'

Weaver "F" owns a tiny piece of land which yields him an annual income of Rs. 600. He started work for the Project in July 1977. The composition of the artisans in the family is 2 weavers and 3 allied workers - 2 adult females and 1 male child. The family has however only one loom and only one weaver employed in weaving.

He was earlier working for the Gandhi Ashram and Dastakar Anjuman which provided him for about 10 months in a year, 20 days in a month and 9 hours per day. On an average his output was 8 thaans (lengths) per month fetching a monthly income of Rs. 200.

The Project issued him 159 metres of warps in September and 55 metres in October 1977. This in all provided 21 working days averaging Rs. 168 per month.

The Project rendered 2 adult female artisans and 1 male child surplus to productive activity. The other weaver prepared the weft.

Table 2: Impact of the Project on Selected Weavers:

Percentage Fall in income

Household	Average No. work days provided by Project per month	Average No. work days provided by old system per month	Average income from Project per month	Average income from old system per month	% fall in income from craft
A	5.0	25	96	245	60
B	2.5	25	48	230	80
C	15.5	26	278	330	16
D	2.5	25	48	250	81
E	13.0	25	230	250	8
F	10.5	20	168	200	16

Average % Fall in Income: 44

Table 3: Impact of the Project on Selected Weavers:

		Composition of Household Workers						% Displacement of allied workers with the Project
		Allied Workers						
Weavers		Adult		Child		Total		
Household	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Total	
A	0	1	2	0	2	0	5	75
B	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	66
C	0	1	1	2	1	1	6	40
D	0	1	2	1	1	1	6	80
E	0	1	2	1	1	0	5	50
F	0	2	2	0	0	1	5	60

Average Displacement: 62.

The following conclusions can be drawn from these studies:

1. As only mill-made yarn is to be used, the expansion of the Project will make the 16,000 women handspinning its first victims. They are bound to lose their traditional occupation and income. How many of these women will in fact be displaced will depend upon the extent to which the Project pursues its present policy of using only mill-spun yarn replacing existing looms which use handspun yarn and insisting that Project looms work exclusively for the project. If the project installs all the 1,000 looms as presently planned an overwhelming majority of the women handspinning will have their employment taken from them.
2. Another large group of women workers, estimated between 2,000 and 3,000, whose employment is sure to be redundant are those who prepare the warp and the weft. Together with these men who undertake this part of the process, the women will be fully unemployed as soon as the Project has completed the installation of its mechanised equipment for the preparation of the warp and the weft.
3. The Project's ability to increase the financial gain of the weavers is itself in doubt. As Table 2 and the case studies have shown, the weavers are receiving a lower cash income than they did before they joined the Project. This is despite the fact that they now have high productivity modern looms that have been installed at substantial capital cost and public subsidy.

The weavers who have given up their traditional looms are filled with great anxiety about their futures. Some of them even expressed a desire to revert to the old system but are not sure how they can get out of their contractual agreement with the Project.

4. The traditional marketing channels also face disruption at the hands of the Project. The exclusivity arrangement which prevents a weaver from producing for anyone else, has deprived these channels of any supplies from the Project looms. This is in spite of the fact that the

looms and the weavers are not being fully utilised, and that the clause itself is contrary to the policy outlined in the project proposal at the time of its approval.

5. This reduction in supply to the traditional marketing channels will adversely affect local consumption patterns, especially considering that supplies are already short of demand.
6. Thus the basic character of the traditional weaving industry in the Kashmir Valley will suffer. From an industry based on local raw materials, satisfying local demand and providing essential employment to thousands of rural households, and women in particular, it will become an industry based on imported materials, producing goods for an export market, utilising only a percentage of the previously active labour force.

V GUIDELINES FOR THE FUTURE

The foregoing review of the modernisation project, provides us some valuable lessons for future planning. The foremost is that good intentions, which explain the substantial financial support given, are no substitute for the careful and painstaking investigations which must precede such funding particularly by agencies which are committed to the lessening of unemployment and raising the status of women.

From the available Project records it is clear that no preliminary investigation was carried out to ascertain the nature of the existing patterns of employment, both direct and indirect. Nor was any analysis of the likely economic and social consequences of the Project attempted. Had such an exercise been carried out, the potential destruction of the employment opportunities of the 16,000 women engaged in hand spinning would have become obvious to the project planners. Similarly, they could have clearly foreseen the further displacement of women workers by the mechanisation of the warp and weft preparation process.

Infact an extensive preproject study would have made it obvious that there was no necessity to disrupt the traditional sector at all in order to start export production. The modern looms for producing export goods could have been introduced independently of and alongside the existing industry. This would have created new employment possibilities without displacing existing ones.

Another important lesson is that adequate feedback to the funding agencies during implementation is essential. Had machinery for this purpose been established, some of the unfortunate consequences of the Project may have been discovered and remedial action taken.

Lastly, this review shows that the project appraisal criteria, personnel and procedures of U.N. agencies are not as yet sufficient to implement the resolutions relating to the need for a new economic order nor those relating to the need to integrate women into the processes of development.

VI PROFILES OF TWO WOMEN WORKERS

- from the Woollen Handloom Weavers in Jammu & Kashmir

These are two profiles - one of a spinner who brings in her own income however meagre, and a second of an allied worker whose husband owns both a new IDP loom as well as the khadi loom. Though the spinner is not very pleased with the meagre income, she earns from spinning, she is the one who is likely to get displaced with the introduction of the new looms, unless some training is given to her in some other activity.

The allied worker sees both the positive and negative aspects of the new loom. She finds it relieves her of the numerous tasks associated with the preparation of the khadi loom and thus provides extra hours for leisure and household work. She, however, did state that the new loom provided work for only 15 days in the month compared to the khadi loom which provided work for approximately 25 days.

Most of the other 15 profiles that we have on our files fall under these two broad categories.

Zuna

Zuna is a young housewife, belonging to a rural orthodox Muslim household, having no formal education, and leading a life within the four walls of her house, but performing multiple roles of a spinner i.e. a supplementary income earner, a housewife and a mother. She dresses in the typically Kashmiri fashion wearing a "phiran" dress which keeps her warm and a salwar. Her head is covered by a "chaddar" knotted at the back. She wears long silver earrings, a silver chain and anklets and a dozen coloured glass and plastic bangles.

Wali Wani her husband, 40, is a casual wage worker i.e. he works as an agricultural labourer in the agricultural season which lasts for only 6-7 months in Shopiyan District, the rest of the year he spends in non-agricultural wage work such as construction work.

Their household consists of three children a son and two daughters. Farung Ahmed, Gulzar and Shaista aged 13, 8, 7 are all students in the school in the village in the VIIth, IIIrd and IIrd standards.

Zuna's day begins early. She rises at 6.30 a.m. and begins to work for the family. Her husband takes his lunch with him. Once the husband has gone to work, and the children have left for school at 9.30 a.m. Zuna sets down to spin using an old charkha that she possesses. She spins for about 3 hours and also does the cleaning, sweeping and washing, anytime between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. when the children return from school and she feeds them. In the late afternoon when they are busy with their school work or playing or helping in some household task such as the bringing of fuel and water, Zuna prepares the dinner.

Spinning for 3-4 hours per day she is able to produce yarn from about 1-1½ kg of wool, for which she earns an income of Rs. 20-30 per month. She would like to earn more but finds that raw material is not easily available. She stated that she could make yarn for approximately 4 kg of wool. However she would have to work for longer hours. Basically, income from spinning is not very paying and Zuna feels that she would much rather do any other work than spin. She has received no other training, but said she would willingly join a carpet weaving centre or any other craft training centre if started in the village. Dissatisfied with her present occupation and income Zuna would like her

daughters to study and get a job either in the Government school or as Bal Sevikas or any other well paying respectable job. She is even willing to send her daughters to work outside the village.

Zuna admitted that her husband acknowledged her contribution to the family income although it was a small amount. Since they did not own any land or livestock, they had to depend entirely upon Wali and her income for running the household. The average monthly expenditure was approximately Rs. 250/- per month but Zuna was unable to give a detailed breakdown. She said the husband did hand her over most of his wages and she did much of the purchasing.

Zuna is assisted by Wali in the spinning in that he brings the wool once or twice a month from Gandhi Ashram which is located about 1 km. from their house, and it is usually he who delivers the finished products and receives the payment. However he generally hands over the money to Zuna.

Raza Banu

Living in the picturesque village of Ghadura, in Pampore Zone, Anantnag District, Raza Banu is a young housewife aged 28 years with 4 children, 2 boys and 2 girls aged 10, 6, 5, 2. The household owns a small piece of land (2 Kavals) and owns 1 cow.

The husband's main occupation is weaving and the subsidiary occupation is cultivation. Raza Banu said, she helped her husband in both occupations. Her husband Muhammad Anwar Mir has to weave for 8 hours a day and amongst the items he produces are tweeds, Pattis, lois, shawls, blazer material and blankets. Raza Banu explained that of late tweeds had become increasingly popular and 3 varieties were made, those from manufactured local wool, of imported merino wool and those that were a mix of merino and local wool.

Their house has both a khadi throw shuttle loom as well as the new IDP loom. Raza Banu stated that she was happier with the new loom for two reasons. Firstly, and more important it also resulted in a higher productivity and therefore, a higher daily income. Secondly, it used only mill spun yarn and did not need the services of other members of the family for preparing the warp. This enabled her to devote more time to other household duties such as cooking as well as it gave her more leisure time. The new loom required Raza Banu's services only occasionally for spinning.

However, Raza Banu did admit that the new loom had its disadvantages. She stated that her husband was provided work for only 15 days in the month as compared to when he worked for only the khadi loom where he was given work on an average for 25 days a month - This resulted in a loss of income. Secondly, the new loom was wider and therefore, much more arduous for the weaver, thus while the daily income was more it was far more tiring.

Raza Banu was aware that the yarn both for the IDP and the Khadi loom was got from the respective Centre, which were both located at the distance of 1 km. However, she could not supply further details since it was her husband who generally obtained the yarn and delivered the finished product to the agencies.

Apart from the time that is spent by Raza Banu as an allied worker, which is an average of 3 hours on which the days her husband is working on the throw shuttle loom, - but much less with the new loom; - 3 to 4 hours of her day are spent on domestic chores, particularly in cooking. Child care does not take up too much of her time as three of the 4 children now go to school. The youngest who is 3, plays by herself and does not take up too much of Raza Banu's time.

An hour is spent by her feeding, cleaning and milking the one cow that they possess. The cow gives approximately 1 kg of milk which is used in the household.

The income that was obtained from weaving was usually spent by her husband Muhammad Anwar as he desired without consulting Raza Banu.

Raza Banu was not quite sure of the monthly expenditure since it was controlled by her husband. However, she stated the figure of Rs. 300/- but was unable to give the break up on food, education, clothing, medicines and other items. She received Rs. 10/- from her husband every month from which she usually purchased items such as soap and a few sweets and other small items for herself and the children.