CHAPTER III

HOUSING
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The housing problem occupies an important place in the list of the industrial labour problems, as habitation comes next only to food and clothing. In the previous chapter, basic attention has been paid to the working conditions and hours of work, which have direct association with the efficiency of the workers, but housing conditions affect the health, morale and efficiency of the working force to a great extent. That is why the Industrial housing is treated as a triangular problem, viz, social, economic and civil. In the present chapter, housing conditions in sugar mills with special reference to eastern U.P. dealing with classification, density, disintegration of families, amenities, norms, finance and other problems have been taken into consideration.

Unfortunately, we in India lag behind in the field of industrial housing as compared with other developed nations. The housing condition has become a matter of concern— even an animal, a horse or cow is provided more accommodation than the impoverished worker. Adequate attention has not been paid

1. Report, The Jowmpore Labour Enquiry Committee, U.P. Govt., Supdt. of Printing & Stationery, Allahabad, 1939, Page 76, "an animal especially if it be a horse or cow, is given more room than the poor workers."
so far to provide proper housing facilities to our industrial labourers. What has been done in this field, is in the form of slums, with a few exceptions, which are a bit superior than a mere accumulation of bricks and mud in a, more or less, symmetrical shape. Our workers are forced to leave their families in villages and live alone in factory area due to unhealthy and unattractive housing conditions, which is responsible for creating great disparity between two sex-ratio causing venereal diseases among them. Dr. N.K. Mukerjee has lamented over this situation as "In the thousand slums of the Indian industrial centres, manhood is, unquestionably, brutalised, womanhood dishonoured and childhood poisoned at its very source. The village social code is repelled at this and discourages workers from bringing their wives with them into the industrial centres. In a country where there is early marriage, the young worker who has begun his sexual life comes alone and is exposed to the temptations of the town.... Nothing is easier for the worker than to catch infections in the crowded insanitary bustees. 1 Observing the extremely unhealthy workers-bustees in Kanpur, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India exclaimed in 1952: "I say in all earnestness that I would tolerate closing down of all the mills of Kanpur and consequent fall in our output rather than letting such inhuman conditions to prevail."

Besides, the problem is an economic one, which is as prominent as Social and Civil. The housing problem for industrial workers is essential—it has been solved not only on moral and ethical grounds, but also for economic reasons. The Industrial Commission in 1919 drew our attention observing that "no industrial edifice can be permanent which is built on such unsound foundations as these afforded by Indian Labour under its present conditions." In this connection it is noteworthy that efficiency of the workers is greatly influenced, if not entirely, by housing and health, since they are interconnected. Dr. R.K. Mukerjee clearly explained in these words "Nothing he (worker) dreads more than the loss of wages and employment through sickness and disease, which levy a heavy toll and impair his efficiency and earning capacity. The problem of housing is, undesirably, the most central for efficiency and well-being of the Indian working class."

The emphasis was laid on the problem by The Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, created by a Resolution of the U.N. Economic and Social Council at its second session in 1962 quoting "housing should be given its due priority as a productive investment in its own right."

A- Rural Aspect of Sugar Mills

The growth of sugar mills differ from other urban industries, as these grew up in the rural and semi-urban areas. Such localities were characterised with the lack of housing facilities and availability of plenty of land, with a few exceptions, for house construction. At the initial stage the condition of accommodation improved to a little extent through the efforts made by private individuals. The availability of land proved to be a good incentive for the employers that they made headway in housing their workers. The extent of the housing accommodation varies, basically because of the nature of labour supply, as it is local or otherwise. In Eastern U.P., the housing accommodation is comparatively less as nearly 73% labour supply is local, whereas in central and western U.P. more housing accommodation has been made because factories of those areas recruit 64% and 73% labour from outside.

Six factories, (sampled) employing 7498 workers, approximately, provide factory houses to their 2602 employees. Thus, 34.9% workers are provided with residential accommodation. Remaining employees dwell either in their own houses in the neighbouring villages or in the rented houses adjacent to the factory premises. Here, the important thing to note is that majority of the workers in sugar industry is provided with factory houses and local workers live in their own dwellings.
and the workers living in rented houses form negligible percentage.

B- **Classification of Factory Houses**

The houses, built up by factories for workers, may be classified into two broad categories: (i) Single quarters, (ii) Family quarters.

a. In single quarters, unskilled coolies, watchmen, seasonal clerks, parmen and chemists are housed.

b. In the second type of quarters, permanent skilled employees i.e. fitters, foremen, clerks and members of the supervisory staff are accommodated.

*Single family quarters are usually allotted to the one employee.* In case there is any shortage of housing accommodation, sometimes, two interrelated families adjust themselves in the same house.

Other type of Classification:

There are some factories having classification of their houses into six grades as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>A quarter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A, B, C grade quarters are given to supervisory staff, D grade quarters are meant for clerks, fitters and skilled workers, while in the last two grade quarters e.g. E, F, unskilled operatives are accommodated.

**Classification of private houses**

In eastern U.P., workers' private houses are categorised as below:

A. 'Ekpalia.'
B. 'Bakharsut.'

'Ekpalia' house: such houses contain one or two rooms having sometimes a verandah, but they do not have a courtyard.

'Bakharsut' house: Under this type of house only those are included, which have a courtyard, one or more verandah and a 'Dalan'. In all cases such houses contain at least two rooms.

In eastern U.P., most of the workers' houses consist of two rooms, while in central and western U.P. mostly they have one room.

In sugar mills, double storey buildings for low paid employees and officers are very few. Such houses have either cement concrete roof or corrugated iron or tin sheets with country and English tiles. Roof of the first type is usually of flat shape, but at some places it has jack arch construction.
Remaining roofs are sloping. Brick walls with cement plastering or rolled lining are common. Most of the floors are either cemented or stone-paved or brick-laid, though in some cases 'Kachcha' floor is also found.

Officers' quarters are pretty good from the point of view of design and plinth level. So far as workers' quarters are concerned, there are only a few factories, which have proper lay-out plan. Mostly, both type namely single and family quarters are built-up in a haphazard way following no plan. Houses of these category are either without plinths or with low plinths. In almost all the factories low paid workers and higher paid personnels are separated from each other on the basis of the types of the housing accommodation and sites.

General Condition of Worker's private houses.

In eastern U.P., worker's private houses have the following characteristics:-

(i) Thatched and sloping roofs.
(ii) Mud walls and 'Kuchcha' floors, are often wet and spongy.
(iii) No plinths or low plinths.
(iv) Not quite close to other houses.

In case, the houses, owned by such workers who are village zamindars or 'Mukhiya' or headmen, are constructed
with brick walls and pucca floors having tiled roof or R.B. lintel. Rented houses have a slight superiority over these private houses, but are inferior to the quarters built up and maintained by the factory management.

C- Density

Here density refers to the 'density of occupation'. In eastern U.P., 89.2% employees of total employees quartered by the factories, pass their life-time in single room tenements. Only 9.6% employees are provided with double room tenements accommodation. Thus we come to the conclusion that 98.8% labourers are accommodated in one and two rooms dwellings, leaving only 1.2% to be housed in other type of houses.

In worker's larger houses, higher percentage of labourers are accommodated. Worker's houses in rural areas are found larger than in semi-urban towns. The following are the basic reasons of this phenomenon--

(1) In the villages, workers have got their association with agriculture.

(2) The agricultural set-up of the village necessitates the larger houses for housing pets and live-stock.

(3) The village-system is pioneer in joint family system, which creates necessity of more privacy.
Because of the above mentioned factors, larger dwellings are erected in rural areas. Semi-urban centres, on the other hand, have smaller houses, because,

(i) Majority of the workers of such centres is less,
(ii) Workers residing in such areas need not houses for their cattles.
(iii) Availability of land in those centres is not as easy as it is in rural areas.
(iv) In villages cost of construction of houses is not as high as it is in semi-urban centres.

In the following table percentage of workers accommodated in different types of quarters are shown.

### Table No. 3.1

**Percentage of Workers Dwelling in Different Type of Houses in Eastern U.P.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages of Workers Living in</th>
<th>Houses Containing:</th>
<th>1 Room</th>
<th>2 Rooms</th>
<th>3 Rooms</th>
<th>4 Rooms</th>
<th>More than 4 Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Factory houses</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker's houses</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented houses</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Compiled from the unpublished data collected from the sampled factories.
The above table reveals that proportion of workers accommodated in one room-factory dwelling is too high than the proportion of employees quartered in any other type of housing accommodation. On account of this fact, it may be concluded that density of occupation as calculated by persons per room and per house, must be the highest in one-room-tenements.

In the following table density of occupation is given.

Contd..
TABLE NO. 3.2

DENSITY OF OCCUPATION (IN EASTERN U.P.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Quarters</th>
<th>Particulars of Dwellings</th>
<th>1 Room</th>
<th>2 Rooms</th>
<th>3 Rooms</th>
<th>4 Rooms</th>
<th>More than 4 Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Density per Dwelling</td>
<td>Density per Dwelling</td>
<td>Density per Dwelling</td>
<td>Density per Dwelling</td>
<td>Density per Dwelling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Quarters</td>
<td>Factory houses</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worker's houses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rented houses</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Quarters</td>
<td>Factory houses</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worker's houses</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rented houses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Compiled from the unpublished data collected from the concerned of the sampled units.
Note: (1) Density of occupation has been calculated as under,

\[
\frac{\text{Total no. of occupants in a dwelling}}{\text{Total no. of rooms of a dwelling}}.
\]

(2) For the purpose of calculation of density, no number distinction between children and adults has been maintained. To quote The Rege Committee Report "on the ground that though for purposes of privacy, their (children's) requirements are much less than those of adults for purposes of healthy growth they need at least the same standards of housing as adults." 1

(3) In family quarters, occupants include workers, Male and Female, adults and children.

The above table drives us to the conclusion that the single quarters are overcrowded. The density in family quarters having more than one room is much less than the density in single quarters usually containing one room only.

Mostly Patla labourers (cane-Carrier and Donga Coolies) are housed in one barrack type room. These barracks were found of 1764 sq.ft and 1512 sq.ft in which 70 to 100 such

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labourers were given shelter. It shows the human indignation. This was the thing, on account of which Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru was shocked to see the slums in Kanpur paying a visit in the month of February 1952, and said with annoyance: “These slums represent the utmost form of human indignation. Those responsible for this state of affairs should be hanged.”

As far as the dimension of room is concerned, the most common dimension of rooms is 12'x10' and 12'x12'. Wide difference is found as regard to the dimension of the rooms of the worker's houses, but the rooms in rented houses, generally, have the 5'x4' and 10'x5' dimensions.

After taking the dimensional position of the rooms, we come to observe the floor space-situation.

In eastern U.P., majority of houses are constructed having floor space varying between 101 to 200 sq. feet.

In the following table, percentage of dwellings in relation to floor space is given:

Contd...
TABLE NO. 3.3

TABLE SHOWING RELATION BETWEEN FLOOR SPACE AND PERCENTAGE OF DWELLINGS (IN EASTERN U.P.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House Description</th>
<th>Floor space in sq. ft</th>
<th>Total percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>up to 100 sq.ft</td>
<td>101 sq.ft to 201 sq.ft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factory houses</td>
<td>40.0 (percentage)</td>
<td>41.0 (Percentage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worker's houses</td>
<td>13.0 (Percentage)</td>
<td>22.3 (Percentage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented houses</td>
<td>100.0 (Percentage)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Compiled from the unpublished data collected from the office concerned of the sampled units.

The above table reveals the fact that:

(1) Most of the factory houses have floor space ranging between 0 ——— 200 sq.ft.

(2) The factory houses containing floor space at 501 sq.ft or above constitute negligible percentage as it stands only 0.2%.
(3) Majority of the worker's houses, possesses the floor space varying between 101 to 200 sq.ft and above. This is due to the situation of houses, as the worker's houses are situated in rural areas where village workers have close association with agriculture.

(4) All the rented houses though negligible, contain floor space upto 100 sq.ft. After analyzing the floor-space in relation to percentage of dwellings, it is significant to discuss the density of occupation in relation to average floor space available per person in order to get a clear picture of accommodation.

The observation of the following table leads to the following results—

(1) Single quarters are very much overcrowded.
(2) Family quarters containing one room are comparatively better.

(3) In rented houses, average of floor space available per person is much less as compared to factory houses, while the density per room is found less than other dwellings. Such contradiction is based upon the basic fact of smaller dimension of the rooms contained in it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Quarters</th>
<th>House Description</th>
<th>1 room</th>
<th>2 rooms</th>
<th>3 rooms</th>
<th>4 rooms</th>
<th>More than 4 rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single Quarter</td>
<td>Factory houses</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worker's house</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rented house</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Quarters</td>
<td>Factory house</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Worker's house</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>62.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rented house</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Compiled from the unpublished data collected from the office of the sample units.
D. HOUSING SCARCITY AND DISTINTEGRATION OF FAMILIES

On account of appalling housing condition, the workers in sugar mills are deprived of their homely smoothing atmosphere of family life. Such life of industrial workers, usually, becomes the victim of corruption like drinking, gambling, immorality and chaos etc. Lone living is common feature in both the factory and rented houses. Workers who live in their own dwellings, enjoy their domestic life-pleasures. Thus disintegration of families has become the effect of scarcity of housing accommodation in sugar mills.

In eastern U.P., 1674 houses of sampled units were investigated, out of which 37% are found to be family quarters and remaining 63% to be single quarters. The workers living alone do not have privacy, as they share the tenements with others. Single quarters are provided to unskilled labourers, such as coolies, watchmen, mates etc.

The following table presents the vivid picture of the said situation.

Contd..
TABLE NO. 3.5
TABLE SHOWING THE WORKERS LIVING ALONE AND WITH FAMILY

| Houses investigated | Types of quarters |  |  |
|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|                     | Family quarters   | Single quarters   |
|                     | No. | Percentage | No. | Percentage |
| 1674                | 619 | 37         | 1055 | 63         |

Note: House investigated consist of factory houses, workers private houses and rented houses.

SOURCE: (1) Data collected from the unpublished records of the mills concerned (sampled units).

(2) Personal investigation and interviews with the workers.

It is worthwhile to mention that the workers living alone do not observe privacy in their life as they share the dwellings with others. That is why, those under such miserable condition are denied of decency and culture of life.
E- BASIC HOUSING AMENITIES

It is not less important to deal with basic housing amenities provided to mill workers than analysing other aspects as already discussed. Here, the following things are included in housing amenities:

(i) Water supply.
(ii) Ventilation.
(iii) Latrines.
(iv) Sanitation.
(v) Subsidiary accommodation.

(i) Water Supply:

Main source of water supply in factory houses is taps and hand pumps. Only the better-paid staff quarters have got the independent taps and hand pumps and even some quarters of this category have been provided with more than one tap along with hand-pumps.

Factory houses constituting 33% and 31% have common taps and common hand pumps. Thus 64% dwellings have common source of water supply, due to which, especially, in the morning and evening hours, a 'panghat' scene is created at common taps and hand-pumps. One common tap and hand pump, on the average, cover 5.5 and 5 dwellings respectively. Dwellers of such
dwellings take their water within a distance of 10 to 200 yards.

So far as worker's houses are concerned, 92% of this category have got wells situated at an average distance of 20 to 500 yards. Besides, 60% worker's houses have their own hand-pumps. Wells are mostly used for providing water to cattle food and fodder.

In rented houses, the ratio between common hand pumps, wells and taps comes to 60:38:2.

The following table presents the vivid picture of the above description.

TABLE NO. 3.6

TABLE SHOWING THE WATER SUPPLY SOURCE IN EASTERN U.P., FOR SUGAR MILL WORKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% age of quarters with the source of water supply</th>
<th>Particulars of quarters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factory' houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Common taps</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Common hand pumps</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Independent taps</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Independent hand-pumps</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Wells</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: (1) Data collected from the unpublished records of the mills concerned (sampled units).

(2) Personal investigation and interviews with the workers.
(ii) Ventilation:

Windows are very common in factory houses that the condition as regards to ventilation is good, but the same is not found in worker's houses and rented ones. In 'Bakharsut' and 'Ekalia' houses of the workers, it is generally found that air and light have no easy access. Such houses have seldom position of cross ventilation.

In factory houses, the size of windows ranges between $1\frac{1}{2}' x 1'$ to $3' x 3\frac{1}{2}'$ and the ventilators varies in dimension between $11'' x 6''$ to $1\frac{1}{2}' x 1'$. Ventilators and windows are proved to be enough for entering sufficient light and air in the rooms, except a few exceptional cases. Every room has its door, but in some cases, the doors are too low to enter without stooping.

As far as lighting provision is concerned, 99% rented or private dwellings use kerosene oil lamps or lanterns. Factory dwellings comprising 76% are provided with electric light. Nearly 88% electrified houses have light connection inside the rooms and remaining 12% have lighting-arrangement in only verandahs. 8% dwellings (factory) have got only electric poles infront of them.
In the following table statistics with regard to ventilation including electric light are given.

**TABLE NO. 3.7**

**TABLE SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF HOUSES HAVING VENTILATION AND ELECTRIC LIGHT AMENITIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total no. and percentage of quarters having</th>
<th>Total no. of houses investigated</th>
<th>Factory houses (1520)</th>
<th>Workers houses (112)</th>
<th>Rented houses (42)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Windows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. No.</td>
<td>958.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. % age</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ventilators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. No.</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. % age</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric light</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. No.</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. % age</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCE:**

1. Data collected from the unpublished records of the mills concerned (sampled units).

2. Personal investigation and interviews with the workers.
(iii) Latrines:

In factory houses, latrines are provided, but they are usually dry and are inadequate too. Low seats and pans-use have become the common feature of such latrines. Common latrines are also found and most of these are without shed. General condition of such latrines is so horrible that during a week cleaning is made only twice. That is why the workers go to the neighbouring fields with the aim of getting themselves eased. Under these circumstances, the workmen are put to inconvenience, insanitation and risk of infection.

The following table presents the particulars of latrines provided in dwellings and pressure too.

**TABLE NO. 3.8**

**TABLE PRESENTING THE PERCENTAGE OF DWELLINGS PROVIDED WITH LATRINES AND PRESSURE UPON THEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification of dwellings</th>
<th>% age of dwellings provided with</th>
<th>Average Pressure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Single latrines</td>
<td>Common latrines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Factory dwellings</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Worker's dwellings</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rented dwellings</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SOURCEs:**
1. Data collected from the unpublished records of the mills concerned (sampled units).
2. Personal investigation and interviews with the workers.
(iv) Sanitation:

The sanitation-problem has become a horrifying one as rotting molasses and press-mud create the unhygienic condition and stagnant water in pools facilitate the mosquitoes-breeding. Factory-quarters are not generally spared from open gutter and defective drainage system. So far as the factory-dwellings are concerned, approaches are usually satisfactory, but the dusty, dirty, and ill-maintained worn-out streets have become the common-feature of factory-colony. During rainy-season, leakage in roof has become a cause of great trouble, but dwellings having such type of roof are a few in number. The overall condition of repairs and white-wash is not well and good as these are not done at regular-intervals. Proper arrangement of dust-bins is not generally found and if provided, these are not properly used. It is common to throw away house-refuse. It is also common to find heaps of garbage in front of the factory dwellings.

The condition of rented houses is worst being situated in unhygienic and insanitary surroundings.

As far as worker's private houses are concerned, these are found well maintained, neat and clean, up to what extent the rural circumstances permit.
But it is not exaggeration to say that worker's houses are a muddle\textsuperscript{1} of mud and thatch, but many factory dwellings come true to be "a mere collection of brick and mortar in more or less symmetrical form."\textsuperscript{2} Inadequate provision of kitchens, baths and latrines adds to the already existing bad condition. Overall picture of sanitary condition may be presented in dirty and unclean labour colonies owing insufficient facilities required for proper sanitation. To some extent, factory dwellings are a disgrace to the country as the dwellers living in 33\% and 31\% of these take water from common taps and hand-pumps respectively. It is a matter of further regret that some of the factory dwellings are still without windows and ventilators which are quite unfit for human habitation being dark dungeon.

(v) Subsidiary accommodation

There is no adequate provision of verandas and courtyards in factory houses, due to which these have been more congested. The condition of family-quarters is found far better from the point of view of verandah. It has been

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(iv) Sanitation

The sanitation-problem has become a horrifying one as rotting molasses and press-mud create the unhygienic condition and stagnant water in pools facilitate the mosquitoes-breeding. Factory-quarters are not generally spared from open gutter and defective drainage system. So far as the factory-dwellings are concerned, approaches are usually satisfactory, but the dusty, dirty, and ill-maintained worn-out streets have become the common-feature of factory-colony. During rainy-season, leakage in roof has become a cause of great trouble, but dwellings having such type of roof are a few in number. The overall condition of repairs and white-wash is not well and good as these are not done at regular-intervals. Proper arrangement of dust-bins is not generally found and if provided, these are not properly used. It is common to throw away house-refuse. It is also common to find heaps of garbage in front of the factory dwellings.

The condition of rented houses is worst being situated in unhygienic and unsanitary surroundings.

As far as worker's private houses are concerned, these are found well maintained, neat and clean, up to what extent the rural circumstances permit.
observed that only 67.4% to 76% single quarters contain verandahs, while this rises to 96% in the case of family quarters. As far as the provision of courtyard is concerned, family quarters are in a better position that single quarters containing this amenity constitute only 13.5% to 50.6%, while the percentage with regard to family quarters comes to 83 to 98.5. In single quarters, living space available to workers is already limited, on account of which the problem has been aggravated further owing to the acute shortage of store rooms and kitchens. Mostly, verandahs are converted into kitchens and the situation becomes more serious when the workers are forced to cook their food, in many cases, inside the living room having no outlet for smoke, which has made the walls sooty and atmosphere checked. Most of the workers in such quarters live amidst disgraceful insanitary conditions, as one corner of living room is commonly used for cooking food and other for heaping fuel, utensils and other belongings and the space vacant in between is meant for sleeping. The position of rented houses is rather bad, as these have neither kitchens nor baths.

Subsidiary accommodation comprising of verandahs and courtyards is a striking matter, which would have been proved a mean of relieving congestion in rooms. This is not so in the case of those containing two or three rooms.
F. The Overcrowding and Housing-Norms

At the very outset, standards for overcrowding are given below to make a concrete analysis of the problem.

(1) An average of more than two persons per room constitutes overcrowding.¹

(2) Considering the minimum requirement of an occupant at 40 square feet room.²

(3) Taking 24 square feet of floor area and 540 cubic feet of an space as a minimum for one individual.³

On account of the (1) and (2) standards 1667 dwellings (investigated) constituting 96% are found overcrowded wherein 96.4% workers have got accommodation. Further, keeping in view the 40 sq.ft. of room area as a minimum requirement of an occupant, 81% houses are overcrowed housing 94.5% of the total employees.

As far (3) standard 90% dwellings are under congestion wherein 97% labour force is housed.

¹² These standards refer to the Report on Housing Conditions of Mill Workers in Cawnpore by S.C. Chaturvedi, and the Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee (1940) has recommended 2.5 person per 100 sq.ft. or 40 sq.ft. space for an individual. (Report, Vol. II, Page 279).

³ The minimum standard prescribed by the British Medical Authorities, and Report of the Industrial Housing Sub-Committee, Page 2.
With regard to the standard set-up by the National Planning Committee the housing position in sugar-mills has become a matter of concern. According to this standard, that is 100 sq.ft. of living space per person, only 2% of the total dwellings accommodating 0.6% workers come to be at par. Thus, the housing picture of the sugar mills becomes dismal as 98% dwellings are overcrowded, wherein 99.4% workmen are housed. Here it seems difficult in connection with sugar-industry to keep its major portion of employees on even sub-normal housing standards. For maintaining industrial efficiency housing facilities can not be ignored as "housing and health are inter-related and they both influence industrial efficiency."

G- Desired Housing Standards

The housing standards adopted in U.S.A., Australia and Great Britain are, of course, eye-opener for we Indians and especially for sugar industry. A four-room house is treated as essential for working class in U.S.A. and Australia. The minimum standard prescribed in the United Kingdom for a typical working class-house consists of one

1. National Planning Committee Report 1, Page 80.
living room, a water closet, a store for coal, room for a bicycle and pram and a well ventilated larder of reasonable size. Therefore, it appears quite difficult for sugar industry to provide standard accommodation to its workers. However, the housing situation needs improvement, which cannot be seen unless radical change comes into being. These were the factors, which became the motive-force behind the recommendation of the Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee, according to which a two-roomed house containing provision for a kitchen, a loft and a bathing and a washing place is considered essential. The recommendation of the Industrial Housing Sub-Committee (appointed in 1945) reveals the standard that there should be a two-roomed house along with a kitchen containing storage space for food and fuel, an independent bath-room, a lavatory, verandahs, preferably both in front and the back and a courtyard in the case of single storey houses and should be provided with adequate water-supply and preferably with water-borne sanitation for an industrial worker. Dr. R.K. Mukerjee opined of a two roomed dwelling having a verandah as minimum


acceptable standard in India.¹ The Mukerjee's view is a polite one, which should invariably be adopted. But the house prescribed by Dr. Mukerjee seems good for a family-life living only after containing a small courtyard, and an independent kitchen and a latrine. Any standard below this, is quite insufficient and disgraceful to our working class. For sufficient privacy and decent happy family-life adequate space, ventilation, light, latrines, drainage and other sanitary-arrangements are required.

H- Housing Scheme

The housing scheme in sugar-industry has been attached with the following two problems:

(1) Responsibility of execution.
(2) Financing.

(1) Responsibility of execution.

It was a difficult problem that whose responsibility should it be to execute the housing scheme. To make the problem easy, before independence, various committees²

2. (1) Bombay Rent Enquiry Committee, Bombay Govt., 1938.
   (ii) The Bombay Textile Labour Enquiry Committee, 1940.
   (iii) The Labour Investigation Committee, Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1944.
   (iv) The Industrial Housing Sub-Committee of the Standing Labour Committee, Ministry of Labour, Govt. of India, New Delhi, 1945.
were appointed from time to time and expressed their views. Usually, all the committees fixed the responsibility of executing housing scheme for labour in rural areas upon the employees. In sugar industry employees came forward in this regard. Only after the enactment of the U.P. Sugar and Power Alcohol Industries Labour Welfare and Development Fund Act 1951, Govt. assured some responsibility in connection with housing and labour welfare in sugar industry. The Act has created a fund consisting of three separate accounts, viz.

A. Housing Account.
B. General Welfare Account.
C. Development Account.

The State Government transfers the sum realised to the Fund from time to time. A Labour Housing Board and Advisory Committee have also been constituted with the aim of carrying out the scheme. The employers have been made responsible for the actual construction of houses of approved design and standard. The Govt. advances the money out of the Fund and provides all necessary facilities to the employers for the construction of houses. The Government under the provision of this Act aims at constructing one room and two-room tenements in sugar factories in U.P.

1. Notification No. 2307 and 2308(LL)/XVIII dated October 1, 1951.
(2) Financing.

Under the housing scheme finances are required to meet (a) the cost of construction of new houses and the cost of improvement in the old ones, (b) the cost of land, (c) the cost of annual repairs and basic amenities as light, water and sanitation etc.

The provision has been made under the Act that the Housing Account shall meet all the above mentioned expenses.

Conclusion

On the basis of the analysis made so far, it may be said that the sugar industry does not have housing problem as acute as other industries have. Relatively, a big chunk of workers in eastern U.P., is drawn from local villages because of which factory management is not required to provide residential accommodation to cent per cent labourers. But, the accommodations provided, are neither adequate from the view point of quantitative aspect nor good from the view point of qualitative standard. Overall picture of the houses meant for worker's residential purposes in sugar mills of U.P. in general and in eastern U.P. in particular, shows deplorable conditions. and therefore, leaves much to be thought, planned and desired to be done. In some factories,
workers are found living under so terrible conditions that one can justify the remark: 'God made the world, Man made the town and Devil made the slum.'

Horrible housing conditions prevailing not only in sugar industry, but in most of the industrial centres, drew attention of our Government to this urgent problem. The First Five Year Plan therefore annunciated a housing policy aimed at improving the conditions of living accommodation of industrial workers and low-income-groups. This housing scheme involved the subsidy element limited to 50 per cent of the cost of construction for State Governments, and 25 per cent in the case of employers and Cooperative Societies of Industrial Workers.

Further, the Govt. of India consulted the State Governments and representatives of employer and workers and got the 'Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme' in September 1952, finalised in pursuance of the recommendations of the First Five Year Plan. Three categories of tenements were included under this scheme for subsidies and loans purposes, viz:

1. Tenement to be constructed by the State Government or Statutory Bodies, e.g. improvement trust or development board;

2. Tenements to be constructed by private employers for providing residential accommodation to the workers of their establishments;
(3) Tenements to be constructed by the housing cooperative societies of workers.

In the case of first category of the above mentioned three categories, the Central Government was to pay a subsidy of 50 percent of the total cost inclusive of the cost of land and the rest by means of loans to be repaid in twenty five years.

In the case of second and third categories as mentioned above, the Union Government agreed to give subsidy upto 25 percent by means of loans repayable in 15 annual instalments.

In April 1966, the 'Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme' was converted into an 'Integrated Housing Scheme for Industrial Workers and Economically Weaker Sections of the Community' with the aim of granting long-term interest bearing loans and subsidies to the State Governments by the Central Government and the financial assistance was made available to other approved agencies such as Statutory Housing Boards, Local Bodies etc.

So far as the U.P. Government is concerned, it came forward with setting up a Housing Scheme under the Subsidised Industrial Housing Scheme of the Central Government for constructing houses for sugar factory workers. But no substantial progress came to be witnessed as the scheme
had little response from the managements of the sugar mills. Even cooperative societies of sugar mill-workers which can be counted on figure tips did not avail of the facilities, made available under the said Housing Schemes.

Sugar factory managements showed no interest in the Subsidised Housing Scheme, because the estimated cost of construction of worker's quarters fall short of the actual costs. This is due to the fact that under this scheme, no allowance is made in the cost estimates for the necessary development expenditure such as road, sewage and sanitation etc. Besides, the U.P. Government through the enactment of the 'Uttar Pradesh Power Alcohol Industries Labour Welfare and Development Fund Act' came into picture to solve the problem but the desired results could not be achieved owing to indifference of the managements towards this programme.

Central Wage Board for Sugar Industry 1960, considered the free housing in sugar industry to be a cause behind the poor and inadequate housing facilities. So the Board strongly recommended the fixation of the rent for factory houses provided to their workers, as given in the 'Schedule of House Rent' (Appendix 3(a). The recommendation of the Board regarding rent was acceded to, but unfortunately no improvement could be brought about.

Since the housing problem is of a vast dimension, so immediate and extensive improvement is imperative. It was
stated in the Report of the Labour Investigation Committee as "Our study of housing situation leads us to the conclusion that the present state of affairs wherein responsibility for providing houses is statutorily shouldered by none cannot be allowed to continue if worker's health and morals and their standard of living are to be improved. Employers especially in big centres, will not be able to discharge their duties to the satisfaction of all concerned if they are statutorily asked to erect standard houses on their resources. The reasons are obvious. Apart from being a heavy burden on their resources, they will not be able to get the necessary economic rent because of the worker's low earnings. The municipalities cannot finance the construction of houses, as their resources are generally inadequate. They can, at best, supply housing colonies with water, light and drainage. The only alternative under the circumstances seems to be for the Government to step in and assume general control of industrial housing."  

So, under the present situation, to overcome the residential problems in sugar mills, it is advisable that no new installations of sugar factories should be allowed unless the Central Government is not satisfied with the provision of housing facilities on a scale suited to the size and location of the plant. Further, it is also worthwhile to consider and make practicable the introduction of a Cess by

the Govt. of India, under which every factory should be levied at the rate of Re. 1 per quintal of sugar provided at least for a minimum period of seven years. It would be safe to invest the fund so realised in a Tripartite Board, and it should be made the responsibility of the Board to release the fund to the respective factories for all the housing purposes. Such work deserves to be done in stages. In the case of a factory showing no interest in the programme of the construction of worker's quarters within the specified period, the allocations in regard to that unit would be forfeited and be utilised by the said Board.

This may be done by the Central Government easily through specific enactment. The scheme of creating such a Cess for sugar industry worker's houses will not put the managements under heavy financial burden, which would have been if they were forced to invest a huge fund in lump sum on the construction of labourer's dwellings. Therefore, the proposed Cess system, being a convenient one, particularly for the sugar mills situated in eastern U.P., which are almost running under unsound economic footing, will definitely benefit both the employers and the employees.

Moreover, the employers in general should be made entirely responsible for providing good housing accommodation to their factory-workers. In this connection, the employers
should be made aware of the fact that the Government would come forward not only in controlling housing but to control factory-management or the industry as a whole as the need be, if they fail to discharge their duties in a satisfactory manner. Really, the Herculean task of housing scheme, owing to the paucity of convenient sites, the enormous increase in the cost of building materials and of labour, the inadequate transport facilities to and from distant suburbs and non-availability of sufficient funds, may be done only by resolute and united efforts made by the respective Governments, the employers and the employees associations. The Government is doing well on his part to a great extent while others are required to pay heed to the problem. To sum up, the words of Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerjee may be mentioned here, "Improved housing is the first step towards an improvement of the standard of living, behaviour and morals of the Indian industrial workers. With all these will come the conquest of preventable diseases and mortality and improvement of health and output. The problem of housing is, undesirably, the most central for efficiency and well-being of the Indian working class. To those, who assert that India cannot afford to spend more money for industrial housing, there can be only one reply—that she can no longer afford to delay such expenditure."¹

The preceding pages of this chapter dealing with housing problem in sugar factories made it clear that due to increase in working class population and the rising trend of urbanisation, it has become a serious problem of socio-technological nature. Under the prevailing circumstances to solve the problem of housing is a difficult task. It should be the responsibility of the employers to provide satisfactory housing accommodation to the workers. In case, they fail in the discharge of their humanitarian duty, the only way left to the state is that of nationalisation. The employers must pay heed to the warning of the changing times.

After going through the housing conditions, the concept of wages need to be analysed thoroughly, with special reference to sugar factory workers of eastern U.P. as it forms the pivot round which most of the labour problems revolve. The problem of wages is of considerable importance, since the economic uplift, standard of living, efficiency of the workers, and the competitive strength of the industry and the wage-cost are directly related to with the wage earned by the wage-earners. The wage-issue is quite complicated because employees and trade unions and employers as well approach it from their own different viewpoints. As a matter of fact wages determine the standard of living, and per capita income on the one hand and provide
incentives for increasing production on the other hand. The wage-concept, therefore, is to be dealt with carefully, as a mature and progressive wage-policy can neither be formulated and nor be implemented without a proper understanding of wage-problems. The succeeding chapter is devoted to the analysis of various concepts of wages and steps taken by the Government in the sphere of wage-regulation.