

PRELIMINARY VERSION; DO NOT CITE WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE
AUTHORS 24-02-2014

1. Why study the long-term development of labour relations in India?

As compared to the economic and social history of Europe and the Far East in the long run, India is terra incognita. In a remarkable analysis of India's recent miraculous economic growth since the 1980s Drèze and Sen concentrate on the shifts in the second half of the twentieth century. Borrowing from Prasannan Parthasarathi they postulate a nearly-continuous decline under British rule since the second half of the eighteenth century. Following other time series, they show a stagnation in the first decades after independence and an upswing which is now hardly thirty years old. Apparently they are not aware of a fierce debate which is raging between the "optimist vision (late divergence India-Europe)" as defended by Parthasarathi on the one hand and a "pessimist (much earlier failure of India)" version as defended by Steve Broadberry / Bishnupriya Gupta (and in a certain way by Tirthankar Roy) on the other. Maybe this doesn't matter very much as all discussants so far base their assertions on an extremely limited number of quantitative data.¹ Especially wage data for early modern South Asia have hardly been explored so far.²

Besides, for Drèze and Sen the development of GDP per capita is not the nec plus ultra of development of economics or of economic history: "development is best seen in terms of an expansion of human capability, while also keeping in mind that the basic understanding of human freedom and capabilities is the goal for which the growth of GDP, among other factors, serves as important means. Growth generates resources with which public and private efforts can be systematically mobilized to expand education, health care, nutrition, social facilities, and other essentials of fuller and freer human life for all. And the expansion of human capability, in turn, allows a faster expansion of resources and production, on which economic growth ultimately depends."³

In their book they use a great number of indicators for the measurement of "human freedom and capabilities" many of which are collected worldwide by social scientists as *World Development Indicators (WDI)*. For Drèze and Sen comparisons between different parts of India, as well between India and other countries focus on indicators having to do with gender, literacy, life expectancy, health, nutrition, poverty, and wages.⁴ However valuable these may be, strikingly absent is the factor labour. Obviously it is not absent from their important analysis of India's development, witness topics as wage levels, female labour participation, proportion of women among organized sector employees, employment under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act of 2006, schooling rates and pensioners.

¹ For important publications of the authors mentioned here see our bibliography. Besides, see Bosma 2014.

² Whereas authors so far based their conclusion on a few dozen wage data for South Asia before 1850, it is quite possible to find more. Pim de Zwart collected recently 800 wage data for Bengal 1600-1800, whereas Jan Lucassen found 350 for the years 1786-1787 alone. Both are working on a set which will include some 5000 data before 1820.

³ Drèze and Sen 2013, ix-x; cf. p. 43: "Development is, ultimately, the progress of human freedom and capability to lead the kind of lives that people have reason to value."

⁴ Drèze and Sen 2013, 289-335 (Statistical Appendix).

Nevertheless, the way people perform their work and human relations involved, or institutions like trade unions do not play a great role in the way these authors conceive of the concept “human capability”.⁵

The question is of course, whether their already impressive book would have won by including it, although on theoretical grounds it may be hard to deny that the way people work and the human relations involved are an important aspect of the deployment of human capabilities. The state of labour history so far, as well as anthropological work on contemporary working India give reason to believe so (see the historiographical paragraph below). However, a convincing answer to this question is only possible if we acquire a reliable and detailed picture of the prevailing labour relations in and their historical development. The aim of this paper is to sketch the difficulties involved in mapping these developments and to provide a first provisional answer. Therefore we have to explain very briefly the aim and working of the *Collaboratory Global Labour Relations*, the historiography of labour relations in India, and the methods and sources that are available. The main part will be a discussion of our data collection so far and its first results.

2. The Collaboratory Global Labour Relations (CGLR)⁶

The CGLR was set up a few years ago, initially to remedy for the absence of information how wage labour and slave labour had developed worldwide in relation to other types of work over the last five centuries. This insight was deemed necessary by its initiators at the IISH in their attempts to expand the classical labour history beyond the male industrial breadwinner into a true history of work including the entire world and (for practical reasons) from 1500 onwards. This enormous extension in time and space necessitated a rethinking of the concept of work and the different types of human relations involved, in such a way that it would result in a taxonomy feasible enough to cover quantitative data for very different societies. Departing from well-known basic concepts of the social sciences, like the distinction between reciprocal, tributary and commodified independent and dependent (free and unfree) labour, this resulted in the taxonomy, used to organize the data in a comparable way, of which the latest version is presented in Figure 1.

⁵ Vide the absence of “labour”, or “work” in their extensive subject index (though there is “child” and “female” but no “male”labour), and the scanty and dismissive attention devoted to trade unions.

⁶ We refer here to the site: <http://socialhistory.org/en/projects/history-labour-relations-1500-2000>.

Taxonomy of Labour Relations

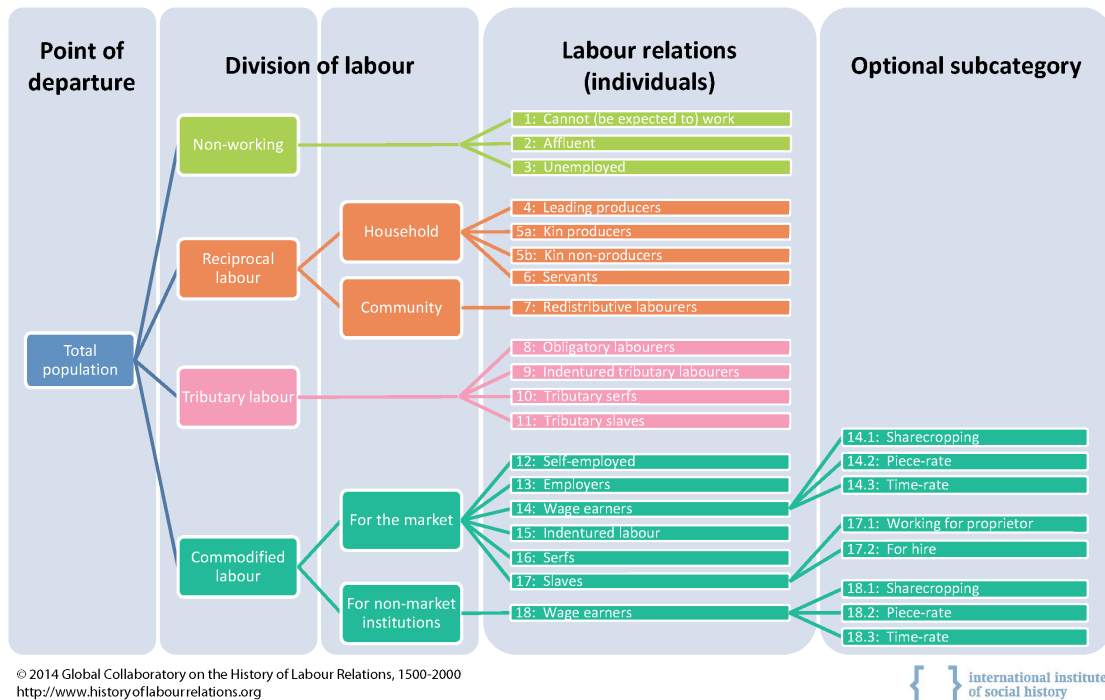


Figure 1 Taxonomy as used in the CGLR from January 2014

Point of departure is the entire population of a particular geographical entity (often a country so far, but this by no means is a principle) at certain cross sections in time (the collab concentrates on 1500, 1650, 1800, 1900, and 2000). Different methods are used to fill the data-set, which are elucidated in explanatory papers, accompanying the excel- or access-sheets). Technical instruments have been developed to upload data and to present the results in an unambiguous way. Besides, a series of conferences has started to discuss the results of the comparisons in time and space in order to explain the shifts in labour relations which show up.

3. A brief historiography of labour relations in India

As virtually everywhere else, the historiography of labour relations in India is extremely one-sided, Some topics have received a lot of attention, others hardly and some not at all. First of course there has been a great deal of attention to the wage labourer, mainly in the emerging new textile factories after 1850, and besides in mining, and transport, but also to the agricultural labourers.⁷ The exploitation of the Indian textile mill hand, ultimately defenceless because of his basic community and not class identification has received much attention. As Sabyasachi Bhattacharya remarked in 2006, the debate between a culturalist (“subaltern”) approach propagating an Indian *Sonderweg* of a new proletariat steeped in the traditions of the traditional village (maybe best represented by Dipesh Chakrabarty) and a universalist attempt at labour history (maybe best represented by Raj Chandarvarkar) is still

⁷ E.g. Bhattacharya and Lucassen 2005; Bhattacharya 2005 and 2006; Lucassen 2012.

undecided.⁸ One of the reasons is a near-total lack of studies on commodified and wage labour before 1850 and therefore the impossibility to determine in what respect the new colonial labour relations after 1850 were a breach with the past or not.⁹ The studies on the badly paid and poorly industrial proletariat of the Raj finds its corollary in the contemporaneous extremely limited extension of protective labour legislation (only in the “formal sector”- now covering less than 10% of the total labour force), the weak development of trade unionism, and the growth of the “precariat”.¹⁰

The exploitation of the agricultural labourer since the mid-nineteenth century also has received quite some attention. Here the villain is not so much the outsider capitalist (English, or Bombay Parsi or Calcutta Marwari) and his scions, but the Indian landholder, operating under colonial and post-colonial conditions.¹¹ The tea plantations in Assam and Southern India, as well as the plantation economy in the wider British Empire, attracting millions of “indentured labourers” is a special case in point.¹²

The work of independent producers, like peasants and craftsmen, has received one-sided attention in rather peculiar ways. Peasants are generally discussed together with agricultural labourers. The best example is Dharma Kumar in her excellent (also because it includes the 1800-1850 period) study on South India.¹³ Here again the impact of colonial rule and technical innovation (irrigation) remain very difficult to assess as labour relations in the previous period remain in the dark. Indian crafts caught the interest of British observers very early on because they seemed to represent the skills which since the middle ages had been lost in Western Europe. Loss, but in the sense of unemployment and distress is also a theme of authors on the presumed demise of Indian crafts under the influence of unfair British competition flooding the Empire with cheaply manufactured goods, cottons in the first place. Although historians like Tirtankar Roy have tried to come up with more nuanced alternatives, the loss of skill and income since the Industrial Revolution still prevail.¹⁴

India has a peculiar historiography of unfree labour. Slavery as an institution imported by the new Muslim kingdoms since the eighth century has received some attention, especially as practised in the sultanates in the Deccan.¹⁵ There is however a strong controversy about the question whether one can speak about slaves in the Hindu parts of India. For nineteenth-century Southern-India Dharma Kumar doesn't hesitate to do so.¹⁶ The Dalit movement doesn't either, and there is a parallel in the much studied contemporaneous “bonded labour”.¹⁷ However, in contrast with the unfree character of “indentured labour” historical studies of unfree labour relations before 1900 are scarce.¹⁸

Finally, the almost everywhere, but also in India forgotten history of household work. It crops up of course in studies on marriage patterns (India knows quite universally it seems

⁸ Bhattacharya 2006; Chakrabarty 1989; Chandarvarkar 1998 (see esp. his remarks pp. 23-about the roots of essentialist thinking which “sought to deny labour’s modernity” and going back to famous authors like H.S. Maine and Max Weber)

⁹ For a few exceptions: Joshi 2012, Hofmeester 2012, Van Schendel 2012, Lucassen 2012; for the “capitalist” character of the Mughal Empire see Irfan Habib 1969 [and ...], for its monetization and possible implications for labour history: Lucassen 2014

¹⁰ [....]

¹¹ Prakash 1992; Breman [...]; cf Chandarvarkar 1998, 23, fn. 21.

¹² Behal [...]

¹³ Kumar 1992; cf. for Mysore [...]; for the Mughal period:; for Bengal; Datta [...].

¹⁴ Parthasarathi 2001 and 2001; Roy [...]; Riello and Roy 2009.

¹⁵ Eaton 1993; Eaton 2003; Chatterjee and Eaton 2006.

¹⁶ Kumar 1992.

¹⁷ Breman [...]

¹⁸ Van Rossum 2014.

an exogamous community family system¹⁹), of course in ethnographic descriptions. Less expected also in descriptions of domestic work, so common among the Indian middle class.²⁰

To sum up, like everywhere in the world the attention devoted to labour relations is skewed: much about the exploitation “labouring poor” (an expression by Sabyasachi Bhattacharya if we are not mistaken) since the late nineteenth century, a little bit on the early nineteenth century and hardly anything on the periods before.

So, the following questions remain unanswered so far: when and how did Indian society become commodified and how exactly did labour relations shift in this process? A similar question may be asked about the development of independent labour, wage labour and unfree labour. The Collab attempts to provide a solid basis to answer these questions and to pose questions about the precise nature of the specific relations, like e.g. wage labour in agriculture or in “formal” or “informal” industries.²¹

4. Sources and methods available

The Collab initially relied entirely on region specialists. This is also necessary for geographical units and cross sections for which no modern occupational data are readily available. For some parts of the world this procedure has been highly successful, see e.g. the results for Russia China, Japan, and Taiwan on our website. For India results have been less promising so far, possibly not so strange given the historical overview above.

Recently, we have started to experiment also with a more central approach for the processing of occupational censuses. In this paper our interpretations of data for India 1900 and 2000 provide a first example of this. Common to all these approaches four important steps that have to be taken:

- first, determine the total population and if possible it’s age and sex distribution in order to determine who is capable to work and who is not;
- second, related to this are questions regarding prevailing norms about the age at which children may start to work or have to attend school;
- third, for the working population we distinguish between heads of households (often to be derived from notions on household size, ore on numbers of houses) and dependents (including housewives in case the head of household is a married male) as the occupations of dependents as a rule are underrepresented or not represented at all in occupational censuses;
- fourth, what is also often badly indicated or indicated not at all in occupational censuses are labour relations within a certain occupation; therefore industrial and agricultural counts, indicating firm size are essential in order to estimate the proportions of independent producers, employers, and employees (or unfree labourers) per occupational group.

In the explanatory papers which accompany the statistical data all these steps and even more considerations are provided. In this paper we will do so (in a necessarily concise way) for the Indian data, collected so far. For a country as big as India regional variations may be supposed to be as important in the past as they are today.²² However limited, we

¹⁹ [Kok 2010].

²⁰ [.....; White Tiger].

²¹ In may be noted that the last column of the taxonomy (e.g. the distinction between different forms of remuneration) already provides points of departure for these more qualitative questions which link up with the definition of “development” as proposed by Drèze and Sen.

²² Drèze and Sen 2013 extensively compare different parts of India, contrasting the failing northern “Indian heartland” (including Bihar) and the much more successful states Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Tamil Nadu.

therefore will try to present data on different parts of the country, concentrating on Bihar in the north and the Deccan in the south.

5. First results:

The collab has collected preliminary papers for the Mughal Empire, on Portuguese Goa and also has a contribution on late C17th coastal Ceylon. Here, however we will concentrate on data for the Deccan c. 1800, and on national and regional (Bihar and the equivalents of the Deccan) data for 1900 and 2000.

5a The Deccan 1800

Like Babur, Akbar and other Moghul rulers tried to map their newly won empires, so did the British. Their gradual conquest of big chunks of South Asia was invariably followed by investigations into the potential of their new lands, in particular existing revenue practices and ways to improve them. In the course of the nineteenth century what had begun as purely administrative procedures of taking over power turned into a more broader curiosity and statistics as it were for its own sake. An excellent example provides the Deccan and therefore it is a good starting point for the reconstruction of labour relations around 1800.²³

As a consequence of the third Anglo-Maratha War the Peshwa of Poona had to surrender the Deccan to the British in 1818 who made it part of the Bombay Presidency of the E.I.C.²⁴ The newly won territory was situated in Western India, say between Bombay and Goa, but closed off from the Indian Ocean by the Konkan, a 50-80 km wide coastal strip. It roughly coincides with most of modern Maharashtra and the north of modern Karnataka and consists of a plateau mainly 600-900 meters above sea level tilting from west to east.

As part of their attempts to establish their civil authority over the Deccan William Henry Sykes (1790-1872) was commissioned to report on the nature of the region in the widest sense of the word – or at least that is how he conceived of his task. He spoke and wrote “the Mahratta language” and gained the post of Officiating Statistical Reporter to Government at Bombay. He kept a life-long interest in economic and political statistics. After his return to Britain in 1837 he became MP for Aberdeen in 1857, was elected President of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1858 and acted as President of the Royal Statistical Society from 1863 until 1865. Sykes spent ample time (at least 16 months²⁵) in traveling through this region collecting both oral and written information. Most of his manuscripts, now spread over several libraries in London, have remained unpublished. In fact, he provides – in varying degrees information, including tables at district level, for four rather different provinces within the Bombay Deccan: Khandesh in the north, Ahmednagar (including Nasik) below and Poona east of Bombay, and in the south Dharwar, east of Goa. Unfortunately the information for Ahmednagar is not sufficient to reconstruct the labour relations. On the basis of considerations as provided in the appendix for the other three we may reconstruct the labour relations in the early 1820s – in the parlour of the Collab equal to the cross section 1800.²⁶

²³ Similar investigations have been done by Dr Francis Buchanan (Hamilton) (1762-1829) in Mysore 1800-1801 after the subjugation of Tipu Sultan (see Sivramkrishna 2009) and in Bengal 1798-1814 (see Van Schendel 1991).

²⁴ Kulkarni 2006, ch. 5.

²⁵ BL, IOR / Mss Eur. / D. 144, p. 557.

²⁶ The calculations for Khandesh are not yet ready for this paper, but will follow in the near future.

In general Poonah and Dharwar show a similar distribution of labour relations. The main differences are that Poonah counts more Brahmins, who mainly are working for the polity, either in the temples or in the government administration (labrel 18); Poonah also has more small peasants and this more independent producers (labrel 12), and less wage labourers (labrel 14) than Dharwar. This may be explained also by the small plots in the hilly, western parts of Poonah which do hardly allow for additional wage labour. Dharwar counted more weavers than any other part of the Deccan. They catered for the local and regional markets, but not for exports to other parts of India.

Table Labour relations Poona (central-southern Deccan) 1820s

Labour relation	Taxonomy number for first labrel	%		
		M	F	T
Not able to work (too young)	1	11	9	20
Not able to work (too young)				
Affluent	2	0	4	4
Only working in the household	5b	0	23	23
Jajmani	7	7	0	7
Self-employed	12	25	3	28
Employer	13	PM	0	
Wage earner	14	5	7	12
Slave	17	0	PM	
Wage earner polity	18	6	0	6
Total		100	100	100

Table Labour relations Dharwar (southern Deccan) 1820s

Labour relation	Taxonomy number for first labrel	%		
		M	F	T
Not able to work (too young)	1	11	9	20
Not able to work (too young)				
Affluent	2	0	2	2
Only working in the household	5b	0	22	22
Jajmani	7	6	0	6
Self-employed	12	25	6	31
Employer	13	PM	0	
Wage earner	14	9	8	17
Slave	17	0	PM	
Wage earner polity	18	2	0	2
Total		53	47	100

In a comparative perspective labrel 7 is remarkable. As Sykes describes in a separate article, the *jajmani* system (this is the term mostly encountered in the literature, but he speaks of the *Balluteh* system) was still alive. According to its rules a number of craftsmen in each village were supposed to deliver services to the local cultivators in exchange for a share in the local

agricultural production.²⁷ Slavery has not been mentioned in Sykes' statistics, but it certainly was still there, especially female domestic slaves were not common in the cities. The total share will, however not have exceeded one per cent of all labour relations.²⁸

5b Three districts in the south (Poona, Dharwar, and Belgaum), one state in the north (Bihar), and entire India in 1900 and 2000

Thanks to regular decadal census taking from 1872 onwards we now have for 1900 not only reconstructions for labor relations for southern India, but also for the north. Besides, they now may be compared with national data. For the data see the appendices.

6. Shifts in labour relations 1500 to now: some preliminary remarks

Contrary to what is often believed, India at the advent of colonialism and imperialism most likely was not simply a country of self-subsistent peasant communities and a few urban centres producing for the court. At the same time and at similar degrees as medieval Europe and somewhat later than Sung China this subcontinent was monetized and thus commodified. During the disintegration of the Moghul Empire in the eighteenth century a diversification took place: decommmodification of large parts of the peasant population and at the same time proletarianization of other parts. British rule was inclined to reify both tendencies and thus freeze this new composite of labour relations, i.a. by freezing caste limitations on occupations and concomitant labour relations. It took the new institutions since independence more than a full generation to break these chains, whereas the outcome of this process is still very uncertain.

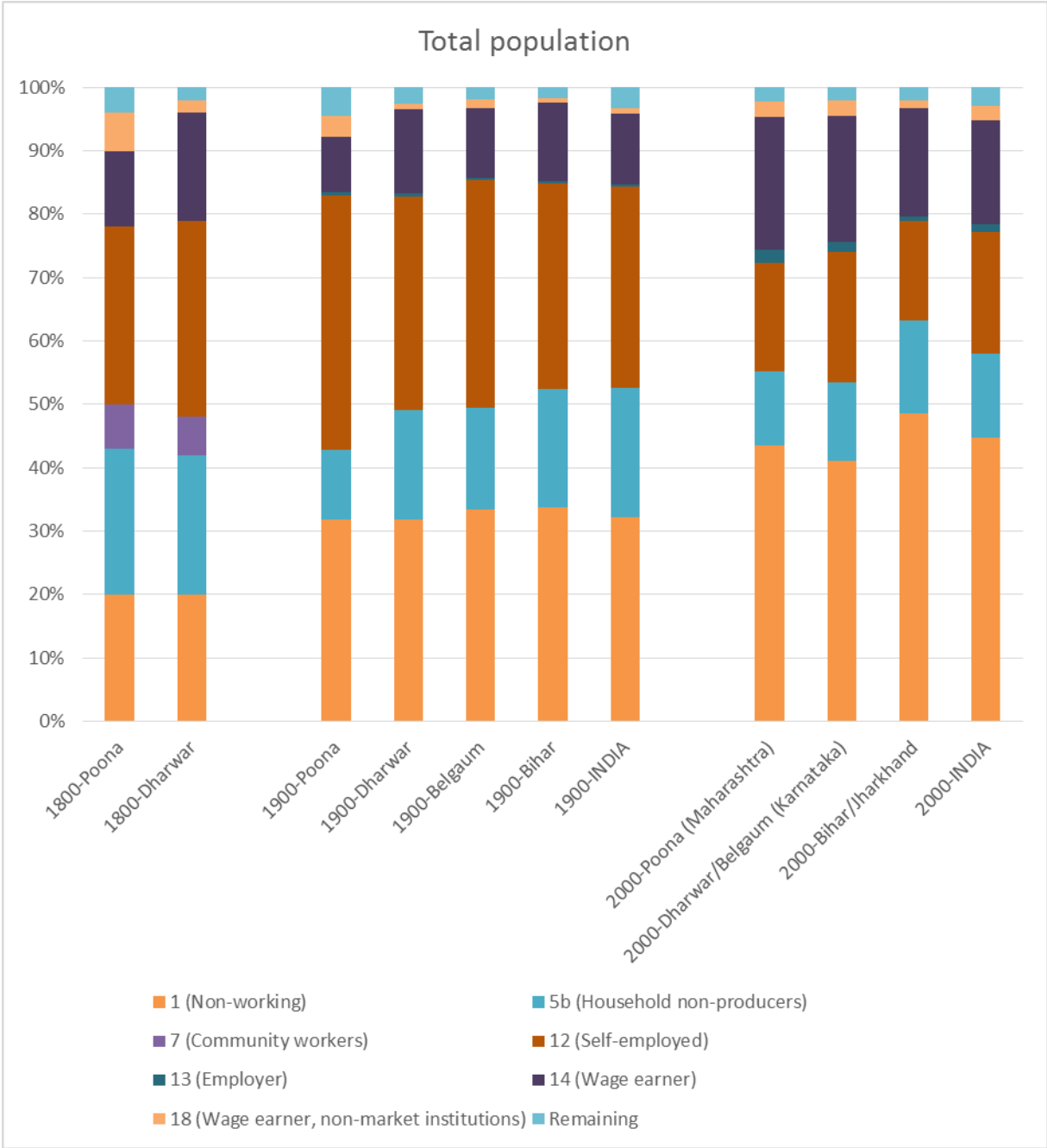
The following trends are visible in the following charts:

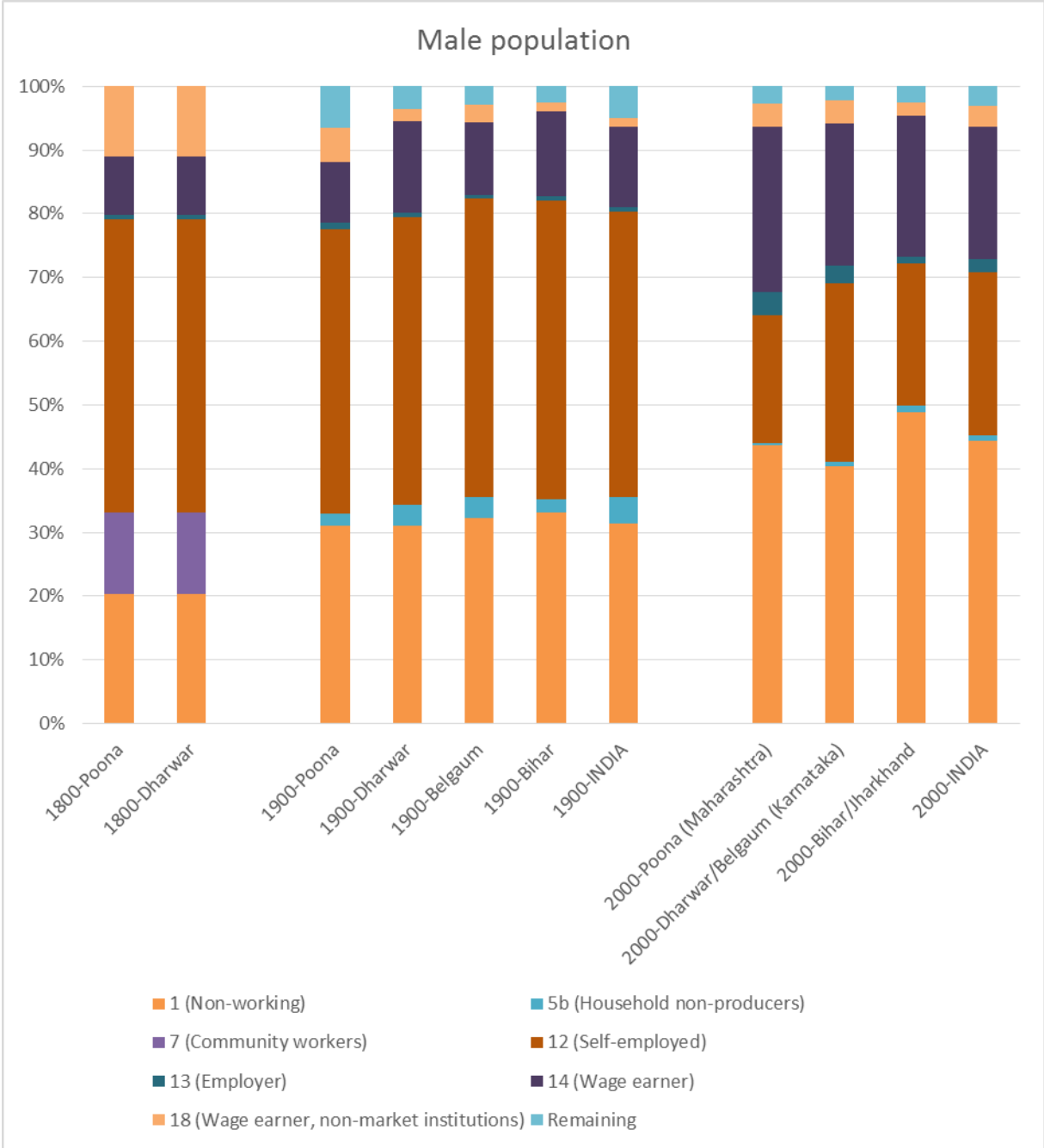
- a. Slavery, still present but not important around 1800 has vanished in 1900. This is not to deny the persistence of bonded labour (hereditary indebted labourers forced to work according to conditions over which they hardly have any say), but legally unfree labour has been abolished in the nineteenth century.
- b. The community-based retributive *jajmani* (*baluta*) system, still alive in the Deccan around 1800 has vanished as well, and consequently probably the category of wage labourers has increased.
- c. Wage labour has especially increased in the twentieth century at the expense of independent labour of peasants and craftsmen.
- d. The most impressive increase is visible in the non-working part of the population due to an increase in school attendance which was at an extremely low level around 1800.
- e. The extreme differences between the male and the female proportions in household work have to be analysed more extensively.

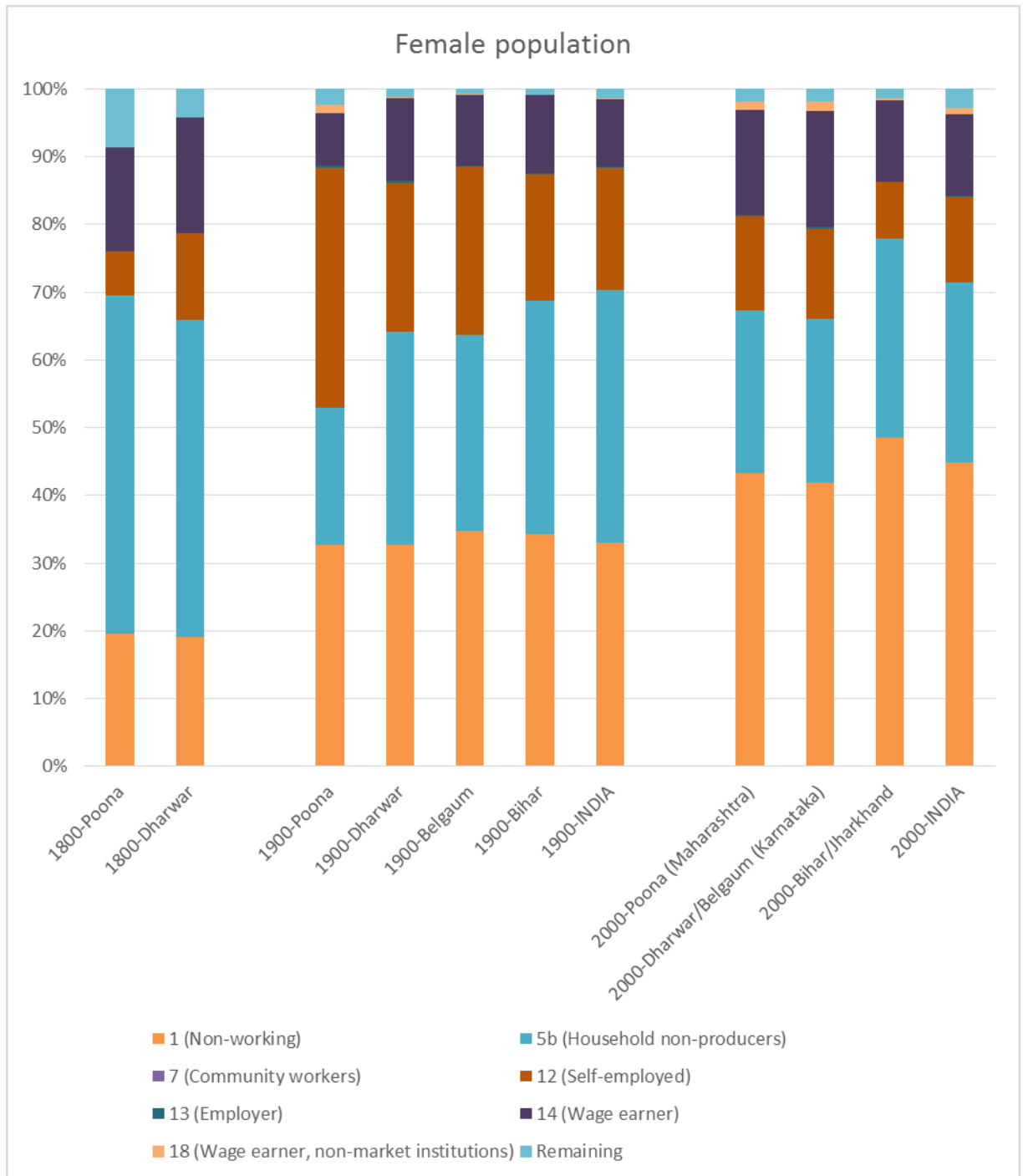
To return to our initial remarks: it is clear that the remarkable spurt in the economic development of India since a few decades after a supposedly 150 to 200 years of stagnation is also reflected in shifts in labour relations between 1900 and 2000. If the limited data presented here for 1800 have any value, it is debatable however that India in between 1800 and 1900 was stagnating. Shifts in labour relations are also visible between 1800 and 1900. Apparently, however, they cannot be linked to positive economic development.

²⁷ Guha 1985, 10-11 thinks that the system as described by Sykes was losing importance. Although I read the text of Sykes 1835 differently, it certainly had not vanished yet and at the advent of the British it was still alive and kicking.

²⁸ [...]







7. Implications for further research

The hypothesis just formulated needs to be tested thoroughly, not only at the level of the subcontinent, but also regionally.

Therefore a new elan is necessary in quantitative history of South Asia [see our analysis of articles published since ca. 1990]

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Vries, Peer [over Great Divergence en spec over PP]

Zwart, Pim de [over loonstatistieken en wat daarvan bekend]

Appendices

Appendix 1 The Deccan 1800

The basis of this reconstruction are the writings, unpublished and published, of William Henry Sykes (1790-1872), Officiating Statistical Reporter to Government at Bombay. It is too early to say anything definitive about the reliability of Sykes' statistical work, but he certainly has done his best to be as detailed as possible, given the state of statistics at the time. He also is prepared to correct himself, as is apparent in the following description of the Turruff Aleh in Poona Collectorate: "there is an air of tolerable well doing in the people, if not of prosperity, which I have observed to characterize a great number of the towns in Dukhun, remaining under native authorities, a prosperity which is the more unaccountable if we admit the truth of the common opinion, that the farmers under native governments are subject to great exactions."²⁹ Besides, it should not be forgotten that all his three manuscripts here discussed are profusely illustrated with coloured drawings, carefully executed by himself.

So far, only a minor part of Sykes' work seems to have been used in social and economic history writing of the Deccan. R.D. Choksey who devoted his life to source based research on the Deccan during the first half of the nineteenth century seems to use only published work of Sykes, and only in passing.³⁰ Another specialist in this field, Sumit Guha mentions only Sykes' papers in the Natural History Museum (not those in the British Library) and of his articles the published Land Tenures' Report (1830 or 1835, and 1866) and the extensive 1837 article. However, he has not used all the available materials extensively.³¹ Although based on a small selection of scholarly work, it seems that Sykes' results so far have been underused.

For this reconstruction of labour relations around 1800 the main sources are one of his manuscripts, preserved in the British Library (IOR/Eur. Mss. D.148; 1062 pp.) and extracts of it, printed in 1838 (120 pp.).³² Other manuscripts and publications of Sykes and other contemporaneous administrators have been used as supplementary evidence, as well as similar reports on adjacent regions: Portuguese Goa in 1835, the Sawunt Warea State 1818-1851, and Buchanan's description of Mysore 1800-1801.³³

Table DEC1800-1 Population 1822 and 1872

	1822 (Sykes 1838, pp. 267-270)				For which information on district level in D 148, pp. 76-80+	
	inhabitants	To the square mile	To a village	To a house	inhabitants	Per house

²⁹ D 148, 102. Cf. also his regular comments that the death rates compare well with the English ones (Idem 97 about Turruff Baileh, Poona Collt: "the deaths are one in 45.38 persons, being nearly as healthy as in England."; 104 about T. Aleh in the same collectorate: "deaths one to 51, being healthier than in England").

³⁰ Choksey 1945, 1955 (where he mentions Sykes just briefly on pp. 25, 28, and 36), and 1964 (see p. vi for a pessimistic assessment of the possibilities to study the economic history of the Deccan).

³¹ Guha 1985, 201, 203, 211; no mentioning of Sykes in Guha 1992, 34-39 ("before Blyn").

³² Sykes 1838.

³³ [Goa ...]; Anderson and Auld 1855; Sivramkrishna 2009.

Poona total	550,313	66.45	247.36 *	4.79	331,015	4.8
Of which capital district					107,217	5.8
Of which rural					223,798	4.4
Ahmednuggur	666,376	67.24	263.47 **	4.89	625,000	5++
Candeish / Khandesh	478,457	38.19	178.39	3.96	371,404	4.0
Dharwar	838,757	91.94	336.7	4.48	740,579	4.5
Rajah of Sattarah	488,846	79.25	287.05	?		
Southern Mahratta Jagheerdars under British protection	263,236	88.39	287.05	?		
Total***	3,285,985	67.07	270.34			

Key: *exclusive of the city of Poona; **exclusive of the city of Ahmednuggur ***exclusive of “the army, camp followers, Bheels, or the wandering tribes” (Sykes 1838, 270); + available in excel-DB; 4.9 per inhabited building (houses and shops), and 4.6 per family.

For the Bheels no further data are available for this period, but their numbers will not have exceeded a few thousand.³⁴ For the Military detailed tables are available elsewhere. It is to be feared, however that the undoubtedly sizeable number of camp followers are not included.³⁵

Table DEC1800-2 Military population ca. 1820

	military	Heads of household (see DEC1800-1)	Total	Military as % of total heads of household
Poona	3,786	114,888	118,674	3.3
Solapoor	3,940			
Seroor	330			
Sattara	1,870			
Ahmednuggur	1,200	136,273	137,473	0.9
Gungthuree				
Total Poona Division	11,126			
Khandes	2,608	113,247	115,855	2.6
South Maratta Country	4,000	187,222	191,222	2.1
Grand Total	17,734			

Source: Chaplin, William, *Report exhibiting a view of the judicial system of administration introduced into the conquered territory above the Ghauts under the authority of the commissioner in the Dekhan* (Bombay: Courier Press, 1824), 172-174.

With these caveats the population of the four main districts of the Deccan for which also occupational data are available around 1820 may be reconstructed as follows:

Table DEC1800-3 Population of the Deccan ca. 1820 (exclusive of Bheels and camp followers)

³⁴ [...]; cf the estimates of Mackintosh 1833,7 for the “Ramoossies”, which show some similarities with the Bheels.

³⁵ [...]

	civilians	military	Total population
Poona	550,313	3,786	554,099
Ahmednuggur (including Nasik, later split-off)	666,376	1,200	667,576
Khandesh	478,457	2,608	481,065
Dharwar	838,757	4,000	842,757
Total	2,533,903	11,594	2,545,497

On several occasions Sykes stresses the fact that there are many more men than women (see Table 4), a feature which goes especially for the young children age groups. He contrasts this with Europe, but also with Java.³⁶

Table DEC1800-4 Sex ratios total population 1820s

Collectorates	Males to Females	Cities and Towns*	Males to Females
Poona Collectorate	100 to 88	Poona	100 to 94
Ahmednuggur do.	100 to 86	Ahmednuggur	100 to 92
Khandesh do.	100 to 85	Joonur	100 to 89
Dharwar do.	100 to 89	Dharwar	100 to 98
		Belgaon	100 to 91
		Bagulkoht	100 to 101.25
		Gunness Part	100 to 101.14
Deccan Total	100 to 87.36		

Source: Sykes 1838, 263)

*For more towns such data are available, see Table [...] below and for a number of places under 5000 inhabitants see Sykes 1838, 254.

As to this very unbalanced sex ratios there seems to be no great differences between the different casts.³⁷ The only rule – apart from a more balanced picture in the towns than in the countryside as shown in the following table - is the gradual disappearance of the differences as people grow older. In 32 turufs of Poona C in 1826 reportedly 100 boys were born against 94.27 girls.³⁸

Table DEC1800-5 Sex ratios (males to females) by age groups, Deccan 1820s

	At birth	At young age: boys/girls	Adults: men/women	Total population
Poona Collectorate 1826	100 to 94.27			100 to 88
Ahmednuggur Coll 1822		100 to 62.16	100 to 102.18	100 to 86
Khandesh Coll				100 to 85
Dharwar Coll				100 to 89

³⁶ Sykes 1838, pp. 246, 261-263; D 148, pp. 54-56.; this still is the case in India, as discussed extensively by Drèze and Sen 2013 as one of the aspects of gender inequality.

³⁷ Sykes 1838, p.161.

³⁸ D 148, p. 55; the lowest birth rates in the Poona Collectorate are found among the Brahmins (1 in 57.29) and the highest among Muslims (1:40.80).

Ahmednuggur City 1826		100 to 67.62	100 to 106.06	100 to 92.46
Poona City 1822		100 to 73.26	100 to 103.40	100 to 94
Joonur City				100 to 89
Dharwar City				100 to 98
Belgaon City				100 to 91
Bagulkoht City				100 to 101.25
Gunness Pait City				100 to 100.14
Deccan Total				100 to 87.36
Sawunt Waree State 1852				100 to 95

Source: Sykes 1838, pp. 261-263; D 148, p. 59; for the Sawunt Waree State see table below

In order to interpret this seemingly appalling difference between the sex ratios at birth and at young age we have to know what exactly is meant by “boys” and “girls”. Unfortunately there are no (sex-specific) age categories among the plethora of data that Sykes has collected. We therefore have to rely upon the figures for the Sawunt Waree State a region near to Goa some decades later. Although the overall sex ratio there was by far not as unfavorable for women as in the Deccan, it shows us two things. First, that girls were most at risk under ten, and to a certain degree also under twenty.

Table DEC1800-6 Population of the Sawunt Waree State in 1852: sex and age division

Age categories	Males		Females		Total	
		%		%		%
0-10	23,582	16	21,134	14	44,716	30
11-20	15,358	10	13,407	9	28,765	19
21-30	13,330	9	13,003	9	26,333	18
31-40	10,171	7	9,682	6	19,853	13
41-50	7,291	5	7,214	5	14,505	10
51-60	4,233	3	4,927	3	9,160	6
61-70	1,926	1	2,425	3		4
71-80	729		959			
81-90	230		251			
91-100	106		107			
Total	76,956		51		73,109	

Source: Anderson 1855, pp. [...]; [NB Age divisions in Goa 1848 [=1835??] in Kol 1855, pp 327: 0-1, 1-5, 5-10, 10-15, 15-20, 20-30, 30-40, 40-50, 50-60, 60-70, from 70 upwards.

The reason why these differentials, though undoubtedly bad for girls, are not as dramatic as those suggested in table DEC1800-5 for the Deccan, is to be found in the different age categories which apparently have been applied by Sykes (or the census takers he relies upon) for boys and girls. The rare figures on the ratios boys/men and girls/women as shown in table DEC1800-5 are not accompanied by any explanation, but Alexander Mackintosh, who most likely has used the same census figures explicitly mentions the age at which “boys” become “grown up men” at sixteen and above.³⁹ This is rather consistent with the Sawunt Waree State data. More importantly, this comparison strongly suggests that for the census takers girls

³⁹ Mackintosh 1833, 7.

became “women” not at age sixteen, but already at age eleven, i.e. at an age at which many girls were married.⁴⁰

Table DEC1800-7 Crude age divisions 1820s

	males		Females		Total
	boys	men	Girls	women	
Ahmednuggur City 1822	3,350	5,953	2,559	5,976	17,838
%	18%	34%	14%	34%	100%
Ahmednuggur Coll 1822*	96,447	146,750	59,956	149,945	453,098
%	21%	33%	13%	33%	100%
“Pabull District north of Poonah”	7,474	10,747	4,182	11,547	33,950
%	22%	32%	12%	34%	100%

Sykes 1838, 262 (Ahmednuggur); Mackintosh 1833, 7 (Pabull district, north of Poona; these figures coincide nearly with the totals of the five turrufs Warreh, Ghoreh, Ambegaon, Paubul and Oswuree in the Poonah table in D 148, pp. 76-80: resp. 18,629 men and 15,965 women)

We now may conclude two things. First, that girls were much more at risk than boys, and second that from their age at marriage – for many from age 11 onwards – they were considered as part of the working population.

But what about the age at which males started working? The fact that boys become men from age 16 certainly has not to do with a high school attendance of boys, rather to the contrary. Sykes provides a few indirect clues as to child labour where he discusses literacy rates and schooling: “the general illiterateness of the cultivators is remarkable [...] I believe not one cultivator in a hundred would be found able to write, or count up to hundred but by fives; and my daily unreserved intercourse for hours with numbers of this class of persons has given me facilities to for forming this opinion.”⁴¹ This is not, he writes, due to a lack of intelligence, but to a lack of schools as well as for the need to start working at an early age. Behind all this – so Sykes - are the Brahmins “repressing all participation [of the shoodruhs] in their usurped dominion of letters”.⁴² As to formal teaching, there are only few schools (see Table).

Table DEC1800-8 Schools per inhabitants, 1820s

	Schools per inhabitants
Dharwar collectorate	1 to 2452
Khandesh collectorate	1 to 4369
Poona collectorate without the city population	1 to 3337

⁴⁰ For the Deccan at this time we have no direct evidence on age at marriage, but cf. the strong comments of Green 1852, 58 on the practice of early and universal marriage in the Deccan: “half the consummations of marriages in this country are, almost literally, rapes committed on mere children.” Contemporaneous data for nearby Goa confirm this young age at marriage [still to be compared with Kol 1855, 326 for marital status figures for Goa].

⁴¹ Sykes 1838, 270-272.

⁴² D 148, p. 47; Cf. Sykes 1838, p. 263; cf. 317: “It is almost waste of labour to give the cultivator a note from government of what he will have to pay, as in nine instances of ten he cannot read it.”.

Sawunt Waree State (1852/1853) ⁴³	1 to 3106
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More importantly, these schools do not have many pupils. In the Sawunt Waree State – the only region for which early scholarization data are available – there are only 817 pupils in the 49 schools, or less than 17 children per school. We may be pretty sure that nearly all of them will have been Brahmin boys as there were 1,752 of them in the age bracket 1-10 (see Table below). If half of them, say the Brahmin boys from five to ten, went to school, there was no place for other boys, let alone girls.

Table DEC1800-9 Population of the Sawunt Waree State in 1852: social and age division

	males	females	T
	0-10	0-10	
Brahmins	1,752	1,542	11,242
Hindoos of other casts	20,875	18,748	132,870
Muslims	606	520	3,835
Others*	375	324	2,118
T	23,582	21,134	150,065

Source: Anderson 1855, pp. 148-149. *1,959 native Christians, 151 Seedees and 8 Jews.

This is totally in line with the fact that the Peshwas emphatically stimulated scholarship among Brahmins, also materially, a practice which the British continued;⁴⁴ as well as with Sykes' observations of Sykes that the schools are primarily populated by children of "Brahmans and of the shopkeepers, Shaitees (Heads of trade), and Mahajuns (Bankers) [...] The Koolkurnees, or accountants and village-clerks", are always Brahmans [...] The shopkeepers being generally people from Goojrat, keep their accounts in the Goojratee language. The character in universal use for Business is the Mohr in the districts." The main reason why the children of the agriculturers do not attend school is "the imperious calls upon them for the services of their children in agriculture, and in attending their cattle". Where irrigation is important "it requires also a boy in the garden or field to open and shut the different channels."⁴⁵ We may therefore safely conclude that also most boys (except the Brahmin's sons who were only a small proportion of the total population) over ten have to be counted as part of the working population.

Finally, the question at what age the inhabitants of the Deccan could stop working. Sykes is not very optimistic about the "Duration of human vigour: The men from the ages of 20 to 45 years, and the women from 15 to 40, enjoy all their physical power, except in the case of artizans and agriculturalists, whose troubles commence early."⁴⁶

Taken all this information together, we may conclude by applying the age categories of DEC1800-6 that at a maximum 30 % of the total population was too young to work (because under ten) and 10% (because over fifty) too old to work.⁴⁷ Or, in total equally distributed over males and females (20% each).

⁴³ Courtney and Auld 1855, 39-40 (49 schools with 817 pupils in 1853 on a total population of 152,206 persons - 76,956 males and 73,109 females - in the previous year, see Anderson 1855, 148-149); Auld 1855, 46.

⁴⁴ Shirgaonkar 2010, 90-92.

⁴⁵ Sykes 1838, 272

⁴⁶ Sykes 1838, 342.

⁴⁷ Cf. Sykes 1838, 238-239, 263-264 (death rate in the 32 turrufs or "hundreds": 2.67%; in Ahmednuggur City 1828: 1.82% without and 2.84% including cholera; in a 1000 men strong natives regiment 0.85%). This all compares favourably with Europe.

After this elaborate exercise, which for later cross sections when proper census data are available will take only a few lines instead of a few pages of explanation, we may now concentrate on the working part of the total population (31% men and 29% women). Sykes has collected beautiful tables in his ms. with a dozen occupational titles, the main castes and some key agricultural figures for nearly 2 million inhabitants. Although at first glance it is not clear why he has made this particular selection, only combined do they enable us to understand the prevailing labour relations (see the next two tables).⁴⁸

Table DEC1800-10 Households, caste affiliations and occupations

	Poonah		Ahmednagar	Kandesh	Dharwar
	total	of which rural			
inhabitants	331,015	223,798	625,000	371,404	740,579
households	69,180	50,671	81,318	93,749	165,109
Brahmin & Rajpoot, heads of household	8,294	4,667	<i>10,000</i>	8,301	8,437
Heads of households of other castes	60,886	46,004	<i>71,000</i>	85,448	156,672
Occupational titles					
- cultivators	35,335	31,203	?	37,311	70,488
- other occupations	24,152	15,814	?	24,656	53,176
- total	59,487	47,017	?	61,967	123,664
Heads of household (except Bra/Raj) without occupational title	1,399	<i>-/ 1,013</i>		23,481	33,008

In italics are estimates for Ahmednagar, derived from ratios for Poonah

First, it seems pretty sure that occupational titles only pertain to (male) heads of households; and, second, that Brahmins and Rajpoots are excluded from the occupational census. To be on the safe side, let us suppose that Brahmins and Rajpoots are excluded, what can we say about their place in the taxonomy? We have already seen that they are exclusively the literate people and that therefore all administrative tasks from the village to the state level are in their hands.⁴⁹ Most of the (male) heads of household and their grown-up male dependents therefore will have to be classified as working for the polity (state and temples), i.e. in our taxonomy under label 18. As they were well remunerated for these tasks we may consider their families as affluent and thus we may classify their grown-up female dependents under label 2.

We now may turn to the rest of the population which, as we have demonstrated, is largely covered by the occupational titles as far as heads of household are concerned. (for the results see the main text).

For a proper understanding of labour relations in agriculture, by far the largest sector of the economy of the Deccan of the time and long afterwards see the following two tables

⁴⁸ As we are mainly interested in proportions we will from now on only use this 2 million sample.

⁴⁹ Extensive information on Brahmins in Sykes 1835.

Table DEC1800-11 Rural indicators Deccan 1820s

	Poonah		Ahmednagar	Kandesh	Dharwar
	total	of which rural			
Inhabited houses	69,180	50,671	78,486	93,749	165,109
Inhabitants pr square mile	66		67	38	92
cultivators	35,335	31,203	?	37,311	70,488
shoodruhs	244,905	170,415	?	258,378	551,938
Inhabitants per house	4.8	4.4	5.0	4.0	4.5
Shoodruhs hhh	51,022	38,731	?	64,595	122,653
Shoodruhs hhh not cultivating	15,687	7,528	?	27,284	52,165
% shoodruhs hhh not cult	31	19	?	42	43
Fields (acres)*	?	?	?	600,556	2,298,297
Fields per cultivator (acres)	?	?	?	16	33
Average farm size+	Plain (Desh) 45b= 34a Hills (Mawul) 13= 10a			24b= 18a	44b = 33a
Average rent per farm (Rs)+	28:3:92	?	43:1:15	37:1:33	32:0:19
bullocks	94,055	80,408	212,008	29,695	46,197
Of which draught bullocks	80,467	68,155	?	22,945	18,959
Cows and buffaloes	63,215	54,561	262,240	157,667	301,710
ploughs	20,259	19,279	?	43,518	99,883
Ploughs per cultivator	0.6	0.6	?	1.2	1.4
Bullocks per plough	4.6	4.2	?	0.7	0.5
Cows and buffaloes per cultivator	1.8	1.7	?	4.2	4.3

Sources: Tables in BL Eur, Mss. D. 149, except for + Sykes 1838, 266-267 (= ms. 511-513).

*fields in Khandesh are given in bighas (800,742); 1 bigha = $\frac{3}{4}$ acre there (Guha 1985,55).

Table DEC1800-11 Rural inequality Deccan 1820s

averages	Ahmednagar	Kandesh	Dharwar	Poonah total	Poonah rural
Rsrent per farm	43	37:1:33	32:0:19	28:3:92	?
Farm size acres	Plain (Desh) 34	18	33	Hills (Mawul) 10	
% shoodruhs hhh not cult	?	42	43	31	19
Ploughs per cultivator	Estimate ca. 2	1.2	1.4	0.6	0.6
Cows and buffaloes per c	Estimate ca. 5	4.2	4.3	1.8	1.7
Characteristic of average farm	Biggest farms, needing most wage labour				Smallest farms with only family labour

Estimates based on comparisons between Ahmednagar and Poonah

Appendix 2 The Deccan in 1900 and 2000

The Deccan data for 1800 may be compared to those for 1900, although the former collectorates do not exactly coincide with the later provinces and districts. We nevertheless propose to use the following tables (for Poona and for adjacent DharwarBelgaum), derived from a conversion of the 50 most frequently mentioned occupational titles into the labour relations of the collab.

Table DEC1900-1 Labour relations Poona 1901

Lab. Rel. 1	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Diff. India	Female		Diff. India	Total		Diff. India
1		156,072	31.0%	-0.3%	161,126	32.7%	-0.2%	317,198	31.9%	-0.2%
4		0	0.0%	-0.3%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.3%
5a		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.1%
5b		9,520	1.9%	-2.3%	99,971	20.3%	-16.8%	109,491	11.0%	-9.3%
12		212,645	42.3%	1.4%	169,438	34.4%	18.2%	382,083	38.4%	9.6%
12	7	11,316	2.3%	-1.4%	4,736	1.0%	-0.7%	16,052	1.6%	-1.1%
13		5,531	1.1%	0.5%	1,145	0.2%	0.1%	6,676	0.7%	0.3%
14		48,131	9.6%	-2.9%	38,748	7.9%	-2.0%	86,879	8.7%	-2.5%
18		13,737	2.7%	1.9%	224	0.0%	0.0%	13,961	1.4%	0.9%
18	7	12,526	2.5%	1.8%	5,450	1.1%	1.0%	17,976	1.8%	1.4%
12013014018		33,207	6.6%	1.7%	11,807	2.4%	0.9%	45,014	4.5%	1.3%

Table 1. Labour relations in Poona (1901), with difference to India as a whole (see below).

Table DEC1900-2 Labour relations Dharwar 1901

Lab. Rel. 1	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Diff. India	Female		Diff. India	Total		Diff. India
1		174,298	31.1%	-0.2%	180,335	32.6%	-0.2%	354,633	31.9%	-0.2%
4		0	0.0%	-0.3%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.3%
5a		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.1%
5b		18,026	3.2%	-1.0%	174,453	31.6%	-5.5%	192,479	17.3%	-3.1%
12		229,405	40.9%	0.0%	113,489	20.5%	4.3%	342,894	30.8%	2.0%
12	7	23,710	4.2%	0.6%	7,886	1.4%	-0.2%	31,596	2.8%	0.2%
13		4,048	0.7%	0.1%	1,196	0.2%	0.0%	5,244	0.5%	0.1%
14		80,525	14.4%	1.9%	67,270	12.2%	2.3%	147,795	13.3%	2.1%
18		4,586	0.8%	0.0%	65	0.0%	-0.1%	4,651	0.4%	0.0%
18	7	5,848	1.0%	0.4%	483	0.1%	0.0%	6,331	0.6%	0.2%
12013014018		20,501	3.7%	-1.2%	7,174	1.3%	-0.2%	27,675	2.5%	-0.7%

Table 2. Labour relations in Dharwar (1901), with differences to India as a whole (see below).

Table DEC1900-3 Labour relations Belgaum 1901

Lab. Rel. 1	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Diff. India	Female		Diff. India	Total		Diff. India
1		161,973	32.2%	0.9%	170,496	34.7%	1.8%	332,469	33.4%	1.4%
4		0	0.0%	-0.3%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.3%

5a		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.1%
5b		16,313	3.2%	-0.9%	142,409	29.0%	-8.1%	158,722	16.0%	-4.4%
12		216,545	43.1%	2.2%	113,305	23.1%	6.8%	329,850	33.2%	4.4%
12	7	18,963	3.8%	0.1%	8,631	1.8%	0.1%	27,594	2.8%	0.1%
13		2,754	0.5%	-0.1%	901	0.2%	0.0%	3,655	0.4%	0.0%
14		57,918	11.5%	-1.0%	51,601	10.5%	0.6%	109,519	11.0%	-0.2%
18		5,744	1.1%	0.3%	34	0.0%	-0.1%	5,778	0.6%	0.1%
18	7	7,476	1.5%	0.8%	648	0.1%	0.1%	8,124	0.8%	0.4%
12013014018		14,787	2.9%	-1.9%	3,478	0.7%	-0.7%	18,265	1.8%	-1.4%

Table 3. Labour relations in Belgaum (1901), with differences to India as a whole (see below).

Appendix 3 Bihar 1900 and 2000

Lab. Rel. 1	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Diff. India	Female		Diff. India	Total		Diff. India
1		4,350,637	33.2%	1.9%	4,736,643	34.4%	1.5%	9,087,280	33.8%	1.7%
4		0	0.0%	-0.3%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.3%
5a		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.1%
5b		270,043	2.1%	-2.1%	4,736,643	34.4%	-2.8%	5,006,686	18.6%	-1.7%
12		5,863,380	44.8%	3.8%	2,417,230	17.5%	1.3%	8,280,610	30.8%	2.0%
12	7	258,975	2.0%	-1.7%	162,417	1.2%	-0.5%	421,392	1.6%	-1.1%
13		93,580	0.7%	0.1%	27,235	0.2%	0.0%	120,815	0.4%	0.0%
14		1,753,206	13.4%	0.9%	1,575,624	11.4%	1.5%	3,328,830	12.4%	1.2%
18		102,670	0.8%	-0.1%	14,691	0.1%	0.0%	117,361	0.4%	0.0%
18	7	72,166	0.6%	-0.1%	1,980	0.0%	-0.1%	74,146	0.3%	-0.1%
12013014018		334,655	2.6%	-2.3%	116,493	0.8%	-0.6%	451,148	1.7%	-1.5%

Table 4. Labour relations in Bihar 1901, with differences to India as a whole (see below).

Lab. Rel. 1	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Diff. 1901	Female		Diff. 1901	Total		Diff. 1901
1		27,901,808	48.8%	15.6%	25,581,322	48.4%	14.1%	53,483,130	48.6%	14.8%
1	12013014018	544,148	1.0%	1.0%	255,278	0.5%	0.5%	799,426	0.7%	0.7%
203		1,483,627	2.6%	2.6%	708,480	1.3%	1.3%	2,192,107	2.0%	2.0%
203	12013014018	3,148,227	5.5%	5.5%	595,796	1.1%	1.1%	3,744,023	3.4%	3.4%
4		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
5a		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	0.0%
5b		566,997	1.0%	-1.1%	15,550,905	29.4%	-4.9%	16,117,902	14.7%	-4.0%
5b	12013014018	799,748	1.4%	1.4%	5,232,611	9.9%	9.9%	6,032,359	5.5%	5.5%
12		11,246,796	19.7%	-	2,100,439	4.0%	-	13,347,235	12.1%	-
12	7	0	0.0%	25.1%	0	0.0%	13.6%	0	0.0%	18.7%
12		0	0.0%	-2.0%	0	0.0%	-1.2%	0	0.0%	-1.6%
13		571,178	1.0%	0.3%	18,850	0.0%	-0.2%	590,028	0.5%	0.1%
14		9,699,250	17.0%	3.6%	2,625,970	5.0%	-6.5%	12,325,220	11.2%	-1.2%
18		1,168,645	2.0%	1.3%	151,881	0.3%	0.2%	1,320,526	1.2%	0.8%
18	7	0	0.0%	-0.6%	0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	-0.3%
12013014018		0	0.0%	-2.6%	0	0.0%	-0.8%	0	0.0%	-1.7%

Table 5. Labour relations in Bihar & Jharkhand 2001, with difference to Bihar 1901.

Appendix 4 India as a whole 1900 and 2000

Lab. Rel. 1	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Female		Total	
1		47,229,593	31.3%	47,865,832	32.9%	95,095,425	32.1%
4		527,199	0.3%	332,114	0.2%	859,313	0.3%
5a		41,665	0.0%	358,307	0.2%	399,971	0.1%
5b		6,282,076	4.2%	54,024,398	37.1%	60,306,475	20.3%
12		61,748,742	40.9%	23,624,673	16.2%	85,373,415	28.8%
12	7	5,526,113	3.7%	2,428,386	1.7%	7,954,499	2.7%
13		945,370	0.6%	246,280	0.2%	1,191,651	0.4%
14		18,847,341	12.5%	14,390,057	9.9%	33,237,398	11.2%
18		1,273,468	0.8%	107,730	0.1%	1,381,198	0.5%
18	7	1,026,233	0.7%	101,157	0.1%	1,127,390	0.4%
12013014018		7,362,782	4.9%	2,109,739	1.4%	9,472,521	3.2%

Table 6. Labour relations in India 1901.

Lab. Rel. 2	Lab. Rel. 2	Male		Diff. 1901	Female		Diff. 1901	Total	Diff. 1901	
1		236,391,794	44.4%	13.1%	222,762,946	44.9%	12.0%	459,154,740	44.7%	12.6%
1	1201301									
1	4018	5,061,878	1.0%	1.0%	3,091,781	0.6%	0.6%	8,153,659	0.8%	0.8%
203		15,901,041	3.0%	3.0%	14,129,295	2.8%	2.8%	30,030,336	2.9%	2.9%
203	1201301									
203	4018	24,477,794	4.6%	4.6%	8,335,980	1.7%	1.7%	32,813,774	3.2%	3.2%
4		0	0.0%	-0.3%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.3%
5a		0	0.0%	0.0%	0	0.0%	-0.2%	0	0.0%	-0.1%
5b		4,525,749	0.9%	-3.3%	132,033,839	26.6%	-	136,559,588	13.3%	-7.1%
5b	1201301									
5b	4018	5,282,163	1.0%	1.0%	42,907,777	8.6%	8.6%	48,189,940	4.7%	4.7%
12		122,575,186	23.0%	17.9%	37,979,537	7.7%	-8.6%	160,554,723	15.6%	13.2%
12	7	0	0.0%	-3.7%	0	0.0%	-1.7%	0	0.0%	-2.7%
13		10,381,632	2.0%	1.3%	606,810	0.1%	0.0%	10,988,442	1.1%	0.7%
14		89,559,582	16.8%	4.3%	30,019,022	6.0%	-3.8%	119,578,604	11.6%	0.4%
18		17,775,576	3.3%	2.5%	4,438,340	0.9%	0.8%	22,213,916	2.2%	1.7%
18	7	0	0.0%	-0.7%	0	0.0%	-0.1%	0	0.0%	-0.4%
1201301										
4018		0	0.0%	-4.9%	0	0.0%	-1.4%	0	0.0%	-3.2%

1. Table 7. Labour relations in India 2001, with differences to India 1901.

