

# Weavers' Housing Schemes in Tamil Nadu – A Study (1947-1990 A.D)

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## 1. Introduction

The handloom industry is a traditional and labour – oriented household industry, which has provided employment to several workers. This traditional industry, plays an important role in the economy of Tamil Nadu. It provided one third of the clothing requirements of Tamil Nadu and contributed considerably towards self-sufficiency in clothing.<sup>i</sup> As a result of effective government intervention through financial assistance and implementation of various developmental and welfare schemes, this sector has been able to withstand competition from the power loom and submitted mill sectors. Handloom weaving being a household industry, the weavers required more space to accommodate two or three looms. In urban areas, the rent was very high and with their meager earnings the weavers were unable to pay rent and to meet the food expenses.<sup>ii</sup> For encouraging the handloom industry and to improve the life style of the weavers the government initiated the construction of the weavers' housing colonies. In the beginning the Government of India sanctioned the amount to the state government from the Cess Fund to implement the Housing Colonies scheme as a joint venture of the centre and state governments. Subsequently when the Government of India stopped the payment of money, the Tamil Nadu government arranged loan through the HUDCO for implementing the scheme. This paper is an attempt to analyse the Government's policies towards improving the housing facilities of the handloom weavers under the Co-operative Sector and thereby to standardise their living conditions.

The available research works pertaining to handloom industry in Tamil Nadu do not shed detailed information about the housing colony of the weavers under a Co-operative fold. K. Sundar Singh in his book titled *The Handloom Industry in Madurai City* has dealt on the organization, functioning, uniqueness and problems of handloom industry in Madurai in respect of raw materials, market and financing covering looms under co-operative sector, master weavers, petty master weavers and independent weavers and exporters. B.S. Baliga in his book *History of Handloom Industry in Madras* elaborately discusses about the various ups and downs happened in the handloom industry since 1850 during in British period. This book also explains about the socio-economic condition of handloom weavers in Tamil Nadu state. Hence this article traces the detailed study on the Weaver's Housing Colony scheme sponsored by the government for the benefits of the handloom weavers in the Cooperative sector.

## 2. Need for the Housing Colonies

One of the measures necessary for the amelioration of the socio-economic condition of the handloom weavers was related to housing. The housing condition of the weavers was very

poor and sometimes they had very small huts. It was very difficult to accommodate the weaving materials within the limited space. Hence the weavers required spacious rooms to keep their weaving materials and equipments. The process of handloom weaving involves different stages and hence it has required the support of several people and they should work together. Therefore, a spacious work spot is needed to continue the weaving works. The profession of weaving requires a clean atmosphere free from pollution. In many houses there was no electricity. They required powerful lights to continue the works even at night time.<sup>iii</sup> The handloom weaver who was having his own loom could continue the profession in his own house, which was not only his living place but also his work-spot. According to survey conducted by J.C Ryan, the then Registrar of Co-operative Societies of Madras State in the year 1950, the condition of the weavers found under the Co-operative sector was very poor. A large number of handloom weavers were living in houses or huts under-conditions which were not hygienic. The weaver should therefore be assured of proper housing –cum-work-spot facilities. So, that they would increase the production and improve the socio- economic conditions. Therefore, the Government has formulated schemes for the provision of housing and working facilities to the weavers.<sup>iv</sup> J.C. Ryan was an instrumental in starting the colony that was put up at Yemmiganur in Andhra Pradesh in the year 1950. During one of his inspection, he found that the weavers of the society were living in such unhygienic surroundings that immediately struck him to start a housing colony. The construction of this housing colony was done in such an efficient way that results exceeded expectations.<sup>v</sup> Besides providing good environment for producing handloom fabrics, the Government wanted to strength the Co-operative sector of the handlooms.

## 3. Weavers' Housing Colonies under the Cess Fund Scheme of the Government of India

In July 1956, the Government of India announced a policy regarding the grant of assistance under the Cess Fund Scheme for financing the weavers housing schemes. In A.D 1953, the Government of India created the Cess Fund by levying Cess on the mill cloth to be utilised for rehabilitating the handloom industry as per the recommendation of the All India Handloom Board.<sup>vi</sup> The creation of the Cess Fund proved to be a turning point in the history of the Handloom Industry. Since the constitution of this fund, financial assistance had been provided on a large scale for the implementation of the various schemes for the improvement of the condition of the handloom weavers.<sup>vii</sup> In due course, as the proceeds were found to be insufficient, it had to be augmented by contributions from the general revenues from the time to time. The Cess Fund has been abolished from 1960 and the proceeds were then credited to the general revenues. The expenditure on handloom

development schemes was met from the Consolidated Fund of the Government of India. All grants from the Cess Fund were given in the shape of Central assistance according to the schemes formulated by the All- India Handloom Board.<sup>viii</sup>

The important aspects of the Government of India's policy towards financing the weavers' housing schemes were as follow. The ceiling of the cost of each house including site should not exceed Rs.3,600/-. The grant would continue at 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ %; but the entire balance of 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % would be given as a long term loan. The loan would be on a 25 year basis and would bear nominal rate of interest of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ % per annum. In addition to this contribution, for the actual construction of the house, funds would also be provided on a loan basis for the entire expenditure on the provision of water supply, drainage, layout of roads and other amenities.<sup>ix</sup> The cost of amenities could also be met by a loan carrying the same rate of interest. Government had also offered assistance for the repair of houses of the weavers.<sup>x</sup> A loan of Rs.300 per house would be given for the purpose of renovation and enlargement of existing houses of weavers, especially to accommodate the installation of frame looms. The assistance from the Cess fund was available for the construction of houses or repairs of houses only to weavers who were members of Weavers' Co-operative Societies.<sup>xi</sup> Subsequent to the receipt of these instructions the Government of India desired that the schemes already sanctioned should be revised in Second Five Year Plan in accordance with the latest instructions. The Housing Adviser attached to the Ministry of Works, Supply and Housing suggested that there should be some uniform pattern of designs for each state as for certain regions and that therefore

it was necessary to evolve a few such designs which might be adopted for each State.<sup>xii</sup> In pursuance of the assistance granted by the Government of India for establishing weavers' housing colonies, several weavers' co-operative societies had come forward to construct housing colonies for the benefits of their members.<sup>xiii</sup>

The five year plans gave due importance for the promotion of housing colonies. During the Second Five Year Plan (1956-61), Rs. 413.70 lakhs had been earmarked for the development of the handloom industry. Subsequently the Planning Commission increased the allotment to a little over Rs.728 lakhs. Financial assistance towards the entire cost of a house subject to a ceiling of Rs. 3,600 was provided by the Government of India, of which 66 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent as loan and 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent as grant. Beside, the Government of India also sanctioned loans for provision of Common amenities to the colonies.<sup>xiv</sup> The schemes were programmed by the Madras State Government for implementation during the Second Five Year Plan related, the construction of 16 colonies of 1600 houses at a cost of Rs. 74.29 lakhs for the benefit of members of Weavers Co-operative Societies and opening of 100 sales depots by the state government in order to enlist at least 50 per cent of the handloom weavers within the Co-operative.<sup>xv</sup> Subsequently, the State Government sanctioned twenty-two housing schemes for the construction of 1,966 houses at the cost of Rs.88,29,350. Of them the construction of 1248 houses were completed in the month of March 1961<sup>xvi</sup> and the remaining were finished later. The particulars of the twenty-two housing schemes are furnished below:

Sl. No	Name of the Colony	District	Number of houses to be constructed	Number of houses constructed	Cost of Scheme		
					Loan in Rupees	Grant in Rupees	Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Ammamet Weaver's Co-operative Society	Salem	200	200	7,99,350	2,40,000	10,39,350
2	Dharmapuri Weaver's Co-operative Society	Salem	100	100	3,05,000	1,20,000	4,25,000
3	Salem Weaver's Co-operative Society	Salem	94	-	2,97,600	1,12,800	4,10,400
4	Tiruchengode Weaver's Co-operative Society	Salem	100	100	3,48,700	1,20,000	4,68,700
5	Coimbatore Devanga Weaver's Co-operative Society	Coimbatore	68	68	1,63,200	81,600	2,44,800
7	Tiruppur Weaver's Co-operative society	Coimbatore	100	100	3,32,900	1,20,000	4,52,900
8	Chennimalai Weaver's Co-operative Society	Coimbatore	100	72	3,40,000	1,20,000	4,66,000
9	Krishnapuram Weaver's Co-operative Society	Madurai	150	60 (40 were completed in 1962)	4,81,000	1,80,000	6,61,000
10	Madurai Tiruvalluvar Weaver's Co-operative Society	Madurai	50	Completed later	1,94,000	60,000	2,54,100
11	Madurai Mahalakshmi Weaver's Co-operative Society	Madurai	56	-Do-	1,78,400	67,200	2,15,600
12	Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal Weavers Co-operative Society	Madurai	86	-Do-	2,95,000	1,03,200	3,98,200
13	Aruppukottai Weaver's Co-operative Society	Ramanathapuram	200	198	5,62,400	2,40,000	8,02,400
14	Srivilliputtur Weaver's Co-operative Society	Ramanathapuram	100	100	2,96,000	1,20,000	4,16,000
15	Saidapet Weaver's Co-operative Society	Madras	60	60	2,47,500	72,000	3,19,500
16	Kattidelkurichi Weaver's Co-operative Society	Tirunelveli	100	100	3,07,000	1,20,000	4,27,000

17	Woraiyur Devanga Weaver's Co-operative Society	Tiruchirappalli	40	40	1,60,000	48,000	2,08,000
18	Kilodungalur Weaver's Co-operative Society	North Arcot	92	Completed later	2,51,300	1,10,400	3,61,700
19	Gudiyatham Shanmugar Weaver's Co-operative Society	North Arcot	50	-Do-	1,57,500	60,000	2,17,500
20	Kancheepuram Kamatchiamman Silk Weaver's Co-operative Society	Chengelpet	70	-Do-	2,17,500	84,000	3,01,500
21	Vadasseri Weaver's Co-operative Society	Kanniyakumari	50	-Do-	1,74,700	60,000	2,34,700
22	Koranad Weaver's Co-operative Society	Thanjavur	50	-Do-	1,70,000	60,000	2,30,00
	Total		1,966	1,248	64,70,150	23,59,200	88,29,350

In these colonies the construction of 1,248 houses had been completed till the end of March 1962, the remaining was under various stages of construction and the works were completed later.<sup>xvii</sup> Altogether the State Government had constructed 2,683 houses at the total cost of Rs. 127 lakhs, till the end of March 1962.<sup>xviii</sup> During the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974) period 3,027 houses were constructed under the weavers housing scheme which was reviewed from the year 1979-80, adding to the 2,683 houses constructed earlier.<sup>xix</sup>

#### 4. The Weavers' Housing Colonies under Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) Scheme

The weavers' housing scheme under the Cess Fund scheme of the Government was discontinued in A.D. 1961. Thereafter, the Government of Tamil Nadu with financial assistance from Housing and Urban Development Corporation (HUDCO) revived the Weavers' Housing Scheme from the year 1979-80 for the welfare of the member of the Weavers' Co-operative Societies.<sup>xx</sup> From 1<sup>st</sup> July 1982 onwards HUDCO had revised the scheme according to which the total estimated cost of each house was Rs.12,000 for which a maximum loan of Rs.9,700 was made available from HUDCO. The State Government had to provide a subsidy of Rs.1,000 per house and the balance of Rs.1,300 had to be met by beneficiary members of the Weavers Co-operative Societies.<sup>xxi</sup> The loan portion under scheme was repayable in 20 years in equated monthly installments at 7 per cent interest including ½ per cent service charges to Co-optex<sup>xxii</sup>. From the year 1985-86 onwards under the New Textile Policy of the Government of India also started sanctioning a subsidy at the rate of Rs.1000 for the house and Rs.1500 for the work shed at the total of Rs. 2,500. Under this scheme there was a matching State Government contribution of Rs.1000 for the house and Rs.1500 for the work shed at the total of Rs.2500.<sup>xxiii</sup> During the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) it was proposed to construct 5000 houses. The construction of 3741 houses had been planned and of which 1706 houses were completed during the financial year 1982-83.. Till 1982-83 the HUDCO had released a sum of Rs.90.02 lakhs as loan. A loan of Rs.12.29 lakhs was released subsequently.<sup>xxiv</sup> Another 10000 houses would be constructed in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90). An amount of Rs.61.72 crores was proposed to be set up for the development of Handlooms in the seventh plan.<sup>xxv</sup> During the year 1989-90, 1323 House-Cum-Work shed units were taken up for construction as against the target of 2500 units.<sup>xxvi</sup> Subsequently the construction of these houses was completed.

One of the most important colonies created under the HUDCO scheme in Madurai region was the Nilayur colony

which was opened in A.D 1982 by Mr. Aranka Nayakam, the former minister of Education and the Handloom Industry, during the Chief Minister ship of M.G. Ramachandran. This colony is known as Kaithari Nagar located near Tiruparankuntam in Madurai district. The total area of this colony is 40 acres of land and originally constructed 678 houses.<sup>xxvii</sup> After clearing the loan by the beneficiary the government handed over the ownership (patta) to the legal owner weavers. For instance, the State Government gave ownership (patta) to the handloom weavers in Tiruvalluvar Colony, Madurai after A.D. 2005.<sup>xxviii</sup>

#### 5. Layout and the facilities of the Colonies

The layout and the type design of the houses suitable for the members of the society were prepared by the societies in consultation with the P.W.D. Supervisor and the Assistant Engineer (Weavers' Housing Schemes) and sanctioned by the Registrar's office. Amenities required were also decided with reference to the layout of the site and the facilities already available in the locality were finalised. The layout would normally provide for amenities like provision of water, street lighting, park, radio, school, market, etc. The house would be so designed as to suit an average weavers' family and would provide for a work room for installing two or three looms. The amenities and the house should conform to the town-planning rules and hygienic standards. The layout plan was therefore sent to the Office of Director of Town Planning for its approval. After getting the approval sanctioned, the scheme for the construction of the colony was prepared and sent to Government together with the total estimate of cost, type design of the house and the layout approved by the Director of Town-Planning. A copy of scheme, plan and estimates was also sent the Chief Engineer, P.W.D. for his approval and intimation to the Government. Schemes – costing up to Rs.40,000 might be scrutinized by the Executive Engineer, the schemes costing between Rs.40,000 and Rs. 2 lakhs might be scrutinized by the Superintending Engineer, and those costing above, Rs. 2 lakhs by the Chief Engineer. One-third of the loan required for the construction of the houses and full cost of amenities were sanctioned with the approval of the scheme. Another One-third of the cost of the house was sanctioned, as soon as the construction of the houses reached plinth level and the balance One-third of the cost on reaching the roof level. One-third of the subsidy was sanctioned, as soon as the houses were completed and the balance of the subsidy as soon as the audited statements of the construction of the houses was received.<sup>xxix</sup>

A set of specification was also drawn up by the Housing Adviser to the Government of India for adoption in the construction of these buildings. Limiting the ceiling cost was driven us to find out ways of effecting economy in the building process. Some degree of economy could be effect as expert architectural planning and structural designing, as also by adopting utility scales of accommodation. Several types of residential accommodation suitable to the paying capacity of the weaver occupants were evolved. The plinth area for the various rooms bearing the work room was more or less uniform in all the colonies. The only variation was with regard to the workroom where the looms were put in.<sup>xxx</sup> The constructional specifications which also have a large bearing on building cost was more or less, uniform, excepting for the variations necessary to utilize the easily obtainable materials in the locality. A high degree of importance was attached a durability, low maintenance and convenience as against the first cost of the building. The following factors had been taken into account in the evolution of the designs. (i) Planning (ii) Materials (iii) Standard of Accommodation (iv) Architectural designs and Structural design.<sup>xxxi</sup> All available sites were examined in detail and the best one was selected. In urban areas, due to want of space, sites for housing colonies were limited in area, whereas this problem was not met with in rural areas.<sup>xxxii</sup>

The concentration of houses on the site works out roughly to about 15 houses per acre, whereas in urban areas, this was stretched to 20 and sometimes more. The layout followed set designs suited mostly to local conditions. In the South, which was an area where high humidity prevailed, houses were all oriented to north and south to catch as much of the Southern breeze as possible. This means that the roads run mostly towards east and west. To minimize the cost of common amenities on individual houses, it was best to have a colony of 200 houses. This was in many cases not possible and hence colonies of hundred houses were the general rule. Some of these colonies even consisted of forty houses in the case of Woraiyur Devanga Weavers' Colony at Tiruchirappalli and sixty houses as in the case of Saidapet Weaver's Co-operative Society at Madras. This was so because of the urban nature of the area and the difficulty to get sufficient space for constructing in more houses.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Normally an area of 4 to 5 cents was allowed for each house and the twin block was built in ten cents.<sup>xxxiv</sup> The Krishnapuram Housing colony in Madurai was built in 18 acres of land with 150 houses each in 2400 sq. plinth area.<sup>xxxv</sup> The Nilayur Colony in Madurai which included 678 houses each with 31/2 cent plinth area was constructed in a vast area of 40 acres of land in 1982.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Thiruvalluvar Housing Colony was created in 10 acres with 91 houses, each with a plinth area of 2400 sq.ft..<sup>xxxvii</sup> The Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal Weavers' Housing Colony, Avaniyapuram in Madurai district was established in 1962 during the Chief Minister ship of Kamaraj. It was built in 18 acres of land with 150 houses each in 2,400 sq.ft..<sup>xxxviii</sup> In the year 1992, a new colony called Prasanna New Colony was started with 35 houses each in 1,500-2000 sq.ft..<sup>xxxix</sup> In the year 1996, another new colony called Abirami 10<sup>th</sup> Street Colony was started with 58 houses each in 2,400 sq.ft..<sup>xl</sup> It was inaugurated by V.K.P. Raja, the Minister of Handloom Industry. The Mahalakshmi Weavers' Housing Colony at Thirunagar in Madurai district was opened in 1962 which was built in 14 acres of land with 100 houses each in 2,400 sq.ft..<sup>xli</sup> In the year 1982, 100 new houses were

constructed there during the Chief Ministership of M.G. Ramachandran. These new houses were formed under the HUDCO scheme. It was opened by Aranka Nayakam, the former minister of Education and Handloom Industry.<sup>xlii</sup> The Vadassery Weavers' Housing Colony in Kanyakumari district was built in 1962 in 9 acres land with 99 houses, each in 2,400 sq.ft.. It was opened by Mr. Bala Sundaram, the State Co-operative Registrar in 17-8-1962.<sup>xliii</sup> The Pothujana Weavers' Housing Colony at Nagercoil in Kanyakumari district was built under the HUDCO scheme in the year 1982 during the Chief Ministership of M.G. Ramachandran in 4 acres land with 78 houses, each in 600 sq.ft. It was opened by Aranka Nayakam, the former Minister of Education and Handloom Industry.<sup>xliiv</sup> The Thiruppathisaram Weavers' Colony at Thovalai in Kanyakumari district was started under the HUDCO scheme in the year 1995. The total land area of this colony is 5 acres with 73 houses each in 31/2 cents.<sup>xliv</sup>

The creation of the colony became the boom to the weavers and weaving industry. The weavers got permanent houses for installing their looms and continue weaving work. As each colony possessed Co-operative Society, it helped the weavers to purchase the yarn from the Society, sell the goods and settle the accounts. There is a provision for Co-operative Societies in each colony. In the Nilayur Colony in Madurai nine Weavers' Co-operative Societies were established. They are: 1. Rama Krishna Weavers' Co-operative Society, 2. Baghavat Singh Weavers' Co-operative Society, 3. Dr. Radha Krishna Weavers' Co-operative Society, 4. Swamy Nadana Gopal Weavers' Co-operative Society, 5. Balaji Weavers' Co-operative Society, 6. Bharathi Jothi Weavers' Co-operative Society, 7. Nehru Weavers' Co-operative Society, 8. Angayar Kanni Weavers' Co-operative Society and 9. Aanjaneyar Weavers' Co-operative Society.<sup>xli</sup> In Thiruvalluvar Colony, Valluvar Weavers' Co-operative Society was constructed.<sup>xlii</sup> In Krishnapuram colony, Krishnapuram Weavers' Co-operative Society was built.<sup>xliiii</sup> The long and broad road within the colonies helped the weavers to undertake the preparatory works for weaving the materials and continue weaving work without having pollution effect.<sup>xliiv</sup>

The roads are designed to carry light traffic, barring the main road which forms, more or less, the lead in road from the nearby highway. This main road caters for heavy traffic. Normally warping margins were provided on both sides of the road. In some housing colonies, where a warping was practiced in a separate area was set apart for warping ground. A avenue trees were planted on both sides of the road at the rate of one tree to each house. The avenue plants were so chosen that every alternate one was of the flowering kind. As many trees as possible were planted and the varieties were chosen so as to beautify the parks and play grounds. Government Schools are also found in some of the housing colonies. In most of the colonies water were drawn from wells earlier. Subsequently, the provision of pumping arrangements was made to lift the water to over head reservoirs and the supply to the houses through street taps. Roughly one tap was provided for every six to eight houses. Surface drains and sullage water drains were taken as far away from the colony as was practicable.<sup>1</sup> Provision was made in site to set apart areas for dye houses, schools, medical buildings, shops, play ground,

Road, beautiful park, etc. The provision of electric lights in streets wherever possible were made.<sup>ii</sup>

**6. Present situation of Housing Colonies in Madurai District**

According to a field visit of the Madurai housing colonies, many of the houses in Madurai district have modified into big concrete houses. In several places the weavers had sold their share to other people and shifted to other places for doing other prosperous jobs. With a minimum income from the

handloom industry some weavers' found it difficult to run their family and to raise their standard of living. Some handloom weavers have changed into working in power looms. In Aruppukkottai Weavers' Colony all the handlooms were changed to power looms, because through the handloom they could earn a maximum of Rs. 250 but through working in the power loom they earn Rs. 600 per day.<sup>iii</sup> The street lights and the drainage systems are not maintained properly. In some places the houses are maintained and modified with double storied building.



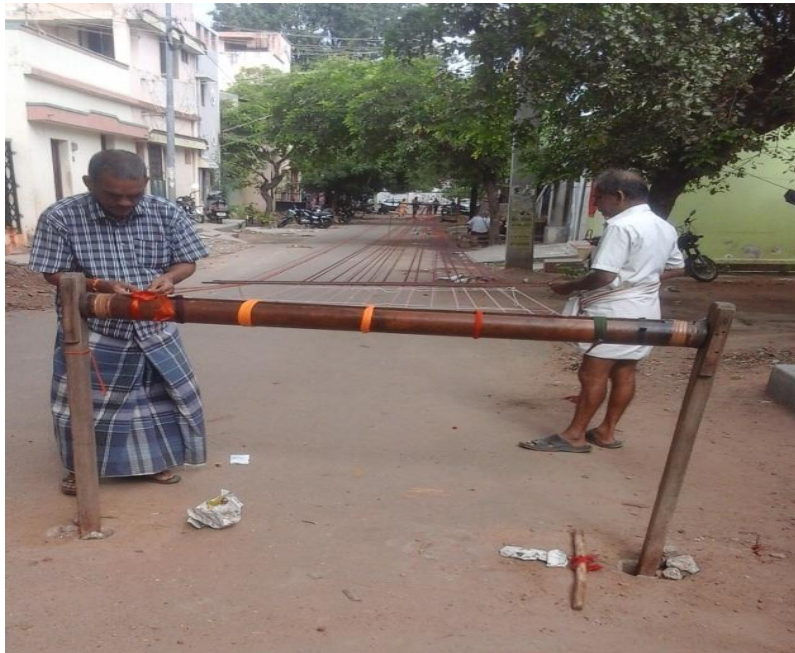
Photo No.1 A House in Krishnapuram Weavers' Housing Colony in Madurai



Photo No. 2. Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal Weavers' Housing Colony in Madurai



Photo No.3. Vadassery Weavers' Housing Colony in Nagercoil in Kanyakumari



**Photo No. 4. Weavers Straightening the Yarn**



**Photo No. 5 Maintained and Modified Houses in Thiruvalluvar Housing Colony in Madurai**

## 7. Conclusion

Housing facilities were given to weavers to enable them to do work in their own houses in healthy surroundings. In the new atmosphere they could install their looms and work in conditions of freedom and convenience. The provision of a large number of houses in close proximity would enable the weavers to lead a corporate life along with other weavers and help to create a spirit of harmony and comradeship among persons with a common economic and social goal. The weavers housing schemes were therefore welcomed by the weavers. Provision of facilities for building new houses opened out possibilities of a new and better life for weavers in the better surroundings. But housing colonies could not be built quickly in all places where there was a concentration of weavers. There were quite a large number of weavers, whose own houses which were either too small or in such utter

despair that they were unfit for the weaver family to live in them and carry on their professions. In spite of the Government initiated the construction of the weavers' colonies it could not provide houses to all the weavers under the Co-operative fold who required the same. Though the government had initiated and built several houses due to the decline of the handloom industry, the very purpose of creating colonies could not yield permanent results.

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- xxxviii Foundation Stone at Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal Colony, dt.14-6-1962. Observation from the field study conducted by the researcher on 26-9-2017.
- xxxix Foundation Stone at Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal New Colony, dt.4-9-1992. Observation from the field study conducted by the researcher on 26-9-2017
- xl Interview with D.R. Rama Rao (71), the Director of the Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal Weavers' Co-operative Society, dt. 26-9-2017.
- xli Interview with A. R. Athma Rao (68), former handloom weaver, Mahalakshmi Weavers' Colony, Thirunagar, Madurai district,dt.26-9-2017.
- xlii Foundation Stone at Mahalakshmi Weavers' Housing Colony, dt.23-4-1982. Observation from the field study conducted by the researcher on 26-7-2017.
- xliiii Foundation Stone at Vadassery Weavers' Housing Colony, dt.17-8-1962. Observation from the field study conducted by the researcher on 20 -7-2017.
- xliv Interview with A. Krishnan (73), Former Handloom weaver, Pothujana Nesavalur Colony, Nagercoil.dt.30.06 .2017
- xlv Interview with K. S Vasam (61), Senior Clerk of the Handloom Weavers' Co-operative Society, Vadassery.dt.30.06.2017.
- xlvi Observation from the field study conducted by the researcher on 20-4-2017.
- xlvii Interview with Janorthanan (55), Clerk of Valluvar Weavers' Co-operative Society, Valluvar Colony, Madurai District, dt. 21.04.2017.
- xlviii Interview with S. Manickam (89), Former Handloom Weaver, Krishnapuram, Madurai District, dt. 21-06-2017.
- xlix *Ibid.*
- l *M.J.C.O.*, *op.cit.*, p. 433.
- li G.O. NO.736, I. L. D., 23.03.1954.Government Press Madras, P. 148
- lii Interview with T. S.Ramalinga Nadar(65), Handloom Weaver, Nesavalur Colony, Aruppukottai, Ramanathapuram district, dt.16-06-2017