PART II

Analysis and Evaluation of Wages

3.0. EVOLUTION OF EXISTING WAGE STRUCTURE.

Before analysing the current wage level, it is necessary to have some knowledge about the existing wage structure-its evolution, nature and components, as the level of wages mainly depends upon the type of wage structure. It is proposed to highlight the different methods of wage determination in the evolution of wage structure in this chapter.

Several theories for wage determination have been advanced so far. These have not proved adequate in the present situation, being concerned more or less with static conditions and several assumptions made by them are not pragmatic. In the complex circumstances obtaining today, most of these do not seem to explain satisfactorily the phenomenon of present day wage fixation. Recent trends, however, indicate that more attention should be given to the whole range of wage structure. As Professor John T. Dunlop stated, "a single wage rate or average concept is inadequate. The structure of wages, the whole complex of differentials needs to be explained[1]." A substantial rise in the non-wage benefits has added another dimension to the problem of wage determination. While economists are still trying to evolve a suitable wage theory, the management and union attempt to settle wage disputes by collective bargaining.

Sources of information include various awards of Industrial Tribunals, settlements arrived at in conciliation and bilateral agreements which have determined wages and service conditions in the industry. These have been indicated at appropriate places.

It would be convenient to study the evolution according to the

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1. Dunlop John T. The theory of wage determination. Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1957 - P.27.

different methods of wage determination, namely, unilateral decisions of employers and individual bargaining, collective bargaining, adjudication machinery, statutory minimum wage fixation machinery and unilateral decisions of employees.

3.1. Unilateral Decisions of Employers and Individual Bargaining.

These two methods of wage determination have been in vogue since the inception of the industry. Obviously, each wage rate is a personal rate, rather than the rate for the occupation. The law of supply and demand for labour mostly governs the wage determination. Even now wages are unilaterally fixed by employers in 2 short film production units, 8 studios, 3 laboratories and 1 foreign film distribution unit together employing about 1765 workers or 12.6% of the total employment in film industry. In the Films Division of the Government of India and the Films Unit of the Government of Maharashtra, wages are fixed by respective Governments without consulting their employees. The foreign film distribution unit referred to above, however, paid comparable wages to its workers inspite of the absence of trade union organisation in that concern.

In the production section, wages of all workers except those employed on casual basis continue to be negotiated individually. These negotiations are largely influenced by personal factors, such as association with producers, artistes and departmental heads, motivations, etc. In the absence of any fair negotiations, the level of wages is likely to be depressed. Until recently, all contracts of employment were verbally entered into, creating considerable difficulties whenever a dispute arose as regards the payment of contractual amount. In March 1966, however, the Federation of craft unions and the associations of producers have, by agreement, decided to provide for a written contract of employment, giving details

regarding the nature of work, period of employment, salary and other conditions of work.

3.2. Collective Bargaining.

The term 'collective bargaining' here includes not only bilateral agreements but also settlements arrived at during conciliation, voluntary arbitration awards, 'consent awards' of Industrial Tribunals and recommendations of tripartite machinery, such as Wage Boards and Wage Committees.

It was not until 1946 that trade unions appeared on the horizon of film industry. Wage rates prevailing in the industry prior to this period were quite low[2]. During and after the Second World War, employers reaped a good harvest but they did not share it with labour. This gave rise to considerable unrest.

The Theatre Employees' Union was the first to formulate its demand for increase in wages, which was placed before the Cinematograph Exhibitors' Association of India in 1947. As a result of collective bargaining, cinemas in Bombay were classified into 4 grades according to their earning capacity and other factors and pay scales were fixed for each occupation according to the grade of cinemas[3]. The agreement also provided for a scale of dearness allowance variable with basic wages on the lines of the scale then obtaining in the State Government Departments. In consequence, the minimum wage of an unskilled worker shot up from Rs. 15 in 1946

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2. In 1946, average monthly wages per employee in the studio sector amounted to Rs.77.21, while the mazdoor earned only Rs.44 per month. A leading cinema in the Fort area showing foreign pictures paid Rs.18 to door-keepers while a cinema in North Bombay paid its assistant manager a total salary of Rs.50 per month in 1946.
3. Theatre Employees' Union, Bombay. Theatre Employees' Progress, 1966. P. 8. Theatres in Bombay are now classified into 3 grades.

to Rs. 60 in 1947[4].

In August 1948, the Indian Motion Picture Employees' Union and the Bombay Film Laboratory settled their wage dispute amicably[5]. The settlement provided for graded pay scales ranging between Rs.40-5-60 for mazdoors to Rs.200-20-300 for electricians and a dearness allowance fluctuating between Rs.25 to Rs.35 per month. As a result, the mazdoor's initial salary increased from Rs.50 to Rs.65 p.m. It seems that existing wage differentials based on conventions continued to operate for some time inspite of disparities in skills. The scales, however, remained as guide-lines for fixation of wage structure in other laboratories.

The foundation of wage structure in studios was laid in 1949 by the Shah-Mehta Arbitration Award[5]. During conciliation proceedings, the union and the employers of 11 studios agreed to refer the dispute to the private arbitration of Shri Chandulal Shah, representing employers and Shri Ashok Mehta, Shah representing the union and the terms of award were later recorded in the settlement. The award prescribed graded scales of pay ranging between Rs.35-3-65 for watchmen and peons to Rs.150-20-190-EB-250-50-300 for cameramen and sound recordists. In addition, it provided for dearness allowance at the rates of Rs.30 and Rs.35 per month. In consequence, the mazdoor who received Rs.44 in 1946 earned Rs.70 as a new entrant in 1947.

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4. Although the agreement on wages was reached at the industrial level, the time was not opportune for its implementation. About 20 cinema theatres voluntarily introduced the scale, while the good offices of conciliation officers were sought in the case of 20 other cinemas. In respect of the remaining cinemas in Bombay City, the union had to utilise the machinery of adjudication in order to achieve its end.
5. Unpublished document relating to the settlement or award.

On analysis, the award appears to be an ad-hoc attempt to arrive at a workable solution of the conflicting claims of both studio-owners and employees. It, however, did not make any serious attempt at determining wage scales of certain higher categories such as cameraman, sound recordist, editor, laboratory-in-charge and art director or even their assistants in accordance with the nature of their work. Besides, some anomalies were inducted in the relative scales, in-as-much-as editors and projectionists who possessed different levels of skill were put on the same wage footing. Further, certain occupations such as trollymen, lightmen, joiners and boommen were categorised merely as 'workers' and accordingly paid the lowest wage of an unskilled worker. It would appear, therefore, that wages were fixed more on conventional pattern than on any rational basis such as skill. The award, however, was an important landmark in the evolution of wage structure and it remained as a basis of wage fixation in other studios for the next ten years.

Wage rates of junior artistes, dancers, movie stunt artistes and musicians were first fixed in May 1950 by agreements between the producers' and workers' associations, by which workers were classified into various categories and separate rates were prescribed for each category. The rates of wages were later revised thrice by mutual agreements.

The wage structure in foreign film distribution section was evolved by collective bargaining by separate settlements on similar lines between the managements of 4 units and the Foreign Film Distribution Employees' Union during 1956-57. Wage scales ranged between Rs.40-3-52-5-82-EB-6-100 applicable to unskilled workers to Rs.200-12½-250-15-340-EB-20-420 for bookers and assistant accountants. In addition, workers received dearness allowance variable with

consumer price index numbers.

Even after the disputes were referred to Industrial Tribunals for adjudication, mutual negotiations continued, some of which succeeded and were recorded as 'consent awards'. Notable among these are awards in Basant Studio (1961)[6], Bombay Film Laboratory (1962)[7], Ramnord Research Laboratory (1963)[8], Famous Cine Laboratory (1964)[9] and Kardar Studio (1965)[10]. In the case of Basant Studio, the management and union agreed to the introduction of wage scales as prescribed by the Shah-Mehta award, which was once rejected by the union about 10 years ago. It is a sad commentary on the stagnation of wages at the same level in the industry since even after a lapse of considerable time, wages in most of the studios not covered by the award were less than the minimum prescribed thereunder.

The Theatre Employees' Union succeeded in revising all wage settlements during the period between September 1958 to May 1967[11], whereby wage scales fluctuated between Rs.50-3-95 to unskilled workers in 'B' class theatres to Rs.500-25-750-30-900 to Managers in A-1 class cinemas. A uniformity in wage structure was attempted at the industrial level. The dearness allowance was also raised from 1966 onwards. It ranged between Rs.110 in B grade cinemas to Rs.140 in A-1 grade and A grade cinemas in 1967.

A significant achievement by collective bargaining was scored by workers in the production sector when the Tripartite Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry set up by the Government of Maharashtra and of which the author was the Member-Secretary,

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6. Maharashtra Government Gazette, 12,October 1961. P.2532.
7. Ibid. 29, March 1962. P.1392.
8. Ibid. 7, November 1963. P.3597.
9. Ibid. 4, June 1964. P.1997.
10. Ibid. 18, November 1965. P.3930.
11. Theatre Employees' Union Bombay. Theatre Employees' Progress, 1966, P.12-19 and unpublished documents relating to settlements.

unanimously recommended the minimum rates of wages for all categories of workers (October 1966)[12]. The Committee accepted the minimum rates of wages for [illegible] workers in the production section as suggested by various craft unions on condition that they did not work for more than 3 pictures at a time. Studio and laboratory workers were classified into 7 grades on the basis of the nature of work performed by them and skill required therefor and separate rates were suggested for each grade at the consumer price index number of 100 in 1960. In addition, the Committee recommended dearness allowance at the rate of Rs.3 per month per 5 points' rise over 100 in the new series of consumer price index numbers. Based on broad principles of ratio between the minimum and maximum in pay scales, span and rate of increments and efficiency bars, the Committee recommended wage scales to 'regular' employees. These recommendations are yet to be implemented by the parties.

3.3. Adjudication Machinery.

On termination of the Shah-Mehta award referred to earlier, the union raised in 1951 a series of wage disputes in studios, which were referred to the Industrial Tribunals. Broadly, the wage structure evolved by the Shah-Mehta award was maintained in-tact. After examining the economic condition of studios, the Tribunals came to a conclusion that the finances of studios were far from satisfactory. According to them, any attempt to prescribe fresh wage scales on a permanent or long term basis in the context of financial stringency of the industry was bound to cause either

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12. Government of Maharashtra. Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry. P. 99-105.

dis-satisfaction among employees or throw heavy burden on the industry. The Tribunals, therefore, granted some ad-hoc increments to workers, thereby creating an atmosphere of industrial truce and left the question of wage scales to a more propitious time in future[13].

A departure from the Shah-Mehta award was made for the first time by the Industrial Tribunal Shri P.D. Savarkar in the case of Rajkamal Kalamandir[14]. The Tribunal determined what occupations should exist in the studio, classified them according to skill and prescribed wage scales for 7 grades ranging between Rs.40-3-70 for unskilled workers to Rs.160-20-240-EB-340 for highly skilled categories. Another significant contribution made by the same award related to dearness allowance which for the first time in studios was linked to consumer price index numbers, calculated at the rate of 66.7% of the revised rate of dearness allowance of the Bombay Cotton textile workers.

In subsequent wage disputes in Filmistan, Filmalaya and Famous Cine Laboratory and Studios[15], the Industrial Tribunals relied on the award in Rajkamal Kalamandir, which was generally regarded as a basis. The pattern of dearness allowance awarded was mostly the same as in other industries in Bombay. Wage scales and dearness allowance were fixed at specific consumer price index numbers and any variations of 5 or 10 points would ipso facto result in changes in dearness allowance to the extent of Rs.3 to Rs.5 per month.

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13. Bombay Government Gazette, October 30, 1952. P.3431.
14. Ibid. March 3, 1960. P. 920.
15. Maharashtra Government Gazettes, July 19, 1962. P.2828; September 9, 1965. P.3092; July 24, 1965. P. 2186.

Wage scales prescribed by Industrial Tribunals in respect of Famous Cine Laboratory (1949) and Film Centre (1950)[16] were broadly influenced by the pay scale prevailing in the Bombay Film Laboratory and apparently were fixed on the exigencies of situation with scant regard to the relative skills of occupations. The dearness allowance was determined on the same basis as in studios mentioned in earlier paragraph.

While determining wage structure, the Industrial Tribunals seem to have based their awards on the principles of wage determination as enunciated by the Tripartite Committee on Fair Wages[17] in 1949, and the Supreme Court decisions in the cases of Crown Aluminium Works and Express Newspapers Private Ltd.[18], which have remained as useful guidelines to all wage fixing authorities.

It appears that the adjudication machinery was extensively utilised in the early wage disputes in studios, laboratories and cinema theatres, when unions in those sectors were in infancy. Later, however, this machinery was utilised in studios only, where on account of unorganised nature of studios, collective bargaining could not make much headway. Moreover, Industrial Tribunals seem to have attempted to achieve some balance in their awards. However, variations in paying capacities of individual undertakings, as ascertained by them, necessitated some modifications in wage scales.

3.4. Statutory Machinery.

The minimum rates of wages prescribed in April 1959 under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for commercial establishments were applicable

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16. Bombay Government Gazettes, December 22, 1949, P.2435; January 19, 1950, P.330.
17. Government of India: Report of the Committee on Fair Wages, 1958, P.10.
18. A.I.R. 1959 SC 30 = 1958 SCR 651; A.I.R. 1958 SC 578 = 1959 SCR 12.

to the film distribution concerns, since they were commercial establishments as defined under the Bombay Shops and Establishments Act, 1948. The wage rates were later revised in April 1966, increasing the minimum wage rate for unskilled category from Rs.70 to Rs.90. Correspondingly, minimum rates for semi-skilled and skilled categories were revised to Rs.126 and Rs.170 respectively. As wages in all foreign film distribution concerns prevailing in 1966 were much higher than the statutory minimum wages, the benefit of legal wage fixation is in reality confined to Indian film distribution units.

In January 1967, minimum rates were fixed under the Minimum Wages Act in cinema theatres in Maharashtra State. As the prevailing wage rates in the case of about 65 cinemas in Greater Bombay were much more than the minimum rates statutorily fixed, the benefit of such fixation indeed accrued to the remaining 18 cinemas engaging about 13 per cent of total workers in cinema theatres in Greater Bombay. The minimum wage rates (inclusive of dearness allowance) statutorily fixed range between Rs.120 for unskilled categories to Rs.250 for managers and publicity officers.

3.5. Unilateral Decisions by Employees.

Reversing the trend of unilateral decisions by employers while fixing wages, the Employees' Associations in the production sector have become strong enough to dictate their wage rates. The Cine Singers' Association prescribed wage rates in 1960 for their members and implemented them on their own strength. Chorus singers are divided into two classes and separate rates are fixed for each class according to different types of pictures. The Association of Movie Stunt Artistes also prescribed unilaterally standard rates for their members. The nature of their work being specialised and their organisation strong, they are able to dictate their own

rates of wages.

Each craft association in the production sector has stipulated its own minimum wage rates for its members. Although in actual practice these rates are often undercut, they are generally accepted as contracted rates, when in the absence of any written contract a dispute arises as regards the rate of wages. This unilateral wage fixation has now received a recognition from producers' associations which entered into an agreement with the Federation of craft unions in March 1966 by which the rates fixed by craft unions prevail in the absence of any written contract between the producer and technician. The different methods of wage determination used in the film industry may be briefly indicated in the table below.

Table No. 4 Methods of wage determination in the film industry (March 1965).

Sector	No. of workers whose wages were determined by					
	Unilateral decisions of employers and individual bargaining	Collective bargaining.	Adjudication Machinery	Statutory Machinery	Unilateral decisions of employers	Total
1. Feature film Production	4,700	1,200	-	-	500	6,400
2. Short Film Production	200	-	-	-	-	200
3. Studios	875	475	850	-	-	2,200
4. Laboratories	240	700	60	-	-	1,000
5. Films Divisions	600	-	-	-	-	600
6. Foreign film distribution	50	175	-	-	-	226
7. Indian film distribution	-	-	-	675	-	675
8. Exhibition	-	2,140	-	560	-	2,700
TOTAL	6,665	4,690	910	1,235	500	14,000

It would be seen from the table that collective bargaining has made much progress in laboratories, exhibition and foreign film distribution sectors. Individual bargaining still reigns supreme in the production sector, where wages of about 4,900 workers or nearly 80% of workers employed in production section, are determined by individual negotiations. These workers constitute about 35% of total workers engaged in the film industry in Bombay.

The significance of the method of individual bargaining as compared to other methods of wage determination in the production section of the film industry may be briefly explained. The use of this method in the production section is largely due to the peculiar nature of employment in that sector. Other causes responsible for individual bargaining are (a) the instability of production units, (b) the organisation of unions on craft basis, leading to their small size, and (c) legal difficulties as regards the coverage of certain categories of workers by existing labour laws.

On further analysing the table, it is noted that adjudication machinery has been mostly utilised in studios, where the wages of nearly 40% of studio workers are fixed by adjudication. Statutory wage fixation under the Minimum Wages Act is confined to Indian film distribution sector and about 21% of workers in the exhibition sector.

We have traced the evolution of wage structure and examined the methods of wage determination. We shall now study the nature and components of wage structure.

4.0. NATURE AND COMPONENTS OF WAGE STRUCTURE.

We have examined the evolution of wage structure and the methods of wage determination. We will now study the nature and components of wage structure such as basic wages, dearness allowance and different monetary and fringe benefits. An attempt is made to compare the wage structure in film industry in Bombay with those of other industries in Bombay as well as with the wage structures of film industry at other centres in India. This would give a relative idea of the prevailing wage structure in the Bombay film industry and would be useful for evaluating the wage level. The purpose of study is to briefly describe the present position in respect of the wage structure. No attempt is made here to have any causal analysis.

4.1. Basic Wages and Dearness Allowance.

Basic wages and dearness allowance constitute the most important components of wage structure. Since they are inter-linked and inter-mixed, they are discussed together under this section.

When workers in the production section were employed on the permanent rolls of producers, they were paid on monthly basis. Since they became free-lance by 1940, they are being employed on a contractual basis and paid a lump sum amount per picture. Generally, the Heads of Departments are engaged on picture basis, while their assistants are employed on monthly rates of pay.

Workers such as musicians, playback singers, junior artistes, dancers and movie stunt artistes, who are engaged casually for a particular song or a scene are paid on a daily basis for a job usually completed in the course of a day, comprising varying hours

of work. Their rates are, therefore, expressed in relation to a day or shift of specified hours.

Employees in studios, laboratories, distribution and exhibition sectors are mostly paid on a monthly basis, except casual or temporary workers who are paid on a daily basis.

The wage rate is either consolidated or expressed into two components of basic wage and dearness allowance. In the case of free-lance workers in the production section and those in Indian film distribution sector, the wage rate is consolidated as no dearness allowance is paid distinctly. Dearness allowance is paid separately to all foreign film distribution workers and those in the Films Division of the Government of India. About 88% of employees in exhibition sector, nearly 76% of employees in laboratories and 37% of workers in studios receive dearness allowance by indicating it as a separate entity.

Three methods of calculating dearness allowance are in vogue in the film industry. These are: (i) Slab system (ii) flat rate system, and (iii) linking system. About 20% of studio workers, 24% of laboratory workers, all workers in the Films Division of the Government of India and 80% of workers in the exhibition sector are paid dearness allowance varying with slabs of basic wages. The flat rate system exists in only two concerns, namely, Kardar Studio and Modern Sixteen Laboratory which together employ 105 workers.

About 12% of studio workers, 51% of laboratory workers and all workers in the foreign film distribution sector receive dearness allowance variable xxxia with consumer price index numbers under three different methods. In Rajkamal Kalamandir, for instance, workers receive dearness allowance at the rate of 50% of dearness allowance paid to Bombay cotton textile workers, which changes with a variation of each point in the working class consumer price index

number. In other studios and laboratories, wages are fixed at a certain point of time with reference to the price level then prevailing with a minimum dearness allowance either at a uniform rate or variable with slabs of basic wages. Any variation in the price level is accompanied by a change in dearness allowance at the rate of Rs.3 to Rs.5 for a variation of 5 or 10 points in the consumer price index numbers. In foreign film distribution section, however, the dearness allowance is calculated as a percentage of basic wages, which changes with basic wage slabs as well as consumer price index numbers.

One of the features of wage structure in film industry is the prevalence of graded pay scales in sectors other than production concerns and Indian film distribution section. About 40% of studio workers, 96% of laboratory workers, 70% of cinema workers and all workers in the foreign film distribution sector and the Films Division of the Government of India enjoy the privilege of graded pay scales. A perusal of wage scales shows that there is an absence of uniformity in the wage scales from unit to unit, as wages are fixed at unit level rather than at the industry level and that no ratio between the minima and maxima has been prescribed uniformly, except maintaining a span of 15 years in wage scales in the exhibition sector.

4.2. Monetary Benefits.

Workers' remuneration is made up of not only wages but also monetary and fringe benefits which have recently developed as important wage components. Workers attach great significance to these benefits and have waged several industrial disputes to secure them. Monetary benefits in the film industry comprise overtime payment and miscellaneous allowances such as officiating,

compensatory and house rent allowances. We shall now briefly examine the significance of each of these benefits in the different sectors of Bombay film industry.

Overtime payments.

In the case of free-lance workers in the production sector, whose working hours are not regulated by law, it is difficult to determine overtime. The question is less significant, particularly because overtime is not paid for. In the case of casual workers, however, the associations of employers and employees have entered into agreements, providing for additional wages for extra time worked[1].

The working of studios is peculiar in itself. Two shifts of eight hours each are, at times, staged in a day, depending upon the shooting schedule. If the work is slack, only one shift is worked in a day. In some studios, where shift working is uncertain, separate workers are not allotted for day and night shifts. The same set of workers is usually deployed for day and night shifts by working overtime. The extent of overtime working in 5 studios, where data were readily available for the month of March 1965, may be gauged from the following table [illegible] of overtime wages in relation to normal wages.

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1. If a junior artiste works for more than half an hour upto 4 hours beyond the normal 8 hours, he is paid at one and half time the normal rate. Musicians who work beyond shift timings of 4 hours for one song and 6 hours for two songs are paid at the rate of Rs.10 to Rs.20 per overtime hour according to their categories. Singers are paid Rs.10 per hour of extra work beyond 5 hours of normal shift work.

Table No.5. Extent of overtime working in studios. (March 1965).

Studio serial number.	No. of workers employed.	Average monthly wages (excluding overtime earnings).	Average monthly overtime earnings.	Percentage of Average monthly overtime earnings to Average monthly wages.
		-Rs-	-Rs-	
1.	90	122.22	33.33	27.3
2.	85	102.35	23.53	23.0
3.	72	95.50	38.89	40.7
4.	60	100.00	53.33	53.3.
5.	23	121.74	56.52	46.4.

The proportion of overtime earnings to total earnings ranges between 23% to 53% and the average overtime earnings per worker vary between Rs.23.53 to Rs.56.52 per month. They constitute a significant portion of total money wages[2]. It appears that overtime working is a normal feature in studios. Excessive working hours may be attributed to (i) lack of planning and systematic work in the production of film (ii) irregular attendance of top artistes[3] and (iii) the choice of studio managements to get the work done with as few workers as possible by extending working hours to the maximum possible extent.

In laboratories, overtime is worked if producers require rushes[4]

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2. The Report on an Enquiry into the Conditions of Labour in the Cinema Industry in Bombay State has referred to the excessive overtime earnings of three studio workers. These earnings were as high as Rs.282.50, Rs.180.69 and Rs.154.94 for the month of October 1955 (P.52). The Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry also found that overtime earnings constituted about 37% of normal earnings in some studios in March 1965. (p.51)
3. Cf. Government of India - Report of the Film Enquiry Committee, 1951. P.232.
4. Rushes mean first combined prints of sound and picture.

or prints immediately. In foreign film distribution units, no overtime is worked while in the Indian film distribution concerns, hours of work are irregular and overtime worked beyond 8 hours per day is not usually paid.

Allowances similar to overtime payments such as Food Money, Sunday Working Allowance and Extra-Show Allowance are in vogue in the film industry. Workers in the production sector demand 'Food Money', ranging between Rs.2 to Rs.5, for loss of time for break-fast, lunch or dinner within which they are required to work. This allowance is in addition to overtime wages to which they are entitled under the Factories Act. Further, if a studio or laboratory worker is asked to work on a weekly-off day, he is paid extra wages in some concerns for working on that day in addition to a substitute holiday, as provided under the Factories Act. The terms of industrial awards and settlements in 8 studios and laboratories, employing 14.5% of studio workers and about 69% of laboratory workers provide for 1½ time the normal wage for Sunday working in addition to a compensatory holiday. In the exhibition sector, workers are paid an extra show allowance in lieu of overtime payment for attending extra shows, which of late have become a normal feature. The rates of allowance vary according to occupations and class of theatres between Rs.1.50 to Rs.7.00 per show of 3 hours.

Miscellaneous Allowances.

They include officiating, compensatory and house rent allowances. A worker is paid additional remuneration, if he is required to work in a higher capacity for more than specified days in a year under current industrial awards and settlements in 9 studios and laboratories engaging 32% of studio workers and 76% of

laboratory workers, all foreign film distribution concerns and 55 cinema theatres employing nearly 70% of workers. The rate is equal to the difference between the initial wage of the higher category and that of his own or 20 to 25% of his basic salary.

Workers in the Films Division of the Government of India earning below Rs.150 per month are paid compensatory city allowance at the rate of 10% of their pay subject to a minimum of Rs.8.50 and a maximum of Rs.12.50 per month. The allowance for workers receiving more than Rs.150 as basic pay is calculated at 8% with a minimum of Rs.12.50 and maximum of Rs.75. They are also paid house rent allowance at the rate of Rs.15 to those earning below Rs.100 p.m. and 15% of pay with a minimum of Rs.20 to persons receiving more than Rs.100 per month.

4.3. Fringe Benefits.

Non-wage or fringe benefits are defined as "supplements to workers' ordinary wages that are of value to them and their families. They are costs borne by employers arising from the employment of workers but for which no specific work is done[5]." These benefits include holidays with pay and leave facilities, bonus, social insurance benefits and severance payments on termination of employment. These are to be distinguished from wages which are related to work done. Of late, they have assumed considerable importance in wage determination and hence it is necessary to study these benefits at this stage.

Holidays with pay and leave facilities.

In the production section, it is customary to observe only two national holidays in a year, namely; Independence Day and Republic

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5. I.L.O. Wages. 1964. P.46.

Day. About 66% of studio workers enjoy 6 holidays or more per year, while 72% of laboratory workers are entitled to 8 pr more holidays.

In the Films Division of the Government of India, workers enjoy 18 holidays declared by Government. In the Indian film distribution sector, three concerns out of 17 surveyed employing 25% of total labour, grant 16 holidays to their workers, while the remaining concerns grant 8 holidays in a year. All foreign film distribution concerns remain closed on bank holidays i.e, about 16 in a year. In the exhibition sector, recent settlements during August 1967 in about 55 cinemas employing nearly 70% of cinema workers provide for the payment of 5 days' extra salary with dearness allowance each year in lieu of 5 public holidays.

Privilege leave extends to about 15 days in a year in all studios and laboratories covered by the Factories Act and 21 days in all Indian and foreign film distribution concerns governed by the Bombay Shops and Establishments Act. In production concerns which have studios of their own, workers are covered by the Factories Act and hence become entitled to statutory leave. In the case of independent producers, however, there exist no leave entitlements. A-1 and A class cinema theatres grant 30 days' privilege leave to their employees, while B class cinemas give 21 days' leave per year.

Casual leave facilities extending from 7 to 10 days a year exist in 10 studios employing 53% of workers, 9 laboratories engaging 78% of workers, all foreign film distribution concerns and 60 cinema theatres employing 78% of workers. It is noteworthy that 47% of studio workers and 84% of Indian film distribution workers do not enjoy casual leave. Similarly, these facilities do not exist in film production concerns.

As regards sick leave, it is granted to the extent of 15 days

with full pay in 2 studios engaging 10% of workers, in 6 laboratories employing 75% of workers, in all foreign film distribution concerns and in 57 theatres engaging about 74% of workers[6].

Free-lance workers in the production sector have some practical difficulties in the enjoyment of leave facilities. On account of intermittent nature of their work, which generally extends to 5 to 6 days in a month, it is difficult to allow workers to enjoy leave on shooting days which are so few in a month. The absence of workers on such days would not only considerably enhance overhead costs but also seriously affect the progress of shooting.

Bonus.

In the production sector where 46% of total labour is employed, no bonus is generally paid except in the case of a few producers who distribute ex-gratia bonus, usually equivalent to a month's wages, to celebrate the silver jubilee run of their pictures. Peculiarities of production sector present formidable difficulties in regard to the payment of profit bonus. Usually, the income of a picture would start flowing in the year following the one in which the picture is produced. In this 'accounting year' there is generally no relationship existing between the producer and workers who assisted him in film production.

Among studios, about 500 workers or 23% of the total earned bonus in 1965, ranging between half a month's to three months' gross wages. About 700 laboratory workers or 70% of the total received bonus in 1965 extending between half a month's to 2½ months' basic wages. Foreign film distribution concerns paid 1½ months'basic wages as bonus to their employees. No bonus was paid in Indian film

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6. Cf. Norms evolved by the Norms Committee set up by the Government of Maharashtra (1961) PP.26-31 viz. 4 holidays in studios and laboratories, privilege leave according to statutory provisions, 15 days' Sick leave and 10 days' casual leave in studios and laboratories.

distribution sector and the Films Division of the Government of India.

In the exhibition sector, over 50 cinemas engaging about 68% of cinema workers have entered into five-year bonus pact with the workers' union. The quantum of bonus is generally equivalent to 2 months' basic wages with dearness allowance or 3 months' basic wages whichever is higher in A-1 and A class cinemas and 1½ month's basic wages with dearness allowance or 2 months' basic wages in B class cinemas[7].

Profit bonus thus appears to have made little headway in the film industry, except in process laboratories, foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors, employing about 21 per cent of total labour in the Bombay film industry. Comparatively better financial condition of these sectors and strong trade unionism among employees appear to be the contributory factors for the prevalence of bonus system in those sectors. Recently, however, the workers have become entitled to receive a minimum of 4% of their annual earnings as bonus under the Payment of Bonus Act, 1965. This has helped workers in studios and production and Indian film distribution sections to earn the minimum quantum of bonus every year.

Social Insurance benefits.

The benefits include sickness insurance and provident fund. Sickness insurance under the Employees' State Insurance Act, 1948, came into existence in Bombay in 1952. Since the Act applies to all factories using power and employing 20 or more workers, all studios and 9 laboratories employing about 97% of workers were covered by the state insurance scheme in 1965. Film production undertakings (other

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7. An interesting feature of the agreements is that they provide for a donation to the union from employers, ranging between Rs.500 to Rs.1000 per annum.

than studios and laboratories), distribution offices and cinema theatres are not covered by the Act.

The Employees' Provident Fund Act, 1952, was extended to the film industry in July 1961. Most of the film production units are either new or change their banners after completion of each picture with the result that their life hardly lasts beyond 3 years and hence they cannot be brought under the purview of the Act vide section 16(b) of the Act. Thus the Act covered only two concerns of independent feature film producers and two undertakings of short film producers in 1965. All studios and laboratories with the exception of three laboratories, which engaged less than 20 persons each, had statutory provident fund scheme in 1965. In the Indian film distribution sector, only 8 concerns employing about 37% of workers had a provident fund scheme. The remaining concerns employed less than 20 workers and hence fell outside the scope of the Act. All foreign film distribution concerns had already introduced provident fund before the application of the Employees' Provident Fund Act to the film industry. Of 83 theatres, as many as 68 cinemas employing 86% of workers were covered by the scope of the Act in March 1965. Most of these theatres had provident fund schemes resulting from awards and settlements.

According to the statutory scheme, the contribution by both the parties had hitherto been 6.25% of the gross wages. The rate of contribution has been raised to 8% by the Government of India from January, 1967.

Severance Payments.

Severance payments include retrenchment compensation as provided under section 25(F) of the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 and gratuity.

It is not possible to bring home the advantage of the statutory benefit of retrenchment compensation to workers in the production section. Under the existing provision of the Act the compensation is payable only on completion of 240 days' work in a year with the same employer. This is difficult to fulfill by free-lance workers on account of fitful nature of work in the film production industry.

Gratuity as a retirement benefit exists in two studios, employing 207 workers or 9% of total studio workers, five laboratories engaging 690 workers or 69% of total laboratory workers, all foreign film distribution concerns and over 60 cinemas in Bombay employing about 2000 workers or 74% of total cinema workers. The rate varies between 12 days' (in studios and laboratories) to 30 days' (in cinemas) wages for each completed year of service.

It would be worthwhile at this stage to make a comparative study of wage structures of film industry at other centres in India and of other industries in Bombay.

4.4 Comparative Wage Structures

Wage structure of film industry at Madras and Calcutta :

As in Bombay, wages in cinema theatres in Calcutta and Madras are determined by recourse to the machinery of conciliation

set up under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947. The associations of employers and employees in Calcutta have entered into a five year settlement in 1965 at the industrial level, providing for wages and dearness allowance. The latter, varying according to changes in consumer price index number, amounted to Rs. 53 in March 1965. The cinemas are divided into four classes and separate rates are prescribed for each class of cinemas, ranging between Rs. 37 for unskilled categories and Rs. 210 for managers. The settlement provides for annual increments for a period of 5 years, varying between Rs. 2 to unskilled workers to Rs.6 to head operators.

In Madras, the wage structure in exhibition sector was evolved by settlements in 7 cinemas in December 1960, by which wage scales were introduced, ranging between Rs.30-1-40 for unskilled workers to Rs. 135-7-170 for managers. Subsequently, 20 more cinemas introduced similar wage scales in their concerns as a result of settlements arrived at with the union of workers. Unlike Bombay and Calcutta, theatres in Madras are not classified. A uniform wage structure prevails in all theatres, big or small. In addition, the workers in these 27 cinemas receive dearness allowance by two methods. In a few theatres, dearness allowance is paid to all workers at a flat rate varying between Rs. 40 to Rs. 90 per month. In others, the dearness allowance is linked to consumer price index numbers, calculated at the rate of 22 ps. per point per month above

120 points and it amounted to Rs. 109 in March 1965. In Madras, workers in each cinema, where wages are determined by collective bargaining, receive dearness allowance at a uniform rate, whereas in Bombay and Calcutta the rates are variable with slabs of basic wages. At the latter centre, the dearness allowance further varies with changes in price level. Thus, wage structures in exhibition sector in Bombay and Calcutta are almost similar, while they differ from the one in Madras.

In Calcutta, wages have been fixed under the Minimum Wages Act in all sectors of the film industry. Workers are classified into highly skilled, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled and clerical and separate uniform rates of wages have been fixed for each class of employees. No wage rates are prescribed for 'very highly skilled' category in the production sector as this class of employees can be depended upon to bargain individually. Minimum basic wages fluctuate between Rs. 45 to Rs. 150 in producing units, Rs. 36 to Rs.120 in studios and Rs. 40 to Rs. 125 in laboratories. In the distribution sector, they range between Rs. 40 to Rs. 210. In addition to basic wages, dearness allowance is prescribed at a rate, linked to consumer price index numbers and slabs of basic wages, which in March 1965 fluctuated between Rs. 43 to Rs. 68. Although workers in the production section

receive minimum wages, they are allowed to bargain individually for higher wages. Thus unlike Bombay or Madras, production workers in Calcutta have a 'fall-back-wage'. In Madras, wages of workers in production section are determined by individual bargaining as in Bombay. The rates of wages are fixed either on picture or monthly basis.

In the Indian film distribution section, wages in Bombay as well as Calcutta are statutorily fixed under the Minimum Wages Act. While the minimum wages are consolidated in Bombay, they are variable in Calcutta, as the dearness allowance is linked to consumer price index numbers. In Madras, wages are unilaterally fixed by employers and they are consolidated in nature. In the foreign film distribution section, the wage structure is uniform at all the three centres, as employers are the same at these centres.

Thus,the wage structure in the film industry at Bombay more or less corresponds to the wage structure obtaining in the foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors in Calcutta and all sectors except Indian film distribution and exhibition sections in Madras.

Wage structure of other industries in Bombay :

In the cotton textile industry, which is a major industry in Bombay, the genesis of existing wage structure may be found in the award of the Industrial Court in 1946 [8], prescribing wages in

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8 : 1946 ICR P. 386.

consonance with a scheme of standardization of wages. The minimum wage for the lowest category of unskilled workers was fixed at Rs. 30 for a month of 26 working days. In addition to standard basic wages, cotton textile workers receive dearness allowance according to a scheme formulated by the Industrial Court in 1948 as modified by the award of the Labour Appellate Tribunal in 1955.[9] The allowance is linked to the consumer price index number and it changes with a variation of each point, providing for neutralisation of about 99% of the rise in cost of living of the lowest category of workers. The above wage structure was slightly revised by the Central Wage Board for Cotton Textile Industry,[10] set up by the Government of India by an ad-hoc increase in basic wages to the extent of about Rs.10 p.m.

It would appear that the starting basic wage of an unskilled worker in cotton textile as well as film industry in Bombay is almost the same i.e., nearly Rs. 40 per month. The rate of dearness allowance in the textile industry, however, is much higher than the one prevailing in the film industry. There are wage scales in the film industry (other than production sector), which are non-existent in the Cotton textile industry, as standard rates are prescribed in the industry. A uniform wage structure prevails in the cotton textile industry, whereas in the film industry, individual bargaining still continues in the production sector and the rates of wages in other sectors are fixed

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9 : 1948 ICR 47; 1955 ICR 1061.

10 : Government of India: Report of the Central Wage Board for Cotton Textile Industry, 1960 : p. 23.

at the unit level. Thus, the wage structure in cotton textile industry in Bombay does not seem to have influenced the evolution of wage structure in the film industry.

In industries such as engineering, chemicals, metals, printing presses, etc., the wage structure is evolved by collective bargaining. The machinery of conciliation and adjudication provided under the Industrial Disputes Act has been extensively utilised. Those sectors of film industry in which this machinery has been utilised, such as studios, laboratories, foreign film distribution section and exhibition sector, seem to have a wage structure, similar to one prevailing in other industries. It is based on guiding principles enunciated by the Fair Wage Committee and the Supreme Court of India.

Recent trends in wage determination in general ~~in general~~ in all industries in Bombay indicate that the wage structure generally comprises two components, namely basic wages and dearness allowance. Analysing the current awards and settlements relating to wages and dearness allowance in 1753 concerns employing about 4,78,000 workers in Bombay, one finds that dearness allowance is paid distinctly in 883 concerns engaging 88.4% of the total labour. The following table gives a comparative picture of dearness allowances in all industries and the film industry in Bombay.

Table No. 6 : Systems of dearness allowance in organised industrial sector in Bombay (1966)

System	Film industry in Bombay			All industries in organised sector in Bombay		
	No.of concerns	No. of workers	%age to total workers	No.of concerns	No. of workers	%age to total workers
1 Linked to index numbers of prices	16	975	21.6	552	3,47,000	82.2
2 Slab System	75	3,400	76.1	91	30,000	7.0
3 Flat rate system	2	105	2.3	124	8,000	1.8
4 Other systems	-	-	-	116	38,000	9.0
TOTAL	93	4,480	100.0	883	4,23,000	100.0
Total in all industries surveyed.	540	14,000	-	1753	4,78,000	-

Source : Primary data : Awards of Industrial Tribunals/Courts and Settlements.

It will be seen from the table that dearness allowance is linked to consumer price index numbers in industries in Bombay to the extent of 82% of labour employed in concerns paying dearness allowance separately. In the film industry, however, the slab system of payment of dearness allowance seems to be very popular. It is a traditional system of payment of dearness allowance ever since the time when it was first introduced. Dearness allowance in the film industry is gradually being linked to index numbers of prices through the influence of contemporary wage patterns in Bombay. The method

of payment of dearness allowance at a flat rate appears to have receded in the background.

It seems that dearness allowance has now come to stay as a variable component of wage structure, in as much as it forms an integral part of the wage structure of about 88% of organised workers in Bombay. The film industry other than production and Indian film distribution sectors has fallen in line with these trends. Particularly, the current trends of calculating dearness allowance have greatly influenced the pattern of dearness allowance in the more organised sectors of film industry.

It would thus appear that the wage structure in the Bombay film production industry (excluding studios and laboratories) has remained totally unaffected by the wage structure in other industries in the area. This may be attributed to the peculiar nature of film industry, its employment features and the inapplicability of labour legislation to this section of the industry. In respect of other sectors, it is largely influenced by the wage structure prevailing in non-textile industries.[11]

4.5 Conclusions

It would be fruitful to recapitulate at this stage the main conclusions emerging from the foregoing analysis. The wage structure generally comprises four broad components, namely basic wages, dearness allowance, monetary and fringe benefits.

The wage structure in the film production section is peculiar in itself. Wages are consolidated, without any distinct components of dearness allowance, monetary or fringe benefits. Workers are

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11 : The need-based wage formula evolved by the 15th Indian Labour Conference in 1957 does not seem to have influenced the wage determination in either film industry or any other industry in Bombay. The gap between the prevailing wages and those evolved by the formula being very large, the norms have only remained an ideal to be aspired.

mostly paid a lump sum amount for the picture. In contrast to this, the wage structure in other sectors comprises all the components. Workers enjoy graded scales of pay. In addition, they receive dearness allowance, mostly based on slab system or variable with consumer price index number. The characteristics of such wage structure are: firstly, wages are based on ad-hoc considerations; secondly, they are determined at the unit level and not at industrial level. Finally, conventional wage differentials continue to operate for quite some time inspite of inter-se disparities in skills.

A comparative study indicates that the wage structure of film industry in Bombay is almost the same as the wage structure obtaining in the foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors in Calcutta and all sectors other than Indian film distribution and exhibition sections in Madras. Wage structure in the Bombay film production sector (excluding studios and laboratories) and Indian film distribution section has remained totally unaffected by the wage structure in other industries in the area. This is due to the peculiar nature of film industry, existence of small craft unions and the inapplicability of labour legislation to the production section and the absence of trade unionism in the Indian film distribution section. Wage structure in other sectors of Bombay film industry corresponds more or less to the wage structure in non-textile industries in Bombay. Particularly, the current trends of calculating dearness allowance have greatly influenced the pattern of dearness allowance in these sectors of film industry.

5.0 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE AND JOB EVALUATION

We have examined the wage structure obtaining in the film industry. For analysing occupational wage level, a study of occupations is a pre-requisite. In an industry frought with complexities and occupational anomalies, the first task is to prepare a standard list of occupations on the basis of nature of work performed. Exhaustive information is, therefore, collected on each job component of occupations and embodied in job descriptions, which form the basis of a comparative study of jobs. An employee is not merely concerned with the absolute amount of his own salary but wages paid to fellow employees are equally relevant to him. He may perhaps be satisfied with his own wage until he learns about a higher wage being paid to an employee doing comparable work. This leads to industrial disharmony and consequential loss of efficiency and output. Job evaluation attempts to do away with possible frictions on that score and evolve wage differentials on an equitable basis. In this chapter, therefore, we will analyse the occupational structure, prepare job descriptions, evaluate jobs and classify them according to skill.

5.1 Occupational Structure

A solution to the vexed problem created by numerous occupational nomenclatures is found in undertaking an exhaustive study of the nature of work, which is split up into jobs on the basis of their most efficient performance. 'The National Classification of Occupations' prepared by the Directorate General of Employment and Training, Government

of India, in 1959 does not contain occupations in the film industry. Elaborate work had, therefore, to be undertaken in evolving the occupational structure in the film industry.

The entire nature of work in a given sector of film industry is divided into suitable departments, each entrusted with specific assignment. Occupations with different job components relating to similar assignment, are, therefore, grouped under one department. Standard lists of occupations along with alternate nomenclatures are then prepared departmentwise for each sector of industry. Administrative and clerical occupations common to all sectors are classified separately in the 'general department.'

There were about 14,000 workers in the Bombay film industry, comprising 6,400 feature film production workers, 800 short film production workers, 2,200 studio workers, 1,000 laboratory employees, 900 distribution workers, and 2,700 cinema workers. Their occupational composition is indicated in appendix 1, which also gives alternate names for standard occupational nomenclatures.

Among workers seeking employment in the film production section, categories having large complement of workers are: supporting artistes (570), production assistants (480), junior artistes (350), script writers and II-assistant directors (300 each), directors, I-assistant directors and production managers (250 each), I-assistant cameramen (240), chorus singers (220) and music directors (200). They together make up 53% of the total. Artistes of all types form about 22% of the total 'production workers'.

In studios, settingmen and lightmen are numerically the most important occupations, comprising 609 workers or 27% of total studio employees. Other occupations prominent in this sector are: carpenters (158), assistant carpenters (83), set painters (67), boom-men (46), trolly-men (40) and assistant sound recordists (39). They together total another 20% of the lot. In quite a number of studios, trolly-men, boom-men, settingmen and lightmen are termed as mazdoors. Wherever possible such workers have been distinctly shown, as in appendix 1, in respective categories on the basis of jobs performed by them.

Printers and developers are, by far, more important occupations numerically in process laboratories, constituting 16.5% of total laboratory workers. Other numerically important occupations in laboratories are cabinmen (58), cleaners (56), assistant developers (43), checkers (31), shift supervisors (30), projectionists (29) and assistant printers (25). They together form 27.2% of the total laboratory complement.

The nature of work in the distribution sector is generally akin to one in commercial establishments where the occupational structure consists of administrative, clerical and unskilled jobs, such as managers, assistant managers, accountants, assistant accountants, cashiers, stenographers, typists, clerks, telephone operators, packers and peons.

In cinema theatres, doorkeepers comprise the single largest class of employees, constituting about 26% of total cinema workers. Categories which are proportionately large in numbers are projectionists (376), booking clerks (222), cleaners (341), watchmen (170) and sweepers (152). These categories together

form about 47% of the total employment. About 20 percent of the complement is employed for maintaining cleanliness in cinema theatres.

Persons, engaged in administrative and clerical occupations common to all sectors and grouped under general department, constitute 24.8%, 33.3%, 35.3% and 90.7% of the total complement of workers in studios, laboratories, cinema theatres and distribution offices respectively.

After evolving a job structure, it is proposed to throw light on particulars of jobs and describe them in details so as to define the duties entrusted to each category of persons. This would enable us later to appreciate their work in quantitative terms.

5.2 Job Descriptions

An accurate description of a job in respect of duties and requirements is absolutely necessary for correct job evaluation. The job description is a record of operations, responsibilities and duties of each individual job assigned to an employee. The details of the tasks performed are obtained by personal observation by interviewing individual workers and by contacting the supervisors who are connected with them. All the characteristics of jobs are carefully listed and their descriptions written as clearly as possible. A broad summary of jobs is given in the beginning in respect of each key occupation. It contains distinguishing characteristics, which may even serve as its definition. The description of each job commences with a 'functional' verb to identify it. The preliminary or preparatory jobs are described first.

Special qualifications are necessary for very highly skilled jobs to enable the incumbents to discharge their duties efficiently. Such qualifications are in addition to those acquired in institutions. They are essentially inherent in persons and make them master technicians. They are the product of disciplined endeavours on the part of technicians. A cameraman, for instance, may be trained in the Film Institute of India but his success depends upon the existance of qualities in him, such as the art of narrating story, high sense of perception, command over pictorial composition[1] and conceptual ability to select the best shot mentally. An attempt is made to list such qualifications for selected jobs such as director, cameraman, sound recordist, art director, music director, dance director, editor, background painter and light suggester.

The descriptions of jobs relate to standard jobs. They help in defining the functions and responsibilities of each occupation precisely. The job descriptions are prepared for about 100 occupations. These details embodied in the 'Dictionary of occupational Titles in the Film Industry' are given in Appendix 2. We will, however, highlight the importance of key occupations in the total setting, the qualities required of them in discharging the jobs effectively and the artistic and technical excellence of their jobs on the basis of job descriptions we have prepared.

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1. Science of picturising a well-balanced picture frame observing all photographic rules.

5.3 Artistic and Technical Excellence

The director is the captain of film making crew and as such, he possesses the qualities of leadership. Being mainly responsible for the success or failure of the picture, he makes every technician understand his conception of the story. To this extent he is fully conversant with the fundamentals of every branch of film making. He has a keen sense of perception and he, therefore, ensures the effective narration of the story within the predetermined allocation of footage to each shot. Before shooting, the director elaborately plans and works out the minutest details regarding taking of different shots so that no time is lost in conceiving the picturisation of shot on the floors.

It is the cameraman who unfolds the story to the audience and he has, therefore, a considerable voice in suggesting the best way to picturise the different aspects of story by taking the most appropriate camera positions. Necessarily, he conceives a lot about the results to be obtained on the screen and the corresponding lighting conditions to be maintained. Further, he concentrates on picturising a given leading artiste to the highest degree of perfection so as to ensure photographic reproduction of face made more charming by special facial lighting.

The cameraman enhances the beauty of narration of the story by the use of ingenious methods of camera techniques, such as super imposition (trick shots)

fade-ins and fade-outs[2] denoting finite lapse of time, dissolves[3] indicating shifting of one sequence from another, loops[4] pointing out photographic punctuation in the picturisation of story and back projection[5] to combine two different photographic compositions to give a composite frame.

The art director possesses a keen sense of perception and the knowledge of evolutionary process of different facets of art at different periods. His art lies in so designing the sets that the spectators get the feeling of belonging to that era. By devising the background with sharp perspective[6], he not only removes the limitations of studio floor but also creates an illusion of location shooting. He possesses working knowledge of photography and colour combination from the viewpoint of photographic reproduction.

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2. 'Fade-in' means the depiction of a shot on the screen with gradually increased lighting to optimum condition, usually indicating a time lag. 'Fade-out' means the depiction of a shot on the screen with falling intensity of light till total darkness.

3. 'Dissolve' refers to simultaneous combined depiction of multiple shots in a single shot with rising and falling lighting condition.

4. 'Loop' means a device for obtaining at the mixing stage sounds of recurring notes over a longer duration by repetitive running of a portion of film with cemented ends in order to save footage.

5. 'Back projection' refers to composite picturisation of static composition with projection of a moving background picturised earlier, giving an illusion of relative motion.

6. 'Perspective' means the science of pictorial renderings with stress on reproduction proportional to distance.

The sound recordist has a high degree of sound perspective and an accurate sense of anticipation. He maintains mental continuity of the levels of recording, relying solely on his memory, commonsense and sharp ear. Qualities such as 'discriminatory musical ear' and 'differential reception,'[7] help him at the time of music recording. While re-recording, which is the last chance for giving final touches to the recording of entire picture, he concentrates with equal efficiency on different tracks he is mixing, on the main sound track projected on the screen as a pilot tract, on cue marks[8] on the screen, on instructions from the director or editor and lastly on the split frequency range controls for every channel. As this entails a wide range of simultaneous operations, he performs most of them mentally and the physical operations which in themselves are highly complicated and varied are executed by him as part of his instantaneous reflex action.

The music director heightens the effect of songs by giving such charming tunes as to captivate the audience. In order that the picture produces the desired cumulative effect on the mind of audience and to raise the tempo of the story by certain sound effects[9], the music director

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7. 'Differential reception' refers to the inherent quality of the recordist, enabling him to focus his ear on an instrument among a group before final 'balancing' during song recording.

8. 'Cue marks' refer to special type marks made on the positive film for alerting the projection operator and the re-recordist to effect necessary multiple controls and operations.

9. 'Sound effects' are sounds obtained either artificially by ingeniously recording a combination of sounds, secured from the library or directly.

provides background music after a thorough study of the psychic contents of picture and the musical association of an average picture-goer. Music has come to be the highlight of the picture and in this context the music director occupies an important position in the film industry.

The editor has a final voice in arranging sequences in order to produce the maximum cumulative effect of the whole story. He is well conversant with the most appropriate mode of presentation of a given story, which will have the highest appeal and the widest response from the audience. He shuffles and reshuffles the sequences to build the climax progressively for captivating the audience. He is, thus, conversant with the psychological response of average audience, their reactions to the given presentation, power of appreciation and ideas of association. He works in great details on the duration of every shot and perfectly balances timings of relative movements of artistes in a shot for a given effect in building up the tempo.

The background painter is a living album of a wide range of landscape and panoramic scenes. He depicts them on the canvas so vividly that they require no special effort on the part of cameraman to bring out the beauties by artificial illumination. With his knowledge of correct perspective for the realistic depiction of landscape, mental resourcefulness and ingenuity of painting, he depicts the exact replica of original locales on the background canvas. He possesses a high sense of blending colours by which he skillfully manages to leave no line of demarcation between the erected set and the painted background, thus creating an illusion of continuous

expanse.

The light suggester is equipped with a high sense of photographic contents of a frame by merely observing the negative. He subjects it to a detailed visual inspection and conceiving the results anticipated on the screen, assesses quantitatively the deficiencies of lighting conditions prevailing in the negative on the basis of his judgment and prescribes specific lighting conditions at the printing stage by which they can be accurately corrected. He thus, overcomes lighting difficulties inherent in picturisation by introducing consistency in photographic rendering at the light suggestion stage during the film processing.

5.4 Job Evaluation

Job evaluation may be defined as 'an attempt to determine and compare the demands, which the normal performance of a particular job makes on normal workers, without taking account of the individual abilities or performance of the workers concerned.'[10] The British Institute of Management defines job evaluation as 'the process of analysis and assessment of jobs to ascertain reliably their relative worth, using the assessments as a basis for a balanced wage structure.'[11] The benefits of job evaluation lie in providing systematic and factual data to assess the relative worth of jobs, evolving an equitable wage structure, assisting in recruitment, placement, promotion and

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10. International Labour Organisation : Job Evaluation : 1960, p.8.

11. British Institute of Management : Job Evaluation - A practical guide : Personnel Management series 4, 1959 - p.77.

training of workers and in reducing grievances and conflicts arising out of inequitable wage administration.

The method and its limitations:

Job evaluation can be done by one of the four methods, namely the ranking method, the grade or classification method, the factor comparison method and the point rating method. Of these, the last method is more precise and analytical since it assesses the worth of a job in quantitative terms. Relatively, the first method is simple and expeditious. These two methods are used in the present study.

The utility of job evaluation as a method of determining wage differentials is, however, circumscribed. The limitations of the method must be recognised before its application in practice. Rapid changes in technology and the relative position of supply of and demand for particular categories of workers upset the pattern of differentials. Introduction of colour photography and innovations in set designs, for example, would call for the revision of grades and points assigned to concerned jobs in camera, art and processing departments. Similarly, certain 'shortage categories', such as highly skilled carpenters and moulders have to be paid much higher wage than their job requirements.

Some times in an industry where wage level is very low and wage differentials large, radical changes in the wage structure necessitated by job evaluation may create practical difficulties in implementing them on account of financial burden involved in the proposal. Further, the scheme of job evaluation does not provide for-desirable changes in wages of individual workers on

account of factors such as loyalty, seniority and merit. It is difficult to imagine each worker equal to every other worker, when differences in individual abilities are so obvious.

It is often said of job evaluation method that it is arbitrary and subjective. Inspite of all these limitations, the job evaluation method perhaps provides, in the absence of any other suitable method, a workable basis of wage differentials. 'All that can be expected to emerge from the process is a well considered and honest, but basically subjective evaluation of jobs'[12].

Application and procedure adopted

Job evaluation is undertaken in 110 occupations in the production sector by employing 'the point rating method', which is widely used in similar studies. Artistes, script writers and lyricists are not covered by the study. Proper appreciation of the artiste's job requires an altogether different set of factors such as appearance, histrionic talents etc., which are more personal than general. Similarly, the work of a story writer or lyricist varies according to the nature and quality of task undertaken. Jobs in distribution and exhibition sectors and those in general department common to all sectors are evaluated by 'ranking method', which is found to be a convenient method for those sectors.

In all, 8 factors, namely initiative, skill, responsibility, experience, education, supervision, exertion and working conditions, which to a large degree measure the contents of jobs in

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12. I.L.O., Job Evaluation 1960-P. 101.

the film production industry are selected and precisely defined. The factors are further split into clearly marked out graded degrees. The relative value of a grade is determined by assigning specific points to each grade. Every factor is weighed to denote its importance in the job evaluation programme, taking into account the peculiar nature of work in the film industry. The schedule used in job evaluation is given in appendix 3.

A job is examined in details in the light of job description in order to fix with precision the relevant grade under each factor. Points against the grade scored by the job are listed under each factor and finally totalled after multiplying them by the weight of specific factor. The total reflects the worth of a job in terms of points. Points scored by the lowest class of worker, say mazdoor, are taken to be of a basic value of 100 and indices are constructed on this base. Thus, if the points secured by the mazdoor-745, are taken to be equal to 100, the background painter, who has scored 3350 points is rated at 449. It means that if the value of the mazdoor's job is equal to 100, the worth of background painter's job is 449 or 4.49 times that of a mazdoor.

Results of job evaluation:

The factor initiative is highly rated in the case of director, cameraman-feature films, music director, dance director, chief sound recordist, sound recordist and art director. All of them are departmental heads. Profound skill is possessed by the director of feature films. A high degree of responsibility is noticed among director, editor, chief sound recordist, chief technician and chemist. Experience

is an asset to director, cameraman, music director, musician (special grade), playback artist, editor, animator, chief sound recordist, make-up artist, art director, lab-in-charge and chief technician. Education is highlighted in the case of cameraman, I-assistant cameraman, animator, chief sound recordist, sound recordist, I-assistant recordist and chief technician. The factor supervision is striking among director, lab-in-charge and chief technician. Considerable mental strain is exerted by director, music director, editor and chief sound recordist. The highest points are scored by settingman and lightman as compensation for hazardous and arduous work performed by them.

Table No.7 on next pages indicates total points scored by selected jobs in the production sector and their comparative values on the basis of 100 points for an unskilled worker.

The job evaluation undertaken in the study is the first attempt of its kind in the Indian film industry, assessing quantitatively the relative worth of each job in a rational manner. The conclusions which emerge from the job evaluation as revealed by the table may now be briefly presented here. In the first place certain jobs like those of boom-men, trolly-men, lightmen, settingmen, etc., which are regarded by employers as no better than mazdoors in fact rank quite higher than the ordinary unskilled worker. The job evaluation puts their relative worth as 282, 199, 185, and 162 points respectively as compared to 100 points of a mazdoor. Secondly, the jobs of assistants in the direction, camera and sound departments are correctly graded having due regard to the duties entrusted to them. It is likely that points scored

Table No. 7 Job evaluation of selected occupations in film production sector

Sr. No.	Occupation	Initiative	Skill	Responsibility	Experience	Education
	Weights	25	20	13	12	10
	FEATURE FILM PRODUCTION :					
1.	Director	60	60	40	60	20
2.	I. Asstt.Director	30	40	20	50	15
3.	Cameraman	60	50	20	60	50
4.	I. Asstt.Cameraman	40	40	20	50	50
5.	Trollyman	10	20	10	40	5
6.	Makeup Artist	40	40	20	60	10
7.	Make-up Man	10	20	10	30	5
8.	Costume-in-charge	20	20	10	30	10
9.	Costume Assistant	10	10	10	20	5
10.	Editor	40	40	40	60	15
11.	Assistant Editor	20	30	10	40	10
12.	Mazdoor	5	10	10	10	5
	SHORT FILM PRODUCTION :					
13.	Animator	40	40	20	60	45
14.	Cartoon Artist	20	30	10	30	45
15.	Commentator	20	30	20	40	15
16.	Editor	30	30	20	50	15
	STUDIOS :					
17.	Chief Sound Recordist	60	50	40	60	50
18.	Sound Recordist	60	40	20	50	50
19.	Assistant Sound Recordist.	40	30	20	50	50

Sr. No.	Occupation	Supervision	Exertion	Working Conditions	Total points	Rating
	Weights	8	7	5	100	-
	FEATURE FIIM PRODUCTION :					
1.	Director	45	60	40	5120	687
2.	I Asstt. Director	15	30	20	2990	401
3.	Cameraman	30	10	40	4490	602
4.	I Asstt. Cameraman	15	10	20	3450	463
5.	Trollyman	-	10	20	1480	199
6.	Makeup Artist	30	10	10	3240	435
7.	Makeup Man	-	10	10	1310	176
8.	Costume-in-charge	15	10	10	1730	232
9.	Costume Assistant	-	10	10	990	133
10.	Editor	30	50	40	3980	534
11.	Assistant Editor	15	10	40	2200	295
12.	Mazdoor	-	10	10	745	100
	SHORT FIIM PRODUCTION :					
13.	Animator	30	10	5	3565	479
14.	Cartoon Artist	-	5	5	2100	282
15.	Commentator	-	10	5	2085	280
16.	Editor	-	50	10	2760	370
	STUDIOS :					
17.	Chief Sound Recordist	30	60	40	5100	685
18.	Sound Recordist	30	50	10	4300	577
19.	Assistant Sound Recordist	15	20	10	3270	439

Sr. No.	Occupation	Initiative	Skill &	Responsi -bility	Experie -ence	Education
	Weights	25	20	13	12	10
20.	Boom-man	30	20	10	40	10
21.	Art Director	60	50	80	60	50
22.	Setting Mistry	30	30	20	40	20
23.	Carpenter	20	20	10	30	20
24.	Moulder	40	40	10	50	20
25.	Background Painter	40	40	20	50	45
26.	Setting Man	5	10	10	10	5
27.	Electrician	30	30	20	40	35
28.	Lightman	10	10	10	20	5
29.	Projectionist	30	30	20	40	35
30.	Mechanic	40	40	20	50	25
	LABORATORIES :					
31.	Shift Supervisor	40	30	20	50	15
32.	Developer	30	30	20	40	10
33.	Assistant Developer	10	20	10	30	10
34.	Light Suggester	40	40	20	50	15
35.	Assistant Light Suggester	20	20	10	30	10
36.	Negative Cleaner	30	20	10	30	5
37.	Checker	20	10	10	20	5
38.	Printer	30	30	20	40	10
39.	Assistant Printer	10	20	10	30	5
40.	Mixer	20	20	10	20	10

Sr. No.	Occupation	Supervision	Exertion	Working Conditions	Total points	Rating
	Weights	8	7	5	100	-
20.	Boom-man	-	20	20	2100	282
21.	Art Director	30	10	5	4315	579
22.	Setting Mistry	15	20	10	2600	349
23.	Carpenter	15	20	10	1900	255
24.	Moulder	15	10	10	2970	399
25.	Background Painter	15	10	10	3350	449
26.	Settingman	-	40	60	1205	162
27.	Electrician	30	30	10	2940	395
28.	Lightman	-	30	60	1380	185
29.	Projectionist	15	20	40	2900	389
30	Mechanic	15	20	10	3220	432
	LABORATORIES :					
31.	Shift Supervisor	30	20	20	3090	415
32.	Developer	15	20	40	2650	356
33.	Assistant Developer	-	10	20	1410	189
34.	Light Suggester	15	50	10	3330	447
35.	Assistant Light Suggester	-	10	10	1610	216
36.	Negative Cleaner	-	20	40	2030	272
37.	Checker	-	10	40	1390	187
38.	Printer	15	20	20	2550	329
39.	Assistant Printer	-	20	20	1430	192
40.	Mixer	-	10	10	1490	200

This seems to be your major contribution, please explain its use in some detail — . What is the area of dispute in this evaluation?

by some jobs like electricians, background painters, light suggesters and projectionists may appear to run counter to the prevailing notions in the industry. But having regard to various jobs performed by them, they are now properly evaluated in the light of factors such as initiative, skill, responsibility, etc.

After evaluating jobs by determining their relative worth we will classify the categories into different grades so as to facilitate the evolution of correct wage differentials.

5.5 Classification of Occupations

The correct classification of occupations is a field where disputes among employers and employees generally take place. Unless there is an accepted yard-stick to measure the skill of each job it becomes difficult for both the parties to arrive at an agreed worth of a job. The difficulty of having an agreed norm can be obviated by the quantitative assessment of each job through the method of job evaluation. We have applied this method to the jobs in film industry in Bombay in all cases wherever it was possible to apply it. On the basis of the results of job evaluation we are now in a position to arrive at a rational classification of jobs. What is first required for an occupational classification is to determine the number of grades into which the categories would be classified and the quantitative range of each grade. For the present study, we have assumed 10 grades, each having a range of 50 points as shown below: A division of categories into 10 grades would facilitate the determination of adequate wage differentials.

It is desirable that the number of categories should not be too large nor too few.

Classification	Score range (Points)
1. Highly skilled A	above 500
2. Highly skilled B	451 - 500
3. Highly skilled C	401 - 450
4. Skilled A	351 - 400
5. Skilled B	301 - 350
6. Skilled C	251 - 300
7. Semi-skilled A	201 - 250
8. Semi-skilled B	151 - 200
9. Semi-skilled C	101 - 150
10. Unskilled	100

By applying the above classification scheme, occupations in the production section are classified as follows. They are also ranked in order of the points scored by them.

Category/ grade	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C
Highly skilled	1 Director (Feature films)	1 Cameraman (Documentaries)	1 Background Painter
	2 Chief sound Recordist	2 Cameraman (Newsreels)	2 Light Suggester
	3 Director (Documentary)	3 Animator	3 Setting Master
	4 Music Director	4 Playback artist	4 Chemist
	5 Cameraman (Feature films)	5 Lab-in-charge	5 Musician-Special grade
	6 Art Director	6 I-Assistant Cameraman	6 Assistant Sound Recordist
	7 Sound Recordist	7 Maintenance Engineer	7 Make-up artist

Skill	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C
	8 Director (Cartoon films)		8 Mechanic
	9 Chief Technician		9 Production Secretary
	10 Dance Director		10 Publicity Manager
	11 Editor		11 Shift Supervisor
			12 Poster Artist
			13 I-Assistant Director
Skilled	1 Moulder	1 Setting Mistry	1 Store keeper
	2 Electrician	2 Chemical-in-Charge	2 Assistant Editor
	3 Projectionist	3 Musician Grade-I	3 Embroiderer
	4 Hair Dresser	4 Lay-out artist	4 Publicity writer
	5 Still Cameraman	5 Background Artist	5 Mason
	6 Assistant Animator	6 Printer	6 Cartoon Artist
	7 Production Manager	7 Processing in-charge	7 Boom-man
	8 Generator Operator		8 Commentator
	9 Music Assistant		9 Set Painter
	10 Editor (short films)		10 Negative Cleaner
	11 Assistant Maintenance Engineer.		11 Assistant Still Cameraman
	12 Developer		12 Decorator
	13 Air Condition-ing Operator		13 Title Artist
			14 Godown keeper

Skill	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C
			15 Carpenter
			16 Assistant Electrician
			17 Raw stock-in-charge
Semi-skilled	1 Musician Grade-II	1 Assistant Hair Dresser	1 Processing Assistant
	2 II-Assistant Director	2 Mixer	2 Costume Assistant
	3 II-Assistant Cameraman	3 Trollyman	3 Assistant Moulder
	4 Chorus Singer	4 Poster Painter	4 Knotcher
	5 Costume-in-charge	5 Assistant Painter	5 Assistant Painter
	6 Tailor	6 Assistant Developer	6 Cabin Boy
	7 Assistant Mechanic	7 Checker	7 Joiner
	8 Propertyman	8 Lightman	
	9 Assistant Projectionist	9 Make-up man	
	10 Assistant Light Suggester	10 Musician Grade-III	
	11 Assistant Air-Conditioning Operator	11 Assistant Carpenter	
	12 Polishman	12 Settingman	
	13 Typist	13 Assistant store-keeper.	
	14 Machineman		

	(No grade)	
Unskilled	1 Assistant Tapist	
	2 Assistant Decorator	
	3 Assistant Propertyman	
	4 Winder	
	5 Mazdoor	

Occupations evaluated by the 'ranking method' are classified as below:

Category/ Grade	Distribution sector	Exhibition Sector	General Department
1. Highly skilled A	-	-	-
2. Highly skilled B	-	-	1 General Manager.
3. Highly skilled C	1 Publicity Manager	1 Publicity Manager	1 Manager
		2 Poster Artist.	
4. Skilled A	1 Booker	1 Head projectionist.	1 Accountant
		2 Bar Manager	2 Assistant Manager
		3 Air-conditioning operator	3 Secretary
		4 Electrician	
5. Skilled B	1 Shipper	1 Booking clerk	1 Cashier
	2 Assistant Booker	2 Supervisor	2 Assistant Accountant
		3 Assistant Bar Manager	3 Clerk Grade-I
			4 Stenogrpapher

Skill-Grade	Distribution Sector	Exhibition Sector	General Department.
6. Skilled C	1 Assistant Shipper	1 Carpenter 2 I-Assistant Projectionist.	1 Clerk Grade-II 2 Typist 3 Telephone Operator 4 Time keeper 5 Driver
7. Semi-skilled A	-	1 Assistant Airconditioning Operator 2 I-Assistant Projectionist 3 Head Doorkeeper 4 Assistant Electrician 5 Painter	
8. Semi-skilled B	1 Film Checker	1 Door keeper 2 Waiter 3 Matron 4 Head Cleaner 5 Assistant Carpenter 6 III-Assistant Projectionist	
9. Semi-skilled C	-	1 IV Assistant Projectionist 2 Lineman	1 Watchman 2 Cleaner (motor)
10. Unskilled	1 Packer	1 Poster boy 2 Hamal (cleaner)	1 Peon 2 Liftman 3 Gardener 4 Mazdoor 5 Sweeper

All workers in the film industry may now be distributed according to skill as indicated in the table below:

Table No. 8

Percentage distribution of all workers according to skill (March 1965)

Skill	Production section	Studios	Labora-tories	Distri-bution section	Exhibi-tion sector	All sectors
1. Highly skilled	39.9	6.8	11.3	10.2	3.3	23.5
2. Skilled	14.6	28.5	39.8	57.8	27.7	23.9
3. Semi-skilled	29.7	52.5	33.8	8.7	45.8	35.5
4. Unskilled	15.8	12.2	15.1	23.3	23.2	17.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total workers	(7,200)	(2,200)	(1,000)	(900)	(2,700)	(14,000)

Workers in the highly skilled categories constitute 23.5% of the total number. Of about 3300 workers belonging to these categories, 2900 or nearly 90% are engaged in the production section alone. This is due to artistic and technical nature of work carried out in that section. While workers in skilled and semi-skilled categories form 23.9% and 35.5% of the total respectively, unskilled workers constitute 17.1% of the total number.

The skill composition of various sectors is different, depending upon the nature of work carried out in each sector. The proportion of unskilled workers to the total is the largest (23.%) in the distribution and exhibition sectors. Whereas a majority of workers in studios (about 53%) belong to the semi-skilled category, more than half the workers in distribution sector belong to the

skilled category. It is very significant to note that a majority of workers in the production section are either highly skilled or skilled. It would thus appear that there are large variations in the skill compositions of the complementary sectors of film industry.

We have examined occupational structure of the film industry. On the basis of job descriptions, the jobs have been evaluated and classified according to skill. This provides us sufficient data to construct ' Wage norms ' in the light of which we shall assess in the next chapter adequacy or otherwise of existing wages in the film industry.

6.0 Analysis and Evaluation of Existing Wage Levels:

We have examined the nature and components of existing wage structure of the film industry in Bombay. We have also completed the study of occupations and jobs - occupational structure, job descriptions, job evaluation and occupational classification. We will now analyse in this chapter the existing wage levels in the light of our knowledge of occupational skills. Wages are analysed sector-wise, unit-wise and occupation-wise, bringing out sharp wage differentials. Lastly, existing wage levels are evaluated with reference to 'wage norms' already evolved by the job evaluation method.

Complete wage data in respect of each employee were collected from the records of their employers pertaining to about 7,000 workers in the film industry other than production and Indian film distribution sections. Wage census could not be undertaken in the case of casual and free-lance workers in the production section on account of their engagement on multiple assignments simultaneously and non-maintenance of wage records. Wage statistics regarding these categories were, therefore, collected directly from workers, who were interviewed on a 10% sample basis. In the Indian film distribution section, wage data were compiled and estimated from 20% sampled units.

Considerable difficulties were experienced while collecting wage data from individual workers. Top technicians who have attained some degree of reputation at times demand a part of their

salary in 'black' with a view to evading the payment of income tax on higher slabs of income.[1] On the contrary, some technicians who receive meagre remuneration boast of having contracted for payments much higher than those actually received. Further, some 'middle level' technicians in studios, laboratories and cinemas are reported to be receiving 'tips' from producers. Evidently, it is well-nigh impossible for an outsider to gain reliable information, being esoteric in nature. Lastly, there are a number of malpractices in wage payment current in the film industry, such as late payment, non-payment and deficiencies in payment. Workers in the production section are mostly paid irregularly and at times not paid at all, particularly when there is no shooting or the production programme is discontinued indefinitely or dropped for good.[2] Wage data pertaining to production section suffer from these limitations.

6.1 Sectorwise Wage Analysis

The frequency distribution of workers in specified wage groups indicates that there are large variations in the wage levels of workers in different sectors of film industry. These are brought out in the table below and analysed with the help of skill-compositions of workers in respective sectors (vide table No.8). The table excludes free-lance workers in the production

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1. Wage data regarding musicians were totally rejected as some musicians, who were known to be maintaining cars, recorded wages between Rs.400 to Rs.500 per month. This was obviously unreliable.

2. Cf. Government of Maharashtra. Report of the Committee for employees in the Film Production Industry, 1966: pp.31-32.

sector in view of the limitations of wage data, explained earlier. The term 'wages' include only two conventional components, namely, basic wages and dearness allowance.

TABLE NO.9

Frequency distribution of workers in specified wage groups (March 1965)

Wage Group	Short film production	Studios	Laboratories	Distribution	Exhibition	Total	Percentage to total
Upto Rs.100	5	1,120	4	137	179	1,445	19.0
Rs.101-150	189	632	16	171	1,036	2,044	26.9
Rs.151-200	102	204	102	133	945	1,486	19.6
Rs.201-250	157	98	126	83	229	693	9.1
Rs.251-300	98	56	140	57	105	456	6.0
Rs.301-350	48	32	161	41	85	367	4.8
Rs.351-400	41	13	59	31	20	164	2.2
Rs.401-450	48	16	129	44	20	257	3.4
Rs.451-500	23	3	121	13	17	177	2.3
Over Rs.500	89	26	142	190	64	511	6.7
Total	800	2,200	1,000	900	2,700	7,600	100.0

Broad conclusions which emerge from the table are:

(1) About 19% of employees receive less than Rs.100 per month. In this wage group 77% of workers belong to studios and an insignificant number to laboratories and short film production section. The bulk of the labour force in studios (65%) pertains to semi-skilled and unskilled categories. The proportion is second only to that

in cinema theatres, where it is the highest;

(2) Nearly 20% of employees are paid more than Rs.300 per month. The proportion of employees in this wage group is the highest (41%) in process laboratories and the lowest (6%) in studios;

(3) Employees earning over Rs.500 per month constitute 6.7% of the total. About 37% of them are employed in the distribution sector and 28% in process laboratories. These two sectors employ relatively large percentage of workers in the highly skilled and skilled categories viz. 68% and 51% respectively.

(4) General wage level appears to be the highest in film processing laboratories where hardly 2% of workers earn less than Rs.150 per month as against about 61% of workers receiving more than Rs.300 per month. This is followed by the short film production section where 24% and 31% of workers are paid less than Rs.150 per month and more than Rs.300 per month respectively. In this section, about 40% of workers are employed in the highly skilled category.

(5) The lowest wage level is recorded in studios, in which nearly 80% of workers receive less than Rs.150 per month, or to be more precise about 51% of workers earn less than Rs.100 per month. Employees receiving over Rs.300 per month form only an insignificant proportion of the total (4%). A majority of workers (52.5%) belong to the semi-skilled category. Most of the occupations in this category are relegated to the unskilled group and paid low wages on that count.

(6) In the exhibition sector, about 77% of workers earn between Rs.101 to Rs.200 per month. There are not many persons who earn less than Rs.100 (7%) or more than Rs.300 (8%) per month. Workers in the highly skilled and skilled categories assume 31% to the total, which is the smallest percentage in the industry.

It would appear that skill-compositions largely explain the sectoral wage differentials.

Modal wage groups in different sectors, which are general indicators of the trend of wage behaviour consist of 51% of workers in studios earning less than Rs.100 per month, 24% of workers in the short film production section and 38% of workers in the exhibition sector receiving between Rs.101 to Rs.150, about 16% of workers in laboratories getting between Rs.301 to Rs.350 per month and nearly 21% of workers in the distribution sector earning over Rs.500 per month. These trends more or less substantiate the conclusions set out above that comparatively wage levels in short film production section, laboratories and the distribution sector are higher than those in other sectors of industry and the level of wages in studios is relatively poor.

The table also reveals that workers in studios and exhibition sectors are highly concentrated in some two wage groups, whereas those in other sectors are extensively distributed over several wage groups. This indicates that occupations in studios and exhibition sectors have formed only a few 'wage clusters'.

The distribution sector presents a contrasting picture in that about 34% of workers earn less than Rs.150 per month as

against 21% of them receiving over Rs.500 per month. This is explained by the fact that the lower wage group comprises mostly workers from Indian film distribution section, whereas the highest wage group consists of a majority of workers from the foreign film distribution section.

Inter-sectoral wage differentials are further brought out in Table No.10 by indicating average monthly wages of regular employees according to skill during March 1965.

TABLE NO.10

Average monthly wages of 'regular employees' according to 'skill' (March 1965)

Skill	Short film production	Studios	Laboratories	Indian film distribution	Foreign film distribution	Exhibition
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
1. Highly skilled A	963	429	1,135	-	-	-
2. Highly skilled B	742	198	1,051	-	-	-
3. Highly skilled C	283	209	369	613	1,432	504
4. Skilled A	321	208	249	357	1,314	334
5. Skilled B	232	226	257	229	585	198
6. Skilled C	201	136	189	171	405	181
7. Semi-skilled A	-	122	191	135	-	166
8. Semi-skilled B	-	90	197	-	386	159
9. Semi-skilled C	202	83	136	-	-	149
10. Un-skilled	107	86	121	89	231	135
All workers	379	128	212	230	592	173
Workers earning less than Rs.400 per month	198	111	204	182	300	143

On analysis, we find that per capita wages fluctuate between Rs.128 in studios to Rs.592 in foreign film distribution section. Even the unskilled worker in the latter section earns far more wage than the average wage prevailing in studios. High average wage in the foreign film distribution section is due to greater paying capacity on account of large business turnover, strong and effective trade unionism and maintenance of high international standards of service conditions. Further, the ratio of average monthly wages of unskilled workers to those of the highest category in respective sectors is relatively small in the exhibition sector (1:3.7) and studios (1:5.0) and high in laboratories (1:9.4) and short film production sector (1:9.0). This is indicative of low and high wage differentials in concerned sectors.

The table shows that average wages for almost all categories are the lowest in studios and the highest in foreign film distribution section. This is in conformity with our earlier conclusion on similar lines. The table further reveals the erratic trends of wage behaviour in the production sector. Wages increase as skill advances in distribution and exhibition sectors. They do not necessarily register an upward trend with the increase in the skill contents in the production sector. Among causes which may be attributed to this may be mentioned - occupational anomalies, lack of appreciation of skill by employers, continuation of conventional wage disparities, absence of any entry qualifications to most of the jobs and the lack of uniformity in wage structure as wages continue to be determined by individual bargaining or at the unit level.

Confining average wages to workers earning less than Rs.400 per month (on the lines of wage data available under the Payment of Wages Act), it is observed that the relative position of sectoral average wages has (i) remained the same in foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors and studios, (ii) improved in process laboratories and (iii) deteriorated in the short film production and Indian film distribution sectors. This indicates that (i) wages continue to be the highest and lowest in foreign film distribution sector and studios respectively at both higher and lower levels of skills, while the relative position of wage levels in higher and lower levels of skills remains fairly constant in the case of exhibition sector, (ii) wages in laboratories are relatively higher at lower levels of skill, and (iii) wages in the short film production and Indian film distribution sectors are relatively lower at lower levels of skills.

6.2 Occupational wage analysis

We now analyse occupational wage levels in different sectors of industry. Occupations common to all sectors, such as administrative and clerical, are grouped under general workers and their wage level is analysed separately to afford sectoral comparison of wage behaviour. Statistical tables indicating average monthly wages of each occupation in a sector for March 1965 are given in Appendix 4. We now high-light the conclusions emerging from the data on occupational wages.

As compared to the wages of production workers employed regularly in studios, free-lance workers engaged on monthly basis seem to be compensated by a little higher wage for uncertainty

of their work and absence of continuity of employment. Similarly, payments received by persons engaged on picture basis appear to be relatively more than those employed on monthly basis, as no time limit is generally set for completion of a picture. In case the picture is prolonged beyond a stipulated period and there is no provision for additional wages on a pro-rata basis, the average monthly wages of such workers are adversely affected.

Wages of top technicians such as directors, cammeramen and music directors appear to be exceptionally high, ranging between Rs.1200 to Rs.1850 per month. Further, remunerations vary with individuals. Each wage rate, therefore, seems to be a personal rate. The number of top technicians in the industry is relatively small, taking into account the number of pictures produced. On the other hand, such technicians are in large demand, as a producer of standing would prefer to employ a good technician and pay him more in view of his reputation for producing quality films. Besides, the nature of work of such technicians is creative, the reward for which is difficult to measure in quantitative terms. These considerations tend to increase the wages of top technicians which differ with each individual. On the contrary, wages of certain categories of workers employed by studios, such as editors (Rs.272), make-up artists (Rs.224), I-assistant cameramen (Rs.191) and II-assistant directors (Rs.140) appear to be comparatively low in the context of skill displayed by them. It is significant to note that average monthly wages of these categories of free lance workers are relatively higher on account of the absence of any security of service.

There are large variations in individual earnings of junior

artistes and dancers, particularly among male and female artistes, which may perhaps be attributed to uneven distribution of work and differences in appearance and artistic skill, which are personal factors. (Table 'A' - Appendix - 4).

Analysing the data in the short film production sector with some limitations regarding comparability arising out of the 'subsidised nature' of production by the Films Division of the Government of India, we find that the level of wages is generally higher in the public sector than in the private sector. Difference between the wages of the highest and the lowest paid workers in the private sector seems to be quite marked. A comparison between wage levels prevailing in the feature film and short film production sections indicates that in the feature film production section, these differentials are even larger.[3] The wages of most of the comparable categories of workers appear to be higher in the short film production section than in the feature film production section. This may be attributed to the comparatively stable economic position of the former section and the prevalence of the system of single employment in the short film production sector as against multiple assignments in the feature film production section. It is noteworthy that there are large number of categories in the short film production section receiving more than Rs.500 per month.

Another significant observation is that the difference between the pay rolls of 'Chief' and his assistant is not unduly pronounced

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3. Cf. Government of Maharashtra : Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry, 1966, p.78.

in the short film production section as compared to feature film production section. These assistants are not mere helpers to carry out instructions. They are 'departmental heads in the making'. However, the nature of work in the feature film production section is more creative and this explains the relatively larger differentials in that section. (Table 'B' - Appendix -4).

Among the categories receiving more than Rs.500 per month in studios are re-recordists (Rs.1,119) and cameramen (Rs.646). The lowest salary of Rs.65 per month is earned by assistant propertymen. Other categories receiving less than Rs.100 per month are trollymen and assistant carpenters (Rs.99), boom-men and polishmen (Rs.98), assistant moulders (Rs.97), assistant painters (Rs.95), lightmen (Rs.92), floor assistants (Rs.90), assistant tapists (Rs.87) and settingmen (Rs.85). It is significant to note that the average wages of trollymen, boom-men and lightmen are only slightly more than those of unskilled occupations like floor assistants or assistant tapists, while those of settingmen who are semi-skilled are even less than the average wages of unskilled workers. It appears that no distinction is drawn between these categories on one hand and the unskilled categories on the other. Similarly, the wages of certain categories like sound recordists, art directors, background painters, generator operators and electricians seem to be obviously low in the light of the skill displayed by them. As in the case of feature film production section, wage differential between the cameraman and his first assistant appears to be disproportionate in studios also. (Table 'C' - Appendix - 4).

The low level of wages of certain technicians would be brought out more vividly by examining their individual wages. Although

average monthly wages of 39 assistant recordists in the industry, for example, were Rs.158, as many as 6 of them earned less than Rs.100 per month, while 15 of them received between Rs.101 to Rs.150. Similarly, of 14 back-ground painters who on an average earned Rs.224 per month, 2 persons received between Rs.101 to Rs.150, 4 persons earned between Rs.150 to 200, 2 others received between Rs.251 to 300 and 2 persons earned over Rs.300 per month. These wide disparities in wages of the same occupation are the product of lack of uniformity in wage fixation in studios.

Occupations in laboratories receiving more than Rs.500 per month are maintenance engineer (Rs.1,487), re-recordist (Rs.1,169), chief technician (Rs.1,000) and laboratory-in-charge (Rs.910). Writers earn the lowest average wage of Rs.100. Categories receiving between Rs.101 and Rs.150 per month are mixers (Rs.150), cabinmen (Rs.144), mazdoors (Rs.121) and boom-men (Rs.115). It is again significant to find boom-men receiving less than even mazdoors. The former are required to use a good deal of skill in tilting and panning the boom without causing jerks to microphone, or letting it appear in the camera field, ensuring at the same time optimum pick-up of sound by microphone. The wages of certain categories such as developers, printers, light suggesters and chemical-in-charge seem to be quite low in the light of their skill. Inter-se differentials also do not appear to be realistic as light suggesters who are more skilled receive wages (Rs.353) less than shift supervisors (Rs.408). Other anomalies of the type can be discerned in the case of negative cleaners and checkers, who possess less skill but are paid more.

Another striking feature is that the average wages of certain

categories, such as assistant recordists, boom operators, projectionists, assistant projectionists, mechanics, electricians and generator operators, which are common in studios and laboratories are more in laboratories than in studios. Comparatively higher wages in laboratories may be explained by the fact that they were initially fixed at a higher level than those in studios and they continued to be high. (Table 'D' - Appendix - 4).

Analysing wages in the distribution sector, the general wage level appears to be the highest in foreign film distribution concerns and the lowest in Indian film distribution section. Workers in the latter section receive even less than half the wages of comparable categories in the former section. Large business turnover in individual foreign film distribution units and the ad-hoc nature of Indian film distribution concerns explain the high and low wage levels in respective sections. The foreign film distribution concerns are reported to be paying higher salaries to attract better type of personnel. The high level of wages in that section is also due to the high rate of dearness allowance which is linked to consumer price index numbers. With the sharp rise in price level, the wage level has also increased substantially over the last two years. In the case of Indian film distribution units, employment is by and large floating and workers are engaged every time with low starting wage. Persons receiving more than Rs.500 per month are bookers, assistant bookers and shippers in foreign film distribution concerns. Wages in the distribution wing of the Films Division, Government of India, however, lie in between those in the foreign and Indian film distribution sections. (Table 'E' - Appendix - 4).

The lowest wage earners in the exhibition sector are watchmen and mazdoors who receive Rs.132 and Rs.135 per month respectively. Air-conditioning operators are paid the highest wages of Rs.423 per month. Occupational wage differentials do not, therefore, seem to be large in this sector.

Although the work of projectionists in studios and laboratories is not strictly comparable to that in cinemas where it is less skilled, it would be interesting to observe that even the I and II assistant projectionists in the exhibition sector earn more than the projectionists in laboratories and studios respectively. Similarly, electricians as well as painters earn more in cinema theatres and less in studios as compared to those in laboratories. This may be attributed to a large extent to the relatively sound economic position enjoyed by the exhibition sector, and its sectoral importance in the industrial setting and high level trade union organisation of cinema workers. Employees receiving less than Rs.150 per month are mazdoors, watchmen, IV assistant operators and door-keepers. There are no categories of workers receiving more than Rs.500 per month. (Table 'F' - Appendix - 4).

The following table gives average wages of 'general workers' employed in all sectors:

TABLE NO.11

Average monthly wages of general workers (common occupations) in all sections (March 1965)

Occupation	Studios	Laboratories	Foreign film distribution sector	Indian film distribution sector	Films Division	Exhibition sector
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
1. Manager	393	1,062	1,448	613	-	505
2. Assistant Manager	160	533	-	-	-	328

Occupation	Studios	Laboratories	Foreign film distribution sector	Indian film distribution sector	Films Division	Exhibition sector
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
3. Accountant	380	579	1,919	375	477	444
4. Assistant Accountant	221	472	744	300	-	430
5. Storekeeper	209	264	-	-	-	-
6. Assistant Storekeeper	181	-	-	-	-	-
7. Stenographer	262	210	573	243	278	400
8. Typist	177	195	-	200	200	-
9. Clerk-I	400	336	477	171	322	-
10. Clerk-II	178	214	367	-	200	145
11. Telephone operator	147	221	344	-	222	196
12. Driver	155	195	-	157	232	165
13. Watchman	79	115	-	-	137	184
14. Liftman	79	87	-	-	-	151
15. Gardener	81	102	-	-	137	130
16. Peon	94	130	255	95	132	135
17. Sweeper	78	86	-	-	132	135
18. Mazdoor	90	121	195	95	152	135

The wage level ~~of all categories of workers~~ is the highest in foreign film distribution section and the lowest in studios for most of the occupations. A comparison between the wage levels in laboratories and exhibition sector shows that wages of 'white collar' occupations are higher in laboratories while those of the other categories are higher in the exhibition sector. This is in

keeping with relatively less sharp wage differentials in the exhibition sector. Sectoral wage differentials in comparable categories are in line with general trends noticed earlier and may be explained by varying paying capacities of the different sectors of film industry.

The ratio between the lowest and the highest skilled categories is most pronounced in the case of laboratory workers (1:8.8), whereas it is least marked in respect of theatre employees (1:3.8). Unskilled categories in studios, liftmen and sweepers in laboratories and peons and mazdoors in Indian film distribution sector are paid less than Rs.100 per month. Those receiving more than Rs.500 per month are managers, assistant managers, accountants, assistant accountants and stenographers in foreign film distribution section.

We now proceed to analyse unit-wise wage differentials.

6.3 Unitwise wage analysis

A study of average occupational wages in each concern in different sectors of industry indicates large variations in occupational wages from unit to unit. The following table indicates the variations in wages of selected occupations.

TABLE NO.12

Wage differences in selected occupations (March 1965)

Sector/occupation	Minimum Rs	Maximum Rs	Average Rs
Studios:			
1. II-Assistant Cameraman	90	174	128
2. Trollyman	65	125	99
3. Assistant Sound Recordist	95	350	158
4. Boom Operator	70	224	98
5. Setting Mistry	127	282	215
6. Carpenter	85	234	138
7. Background painter	80	320	224
8. Settingman	77	118	85
9. Electrician	92	385	180
10. Lightman	68	172	92
Laboratories:			
1. Shift Supervisor	176	548	408
2. Light Suggester	138	440	353
3. Developer	115	319	238
4. Printer	110	322	236
5. Cleaner	122	318	231
6. Mixer	95	185	150
7. Mazdoor	65	210	121
Exhibition:			
1. Head Operator	168	510	302
2. Booking clerk	95	295	186
3. Door-keeper	135	245	149
4. Cleaner	128	155	135

It would be seen from the table that wage variations are wide in respect of higher grade categories, while they tend to be narrow in the case of lower grade occupations. The wages of background painters, for instance, vary between Rs.80 in Filmalaya studio to Rs.320 in Rooptara studio. Similarly, the average wages of developers fluctuate between Rs.115 in India Cine Laboratory to Rs.319 in Bombay Film Laboratory. In contrast to this, variation in the wages of settingmen, for example, is not quite large, being between Rs.77 in Rooptara studio to Rs.118 in Rajkamal Kalamandir. It would appear that these variations may be due to causes such as differences in the capacity of each unit to pay, the bargaining power of workers in each concern depending upon the existance or otherwise of a trade union of workers in that concern, the existence or otherwise of wage scale and consequential incremental differences arising out of the length of service and variations in the systems of calculating dearness allowance.

In laboratories, inter-unit variations are comparatively large in respect of certain occupations on account of differences in the nature of work and the type of machinery handled. In the case of shift supervisors, for instance, wages vary widely on account of differences in the actual job contents in different laboratories. Similarly, large variations in respect of developers and printers may be attributed to the type of film processed and the type of printing machines respectively. It is interesting to notice variations in the individual earnings of even unskilled workers[4].

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4. About 35% of unskilled workers in laboratories earn upto Rs.100, nearly 37% receive between Rs.101 to Rs.150 and about 28% of them are paid between Rs.151 to 200 per month.

Some measure of uniformity in the wage level seems to have been achieved in the foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors on account of strong associations of employers and employees. In the exhibition sector, however, this uniformity is confined to concerns where trade unionism exists. In studios and laboratories, on the contrary, the union had to negotiate with individual unit management on account of lack of proper organisation of employers' associations in these sectors. In view of this, unit-wise average wage differentials are comparatively large in studios (Rs.91 to Rs.194) and laboratories (Rs.144 to Rs.270), depending upon the paying capacities of units.

A close study of wages in different types of studios reveals that workers in the state studio (Films Division) earn the highest average wages of Rs.275.33 against the lowest average wages of Rs.111.58 paid in 'hiring studios'. There is little difference between the average wages of workers in 'producing studios' (Rs.135.89) and the co-operative studio (Rs.131.12), which seems to have been managed on sound lines. As between producing and hiring studios, higher wage level in the former may be explained by the fact that they produce their own pictures, thus spreading the overhead costs between film production unit and studio section.

We shall now evaluate occupational wages by job evaluation method by which we have already evaluated jobs in the Film industry. Job evaluation offers a workable basis for the appreciation of wage level, although it has its own limitations. It is realistic as it takes into consideration all the relevant factors that should account for occupational wage differentials.

6.4 Evaluation of occupational wages

We shall construct 'wage norms' based on the wages of the lowest category of workers. The minimum basic wage for an unskilled worker may be assumed at Rs.100 at the price level prevailing in 1960. This is supported by several awards of Industrial Tribunals in Bombay, prescribing a subsistence wage, which when related to the price level in 1960 works out at Rs.76 per month.[5] Additional one-third amount should be provided in order to transform the subsistence wage into a minimum wage as the latter must provide for minimum requirements of education, health and frugal comforts. The basic wage at Rs.100 may also be justified on historical grounds. The Shah-Mehta award prescribed Rs.70 per month to an unskilled worker as the lowest minimum consolidated wage in 1949. Adjusted to price rise in 1960, the minimum wage works out at Rs.96. The choice of base year is guided by two considerations, namely, that it was comparatively a normal period and the new consumer price index number series have started from that year.

In order to protect fully the minimum basic wage for the lowest category of workers, complete neutralisation of the rise

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5. Kondivita Paper and Board Mills Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, vs. Employees : Maharashtra Government Gazette Part I-L, 14th November, 1963, p.3750.
   Hydro Engineers Pvt. Ltd., Ibid, 1st April 1965, p.1051.
   Bombay Metal Press Factory, Ibid, 27th May 1965, p.1963.
   Ratan Industries, Ibid, 23rd June 1966, p.1976.
   Murlidhar Shrikrishandas and Co. Ltd., Ibid, 23rd June, 1966, p.1991.
   Diwa Bone crushing Mills, Ibid, 3rd November, 1966, p.3522.

in prices should be provided by the payment of dearness allowance at a rate of rupee one per month per point of rise in the new index numbers of prices. Thus in March 1965, for which period wage data have been collected, the minimum wage (basic wage plus dearness allowance) payable to an unskilled workers comes to Rs. 140. On this basis, wage differentials can now be worked out for higher levels of skill. The following table gives current wage level and the wage level according to job evaluation method based on Rs. 140 as minimum consolidated wage in March 1965, for the lowest category of workers.

TABLE NO. 13

Evaluation of current wage level in the light of wage level by job evaluation method

Skill	Current wage level (March 1965)	Wage level by job evaluation	Ratio of current wages to wage norms
1. Highly skilled A	900	703-902	-
2. Highly skilled B	700	665	1.052
3. Highly skilled C	445	595	0.748
4. Skilled A	340	525	0.648
5. Skilled B	291	455	0.640
6. Skilled C	177	385	0.460
7. Semi-skilled A	171	315	0.543
8. Semi-skilled B	151	245	0.616
9. Semi-skilled C	140	175	0.800
10. Unskilled	122	140	0.871

A comparison of the two wage levels as indicated by the ratio of current wages to wage norms reveals the following:

(1) The ratio is more than one in respect of highly skilled 'A' and highly skilled 'B' categories of workers, who receive relatively more wages than justified by job evaluation. The main reason for this seems to be the strong bargaining strength of this class of workers. The quality of picture in fact depends upon these categories of persons;

(2) Among the remaining categories of workers, the ratio is the highest in the case of unskilled workers. Relatively high wage level of unskilled workers seems to be the result of flat rate increases in wages at the time of wage revisions, as also due to uniform rate of dearness allowance to all classes of workers in a number of concerns;

(3) In respect of semi-skilled categories, the higher the level of skill, the smaller is the ratio. This may be attributed to the lack of appreciation of workers' skill at intermediate levels;

(4) Although the ratio is less than one in the case of skilled and highly skilled 'C' categories, it increases with the level of skill, indicating relatively higher wage level as skills advance;

(5) The wage level appears to be the poorest in respect of skilled 'C' category of workers, which include occupations such as boom-men, painters, carpenters, negative cleaners

and clerical staff, whose wages should be considered as sub-normal.

Wages generally increase with the acquisition of skills. This generalisation holds good in the film industry too, except in the case of middle level workers, whose wages are rather in inverse proportion to their skill. Such workers often promoted from the lowest rung remain fairly satisfied with a small rise in their emolument, although it may not be commensurate with the level of skill acquired by them in course of time. Another factor is that their 'transfer earnings' are low. In the absence of any alternate jobs, such workers have to put up with relatively low wages.

Comparing the wage norms specified in Table No.13 with the average wage levels according to skill in the various sectors of film industry in Table No.10, one finds that actual wages in the foreign film distribution sector are more than wage norms in all categories. However, in the light of wages of the unskilled category (Rs.231), which are taken as a base, actual wages are less than wage norms in lower categories and more than wage norms in higher categories. Further, the actual wages of highly skilled 'A' and 'B' categories in short film production section and laboratories and those of highly skilled 'C' category in Indian film distribution section are also more than wage norms. These observations lead to the conclusion that in the film industry higher categories of personnel are paid relatively higher, while the lower categories of personnel receive comparatively lower wages.

It would be worth-while to compare current wages of workers in selected occupations in the production sector with wages arrived at by job evaluation method on the assumption that the minimum wage of an unskilled worker is Rs.140 per month. The table below sets out this comparison.

TABLE NO.14

Evaluation of wages of selected categories of workers in the production sector

Occupation	Current wages (March 1965) Rs	Wages by job evaluation Rs
Production Section (Free-lance workers)		
1. I-Assistant Director	338	561
2. II-Assistant Director	125	343
3. I-Assistant Cameraman	278	648
4. Make-up Artist	375	609
5. Make-up Man	150	246
6. Costume-in-charge	170	325
7. Costume Assistant	85	186
8. Assistant Editor	172	413
9. Joiner	95	161
STUDIOS		
10. II-Assistant Cameraman	128	343
11. Trollyman	99	167
12. Assistant recordist	158	615
13. Boom-man	98	395
14. Setting mistry	215	489

Contd.

	Occupation	Current wages (March 1965) Rs	Wages by job evaluation Rs
15.	Carpenter	138	357
16.	Background painter	224	629
17.	Painter	122	381
18.	Settingman	85	227
19.	Electrician	180	553
20.	Lightman	92	259
21.	Projectionist	167	545
22.	Floor Assistant	90	140
	LABORATORIES		
23.	Developer	238	498
24.	Cleaner	231	381
25.	Checker	163	262
26.	Light Suggester	353	626
27.	Printer	236	461
28.	Mixer	150	280

Current wages are less than those by job evaluation in respect of all categories of workers in the production sector. The difference between the two wage levels is relatively less in the case of most of the categories in laboratories, where jobs seem to have been classified more accurately. The gap is particularly very wide in the case of assistant recordist, background painter, projectionist, electrician, I-Assistant cameraman and boom-man. Their current wages may be, therefore,

regarded as poor. A majority of film producers do not appear to be interested in the qualitative aspect of film production. Such wages would not attract new entrants possessing higher skills, nor encourage existing workers to acquire greater efficiency.

Current wage level presents a number of internal inconsistencies in the relative wages of jobs. For instance, I-Assistant cameraman, background painter and I-Assistant recordist are more skilled[6] than the make-up artist, who actually receives more wages than the other three categories. The boom-man, who is much more skilled than the trolly-man, is paid slightly less than the latter category. Such differentials cause considerable unrest among workers who are apt to become indifferent towards increasing their skills. Some of these differences can be explained by inadequate assessment of the worth of technicians and conventional wage disparities, which continue to remain in force for quite some time.

We shall further analyse the wage levels, both absolute and real, in the light of comparative wage levels obtaining in the film industry at Madras and Calcutta and other industries in Bombay.

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6. Refer to Table No.7 where skill estimates are made.

7.0 Comparative Study of Wage Levels

We have analysed existing wages sector-wise, unit-wise and occupation-wise. They have been further evaluated in the light of 'wage norms' determined by the job evaluation method. In this chapter, we compare money and real wage levels in the Bombay film industry with those in the film industry at Madras and Calcutta and other industries in Bombay.

The Committee on Fair Wages has stressed the importance of 'the prevailing rates of wages' as a factor influencing wage determination. The Committee has, however, cautioned against the comparison of wage rates in industries falling under different stages of development and organisation. In this connection the Committee observes:

> "In countries where the bargaining power of labour is strong and the wages paid in at least some industries are adequate, the method of comparison with the prevailing rates of wages is sound, but in countries like India where labour has until recently been weakly organised, such a process can only mean the comparing of one unsatisfactory rate of wages with another equally unsatisfactory rate."[1]

The Supreme Court of India in its decision in the case of Express Newspapers Pvt. Ltd., has also mentioned 'prevailing rates of wages in the same or similar industries in the same or neighbouring localities'[2] as one of the determinants of

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1. Government of India : Report of the Committee on Fair Wages, 1949, p.12.

2. AIR 1958 SC 578; 1959, SCR 12.

fair wages. Comparative wages, therefore, offer one of the bases of evaluation of wage level. Wages in the Bombay film industry have been compared from two sets of view points, namely, wage levels in the film industry at Madras and Calcutta, which are the other two important centres in India and wage levels in other industries in Bombay. The comparison is made in respect of both money and real wages. We shall first analyse money wages.

7.1 Money Wage Levels in Film Industry at Madras and Calcutta

In the absence of any data regarding differences in the standards and cost of living at different centres, a comparative wage study at such centres presents formidable difficulties. With this limitation of inter-regional comparisons, an attempt is made to compare wage levels in the film industry at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. Wage data for the last two centres are collected from representative concerns in each sector for March 1965 and are presented below.

TABLE NO.15

Comparative Wages in the film industry in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta (March 1965)

Sector/Skill	Bombay Rs	Madras Rs	Calcutta Rs
Studios:			
Highly skilled	208	160	178
Skilled	154	130	123
Semi-skilled	90	104	100
Unskilled	86	90	79

contd

Laboratories:

Highly Skilled	457	253	183
Skilled	229	174	128
Semi-skilled	171	132	106
Unskilled	121	95	83

Indian film distribution:

Highly Skilled	613	200	278
Skilled	234	164	125
Semi-skilled	135	104	118
Unskilled	89	85	83

Exhibition:

Highly Skilled	504	262	236
Skilled	244	177	136
Semi-skilled	137	147	95
Unskilled	135	127	74

The table reveals that wage level in Bombay is the highest except in the case of semi-skilled and unskilled categories in studios and semi-skilled category in the exhibition sector, in which cases it is the highest in Madras. Wages are relatively low in Calcutta.

High wage level in Bombay may be attributed to factors such as high paying capacity of the Bombay industry which produces Hindi films commanding all-India and overseas markets, strong organisation of workers and the existance of comparatively high level of wages obtaining in other industries in Bombay.

On account of relatively weak bargaining position of employers in Bombay due to their financial instability and lack of organisation, trade unions in Bombay could succeed in forcing up the wage level. In the last few years, trade unions could achieve higher wage level even without resort to strikes. On the contrary, strikes in film industry have failed in Madras to secure better wages on account of relatively strong economic position of employers. The film industry in Calcutta is in a deplorable state. Limited market for Bengali films after the partition of Bengal in 1947, ineffective enforcement of labour legislation, weak labour organisations are some of the causes of low wages in the Calcutta film industry.

Comparing the skill-wise wages in different sectors in each region it is observed that the lowest wage level in Bombay is recorded in studios, which is by and large true in Madras also. In Calcutta, relatively low wage level is founded in higher skill categories in studios and lower skill categories in the exhibition sector. Wages are comparatively high in the exhibition sector in Bombay and Madras. High Wage level in the Madras cinema theatres may be attributed to the uniformity in wage structure in the absence of any classification of cinemas.

On further analysing the table, regional wage differentials appear to be wide in respect of highly skilled categories in all sectors and generally all categories in laboratories. They tend to be narrow in the case of unskilled workers. Another significant observations is that wage differentials between the unskilled and highly skilled categories are more marked in Bombay than elsewhere. This may be attributed to comparatively

higher wage levels of higher categories in Bombay.

7.2 Money Wage Levels in Other Industries in Bombay

Data regarding average monthly wages of factory workers are available from the statistics collected under the Payment of Wages Act, 1936. One of the limitations of these statistics is that the data are confined to workers receiving less than Rs.400 per month. Average monthly wages of factory workers in Maharashtra State for 1965 are compiled and set out in the table below to afford comparison with those in studios and laboratories, which are also factories.

TABLE NO.16

Average monthly wages of factory workers in Maharashtra State (1965)

Industry	Average monthly wages Rs
1. Food (except beverages)	120.42
2. Beverages	137.50
3. Tobacco	160.54
4. Textiles	193.50
5. Footwear	136.00
6. Wood & Cork except furniture	125.08
7. Furnitures and fixtures	147.83
8. Paper and paper products	138.58
9. Printing Presses	179.08
10. Leather and leather products	162.08
11. Rubber and Rubber Products	164.58
12. Chemicals and Chemical Products	210.25

contd.

13. Products of Petroleum and Coal	309.08
14. Non-metallic mineral products (except products of Petroleum and Coal)	108.58
15. Basic Metal industries	159.50
16. Metal Products (except Machinery and transport equipment)	177.25
17. Manufacture of Machinery (except Electrical Machinery)	173.83
18. Electrical Machinery Manufacturing	190.33
19. Transport equipment	224.42
20. Miscellaneous industries	158.42
21. Electricity, gas and steam	193.75
22. Water and Sanitary services	148.42
23. Recreation services	125.83
24. Personal services	141.33
All Industries	163.77
Film processing laboratories	204.40
Film studios	111.35

Source : Statistics under the Payment of Wages Act, Maharashtra State, 1965.

The table shows that the average wages of factory workers are less than those in laboratories by about 20% and more than those in studios by about 47%. It further reveals that the level of wages in laboratories compares favourably with those in most of the industries. Average wages in 'products of petroleum and coal' and 'transport equipment' are perhaps higher than those in laboratories which generally correspond to wages in chemical industries. Wages in studios are more or less comparable to those

in industries such as food except beverages, wood and non-metallic mineral products. Causes of relatively low wage level in studios may be broadly attributed to cut-throat competition among units and instability of management.

Analysing the average wages of workers in different sectors of film industry earning less than Rs.400-00 per month (Table No.10) and those in other industries, it is observed that wages are similar in certain comparable sectors of industries. Thus, in the more organised sectors, workers in the short film production section earn Rs.198-00 as compared to earnings of Rs.190-00 in electrical engineering and Rs.194-00 in textiles and electricity, gas and steam industries. Similarly, wages are comparable in industries under foreign management, workers in foreign film distribution section earning Rs.300-00 as against those in petroleum receiving Rs.309-00 per month. Lastly, wages are similar in service industries such as exhibition sector (Rs.143), water and sanitary services (Rs.148) and personal services (Rs.141).

It would be interesting to compare the average monthly wages of unskilled workers in the different sectors of film industry as specified in Table No.10 with those of similar category of workers in selected establishments in other industries in Bombay. The following table sets out average monthly wages of unskilled workers in selected industries in Bombay.

TABLE NO.17

Average monthly wages of unskilled workers in selected industries in Bombay (January 1966).

Industry	Average monthly wages of unskilled workers. Rs
1. Cotton Textile	176.70
2. Silk Textile	144.50
3. Engineering	145.76
4. Chemicals	136.32
5. Rubber	134.47
6. Plastics	141.72
7. Paper and Printing Presses	138.67
8. Miscellaneous	114.81

Source: Industrial awards and settlements.

The comparison reveals that the average wages of unskilled workers in the foreign film distribution sector (Rs.231) are higher than those in any one of the selected industries and those in the exhibition sector (Rs.135) are more or less comparable to wages of unskilled workers in industries such as chemicals, rubber, paper and printing presses. The average wages of unskilled workers in short film production section (Rs.107), studios (Rs.86) and India film distribution section (Rs.89) compare poorly with those in other selected industries in Bombay.

Wage differences in comparable work would ordinarily induce a movement of workers from 'low wage' to 'high wage' industries until substantial uniformity of wage rates is established. However, in actual practice, the absence of

fairly comparable wages for unskilled workers may be explained by several factors. There are institutional barriers, restricting the entry of new comers, as is noticeable in the Bombay Cotton textile industry. No such barriers exist in the film industry. Further, experience shows that a great majority of workers do not like to change jobs, if they have put in two or three years' service with the same establishment. Finally, they know little about wages and job opportunities in other establishments and are disinterested in movement unless they are laid off or discharged. Cine workers in particular are less mobile on account of factors such as glamour, chances of sudden gains, etc., available in the film industry.

Under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 minimum rates of wages have been fixed by the State Government in 'Scheduled employments' in Bombay, ranging between Rs.70 in oil mills and Rs.95 in printing presses (March 1965) for unskilled categories of workers. These rates are more or less similar to those for unskilled workers prevailing in most of the individual studios.

The peculiarities of film industry in respect of the nature of work, occupations, organisation and business finance do not really admit of any comparison of occupational wage levels obtaining in different industries in the same area. The wages of categories like directors, cameramen, recordists, printers, developers, light suggesters etc., cannot be compared to any occupations in other industries. The nature of work of certain categories like carpenters, painters and electricians in studios, which occupations are common in a number of industries, is quite different and hence their wages are not strictly comparable. Even inter-sectoral comparison of the wages of such categories

is not really possible on account of varying degrees of skills required of them. The only occupations other than unskilled which lend themselves to any meaningful comparison are general occupations such as accountants, telephone operators, stenographers typists, clerks, etc., although these occupations do not really represent 'production process workers'. Such a comparison is attempted with similar workers employed in industrial or commercial establishments in particular. The sources of wage data for these occupations are current awards of Industrial Tribunals and settlements between the parties under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 in the case of 15 selected establishments, keeping in mind similar financial position, organisational level and employment size. The following table gives the comparative picture of average wages of clerical occupations in industrial/commercial establishments and distribution sector of film industry.

TABLE NO.18

Average Monthly Wages of selected categories of workers in industrial/commercial establishments in Bombay and film distribution sector (March 1965)

Category	Foreign film distribution sector	Indian film distribution sector	Industrial/ Commercial establishments *
	Rs	Rs	Rs
1. Accountant	1919	375	440
2. Clerk I	477	171	334
3. Clerk II	367	-	239
4. Stenographer	573	243	316
5. Typist	-	200	212
6. Telephone operator	344	-	212

* Source : Industrial Awards & Settlements in selected establishments.

Average wages in foreign film distribution sector are again much higher than those in other industrial and commercial establishments. The level of wages in the Indian film distribution sector, however, appears to be comparatively low. Large business turn-over, strong trade union organisation and enlightened management in the foreign film distribution section as against small turn-over, absence of trade unionism and employment of near relatives in the Indian film distribution section explain the high and low wage levels in the distribution sector. If we compare the wages of similar occupations in other sectors of film industry namely, studios, laboratories, exhibition sector and the Films Division of the Government of India (Table No.11), we find that the level of wages in laboratories and the Films Division of the Government of India more or less corresponds to the level obtaining in other industrial and commercial establishments, while wages in the exhibition sector and studios appear to be on the lower side.

7.3 Trends in Real Wages in Film Industry in Bombay

Workers are concerned not so much with absolute money wage as the 'real value' of such wage. The real value of money wage depends upon its purchasing power which in turn is affected by changes in prices. Recently, 'fringe benefits' have assumed considerable significance in industrial relations as supplementary to money wage increases. Such non-wage benefits which are associated with wages and which are capable of being expressed in money should be taken into account while computing real wages. The Eighth International Conference of

of Labour Statisticians (1954) has defined real wages as 'the goods and services which can be purchased with wages or are provided as wages.'[3]

The concept of real wages has two components-money wages including all benefits expressible in monetary terms and prices of goods and services, wage earners buy. The following items are included in money value of wages while estimating real wages in the film industry in Bombay:

1.	Wages	Basic wage and dearness allowance.
2.	Monetary benefits	Payment for extra time worked: (Overtime wages, extra show allowance or food money).
3.	Fringe benefits	Bonus, payment for time not worked (holidays with pay, leave and social security benefits.)

Provident Fund stands on a different footing from old age pension or gratuity. The latter benefits are of future worth and their current value cannot be easily assessed. In the case of provident fund, however, its average net value extended over the entire period of service can be roughly taken to be the same as the rate of employer's contribution. Besides, the provision for withdrawal from the fund makes its current value all the more realistic. Gratuity is, therefore, excluded from the list of items constituting real wages.[4]

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3. I.L.O. International Comparisons of Real Wages; 1965, p.11

4. For want of adequate and reliable data, items such as Sunday working allowance and officiating allowance could not be included under monetary benefits, nor could sickness benefits be covered under fringe benefits.

An attempt is made to estimate the real wages of workers in three sectors of film industry at Bombay and other centres and in other industries at Bombay for two different periods for which information is available.

Wage statistics for 1955 in studios and laboratories are compiled and processed from statistical tables in the Report on an Enquiry into the Conditions of Labour in the Cinema Industry in Bombay State (1955) and those in the exhibition sector from the records of the Theatre Employees' Union. Total money wage component is calculated by assessing the money value of various items of monetary and fringe benefits mentioned in earlier paragraph. By deflating money wages by index numbers of consumer prices for the corresponding periods, real wages have been worked out in each of the sectors as indicated in Table No.19.

TABLE NO.19

Real wages in studios, laboratories and cinema theatres (1955-65)

Item	Studios		Laboratories		Exhibition sector	
	1955	1965	1955	1965	1955	1965
	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs	Rs
1. Basic wages and D.A.	88.39	128.10	129.34	212.28	103.17	173.23
2. Payment for extra time worked (over time)	17.68	25.62	12.93	21.23	8.67	13.84
3. Payment for time not worked (Holidays & Leave)	7.09	10.37	10.56	14.93	11.23	19.80
4. Bonus	1.36	4.69	1.24	21.11	12.89	21.65
5. Deferred monetary benefits (Provident Fund)	-	6.75	7.28	12.48	6.45	10.83

Contd

	Studios		Laboratories		Exhibition sector	
	1955	1965	1955	1965	1955	1965
Money value of total wages	114.52	175.53	161.35	282.03	142.41	239.35
Real wages	-	111.08	-	180.71	-	150.95
Index numbers of Real wages	100	97	100	112	100	106

As compared to 1955, real wages have registered an increase in 1965 to the extent of 12% in laboratories and 6% in the exhibition sector. These increases were possible on account of increased dearness allowance earned by employees to cope with rise in prices and considerable improvement in the monetary as well as non-monetary benefits. It is, however, significant to find that as compared to 1955, the real wages of studio workers have declined by 3% in 1965. This was mainly due to inability of money wages in studios to move in pace with the rise in price level between 1955-65. During the period, a number of studios did not have any revision of wages. In the absence of any wage scales and dearness allowance linked to consumer price index numbers, money wages in such studios have remained fairly stagnant over the period. During the decade, basic wages and dearness allowance in studios increased by 42% as against 57% rise in price level. In laboratories and cinema theatres, however, they increased by 64% and 68% during the same period.

The table also reveals significant proportion of overtime wages to money value of total wages. They constitute roughly 14% in studios, 7% in laboratories and 6% in cinema theatres. Further, fringe benefits form as high as 22% of money value of total wages in exhibition sector. In studios and laboratories they assume 12% and 17% respectively.[5]

The percentage increase in most of the wage components during 1955-65 was relatively large in film laboratories. Overtime wages increased by 45% in studios, 64% in laboratories and 60% in cinemas. Similarly, money value of holidays and leave facilities enjoyed by workers rose by 46% in studios, 41% in laboratories and 76% in theatres. Rise in bonus was also significant in laboratories and cinema theatres during the same period.

A study of real wages of selected categories of workers in the production sector reveals that in the case of some categories, real wages have declined in 1965 as compared to 1955 as can be seen from Table No.20.[6]

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5. In Western countries non-wage benefits constitute about 12% in United Kingdom and 43% in Italy. The low proportion in United Kingdom is largely due to the fact that social security is the State's responsibility which is discharged through financing from general taxation: See I.L.O, Wages, p.50.

6. Free-lance workers in the production section receive insignificant monetary or fringe benefits. Non-casual workers are generally provided with free-food on all shooting days. Its money value has not been taken into account in both the periods on account of difficulties in computing the quantum in view of irregular number of shooting days in a month. This does not, however, affect the comparative value of wage data as the item has been excluded from both the periods.

TABLE NO.20

Real wages of selected categories of workers in the production section (1955-65)

Category	1955	1965		
	Total money wage	Total money wage	Money wage Index No.	Real wage Index No.
	Rs	Rs		
1. Asst. Director	160	282	176	112
2. Asst. Cameraman	172	215	125	80
3. Production Asst.	70	80	114	73
4. Make-up artist	211	375	180	115
5. Make-up Asst.	104	150	144	92
6. Costume-in-charge	126	170	135	86
7. Costume Asst.	66	85	129	82
8. Editor	263	380	144	82
9. Asst. editor	125	172	138	88
10. Production Manager	200	315	158	101
11. Jr.Artiste (ordinary)	20	61	305	194
12. Jr.Artiste (decent-male)	42	144	343	218
13. Jr.artiste (decent-female)	62	201	324	206
14. Dancer (Male)	61	125	205	131
15. Dancer (Female)	194	267	138	88

The table reveals that the real wages of assistant cameraman, production assistant, make-up assistant, costume-in-charge, costume assistant, editor, assistant editor and female dancer have gone down in 1965 as compared to 1955, although their money wages have increased during the period. The real

wages of junior artistes have substantially increased. This was possible on account of the prevalence of extremely low wage level in the case of these workers in 1955. To some extent this is also due to an increase in the average number of working days per artiste during the period.[7] Apart from artists, real wages increased only in the case of assistant director, make-up artist and production manager. It is rather difficult to provide any causal explanation for a rise or fall in real wages of certain categories in the production sector, as the phenomenon of wage fixation under individual bargaining is highly complex.

The fall in real wages of some categories is particularly significant in the context of large increase in the cost of several items of expenditure on picture production. In this connection it is striking to observe that the remuneration of artistes and very highly skilled categories of technicians such as directors, music directors and commeramen has increased enormously during the last decade. The producers seem to have borne the brunt of this increased cost at the sacrifice of a majority of workers at medium and lower levels of skill.

We will now compare the trends in real wages[8] in the Bombay film industry with those in the film industry at Madras and Calcutta.

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7. Government of Bombay, Report on an enquiry into the conditions of labour in the cinema industry in Bombay State, 1956, p.36. Government of Maharashtra, Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry, 1966, p.27.

8. The data provide only crude index numbers as they do not include fringe benefits.

7.4 Real wages in Film Industry at Madras and Calcutta

Real wages are worked out for key occupations in studios, laboratories and cinema theatres in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta for 1965 with the level of wages prevailing in 1959 equal to 100 and are set out in the table below.

TABLE NO.21

Comparative real wage indices of selected categories of cine workers in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta (March 1965).

(Oct.1959 = 100)

Category	Bombay	Madras	Calcutta
Studios			
1. Trollyman	97	85	153
2. Boom-man	93	126	174
3. Carpenter	94	88	131
4. Settingman	97	107	176
5. Lightman	101	100	124
6. Mazdoor	98	120	140
Laboratories			
7. Developer	106	124	80
8. Light suggester	96	93	76
9. Printer	103	107	105
10. Mazdoor	108	110	108
Cinema theatres			
11. Head operator	112	109	82
12. Booking Clerk	119	125	82
13. Doorkeeper	116	127	81
14. Mazdoor	115	131	81

As compared to 1959, real wages have declined in Bombay studios by about 2 to 7% against a rise in real wages at Madras (7 to 26%) and Calcutta (24 to 76%). Calcutta presents a strange contrast. It records the highest increase in real wages in studios and also registers the lowest decline in real wages in the exhibition sector to the extent of about 19%. While the application of the Minimum Wages Act to studios in Calcutta has greatly benefitted workers, the wage agreement between the management and union in the exhibition sector negotiated in 1955 could not protect the real wages of cinema workers in view of steep rise in prices in 1965. Comparing the wage levels in different sectors in Bombay and Madras, one finds that real wages in the exhibition sector recorded the largest increase at both centres, ranging between 12 to 19% in Bombay and 9 to 31% in Madras. Finally, the table reveals that real wages have increased in laboratories at all centres, except in the case of light suggester, whose real wages have declined. His job's worth does not seem to have received adequate recognition at the hands of employers.

It would be worth-while to compare the trends in real wages[9] in other industries in Maharashtra with those in the film industry At Bombay.

7.5 Real Wages in Other Industries in Bombay

Based on statistics under the Payment of Wages Act, 1936, annual wages per worker in selected industries such as cotton textile, engineering and chemicals, which are the major

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9. See foot-note No.8

industries in Bombay, are calculated for each of the years 1958 to 1965. These are further adjusted to reflect changes in prices, with the price level in 1958 equal to 100. The following table indicates comparative trends in real wages in studios, laboratories and other industries in Maharashtra.

TABLE NO.22

Comparative trends in real wage indices in Maharashtra State (1958-65)

Year	All industries	Textiles	Engineering	Chemicals	Studios	Laboratories
1958	100	100	100	100	100	100
1959	97	102	114	99	91	93
1960	109	109	109	107	95	100
1961	106	105	124	102	100	95
1962	109	115	119	105	92	91
1963	109	116	121	101	93	92
1964	104	102	115	92	85	95
1965	106	108	116	107	82	110

Source : Primary data-statistics under the Payment of Wages Act.

The level of real wages in all manufacturing industries in Maharashtra has registered a rise of 6% during the period 1958-65. Real wages in textiles, chemicals and film laboratories recorded an almost similar proportionate rise between 7% to 10%. The increase in real wages in engineering industry was, however, substantial (16%). This was possible

on account of phenominal growth of industry by way of capital investment, value of output and employment. In contrast, real wages in studios declined by 18% during 1958-65.[10] It would appear, therefore, that real wages in laboratories are by and large comparable to those in other major industries, whereas real wages in studios have remained unaffected by real wage behaviour in major industries in the State.

The table indicates erratic trends in real wages in all industries. While real wages have increased in all industries in 1965 as compared to the previous year, those in studios alone have declined, since money wages in most of the studios have remained fairly stagnant during the period.

The comparative study of wages has thus brought out vividly low wages prevailing in the production section and studios in contrast to wages prevailing in the film industry in Madras and Calcutta and other industries in Bombay.

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10. The decline of only 3% in real wages in studios during 1955-65 as revealed by Table No.19 may be explained by comparatively faster growth of monetary and non-wage benefits during the period.

8.0 Nature of Wage Levels in Film Industry

We have evaluated wage levels in all sectors of film industry in Bombay in three different ways. Firstly, wage levels in the Bombay film industry are analysed and compared with those obtaining at other centres of film industry viz., Madras and Calcutta and with the levels of wages in other industries in Bombay. This helped us to ascertain relatively the adequacy or otherwise of wages prevailing in Bombay film industry and to locate the pockets of low wage levels. Secondly, the trends in real wages in different sectors of film industry are studied over a period of 10 years 1955-65. The findings of this study are useful in understanding how wages have behaved over a period of time and the areas where real wages have either declined or increased comparatively slowly. Lastly, relative wage norms are constructed through the method of job evaluation and the current wage levels are examined in the light of these wage norms. The results of this study are useful in identifying the discrepancies in the structure of relative wages.

Before we deal with the question of improving the existing wage structure, it would be worthwhile to recapitulate here the findings of our analysis of the existing wage levels. For, only on the basis of these conclusions, we shall be able to discern the deficiencies in the existing wage levels.

8.1 Areas of relatively low wage levels

The analysis of sectoral wages indicates that differences in

wage levels in the different sectors of industry are due to differences in the skill-compositions of respective sectors. The general level of wages is relatively poor in studios and comparatively high in process laboratories and foreign film distribution section. This is evidenced by a majority of studio workers earning less than Rs.100 per month and a large proportion of workers in process laboratories and foreign film distribution section receiving more than Rs.300 per month. Modal wage groups in different sectors and comparative average wages of all workers and those earning less than Rs.400 per month also indicate the same conclusion.

The study of occupational wage levels further reveals that in the case of top technicians in the production section, each wage rate is a personal rate rather than the rate for the occupation. The wages of certain categories of technicians such as editors, make-up artists, I-assistant cammeramen and II-assistant directors appear to be low in the context of skill displayed by them. It is striking to note that in studios, occupations such as settingmen, who are semi-skilled, receive even less than the average wages of unskilled workers.

Technicians in the feature film production section are paid less than their 'confreres' in the short film production section, who possess less skill content than corresponding categories in the feature film production section. Comparing the wages of similar categories in different sectors of Film industry one finds that wages are higher in laboratories than in studios and that they are much higher in the exhibition sector than either in studios or laboratories.

Examining the wage level unit-wise, it is seen that wage variations in the production sector are wide in respect of categories belonging to higher grade while they are narrow in the case of occupations at lower levels of skills. On the contrary, some measure of uniformity in wage levels has been attempted in the foreign film distribution section and exhibition sector.

A comparison of the wage levels in film industry in Bombay with the levels of wages obtaining in the same industry at Madras and Calcutta indicates that wages of semi-skilled and unskilled categories in studios in Bombay are relatively lower than those in Madras. Similar comparison of wages in film industry in Bombay with those in other industries in Maharashtra reveals that average monthly wages in laboratories compare favourably with those prevailing in a large number of other industries in Maharashtra and they generally correspond to those in chemical industry. In studios, however, average wages seem to be the lowest. When compared to the wages of unskilled workers in other industries in Bombay for similar categories, wages in the production section and studios appear to be low. Such wages are mostly on par with the minimum rates of wages in 'sweated industries', prescribed under the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for unskilled categories in Bombay.

Lastly, a comparison of wages of administrative and clerical occupations in film industry with those obtaining in selected industrial and commercial establishments shows that wages are much higher in the foreign film distribution section, the level of wages in laboratories and the Films Division of the Government

of India more or less corresponds to the levels obtaining in other establishments, while wages in the exhibition sector and studios appear to be on the low side.

It would be seen that wages are relatively low in the production section and studios.

8.2 Comparative behaviour of real wages

A study of real wages shows that they have increased during 1955-65 by about 12% in laboratories and 6% in cinema theatres, but declined by 3% in studios. In the case of workers in the production sector, real wages of some categories have fallen in 1965 as compared to the level obtaining in 1955.

A comparison of real wages in the film industry at Bombay during 1959-65 shows that Madras recorded an increase in real wages in a number of occupations in all sectors as against a fall in real wages in a majority of occupations in studios in Bombay and cinema theatres in Calcutta. The decline in real wages in studios in Bombay ranged between 2% to 7%, while the real wages in studios in Madras rose by 7% to 26%. Real wages in laboratories rose in all centres.

Comparative trends in real wages in other industries in Maharashtra indicate that real wages of factory workers increased by 6% during 1958-65. The increase was almost similar in proportion in textiles, chemicals and film laboratories (between 7% to 10%), while it was substantial in engineering industry. In contrast, real wages in studios declined by 18% during the same period.

It would be seen that as compared to the rise in real wages of studio workers in Madras and those in other industries in Maharashtra, real wages in the production section and studios declined during the period 1955-65.

8.3 Weaknessesin the relative wage structure

Existing wage level in the Bombay Film industry is further evaluated in the light of wage norms determined by job evaluation method. The study reveals that in the case of two categories belonging to higher skills, namely Highly skilled 'A' and Highly skilled 'B', current wages are relatively more than those justified by job evaluation. The converse obtains in the case of other categories. The difference between the two wage levels is relatively large in respect of semi-skilled categories. In particular, the gap between the two levels is wide in the case of assistant recordist, background painter, projectionist, electrician and assistant cameraman, whose wages may be regarded as low.

The analysis of wage levels in different sectors in the light of wage norms further reveals that wages are relatively higher in the case of higher categories while they are comparatively lower at the lower levels of skills. This conclusion is further supported by the analysis of comparative wage levels in film industry at three centres in India. Wage differentials between the unskilled and highly skilled categories are more marked in Bombay than elsewhere.

The evaluation of current wage levels has further brought out a number of wage disparities in the relative classification

of occupations. Background painter, I-assistant cameraman, I-assistant recordist and boom-man are cases in point. These inconsistencies are due to inadequate assessment of the worth of technicians and conventional wage disparities, which continue to remain in force for quite some time.

8.4 Deficiencies in the existing wage levels

The analysis of wage levels in the Bombay film industry locates the areas of low wage levels, namely production section and studios and identifies the deficiencies in wage levels prevailing in those sectors. These deficiencies are :

i) Relatively low wage levels;
ii) Fall in comparative real wages; and
iii) Distorted structure of relative occupational wages.

From the foregoing analysis it is clear that the absolute wage level in production section and studios is neither adequate from the view point of cost of living and comparative wage levels, nor conducive to productive efficiency. The decline in real wages has caused severe hardships to workers in those sectors and affected their productive efficiency adversely[1]. Besides, wage differentials are not commensurate with skills. They fail short of the requirements at all levels. In some cases, the level of wages declines as skill advances. Moreover, there are a number of disparities in 'inter-se' wage levels. These haphazard wage differentials have a deterrent effect on acquisition of higher skills.

1.Cf. Government of Maharashtra Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry, 1966. pp.80-81.

It follows, therefore, that the wage structure in the Bombay film production industry is not rational and it calls for urgent measures not only to improve the economic worth of labour but also to bring the industry out of the present impasse.

Having evaluated the wage level and identified the deficiencies we shall examine in the next chapter the impact of wages on industrial relations in film industry.

9.0 Wages and Industrial Relations

Wages per se constitute the most important factor affecting industrial relations. In developing countries where wages have remained at a fairly low level, the trade unions have spent a greater part of their energy in demanding an improvement in wage level. In the process, a number of disputes have arisen, leading to strikes and lockouts. In India, wages form one of the principal demands in most of the disputes at various stages - negotiation, conciliation, adjudication, strikes etc. In this context, it is pertinent to study the impact of wages on industrial relations in the Bombay film industry and to ascertain the causes of relative peace or conflict prevailing in the industry.

In this chapter we shall study the background of industrial relations before examining the impact of wages on employer-employee relations. In this connection, we trace the evolution of trade unionism in the film industry and understand its features, some of which are as peculiar as the industry. Industrial relations in the film industry at Bombay are then investigated in the context of industrial relations in the film industry at Madras and Calcutta and in other industries at Bombay. In the light of this examination, we shall study the influence of wages on industrial relations in different sectors of the film industry.

9.1 Trade unionism in Film Industry

The genesis of the organisation of film technicians may be

traced to the formation of the Society of Indian Film Technicians in Calcutta in 1932, sponsored by Sarvashri Ghosh, Krishna Gopal and Barua. The society had a library and it used to hold periodic discussions on technical problems affecting the film industry. For want of sufficient response the Society died a natural death sometime in 1935. Another Society on similar lines was formed in Bombay in 1936, mainly through the efforts of Sarvashri Krishna Gopal, Ramdas Dwarka and Rajani Pandya. 'The Association of Cine Technicians of India' had a membership of about 400. In the beginning, the Association did not work on trade union lines as the technicians declined to identify themselves as workers. However, members later began to think seriously of the delays and losses in their payments, which started with the influx of independent producers.

Conditions in the industry worsened soon after the end of the last World War, sowing the seeds of dissatisfaction among a large body of cine employees who started losing their earned wages. The earnings of workers declined on account of curtailment of overtime work. The rapid turnover of a large number of mush-room producers had adverse effect upon studio and laboratory finances and as a result, some of them were closed. Thus, insecurity of employment, growing unemployment and fall in the level of earnings gave rise to agitation for securing better conditions of employment. Junior artistes, studio and laboratory employees and cinema theatre workers were the most exploited class. They were, therefore, the first to form trade unions in 1946.

There was a period of lull in the trade union field for some years. Later on, however, general awakening among the working class population and the fervour of trade union organisation in the post-independence era accelerated the pace of trade unionism among workers in the production sector. The associations of musicians, editors, cinematographers, sound recordists, make-up artists and costume staff were among the next few organisations that came into being during 1952-55. Growing unemployment and loss of earned wages under independent production units provided them a fertile ground for taking firm roots in the trade union field.

The formation of the Federation of Western India Cine Employees in 1956 is another landmark in the trade union history of the film industry. Originally five associations representing cinematographers, sound engineers, editors, make-up and costume artists and studio and laboratory employees formed into a Federation and decided to organise workers in the film production sector on craft lines. So far, 16 unions have been affiliated to the Federation, representing the organised strength of about 65% of workers in the production sector. These unions have special features of their own.

Features of Trade Unions

Trade unions in Bombay have played a significant role in the freedom struggle. On the verge of independence they were organised on political lines. This peculiar feature manifested itself in trade union rivalries on account of political differences and in strikes remotely connected with industrial matter to serve the political ends of participating unions.

Fortunately, this trend is not noticeable in various trade unions of the film industry in Bombay, except that rival unions with political inclinations are just springing up in studios, laboratories and cinema theatres. Rival unions are mostly general unions embracing membership from a number of industries including the film industry. It is remarkable that workers in the production sector have not fallen prey so far to the political machinations.

Workers in the production section are organised on craft basis, while other workers in the film industry have formed 'sector unions'. Each craft in the production sector such as direction, cinematography, coreography, etc., has a small craft union. Separate unions exist for studio and laboratory sector, foreign film distribution sector and exhibition sector. Thus, craft unions and sector unions thrive side by side but have distinct characteristics of their own.

Most of the craft unions are mere associations without the real spirit of trade unionism or class consciousness. This may be attributed to the genesis of these unions in the 'friendly societies' formed earlier by cine technicians for discussing technical matters. Their membership on books may be very high, almost cent per cent, but in reality there are many defaulters on account of wide-spread unemployment among free-lance technicians. The main activity of most of the unions is to salvage arrears of wages of their members through their own machinery. Little use has been made of the machinery under the various labour laws such as the Factories Act, the Payment of Wages Act, the Industrial Disputes Act, etc., for solution of grievances of such workers who can be covered by labour legislation. Further, these unions being small in size are financially

weak and are not able to exert themselves in times of stress.

In contrast to this, the members of sector unions are conscious of their rights and the extent of paid membership is also much higher. Evolution of wage structure in studios, laboratories, foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors is the direct result of strenuous efforts on the part of these unions to utilise the forum of conciliation and adjudication under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

One of the striking features of trade union movement is that all unions in the film industry are organised by workers themselves without any outside influence or interference, generally noticed in other unions in Bombay and unions in film industry at Calcutta and Madras.

Having traced the evolution and understood the features of trade unions in the Bombay Film industry, we shall proceed to study the pattern of industrial relations in the Film industry in Bombay in the light of industrial relations in other industries in Bombay and the Film industry in Madras and Calcutta.

9.2 Industrial relations background

Industrial relations in industries in Bombay

Industrial relations in Bombay have been evolved in response to the requirements of industry and labour and formulated by joint consultation in tripartite committees which serve as a forum for labour, management and Government for discussing issues affecting their mutual interest and for determining a mutually acceptable course of action in the sphere of industrial relations. The

object of designing the pattern of industrial relations has been two-fold, namely, to establish industrial peace and to secure fair deal to workers. The State Government has, therefore, provided suitable machinery for conciliation and adjudication of disputes. This has helped to prevent industrial strife and improve wages and other service conditions of workers.

In 1958, all central organisations of employers and employees in India accepted at the national level a Code of Discipline in order to promote constructive co-operation and avoid industrial disputes by utilising fully the machinery provided by the Industrial Disputes Act. With a view to mitigating inter-union rivalries, a Code of Conduct was similarly drawn up, which was more or less accepted by the workers' Central Organisations. The Government of India has constituted an Implementation and Evaluation Machinery to ensure effective implementation of the Codes, which by now seem to have stood the test of time and have been responsible for smoothening industrial relations.

One of the significant developments in the field of industrial relations is the movement for 'Workers' participation in Management'. Joint Management Councils are set up in eight establishments in Bombay, and wherever they are worked well they have contributed towards bringing about harmonious relations between labour and management and increasing a sense of responsibility of both towards each other.

Recent trends in industrial relations in Bombay reveal greater emphasis on voluntary arbitration for the settlement of unresolved disputes. In that direction, the State Government has set up a Voluntary Arbitration Promotion Board in February 1968

to popularise the use of voluntary arbitration by the parties to settle their industrial disputes.

Another important feature of industrial relations is the increasing state participation as a third party in the avoidance of industrial disputes. In this direction, the Government of India has constituted Wage Boards in several industries. The Government of Maharashtra appointed a Norms Committee in 1961 to determine norms for service conditions other than wages and dearness allowance, and another Norms Committee in 1964 for evolving norms for all service conditions including wages. It seems that the scope of bipartite collective bargaining is progressively being narrowed down to issues such as personnel matters.

Industrial relations in the textile industry which constitutes the single largest industry in Bombay were evolved by the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act, 1938 and are now regulated by the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, 1946. Chief features of these relations are: (i) a representative union which is recognised by employers is the sole bargaining agent on behalf of all workers in the industry in a local area, (ii) collective bargaining takes place at the level of associations of employers and employees so as to maintain uniform service conditions throughout the industry in the area. The law has provided such an elaborate machinery of negotiation and settlement of disputes including arbitration that strikes have almost no legal place in the pattern of industrial relations.

Industrial relations in engineering, chemicals and other industries are governed by the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947,

which provides a machinery of conciliation and adjudication of disputes. This machinery is being increasingly used and has led employers and employees to depend more on the statutory machinery than resort to direct negotiation. It has also led to a tendency to indulge in legal quibbles rather than settle disputes across the table. It seems that labour in Bombay in general is more prone to utilising a tripartite machinery rather than a bipartite forum.

Industrial relations pattern of film industry in Bombay

For the purpose of analysing the pattern, it would be convenient to group various sectors in the film industry on the basis of similiarity of patterns into three parts, namely (i) studios, laboratories, foreign film distribution and exhibition, (ii) Indian film distribution and Films Division of the Government of India and (iii) production section.

The pattern of industrial relations in studios, laboratories, foreign film distribution and exhibition sectors, which engage 6,125 workers or 43.8% of the total is more or less the same as in non-textile industries in Bombay. The textile industry does not seem to have influenced the pattern of industrial relations in the film industry. The machinery of conciliation and adjudication provided under the Industrial Disputes Act is pressed into its fullest use in these sectors. However, no uniform service conditions prevail in respective sectors as no negotiations are held at the level of associations of employers and employees. Unions have to spend considerable time, energy and money in negotiating with individual employers. Out of 83 cinemas in Bombay, for instance, the union of theatre

employees has separate settlements in as many as 56 cinemas. There are associations of employers but they are relatively weak and their members individualistic in outlook.

There is no union in the Indian Film distribution sector and the Films Division of the Government of India on account of multiplicity of small distribution units and employment of near relations in the distribution concerns and discouragement by Government for the organisation of their workers on trade union lines. Service conditions of workers are, therefore, determined by employers unilaterally. Strikes are non-existent in these sectors.

Film production section of the industry is unique. By and large, it has remained uninfluenced by the rest of industries in the sphere of industrial relations. Employers and employees usually belong to the same socio-economic strata and are in fact interchangeable or working in dual capacities simultaneously. There do not, therefore, exist any sharp differences between employers and employees.

A majority of workers in the production section are not covered by labour legislation in view of peculiarities of their employment. They perform mainly artistic, creative or literary work and not any 'skilled or un-skilled manual, supervisory, technical or clerical work'. They are, therefore, excluded from the definition of the term 'work-man' under the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947.

The Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act, 1946 does not cover film production concerns which do not own or manage studios as according to law, they are not 'industrial establish-

ments'. Apart from this, the definition of 'Work-man' under the Industrial Employment (Standing Orders) Act is the same as that under the Industrial Disputes Act. Thus a large number of categories of free lance workers in the production section are excluded from the purview of the industrial relations legislation. As such, there does not exist any statutory machinery for resolving the disputes. Service conditions are, therefore, generally determined by individual bargaining.

So far the production sector did not attract Government's attention in regard to the deplorable conditions of workers arising out of their exclusion from the purview of existing labour legislation. Recently, however, both the State and Central Governments have taken steps to evolve some machinery for ameliorating the conditions of cine employees. In the meantime the industry has evolved its own bilateral machinery for settling individual wage disputes by constituting a Joint Disputes Settlement Committee, where all disputes relating to wages are attempted to be settled amicably. The Committee has so far given a good account of itself.

Industrial relations in film industry in Madras and Calcutta

Bipartite negotiations have made great strides in foreign film distribution sectors in all centres and exhibition sector in Bombay and Calcutta. Service conditions including wages have been determined by direct negotiations between the parties. Usually such agreements are registered under section 2(p) of the Industrial Disputes Act to facilitate the establishment of a uniform rule throughout the industrial sector. Tripartite forum has not yet made any headway in the film industry except in the production section in Bombay, where the State Government had appointed a committee of inquiry to survey and report on the existing service

conditions of

workers and suggest measures for their amelioration. The unanimous report has since been submitted to Government and its implementation is under way.

Adjudication machinery has been found popular in studios and laboratories in Bombay engaging 19% of Bombay cine workers and in studios, laboratories and cinema theatres in Madras where about 43% of workers are employed. This machinery does not seem to have found favour with cine workers in Calcutta, despite the fact that in other industries in Calcutta, adjudication machinery has been extensively used.

Individual bargaining still reigns supreme in the production section in all the three centres. It is customary to engage higher category technicians on an oral or written contract of an individual nature. In course of time, however, attempts are being made by workers' organisations to standardise the terms of such contracts and introduce a uniform rule throughout the industry.

The state of workers' organisations has greatly influenced the pattern of industrial relations obtaining in film industry at three major centres. Employers' Organisations are relatively weak in Bombay and as a result workers could secure some of their demands even without resorting to strikes. In Madras, on the contrary, employers are in a better bargaining position with the consequence that strikes have failed to achieve their ends, service conditions continue to be unsatisfactory and employer-employee relations are strained. In Calcutta, the film production industry is on the decline. With the ineffective organisation of workers, conditions of work and wages are poor and industrial

relations indifferent.

With this background of industrial relations we now proceed to study the impact of wages on industrial relations in the film industry.

9.3 Impact of Wages on Industrial Relations

Unsatisfactory wage levels cause industrial unrest resulting in strikes and consequential loss of work. During 1947-55 there were 19 strikes in the film production industry, involving a loss of about 24,000 mandays[1]. Of these, 12 strikes entailing about 80% of mandays lost occurred over demand for the payment of arrears of wages. It is worthwhile to note that when workers in other industries were demanding higher wages, those in film industry were struggling to secure the arrears of their meagre wages. There were only 3 strikes demanding higher wages and allowances conducted by a total of 218 workers, causing a loss of 965 mandays in the same period. This shows that the workers in film industry have not generally resorted to strikes to achieve their demands regarding increase in wages and allowances.

During 1960-67 there were a little more than 4,000 strikes in all industries in Maharashtra State involving about 1.23 crore mandays' loss. Of these, about 1,500 strikes entailing a loss of about 45 lac mandays related to demands for wages, allowances and bonus. The following table gives a comparative position

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1. Government of Bombay:Report on an enquiry into the conditions of labour in the cinema industry in Bombay State, 1955 - p.73.

regarding total strikes and strikes on account of wages in all industries as well as in film industry.

TABLE NO.23

Strikes in Maharashtra State
(1960-67)

Year	All Industries					Film Industry	
	Total disputes		Wage disputes				
	Number	Mandays lost (in lacs)	Number	Mandays lost (in lacs)	Percentage mandays lost to total mandays lost	Number	Mandays lost
1960	262	10.01	111	2.25	22.5	-	-
1961	274	5.76	117	3.03	52.7	-	-
1962	377	10.79	150	6.25	58.0	-	-
1963	437	9.18	172	5.26	57.4	1	1,260
1964	616	15.94	255	7.02	44.0	1	450
1965	592	13.82	239	8.25	59.7	-	-
1966	781	35.42	247	5.27	15.0	-	-
1967	710	22.05	223	7.42	33.7	-	-
Total	4049	122.97	1514	44.75	36.4	2	1,710

Source - Labour Gazettes:Government of Maharashtra.

The table reveals that the loss of mandays on account of wage disputes constitutes a significant percentage (36.4%) of the total loss of mandays due to strikes. In film industry, however, there were hardly 2 strikes, leading to the loss of about 1,700 mandays, which form negligible proportion of the total mandays lost in all industries during the same period.

It would, thus, appear that cine workers' propensity to strike which itself was very low, has further diminished in course of time. In general, cine workers are not prone to strike.

With these general observations, we will now examine the impact of wages on industrial relations in different sectors of industry.

As stated earlier, wages are settled by individual bargaining in the production section. Although the craft unions have stipulated their own rates of wages below which no worker should be engaged, in practice these rates are often undercut on account of keen competition among workers themselves to seek jobs. Some concerted action perhaps becomes necessary only when the workers are not paid their wages settled through individual bargaining. Such cases are usually brought to the fore and discussed mutually in the Disputes Settlement Committee, evolved by the organisation of workers. Recently, the producers' organisations are also associated with this machinery.[2] As a result, the task of recovering arrears of wages has become more smooth, without requiring the workers' Federation to threaten action of stoppage of work in case the producer refused to pay the dues.

Another significant development ushered in by the agreement referred to above is that the rates prescribed by respective craft

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2. By an agreement between the Federation of Western India Cine Employees and the Indian Motion Picture Producers' Association and the Producers' Guild of India, dated 18th March 1964.

unions as they existed on the date of agreement are accepted as standard rates in the absence of any written contract to the contrary. The craft unions are, therefore, prohibited to increase their craft rates unilaterally without discussing them in the (joint) Disputes Settlement Committee. This has a salutory effect in channelising the demands for increase in wages through the process of joint discussion and negotiation.

The reasons for comparative peace in the film production industry may be found in the peculiarities of industry and its labour, as indicated below:

1. Trade unions in film production industry are free from the influence of political parties as they are organised purely on professional basis mostly by workers themselves without any external dictates or interference.

2. Workers in the production sector, being ignorant of trade union principles and practices, seem to have little imbibed the trade union spirit with the result that tangible outcome of their activities is not discernible, despite apparently strong organisation of workers in almost all the crafts in the production section.

3. Employers and employees in the production section come from the same stock-social and economic. As such, there do not exist any sharp differences in industrial relations in the film production sector.

4. The machinery of settlement of disputes evolved by the parties themselves in the production section seems to have proved very effective in averting strikes particularly

on account of its expeditious disposal and finality in the settlement of disputes.

5. On account of multiple assignments and group working, workers are interested in maintaining cordial relations with producers and are not generally prone to strike.

6. Strike is a costly affair in film industry. On account of the paucity of available artistes, there are hardly six to seven shooting days in a month. If these dates are missed on account of strike, the producer is put to heavy losses.[3]

7. Cine workers earn considerable amount of monetary benefits in terms of overtime wages, food money, tips from producers etc., which they are not inclined to forgo by undertaking strikes; and

8. The organisations of employers in general and employees in production sector are weak. There does not, therefore, exist any code of conduct or provision of sanctions among the members themselves. In such circumstances there cannot be any concerted action. The question of wages cannot be settled on an industrial level and has to be tackled at the individual level.

The short film production sector including the Films Division of the Government of India and the Indian film distribution sector are free from any industrial strife.

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3. Similarly, if the studio is constantly affected by strikes, it would lose its producer-customers who would not take risk by shooting their pictures in such studios. The same is true with laboratories or cinema theatres.

In the absence of any trade unionism in these sectors, wages have little impact on employer-employee relationship.

In the foreign film distribution section and exhibition sector, wages and other service conditions are settled peacefully through collective bargaining. The exhibition sector in Bombay is a unique example of how wages and service conditions could be settled through peaceful negotiation without resorting to strikes. Major factors effecting the most cordial relations between the associations of employers and employees are the prosperity of exhibition industry on account of paucity of cinema theatres in Bombay (as employers are in a better frame of mind to negotiate a higher wage level), and the leadership of the two organisations having faith in mutual discussions across the table.

It is interesting to study the influence of wages on industrial relations in studios and laboratories. The wage level in laboratories is relatively high. Comparatively, greater industrial peace prevails in laboratories section. On the contrary, wages are low in studios where employer-employee relationship is also strained. The unrest among studio workers appears to have manifested itself in 'go-slow' tactics resorted to by workers, as alleged by studio employers.[4]

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4. Cf. Government of Maharashtra ; Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry, 1966, p.81.

In view of considerable overtime working prevalent in studios, there seems some substance in the employers' allegations. According to the union, excessive overtime working is mainly attributed to low wage level, which the workers attempt to raise by earning extra wages by working overtime.

There are four rival unions on one hand and on the other the studio employers' organisation is too weak to enforce uniform rule in the sector. In consequence, uniform service conditions, including wages, could not be prescribed in studios.[5] It would appear, therefore, that higher wage level leads to better industrial relations and vice-versa.

Cine workers in general are thus averse to strikes. In the production section and studios, wages continue to remain low, hours of work unduly long and working conditions unregulated. Insecurity of employment on account of large management turnover, increasing casualisation of employment, high work-load per job, delay in wage payment and loss of earned wages, uncertain working hours with loss of proper

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5. Recent trends indicate that employer-employee relationship is strained on account of non-acceptance by the employers' association of the unanimous recommendations of the Committee for Employees in the Production Sector, particularly relating to wages. The wage dispute in one of the studios, namely Technicians' United Ranjit Studio has resulted in a strike which ultimately led to the closure of the studio in October 1967.

rest intervals[6]—all these are significant factors, which ordinarily would have created a near-collapse of industrial relations in other industries. But for reasons mentioned above, the film industry is free from industrial strife. The question of low wages has not impaired the industrial relations.

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6. Cf. Government of Maharashtra : Report of the Committee for Employees in the Film Production Industry, 1966. pps.33, 50.