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Thus between the two villages selected here, while the levels of consumption of foodgrains and milk are higher in Sagoni, the levels of consumption expenditure on all other items included in this study are relatively higher per person in Piprodh.

A comparison of levels of living between people of different economic levels revealed that in Sagoni the per capita consumption of cereals and pulses tended to increase continuously with increase in the size of holdings. In Piprodh, on the other hand, the consumption of these items tended to increase with increase in the size of holding only to a certain level (upto 7.5 acres) and then tended to fall. In both the villages the consumption of milk and ghee tended to go up among the people in the higher size-group of holdings.

Expenditure on beverages, tobacco (bidi and pan) and house repairs did not show any increasing or decreasing trend with the increase or decrease in the size of holdings. The per capita expenditure on clothing in Piprodh tended to increase with increase in the size of holding. In most of the size-groups the expenditure on clothing is found to be relatively much more in Piprodh than in Sagoni.

The National Sample Survey found that in rural areas the per capita expenditure on foodgrains was more than that of urban areas, while the expenditure on livestock products and all other items like clothing, footwear, ceremonies, beverages, tobacco, etc., relatively less than that of urban areas.<sup>2</sup> Here the situation is that in Piprodh as compared to Sagoni which is having little or no influence of industry, the consumption of foodgrains and milk is less while the expenditures on all other items are more. To this extent the position of Piprodh compares very favourably with that of urban areas while that of Sagoni with rural areas. The only exception in this relative position is in regard to consumption of milk.

The obvious suggestion that follows is that location of industries in and around the rural areas influences the levels of consumption of the people giving them a twist towards urban pattern of consumption.

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## LEVELS OF LIVING IN FOUR VILLAGES OF RURAL BHOPAL\*

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The main objective of this paper is to study inter-village variations in levels of living and to bring to light the differences in the levels of living between different groups of the rural population.

The present study is based on information available for four villages, viz., Adampur, Khajuri Kalan, Misrod and Bawaria Kalan, surveyed by the Agro-Economic Research Centre for Central India. All of them are situated in the vicinity of Bhopal; amongst them, Adampur and Khajuri Kalan are predominantly inhabited by Rajputs; fuel cutting and trading is as important an activity as

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2. Report No. 3, The National Sample Survey, Third Round, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, Delhi, 1954, p. 27.

\* The author is indebted to Prof. H. S. Azariah for his kind encouragement in writing this paper.

cultivation in the former village; the other village is at a distance of one mile from the Heavy Electricals. Misrod, located on the main road was treated as the model village by the former Bhopal Administration and so, it has the facilities like post office and dispensary. Although, no claim can be made about the representativeness of the villages in the strict statistical sense, they do give a fair cross section of the rural areas which formerly constituted the State of Bhopal.

### *Definition and Measurement*

The levels of living relate to the actual living conditions with reference to the satisfaction of all types of needs and wants, material as well as non-material. This definition implies that there cannot be a single composite indicator measuring the total levels of living. For, the innumerable needs and wants are of diverse nature, expressed in different units, and are not additive. Thus, the problem reduces to the study of certain clearly delimited aspects or parts of total life situation (or components), each by means of a set of indicators. The selection of components and the indicators has necessarily to be subjective and restricted in number. The components included in our study and their indicators are largely in line with those recommended by the U.N.O. Committee.<sup>1</sup> In this study, the term "levels of living as determined by per capita consumption expenditure" has been employed.

### *Food and Nutrition*

This is the most fundamental element in the level of living. Wheat forms the staple diet of the villagers. Jowar and maize are consumed during the months following *kharif* harvests. The consumption of meat is very negligible in the two non-Rajput villages, while in the Rajput villages the percapita monthly consumption of meat comes to 25 naiye Paise. Data on food consumption were collected from all the households in the first week of October with reference to September. As this month falls before the *kharif* harvests, naturally we did not get much reporting of jowar and maize consumption. Similarly, the leafy vegetables (of winter) and the mangoes (of summer) were conspicuous by their absence. Table I presents

TABLE I—AVERAGE DAILY INTAKE OF FOOD STUFFS (IN OUNCES)  
PER CAPITA AND CONSUMER UNIT

Enquiry	Cereals		Pulses		Vegetables		Ghec & Oils		Milk		Sugar & Gur	
	P.C.	P.U.	P.C.	P.U.	P.C.	P.U.	P.C.	P.U.	P.C.	P.U.	P.C.	P.U.
Balanced diet ..	14	—	3	—	10	—	2	—	10	—	2	—
Our Survey, 1959	19.5	26.7	1.1	1.6	1.7	2.4	0.4	0.6	2.6	3.6	0.5	0.8
India, I. C. M. R. Surveys, 1955-58	16.6	—	2.4	—	3.2	—	0.5	—	2.8	—	0.7	—
First Agril. Lab. Enquiry relating to Bhopal State, 1951 .. ..	23	26	0.8	1.1	1.1	—	2.1	—	1.3	—	3.1	—
P.C. = Per capita.      P.U. = Per consumer unit.												

1. Report on International Definition and Measurement of Standards and Levels of Living, U.N.O., New York, 1954.

the per capita and per unit consumption of important food items as revealed by our survey. For comparative purposes, similar data as available from other sources as well as the balanced diet recommended by the Nutrition Advisory Committee have also been presented.

The diet is much deficient in all items excepting cereals, whether compared with the all-India situation (I.C.M.R. Surveys) or with the balanced diet. Probably, the higher intake of cereals is to compensate the deficit under other items. This has been largely due to the low density of population in a region, where the Nature is benevolent with the provision of ample rainfall and good soil. The colder climate prevailing in the region may also be a contributing factor. It is very likely that gram taken (either pure or mixed with wheat) in the form of bread (*rotti*) has been reported under cereals instead of under pulses. Vegetables are very rarely taken; whatever they get from the few square yards of land attached to their houses form almost the entire vegetables consumed by them. Even this supply gets dry during the summer, when they buy a little of brinjals, onions and potatoes from the nearby market. Protective foods like milk do not find an important place in their diet. It is very interesting to note that the villagers spend more on spices than on any of the following items: vegetables, sugar and *gur* and oil. Probably, this is to make the food delicious and tasty, which is otherwise lacking in variety, proteins, vitamins and minerals.

#### *Education including Literacy*

The general literacy is quite low at 19 per cent. It gets further reduced to 14 if we exclude the school-going children. Twelve per cent of the population aged 15 years and above are literates. Only 28 per cent of the children in the school-going age (5-14 years) attend schools, 26 in primary classes and 2 in middle standards. There is a graduate and a matriculate in the selected villages. For girls alone, the percentage is lower at 15. There is a middle school for boys and a primary school for girls in Misrod, while others have one primary school each. On an average, there is a school teacher for every 20 pupils. Although this seems to be a good ratio, it is not really so. For, a teacher has to look after five classes in two villages and two in the other two villages. The villagers cannot be said to have any reading habits of any type.

#### *Per Capita Income and Capital Formation*

The per capita (net) income has been obtained by dividing the total of incomes of all the members from all sources by the number of persons in each household. As the incomes were unduly depressed in Bawaria Kalan due to the hailstorms which affected the wheat yields during the reference year, only the remaining villages have been considered here. The average annual per capita income is Rs. 220, the range being Rs. 28 to Rs. 897. Over four-fifths of the total population (households) receive a per capita income of less than Rs. 300 per year. Only 4 per cent get an income of more than Rs. 600 and their percentage share in total income is 14. The 56 per cent of the population which receives an annual per capita income of less than Rs. 200 may be considered to be in the destitute level and their share in the total income is about a third. The Gini's coefficient of concentration is 0.498. Further details on the distribution of incomes may be seen from Table II.

TABLE II—DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PER CAPITA INCOME

Per capita income level	Cumulative Percentage of	
	Households	Incomes
Less than Rs. 100 .. .. .	13.4	4.5
„ Rs. 200 .. .. .	55.8	32.2
„ Rs. 300 .. .. .	81.0	60.0
„ Rs. 400 .. .. .	90.8	75.5
„ Rs. 500 .. .. .	95.1	83.8
„ Rs. 600 .. .. .	95.8	85.5
„ Rs. 700 .. .. .	97.1	89.4
„ Rs. 800 .. .. .	98.4	94.0
„ Rs. 900 .. .. .	100.0	100.0

The visible gross capital formation, as represented by the net additions to capital assets minus the borrowings made to finance them, is of the order of 21 per cent of the total value of gross produce amongst cultivators. In terms of cultivated area, it works out to Rs. 17 per acre. As we did not collect the inventory value of assets, we could not work out the rate of capital formation in the usual way.

### *Clothing*

Commonly, men wear a dhoti of 5 yards (2 yards in the case of very poor persons), a *bandi* of coarse cloth and a 5 yards turban of superior cloth. These three cost together about Rs. 13. In a year, they buy two such sets for daily wear. They also keep a fine dhoti of 5 yards, a turban, a coat or a jacket and a *kurtha* for occasional wear. Women wear a heavy *chenia* of 4 to 5 yards along with a *choali* and a *lugra* of 3 yards; all these would cost about Rs. 11. In a year, they manage with two such pairs. Children below 5 years are very often not given any cloth except in winter. Both men and women use a thick cotton bed-sheet (*chadar*) or a *rajai* in winter to keep themselves warm. Woollen clothes are rare. The per capita annual expenses on clothing for men, women and children are respectively Rs. 35, Rs. 22 and Rs. 6; the yardage of cloth would be approximately 25, 18 and 5. The average annual expenses for all persons together comes to Rs. 20.

### *Housing*

Except a handful (7 per cent) of houses, all are *kacha* with mud flooring and walls and roofs of *kabello* (a poor quality tile made locally from ordinary mud) or *phus*. Windows are very rare. The houses usually consist of a room or two, one big and one small. Half the number of houses have two such rooms. The big room usually has a small partition to provide space for a small kitchen.

Thirteen per cent of the households have two houses each. In nearly half the number of households (48 per cent), a portion of the residential house is shared by the cattle also. On an average, a house is of 100 square yards and it accommodates 4 persons; the per capita area under roof is 25 sq. yards, and the enclosed area is 35 sq. yards.

### *Recent Changes in Levels of Living*

As we have data with reference to only one point of time, it is natural that we would not be able to say much on recent changes. The successful eradication of malaria and other epidemics, which used to take a heavy toll of human lives, has resulted in a sharp decline (from 36 in 1951 to 22 in 1958) in crude death rates and a moderate rise (from 44 to 54) in birth rates. Consequently, the annual growth rate, which was ranging between 0.31 and 0.55 during the three decades ending with 1951 has improved considerably to 2.75 during the quinquennium ending with 1958.<sup>2</sup> Our survey also revealed a steady decline in infant mortality from 270 in 1954 to 200 in 1958. All the health facilities seen in the villages, viz., the dispensary, hand pumps and drinking water wells are of recent creation. If a comparison of the A.L.E. figures for Bhopal State and our survey figures (Table I) is legitimate, it may be said that the consumption of cereals, pulses, vegetables and milk has risen between 1951 and 1958. Of course, there is a limitation in the data that while our survey figures relate to all families, the A.L.E. concerns only with agricultural labour families. An opinion survey conducted by us on changes in food habits revealed that inferior cereals like jowar have given way to wheat in the diet of a majority of families, while sugar and tea are being increasingly consumed by the villagers. Thanks to the community development movement, all the four villages have schools now and the literacy has increased considerably, from 5 per cent in 1951 to 19 per cent in 1959. The other notable change is in respect of women's education. As against only one per cent in 1951, 6 per cent of females are literates now. In Misrod, which has a separate school for girls, 12 per cent of females are literates. The villagers are of the opinion that since last few years *kurtha*, shirts and caps are being increasingly worn. While men are taking to medium and fine dhoties, women are still using only the coarse cloth. The saree is yet to reach the villages. The per capita investment on buildings during the last 5 years is quite high at Rs 10 per year. Another striking feature noticed is that of increased constructional expenditure on *pucca* houses in preference to *kachha* ones. This has been due to the greater economic activity associated with better agricultural yields coupled with higher agricultural prices. Of course, there is also the social prestige attached to such *pucca* houses.

### *Inter-Group Differences*

It is now agreed in all quarters that more than the average, it is the distribution which is very important. So, an attempt is made below to highlight the differences existing in the levels of living in different strata. The crude death rate is around 290 for scheduled castes as against 190 for caste Hindus, while the birth rates are almost the same. So, it has to be ascribed to poorer antenatal care and

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2. The available results of the 1961 census also confirm our estimate as the recorded decennial growth rate for the rural population in the two districts which formerly constituted Bhopal is 22.4 per cent.



lower vitality amongst babies as well as adults due to poverty and high prevalence of malnutrition amongst depressed class. The consumption of all items, especially the purchased ones like oil, ghee, sugar and vegetables, seems to increase with the rise in incomes. The per unit daily consumption of vegetables increases from 2.0 nP. in the lowest group to 3.7 nP. in the highest income group. About 90 per cent of the total calories are derived from cereals in the lower four income groups, as against 83 per cent in the last five groups. Although the intake of proteins is lower in the low income groups, it is not deficient as compared to the balanced diet.

The benefits of the new schools have not reached the scheduled castes in the two Thakkur villages, as their children are discriminated and treated badly in the schools. The visible gross capital formation, as represented by the percentage of gross farm receipts invested, varies from 9.5 per cent amongst small cultivators to 45.4 per cent amongst big cultivators. There is a striking relationship between the per capita expenditure on clothing and the size of land cultivated. Large and big cultivators (more than 25 acres) spend more than double the expenses (Rs. 16) incurred by the non-cultivators. The small (less than 5 acres) and medium cultivators (5-25 acres) spend about Rs. 21. The per capita expenses on clothing varies from Rs. 17 in the lowest income group to Rs. 40 in the highest group. Although the area under roof shows a positive correlation with the per capita income, the relationship is more prominent with the area of land cultivated. On an average, a non-cultivator household has an area of 73 sq. yards as against 107 sq. yards with small cultivators and 963 sq. yards with the big cultivators. The per capita roofed area is 18 sq. yards in the income group less than Rs. 100 and this steadily increases to 43 sq. yards in the group, Rs. 800 to Rs. 900. Beyond this, the area shows a tendency to fall down.

#### *Inter-Village Differences*

A study of inter-village differences is useful for two reasons. Firstly, we gain knowledge about the varying conditions prevailing in different villages, situated not far away from each other. Secondly, it gives scope to study the factors which cause such variations. Of the notable differences in food consumption, the higher intake of pulses, *gur* and milk in the two Rajput villages needs mention here. The consumption of cereals and pulses has been lower in Bawaria Kalan as a result of the hailstorms which affected the yields of wheat harvested immediately before our reference month. Rajputs, who usually dress well, spend about Rs. 30 per year on clothing as against only Rs. 13 in the other two villages. Just ten per cent of the children attend schools in the two Rajput villages as against 37 per cent in the other two villages. None of the girls of Rajput villages is sent to schools. The Rajputs are prejudiced in sending them to boys' school manned by male teachers. Also, they are of the confirmed opinion that no education needs to be given to girls, as 'they are going to become housewives soon'.

The per capita income in the two Rajput villages (Rs. 215 and Rs. 211) is a little lower than in Misrod, which has returned an average of Rs. 230. The concentration coefficient is 0.566 in Khajuri Kalan as against 0.419 in Adampur and 0.481 in Misrod. The concentration of income seems to be influenced more by the source of income than by the level of income. For, the village which has returned the highest concentration receives 57 per cent of its total income from



cultivation while the village with the least concentration, *viz.*, Adampur (famous for fuel cutting and trading) receives only 24 per cent of its income from cultivation. The corresponding percentage for Misrod is 39. The gross capital formation is significantly higher in the two non-Rajput villages, the value being respectively 36 and 30 per cent of gross farm receipts. The Rajput villages reported a very low order of capital formation (the percentages being 5 and 8), largely due to the lavish spending on social ceremonies, clothing, and very high wasteful expenditure on drinking, smoking and litigation. The per capita daily consumption of intoxicants is 10 nP. in the two Rajput villages as against only 4 nP. in the other villages. Added to these is the maintenance of too many old and uneconomic cows by Rajputs entirely on religious grounds. It was also seen that the per capita consumption of urban goods (cloth, footwear, sugar, oil, tobacco and wine) is larger in the two Rajput villages.<sup>3</sup> This makes us to believe that the raising of wants of non-rural goods of the farmers alone would not guarantee a higher level of income and savings. What is also needed is proper and productive utilisation of incomes.

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## A STUDY OF LEVELS OF LIVING IN A VILLAGE IN ORISSA

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In the present paper, an attempt has been made to present the results of a study made in a village (Tanarapa) in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. As no economic survey of the village was done before and as collection of figures relating to income and expenditure for past years was not considered worthwhile because they would have been highly inaccurate, an assessment of changes in the living standard in the village could not be made. The paper however presents figures relating to levels of living in a particular village which may be a basis for future comparisons. The figures may also be useful for comparison with those for other areas of the country in the study of regional disparities in levels of living.

The village Tanarapa is situated at a distance of nine miles from Cuttack. The land surrounding the village is fertile and irrigated. The village is not strictly representative of the villages in the coastal region of Orissa as the number of houses and the number of castes in the village were rather small. The reason for selecting the village was that the families living in the village were intimately known to the investigators, and there was possibility of checking the accuracy of the figures stated by the respondents of the survey.

As the total number of families in the village was 66 only, the census survey method was adopted for the collection of the data. The survey work was done in the month of April 1962 and the income and expenditure figures presented refer to the year 1961 (calendar year). As three families of the village stayed

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3. For details see, Rural Bhopal—A Cross-Sectional Study of Four Villages by the author; A mimeographed publication of the Agro-Economic Research Centre, Gwalior.