AN ENQUIRY INTO THE PATTERN OF LIVING OF TEA PLANTATION LABOUR

TEA BOARD INDIA

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PREFACE

This limited sample survey of the economic life of tea garden workers in a corner of Assam by the Statistical Section of the Tea Board provides interesting study. Parts of it, such as the references to neglect of education among children of school-going age and the very widely prevalent indulgence in alcoholic drinks make distressing reading. But perhaps on that account the survey will deserve the attention of the social workers and all others concerned with the well-being of tea garden labour.

A. B. CHATTERJI, I. C. S.
CHAIRMAN, TEA BOARD.

The 27th April, 1959.

INTRODUCTION

1. Enquiries regarding the social and economic conditions of the tea plantation workers had been conducted in the past by some State Governments and also by the Labour Bureau, Government of India. The present pilot survey was undertaken by the Tea Board to explore the need and prepare the ground for a more comprehensive enquiry into the economic and sociological behaviour of the plantation workers. The absence of up-to-date information in this field was being felt for quite some time.

2. The survey was conducted during the period from January to April, 1958. The period of survey thus forms a part of what is generally regarded as the slack season (December-April) in the tea plantations of North India. The plucking season of May to November is the peak period of activity in the gardens. During this busy period, the labourers generally earn extra wages on the basis of the extra-leaf-pice system of payment. The period covered by the survey being a lean period, many of the family budgets were found to be heavier on the expenditure side—due perhaps to the fact that the labourers run into debts during the lean period of the year from which they can recover only during the 'season' or at the time of the annual bonus payment. However, this fact has been allowed for, wherever applicable, in drawing conclusions from the data collected by the present survey.

3. While it is not claimed that the analyses given in the following pages provide an absolutely correct and complete picture of the expenditure pattern or any other characteristic of the tea plantation workers' living in general, or even of Assam in particular, they do provide a fairly representative picture of the tea garden families and enable one to gain an insight into some important aspects of the life of tea garden workers which vary but little from area to area in spite of differences in the level of economic prosperity. We, therefore, venture to hope that the results obtained and the analyses based thereon would prove interesting and useful to all who have anything to do with tea plantation workers and would pave the way for a more comprehensive survey on a country-wide scale.

4. The smooth and expeditious completion of the survey has been made possible by the excellent co-operation given both by the managements and the workers in the gardens selected for the survey. The managements in all the gardens not only gave our Inspector all help in the collection of the required data but provided him with excellent facilities for accommodation, transport, etc. But for this help it would have been extremely difficult to carry out the survey. Our heartiest thanks are, therefore, due to the workers, the managements of the gardens as well as to the associations to which these gardens belong.

P. R. SENGUPTA,
STATISTICIAN.

The 6th April, 1959.

An enquiry into the pattern of living of tea plantation labour—a pilot survey conducted in some tea gardens near Dibrugarh town.

The present enquiry covered 10 gardens round the town of Dibrugarh in Assam and was conducted during the period January to April, 1958. The object and the scope of the survey have already been indicated in the Introduction.

2. THE SAMPLE: The selection of the estates was purposive and care was taken to include both big and small gardens. In fact, the planted acreage of the selected gardens varied from 150 acres to 1,272 acres. Of the 10 selected gardens, 5 are under non-Indian and 5 under Indian management. Among the 5 gardens in the latter category, 2 are proprietory concerns and 3 managed by Indian managing agents.

3. THE SCHEDULES: Two types of schedules were used—one for collecting basic information from the manager's office and the other for collecting information from selected resident families. From the list of resident labour maintained in the garden offices, one family in every 20 was systematically selected with a random start for inclusion in the sample. In all 255 families were thus selected from the 10 gardens selected for the inquiry. The results given hereunder and the discussion on their implications are all based on the information collected from these 255 families and the 10 garden managements.

4. SOME STATISTICS ABOUT THE SELECTED GARDENS: Certain basic information regarding the acreage, annual production, the labour population, etc., of the selected gardens collected from the management has been tabulated in the first four tables in the appendix.

4 (1) The effective acreages of the gardens, *i.e.*, the area actually under tea plants—shown in the first table—vary from 150.00 to 1,271.88 acres and the annual production (averaged over the years 1954 to 1957) likewise varies from about 169 thousand lbs. to 2,015 thousand lbs. The annual production per acre for the 10 gardens combined is 1,306.8 lbs. and the average number of labourers employed for every acre of area under tea plantation comes to 1.52.

4 (2) The second table gives a break-down of total workers on roll in different gardens as resident and outside. Excepting in the first garden, the proportion of resident labour to total is all throughout high, being nowhere less than 80 per cent. In 2 gardens it is 100 per cent.—the gardens employing no outside labour at any time. The smallest garden, which relies more on outside labour employs 63.06 per cent of outside labour as against 36.94 per cent. of resident labour obviously for reasons of economy. The garden having an acreage of only 150 acres could not evidently carry a large resident labour as the liabilities of having resident labour such as the obligation to provide quarters and other living amenities and also to carry them on even during the slack period far outweigh the advantages of having a permanent resident labour force.

4 (3) From the third table it is seen that the extent of employment amongst the resident population in the gardens varies from only 7.43 per cent. in the smallest garden to 57.85 per cent., the overall percentage being 43.49. In other words even in the slack season nearly half the population in the labour quarters are gainfully employed.

4 (4) Table No. IV in the appendix gives the classification of the resident population by age-groups at the time of the survey in different gardens. For the two largest gardens, unfortunately it has not been possible to collect data relating to age as those gardens do not have any records. One interesting point deserves mention, namely, that out of 11,121 members in the 8 gardens in which age-wise classification is available, 5,312 or 45.96 per cent. are under the age of 15. As against this, the 1951 census percentage of persons under the age of 15 in India stands at 37.9 per cent. However, it is not possible to draw any conclusion from this fact. We will revert to this again when we consider the age-groups of the population in the surveyed families in a subsequent paragraph.

4 (5) UNEMPLOYMENT IN TEA ESTATES: From the tables mentioned above it can be seen that out of a total garden population of 21,474 only 10,146 are on the garden rolls. In other words, 11,328 persons or nearly 53 per cent. of the total garden population are apparently unemployed. At the time of the survey which was a lean period, only 43.49 per cent. of the population were actually employed leaving 56.51 per cent. as apparently unemployed. On the basis of the age-distribution of the eight gardens the number of children upto the age of 14 in all the ten gardens can be estimated to be 10,258 while the number above that age is 11,216. Considering now that the number on the garden rolls is 10,146 (90.46 per cent.) against 11,216 persons above 14 years of age, it would appear that unemployment among tea garden population is not very acute. From table 6 (given later) derived from the family schedules, it can be seen that 91.83 per cent. of men, 88.97 per cent. of women, 68.24 per cent. of adolescents and 2.26 per cent. of the children were actually employed at the time of the survey. Employment in busy periods would naturally be much higher. *It would thus appear that unemployment as such is a problem deserving consideration only in so far as the adolescents are concerned.* What is needed is obviously provision of facilities for technical and vocational training for absorbing the young men and women who cannot find employment in tea estates. These adolescents constitute only about 6 per cent. of the total population so that *the problem of unemployment as such, is not really as big as it may appear at first sight.*

ANALYSIS OF THE FAMILY SCHEDULES.

5. Altogether 255 family-budgets were collected from the 10 gardens under consideration. The number of families selected from different gardens, on the basis of 5 per cent. of all resident families in the garden, is shown in Table No. V in the appendix. It will be found that the smallest garden is represented by only 2 families in this sample whereas the biggest one has as many as 80 families. It may be mentioned in this connection that a comparative study of the conditions obtaining in the different gardens was not the object of this pilot survey. The living conditions and the wage-rate are very nearly the same in all the gardens and only a combined picture of the pattern of living and social behaviour of plantation labour was sought to be obtained from this study.

5 (1) In what follows, the data have generally been classified according to family expenditures in preference to incomes. This is in accordance with the usual practice in such studies, where the stress is on the expenditure pattern of families. Further, in this study there is one other special reason for adopting the above course which is that the survey was conducted during the slack season when incomes of the families, being usually lower than their season-time earnings, cannot be taken as representative. The two-way classification of families according to their incomes and expenditures (vide Table No. VI in the appendix) clearly reveals that for many families their incomes at the time of survey were not enough to cover their expenditures. Moreover, as an attempt is made in this study to assess the standard of living

of these families, it is more appropriate to base the analysis on the expenditure-wise groupings for, in the ultimate analysis, standard of living is immediately and directly dependent on the expenditures of the families and only indirectly on their incomes.

6. STATE OF ORIGIN: Table No. VII in the appendix shows the distribution of the families according to the state of origin. The bulk of the families investigated *viz.* 135 or 52.94 per cent. were found to be natives of Assam. Out of the remaining 120 families, 66 families (25.88 per cent.) hail from Bihar, 21 (8.24 per cent.) from Orissa and 17 (6.67 per cent.) from West Bengal. Families from M.P., Bombay and U.P. are comparatively smaller in number. One family had migrated from Nepal. It was further found that out of these 120 immigrant families only 32 families have still some sort of family or property ties, with their native places. The remaining 88 families have neither property nor relatives at their so-called 'homes' and they have never visited them since migration nor intend to visit them in future. Out of the 32 families who have some sort of ties with their 'home-places,' 20 families have both some property as well as relatives left behind, 11 families have only some relatives and one family only some property at its native place. Further, it was observed that out of these 32 families only 4 families are in the habit of visiting their homes once or twice a year regularly. Leaving these, there are only 3 more families, whose periodicity of visits to home varies from 2 to 10 years. Fifteen families never visited their homes nor intend to do so in future. The periodicity of visits of the rest of the 10 families exceed 10 years. Summarising the above, it is seen that out of 120 so-called immigrant families, 103 families are neither visiting nor have any intention whatsoever to return to their native places. Out of the other 17 families, who still retain some sort of contact with their native places, 13 have a desire to return to their native place at some time or other. The reasons given for this intention are the dislike for the job and environment (5 families) and the desire to spend the last days of their lives at their 'homes' (8 families).

6 (1). Thus, excluding these 13 families who intend to go back eventually, and the 4 other families who still have some contact with their native places (*i.e.,* in all 17 families), the rest of the 103 so-called immigrant families are immigrants only in name. By now they have become natives of Assam for all practical purposes. Not much significance may, however, be attached to the above analysis which was based on the opinions of the families themselves, as many of the families will in fact have to return to their native places or seek a living outside the garden when the heads of the families become too old to work unless there are one or more adult members in the family retained as resident workers by the estate.

7. COMMUNITY: Hindus constitute by far the largest section of plantation workers. Only 4 families in a total of 255 are Muslims and 2 are Christians. The classification of the labour families according to communities is shown in the table given hereunder.

TABLE No. 1.

Community.	Number of families.	Percentage to total.
Hindu	249	97.6
Muslim	4	1.6
Christian	2	0.8
Total ...	255	100.0

8. CLASSIFICATION BY AGE: A classification of the resident population in 8 of the 10 gardens, according to age-groups, has been discussed already in para 4(4). But the 2 gardens that could not furnish that age-group classification contain about 48.22 per cent. of the total resident population in all the 10 gardens. Therefore, it would be interesting to see the age-group classification of these plantation families in all the 10 gardens as revealed by the sample. Table No. VIII in the appendix presents such a classification. In each age-group, the working and the non-working members have been shown separately.

8 (1). The age classification of the sample population reveals clearly a bias towards younger ages. Particularly one fact that becomes evident is that persons above the age of 55 were only 42 among the total of 1,238, the percentage working out to 3.4 as against the census (1951) figure of 8.3 per cent. The preponderance of children (*viz.* 45.96 per cent.) as revealed by the total figure [*vide* para 4(4)]—the sample figure stands at 46.44 per cent. thus giving us a good approximation—can now be explained. One reason for that undoubtedly is the bias mentioned above in the population itself. It is possible that among plantation labour, the old people above 55 return to their native places either because they are no longer able to work in the plantations or simply because of the urge to spend their last days back in their original home. Such reduction in the adult population would no doubt raise the percentage of children in the population. However, we are not sure whether the small percentage of people above the age of 55 is due to desertion or at least in part, to death.

8 (2). Further, the classification of working and non-working persons in different age-groups brings out that the age-group of '18 to 55' contains 84.51 per cent. of the working population. In that age-group, it can be seen, 93.65 per cent. are gainfully employed in the gardens. Even among persons of ages above 55, 50 per cent. are still gainfully employed. Among children in the age-group '11 to 14,' the percentage employed is understandably low at 6.42 per cent. The employed percentage among persons of age-group '14 to 18' (roughly corresponding to the adolescents class elsewhere used), however, stands at 66.67 per cent. These figures would corroborate the point already made *viz.* the prevalence of unemployment among adolescents.

9. LITERACY: The following two tables summarise the information on literacy collected from the selected families.

TABLE No. 2.

Age groups (in years)	Total	Number of literates.	Number of students.	% of literates to total in each group.	%of students to total in in each group.
0— 6	257	4	4	1.56	1.56
6—11	191	33	30	17.28	15.71
11—14	116	22	13	18.97	11.21
14—18	96	19	9	19.79	9.38
Men above 18	306	62	2	20.26	0.65
Women above 18	272	3	—	1.10	—
Total ...	1,238	143	58	11.55	4.68

TABLE No. 3.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	Total number of persons.	No. of literates.	% of literates to the total.
0.00— 30.00	50	4	8.00
30.01— 40.00	204	15	7.35
40.01— 50.00	330	26	7.88
50.01— 60.00	219	29	13.24
60.01— 70.00	177	29	16.38
70.01— 80.00	111	16	14.41
80.01—100.00	84	13	15.48
Above 100.00	63	11	17.46
Total ...	1,238	143	11.55

9 (1). The overall literacy percentage stands at 11.55. The literacy percentage among women is the lowest at 1.10. Among men, the percentage stands at 20.26 while among adolescents it is 19.79 per cent. Among children, the literacy percentage is 10.46. If out of the total number of 'children' those of ages less than 6 are excluded, *the literacy percentage among children of what may be called the school-going age comes to 17.92 per cent.*

9 (2). From table No. 3, the variation in the literacy percentage in different expenditure levels can be seen. While no definite trend is discernible, it is clear that for expenditure levels above Rs. 50/- per fortnight the literacy percentage is significantly higher than for the expenditure levels below Rs. 50/-.

9 (3). Thus the overall literacy position among plantation workers is quite low and needs considerable improvement. While there is perhaps little possibility of improvement in literacy among the adult population, particularly the womenfolk, steps can and should be taken to improve the position in so far as children and adolescents are concerned. *It was found (vide table 2 above) that only about 14 per cent. of the children of school-going age were actually attending schools at the time of the survey.* This percentage while it is quite low could, it was learnt, be lower during the peak season; for, during the plucking season some of the children, particularly those in the age-group '11 to 14' get employment and naturally prefer that to attending schools. Children in the age-group '6 to 11,' if they are not employed by the garden on their own, would also help their mothers by plucking what they can and putting it in the mothers' baskets. This, it was learnt, is allowed by the gardens and the extra-leaf-pice payment at the peak-period encourages parents too to put children to work. This situation exists in spite of the fact that 9 out of the 10 gardens have schools (lower primary schools in 8 gardens and a middle school in the other) within the garden. The remaining one garden also has a school within a distance of three furlongs. It would thus appear that parents or guardians do not fully realise the importance of providing education to their wards. Their own illiteracy perhaps is part of the reason. In any case the situation points to the need for making primary education compulsory in the tea plantations. Adequate facilities for vocational and technical training, as mentioned earlier, should also be provided for the adolescents, more so because it will be increasingly difficult with the passage of time to provide the growing number of youngsters with employment facilities within the gardens.

10. SMOKING AND ADDICTION TO LIQUOR: Information was collected on the above heads in respect of every member of each labour family investigated. The final results are set out in the two tables below.

TABLE No. 4.

Percentage of smokers and persons taking alcoholic drinks among men, women, adolescents and children.

Groups.	Total persons.	Number of smokers	Number taking alcoholic drinks.	% of smokers.	% taking alcoholic drinks.
Men ...	306	189	284	61.76	92.81
Women ...	272	15	245	5.51	90.07
Adolescents	85	25	57	29.41	67.06
Children ...	575	16	282	2.78	49.04
Total ...	1,238	245	868	19.79	70.06

TABLE No. 5.

Percentage of smokers and persons taking alcoholic drinks according to expenditure levels.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	Total persons.	Number of smokers	Number taking alcoholic drinks.	% of smokers	% taking alcoholic drinks.
0.00— 30.00	50	15	40	30.00	80.00
30.01— 40.00	204	37	138	18.14	67.65
40.01— 50.00	330	58	237	17.58	71.82
50.01— 60.00	219	45	150	20.55	68.49
60.01— 70.00	177	36	122	20.34	68.93
70.01— 80.00	111	24	87	21.62	78.38
80.01—100.00	84	15	54	17.86	64.29
Above 100.00	63	15	40	23.81	63.49
Total ...	1,238	245	868	19.79	70.06

10 (1). From table No. 4 above it can be seen that smoking is quite popular among men, 61.76 per cent. of them being addicted to it. Among women, however, smoking is confined to only 5.51 per cent. 29.41 per cent. of the adolescents are also used to smoking. Obviously, among the adolescents smoking is confined mainly to the boys. 2.78 per cent. of the children also are smokers, the overall percentage of smokers being 19.79.

10 (2). Compared to smoking, *addiction to liquor is found to be alarmingly high.* Almost every adult man and woman is given to this habit, the actual proportion of liquor addicts among them being 92.81 per cent. and 90.07 per cent. respectively. Even among adolescents and children it is as high as 67.06 per cent. and 49.04 per cent. respectively, the overall proportion being 70.06 per cent. The drink commonly taken by these labourers is a rice-wine known as 'hadia' prepared at their homes.

10 (3). From table No. 5, again, it can be seen that the family's economic status seems to have little influence over the incidence of these habits. The table reveals no relationship between either the expenditure level and the extent of these two habits or between the two habits themselves. As would be shown later, the plantation workers constitute one homogeneous class so far these two habits are concerned.

11. Composition of Families: The distribution of individuals and also of earners classified according to age and sex is shown by expenditure levels in Table No. IX in the appendix. This table also shows the proportions of earners among men, women, adolescents and children by expenditure levels. It will be seen from this table that out of a total of 1,238 individuals in the 255 families investigated, 594 or 47.98 per cent. are earners. This sample value of 47.98 per cent. compares favourably with the overall proportion of earners given in Table No. III in the appendix *viz.*, 43.49 per cent., which was obtained from a consideration of the entire resident population in the 10 gardens taken up for this survey. The proportion of earners is naturally the highest among men, *viz.*, 91.83 per cent. But among women also as many as 88.97 per cent. are earners. 68.24 per cent. of adolescents and 2.26 per cent. of children also are employed. The summary table given below shows the composition of an average family, the number of earners it contains as also the proportion of earners.

TABLE No. 6.

Groups.	Total number of persons in the average family.	Number of earners	% of earners to total number of persons in each category.
Men	1.20	1.10	91.83
Women ...	1.07	0.95	88.97
Adolescents ...	0.33	0.23	68.24
Children ...	2.25	0.05	2.26
Total ...	4.85	2.33	47.98

11 (1). It can be seen from the table above that the average size of a plantation labour family is 4.85 out of which 2.33 are earners, including, of course, earners of all types *viz.*, men, women, adolescents and children. Almost the entire adult population find suitable employment opportunities in the tea estates. Moreover, there is work to suit even the adolescents and children. The details regarding the composition of an average family according to expenditure levels may be seen in Table No. X in the appendix. From this table it is found that the average size of the labour family increases as the expenditure level rises. In the lowest expenditure level the average size of a family is 1.92 but it goes on to reach 9.00 in the highest level.

11 (2). While a family normally consists of parents and their children, families with comparatively larger family-sizes usually comprise adult sons and their wives and children or married daughters with their husbands and children or a brother of the head of the family with his wife and children—all blood relations of the head of the family.

11 (3). The average number of earners per family also maintains a rising trend throughout, increasing from 1.19 to 5.43 between the lowest and the highest expenditure levels. Thus a larger expenditure is, in general, associated with a bigger family-size which has a neutralizing effect on the standard of living. This fact will be brought out later in this report, when we consider the per capita expenditure pattern.

11 (4). Even though the number of earners per family is found to increase steadily along with increasing levels of expenditure, the proportion of earners does not exhibit any such trend (*Vide* Table No. IX in the appendix). The proportion is minimum *viz.*, 42.01 per cent. in the expenditure level of Rs. 50.01 to Rs. 60.00 and increases gradually on both sides of it reaching a value of 62.00 per cent. in the lower extreme and 60.32 per cent. in the higher.

12. INCOME: The regular income of the plantation labour families is generally derived from two sources: (i) cash income from the garden as wages and (ii) subsidiary income from land, poultry, livestock, etc. Besides they get some other non-cash concessions from the garden in the form of subsidized foodstuffs, free medical aid, etc. The value of these concessions have not been computed due to the difficulties involved in finding out their exact money equivalents. The actual fortnightly incomes of the families is therefore, somewhat higher than have been shown here. However, while calculating the fortnightly expenditure we have taken the value of the foodstuffs at the subsidized rates at which the garden managements supply. Thus the non-cash concessions from the gardens have been accounted for in an indirect manner. In Table No. XI in the appendix the fortnightly family income is shown classified into the two heads mentioned above. It will be seen from this table that between the lowest and the highest expenditure levels the average fortnightly income registers a rise from Rs. 23.72 to Rs. 120.00. It will be seen further that income from other sources has increased gradually from Rs. 2.47 to Rs. 14.00 along with the cash income from garden which increases from Rs. 21.25 to Rs. 106.00 between the lowest and the highest expenditure levels. For the average family, considering all the expenditure levels, the total fortnightly income is Rs. 47.86 of which Rs. 42.53 is derived from the garden as cash wages and the remaining Rs. 5.33 from other sources such as land, poultry, livestock, etc.

12 (1). It will be interesting, in this connection to compare the contributions of different members of the family to the fortnightly family income. However, the income derived from "other" sources such as those mentioned above can not be split up into contributions of men, women, adolescents and children, and may, therefore be taken as earned jointly by all members of the family. Table No. XII in the appendix shows the contributions of different members of the family to the fortnightly cash income by expenditure levels. From this table it will be seen that the major portion of the cash income is earned by men. But women do not fall far behind, their contribution being only a little less than that of men. This shows that in the tea plantation labour families women are almost equal partners of men in the matter of earning. Adolescents and even children contribute their mite to the family income. Thus though the wage-rate cannot be considered to be high in the present circumstances, the combined earnings of different members of the family place the tea plantation labour in a comparatively better position than labour employed in many

other industries. The summary table given below shows, for the average family, the contributions of men, women, adolescents and children to its cash income, the number of earners it contains and the cash income per earner of different categories.

TABLE No. 7.

Groups.	Contribution to the cash income.		No. of earners	Cash income per earner.
	Rs.	%		
Men ...	21.94	51.59	1.10	19.95
Women ...	16.65	39.15	0.95	17.53
Adolescents ...	3.41	8.02	0.23	14.83
Children ...	0.53	1.24	0.05	10.60
Total ...	42.53	100.00	2.33	18.25

The table above is self-explanatory. The last column of the table shows the earning capacities of men, women, adolescents and children.

12 (2). The average monthly cash earnings of tea plantation workers were Rs. 7.88 for men and Rs. 6.23 for women in the year 1939-40. The monthly incomes for men and women obtained from our survey are Rs. 39.90 and Rs. 35.06. Thus between 1939-40 and now, earnings have increased by 406 per cent. in the case of men and 477 per cent. in the case of women. Considering that the earnings at the period of the survey were rather low and that the actual average fortnightly expenditure per family was Rs. 50.21 which is about 18 per cent. higher than Rs. 42.53, (the average fortnightly cash earnings), it would be reasonable to assume that cash earnings now are 597 per cent. in the case of men and 681 per cent. in the case of women of what they were in 1939-40.

13. Expenditure Pattern: The expenditure pattern of the families on different items of food and also on some other broad items has been shown according to expenditure levels in Table No. XIII in the appendix. All the items of expenditure that appear in the family budgets cannot obviously be shown separately. The expenses on some of the minor items have, therefore, been clubbed up under appropriate broad heads. Thus the expenditure on some minor food items, apart from those shown separately are included in 'other foods.' Similarly expenditures on items such as tobacco, pan (betel leaf), toiletries, cinema have been put together under 'conventional necessities.' Expenditure on liquor, however, merits special mention, addiction to liquor being almost universal among the labourers. Expenditures on household purchases and on social and religious functions are generally only occasional. The fortnightly figures given here were actually deduced from the appropriate annual expenditures which were carefully noted down in every case. Expenditure on clothing also has been derived in a similar manner. Firewood is generally collected from the woods or sometimes supplied free by the employers. The expenditures shown here are the actual amounts spent by the labourers on fuel and lighting and, therefore, do not represent the value of the total quantities of this item actually consumed. Expenditures on some petty items which do not come under any of the broad heads shown separately and which are also non-food items are included under the head 'miscellaneous' placed at the end. The last column of Table No. XIII in the appendix shows the expenditure pattern of an average family for all expenditure levels combined while the columns preceding it show the expenditures of the 'typical' families in the different expenditure levels.

13 (1). It will be interesting in this connection to compare the average fortnightly income and average fortnightly expenditure of the families by expenditure levels. The table below brings out this comparison.

TABLE No. 8.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	Average fortnightly income in Rs.	Average fortnightly expenditure in Rs.	Difference Col (2)—Col (3) Rs.
0.00— 30.00	23.72	23.66	+0.06
30.01— 40.00	35.60	35.61	—0.01
40.01— 50.00	42.05	44.74	—2.69
50.01— 60.00	49.84	55.21	—5.37
60.01— 70.00	60.72	64.32	—3.60
70.01— 80.00	70.73	74.40	—3.67
80.01—100.00	85.43	87.32	—1.89
Above 100.00	120.00	122.58	—2.58
Total ...	47.86	50.21	—2.35

It will be seen from this table that excepting the lowest expenditure level, the average fortnightly expenditure is in every case larger than the corresponding income. The reason for this is not far to seek. The fortnightly incomes noted above relate to the so-called lean period when the income of the labour families is generally much lower compared to that during the season time (May-November). But in the fortnightly expenditure we have included certain items such as household purchases, social functions and clothing on which the labourers spend mostly during the peak season when they earn more or at the time when they receive the annual bonus. Hence the expenditures shown here are somewhat more than what the labourers spend during an average fortnight in the off-season. The labourers generally run into debts during this time of the year because very few of them have the habit of laying off something from their extra income during the peak period. Kabuliwallas and other money lenders naturally exploit this situation to their fullest advantage. It was really gratifying to observe that to do away with this evil some garden managements have introduced a simple scheme of wage saving to which the labourers can contribute even very small sums from their wages and withdraw in times of need. Such schemes, if made popular, will, no doubt, prove very beneficial to the labourers.

13 (2). The expenditure pattern of the families in the different expenditure levels i.e., the proportion of total expenditure spent on the different items can be seen clearly from Table No. XIV in the appendix. In all the expenditure levels the bulk of the total expenditure is expended on food items. Moreover, the percentage expenditure on food items appears to be almost equal in all the expenditure levels, the range of variation being only between 62.26 per cent. and 67.60 per cent. The percentage expenditure on education is everywhere very low but it shows a tendency to increase in the higher expenditure levels. The percentage expenditure on education in the case of an average family considering all the expenditure levels together is only 0.38 per cent. Percentages of expenditures on fuel and lighting and on clothing also are roundly the same in the different expenditure levels. In the percentage expenditure on liquor, however, a decreasing trend is discernible. In the lowest expenditure level 9.39 per

cent. of the total expenditure is expended on liquors, but this comes down gradually to 5.93 per cent. in the highest expenditure level, the percentage expenditure on liquor for all the expenditure levels combined being 8.05 per cent. But from the preceding table, viz., Table No. XIII in the appendix it will be seen that the actual expenditure on liquor per family does, in fact, increase along with the total expenditure of the family. The increase in the expenditure on liquor is thus, found to be somewhat less than the increase in total expenditure. Conventional necessities is another item which accounts for a substantial portion of the total expenditure viz., 9.28 per cent., considering all the expenditure levels. Expenditure on social and religious ceremonies, which has been arrived at from the total expenditure on this head in the course of a year, is on the average 2.47 per cent. of the total expenditure and a major portion of this again is spent on drinking and amusements. On the whole it appears from Table No. XIV in the appendix that the pattern of expenditure is not much different in the different expenditure levels.

13 (3). The similarity in the pattern of expenditure of different groups has been checked up by the use of the chi-square Statistic whereby the divergence of the observed proportions of expenditures in the different expenditure levels as given out in Table XIV from the percentages given in the last column of the same table has been tested. The assumption (or technically the null hypothesis) underlying the test is as follows: If the levels of total expenditure have no influence on the pattern of expenditure as revealed by the proportion of expenditure on different items, then the pattern of expenditure for different expenditure levels should not differ significantly from the overall pattern of expenditure as shown in the last column of Table XIV. In calculating chi-square food was taken as one item. The test revealed that both the overall chi-square as well as individual chi-squares are all *not* significant at 1 per cent. level of significance—the overall chi-square being not significant even at 5 per cent. level. We are thus led to the conclusion that the expenditure patterns among different expenditure levels are not significantly different from one another and that the combined pattern as recorded in the last column may be taken as the pattern of expenditure among tea garden families in the survey. Thus it may be concluded that an average plantation worker's family spends about 65 per cent. of its budget on food, 11 per cent. on clothing, 9 per cent. on conventional necessities and about 8 per cent. on liquor alone. The smallest expenditure is on household purchases and equally small is the expenditure on education which stands at a little over $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

13 (4). It is, however, not possible to assess from the foregoing the standard of living of the families in the different expenditure levels as the size and also the composition of the families vary rather widely among the different expenditure levels. (Vide Table X in the appendix). A comparative picture can, however, be obtained if the per capita expenditure in terms of adult consumptional units is worked out.

14. Standard of Living—Expenditure per adult consumptional Unit: In calculating the size of the family in terms of adult consumptional units the scale suggested by Dr. Aykroyd which is based on the consumptional pattern of rice-eating people has been adopted. The conversion factors used for this purpose are as given below:—

CONVERSION SCALE.

Adult male	1.0
Adult female	0.8
Adolescents	0.8
Children	0.6

14 (1). On the basis of the above scale the average size of the family in the different expenditure levels works out as shown in the table below:—

TABLE No. 9.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	Average size of family.	Average size of family in terms of adult consumptional unit.
0.00— 30.00	1.92	1.60
30.01— 40.00	3.64	2.77
40.01— 50.00	4.58	3.42
50.01— 60.00	5.62	4.18
60.01— 70.00	6.55	4.87
70.01— 80.00	6.53	5.04
80.01—100.00	7.64	5.86
Above 100.00	9.00	6.97
Total	4.85	3.67

It will be seen that in terms of adult consumptional units the average size of a family for all the expenditure levels combined becomes 3.67 as against the actual average size of 4.85.

14 (2). Table No. XV in the appendix shows the fortnightly expenditures on different items per adult consumptional unit according to expenditure levels. The total amount expended per fortnight per adult consumptional unit averaged over all families is Rs. 13.68. Among the different expenditure levels, the rate of spending per adult consumptional unit varies from Rs. 12.86 to Rs. 14.89 in the first seven expenditure levels and rises to Rs. 17.58 in the highest. In the lowest level, due to the exceptionally small size of the family (only 1.60 adult units per family), the consumption per adult member works out to be somewhat higher than in the neighbouring levels of expenditure. On the whole, however, it appears that the standard of living, as measured by the extent of expenditure per adult unit, rises slowly but steadily with rise in total expenditure. Expenditures on food, clothing and the 'miscellaneous' mainly follow this rising trend, the rate of spending on other items remaining more or less steady.

14 (3). Expenditure on liquor is disproportionately high *viz.*, Rs. 1.39 per fortnight per adult consumptional unit in the lowest expenditure level but exhibits no inclination to rise as the standard of living rises, the overall value being Rs. 1.10. *Thus, there appears to be not much truth in the impression in certain quarters that if the labourers are given more cash money they tend to spend almost the entire amount on liquor.* This view is also contradicted by the fact indicated earlier that the incidence of liquor-drinking does not show any steadily rising trend with increase in total expenditure. In this connection the actual proportion of liquor-addicts in the labour population according to the different expenditure levels may be seen in Table No. XVI in the appendix. This table also shows the extent of liquor incidence among men, women, adolescents and children separately.

14 (4). The proportion of liquor-addicts, it will be seen, is the highest *viz.*, 80.00 per cent. in the lowest expenditure level while the lowest proportion of 63.49 per cent. occurs in the highest expenditure level and the next higher proportion of 64.29 per cent. occurs in the immediately preceding expenditure level. There is, however, no regular trend. It should not, however, be overlooked in this context that the families in the higher expenditure levels contain, in general, a larger proportion of adolescents and children among whom incidence of liquor-drinking is comparatively smaller. This is largely responsible for the lower overall incidence of liquor-drinking among the above category of families. Incidence of drinking among men and women is, however, high among all sections of the labourers irrespective of their economic condition. A tendency for the incidence to rise with rise in total expenditure is also discernible.

14 (5). By and large, addiction to liquor seems to be universal and is more of a social or environmental habit. But the practically wholesale indulgence in liquor—covering not only adolescents but also children of ages less than 15—is certainly disturbing. It is felt that increasing emphasis on education and provisions for other modes of recreation would help in weaning away some of the adults or at least to check the spread of this habit among the younger generation who, it is hoped, are as yet not addicts in the strict sense of the term.

APPENDIX

TABLE No. I

Area under tea, annual production, average number of labourers employed daily and also production and employment per acre.

Estates.	Effective acreage.	Annual* production (in lbs.)	Average* daily employed.	Production per acre (in lbs.)	Labourers employed per acre.
A	150.00	169,278	206	1,128.5	1.38
B	366.52	478,340	524	1,305.1	1.43
C	391.95	432,406@	442@	1,103.2	1.13
D	410.45	548,939	532	1,337.4	1.30
E	472.20	752,987	820	1,594.6	1.74
F	474.54	642,666	632	1,354.3	1.33
G	615.03	673,103	923	1,094.4	1.50
H	798.98	839,134	1,474	1,050.3	1.84
I	990.00	1,212,143	1,341	1,224.4	1.35
J	1,271.88	2,015,210	2,141	1,584.4	1.68
Total ...	5,941.55	7,764,206	9,035	1,306.8	1.52

* Averaged over the years 1954 to 1957

@Averaged over the years 1955 to 1957

TABLE No. II

Number of workers on roll in different gardens classified as "Resident" (*i.e.* those housed in the estate's quarters) and "Outside."

Estates.	Resident workers.	Outside workers.	Total labour force.	Col. 2 as % of Col. 4	Col. 3 as % of Col. 4
1	2	3	4	5	6
A	99	169	268	36.94	63.06
B	567	73	640	88.60	11.40
C	514	26	540	95.19	4.81
D	703	0	703	100.00	0
E	836	186	1,022	81.80	18.20
F	624	152	776	80.41	19.59
G	1,005	114	1,119	89.81	10.19
H	1,650	0	1,650	100.00	0
I	1,656	53	1,709	96.90	3.10
J	2,482	369	2,851	87.06	12.94
Total ...	10,146	1,142	11,288	89.88	10.12

NOTE :—Figures in Cols. 2, 3 and 4 are all averages over 4 years 1954 to 1957 excepting in the case of garden C, where they *are averages of* **3** *years* **1955** *to* **1957.**

TABLE No. III.

Resident population in the labour quarters and extent of employment therein at the time of the survey.

Estates.	Resident population.	Employed population.	Percentage employment.
A	148	11	7.43
B	1,085	508	46.82
C	1,069	221	20.67
D	1,318	585	44.39
E	1,620	766	47.28
F	1,126	623	55.33
G	2,174	957	44.02
H	2,581	1,493	57.85
I	3,446	1,793	52.03
J	6,907	2,381	34.47
Total	21,474	9,338	43.49

TABLE No. IV.

Classification by age of the resident population in the gardens at the time of the survey.

Estates.	Age groups					Total.
	1—6	6—11	11—14	14—18	over—18	
A	23	23	9	—	93	148
B	331	127	49	81	497	1,085
C	264	175	70	56	504	1,069
D	318	173	97	81	649	1,318
E	276	315	111	97	821	1,620
F	284	139	42	39	622	1,126
G	521	349	189	165	950	2,174
H	669	404	154	141	1,213	2,581
I	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	3,446
J	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	6,907
Total	2,686	1,705	721	660	5,349	21,474*

N.A. Not available.

* This is a total of marginal totals in the last column only. The horizontal marginal totals add up to only 11,121 as age-wise breakdown figures of the last 2 gardens are not available.

TABLE No. V.

Number of families selected from different tea estates.

Estates.	Resident population.	Number of families selected.
A	148	2
B	1,085	11
C	1,069	13
D	1,318	14
E	1,620	20
F	1,126	15
G	2,174	24
H	2,581	35
I	3,446	41
J	6,907	80
Total	21,474	255

TABLE No. VI.

A two-way classification of families according to their fortnightly income and expenditure.

Expenditure in Rs.	Income in Rs.									Cumulative total
	0.00 — 30.00	30.01 — 40.00	40.01 — 50.00	50.01 — 60.00	60.01 — 70.00	70.01 — 80.00	80.01 — 100.00	Above 100.00	Total	
0.00— 30.00	23	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	26	26
30.01— 40.00	10	35	9	2	—	—	—	—	56	82
40.01— 50.00	3	36	22	6	5	—	—	—	72	154
50.01— 60.00	—	6	15	13	5	—	—	—	39	193
60.01— 70.00	—	1	1	16	3	3	3	—	27	220
70.01— 80.00	—	1	—	2	5	4	5	—	17	237
80.01—100.00	—	—	1	—	1	1	7	1	11	248
Above 100.00	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	5	7	255
Total	36	79	49	41	19	9	16	6	255	
Cumulative total	36	115	164	205	224	233	249	255		

TABLE No. VII.

Classification of the labour families according to states of origin.

States of origin.	No. of families	Percentage to total
Assam	135	52.94
Bihar	66	25.88
Orissa	21	8.24
West Bengal ...	17	6.67
Madhya Pradesh ...	7	2.75
Bombay	6	2.35
Uttar Pradesh ...	2	0.78
Nepal	1	0.39
Total	255	100.00

TABLE No. VIII.

Classification of members (working and non-working) in the investigated families according to age.

Estates.	0—6 years		6—11 years		11—14 years		14—18 years		18—55 years		Over 55 years		All ages		Total
	Working.	Non working	Working	Non working	Working	Non working	Working	Non working	Working	Non working	Working	Non working	Working	Non working	
A	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	5	4	9
B	—	20	—	11	2	2	6	1	28	1	2	—	38	35	73
C	—	9	—	7	—	7	4	2	32	1	1	1	37	27	64
D	—	16	—	14	—	11	—	2	26	—	1	1	27	44	71
E	—	17	—	13	—	9	3	2	36	3	2	1	41	45	86
F	—	14	—	6	1	2	—	—	29	—	1	2	31	24	55
G	—	29	—	32	—	10	10	5	42	4	4	3	56	83	139
H	—	42	—	27	1	9	5	1	64	2	3	7	73	88	161
I	—	33	—	24	2	19	19	7	96	4	1	—	118	87	205
J	—	74	—	56	1	40	17	12	144	19	6	6	168	207	375
Total ...	—	257	—	191	7	109	64	32	502	34	21	21	594	644	1,238

NOTE :—The age-groups followed in this table correspond to those used in Table IV in the appendix. But while classifying persons into 'adults' 'adolescents' and 'children', elsewhere in the report and the appendix, the age limits of a child and an adolescent are taken at 15 and 18 respectively. So it will be noted that while the total of the first four age-groups equals to the total of children and adolescents in the sample, the number of children and adolescents could not, however, be obtained directly from this table as the age group 14—18, while containing all the adolescents, contains some children as well.

TABLE No. IX.

Distribution of persons and earners and proportion of earners by expenditure levels.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	No. of families	Number of persons.					Number of earners.					Proportion of earners among				
		Men	Women	Adolescents	Children	Total	Men	Women	Adolescents	Children	Total	Men	Women	Adolescents	Children	Total
0.00-30.00	26	22	12	3	13	50	22	9	—	—	31	100.00	75.00	0.00	0.00	62.00
30.01-40.00	56	55	44	10	95	204	52	42	7	2	103	94.55	95.45	70.00	2.11	50.49
40.01-50.00	72	79	75	10	166	330	73	66	6	—	145	92.41	88.00	60.00	0.00	43.94
50.01-60.00	39	51	42	13	113	219	44	38	8	2	92	86.27	90.48	61.54	1.77	42.01
60.01-70.00	27	36	35	19	87	177	32	30	14	3	79	88.89	85.71	73.68	3.45	44.63
70.01-80.00	17	26	31	12	42	111	23	26	7	4	60	88.46	83.87	58.33	9.52	54.05
80.01-100.00	11	21	17	11	35	84	19	16	10	1	46	90.48	94.12	90.91	2.86	54.76
Above 100.00	7	16	16	7	24	63	16	15	6	1	38	100.00	93.75	85.71	4.17	60.32
Total ...	255	306	272	85	575	1,238	281	242	58	13	594	91.83	88.97	68.24	2.26	47.98

TABLE No. X.

Composition of families and earners by expenditure levels.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	No. of families	Number of persons per family.					Number of earners per family.				
		Total	Men	Women	Adole-scents	Child-ren	Total	Men	Women	Adole-scents	Child-ren
0.00—30.00	26	1.92	0.84	0·46	0.12	0.50	1.19	0.84	0.35	—	—
30.01—40.00	56	3.64	0.98	0.78	0.18	1.70	1.84	0.93	0.75	0.12	0.04
40.01—50.00	72	4.58	1.10	1.04	0.14	2.30	2.01	1.01	0.92	0.08	—
50.01—60.00	39	5.62	1.31	1.08	0.33	2.90	2.36	1.13	0.97	0.21	0.05
60.01—70.00	27	6.55	1.33	1.30	0.70	3.22	2.93	1.19	1.11	0.52	0.11
70.01—80.00	17	6.53	1.53	1.82	0.71	2.47	3.53	1.35	1.53	0.41	0.24
80.01—100.00	11	7.64	1.91	1.55	1.00	3.18	4.18	1.73	1.45	0.91	0.09
Above 100.00	7	9.00	2.29	2.29	1.00	3.42	5.43	2.29	2.14	0.86	0.14
Total ...	255	4.85	1.20	1.07	0.33	2.25	2.33	1.10	0.95	0.23	0.05

TABLE No. XI.

Fortnightly family income according to expenditure levels.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	No. of families.	Avg. no. of earners.	Fortnightly income per family		
			Cash income from the garden. (Rs.)	Other incomes (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)
0.00— 30.00	26	1.19	21.25	2.47	23.72
30.01— 40.00	56	1.84	33.08	2.52	35.60
40.01— 50.00	72	2.01	37.11	4.94	42.05
50.01— 60.00	39	2.36	43.60	6.24	49.84
60.01— 70.00	27	2.93	52.25	8.47	60.72
70.01— 80.00	17	3.53	63.15	7.58	70.73
80.01—100.00	11	4.18	76.38	9.05	85.43
Above 100.00	7	5.43	106.00	14.00	120.00
Total ...	255	2.33	42.53	5.33	47.86

TABLE No. XII.

Contributions of different members of the family to the fortnightly cash income by expenditure levels.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	Avg. no. of earners per family.	Contributions of				Total cash income (Rs.)
		Men (Rs.)	Women (Rs.)	Adol. (Rs.)	Children (Rs.)	
0.00—30.00	1.19	15.71	5.54	—	—	21.25
30.01—40.00	1.84	17.79	13.19	1.77	0.33	33.08
40.01—50.00	2.01	19.70	16.19	1.22	—	37.11
50.01—60.00	2.36	23.11	17.26	2.79	0.44	43.60
60.01—70.00	2.93	23.99	19.47	7.52	1.27	52.25
70.01—80.00	3.53	27.19	26.83	6.84	2.29	63.15
80.01-100.00	4.18	35.83	25.12	14.54	0.89	76.38
Above 100.00	5.43	52.10	37.98	13.40	2.52	106.00
Total ...	2.33	21.94	16.65	3.41	0.53	42.53

TABLE No. XIII.

Average fortnightly expenditure of the family (in Rs.) on items of food and other broad groups by expenditure levels.

Items of expenditure.	Expenditure levels.								Combined
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Number of budgets	26	56	72	39	27	17	11	7	255
Avg. family size	1.92	3.64	4.58	5.62	6.55	6.53	7.64	9.00	4.85
FOOD ITEMS :—									
Rice ...	8.57	14.43	17.75	22.14	25.14	29.75	33.26	46.90	19.81
Fish ...	1.18	1.40	1.90	2.16	1.94	2.29	4.32	5.21	1.99
Pulses ...	1.32	1.81	2.21	2.40	2.99	3.40	4.18	5.73	2.41
Meat ...	0.03	0.17	0.17	0.58	0.99	0.53	1.45	3.50	0.47
Oil & Ghee ...	1.32	1.69	2.21	2.58	0.75	3.31	4.09	5.98	2.38
Milk ...	0.04	0.07	0.29	1.15	0.90	0.22	1.62	2.14	0.51
Spices ...	0.69	0.86	1.18	1.46	1.55	1.90	2.41	2.79	1.28
Vegetables ...	1.17	1.42	1.75	1.93	2.25	2.62	3.64	3.43	1.88
Other foods ...	1.04	1.90	1.22	1.81	2.23	2.30	4.06	3.23	1.80
TOTAL FOOD	15.36	23.75	28.68	36.21	40.74	46.32	59.03	78.91	32.53
Clothing ...	2.47	3.80	5.24	6.32	7.51	8.93	9.68	14.25	5.73
Conventional necessities ...	2.26	3.02	4.44	4.88	6.75	6.69	6.10	12.44	4.66
Liquor ...	2.22	3.16	3.51	4.63	4.65	6.66	6.61	7.27	4.04
Social & Religious	0.54	0.75	1.28	1.24	1.76	1.79	2.02	2.73	1.24
Fuel & Lighting	0.64	0.74	0.94	1.24	1.46	2.01	1.58	2.82	1.12
Education ...	—	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.32	0.90	0.45	1.00	0.19
Household purchases ...	—	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.12	0.05	0.20	0.29	0.07
Miscellaneous ...	0.17	0.25	0.55	0.52	1.01	1.05	1.64	2.87	0.63
Total ...	23.66	35.61	44.74	55.21	64.32	74.40	87.32	122.58	50.21

TABLE No. XIV

Percentage distribution of average family fortnightly expenditure among the items of food and other broad groups by expenditure levels.

Items of expenditure	Expenditure levels.								Combined
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Number of budgets	26	56	72	39	27	17	11	7	255
Avg. family size	1.92	3.64	4.58	5.62	6.55	6.53	7.64	9.00	4.85
FOOD ITEMS :—									
Rice ...	36.22	40.52	39.67	40.10	39.08	39.99	38.09	38.26	39.45
Fish ...	4.99	3.93	4.25	3.91	3.02	3.08	4.95	4.25	3.96
Pulses ...	5.58	5.08	4.94	4.35	4.65	4.57	4.79	4.67	4.80
Meat ...	0.13	0.48	0.38	1.05	1.54	0.71	1.66	2.85	0.94
Oil & Ghee ...	5.58	4.75	4.94	4.67	4.27	4.45	4.68	4.88	4.74
Milk ...	0.17	0.20	0.65	2.08	1.40	0.30	1.85	1.75	1.02
Spices ...	2.92	2.42	2.64	2.64	2.41	2.55	2.76	2.28	2.55
Vegetables ...	4.94	3.99	3.91	3.50	3.50	3.52	4.17	2.80	3.74
Other foods ...	4.39	5.33	2.72	3.28	3.47	3.09	4.65	2.63	3.59
TOTAL FOOD	64.92	66.70	64.10	65.58	63.34	62.26	67.60	64.37	64.79
Clothing ...	10.44	10.67	11.71	11.45	11.67	12.00	11.08	11.62	11.41
Conventional necessities ...	9.55	8.48	9.92	8.84	10.49	8.99	6.99	10.15	9.28
Liquor ...	9.39	8.87	7.85	8.38	7.23	8.95	7.58	5.93	8.05
Social & Religious	2.28	2.11	2.86	2.25	2.74	2.41	2.31	2.23	2.47
Fuel & Lighting	2.70	2.08	2.11	2.25	2.27	2.70	1.81	2.30	2.23
Education ...	—	0.25	0.11	0.20	0.50	1.21	0.52	0.82	0.38
Household purchases	—	0.14	0.11	0.11	0.19	0.07	0.23	0.24	0.14
Miscellaneous ...	0.72	0.70	1.23	0.94	1.57	1.41	1.88	2.34	1.25
Total ...	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TABLE No. XV.

Average fortnightly expenditure (in Rs.) per adult consumptional unit on items of food and other broad groups by expenditure levels.

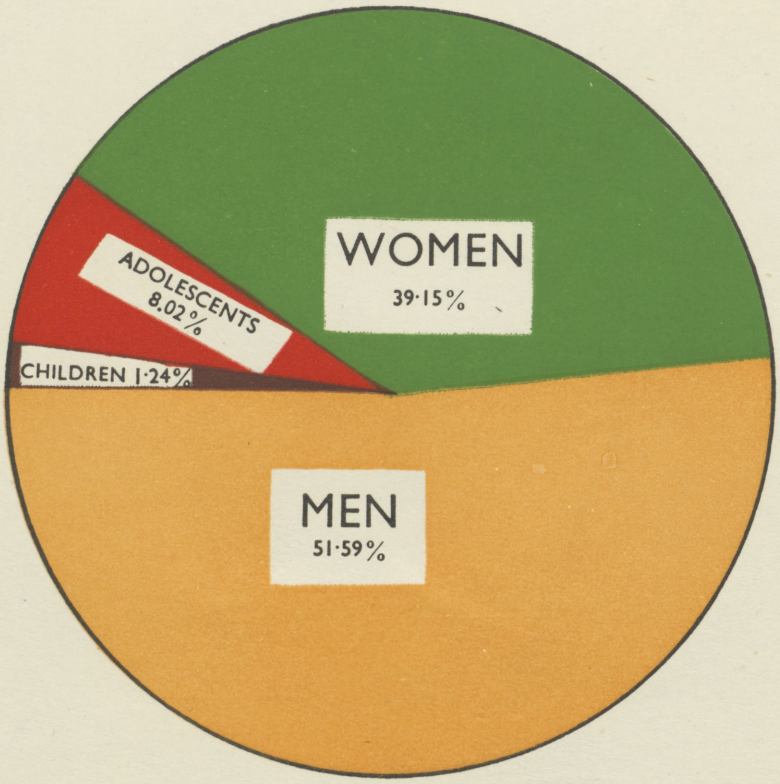
Items of expenditure.	Expenditure levels.								Combined.
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Number of budgets	26	56	72	39	27	17	11	7	255
Avg. family size	1.92	3.64	4.58	5.62	6.55	6.53	7.64	9.00	4.85
Adult consumptional units ...	1.60	2.77	3.42	4.18	4.87	5.04	5.86	6.97	3.67
FOOD ITEMS :—									
Rice ...	5.36	5.21	5.19	5.29	5.16	5.90	5.67	6.73	5.40
Fish ...	0.74	0.50	0.55	0.52	0.40	0.45	0.74	0.75	0.54
Pulses ...	0.82	0.65	0.65	0.57	0.61	0.67	0.71	0.82	0.66
Meat ...	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.14	0.20	0.11	0.25	0.50	0.13
Oil & Ghee ...	0.82	0.61	0.65	0.62	0.57	0.66	0.70	0.86	0.65
Milk ...	0.03	0.03	0.08	0.27	0.18	0.04	0.28	0.31	0.14
Spices ...	0.43	0.31	0.35	0.35	0.32	0.38	0.41	0.40	0.35
Vegetables ...	0.73	0.51	0.51	0.46	0.46	0.52	0.62	0.49	0.51
Other foods ...	0.65	0.69	0.36	0.43	0.46	0.46	0.69	0.46	0.49
TOTAL FOOD	9.60	8.57	8.39	8.65	8.36	9.19	10.07	11.32	8.87
Clothing ...	1.54	1.37	1.53	1.51	1.54	1.77	1.65	2.04	1.56
Conventional necessities ...	1.41	1.09	1.30	1.17	1.39	1.33	1.04	1.79	1.27
Liquor ...	1.39	1.14	1.03	1.11	0.96	1.32	1.13	1.05	1.10
Social & Religious	0.34	0.27	0.37	0.30	0.36	0.35	0.34	0.39	0.34
Fuel & Lighting	0.40	0.28	0.28	0.30	0.30	0.40	0.27	0.40	0.30
Education ...	—	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.18	0.08	0.14	0.05
Household purchases	—	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.02
Miscellaneous ...	0.11	0.09	0.16	0.12	0.21	0.21	0.28	0.41	0.17
Total ...	14.79	12.86	13.08	13.20	13.21	14.76	14.89	17.58	13.68

TABLE No. XVI.

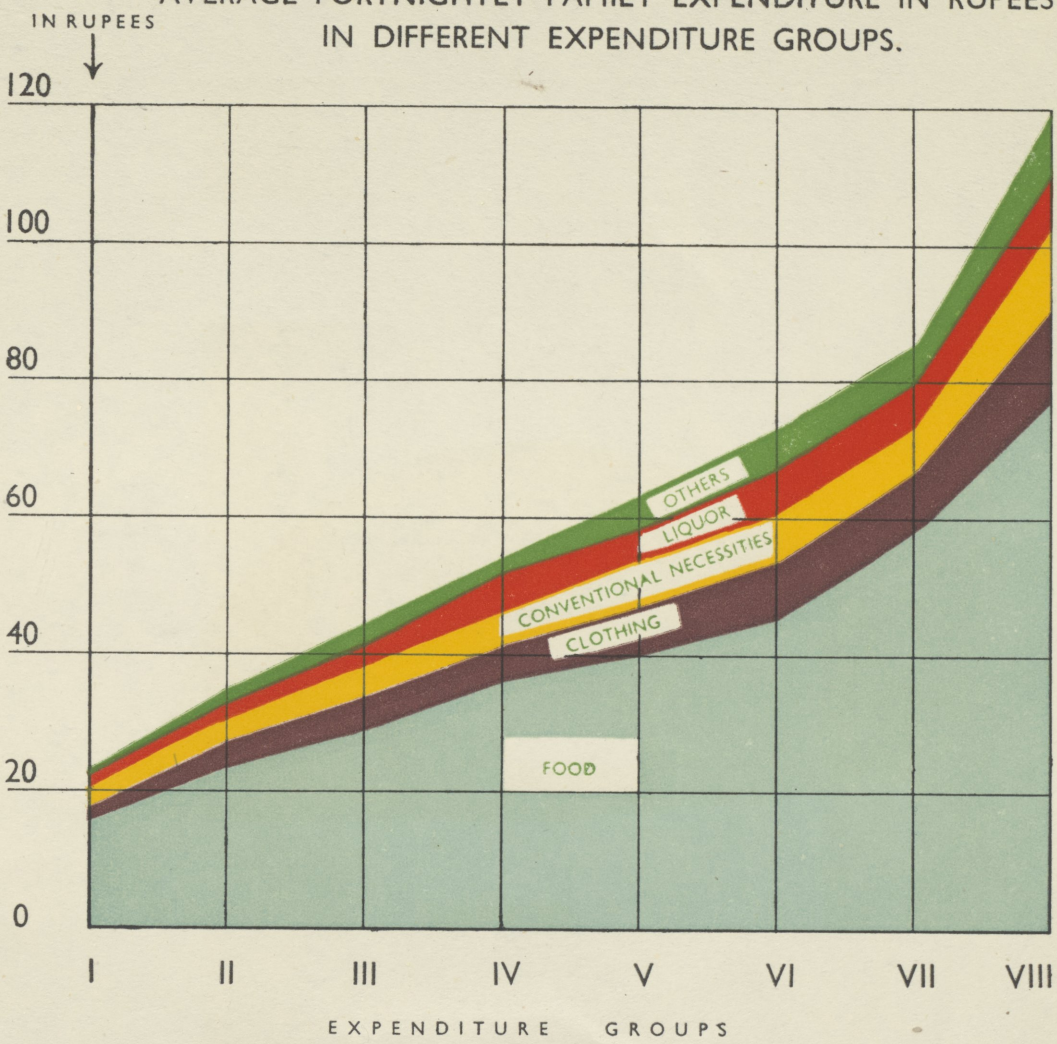
Incidence of liquor drinking by expenditure levels.

Expenditure levels in Rs.	Percentage of liquor addicts among.				
	Men	Women	Adolescents	Children.	Total
0.00— 30.00	95.45	75.00	66.67	61.54	80.00
30.01— 40.00	98.18	86.36	70.00	41.05	67.65
40.01— 50.00	94.94	94.67	80.00	50.00	71.82
50.01— 60.00	90.20	83.33	69.23	53.10	68.49
60.01— 70.00	91.67	88.57	68.42	51.72	68.93
70.01— 80.00	88.46	96.77	66.67	61.90	78.38
80.01—100.00	80.95	88.24	54.55	45.71	64.29
Above 100.00	93.75	100.00	57.14	20.83	63.49
Total ...	92.81	90.07	67.06	49.04	70.06

PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTIONS OF DIFFERENT MEMBERS TO FORTNIGHTLY CASH INCOME OF THE AVERAGE FAMILY.

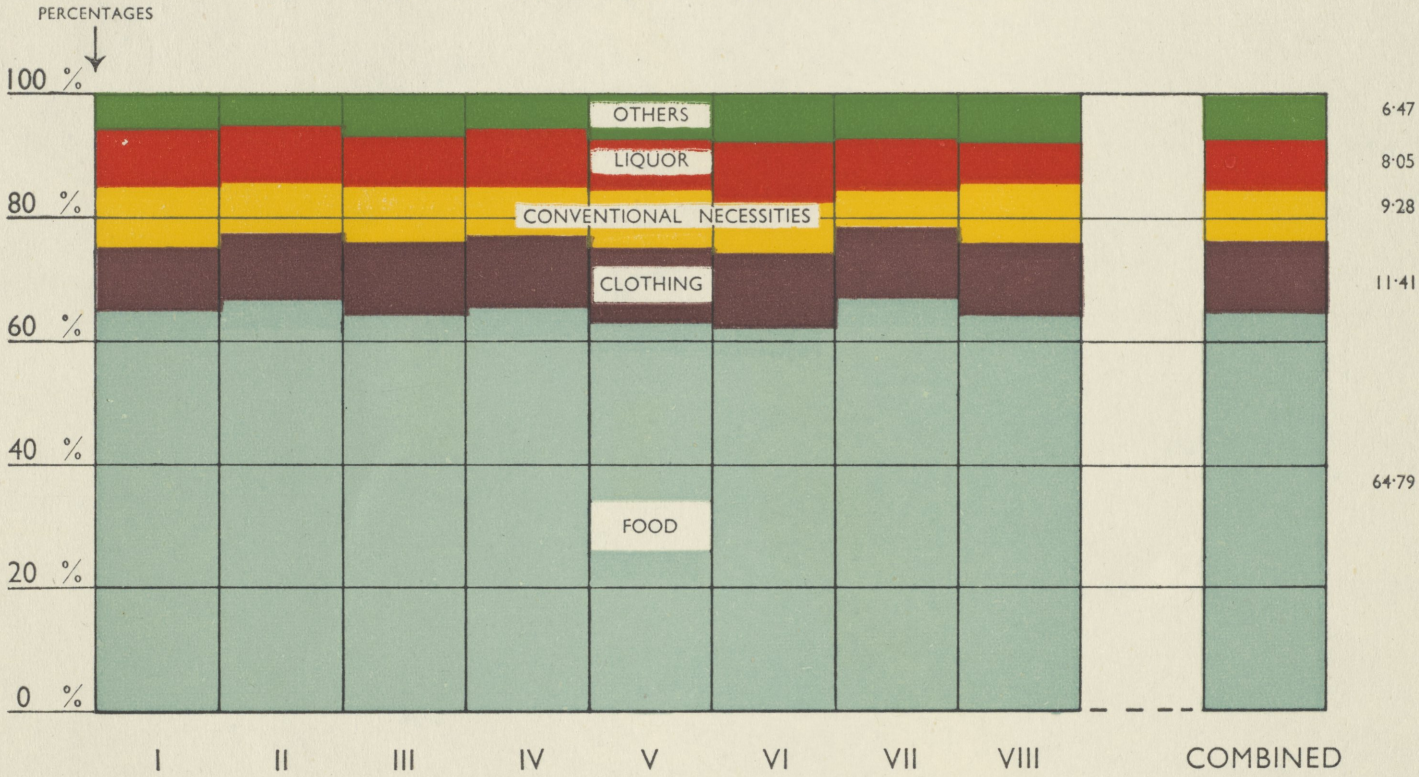


AVERAGE FORTNIGHTLY FAMILY EXPENDITURE IN RUPEES IN DIFFERENT EXPENDITURE GROUPS.



GROUPS	FORTNIGHTLY EXP. IN RS.
I	0·00-30·00
II	30·01-40·00
III	40·01-50·00
IV	50·01-60·00
V	60·01-70·00
VI	70·01-80·00
VII	80·01-100·00
VIII	ABOVE 100·00

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FORTNIGHTLY EXPENDITURE ON SOME BROAD ITEMS IN DIFFERENT EXPENDITURE GROUPS AND IN ALL EXPENDITURE GROUPS TOGETHER.



EXPENDITURE GROUPS

GROUPS	FORTNIGHTLY EXP. IN RS.	GROUPS	FORTNIGHTLY EXP. IN RS.
I	0·00 - 30·00	V	60·01 - 70·00
II	30·01 - 40·00	VI	70·01 - 80·00
III	40·01 - 50·00	VII	80·01 - 100·00
IV	50·01 - 60·00	VIII	ABOVE - 100·00

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