Chapter VI
CARrying Capacity OF LAND

Nature of Investigation

The writer has investigated** this aspect of the subject in the following six villages lying in areas which have distinct characteristics as already brought out in the foregoing:

(i) Bahadurpur in the Aatehr upland of Bilari;
(ii) Khaliqpur Kalan in the Udla and Panwar tract west of Amroha;
(iii) Chaki Khera in the adhek bhurland near Gajraula;
(iv) Bhagwarpur Khadar in the Ganga Khadar South of Kanakhera;
(v) Rammawala in the upland of Thakurdwara and
(vi) Lalpat Bagh Mustenam in the suburban Moradabad.

The results of the door to door enquiries have been summarized in the Appendix tables XXX to XXXVII. Only main foodgrains have been taken into consideration for this purpose, since the people draw most of their energies from them.


According to him the P.P.U. is the average yield of an average acre of the average farmland in any area. The S.R.U. is the number of calories required to keep an average human being in activity and health. The carrying capacity of land in any area may be defined as the number of average persons that an average acre of the average farmland in that area can support in health and activity.

** This door to door investigation was carried out by the writer personally, in Oct-Nov. 1958. The data relate to the rabi of 1957-58 and the kharif of 1958-59, in each case. It is to be remembered that this is one of the years of the wet cycle running from 1954-55 onwards (cf. table III in the Appendix).
Yields per Acre

The first important thing which comes out of this investigation is the considerable difference in the per acre yield of foodgrains in various tracts as represented by these sample villages. The average yield of foodgrains varies from 179.0 kilograms per acre in the Thakurdwara upland to 445.3 kg. in the Katehr bangar. Yields are too low in the uplands of Thakurdwara, where the soil is lacking in fertility, while the refugee settlers have no means to improve its condition. Means of irrigation are absent. Skies are not always favourable while, in this damp tract, insect pests also do a great harm to crops. The yields are also very low in the Ganga khadar, which is affected by the annual floods, and in parts of which the soil is also reh-infected. Kharif has little chance of survival while excessive moisture left in the soil after the rains and floods may also affect the rabi.

Next comes the Udla and Panmar tract where the average yield of foodgrains is 293.5 kg. per acre as noted in Khaliqpur Kalan. The phenomena of udla and water-logging concomittant to the defective drainage are the causes. The soils are not so indifferent and irrigation facilities from wells and tube wells are present. The depressed peasants feel embarrassed and lack any means of improving their lot. Rabi cereals and rice, however, do well, usually.
The remaining tracts have moderate yields of both wheat and rice. Adverse heavy monsoon conditions have shown their effect on jowar, bajra and maize where grown in depressed parts. But, otherwise, the crop yields are normal. Wheat yields 480.0 kg. per acre in the Katehr Nilari, 500 kg. in suburban Moradabad, 421.4 kg. in the udla and panmar tract and 370 kg. in Adhek Bhurland. Rice yields 361.2 kg. per acre in the Katehr Nilari and 367.9 kg. per acre in suburban Moradabad.

Table XXXI gives the per acre yields in various sample villages and also evaluates the relative ranks of the different regions, as represented by these villages, in respect of these yields. The ranks are as under:

I - Katehr Nilari:
   I in rice, II in maize, III in rabi cereals and IV in jowar-bajra.

II - Suburban Moradabad:
   I in rabi cereals, II in rice, III in maize and IV in jowar-bajra.

III - Adhek Bhurland:
   I in jowar-bajra, II in maize, III in rabi cereals and IV in rice.

IV - Udla and Panmar Tract:
   I in rabi cereals, II in rice, III in maize and IV in jowar-bajra.

V - Thakurdara Uplands:
   IV in jowar-bajra, V in rabi cereals, VI in maize and VI in rice.

VI - Gargh Khadar:
   V in jowar-bajra and VI in all the remaining three.

In fact, excepting the bhurland, all other areas, where the kharif foodgrains find a considerable proportion of the cropped area, have shown poor average yields. Everywhere the rabi cereals have yielded better than any of the kharif foodgrains. Much of the jowar, bajra and maize have yielded only a poor fodder for they were neither purposely grown for fodder
INTENSITY OF CULTIVATION (FOODGRAINS)

Variation From Average Yield Per Acre:

-50% - 25%
-25% - 0%
0% - 25%
25% - 50%
Above 50%

FIG. 57
nor the weather favoured the maturity of their grains.

Tables XXX & XXXII give the area and output of foodgrains in the sample villages in various parts of the district. They reveal certain very significant things. First, the proportion of the total cropped area devoted to foodgrains varies from 48% in Lahadurpur, Katehr Bilari, to 84.9% in Hamawala, Thakurdwara uplands. On an average it is 72.3%. Similarly, there are many variations in respect of individual foodgrains so that the total output of foodgrains and the average per acre output of foodgrains also vary much. The average yield of the average acre of the foodgrains land (or the P.F.U. of the foodgrains) amounts to 257.6 kg. The regional differentiation is as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>P.F.U.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Katehr Bilari</td>
<td>+72.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chech Nuurland</td>
<td>+32.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naradabad suburban</td>
<td>+30.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uda and Panwar tract</td>
<td>+14.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganga Khadar</td>
<td>-9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakurdwara uplands</td>
<td>-30.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 57* shows the differences in the intensity of the cultivation of foodgrains on the map.

* This map has been prepared by spreading the P.F.U., or the difference from the average produce in respect of each sample village on the areas which it represents.
Carrying Capacity of Land

According to the FAO an average of 250 kg. net of either wheat or rice per year is essential for consumption by each individual human being to keep him in working health. 10 per cent more is required for seed and 10 per cent for wastage in processing, storage, cooking, service, alms etc. Thus for every individual 20 per cent more should be produced. In other words, 300 kg. net should be produced per head of population.**

On this basis the carrying capacity of the food-grain producing land in the district is on the average 0.80 person per acre. It varies from 1.42 persons per acre in the water basin to 0.6 person per acre in the upland of Thakurdwar. It is 1.14 persons per acre in the 'echk Bhurland, 1.12 persons


** There is a difference between the U.K.U for consumption and the U.K.U. for production. The U.K.U for production is generally 20% higher than the U.K.U. for consumption. On an average 10% of the food is wasted in processing, storage, cooking, serving, etc. In India we must add for alms, rituals and ceremonies in which much extra food is required, though we may reduce for processing cooking and serving since much of it is done by hand by the frugal women of the house. The poor people eat even stale food.

In areas where yields per acre are sufficiently good an additional 10% is required for seeds, but where yields are low as in our area the seed requirements, sometimes, amount to 15%.
per acre in the Moradabad suburban, 0.96 persons per acre in the Uda and Fanar tract and 0.78 persons per acre in the Ganga Shadar*

* By taking the world as a whole and equating the total cultivated area with the total population, Stearn has calculated that at the present levels of farming efficiency and human nutrition the produce of about 1.2 acres (0.48 hectares) of arable or cropped land plus the animal products of the sea and fresh water and 2.1 acres of rough grazing or range-land is required to provide food for one individual. If non-food crops are excluded, the arable figure is probably nearer 1.1 acres. Against these world figures can be set the figures for any given area. Making due allowance for import and export of food-stuffs and for levels of nutrition, one gets a measure of the relative pressure of population on land and of farming efficiency.

In output of essential food per unit area the highest efficiency in the world is reached where reliance is on a single high-calorie crop, such as rice and where cultivation is intensive and mainly by hand, e.g., in Japan, but the efficiency is lowest where cultivation is extensive and, perhaps, highly mechanised and where a high standard of living demands much meat and milk (both extravagant of land) and a wide range of other foods, e.g., in U.S.A. It requires roughly 20 times as much land to feed one North American at his standard of living as it does to feed one Japanese at his; the Britisher needs nearly six or seven times the Japanese. ('The Measurement of Land Resources', The Geogr. Rev., Vol. LVI, No. 1, Jan. 1928).

Dr. H. Tolley of F.A.O. has stated that the minimum desirable calorie intake is between 2500 and 2650 a day. In the U.S.A. the calorie intake averaged 3240 in 1935-39. Over a thirty-year period it has ranged from 3160 in 1935 to 3490 in 1928. (Chronics Botanica, XI, 1948, p.4).

The British Medical Association has recommended a caloric intake among adults varying from 2100 a day for a woman in a sedentary occupation to 3550 for a man doing active manual work and among children from 2600 a day for infants to 3400 for the teen-age. The average of the different categories works out at 2540 calories a day; if age structure and occupations were taken into account it would be slightly lower, i.e., 2500 calories a day or 913,000 calories per year. (U.A. Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food. Manual of Nutrition' 4th ed. London, 1955).
A reference to table XXXIII shows that the S.N.U for consumption or average per head food intake in this district amounts 2400 calories per day or about 876,000 calories per annum*. This is slightly lesser than the average annual intake of calories per head as determined by FAO, i.e., 900,000 calories. This is slightly more than that for eastern U.P. as determined by Dr. Muhammad Shafi**. Raising it by 20% for seed and wastage the S.N.U for production amounts to 1,052,000 calories per annum. But keeping in view the fact that processing, cooking and serving of food is done mostly by hardy and frugal women folk and that the poor people eat even stale food, the writer feels like agreeing with Prof. Stamp to accept the average S.N.U for production, as 1,000,000 calories. On this basis the average acre of the average foodgrain land, in this district, can support 0.90 person or to support each individual 1.1 acres of the average foodgrain land is required, or 1.50 acres of the total area, or 1.52 acres of the total cropped area (see Table XXXIV).

* Calculated on the basis of 'The Nutritive value of Indian Foods and the Planning of Satisfactory Diets', Delhi, India. Ministry of Health, pp. 30-57.

Stamp holds that about 1,000,000 calories a year can provide adequately for each individual per year. He has termed it as the 'Standard Nutrition Unit', which we may relate to the productivity of different crops and different types of land. In defining the S.N.U as 1,000,000 calories, Stamp adds certain qualifications, viz., (a) Loss in the processing and cooking of food, an allowance of 10%. (b) Seed requirements, an allowance of 10-20%. (c) The non-food crops stand out differently and their land requirements are additional and separate.
Composition of Daily Food Intake

A reference to table XXXIII will show that the people take their energies from a variety of food. The foodgrains constitute a varying proportion in the daily diet. They are the minimum (61.7%) in the Udla and Fanmar tract where gur plays a very prominent part in the diet and provides about 25% of the energy. Their ratio is 69.4% in Moradabad suburban, where vegetable ghee and oil provide about 17% of the calorific intake. In the Adhek purlands the foodgrains constitute 73.9% of the diet, and in the balance, ghee provides about 8% and milk and whey about 5.4% of the energies. In the rest of the district about 80% of the calorific intake is derived from the foodgrains among which wheat ranges highest in the Katehr hilari, though everywhere wheat constitutes the chief food grain, nowhere amounting to less than 50% of the total food intake excepting in the Udla and Fanmar tract. Maize, jowar and bajra are other foodgrains consumed to some extent. Meat, fish, fruit and vegetables have very little place in the diet of the people. The proteins are derived from the pulses such as gram, arhar, urd, moong, masur, etc. Evidently, the diet is unbalanced and the people are suffering from malnutrition (see Table XXXV and Fig. 55).
Influence of the Composition of Food Intake on the Carrying Capacity of Foodgrain Land.

If the O.R.U. of 1,000,000 calories per annum is provided in the form of foodgrains the average carrying capacity per acre of foodgrains will be 0.9 persons, varying from 0.63 in Thakurdwara upland to 1.56 in Katehr Bilari. Thanks to the lesser actual intake of food and to the less food intake in the form of foodgrains that each such acre can feed on the average 1.19 persons, varying from 0.73 in the Thakurdwara upland to 2.13 in Katehr Bilari.

**Carrying Capacity per Cropped Acre**

But let us remember that all land is not devoted to the production of foodgrains. So calculating per cropped acre only 0.61 person can be fed in the Thakurdwara upland and Moradabad suburban and only 1.02 persons in Katehr Bilari (see Table XXXIV). From this point of view the Udla and Fanmar tract has the maximum carrying capacity (1.14 persons per cropped acre). Evidently it owes to the fact that whereas in Katehr Bilari the per acre yield of foodgrains is higher, in the Udla and Fanmar tract a larger proportion of cropped land is devoted to foodgrains.

**Carrying Capacity per Gross Acre**

A third comparison need be made in respect of the gross area since everywhere the ratio of the total cropped area is not the same. From this point of view, the Ganga Khadar
same. From this point of view, the Ganga Khadar tract has the minimum carrying capacity (0.34 person per gross acre), while the Udia and Fanmar tract has the maximum (1.47 persons per gross acre), since in the Ganga Khadar the percentage of land devoted to crops is much lesser than that in the Udia and Fanmar tract. These differences are shown in Table XXXIV.

*Foodgrain Deficiency*

If we carry these calculations still further and compare the actual population with the population that can be fed on the foodgrains output of these sample villages we find that only two areas have a foodgrain surplus and these are the Thakurdwara upland and the Udia and Fanmar tract. Of course, they owe this surplus to the very high percentage of their cropped area being devoted to the foodgrains. They also owe it to having a comparatively larger per capita cropped land as compared to other areas. Hence this surplus is no indication of their economic prosperity. In fact, it is the reverse (see Table XXXIV). All other areas have a foodgrain deficit. Out of all, however, the lot of Ganga Khadar is the worst since, even with 82.6% of its total cropped area being under foodgrains, it runs in a deficit of 53%. It is so owing to its low per acre yields, no doubt. The case of Moradabad suburban tract is, however, different, though it is running under a foodgrain deficit of 99.3% which is due to a very high ratio of population per foodgrain acre. In fact all these people do not depend on the local foodgrain produce nor on the agriculture for their living. In the katehr hangar and Adhek Bhurland much land is
devoted to non-food crops such as sugarcane. Their per acre
yield of foodgrains are much higher but their lesser per capita
foodgrain land renders them deficit areas in respect of food-
grains.

Evidently, there are limitations of the calculation
of carrying capacity of any area on the basis of foodgrain yields
only. But, since the foodgrains constitute the essential bulk
of our diet and if we are not self-sufficient in respect of
them it becomes a matter of great concern to all, therefore, with
all other resources at our command we must look, first, to this
essential need.

**Non-Food Requirements**

Food is one requirement of life, but there are so
many more. Among them the first place belongs to such needs as
are essential for the production of food, e.g., manure, irriga-
tion etc. Then we require a house, clothes, fuel, light, medicine
and so many other things. Larger sums of money are, however,
needed for social needs such as marriage, death and other
ceremonies. The writer has tried to assess in his sample villages
the per head non-food requirements of our people and this
enquiry has been summarised in table XXXVI. Then he has converted
these non-food needs into the foodgrain land equivalents (see
Table XXXVII). It is found that the non-food requirements need
more land for their satisfaction than do the food requirements*.

Excepting the Ganga-Ahmad, in all other areas, the farmer
* Of course, an agrarian community like that in this area must
satisfy all its needs from the land-holdings, since there is
little scope for non-agricultural incomes.
requires about two to three times the land needed for food. In the Adhek Bhurland, Moradabad suburban and Udla and Panmar tract comparatively larger family strength is also contributory towards it.

Influence of Cultural Advancement on the Carrying Capacity of Land

With the spread of cultural amenities the rural communities are, however, getting zealous for non-food requirements of life and their expenditure for the same is increasing in some proportion to the impact of new civilization on them. The aforementioned investigation conducted by the writer has shown that calculated in terms of the foodgrain values and output the non-food and food requirements of the people range in the ratio of about 3:1 in suburban Moradabad, 2:1 in Katehr Bilari and Adhek Bhurlands, and Udla and Panmar tract, 10:7 in Thakurdwara uplands and 6:5 in the Ganga Ahadar. With the social and cultural advancement, it appears that the carrying capacity of land diminishes, if it is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in the output of the land, though it may also be true that wherever the output of land increases and the economic condition of the people improves, their liability to cultural impact and enhancement of their non-food requirements also increases. Hence, a progressive increase of the carrying capacity of land is essential for the progress of any society.

Uneconomic Holdings

Now, if we add together the land requirements for food and non-food needs of a family and also provide for the extra land
required to feed its livestock, we can have a rough estimate of the economic land holding* (Table XXXVII).

The frugal Khazis of the Ganga Khadar eat less and spend very little on their non-food requirements. Moreover, they get their energies from a variety of food. They catch some fish from the ponds. They rear cattle and get some milk, ghee and whey in their diet. Gur constitutes nearly 9% of their calorific intake and pulses constitute 6%. They have smaller families and the livestock finds some feed in the khadar wastes. Hence their economic holding is not so large (13.0 acres). The refugee settlers of Raunawala in the Thakurdvara uplands are tall stunted people. They also have to work hard. Their food consumption amounts to 2,450 calories per day or 894,000 calories per annum. 80.7% of that is obtained from essential foodgrains. Their per acre yields are very low. Hence they require much land both for their food and non-food requirements. Their economic holding amounts to 19.5 acres, one and a half times that for the Khazis. Thanks that their average family is 4.56 persons only.

In the Udla and Panmar tract, the Pachhada Chauhans of Khaliqpur Kalan are medium stunted people showing worn down features. Their food consumption is 2,420 calories per day or 883,000 calories per annum. But, only 61.7% of these calories are derived from essential foodgrains and much energy is obtained

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6.25 acres of land has been accepted as the minimum land holding in U.P. as being capable of yielding sufficient produce for the holder to maintain a normal family in reasonable comfort according to prevailing standards after meeting all necessary expenses and without resort, save in exceptional circumstances, to the raising of loans. (Agricultural Situation in India. July 1953. p.248-255).
The average family here is composed of 5.3 persons. It would require 5.2 acres of foodgrain land to feed this family. Their non-food requirements will further require 9.4 acres. In all nearly 16.0 acres of land are essential for the subsistence of each family and their livestock, here.

In the Katehr upland, the Jats are sturdy people. Their food consumption is 2,428 calories per day or 886,000 calories per annum. 80% of that is derived from essential foodgrains. But, the per acre yields are high. The average family there is composed of 4.64 persons. It would require 3.0 acres of land to produce sufficient foodgrains for this family. The non-food requirements would need 5.6 acres more. In all nearly 9.0 acres of land are essential for the subsistence of each family and their livestock there.

In the Adhek Bhurlands, the Chauhans are also as sturdy and active as the Jats of Bilari. Their average per head food consumption is 2,422 calories per day, or 884,000 calories per annum. 73.9% of that is obtained from essential foodgrains. Here also the per acre yields are high. Their average family is composed of 5.27 persons. It would require 4.4 acres of foodgrain land to feed this family. Their non-food requirements will further need 8.2 acres. In all, nearly 14.5 acres of land are essential for the subsistence of each family and their livestock, here.

In the suburban Moradabad, the Baghbans are medium statured and light bodied people. But they have imbibed the
frequent diet habits of the townsfolk. Their food consumption is the highest. It amounts to 2,470 calories per day per head on the average, or 902,000 calories per annum. The average family of the baghans is composed of 5.9 persons. It would require 5.1 acres of the foodgrain land here to feed such a family owing to the higher yields per acre. The non-food requirements would, however, need 14.0 acres more of such land. Thus nearly 20.5 acres of land would be essential for the subsistence of each family, here, if the peasants depend on foodgrain cultivation. It is owing to the cultivation of potatoes, vegetables, etc., that the suburban cultivators are able to make their both ends meet from their tiny holdings as will be clear from the sequel.

Calculating on the basis of the output and values of essential foodgrains in the various parts of the district, thus, we find a lot of difference in the amount of land holding that can feed and subsist an average family, there. Comparing with it the actual average agricultural holdings in these areas we find that the percentage of difference is everywhere much below -50. Hence, most people are very poor, in general.

Rural Indebtedness

Indebtedness, without doubt, can be taken to be an indicator of the poverty of resources. Indebtedness per head of population varies from about Rs.1.50 in suburban Naradabad and

* The disappointing state of the foodgrain cultivation in the area led the writer to enquire more about the economic condition of the people in these sample villages, the account of which is given in the following pages.
R.2.60 in the Katehr upland to R.280/- in Thakurdwara uplands (Table XXXVII). Strangely enough it is quite low (R.9.30) in the Ganga Khadar. The Udla and Panmar tract has R.51.7 and the Adhek Bhurland has R.40.50. Along with it we should know the annual non-agricultural income per head of population. It amounts to R.102/- in suburban Moradabad (Table noted above), R.56.50 in Katehr upland, R.47.60 in Adhek bhurlands, R.21/- in Ganga Khadar, R.19/- in the Udla and Panmar tract but only R.8.50 in the uplands of Thakurdwara.

Usually the indebtedness arises from the expenditure on non-food requirements, e.g., litigation, social functions and ceremonies. The exceptionally high rate of indebtedness in the case of the refugees of Bamnawala is, however, due to various factors. The total indebtedness is to the tune of R. 100,550/- divisible as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Loan</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation loan</td>
<td>R 37,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takavi loan</td>
<td>R 13,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan from Cooperative Society</td>
<td>R 15,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan from shopkeepers</td>
<td>R 33,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>R100,550</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Measures Adopted by People to Improve their Lot and their Score

In places, people have tried to improve their economic condition by growing such cash crops as sugarcane and potatoes which yield more income per acre than do the foodgrains. Inquires
with regard to sugarcane and potatoes showed that an acre under either of them yields on an average about 300/- rupees after allowing for expenses such as manuring, watering and extra labour required for their cultivation at the rate of 40% of the gross value of the produce. But, since sugarcane stands in the fields for two harvest periods and the land requires rest for another harvest, its yield is for three harvest seasons. In the case of potatoes, however, this average yield is for a single harvest and the land may profitably be double-cropped in the same year. This thing is also true about the cultivation and yield of vegetables which can even be triple-cropped, sometimes. This investigation gives an explanation of the fact why the baghbans of suburban Moradabad devote little attention towards the cultivation of foodgrains and why they are devoted to the market garden produce in their high rented small holdings.

But market-gardening has its own limitations set by the requirements of intensive cultivation, continuous intercultivation practices, much labour by hand, availability of cheap manures and irrigation, the perishable nature of its produce requiring speedy transport and disposal etc. These things delimit its scope to the vicinity of the towns. Sugarcane cultivation is popular since the establishment of sugar mills. But the requirements of fertilization, irrigation, cheap means of communication and transport and the distance from sugar mills set limits to it also. In their limited areas, however, both market-gardening and sugarcane cultivation increase the supporting capacity of land by providing a source of money with which
people can purchase foodgrains from the market, e.g., in the suburban Moradabad where very little of the required foodgrains are produced locally, while market gardening is the main pursuit of the cultivators. To a lesser extent this is also true of such areas as the Katehr upland where sugar-cane is produced in large quantities.

**Sources of non-agricultural incomes**

The investigation has further showed that the economic condition of the people is better where they have some non-agricultural source of income. Actually, few families of the tillers of land are well off unless some of the members are engaged in non-agricultural earnings, facilities for which, however, are not available equally everywhere. Maximum facilities for them are found in suburban areas where minimum of indebtedness is found. Services, vegetable business and labour in the town provide sufficient income to support most of the families with some adults to work for the same. Otherwise, the tiny holdings of these areas would hardly be able to subsist their tillers even through their market gardening.

In the Adhek Bhurland, the non-agricultural income is provided by the purchase and sale of livestock which are fed for some time on the pastures of the adjacent Ganga Khadar and then sold at a profit. Cattle rearing is a side business in this situation. However, a considerable part of this income of the area is due to the income of a few 'mahants' who own land
in addition to their incomes from offerings in the temples. Moreover, some employment is available to a few persons on the road-side and from moonj twining. The considerable indebtedness of the people, however, shows that most of the people are poor and resourceless small peasants. Actually, the better lands of the village belong to the richer and larger land-holders. The indebtedness is also due in part to the litigation prevalent among a few families in the village.

The non-agricultural incomes in Bahadurpur, Katehr upland, owe to the services available in the sugar mills, on the railway station, roadside and in the town nearby. With their low rate of indebtedness, the people are in a better condition in this part of the district.

In the Ganga Khadar, agriculture has little scope for prosperity. The tillers have adjusted to a very low standard of living as we have already noted from their minimum calorific intake and minimum non-food requirements in the district. But as an extra source of income, these people get some employment on the roadside and during the fairs held at Tigri and other places on the bank of the Ganga river. In addition, like the peasants of the Adhek Bhurlands, they rear some livestock and sell them at a profit. Some of them also carry on milk supply business.

But the people of the Udla and Panwar tract find very little scope for the non-agricultural incomes in their neighbourhood. Their indebtedness is, therefore, out of proportion with their non-agricultural income and owes to their social expenses as well as food requirements.