Chapter 11

STANDARD OF LIVING IN SAURASHTRA

It implies in its widest sense, the composite of goods and services purchased by the total earnings of the family. The standard of living is mainly determined, therefore, by the income of the family. Income limits expenditure and standard depends upon it. Standard of living for the masses is a modern concept and has come with the spread of democracy in the world. The material happiness of an individual depends upon the type of the house and surroundings in which he lives, the quantity and the quality of food he eats and the clothing he wears in addition to luxuries which he can enjoy. The problem is, therefore, to find out the position of the people regarding food, clothing, shelter and some luxuries. As these things can be purchased by the people according to income it is imperative to know their income as also expenditure. Income, in modern times, mainly comes through money payments received by the individuals. But the purchasing power of money changes from time to time and so it is necessary for us to know also the movement of the price-level, if we want to get an idea of material comforts which people can purchase at a particular time. Income and price level will determine the amount of material comforts that can be purchased. Obviously if the income of the individual remains the same while the price level goes up his standard of living will go down.
As modern States have kept the ideal of a "Welfare States" before them they try to increase the standard of living of the people so as to increase material well-being.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the standard of living in India is very low. Not only that but the vast majority still do not aspire for a higher standard as they have been accustomed to a beggarly and wretched existence for ages. They do not think that it may ever be possible for them to have a better house, better food and better clothing. Majority of the population have never given a serious consideration to this problem as rationalism is a rare commodity in India.

For the country as a whole the standard of living depends on the amount of the national income the number of shares in that income and the manner in which the income is distributed among the sharers.

Different writers at different times have attempted to calculate the National Dividend of India.

Dadabhai Naoroji put it at Rs. 20 per year in 1868. Vakil and Muranjan put it at Rs. 58.5 for 1910-14, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao put it at Rs. 76 for 1939, and the National Income Committee calculated the per capita income for 1948-49 as Rs. 255 per year.

Dr. Rao calculated that the national income of India
was Rs. 65/- per annum in 1931-32 and Rs. 69/- for 1942-43 and that "there has been practically no rise in real terms in the national income per capita in 1942-43, as compared to that in 1931-32. There is no justification for holding that Indian poverty has declined during 1931-1942 to any significant extent."

The per capita income of Rs. 65/- in 1931-32 would be equivalent to about Rs. 260/- in 1948-49. Thus it seems that the per capita income of the Indian Union in 1948-49 was less than the per capita income of undivided India in 1931-32.

These estimates have their limitations but if changes in the price level are taken into account they may serve the purpose of showing a tendency. The Indian price index number based on 1873 prices became 281 in 1921 and 125 in 1936. The index number with 1939 as base year had moved from 100 to 410 or so during the immediate post-war period. The basis of calculation also differs from author to author. But whatever their short comings they reveal one striking thing viz. the utter poverty of the Indian people.

The economic condition of the masses in India is simply wretched. People in the countryside and also in towns are extremely poor. This poverty of the people means

want, insecurity and inability to provide for the most elementary needs of life - "By far the major part of Indian man power is underfed, diseased, illiterate and unskilled. The per capita food supply is less than one-third that in the U.S.A." It is really inappropriate to speak of the "standard of living" of the people in India as the concept of the standard of living is far more comprehensive. It includes food, clothing, shelter, medical services, prestige values or "conventional necessities" and elements which represent the group concept of welfare. In India the income of the vast majority of the people is not even sufficient to satisfy the essential wants of physical existence and hence it is misleading to speak of the standard of living in India. In India we should really speak of and refer to it as the "standard of existence" instead of standard of living. Even this would involve the adequate satisfaction of such primary needs as food, clothing and shelter which millions of our people do not get. The vast majority of the Indian people eke out a precarious existence of abject poverty.

People in Saurashtra are poor beyond compare. The economic condition of the masses in rural areas as also the classes in urban areas is extremely deplorable. Till recently there were only two classes in Saurashtra - the

microscopically small class of the rich comprising of the ruling Princes and their families and a few officials and traders and the ryots consisting of the vast majority of the common people who drudged in acute poverty. There was no middle class worth the name.

Many causes were responsible for the poverty and backwardness of the people in Saurashtra. Kathiawar was a land of famines. The Bombay Gazeteer (Vol. VII) mentions 31 famines between 1559 and 1879 i.e. in about 300 years. From 1879 also there were many famines (e.g. 1899-1900, 1911-12, 1918-19, 1931-32, 1939-40, etc.). Even during the last few years Saurashtra had famines in 1948-49 and 1951-52. It is easy to follow the story when one takes into account the above nature of this area. As Saurashtra is constantly visited by famines people have suffered greatly in this area. Famines have depleted the people of all reserves. Though agriculture is comparatively less important in Saurashtra, yet it is still an industry which gives sustenance to the majority of the people in rural areas. Hence when there is a famine misery is wide spread. When there is a famine there is even the acute shortage of drinking water. Famines have made the economic position of rural masses almost untenable.

The existence of several political units in such a small area was also not conducive to the economic development of the people. We have already pointed out the
economic implications of the existence of so many administrations in Saurashtra. The Kings only cared for their own well being and no systematic efforts were made for ameliorating the condition of the people at large. They were only dumb cattle to be yoked to the chariot and their happiness did not come in the picture at any stage till practically the dawn of freedom in 1947.

The agriculturists had been neglected in Saurashtra. For many centuries the tiller of the soil had been subjected to an exploitation beyond imagination. Cultivators were no better than common serfs. Till 1930, the tenure was tenancy-at-will, totally insecure excepting in a few first class States. Insecurity of tenure was the most important factor which made tenants apathetic about increasing production or improving the yield. The political conditions also had their share in making the condition of the ryots most miserable. The rulers being over-lords they made and unmade laws to satisfy their lust or vengeance or fancy. The cultivator not only had no security of land tenure but he was not sure of personal security if he went against the Girasdar or the Talukdar. In about 2600 villages revenue was collected on crop share basis. Besides this, there were a number of other additional cash levies and these would be increased by the rulers and talukdars to meet their expanding needs. The revenue officials also extracted their pound of flesh. The result was that the cultivator
was hardly left with $\frac{2}{5}$th of the produce, $\frac{3}{5}$th being required to feed these parasites.

Tilling the fields was not the end of their labours. "Forced labour" existed right up to integration. It is natural that these people could have no interest in agricultural efficiency or production, their sole aim being to eke out an existence somehow or the other. Land reform was impossible under these circumstances. It came to be hopelessly neglected and migration to urban areas became a common feature. A number of such "deserted villages" can be found in Halar district.

Cultivators were left with only enough to exist and nothing more. Water facilities were not provided and in Zalawad and Gohilwad it was a common sight to see the villagers going about 6 to 7 miles for a pot of drinking water. Education, social services and medical facilities for the rural population were a luxury. The Rulers, the Girasdars, the Talukdars, the Bhayats and revenue officials all exploited the cultivators. The latter lived in abject misery and poverty and they had not even that "Standard of subsistence."

This is the story of the economic condition of the so-called free people and the touchables in villages. But the condition of that section of the population which went under the name of untouchables was most pitiable, almost desperate. It is a mockery to enquire into their standard of living. They were far below the conception of any
standard in food, clothing, shelter and luxuries.

Mr. Chhaganbhai N. Joshi of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, 
Rajkot Branch in a Memorandum before the Gadgil Committee 
(1953 June) has described very vividly their plight and 
wretched condition.

The feudal social structure in the pre-integration 
days resulted in a stupefactualion of the several social strata. 
This tendency was accentuated by religious orthodoxy. The 
gulf between the Harijans and the caste-Hindus was very wide. 
The Harijans were subjected to a number of social disabili­
ties. In the pre-integration days the Harijans were not 
allowed to buy their necessaries directly from the merchants 
as few merchants would handle their money directly. They 
had to take the help of a Muslim. No barber would shave 
a Harijan. No miller would grind his corn. The Harijans 
could not buy sweets. Few doctors would go and visit a 
patient in the Harijan Vas. They were not admitted to the 
educational institutions. If a Harijan had to pass by 
the house of a Girasdar he was required to take off his 
shoes even at noon and under a blazing sun. Even on a 
highway a Harijan had to dismount his horse and pay homage 
if he were to meet a Girasdar.

The Harijans could not even fetch water from the 
common village well. They were required to stealthily 
fetch and procure drinking water. If they were caught
their women folk were stoned and their pots broken.

Now, an anti-untouchability law has been put on the statute book, but still a great effort will be necessary to better the life of the Harijans economically and socially.

The economic condition of the people in urban areas was in no way better. The two Economic Surveys recently undertaken reveal this beyond doubt. We shall now examine these two Economic Surveys from the point of view of the standard of living in rural and urban areas.

In order to know the economic condition of the rural classes Prof. Vakil - who conducted the economic survey of Saurashtra in 1951-52 - selected 34 villages representative of the agricultural conditions of life of the people of Saurashtra. In these villages families were selected on the basis of stratified random sampling. Out of 881 families, the schedules of 845 were found valid. Information was gathered from these families regarding income, expenditure, assets, liabilities and other economic aspects.

It was found that the average size of the family was larger than that of families staying in cities. It was 6.7 compared with 5.3 in urban areas.

The survey adopted two main divisions for the purpose of analysis; those who had direct interest in land or the farm section and those who had no direct interest in land
or the non-farm section. The following Table shows the distribution of families by income-sub-groups.

**TABLE NO. 85**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income (annual Rs.)</th>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300 and below</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301 - 500</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501 - 1200</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201 - 1800</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891 - 2400</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2401 - 3000</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3001 - 6000</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6001 - 10000</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000 and above</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertain income</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>429</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the families are concentrated in the first three income-groups showing thereby the acute poverty of the people.

On the whole the cash expenditure of these families exceeded substantially the cash income, the latter fell short of the former by 46 per cent. The deficit occurred in all

* Economic Survey of Saurashtra, page 569; by C.N. Vakil.
income groups except VIII and IX (i.e. Rs. 6001 - 10000 and above Rs. 10000). The average per family annual income of group B families amounted to Rs. 1,041/-.

The annual per capita income of group B families amounted to Rs. 175/- per annum. In the case of the first three income sub-groups expenditure was larger than income, in sub-groups IV-VIII income exceeded expenditure, the surplus growing in size with the increase in income.

Now we shall examine the mode of expenditure and the consumption pattern. Food was the most important item of expenditure claiming three-fourths of the total expenditure. Clothing and miscellaneous items were the next important absorbing 12 per cent each of the total expenditure. Fuel, lighting and housing required only small proportions of the total expenditure - 1.8 and 0.3 per cent respectively.

Foodgrains claimed half of the expenditure on food, while protective foods like milk and fruits accounted for less than 1/4th of the expenditure under food. Per capita annual consumption of food in the rural areas was 355 lbs. as against 264 lbs., in the urban areas. The expenses on social and religious ceremonies and conventional necessities appeared to be at the cost of education. Thus there is a good scope for re-orientation in the pattern of expenditure in favour of education and similar useful items. There were little variations in the expenditure pattern as between occupation and incomes and farm and non-farm families.
The farm and non-farm families' expenditure pattern was 73 per cent on food, 13 per cent on clothing, 1.3 per cent on fuel and lighting, 0.1 on housing and 12 per cent on miscellaneous items.

Of the expenses incurred on food, the major portion - 58 per cent - was absorbed by foodgrains. Within foodgrains again cereals had the larger share. Milk and milk products absorbed 16 per cent of the expenditure, but ghee and not milk, was the chief item of expenditure. Other animal products absorbed only 0.3 per cent of the expenditure as the vast majority of the people of Saurashtra are vegetarians. Sugar and gur accounted for 10 per cent of the expenditure on food while fruits and vegetables accounted for only 5.2 per cent of the expenses on food. Foodgrains being the cheapest food, the proportion of expenses on them by low income-groups was relatively large. The proportion of food expenditure spent on milk and milk products tended to increase with the rise in income level but that on foodstuffs tended to decline. On an average about 355 lbs. of cereals were consumed by an individual in 12 months i.e. little less than 1 lb. per day. The most important cereals consumed were bajri and jowar. The following Table shows the annual per capita consumption of cereals.

TABLE NO.86 (in lbs.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Wheat</th>
<th>Bajri</th>
<th>Jowar</th>
<th>Total (including other minor cereals)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Miscellaneous items" is another big group including a number of items of diverse character. As villages have little to offer locally by way of amusements in the form of cinema shows etc. no expenditure was incurred on amusements. The largest share - about 31 per cent - of expenditure on miscellaneous items was absorbed by expenditure on social and religious ceremonies. Travelling and medicine accounted for 15 per cent and 14 per cent of the miscellaneous expenditure. Education claimed only 1.9 per cent of the total miscellaneous expenditure.

During 1949-50, an average rural family spent Rs. 52.4 on social and religious ceremonies and Rs. 42.0 on conventional necessities annually, Rs. 26 on travelling, Rs. 23 on medicine while education claimed only 3.2. Only 21 per cent of the families spent on education.

The people in villages did not spend their money in a judicious and enlightened manner. The following Table shows the rural and urban expenditure pattern.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Per capita</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Rs.</td>
<td>Rural Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and lighting</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                     | 252        | 214        | 100        | 100        |

* Economic Survey (1953) by C. N. Vakil page 572.
The expenditure of the urban population was on the whole more judicious and enlightened. It also suggested a higher standard of urban living and greater emphasis on protective foods.

The condition of housing is equally bad in rural areas. The survey found that it is a wrong notion to suppose that the problem of housing is an urban problem. The rural houses are clustered in one place originally allotted for building purposes. The floor space available per head for the families surveyed in urban and rural areas was equal (at about 58 square feet).

Two distinctive features were noted regarding rural housing. Most of the houses were built by the owners to suit the requirements of their own families according to their economic conditions and social status. There was no easy way of adjusting the housing facilities to changes in the size of the family or income. Rural houses are not only used as shelter for human beings, they are also utilized as godown to stock farm produce, cattle food and fodder. Cattle are also huddled in them at nights together with human beings. 90 per cent of the families investigated resided in their own houses - in urban areas only 43 per cent of the families lived in owned houses. 40 per cent of the houses were of stone brick and reinforced cement concrete. Cement concrete constructions accounted for only 4 per cent of the total buildings.
As the houses were put to various uses 240 sq. ft. for a family of 4 persons or 60 sq. ft. per head may be taken to be as minimum requirements from the point of view of health. The survey found that though the average floor space was very near the minimum required, the detailed analysis of tenements according to the floor space per head shows that about half of the number of families studied had housing needs below the minimum. 15 per cent of the families had less than half the minimum accommodation per head.

It may be pointed out that a large floor space does not itself assure comfortable living unless the residence is divided properly into rooms. The average number of rooms per tenement in rural areas was 1.7 against 2.4 in urban areas. 44 per cent of the rural houses investigated had only one room. Two rooms structures accounted for 39 per cent. Houses with three or more rooms constituted only one-sixth of the total number of residences. The size of the rooms in the rural houses was quite big as in many cases it was co-extensive with the entire floor space of the buildings. From the point of view of sanitation, ventilation and open space the housing conditions were worse in the villages than in the urban areas. The survey divided all the houses into three categories with respect to sanitation and ventilation; viz. good, fair and bad. 57 per cent of the houses fell in the category of bad sanitation, 31 per cent had fair sanitation and only 12 per cent of the houses
satisfied satisfactory sanitary standards. Conditions regarding ventilation were worse than sanitary conditions. 65 per cent of the rural houses had bad ventilation as against 27 per cent in urban areas. Ample open surrounding space was the relieving feature of the congestion in rural houses. But even here 15 per cent of the houses had no open space around them and 43 per cent had only little space.

The Economic Survey also gives us some idea of the standard of living of the people in urban areas in Saurashtra. According to the Census of India 1951, Saurashtra has 65 towns each having a population of more than 5,000. The Economic Survey (1952) of the Saurashtra Government selected some 22 towns having different populations. The percentage of the population surveyed was 63.

The average size of the urban family was 5.3. It was found that the average monthly income of the family was Rs. 123 and expenditure Rs. 115. 45 per cent of the families had balanced budgets.

The expenditure of the urban families also showed certain characteristics. The following Table adapted from Economic Survey, page 455 - shows the expenditure of the families on different items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table No. 88</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The families were divided into eight income groups from Rs. 50/- per month to Rs. 500/- and above. The largest percentage of expenditure was on food and it varied from 72 per cent in the lowest income group to 53 per cent in the highest income group. A distinct tendency for the percentage expenditure on food to fall as income increased was noticed. Expenditure on miscellaneous items showed regular and wide changes. It increased regularly with the increase in the income. It was 8.1 per cent in income-group I and 30 per cent in VIII.

Of the total expenditure on food, 48 per cent was on food grains, 16 per cent on milk products, 1.4 per cent on other animal products, 7.7 per cent on sugar and gur, 9.7 per cent on oil, 9.8 per cent on fruits and vegetables, 3.8 per cent on beverages and 4.0 per cent on other food stuffs.

The per capita consumption of cereals was 22 lbs. per month (wheat 7.3 lbs. bajri 6.8 lbs. jowar 5.2 lbs. and rice 2.4 lbs.). The per capita consumption of rice increased with a rise in income from 1.7 to 5.4 lbs. per month. Jowar consumption definitely decreased with higher income. It was 7 lbs. per head in income group II while 0.6 in income group VIII. People appeared to be consuming all the cereals and so cannot be described as rice-eating, wheat eating, etc. though bajri is regarded as the staple food of the poor sections of the community.

The consumption of ghee showed that it increased with
the increase in income. In the first income group it was negligible, while in the VIII it was 1.9 lbs. per capita per month. Similarly the per capita consumption of milk increased with the increase in income. It varied from 2.8 lbs. in income group I to 18.8 lbs. in income group No.VIII. The average consumption of ghee and milk was 0.3 lbs. and 5.2 lbs. per head per month (the per day per capita consumption of milk comes to about 3 ounces). The per capita expenditure on food showed a tendency to increase with an increase in income. Though the quantitative consumption of food grains remained the same, the per capita expenditure on food grains varied widely from 86 annas in income group I to 181 annas in income group VIII because of varieties in the consumption and quality of food grains taken by different classes of people. The per capita expenditure on fruits and vegetables increased from 16 annas in income group I to 63 annas in VIII.

In the miscellaneous expenditure the most important item of expenditure was conventional necessities like pan, bidi and tobacco. It accounted for 21 per cent of the total miscellaneous expenditure. The following Table shows the percentage distribution of miscellaneous expenditure. (Table No. 89 on next page).

It may be noted that education got only 6.6 per cent of the miscellaneous expenditure. It was found that mis-
TABLE NO. 89 *
(percentage distribution of miscellaneous expenditure)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amusement</th>
<th>Toilet and soap</th>
<th>Travelling</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social and religious necessities loans Intoxicants expenditure

| 10         | 21              | 9.4        | .2     |

Miscellaneous expenditure increased with the increase in income and that there was an all round increase of expenditure on various sub-groups. The monthly expenditure on cloth increased from 24 annas in income-group I to 92 annas in the highest income-group. The per head expenditure on housing was 9.3 annas per month.

In the first three income-groups the percentage of families consuming fruits was negligible (from 1 to 5) while up to VII group it was only 42. Vegetables being a necessity variations were small but still in the first four income-groups 15 per cent of the families went without any vegetables at all.

* Adapted from Economic Survey of Saurashtra (1953) p. 461.
The Survey found that housing is one of the urgent problems in urban areas. The majority of buildings were built of stone. Bricks and mortar came next in importance while concrete buildings were infrequent. Even in urban areas, mud and straw constituted the raw materials for building, as 20 per cent of the families in the income-group I and 14 per cent in the income group II were found in such houses.

The following Table shows the distribution of families according to the structure of their houses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concrete</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick and Mortar</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mud and Straw</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The importance of stone structure is obvious. 46 per cent of the families stayed in rented houses while 43 per cent in their own houses. 11 per cent stayed in houses that were given to them by their relatives or employers.

The floor space available per head was 58 sq. ft. In lower income groups the total area enjoyed by each family

* Adapted from Economic Survey of Saurashtra, page 444.*
was deplorably low. The number of rooms per family varied with the family income. Families with an income of Rs. 50/- or less in group I had only 1.6 rooms each. The average number of rooms increased in the higher income groups. Families with an income of more than Rs. 150/- per month had more than 3 rooms while in the highest income group the number of rooms was 6.1. On an average urban families had 2.4 rooms.

27 per cent of the families stayed in badly ventilated houses - the percentage being as high as 45 in the lowest income group. 53 per cent stayed in fairly ventilated houses and only 19 per cent stayed in houses of good ventilation.

The sanitary facilities in a majority of cases were bad. Many of the houses had no latrines at all. Even up to income group IV nearly half the families lived in houses without any latrine facilities. The majority of the houses had latrines with the basket-system. Only 2 per cent of the families had flush latrines. The provision of a separate bath-room is a luxury comparatively unknown. Only 11 per cent of the families had bath room facilities while 89 per cent had no bath rooms at all. Only 2/5th of the families

* Bad - Houses having rooms which were dingy or stuffy. Generally rooms in such houses had less than one window on an average.

** Fair - Houses with rooms which allowed only a moderate amount of light and air to enter - generally with one room.

*** Good - Houses with windows of sufficient size allowing ample light and air to come in.
The low standard of living of urban population is confirmed by another Survey conducted by the Labour Department of the Saurashtra Government. The Labour Department of the Government of Saurashtra made an enquiry into the budgets of the working class families in Bhavnagar in 1951. The Survey was conducted by Shri K. S. Narayanan, Statistics Officer, Government of Saurashtra.

In all 780 family budgets were obtained and scrutinized. Family was taken as a house-hold having an independent common kitchen and living under a common roof. The average number of persons per family was found to be 4.9 while the average monthly income of the 780 families was Rs. 105-2-0. In Ahmedabad the average family earnings in 1944-45 were Rs. 134-5-3. This brings out the fact that the urban population in Saurashtra gets less income than the adjoining territories. The disparity becomes glaring when it is taken into account that prices in 1951 were much higher than in 1944-45.

The following Table shows the percentage expenditure of different sections of the labourers on different items: (Table No. 91 on next page).

More than half the expenditure of the family is on food. It is also noteworthy that the expenditure on food is almost
It was also found that the percentage expenditure on food decreased generally with the increase in the income of the family. On clothing also the percentage steadily decreased with the increase in income whereas in house-rent the percentage fluctuated up to the income limit of Rs. 90/- and then it steadily decreased. In the miscellaneous items the percentage steadily increased with the increase in income and the size of the family. The report pointed out that the greater a group of labourers earned the smaller was the percentage expenditure spent on food. The following Table from the same report shows the percentage expenditure for families according to their income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Miscellaneous</th>
<th>Clothing</th>
<th>Fuel</th>
<th>Rent</th>
<th>Bedding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58.10</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>7.90</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>1.00 Industrial labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.47</td>
<td>22.08</td>
<td>9.26</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>0.50 Miscellaneous labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.74</td>
<td>23.05</td>
<td>7.63</td>
<td>7.45</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>0.68 Labour-cum-businessmen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Table adapted from the typed Report of the Statistical Officer, page 20 (Government of Saurashtra).

According to the enquiry the analysis of the budgets showed that the standard of living or comfort was not a high one or as a matter of fact was not what it ought to be. The expenditure on education was nothing. The housing conditions were also not satisfactory. The percentage expenditure on clothing was less than in most other industrial centres. The families were not able to save anything due to high prices. Though there was an increase in income in recent times, the tendency to spend more on bidies, cigarettes, etc. had been noticed with the increase in income. As already
pointed out the miscellaneous expenditure tended to increase with the increase in income. The Enquiry asserted that "it must be admitted that the pattern of living has also altered to some extent, necessitating the increase in the expenditure of the whole family."

Though an increase in income will generally have the effect of raising the standard of living of the people, it may not always produce that effect. As in the case of Bhavnagar labourers the increase in money incomes has been spent on an increased expenditure on bidies, cigarettes, etc. It seems that it is necessary to educate the masses to spend their money in the best possible manner so as to get the maximum amount of comfort from every anna the people spend. It is more easy to spend money foolishly, because in spending one does not act under the direction of any other person but is his own master. Very few people possess the sturdy common sense for utilizing their resources in the best possible manner.

The Report also throws some light on the cost and quantity of food consumed. The pattern of expenditure on food closely resembled the pattern in Ahmedabad. The most important staple food was wheat, followed by rice, jowar.

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and bajri in order of preference. Of the total expenditure on food 29.6 per cent was spent on cereals, viz. wheat, rice, bajri and jowar. Only 2.8 per cent was spent on meat, fish etc. The milk and milk products constituted 21.6 per cent of the expenditure on food and 12.52 per cent of the whole expenditure. The average worker consumed more milk than in Ahmedabad. The expenditure on milk, ghee, ready-made tea. etc. gradually increased with income.

For an adult consumption unit the figures were 22.6 lbs. of cereals and 2.9 lbs. of pulses per month on the basis of 780 families. (In the Bhavnagar areas in rationing each unit was given 22 lbs. of cereals per month).

We are also able to get a glimpse of the calorific value of the food consumed. The problem of correctly estimating the calorific value of food presents many difficulties and so the estimate can only be an approximation. On the basis of the quantities consumed, the average working class family consumed between 8,000 and 8,500 calories per day against 12,000 and 12,500 calories required for a family of 4.9 persons in all. The weight of the individual was not taken into consideration. If this is taken into consideration then for an adult worker the consumption was between 2000 and 2200 calories as against the requirement which varies between 2500 and 3000 calories per day per adult unit of consumption. Dr. Aykroyd puts it at 2600
calories per day for an "average man" in India and about 2800 - 3000 calories per day for those who perform heavy manual work.

The U.P. Labour Enquiry Committee Report - 1946-48 gives the following quantities as required for a balanced diet.

**TABLE NO. 93**

(Showing the comparison of weight required and weights actually consumed in Saurashtra)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Weights required per month</th>
<th>Weights actually consumed in Saurashtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>26.25</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulses</td>
<td>5.625</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>11.25</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar and Jaggery</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil, ghee etc.</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to Dr. Baljit Singh - Population and Food Planning in India (1947) - the average daily needs of the


people in India are 2680 calories per day, per head of the adult population. It is clear from the above discussion that Bhavnagar working class families did not get the irreducible minimum required by the average Indian. They also did not consume the weights of various eatables which they should have consumed. The expenditure on fuel and lighting was mainly on firewood, kerosene and cowdung cakes being Rs. 3-9-11, Rs. 1-3-0 and Rs. 0-19-8 respectively. There was little expenditure on charcoal and soft coke. The main article of fuel was cowdung cakes. 57 per cent of the families reported expenditure on it. Total expenditure on fuel and lighting was 5.95 per cent of the total expenditure. In Ahmedabad it was 8.99 per cent of total expenditure.

The expenditure on clothing per family per month was Rs. 8-15-3. The main articles of male clothing were dhoties, pants, shirts and coats. For females the articles were saries and ghagras or petti-coats. The total expenditure on male and female clothing was 39.6 per cent and 28.34 per cent of the total expenditure on clothing. The remaining expenditure was on the clothing of male and female children.

The Enquiry found that the congestion in Bhavnagar was not so great as in other industrial centres. But it had increased in recent times. The average rent for those who paid rent was Rs.5-12-4 per month. The average number
of persons per tenement was 4.9. The floor area gradually increased with the increase in the size of the tenement. The average floor area was 46 sq. ft. per head. It was found that the people of low income groups were forced to have a limited floor area per head - as low as 37 sq. ft. From 1939 the number of those paying rent gradually increased. With the gradual increase in prices the rental value of houses which were supplied freely was realized.

The items included under miscellaneous expenditure were tooth-sticks (datan), barber and dhobi charges, bidis and matches, liquor, and all other items of family expenditure not specified.

Expenditure on education was low and only 10 per cent of the families incurred expenditure on education and even this was incurred by higher income groups. The Report points out that this was due to indifference, poverty and use of children for supplementary earning. But it may be noted that education, at least primary and secondary is very cheap. Even high school education is comparatively cheap as these institutions were run by the former native States. To the extent to which they get cheap education, the people in Saurashtra are better off than their brethren in the Bombay State.

With the rise in the income the percentage number of surplus budgets, within each income group increased. It
was exactly opposite in the case of deficit budgets. On the whole 54.4 per cent of the families had excess of income over expenditure, while the remaining 45.6 per cent were deficit budgets. The average surplus for all the budgets was Rs. 16-2-10, while the average deficit was Rs. 16-3-2. There were various causes of indebtedness but the most important causes were marriages, festivals, sickness, funerals and unemployment. The amount of loan per indebted family was the lowest in the lowest income group and increased with the rise in the income.

The percentage number of families in debt within each income group increased up to the income limit of Rs. 90/- and then showed a downward trend. The lower income groups did not increase their income proportionately and so were required to incur debt.

We shall now review the position of the people of Saurashtra regarding their standard of living. Certain things are unmistakably clear. People in Saurashtra are extremely poor. This poverty is a common attribute of urban as also rural population. On examining both the surveys - the Economic Survey and the Bhavnagar Enquiry - one feels that it is misleading to talk of the standard of living of the people. People may be simply subsisting and not living. Most of the families surveyed in the rural areas were concentrated in the three income-groups (i.e.
(from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1200 income per year). This income is shared by 6.7 persons i.e. almost seven persons. The acute per head computation of income will reveal the acute poverty and wretchedness of the majority of the people in Saurashtra. In urban areas 63 per cent of the families surveyed were concentrated in the first two income groups (i.e. from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 income per month). This income was shared among 5.3 persons, i.e. almost 6 persons. This means that the average monthly income which came to the lot of each individual in urban areas was from Rs. 8.3 to 16.6. When it is noted that 63 per cent of the people were found in this category, it becomes obvious that urban people also sail in the same boat.

The expenditure pattern of both the rural and the urban populations makes it clear that almost all the energy of the people is spent in procuring food for subsistence. In the rural areas food claimed 75 per cent of the total expenditure, while it was 64 per cent in urban areas. But even after doing this the food that is obtained is neither sufficient nor of the requisite type from the point of view of nutrition. The position regarding the diet of the people in Saurashtra is quite unsatisfactory. Sir John McGaw's enquiry in 1933 in connection with public health of village life in India pointed out that India had a poorly nourished population. It revealed that 39 per cent of the people were well nourished, 41 per cent poorly
nourished and 20 per cent were badly nourished. During the last 20 years the problem of nutrition has attracted great attention. As many as 50 surveys have been made of the diet of the people in different parts of India. They reveal almost uniform tendencies. It is revealed that rice is the staple food in Madras, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa. 90 per cent of calories of the diets are derived from rice. The consumption of animal protein was very low and nearly 50 per cent of the families that were surveyed drank no milk. The average total calories were found to be insufficient to meet normal requirements. The stamina and physique of the rice eating population of Bengal and Madras are far below those of the Northern people who live on wheat, milk, vegetables, fruit and meat.

The Indian diet is ill-balanced as cereals preponderate in it and milk, fruit, vegetables and fats are almost non-existent. Dr. Aykroyd has proved that a well balanced diet is simply beyond the means of a large section of the population in India. The value of the diet of the people in terms of proteins, fats and carbohydrates as expressed in calories is found to be much below the standard requirements as laid down by the British Medical Association or the scale suggested by Sir Robert McCarrison in his book on "Food". There is not only a grave deficiency of proteins of animal origin but proteins of vegetable origin
also do not cover up the deficiency. In 1938 Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao calculated that the maximum amount of animal proteins available per man unit of the population was 69 per cent less than the standard amount laid down in the British Medical Association scale.

Saurashtra people get a diet which is far from what is called a "balanced diet". The Nutrition Advisory Committee of the Indian Research Fund Association has suggested the following composition of a balanced diet to provide the various nutrients in sufficient quantities, taking into consideration the Indian dietary habits.

**TABLE NO. 94**

(Requirements per day in a balanced diet for an adult man)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Oz.</th>
<th>Food</th>
<th>Oz.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cereals</td>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>Milk</td>
<td>1/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulses</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sugar and Jaggery</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green leafy vegetables</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Vegetable oil, ghee etc.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root vegetables</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fish and meat</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other vegetables</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Eggs</td>
<td>1 egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bhavnagar Enquiry brings out the preponderance of cereals in the diet of the people in Saurashtra. The most important staple food is wheat but most of the people are forced to eat bajra and jowar due to poverty. Of the total expenditure on food 29.6 per cent was spent on cereals,

*Quoted by Dr. Baljit Singh - Population and Food Planning in India, page 25.*
viz. wheat, rice, bajra and jowar and only 2.8 per cent was spent on meat, fish etc. The cereal diet must be supplemented in sufficient quantities by other foods which are required to compensate for the deficiencies of a cereal diet in respect of proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins. People in Saurashtra cannot afford enough of "protective food" viz. milk and milk products, meat, fish, eggs, vegetables and fruits.

But even in the consumption of cereals the people in Saurashtra are not able to consume the required weights and as pointed out already this consumption falls short by 4.19 lbs. per month. In the consumption of all the other items viz. pulses, vegetables, milk, sugar and oil also the weights actually consumed in Saurashtra are much less than the standard requirements.

It is clear from the above discussion that the procurement of a "balanced diet" is still far away from the common people. Not only that people do not get a balanced diet, but they do not even get the sufficient calorie requirements. The average daily needs of the people in India are put at 2660 calories per day per head of the adult population by Dr. Baljit Singh and at 2600 calories by Dr. Aykroyd. Though it is extremely difficult to say whether the people in Saurashtra get this irreducible minimum from the food they eat, the Bhavnagar enquiry into
the economic life of the working classes throws some light on this aspect. The enquiry found that the adult worker got only between 2000 and 2200 calories as against the requirement of 2600 calories. It means that people do not get either the "standard diet" or the "sufficient diet". Professor Vakil selected 34 villages and 22 urban townships at random and carried out a sample survey of milk consumption in 1952. The findings of the survey are that the per capita consumption of milk in rural areas comes to 5.3 ounces (per day) while in cities it is somewhere near 7 ounces.

In 1946 the Junagadh State had conducted a survey regarding milk consumption. It revealed that the per capita consumption of milk was only 2 ounces. Fish and meat are out of question because the vast majority of the people are vegetarians. India is perhaps on the lowest rung of the ladder in milk consumption and the distressing fact in this respect is that decade after decade there is a fall in the per capita daily consumption of milk. The daily per capita consumption of milk has come down to 5.8 ounces from 6.6 ounces.

Milk is of particular importance to the people of Saurashtra as the overwhelming majority can not use eggs

7. Memorandum of Saurashtra Government to Gadgil Committee (June 1953) page 74.
or meat as they are vegetarians. In addition to vegetarianism poverty also comes in the way of purchasing fruits, ghee and vegetables which would make the diet of the people balanced. Measures must be taken to make pure milk cheap and also to prevent adulteration of milk. The minimum requirements of milk - according to Dr. Wright - are 15 ounces per head daily. The average diet of the people in Saurashtra is both insufficient and deficient. Most of the people have to spend half of their income on the above described type of food. It is clear, therefore, that the income of the people will have to be increased considerably in order to enable them to purchase a balanced diet. It may also be advantageous if people are made to understand the nutritive value of different food items so that those who afford it may be able to adjust their diets accordingly.

The expenditure on clothing shows that rural people spent 12 per cent while urban people spend 9.2 per cent of their income on clothing. But this is contrary to our expectations as town people are expected to spend more on clothing. The Bhavnagar enquiry into the economic condition of the working classes found that for a family of 5 persons, only about Rs. 2/- were spent on clothing per month. The enquiry also found an expenditure of little less than 9 per cent on clothing. When we take into consideration that ordinary cloth is sold at Re. 1/- per yard
this means that each individual gets little less than 24 yards per year. In these 24 yards a man has to manage the dhoties, pijams, pants and shirts and a woman has to manage her saris, ghagras or petticoats and blouses.

It is no wonder, therefore, that many people have to use their drawers and the upper coat-like garment without even washing it. We have also to take into account the additional clothing which is necessary to ward off cold in the cold season. The people in Saurashtra appear to be better clad than their brothers in the Konkan and Maharashtra but as pointed out above, there is still great scope for improvement in this respect.

The third necessity for every individual is shelter. As pointed out by the economic survey it is a problem both in rural as well as urban areas. Though the people in urban and rural areas get the necessary floor space their houses are much below the required standard of sanitation and ventilation. The Bhavnagar enquiry found that the average floor area was only 46 sq. ft. per head while people of low income groups were forced to have a limited floor area, as low as 37 sq. ft. per head. The problem in rural areas is dividing the so-called houses into suitable rooms as the average number of rooms was only 1.7 per tenement (this house was occupied by about six to seven persons).
Houses are not only used as shelter for human beings but they are utilized as godown to stock farm produce, cattle, food and fodder. It is also necessary to change the present position of housing in rural as well as urban areas from the point of view of sanitation, ventilation and open space. In this respect the condition in villages is worse than in the urban areas. The economic survey found that 57 per cent of the houses in rural areas fell in the category of bad sanitation and 65 per cent had bad ventilation. In the urban areas sanitary facilities in a majority of cases were bad. Many urban houses had no latrines at all. One can imagine the condition of the people in urban areas when it is known that half the number of families in the income groups from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 per month lived in houses without any latrine facilities. Bathrooms and latrines are luxuries for many, not only in rural areas but urban areas also. The economic survey found that 89 per cent of the families in towns lived in houses without bath-rooms. In fine housing is a problem both for rural as well as urban population. Houses in rural areas are not properly divided into rooms and both in urban and rural areas they are much below the required standard of sanitation and ventilation. One can understand the absence of latrines and bath rooms in the rural areas but many of the urban houses were found to be without these elementary conveniences. The majority of the people
both in towns and villages are huddled up in dingy and unhealthy houses. The sanitary conditions are further worsened due to the lack of proper municipal services. Nothing short of a complete and thorough transformation of houses will solve the problem.

When the energies of the people are exhausted as described above to procure the type of food, clothing and shelter it is almost redundant to ask whether they get any amusements or luxuries. It is futile to expect that the people might be enjoying any luxuries when they are so badly fed, badly clothed, and badly housed. The miscellaneous expenditure of the survey gives us some idea about the expenditure on amusements and luxuries. But even here, it is the conventional necessaries which occupy the prominent place. The miscellaneous expenditure includes such items as education, health and interest on loans which can not be taken to be as luxuries. Hence even when there is an increase in miscellaneous expenditure with the rise in income it can not be said with certainty that expenditure on luxuries has increased.

It appears that only in two respects the people of Saurashtra (at least in the urban areas) are fortunate. They enjoy cheap educational facilities and comparatively cheap medical facilities. The former Indian States had provided these facilities and Saurashtra Government have continued and extended these services. The negligible expenditure on education may be due to poverty but the
above fact also has to be noted. The extent to which these facilities are obtained by the people will enable them to spend their income on other items of necessities and luxuries and raise their standard of living. Most of the towns in Saurashtra have schools giving very cheap secondary and high school education as also dispensaries giving free medical aid.

But on the whole the lot of the general masses is extremely pitiable and herculean efforts will be necessary to lift the people out of their sub-human existence. The disquieting feature of the miscellaneous expenditure is the unproportional importance given to conventional and religious expenditure as also expenditure on marriages and festivals. There is good scope for reorientation in the pattern of expenditure in favour of education and other cultural aspects of life, but primarily it is a problem of increasing the income of the people. It may of course be necessary to educate the people to lead a fuller and richer life so as to get the best out of life and rise to the full height of their abilities.

It is extremely difficult to say whether the standard of living has gone up or down during the last fifty years. The position is further complicated by the absence of comparable data. The people in general also had no idea about either the Standard of living or its maintenance.
But from certain symptoms it appears that there has been no appreciable difference in the economic well-being of the people of Saurashtra. Agricultural cultivation has not increased nor has the yield increased during the last fifty years. Agricultural production is not keeping pace with the increasing population and there is no corresponding increase in industrialization. The rising prices of agricultural goods have given some benefit to the producers but the gain is more than off-set by increased expenditure on consumption goods. The people certainly are not able to get food than what they were eating some twenty years ago.