

Consumption Pattern in Indian Society A Sociological Analysis

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify the dissertation entitled "**Consumption Pattern in Indian Society: A Sociological Analysis**" submitted by **Sameer Madhukar Tuplondhe**, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this University, has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University. This is an original work.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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(Supervisor)


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अतः दिप भवः

Be Thy light

Lord Buddha...

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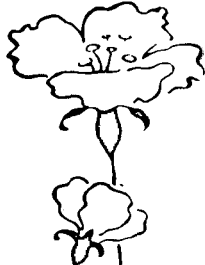
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Sameer Madhukar Tuplondhe



*Dedicated to my
Loving & Caring Sister
Shilpa
Who means so much to me.*

CONTENTS

| Chapter | Title | Page No |
|--------------|---|---------|
| Introduction | | 1-11 |
| Chapter I | Consumption: A Sociological Analysis | 12-57 |
| Chapter II | Consumption pattern in India: Its Dimensions, Determinants and Dynamics | 58-76 |
| Chapter III | Indian Economy: Overview of Five Decades of Planned Efforts | 77-90 |
| Chapter IV | Changing Consumption Pattern: The Data Analysis | 91-123 |
| Conclusion | | 124-132 |
| Bibliography | | 133-137 |
| Appendix | | 138-139 |

"NOTHING IS INFALLIBLE
NOTHING IS FORBIDDEN FOREVER
EVERYTHING IS SUBJECT TO
EXAMINATION AND INQUIRY"

Dr. Ambedkar

INTRODUCTION

Consumption as part of consumer culture has become the regnant ideology throughout the world. The social formations world over are either completely immersed in this 'process of consumption' - like developed nations of the world, or moving towards in that direction-like Third world countries. One of the reasons cited for the fall of Communism is attributed to consumption process. Even planners, Economists, and Bureaucrats are subscribing to this new paradigm-shift from the previous approach of production-planning. In the quest to integrate their economy to global one, consumption is being evaluated as a significant option by the planners. "Consumption process" as part of the "Consumer Culture" is considered to be an integral part of capitalism. Also "Consumption processes" have generated a series of changes in social structure, cultural arena, economic realm political atmosphere and have lead to the social dynamics in many social formations of the world.

Consumption, generally affects the socio-psychological aspects of the personality, it affects the ways in which people build up, and maintain, a sense of who they are, of whom they wish to be. It has become part of the processes in the development of a sense of identity. Consumption, it

seems, will remain an important social, psyhological and cultural process, as well as economic one in coming 21st century also.

To quote Dichter:

All objects which surround us have souls of their own, have human qualities because they only exist in a human world... there are no raw inhuman objects. The moment furniture, houses, bread, cars, bicycles or other products appear in our life, they are related to us, they are human."²

The above paragraphs vividly account for the importance of consumption in everyday life of consumers, and the society in which they dwell.

Infact a consumer society is one which is organized around the consumption rather than production of goods and services, also this term got prominence in last decade, that is, in 80's. Basically the term "Consumer Society" is applied to designate an inter-related set of socio-economic and cultural tendencies having characteristics of the advanced industrial societies of west [i.e. America, Western Europe and pacific Rim countries]. Also it is seen to distinguish both from earlier nineteenth century "productionist Societies" (meaning emphasis on production by planner without considering consumption in economy) and from the developing societies of the 'third world'. Popular usage of the term "Consumer society" frequently denotes that the

member of such societies identify high levels of consumption with social success and personal happiness and hence choose consumption as their priority of life goals.³

Also at times, the phrase "Consumption" is linked to a critique of status-seeking materialism and hedonism which are assumed to comprise the dominant values in such societies.⁴

However academic usage do retain the insight that the key to understanding modernity or post-modernity lies in giving importance to the activities of consumption and also 'attitudes' and values attached to it.

In-fact the term "Consumer society" is used to include above views and usually it implies "an economy which is geared to satisfy the novel wants rather than merely the basic needs of consumer."⁵

Today, more and more societies which had different ideologies to follow, like socialism and communism, have succumbed to the pressure of consumption. Russia, East European Nations, China had to adopt market friendly policies, to give way to capitalism. Infact consumption has legitimatised 'capitalism' in more than one way. Different nations who were averse to multinationals and foreign investment are opening up their economy to these very forbidden players. Liberalization, privatization and

globalization have become the buzz words of contemporary economies.

In almost all societies traditional parameters of success, values and belief system have given way to new emerging values and belief system, due to the consumer culture.

The genesis of consumption dates back to pre-eighteenth century era when emerging bourgeoisie started emulating style of rich aristocrats of England and Europe. Emphasis on spending was given importance and also life style patterns were dramatically according to the rich.⁶ The Nouveau rich class when moved to trans-Atlantic and made N. America their homeland, it emerged as the mecca of consumer culture. Asceticism and spirituality took the back-seat and materialistic life-styles and hedonistic values played dominant part in the society. The whole ideology which guided this growth of capitalism was given by Weber in his monumental work on "protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism".

After the industrial revolution, there emerged markets of mass consumption, huge factories with standardized assembly line catered to the demands of masses, Fordism era was established.⁷

✓ Consumption over a period of time switch its meaning and its is seen more in the context of development of post-modern era. Infact consumption has become the part of wider debate about post-modernity that is about whether western capitalism has undergone a significant change. To understand the whole process, it requires a new theoretical orientation and is to be signalled by the term "post-modern" which has been dealt at length in our research work.⁸

If 'modern' implied an industrial, urban, capitalist society, in which socio-economic class was still the determining feature of people's lives, of their sense of who they were-their identity. On the other hand 'post-modern' implied a post industrial, suburban, even post capitalist social formation in which old, stable points for establishing people's sense of identity had to be displaced. Actually the identities in 'post-modern' conditions have become more flexible and they float around in a state of potential, if not actual, change.

The phenomenon of 'Consumption' is not very new to *Indian Context*, infact Mughal dynasties and various other kings had been sound proponents of the concept of consumption. However it did not percolate to the masses. In the twentieth century after independence, India adopted mixed economy, its politics was restricted to imports and

closed economy but during the period of 80's and 90's when world was emerging in one 'global village' by means of quick transport, communications, media, information and various other ways, India was unable to stop itself from the lure of the fast changing global economic scenario. The sound bussiness principles called for integration of nation's economy with global one. Today, nations health is being measured in terms of foreign investment by multinational corporations and advancement or modernity is gauged by lot of other factors but, ~~the~~ one of the factor is the availability of international brands in the market.

Today with changing time and changing economic conditions, consumption patterns of people in terms of Food habits and non-food habits will certainly indicate the dominant trend prevailing in the economy. In our research we will be studying this aspect of consumption pattern in detail. On the dialectic side we will also be analysing the role of consumption on poverty, and how to counter - act the process of alienation through the institution of religion. Urban areas with several advantages have shown receptiveness to adopt consumer culture whereas rural areas are still undergoing the process of this transformation slowly. The period from 50s to 70s to 80s certainty will indicate the fast changing pace of preference of Indian consumers, their

outlook towards life and changing consumption pattern. All this will be the focus of our study.

Consumption has become an important topic for sociological analysis for being endowed with multi-dimensional characteristics. It involves the questions of society, habits, customs, values, beliefs, attitudes and debates over spiritualism/materialism, role of ideology, also question of orientation, job preference and gamut of other socio-cultural and economic factors have infact paved the way for study of consumption.

Indeed our research is about consumption, a research about the ways in which we re-produce our life and our pattern of life.

METHODOLOGY

In the present work we have sought to analyse the role of consumption from the angle of different Institutions like culture, market, religion, social organization and how they interact to determine the phenomenon of consumption, which indicates the faint tones functionalist perspective. After independence, India adopted mixed economy with socialist ideals but it has ended up with a more Liberalised economy. The phenomenon of consumption has been explained taking help from "classical sociologists" to "post modern" thinkers like

Jean Braudillard, pierre Bourdieu, Levi-strauss et al. Basically food and non-food habits of Indian consumers have been studied in depth after giving the historical account of the genesis of consumer culture in Indian context. No particular area, product or industry has been concentrated open.

The study is exploratory in nature, no field study has been undertaken. Apart from books on 'consumption' and 'consumer culture', material has been drawn from various magazines, journals, encyclopedias and newspaper reports. Sources of data are secondary and have been indicated at appropriate places.

The aim of the study is to systematically analyse the issues of consumption and consumer culture in India. The study is a systematic account of the phenomenon of consumption, its dynamics and of the participants in the process of consumption. At best, it is a humble contribution to an on-going debate all over the world.

CHAPTERISATIONS

Following the introduction we analyse in Chapter One definitions of consumption and the emergence of consumer culture along with inter-pretations of a number of thinkers. A brief over-view has been considered about the meaning,

characteristics and interpretation of consumption. The debate over the new-theoretical dimension of post-modernity has also been considered.

The Second chapter basically deals with consumption pattern in India, its dimensions, determinants and dynamics, it takes account of traditional background of India as a civilization and consumption as an ideology. After considering the impact of colonial rule, Gandhian ideology and India's efforts at planned development have been discussed.

Third Chapter entitled "Indian economy, overview of five Decades of planned Development", starts with tracing the background of planning approach, how ideals of socialism were ingrained and the reason for adoption of mixed economy ideals. After analysis of background we have critically discussed India's planning effort of last five decades to understand how evolution of consumption took roots in the Indian context. Also the process of Liberalization is analyzed.

Fourth chapter deals with the data analysis of from the National Sample Surveys of Central Statistical Organization. The data considered is the abstract of five quinquennial surveys conducted at all India level, covering the period from 1972 October to 1994 June.

Table containing food and non-food items with segregation in value, percentage and quantity of the monthly per capita consumption expenditure is considered over National Sample Survey round. This section is concluded with remarks on the emergency patterns of consumption in India.

In the fifth and last chapter we have tried to summarize the entire debate on consumption and its relevance to third world societies. We have sought to caution in the Indian context the effect of consumption and its impact upon social Institutions. We have also raised certain hypotheses which could become part of further academic pursuit.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER - I

CONSUMPTION: "A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS"

PERSPECTIVES

Consumption as Pocket Oxford Dictionary defines is to 'consume'. Consumption generally is referred to as 'consuming' or 'using up' or 'to use' but Oxford dictionary¹ defines consumption as 'make away with', 'use up', 'devour', 'eat' or 'drink up'. This definition and the use of the words in phrases such as being consumed by envy, greed, desire also reveal some of the anxieties² that are attached to consumption in any society.

According to above definitions 'Consumption' has been existing in societies from time immemorial. Infact it is as old as human race where man first started his living on this planet earth, however our area of focus of consumption is from the point of view of "Consumer Culture" which emanates from the ideology of material culture. As one of the most important ways in which people relate to each other socially, is through the mediation of this, and material culture' is the name given to study of this person-thing relationship, it is the study of things - or objects in-use.

Consumption also involves consuming ideas, images on television and in advertisements. Symbolic meanings influence modern consumers in buying clothes, cars, discs, pre-recorded videos and home furnishings, to give a few example. It is not merely a material object with a simple, direct, utilitarian usage which is purchased, but something which conveys a meaning, which is used to display something about what the consumer aims to be at that time. Consumer goods are part of the ways in which people construct a sense of who they are, of their sense of identity through the use of symbols in consumption pattern.³

Infact consumer culture as a specific form of material culture is an important category because it gives a critical insight from everyday understanding of consumption, shifting attention away from the use of things in the sense of consuming or using up' to 'use' in a more general sense. Articles or objects involve both the moments of consumption as well as production. The creation and manipulation of things in order that they may be exchanged in market is quite often described as 'production' and activities that follow their purchase are described as 'consumption'. Infact consumption when analysed as part of consumer culture via material culture, it can be seen as 'conversion' or to be

more precise "The manner in which people convert things to ends of their own'.⁴

In Indian context the society is largely production driven and consumption is merely seen as the process of production for market. This particular view has been gauged from the fact that our planners, Economists and thinker have viewed the entire process from the production angle and consumption side has always been nearly ignored. This can be noticed from the way our planning process is involved, even our taxation system stands testimony to the said fact.

It becomes difficult for us to distinguish between modern and pre-modern societies on the basis of production because production did exist in pre-modern societies, equally the same argument stands for consumption also. Thus the term 'material culture' will enable us to demarcate between the modern and the pre-modern societies. In pre-modern societies consumption existed in a much simplistic manner where consumer items were of daily use and the utility of items was the end activity, barring few instances of the elite section of society which did indulge in conspicuous consumption, for the purpose of our study we will be ignoring this 'conspicuous consumption' in pre-modern societies because it was limited to certain section

of the society and it never really affected the masses or their ways of life in a big way. What we are trying to emphasize is the consumption which is relevant to the modern societies, where not one section indulge in this or that consumption activity but there is a major shift in mass-orientation, towards consumer culture. The ways of looking at consumer items and the attitude involved in consuming them have undergone a sea change. The process can be traced back to 1950s period when mass production in assembly line was stated in western society, A. Gramsci called it Fordism.⁶ Certainly this process derived its inspiration from T. Veblen's Conspicuous-Consumption-group of late eighteen century.

Capitalism which has evolved over the centuries, has itself undergone sea change. Today different societies have different systems of planning, on the one-side market or capitalist policies prevail and on the other side state plays dominant part in our society. This an example of mixed economy. Also china which is communist dominated society has adopted numerous market friendly measures which was unheard about in Iron-clad countries. So capitalism does exist and it exist in various forms.

Western social formations which are considered as epitome of capitalist system have also experienced changes in their consumption pattern during 50s and 60s period. This was considered the period of mass production and it was dominated by class formations where particular activity or life-style was prerogative of a particular class of society. Things indeed were viewed from the angle of 'status position' like particular way of dressing, or membership of particular club or Hotel, peculiar ways of entertainment so on. Alongwith it work roles also determined status role or position in the society. This entire emphasis of class identity has switched over to individual identities, as has been referred by number of western thinkers. This shift is viewed from thrust on manufacturing to service sector, where work roles no longer determines Individuals class positions, class position does not become barrier for individual to adopt to a particular way of life, or becoming member of particular club or going to particular hotel and so an. This shift is termed as 'post-modern' period and the period assigned to it is late 80s by thinkers like Jean Baudrillard, Levi-Strauss et. al. The phenomena of post-modernism, has been dealt extensively in this chapter.

The debate on modern and post-modern, from consumption point of view, has been discussed further in our work. Consumption for convenience sake in our research will be henceforth referred to as a part of consumer culture. Consumer culture stands for "the cultural dominance, in modern capitalist societies, of an orientation to the marketing and consumption of goods and services". Also it refers to "The 'status differentiated' and 'market segment' culture of modern societies, in which Individual taste not only reflect the social location (Age, gender, occupation, ethnicity etc.), but also the social values and individual life styles, of consumers".⁷ Above argument highlights our area of interest which is consumption, which emanates from "Consumer culture" which further follows from the broader context of "material culture" which we have already defined. We have also made an attempt to analyse consumption in Indian context in different time-periods, which infact is the focus of IInd chapter.

MATERIAL-CULTURE AND CONSUMER-CULTURE

Further moving on with our discussion on consumption as part of the consumer culture it becomes imperative to demonstrate both, the general principle that the circulation

of things and culture are intricately connected in society, and that the nature of these inter-connections are both complex and also historically changing.

✓ "It is in acquiring, using and exchanging things that individuals come to have social lives".⁸ Extending this line of argument for material culture, anthropologist Mary Douglas and economist Baron Isherwood highlight the continuities in the way in which individuals make social meanings through their use of material goods in traditional and modern societies.⁹

In fact consumption as it occurs in all societies goes beyond commerce, it is not merely an economic phenomenon because it deals with meaning, value and communication as much as it does with exchange, price and economic relations.¹⁰ Also the utility of goods is always framed, by a cultural content that even the use of the most mundane objects in daily life carries cultural meaning. To elaborate this we take example of Vacuum Cleaner. A popular company launched a campaign for a Vacuum Cleaner with thrust on hygienic and cleanliness aspect, after a study conducted by a private group it was noticed that most of the consumers who had purchased Vacuum Cleaner still found it convenient to use the traditional methods for cleaning the house. From

this perspective, material goods are not only used to do things, but they also have a meaning, and act as meaningful ranking of social relations, indeed, part of their usefulness is that they are full of meanings.¹¹

In anthropological sense rituals give shape and substance to social relations. When ritual takes verbal form like greeting or prayers it becomes more effective, but when it is related to material things it becomes tangible part of the culture.¹² From this perspective, the use of material things that is, "consumption" becomes key aspect of ritual process. Some examples of use of consumer goods in ritual process existing in our societies are given by sociologist Mccracken.¹³ They are:-

A) **Possession Rituals:** Refer basically to collecting, cleaning, campaign, showing off and also photographing of possession. For example, a person purchasing particular type of house, the way he decorates his house, that is, either through paintings and art objects or furnishing it with latest items like new music system, furniture which are available in market or does he hire the services of professional interior decorator to keep his house trendy, also does items kept in the house are really requirement for basic needs or is it merely to impress upon the visitors? At

times a person can display a photograph of his father, mother, son, daughter or a scenic view or it can be even his academic and other achievement degrees/ certificates/ trophies which can take a place of pride on his drawing rooms, halls.

Further these rituals are a way of transferring meanings from the individual's own world through the newly obtained goods. Possession, from this point in not a static state, but an activity. Through it individuals create a personal world of goods which reflect their experience, self-concept and the vision of the world. Such rituals help establish an individual's social identity. And it is in rituals such as these that the performance capacity of goods is made visible. Through performance, objects express certain aspects of a persons identity.

B) Gift Rituals : Involve giving of gifts which may be tangible or intangible for example giving of consumer items or can be in form of 'Guru Dakshina' by student to his teacher or offering of 'Dana' or it can involve anything which reflects reciprocity of relationships. In the Indian context there exist a whole lot of literature on "Gift as Punya".

Nevertheless, this movement of goods is also a movement of meanings. Often the gift-giver chooses a particular gift because it possesses certain meaningful properties he wishes to ~~see~~ be transferred to the gift-receiver. In some ways many gifts given by parents to children are motivated by the desire to transfer meanings like affection, love as well as the material possessions. From this point of view, the giving of objects on ritual occasions like birthdays, anniversaries, special occasions like marriage can be seen as a powerful means of interpersonal communication or influence like recognition of one's elders, superior, colleagues or near and dear ones. This communication or influence can also be in terms of recognition offered to the gift-receiver for his social standing, or his importance to gift-giver, for example gift to wife or beloved, to a close friend so on and so forth.

C) **Divestment Rituals** : This ritual occurs when either a individual purchases a new things or when a individual disposes of the goods by either selling it or giving it as a gift. This ritual is employed to empty a good of its meaning to some individual ~~or~~ when it is transferred from one person to another. For example when a person purchases new house, the ritual is performed to erase the meaning

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associated with the previous owner. The cleaning and re-decorating of a newly purchased house may be seen as an attempt to remove the meaning associated with the previous owner. These rituals occurs due to fear of "merging of identities" between transplant donor and recipients. To counteract this fear the 'good' is emptied of meaning, in fact it is an implicit acknowledgement of the movable quality of the meaning with which goods are invested and of their significance in a system of symbolic exchange.¹⁴

As a consequence of their use in ritual processes, goods act as a means of making visible and to impress the basic categories by which we classify people in society.¹⁵ Goods thus act as sources of social identity and bearers of social meaning, that is, costly gift will be given to a person who hails from a higher social class than of the gift giver or if a person belongs to same social strata, accordingly a gift will be given by the giver. Goods are capable of creating or enacting cultural assumption in a society like recognition of individual in society, his social status class background and so on. "Indeed goods give such beliefs a reality, a concreteness, that is, they have the effect of stabilizing human life".¹⁶

In a similar view, extending anthropological approach to material culture, Marshal Shalins draws on the concept of Totemism to develop on the analysis of consumption especially of food and clothing in modern industrial societies.¹⁷ Totem, which is characteristics feature of traditional society, is a the symbolic association of plants, animal or objects with individual, tribe or a social group.¹⁸ A Tribe is recognised by its use of the object and its member's shared appreciation of what the object stands for. The object is thus simultaneously a natural and a cultural object. Its meaning is closely tied to the ways in which it acts as a means of communicating the social hierarchies of the group for whom it has cultural significance. Similarly in modern societies, manufactured goods are substituted for species or natural objects as Totem and consumer groups for tribes. For example items of clothing act as totem, communicating distinct social identities and identifying different groups in social hierarchies. Clothing shows a distinction between men and women, barring, the fact, now-a-days, of unisex clothes which have become trendy, they are more or less of informal nature which are not accepted in consideration of social identity, and it can be passed off as a fashion.¹⁹ Also the

distinction between dressing pattern of upper and lower classes also show something of the nature of the differences that are supposed to exist between these classes. It communicates the supposed delicacy of women and the supposed strength of men, the supposed refinement of the upper classes and the supposed 'vulgarity of lower classes'. Clothing can thus be seen to communicate the properties that are supposed to inhere in each of these categories and that serve as the basis for their discrimination.²⁰

Further moving on with our discussion on consumption, we shall try to understand how industrialization and other aspects of modernization have transformed material culture. However, here we first take a look at alternate, complementary anthropological view of Douglas and Isherwood. This view is provided by Arjun Appadurai (1986). He explains the importance of material culture in societies by considering "the social life of things".²¹ He treats "objects having a social life, acquiring and losing value, changing meaning, perhaps becoming non-exchangeable (as they become 'Sentimental' items, cultural objects or may be even sacred icons), only later on to sink back into 'mere' exchange objects. There are different ways in which they act as carriers of interpersonal influence, and influence

movability or the transformability of their meanings. The following of the paths, through which objects are exchanged, offers glimpses of the ways in which desires and demands interact to create economic value in specific social situation.²² Two paths identified, are as follows".²³

- a) The life history of a particular object and
- b) The social-history of a particular kind or class of objects.

The importance of this approach is that it does not focus exclusively on one movement in object's life, on the contrary it engulfs all the aspects like 'production' for the market, its 'mediation' in, for example, publicity and advertising, and its reception.²⁴

Infact in attributing life to objects, Appadurai points to the weight and authority that objects can exert in our lives, almost as if they were people with the power to influence our beliefs and direct our actions, able to give performances, extract obligations and give pleasures. This enables the distinctive organization of different types of material culture to be identified because it draws attention to the different pathways along-which objects travel. Every society lays out culturally and legally approved paths for the circulation of objects, conditions are set about what

objects may be exchanged for what, by whom, when and under what conditions. Example of such paths include both the formal economic and legal rules surrounding the sale of goods, conditions of credit, guarantees of product quality, and informal norms about whether, for example, second hand goods can be offered as gifts, or whether unwanted gifts can be returned or passed on by their recipient. But at the same time, in any such system there are also counter veiling tendencies for the interested parties to engineer 'diversions; to step off the prescribed paths. So, the passage of 'paths and diversions' by objects is always a dynamic, contested, political one, and the value of a given object in a given context is always a political question.²⁵ Also the importance of aesthetic knowledge, which is essential in the creation of pathways in modern industrial societies is considered.²⁶

So far, we have considered material culture from two perspectives. First, the ways in which things are used to enhance the social lives of individuals, and secondly how the cultural significance of objects is made visible by animating objects, giving them a life and exploring their cultural biography and social history. We further analyse

the traits of modern consumption and consumer culture ingrained in it.

To understand special characteristics of contemporary material culture, it will be essential to identify features of modern consumer culture.²⁷

1. The availability of a large number and range of consumer goods.
2. The tendency for more and more aspects of human exchange and interaction to be made available through the market. Instances of this is the contemporary shift away from state or publicly provided services to their privatisation. For example state bodies like Delhi Development Authority (DDA), offering flats earlier and now private builders also selling flats in the market. There is example of education where students are becoming consumers of education, Computer courses and host of Management degrees offered to the student through publicity.
3. Expansion of shopping, that is shift from the basic shopping of essential items which can be seen as part of the work, to the shopping as entertainment pursuit.
4. The increasing visibility of different forms of shopping, from mail-orders to shopping centres.

5. The political/legal organization by and of consumer to safeguards their interests.
6. A growth in the visibility of the consumption of sports and entertainment practises.
7. The lifting of restrictions on borrowing money and the associated changes in the meaning of debt. That is, there was a period when being in debt was considered as a period of anxiety but in modern society, hire purchases, owing of credit-cards has become sign of status symbol.
8. The growing importance of packaging and promotion in the manufacture, display and purchase of consumer goods.
9. The pervasiveness of advertising in everyday life.
10. Increasing emphasis on style, design and appearance of goods.
11. The impossibility of avoiding making choices in relation to consumer goods and self transformation in the promotion of life-style as a way of life. For example the price of colour T.V. might be costing in a range of 10,000 to 15,000 rupees, so Individual do not only have choices but to go for either of the one end, in turn enhancing life-style as a way of life.

12. The interest in the personal and collective collection cataloguing and display of material goods, whether these be works of art, stamps, antiques, music tapes or photographs.

These characteristics are very diverse and these are essential features of modern life. However all of them are in some way or the other related to the increase in consumer demand which is associated with modern industrial societies. Here the question arises is how the growth in consumptions activities takes place, what are the factors that leads to growth of this demand for goods? The explanation can be found in following two types.²⁸

- a) By production-led
- b) By consumption-led

Modern societies are governed on the simple principles of demand and supply. Taking other things equal, increase in consumer demands leads to increase in supply, that is, production goes up if demand is more, where as "consumption-led" consumer demand attempts to identify independent causes.²⁹ We make an attempt to understand these concepts further in our research.

We also try to analyse how there is disagreement over the single reason or single factor, whether from the point

of view of 'production-led' or 'consumption-led', for the growth in consumer demand. Consumer demand', is identified as fundamental condition for the growth of consumer culture. Infact there is no single explanation of growth in consumer demand, but several factor or conjectures can be attributed to its growth. To name a few ~~the~~ system in which social formation takes place, the kind of society and the dominant values prevailing in that society. Protestant ethic of calvinism acted as fertile ground in North America for development of capitalism and also for consumer oriented society, where as, Chinese and Indian civilizations which were prosperous, were involved in different kind of orientations like spirituality or other worldly desires. Also role of technology, technical manpower, disposable income and so on played important role in determing consumption. Hence social, economic, political, technological and gamut~~s~~ of reason are responsible for the growth of consumer demand. Therefore it will be misleading to search for a single cause for "consumer-revolution" in any social formation. Certainly then "there are significantly different national histories of consumption in different parts of the world, suggesting that there are multiple processual flow underpinning changes in

consumption; each of which is likely to have its own periodicity and rhythms, and none of which is solely responsible for the complex pattern of contemporary 'consumer demand'.³⁰

After considering Marshal Shalin's view on Totemism and its application to modern society,³¹ we would highlight the difference between manufactured goods or artefacts from the natural objects, which are the product of human labour.³²

In fact, it is not simply that an artefact is the product of human labour and affects its capacity to act as "Totem", it is rather the way in which this is socially organized ~~of~~. At least this is the view that is put forward in one of the most influential interpretations of what is distinctive about modern material culture. This interpretation draws on the work of Karl Marx and his analysis of arrangement as it is organized in what he calls the Capitalist mode of production. This interpretation suggests that the changes in the mode of production have passed through stages. Starting from primitive communism, it is associated today with the development of capitalism that has led to the emergence of a distinctive consumer culture in modern societies.³³

For Marx, the mode of production is the critical site where human societies develop their distinctive characters. It is through the activity of labour, the use and adaptation of natural resources, that human consciousness comes to be what it is.³⁴ This means that "human consciousness" is realized or objectified in the material products of labour. That is why the product of labour, the material artefact or good, is so central for the self-understanding of individuals and society generally.³⁵ Material culture, for Marx, is the objectification of "Social Consciousness", under a capitalist mode of production. However, this objectification is turned against people.³⁶

Further Marx develops the wider philosophical implication of alienation in Industrial work - process where objectification and estrangement are involved, where Consumption is not the central focus, where labourer sell his labour against the wages. He no more produces for himself, but produces within an alienating system of division of labour, that is, created solely to be exchanged on the market. This is the process of production of goods as commodities and this is not a fact of nature but a social and historical construction of the capitalist epoch of world history. Consumption thus, becomes a part of alienation

because it is cut off from the production process, that is, there is no connection between producer who produces it and consumer who consume it. The process of consumption is reduced to an animal level. To elaborate this point we quote Karl Marx.³⁷

"Man (the worker) no longer feels himself to be freely active in any but his animal functions eating, drinking, procreating or at most in his dwelling and in his dressing-up, etc., and in his human function he no longer feels himself to be anything but animal, what is animal becomes human and what is human becomes animal. Certainly eating, drinking, procreating and so on, are also genuinely human functions. But in the abstraction which separates them from the sphere of all other human activity and turns them into sole and ultimate ends, they are animals".

Similarly for consumption, services just like goods have come into vogue in this period of modernism. Mushrooming of Hotel Industry, Airlines, Banking, Insurance and so on provides host of services against the prescribed fees. Objectification of services can also be noticed in this service-industry. For example a down town hotel ready to offer homely ambience for evening dinner or a smiling face of a Air-hostess welcoming passengers or banking staff

providing all kinds of services like leasing financing housing loan, with a sole motive for profits.

It is this special features of objects as commodities which, explains the distinctiveness of Consumer culture as a type of material culture.³⁸ Consumption can also be spiritual, but we will not be focusing ^{it} as its value cannot be Judged economically.

Marx himself did not live to see how modern material culture fully emerged, but he did notice certain features of the goods as commodity, where as contemporary thinkers have tried to explain this feature in growth of distinctive character of culture. Marx used the term 'fetishism of Commodities' to describe the disguising or making of Commodities.³⁹ Whereby the appearance of goods hides the story of those who made them and how they made them, that is, the process of making a product or object thing-like. As a result of this process, the social relations represented in an object come to appear absolutely fixed or given, beyond human control.⁴⁰

A similar point made by many marxist scholars is that the fetishism of the commodity in modern society is strategically manipulated in the practises of packaging, promotion and advertising. Through packaging, promotion and

advertising, goods are said to be fitted with mask, expressly designed to manipulate the possible relations between things on the one hand and human wants, needs and emotions on the other.⁴¹ For example, once the dominance of exchange value has managed to obliterate the memory of the original use value of goods, the commodity becomes available to take up a secondary or hidden use value. Commodity becomes free to take on wide range of cultural associations and illusions. This is the basis of what has been called "Commodity aesthetics". Advertising in particular is able to exploit this freedom to attach images of romance, erotica, fulfilment, or the good life to mundane consumer goods such as soap, washing machines, car and alcoholic drink.⁴² These images or masks fix the ways in which material objects are able to act as carriers of meaning in social interaction. They encipher goods with symbolic codes that consumers cannot resist. This is the "God-like manipulation" as Marshal Shalins express it.⁴³ This is seen to be responsible for the rapid and apparently insatiable increase in consumer demand. Moreover, the increase in consumer demand in modern Industrial societies should be understood not simply in relation to the activities of the market and the dominance of exchange value, but also in relation of the state.

Consumption of services and goods is also provided for by the state for the consumers as a public collective. This currently includes the provision of some housing, health-care, transport, education and so on. Although the question whether such services should continue to be provided by the state or the market, is a subject of much contemporary political debate⁴⁴ and more so after liberalization where a larger role of market is being sought.

What conditions give consumer the power vis-a-vis the producers, and under what conditions can the consumer obtain what will give them satisfaction and pleasure? Do different groups have different access to services and goods, does the medium of distribution (that is, whether through state or market) contribute to social differentiation?. This and the earlier questions raised can be explained through, differential social advantages which are derived from having access to private as opposed to state provision of services.⁴⁵ Within state provision of services, there is differentiation which is worse than that of the market. For example state provisions and services like Hospital, Education Electricity, Drinking Water and so on, can be provided for efficiently for a "A class" towns or "B class" towns but the same might not be the case with "c class"

town. Also one area might receive importance and it might develop economically well, where as, other area might not receive the adequate attention of planners. Leading to the inequalities in the growth of the region in terms of socio, economic and political factors.

Zygmunt Bauman has argued that it is possible to identify two broad social groupings, the 'Seduced' and the 'Repressed', on the basis of whether people's need are satisfied by the market or the state. The 'seduced' are free to make decisions in the market arena and are incorporated into consumer culture, their lives are in large part devoted to the acquisition and display of commodities. The repressed are those who, are lacking economic and cultural resources, are excluded from the market. They are not the full members of the 'club of consumers', instead their lives are intricately entangled with the bureaucracy of the state. To quote Bauman "we live, in a society of two nations, not of exploiter and exploited, or even of the haves and the have-nots, but of the seduced and the repressed, those free to follow their desire and those subject to surveillance and control through the bureaucratic regulations, organising State provision of services".⁴⁶

This is an analysis which suggests, while not every one participates in consumer society on the same terms, it can be said to be characterised or dominated by a consumer culture, as it is the individual's relation to consumption, which he or she cannot control, that defines his or her social position.⁴⁷ The above argument highlights the importance of looking at cycles of production and consumption, and relations of power at work within these cycles of production and consumption. It will enable us to satisfy number of doubts raised in the process of our work. Actually there are number of 'different' cycles of production and consumption involved,⁴⁸ before the final enjoyment of a good, service or experience, where we will be focusing our attention on.

✓ We have in most of the account presented so far, located the growth in consumer demand as a characteristic of contemporary material culture in the particular kinds of production and distribution and the associated division of labour that characterized modern societies.⁴⁹ The argument identified production, most commonly, the process of commodification, [that is how labourer is detached from his own creation of goods which has already been explained earlier in our work] as responsible for the distinctively

'enigmatic' or 'mysterious' character of consumer culture.⁵⁰ They can thus be described as producer-led explanations, that is, they assume the importance of the organisation of arrangement in relation to the capitalist and or domestic modes of production, and establish largely a one-way relationship between production and consumption (of commodities), with production determining or shaping both consumption itself and thus, by implication, the distinctive organisation of consumer culture.⁵¹ However this view does not take into account how consumers are active in the process of consumption. This void is covered, by other approaches of a 'consumption-led' explanation of the distinctiveness of modern consumer culture.⁵² Consumption, or demand, cannot be taken for granted, but it is in itself determined by a socially organised set of practices. Appadurai Arjan States.⁵³ /

"Demand emerges as a function of variety of social practices and classifications, rather than a mysterious emanation of human needs, a mechanical response to social manipulation (as in one model of the effects of advertising in our own society), or the narrowing down of a universal and voracious desires for objects to whatever happens to be available."

One more example of consumption-led explanation is that the character and pattern of the consumption of commodities is related to their use as positional goods⁵⁴ The suggestion here is that the patterns of use of consumer goods and the satisfaction that people derive from their use depends upon and is shaped by the consumption choices of other people. So, for example, with what are sometimes called luxury objects, it is the fact that such goods are only affordable by an elite groups of consumers which gives them their value. In the case of so called Cult Objects it is not the limited availability, arising as a result of economic cost, that is the source of value, but the fact that certain items have limited appeal. In both the cases, acts of consumption are actively carried out by consumers to indicate social status, good taste on simply being 'in the know', that is, commodities are actively used as marker of social position and cultural style by consumers who seek to define their position vis-a-vis other consumers.⁵⁵

A number of scholars suggest that the use of goods in positional consumption has a new significance in modern societies because it is tied in with the emergence of a new social group, which Veblen called the "leisure class".⁵⁶ Veblen claims.

"This class sought to demonstrate its status publicly through the use of consumer goods in leisure practises, its characteristic feature was 'a conspicuous abstention from all useful employment.'⁵⁷ This abstention was made visible or conspicuous by a spectacular display of consumption. Indeed, prosperity required respectable women to abstain from useful effort and to make more of a show of leisure than the men of the same social classes. Good taste became associated with the expression of distance from the world of work, which was considered cheap. The practical or the natural world, was termed refined or 'cultivated'. In short, this class the so-called "nouveau riche" made use of material goods to assert their social pretensions."

Other thinker/writers suggest that it is not just this class of consumers that has developed its own autonomous consumption practices, which are made visible through spectacular display, but more and more members of society, have developed his consumption profile through a process of emulation by which lower groups in the hierarchy have sought to imitate higher groups.⁵⁸ However, it has also been argued that consumption is not just motivated by a desire for status, that the impulse to emulate is not the only engine of consumer demand, but it is also driven by hedonism

escapism, fantasy and the desire for novelty or identity value.⁵⁹ The example was provided by anthropologist Daniel Millier,⁶⁰ where he focuses on material culture in the context of mass consumption. He observes, there is a view prevailing that modern material culture is either trivial or degraded. This anti-materialism often stems from the belief that members of pre-industrial societies, free from the burden of artefact, lived in more immediate, natural relationships with each other. He argues that this view is mistaken, and he has discussed the activities which comprise contemporary material culture. Millier adopts a non-dualistic model of the relations between people and things. This is the approach which bring 'together' the two techniques, production-led and consumption-led. That is, studying neither people nor things in isolation from one another. Such approach reveals the positive arrangement of goods by, and at the level of the pluralistic, small-scale communities which make up the population of contemporary society.⁶¹ It is inappropriate to understand mass consumption in modern societies as one thing, that is, in relation to the workings of a single, central hierarchical principle, whether it be the division of labour or the practice of emulation.⁶²

Hence the sheer profusion of fashion, rather than stressing upon diversity, facilitates the building up of multiple social groups who define themselves through the assertion of a specific style.⁶³ Furthermore, millier states, "the self created in these processes may keep afloat several possible characters for him or herself, aided by a range of goods which externalize these multiple personalities. This can be a positive response to a necessarily contradictory world."⁶⁴

Above view can be categorised as a representative of the view that increased consumer demand is a consequence of the activities of consumers as much as a consequence of the activities of producers.

CONSUMPTION IN CAPITALISM: FROM MODERNITY TO POST-MODERNITY

The term consumption determines a theoretical perspective based upon the analysis of the mode of production of capitalism, that is, the economic production base which determines what happens in the political, cultural, religious or consumption areas of a society's life.⁶⁵ In fact the roots of consumption in western society can be very well traced to the post civil war period, that is in the IInd half of seventeenth century.

Puritanism, especially in its Calvinist form, exercised considerable influence upon the early bourgeoisie. Puritanism also affected some of the early manufacturing capitalist families in a way which aided the growth of their business because they re-invested the profits which they made, rather than spending them on a luxurious life-style, as aristocrats and royal families had done in other social formations.

Thus consumers, in the early modern period, may be defined as groups for whom pattern of consumption played a central role in their lives, providing them with ways of making themselves apart from other social status groups.

Further such groups of consumers began to emerge in the late nineteenth century in the United States and in Western Europe as industrial capitalism developed. The story of the social and cultural role of consumption in modern western capitalism continued with the growth of what was often called at that time that is, in 50s and 60s "the growth of mass consumption" which was signified as Fordism era. From 1950s to 1960s, as is explained above, distinctive features of consumption prevailed, however from 70s to 90s period was argued by some thinker as a new or post-modern period, wherein new pattern of consumption emerged.

Also along with social, political and cultural events which brought consumption to the forefront, there was also a major change within the social theory, that is the development of the approach of 'structuralism'⁶⁶ which served to focus attention upon consumption, by various thinkers. This approach was developed for the analysis of societies which were without written language, that is for pre-literate societies, where the role of signs and symbols was highlighted in structures of myth and rituals. This approach was also applied to modern societies which had written language, so structuralism helped to highlight the importance of signs and symbols in these modern industrial societies. This role of signs/symbols is one of the central processes of modern societies, that is of consumption and its associated ideology of consumerism. It denotes that "more and more individuals indulge in buying consumer goods making this habit as a "way of life". It also refers to "those social movements directed at protecting or advancing the rights of consumer", which was felt in various forms of advertisement for consumer goods.

Hence consumption in late Twentieth Century western form of capitalism is seen as a social and cultural process including cultural signs and symbols, not simply as an

economic utilitarian process. When people are influenced by social and cultural practices associated with the ideology of modern consumerism, then even if they cannot afford to buy the goods portrayed in films, in the press, on television, they can and do desire them. Consumption can be seen therefore as being based increasingly upon desires and not simply upon the needs.⁶⁷

From Post-structuralist angle, it becomes imperative for us to analyse microscopically, how various consumer goods, ways of presenting food and among other things, were used by specific groups or socio-economic classes in particular, to demarcate their distinctive ways of life, or to mark themselves off from others? To put it straight, that is, the positions in a structure do not produce unified groups of people who will act politically in an organized manner, in order to preserve, or to protect, or to change radically, their ways of life. Positions in a structure do not generate ways of life, or symbolic meanings, of themselves. Symbolic activity, including consumption, is a relatively autonomous practice. It is not directly produced or determined by a position in the socio-economic structure of a social formation. Putting this point in other way, the

structural position and cultural practices such as consumption and consumerism, are independently variable.

Consumption, therefore can be seen as a set of social and cultural practices which serves as a way of establishing differences between social groups, not merely as a way of expressing differences which are already in place as a result of an autonomous set of economic factors. There are major differences, for example between the working classes' modes of consuming foods, drinks, television viewing, videos, home furnishings and decoration, cars and clothing and those of the lower middle classes. Where the latter aim at respectability, and at picking up cues from 'higher' middle-class groups about how and what to consume, the working classes are more interested in simply trying 'to have a good time', in direct pleasures. The income of some working-class households may well be higher than that of many lower middle-class households, but there are cultural and symbolic factors which affect their consumption pattern, not income alone.⁶⁸ Here we aim to combine the concept of social status and the use that status groups make of specific pattern of consumption as a way of marking off one way of life from another, with the idea that consumption involves signs, symbols, ideas and values. Thus consumption

is not to be seen merely as the satisfaction of biologically rooted set of needs.⁶⁹

Further we also make an attempt to highlight the relationship between two kinds of capital - cultural and economic which is uneasy. On the one hand, education provides a means by which business capital may reproduce its own social order, for example the children of the rich may work in health-food shops or other faddish joints like Macdonalds, Baskin and Robbin or Boutiques or can be even, fancy art galleries which utilise their educational experience and may provide a more acceptable forms of class reproduction than simple inheritance. There is, however, also an antagonism between the two orders, as the holders of cultural capital ignore money-capital as mere wealth and its conspicuous expressions as high vulgarity, while the holders of money capital regard the pretensions and esoteric forms of high cultural capital as parasitic and irrelevant.⁷⁰

Society then, is not to be understood in terms of a simple hierarchy, but as a continual struggle over the hierarchy of hierarchies. That is whether wealth should prevail over knowledge or knowledge over wealth.⁷¹

Also it may seem somewhat unusual to see education and the arts as a component of the process of consumption in

modern capitalist societies at first sight, but a moment's reflection shows that the capacity to buy and read novels, to buy paintings, to attend the theatre or cinema, sporting events, musical concerts of all kinds, are to be seen as components of consumption. They require not only expenditure of money and time (Leisure time), but also such activities depend upon a set of acquired 'taste' for specific aesthetic, or even sporting, events. Such tastes have to be created, developed and cultivated in educational settings, which have become a major form of transmission of culture in modern societies. Peer groups and families affect 'taste' too. 'Taste' can be seen as a form of 'cultural capital', in Bourdieu's sense, "In that it enables discriminations and distinctions to be made between various "status groups".⁷²

Actually consumption is an idealist practise and it is not to be seen as material process. This means that it is ideas which are being consumed not objects, because consumption in modern/post-modern societies is not based upon the satisfaction of a set of pre-existing needs, rooted in human biology, that is, beyond the most basic level. In this sense of the term 'consumption' involves the consumption of signs and symbols, not of things, not of simple material objects. Hence, consumers may often

experience a sense of emptiness once they have purchased an object which they have saved for, and longed for. The anticipation of consuming is frequently experienced as more enjoyable than the act of consumption itself. As stated by Jean Baudrillard-

"This suggest that there are no limits to consumption. If it was that which it is naively taken to be, an absorption, a devouring, then we should achieve satisfaction. But we know that this is not the case, we want to consume more and more. This compulsion to consume is not the consequence of some psychological determinant etc; nor is it simply the power of emulation. If consumption appears to be irrepressible, this is because it is a total idealist practice which has no longer anything to do (beyond a certain point) with the satisfaction of needs nor with the reality principle,...."

Hence, the desire to 'moderate' consumption, or to establish a normalizing network of needs is naive and absurd moralism".⁷³

Consumption as part of post-modernity has various connotations. The term 'post-modern' entails the idea that social classes are of less importance in the minds of people than other ways of constructing identities.⁷⁴ In fact post-modern is and remains a phase in the development of capitalism, not a jump into a wholly new mode of production and consumption, or a move outside of 'history'.⁷⁵ Rather the term 'post-modern' can be seen as an analytical category which serves to highlight certain features of socio-cultural life, features which contrast with those in the paired

analytical category of the modern. Such a concept of the post-modern can serve to highlight consumption as a major social and cultural process and consumerism as an ideology as important features of the post-modern.

INDIAN CONTEXT OF CONSUMPTION

After theorizing consumption and analyzing its various phases within the context of modernity and post-modernity, we do not see much difference in the consumption patterns prevailing in India, even if it is not true of entire India. Urban areas and more so metropolis which are well entrenched in the consumer culture. As we proceed on to the next chapters this argument will be cleared, infact in chapter IV where we have analyzed data of "National Sample Survey" for 'urban' and 'rural' areas and practical trends prevailing there will be more highlighted.

In a nutshell India started with mixed economy and as we continued with our planning, atmosphere became conducive for the rise of consumerism. The much needed boost was given after the period of liberalization. Today not only national but international brands also have made their headway in Indian consumer's mind. The whole process of growth of

consumption is irreversible and it is highlighted by government planning and policies.

How we have progressed socially, economically and politically, how has our planning process evolved in the last five decades and how actually items including food items like cereals, pulses, milk, vegetable, fruits and non-food items like clothing, durable, non-durable goods and so on are actually consumed - this all is dealt in detail in the next chapters.

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CHAPTER - II

CONSUMPTION PATTERN IN INDIA: ITS DIMENSIONS, DETERMINANTS AND DYNAMICS

TRADITIONAL

Consumption persisted, in essence, in almost all civilization whether mesopotamian, Chinese or Egyptian but form and pattern differed according to the time and context and the above inference can be safely derived from the simple fact that societies existed then in much organized manner with flourishing trade and prosperous subjects. Indian civilization which had a presence in the east was not immune from this culture although it was more guided by Vedantic philosophies which promoted the concept of self-containment; self-restraint and spiritualism. But the presence of Mohan-Jo-Daro and Harrappan rich culture leaves the undefiable mark about consumption pattern existing then.

Even during the peak of Vedic period various philosophies promoting materialistic culture existed namely SAMKHYA; VAISHESHKA; CHARVAKA (Lokayata Philosophy)¹. In essence the last Philosophy (Charvaka) promoted material culture, which has been dealt subsequently. This philosophy can well be summarized in the form of a Sloka/poem.

"YAVAT JEVAT SUKAM JEEVAT,
RINNUM KRUTA GREHTAM PEEVATI"
BHASMI BHOOTASYA DHEHASTYSA;
POONAR GAMAN KRUTAK" ²

[**Meaning:** "Till the time you live, live happily one should not worry much and should consume ghee. One day your body is going to mix up with the soil i.e. after death where is the question of Re-birth."]

The above philosophical couplets connotes that the ancient India was not untouched by the concept of material culture. The whole flow of such ideologies did prevail side by side with main stream culture.

Max Weber [1864-1920] in his most famous work on rise of western capitalism, "Protestant Ethics and Spirit of Capitalism" has given a brief account of Indian civilization. The author mentions India as "enchanted garden", where substance did existed for growth of capitalism but it lacked in spirit due to other-worldly outlook (philosophies), where as on the contrary in western societies spirit existed for growth of capitalism and ^{the} moment it got substance, it took on the path of capitalism through protestant ethic especially calvinism.³ [Substance refers to bureaucratic structure, banking, book keeping so on]

Even during the medieval period consumption existed, which can be gauged from the opulence exhibited by Mughal

rulers in their food habits, dressing pattern, use of jewellery and numerous precious items like stones, gems diamonds and so on. The Nobility of the Mughal times can well be called in Veblens term as "Leisure-Class" which believed in "Conspicuous Consumption". This consumption pattern of Medieval era is well documented in the work of ABUL Fazal; ALBURENE; FARISTA; AMIR KHUSRO; BABAR [in BABAR-NAMA] and so on. Similarly this pattern can also be notice in the works of contemporary authors like prof Irfan Habib, I.A. Khan, Sherain Mussvi and so on. Also archeological items, standing monuments, artifacts like Khoinoor diamond, Peacock Throne, Taj Mahal, Red Fort, to name a few, are mute testimony of the era on consumption account.

In modern times most bad or good things are attributed to colonial period, stating that colonial ruler brought in this country consumer culture. However the fact is that prior to the British rule, in medieval and even in ancient period this culture persisted.

Ambedkar⁴ in his account has mentioned that in ancient period Brahmin-philosophers, tenets of Hindu religion were not pauper but rich and they consumed material goods like their counter parts of medieval era, kings of yore (ancient times) also used to consume a lot and exhibit their prosperity by constructing huge Mahals (forts), wearing

precious Jewel, cloths and following specific food habits. Also courtiers of courts, trader, Baniyas and other class people followed such conspicuous consumption pattern. Contemporary author, Prof. Kancha ILLAHA⁵ has also accounted for consumption pattern of dalit and non-dalit in his work on Indian Society.

But the philosophical doctrine like consuming material good is considered bad, and the desirable value is promoted through the vedic couplet like

*"SANTOSHAM PARAM SUKAM"*⁶

[**Meaning:** Satisfaction is the ultimate happiness.]

This tradition came to inspire people to restraint from over-consumption. Moreover, this was felt necessary in the traditional moorings as the danger always existed that, if people became too much money-minded, then it might led to chaos and ultimately the decaying of philosophical and traditional system resulting in its break down.

Moreover during the Ancient period spirituality, self-restrained, Karma, Poonar Janam (Re-birth) ideologies were preached by Vedas, which were further followed by SAMAHITAS; UPANISHADAS; BRAHAMANAS; DHARMASHASTRAS. Theories based on material culture and consumerism like "smakhya", "lokyata" (charavaka) emerged in retaliation to

this over-emphasis on non-material aspect of life. Also during the same period critical retaliation to the theory of "Karma" and "Poonar Janama" emerged, questioning the very basis that who has seen next life i.e. whatever there is in front of you is fact, rest everything else is wishful thinking.

INTRODUCTION TO BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD

Consumption took a back seat as compared to ancient and medieval era during the time of colonial rule. In spite of this fact, Indian elite's and princely state's practice of conspicuous consumption hardly altered. But the general masse's consumption habits turned to lowest ebb, because during colonial period masses turned poor due to policies adopted, also, this period witnessed severe drought and famine. India was under colonial rule for almost two ~~centu~~ centuries prior to independence.

Colonialism in fact relates to foreign domination, which implies that the economy of the colony is regulated in such a manner that it serves the interest of the ruling country. Hence, the unequal relationship between colony and the ruling obviously results in underdevelopment of the colony (A.G. Frank)⁷.

After battle of Plassey 1757, the British East India

Company had succeeded in establishing its rule over the major part of India and with it began the period of colonial exploitation of the entire country. Infact, in this period there was massive drain of wealth from India to England and it resulted in pauperization of this country. Even the transfer of power from East India Company to the British Crown did not materially alter the situation. The exploitation of masses had continued unabated, but only its form had changed. However on the basis of form of exploitation the whole period can be divided into 3 parts or phases-

- (a) The Period of Merchant Capital [1757-1857]
- (b) The Period of Industrial Capital [1857-1900]
- (c) The Period of Finance Capital [1900-1947]

First Prime Minister of Independent India Jawaharlal Nehru commenting on British rule in India believed that seeds of capitalist development existed in Indian economy but, due to British rule it was never allowed to grow in the country.⁸

Succedingly as the economy changed since 1757 the British merchant capital made frontal attack on Indian capitalist class. There were serious repercussions of exploitation which led to shattering of complete economy

meaning it ruined Indigenous industry; Handicraft and Artisans. On the contrary whatever wealth was generated from India it was drained to Britain where it gave impetus to industrial revolution and helped the mass productions of consumer goods there.

During the period of industrial capital, British undertook following arrangements-

(a) Export of Machine-Made Goods to India:

Whatever was produced on mass-scale was exported to India thereby damaging the Indian indigenous industry and changing the consumption pattern of masses to machine made goods.

(b) Development of Jute Industry and Plantation:

As this was required by British capitalist as raw material for their finished products.

(c) Revenue and Expenditure Policies of British India:

The British as colonial rulers fully exploited the Indian economy through their revenue system and policy of double taxation. They adopted every available method to squeeze the Indian economy to their own maximum advantage.

In mid of 19th century Britain made massive investment

in India but this investment was from the money of Indian people and also this investment was made keeping an eye on the economy to exploit it to the maximum.

The Sectors where investment made were:

- 1) State Sector: for better administration
- 2) Railways: for troops movement, to ferry raw material from hinterland to ports and major cities.
- 3) Investment in Plantation: As raw material required for mass machine based production.
- 4) Other sector: like Post and Telegraph, for speedy communication.

All these measures led to complete uprooting of Indigenous Industry, Handicraft and traditional trade of the people were ruined and it made Indian economy a totally worn out one by the time India achieved its independence.

CONSUMPTION DYNAMICS: PROFILE OF BRITISH ERA

British rule of 150 years was marked as watershed for the Indian civilization as far as consumption pattern was concerned. It gave a severe jolt to traditional pattern involving values; beliefs; knowledge, habits, traditional moorings and so on. At the outset the wheel of modernization was set rolling with western outlook and pattern.

The British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture. It was unlike any previous period in Indian history as the British brought with them new technology, institutions, new knowledge, beliefs and values. The new technology and the revolution in communication which it brought about, enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history.

The historical point at which the Indian civilization came into contact with the western tradition, India was engrossed in and was burdened by centuries of stagnancy and foreign domination, where as the British had just emerged with vigour and triumphant with achievements through renaissance to industrial revolution. At this point in history, the Indian Civilization' in its traditional form was at its lowest ebb of internal resilience and external strength. In contrast, the western tradition was steeped in philosophies of optimism of universal progress, rationalism and hedonism.⁹

British impact on Indian society was profound and many-sided. It could well be summarized in terms of "Westernization" and "Modernization". Modernization results not only in the introduction of new institution but also fundamental changes in the old institutions. Westernization connotes the changes brought about in a non-western country

by contact, direct or indirect, with a western country. Modernization is marked with increase in urbanization, spreading of literacy, social mobility.¹⁰

Behind the political power of British there existed cultural tradition of West. There was basic difference between this politico-cultural tradition of West and Indian tradition. Some features of Western model as sketched by Max Weber with great lucidity and historical objectivity are formal rationality, experimentation, codification, verification and rational utilitarian orientation in behavior and thoughts.¹¹

During nineteenth century the British slowly laid the foundation of a modern state by surveying land, setting the revenue, creating a modern bureaucracy, army and police, instituting law courts, codifying the law and so on. The British also brought with them the printing press and it profound and many sided changes brought in the Indian life. One obvious result was that books and journals, along with schools education made possible the transmission of modern as well as traditional knowledge to large numbers of Indians - knowledge which could no longer be the privilege of 'a few, hereditary groups'. At the same time the newspapers made people in different far-flung parts of the country to realize that they had common bonds and that events happening

in the world outside influenced their lives.¹²

The Western influence was not only confined to ethics and philosophy; it had also, in some quarters extended to habits and customs, specially amongst the members of the upper middle-class. Some elements were borrowed from the West but some were rejected, and the borrowed elements in turn underwent a transformation in India. While some elements of British culture and style of life appealed to all Indians, different aspects of British culture were especially attractive to different sections of the Indian population.¹³

Traditionally Indians ate their meals sitting on the floor. The food was served either on leaves or on metal (brass; bronze or silver) plates. Among the upper caste, eating was a religious act. The food had to be cooked, by the women who were in a ritually pure state. It was offered first to the domestic deities, before being served to the members of the family. The men and children ate first. Adult men were required to be in a ritually pure state while eating. This meant removing their shirts and changing into a silk dhoti (silk being ritually superior to cotton) and upper cloth, or a freshly washed cotton dhoti and upper cloth. At the end of the meal the dining leaves became impure and were thrown out. The places where the leaves had

rested were purified with a solution of cow-dung.¹⁴

However there emerged the shift in attitudes towards the food intake in terms of health and efficiency [time management] rather than whether it was traditionally permitted or prohibited. Although this cannot be taken as a blanket statement, but there was certainly a paradigm shift in certain sections of the society. In larger town and cities, educated and westernized groups occasionally preferred to eat in hotels. All new things emerged due to change in technology like chairs, tables; stainless steel utensils, spoons and so on. Also there was change in the pattern of consumption of cloths a switch over from handmade swadhesi to machine made polyester and other apparels in terms of trousers, coats, hats etc. The underlying implication of this subtle change among few sections was of secularization which implied coming out of strict control of tradition. A few classes were emerging who were adopting Westernize thinking, food habit, education; literacy and life style. They were western educated, merchants, government officials, people living in port cities, lectures, lawyers and so on.

The British were admired and envied for a variety of reasons. They had political and economic power, organization and discipline. They were the masters of the

new knowledge, ideas and technology. They were, by and large, able and just administrators, honest merchants, brave warriors and intrepid hunters. What also astonished all Indians was that they ate meat at every meal and all kinds of meat and that, including polluting pork and forbidden beef, consumed substantial quantities of liquor and continuously smoked pipes or cheroots.¹⁵

From geographical point of view the inhabitants of coastal areas, especially those close to the fast growing port towns were favorably situated to undergo primary westernization. For example places like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta. However, westernization process in some aspects made greater headway owing mainly to the power, prestige and initiatives of the enlightened class and also due to changing life styles of princely ruler.

A westernized intelligentsia had emerged among Indians by the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, and leader of this class became the torch-bearers of a new and modern India. The leaders included such great names as the Tagore; Vivekananda, Ranade, Gokhale, Tilak, Patel, Ambedkar, Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru; so on. The westernized intelligentsia increased in strength and numbers and the dawn of independence in 1947 invested them with the power to plan a peaceful revolution in Indian life.

A great past can be either ~~be~~ an energizer or an opiate. In the main, however, it acted as an energizer and provided modern India with a mystique for national identity as well as development.¹⁶

GANDHISM ECONOMY AND INDIA'S PLANNED EFFORTS

During the period of India's struggle for freedom the concern for the problem of mass poverty, protection of the farmer and the artisan, the need for industrialization and the reconstruction of the entire fabric of social and economic life was all - absorbing. Almost all the national leaders looked upon political freedom primarily as the means to solve these basic and fundamental problems. The social and economic aims of the struggle for freedom came to be more precisely defined during the thirties of the twentieth century.

Various aspects in the new phase of westernization laid ~~in~~ the cumulative social effects of the policies that the East India Company and British government pursued in the fields of education, legislation, commerce and industry. Some of the institutional development which had been directly instrumental in the creation of a great tradition of modernization in India were

- a) The growth of a universalistic legal super-structure.
- b) Expansion of Education.

- c) Urbanization and Industrialization.
- d) Growth of Nationalism and politization of society.
- e) Abolition of Untouchability.

Each of these factor had a Pan-Indian significance and it was not a sub-cultural or localized process as primary westernization.¹⁷

With this framework of basic fundamentals for the economy, questions raised were of which way to steer India. Most of the ideological debates prevailed during the period focused on economy also. Expressing his view in 1950~~s~~ Jawaharlal Nehru quoted following way.

"We cannot have welfare state in India with all the socialism or even communism in the world unless our national incomes goes up greatly. Socialism or communism might help you to divide your existing wealth, if you like, but in India there is no existing wealth for you to divide, there is only poverty to divide".¹⁸

National leaders had the gigantic task before them of taking care of numerous social, political and economical problems. As the tenets of planned approach was taking shape Gandhiji had propogated the idea of "Charka Economy".

Nation's economic development on the principles of "Gandhian Socialism" was based on Antyodaya and the decentralization of economic and political power at the

grass roots level. Gandhiji had consistently drawn the attention of nations to the urgent need for ensuring not only a higher "standard of living" for the millions but also a higher "standard of life", which could include not only material goods of consumption but also ethical and spiritual values for human existence. Gandhiji concept of "swadeshi" and concept of "charka economy" was deeply entrenched in ideal Hindu philosophical tradition.

The basic principle involved in his economic thought was a special emphasis on "Plain living". He was not against raising the existing low levels of standard of the masses in under developed countries like India. He desired that every Indian citizen should be able to obtain the minimum necessities of life through an honorable means of livelihood based on honest and productive work. He however, was against of India imitating highly developed and industrialized countries. He was of the opinion that side by side with economic development and progress, proper emphasis should be laid on promoting ethical and spiritual values in life.

He laid considerable stress on work-ethic and deplored the prospect of leisure activities where he quotes:

"Leisure is good and necessary up to a point only. God created man to eat his bread in the

sweat of his brow, and I dread the prospect of our being able to produce all that we want, including on food stuffs, out of a conjurers hat".¹⁹

Supporting his view on village and cottage industries eminent figure of the time, Prof. Gunnar Myrdal had to offer following comments:

"South Asian countries now run the risk of creating petty islands of highly organized western type industries that will remain surrounded by a sea of stagnation. The development of industries, in direct competition with existing cottage industries would take work and bread away from millions with no immediate alternative source of employment or income. This would not be rational from planning point of view... As for the workers in South Asian Cottage Industry, there is no prospect of any large scale adjustment for decades to come, particularly as the labour force will increase rapidly until the end of the century".²⁰

Rabindranath Tagore expressed similar thought in his inimitable language "of what avail is it to add and add and add?"²¹

Pandit Nehru at the fag-end of his career around 1963 made a very valuable remark openly admitting in the parliament that "gigantism" had failed to achieve, the national objectives of speedy economic progress and that ultimately, it was Gandhiji's stress on "small project which could really produce tangible results"²²

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CHAPTER - III

INDIAN ECONOMY: OVERVIEW OF FIVE DECADES OF PLANNED EFFORTS

BACKGROUND

India has completed five decades of planning development starting from First Year Plan (April 1951 - March 1956), the country has formulated and implemented Eight Five Years Plans and Five Annual Plans.

These plans form a continuous process in terms of investment and benefits. They also present a picture of evolution in basic socio-economic policies, plans are important adaptations from one to another, reflecting both changing conditions and new problems arising out of fresh experience and evaluation. Planning was essential and without it there would have been anarchy in our national development as well as individual development, as we had inherited improvised economy from the British.

Infact, there is no easy way out of the difficulties that beset a relatively backward society seeking rapid development unless a society breaks itself free from some of the shackles of the past, overcomes internal resistance and releases new forces of change, it is unable to achieve a high rate of development and growth. Rapid economic development infact, greatly facilitates the solution of

difficult political and social problems inherent in an underdeveloped society. It helps to reconcile divergence of interest and stimulates support and participation of the people.¹

Stressing the need of planning with rapid economic growth Jawaharlal Nehru stresses "planning is a continuous movement towards desired goals indeed perspective planning is the essence of the planning process ... long term planning does not mean planning in terms of five years only, but planning for fifteen years and twenty years ahead, keeping in view the broad picture of the social structure we want to attain twenty years hence ... it is only by keeping this broad picture in view, that our current planning can fit into the structure, otherwise we would be lost in current planning and plan in a wrong direction".²

The foundations of modern India's industrialized economy was laid by Jawaharlal Nehru who was prime minister for ~~more~~ 17 years. He helped in building the country's economy from a scratch. The Industrial economy of the country was built with the help of the public sector as the private sector did not have the resources to undertake infrastructure projects like Bhakra (Hydro-electric power project), the Bhilai Steel Plant. A mixed economy had, therefore, become essential for speedy growth and

development.

However, to trace thorough the embryonic years of consumption in post independent era, it becomes all the more imperative to take stock of health of Indian economy and its transition through last five decades in terms of its plans. This effort certainly will enable us to throw light on the factors which acts as the impetus for changing consumption pattern.

INDIAN ECONOMY IN LAST FIVE DECADES

Although India achieved independence in 1947, planning, or planned development began in 1951. The First Five Year Plan (1951-56) with a public sector outlay of Rs. 2,069 crore concentrated on agricultural development and had the long-term perspective of doubling the per capita income in 27 years. The plan laid stress on agricultural so that it could raise the development potential of industry in the subsequent phases of planning.

The second plan (1956-61) adopted, the strategy propounded by pro. P.C. Mahalonobis, which assumed that whereas agriculture was subject to secular diminishing returns, industrialization would allow surplus labour currently unemployed in agriculture to be more productively employed in industry. The basic features of the strategy

was more emphasis on industrialization on heavy goods industry.

The Third Plan (1961-66), while pursuing the objectives of the Second Plan, listed an additional objective of achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains. The pattern of investment once again gave pride of place to agriculture, irrigation and power, allocating to them 35 percent of public sector outlay of Rs. 7,500 crores. The plan reiterated that development of basic industries, such as steel, fuel, power machine building and chemical industries were fundamental to the process of meaningful program of economic growth.

Although achievements of the second and third plans fell far short of the target. It may be termed as a sustained growth phase. However no attempt was made with a reasonable success in implementing the long-term growth maximizing Mahalonobis strategy during the second and the third five year plans.

There was as a result, a considerable acceleration in public sector investment in infrastructure (roads, railways, major and medium irrigation) and indirectly productive investment in universal intermediates like steel; coal, power and heavy electrical machinery. Very little was however achieved in encouragement to the cottage, village

and small industries as a means of providing employment as well as expanding supplies of consumer goods, as conceived a part of this strategy.

In terms of the aggregate performance, this phase recorded a fairly sustained 8 to 10 per cent compound growth rate of industrial output, 3 to 3.5 per cent compound growth rate in foodgrains output and 1.75 per cent growth rate in per capita income. All these growth rates represented a growth over pre independence past and was also taken as a success of planning efforts.

There was a break in the planning process during 1966-69 due to war and famines and regular planning was substituted by somewhat adhoc three annual plans (1966-69). Then planning was resumed with even more ambitious targets. The Fourth Plan (1969-74) raised the growth target to 5.5 per cent per annum. The plan aimed at increasing national income, raising savings and investment ratios, achieving self-reliance, creating larger employment opportunities and reducing inequalities in income distribution and concentration of economic power and thus achieving social justice and equality.

The Fifth Plan (1974-79) with a total public sector outlay of Rs. 38,853 crore proved to be a patch work of five annual plans, as the final shape to the plan was given three

years after it was approved by the National Development Council and its last two years saw the Janata Government at the helm, which used the plan to meet the promises and political commitment of its government. Nevertheless during the five-year period, the target growth rate in national income as also in agricultural production was exceeded. However, in the industrial sector, there were glaring short falls in Iron ore, coal, electricity generation, finished steel and mill sector cloth.

The Sixth Five Plan (1980-85) with a public sector outlay of Rs. 97,500 crore made a convincing success inspite of the odds against it. The growth target of 5.2 percent was actually exceeded. The performance was particularly impressive in the case of foodgrains production, which rose from 132 million tonnes in 1978-79 to 152.4 million tonnes in 1983-84. However, the growth of industrial production at 5.5 percent fell well below the target of 7 percent. A significant dent was made in poverty alleviation. The proportion of people below the poverty line declined from 48.3 percent in 1977-78 to 36.9 percent in 1984-85, according to the result of the National Sample Suvery.³ High rate of economic growth and a substantial increase in agricultural production, achieved during the sixth plan, made it possible to achieve notable success in alleviating

poverty and promoting employment.

The first six plans had achieved a broad measure of success in all sectors of the economy - agriculture, industry and social sector, particularly poverty alleviation. In agriculture from a meager growth rate of less than 0.5 percent per annum during 1904-05 to 1944-45, a growth rate of 2.7 percent was achieved during 1949-50 to 1983-84 due to the benefits of the green revolution which began in the 70's. Prior to the disastrous failure of the monsoon in 1965-66, foodgrains production in India had increased to 89 million tonnes from 52 million tonnes in 1951. Between 1955-56 and 1964-65 acreage under all commodities had increased by 8 percent and production by 34.8 percent. The mid sixties saw technological change in agriculture for achieving self-sufficiency in foodgrains.

Thus, after mid-sixties apart from introduction of high-yielding varieties of seeds for wheat and rice, public investment in agriculture was stepped up significantly. The new technology raised the profitability of investment to farmers. As in agriculture, there is a high complementarity between public and private investment, the annual gross capital formation in agriculture at constant prices rose much faster than in pre-green revolution period. The green revolution saw a big leap in the growth of irrigated area.

From less than one million hectares per annum during the pre-green revolution period, it increased to about 2.5 million hectares per annum during the seventies. Crops, such as rice, pulses and oilseeds, whose growth rates in the first decades of green revolution had fallen much below those recorded in the pre-green revolution period showed much higher growth rates.

However, seventh plan which was to start from 1985-86 saw a paradigm shift in India's planning strategy. Infact very soundly it can be inferred that genesis of liberalization of 1990's started from 7th plan approach i.e. from a more regularized economy and agriculturally entrench policies, its move towards industrialized and more free economy could be felt. Infact all the measures and approaches made striking impact on consumption habits of masses. A economy with deficient to surplus agriculture, certainly helped to adopt new methods and way. This process was further accelerated due to change in approach towards freeing economy and also healthy industrial policy. Repercussion of all these policies and measures and shift in its approach has been dealt in the conclusion part, where National Sample Survey Organization inputs had also helped to bring out the clear picture.

FOREGROUND: LIBERALIZATION

In industry, a widespread industrial base had been set up. On the eve of the seventh five year plan, a broad-based infrastructure had been built. Basic industries had been established. A high degree of self-reliance in a large number of industrial items - raw materials, intermediates and finished goods - had been achieved. New growth centers of industrial activity had emerged as had started a new generation of entrepreneurs. A large number of engineers, technicians and skilled workers had been trained over the years. It was becoming increasingly apparent that industrial licensing system as it had evolved, specially after the mid - 1960s, i.e. the beginning of the third plan, had promoted inefficiency and resulted in a high cost economy. Even in other respects till 1985, growth was highly regulated. Not only was the setting up of industry subject to licensing, but production was also regulated. Production was not determined by the forces of demand and supply, but was regulated by the government.

Production capacities of each industrial unit was fixed and it was not supposed to exceed it. The functioning of the stock market was regulated by the controller of capital issues. Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) still largely governed the flow of funds across the country's

borders. Interest rate regime of banks was controlled by the Reserve Bank of India and there was different rates of interest for different segments of society. Lending to, what has come to be known as the "priority" sector, which had at a much lower rate of interest loans available than for other sectors. Financial sector reforms were still at the initial stages. Imports and exports too were highly regulated. Tariff rates were prohibitive and there were non-tariff barriers to imports too, in the form of restricted and banned lists, which had gradually reduced import-export volume.

In fact, at the beginning of the seventh plan, i.e. in 1985-86, a number of policy and procedural changes were introduced aimed at increasing productivity, reducing costs and improving quality. Production capacity restrictions on industries were gradually reduced and broadbonding, which enabled manufacture to choose and produce any product mix, which suited him in the context of prevailing market conditions, was introduced. Major policy changes had to wait till 1991.

Food, work and productivity were three basic priorities of the seventh five year plan, which provided for a public sector outlay of Rs. 1,80,000 crore at 1984-85 prices and set a growth target of 5 percent per annum for the economy.

In the industrial sector, the overall annual growth rate during the seventh plan period had been 8.5 percent as against the target growth rate of 8.7 percent. High growth rates were recorded in paper and paper products, chemicals, basic metal products, electrical machinery, capital goods, intermediate goods and some consumer goods.

However, following the gulf war and high cost of petroleum imports, the balance of payment situation went out of control. Towards the end of the plan period the country faced an exceptional situation in its balance of payments, with a net foreign currency reserves at Rs. 100 crores in June 1991, which was barely sufficient for two weeks imports.

INITIATION OF LIBERALIZATION

It was in such a difficult situation that a set of stabilization and structural adjustment measures were launched by the government in 1991, which was designed to combat the then existing crisis in the balance of payments and the resources position of the government. Widespread reforms were introduced in the economy. The twist of which was to provide competitive stimulus to accelerated economic growth. A statement on New Industrial Policy (NIP) was presented to parliament, abolishing industrial licensing,

except for a list of 18 industries "related to security and strategic concerns, social reasons, hazardous chemicals, overriding environmental reasons and items of elitist consumption". The number of industries reserved for the public sector was reduced to eight, where, in government's view, security and strategic concerns pre-dominated. Two items on the list had further been liberalized i.e. financial sector reforms were contemplated giving freedom to banks to determine interest rates and bringing down the "statutory cash reserve" and "statutory liquidity ratio". The hold of the finance ministry on the capital market, through the controller of capital issues was to be relaxed, ultimately leading to the setting up of the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI).

It was in such an atmosphere that work on the eighth plan was begun. The eighth plan, which envisaged a public sector outlay of Rs. 4,34,100 crores, aimed at achieving a gross domestic product (GDP) growth of 5.6 per cent. The lower growth target was set in view of the resources crunch.⁴

However, the performance of the Indian economy during the eighth plan as reflected by macro indicators has been satisfactory. As a result of reform adopted like liberalization, opening up of economy and market driven

policies, large scale capital outflow has stopped and capital inflow has substantially increased, thereby improving BOP position and restoring international confidence in the Indian economy. The economy has registered a higher average growth rate of around 6 percent.

Considering the overall economic scenario of the India we are able to visualize the transition from colonial to independent economy in the period of last five decade. This entire exercise also helps us to derive our own conclusion on consumption pattern of the Indian society.

However, taking this chapter as the background we now move on to the next chapter on Data analysis, where actual data from National Sample Survey has helped us to meet the hypotheses raised for this research.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER IV

CHANGING CONSUMPTION PATTERN: THE DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

After Considering theoretical aspect of Consumption and socio-economic back-ground of the Western and Indian society, we have dealt at length about colonial era and also highlighted the Ancient and the Medieval era in terms of Consumption pattern, especially CHAPTER III on Indian economy has helped us to get the better view of Indian Society in terms of its policies growth and changing trend. we now move on to the analysis of actual Consumption pattern.

Since we are dealing with Urban and Rural areas, it becomes imperative for us to define Urban area which is given in census and based on three Criteria. They are :

- (a) Urban areas are those which have 75% of the male adult population engaged in non-agricultural occupations.
- (b) Habitations having a population of 5000 and above.
- (c) A density of 1000 persons, per Sq.Km and those areas which do not meet the criteria set out above.

Also, Urban population has advantages over the rural, in terms of access to education, information and mass media. The Urban dwellers have higher incomes and a higher standard

of living. They are also health Conscious. All these features affect the Urban Consumption pattern. More over the distinction between Urban and Rural in our study becomes Important for the fact that both the areas have very few similarities. Per Capita income and also minimum caloric intake differs for the two areas. The government parameters in terms of scheme and other facilities also vary for these two areas (Urban and Rural), so does the opportunities in terms of access to Job, to education, to market, and so on. All these factors lead us to differentiate between two areas to give us a clear understanding of Consumption habits of people.

DATA SOURCE AND METHODOLOGY

The Data has been derived from National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), which provides the data generated by their sample surveys in the inhouse-Journal Sarveksana. The NSS is the prime governmental organisation to undertake Surveys at the National level. The NSS is one of the department of the Central Statistical organisation (CSO) Whose Jurisdiction comes under the planning Commission of India.

The data that has been analyzed in this chapter is from the five quinquennial all India surveys by five rounds of the NSS. Which are listed below:¹

| | | | | |
|------------------|-------|---|-----------|---------------|
| 27 th | Round | - | oct 1972 | to Sept 1973. |
| 32 nd | Round | - | July 1977 | to June 1978. |
| 38 rd | Round | - | Jun 1983 | to June 1983. |
| 43 rd | Round | - | July 1987 | to June 1988. |
| 50 th | Round | - | July 1993 | to June 1994. |

The nominal figures given in NSS rounds have been Converted into 'real' data for purposes of analysis by discounting Urban data using the Consumer Price Index of Industrial workers, with its base-year of 1960. For rural data Consumer Price Index of 'Agricultural labour' is Considered with a base year of July 1960 to June 1961.

The period Covered in our analysis is from 1972-73 onwards to 1993-94, on all India basis covering two decades which are of most crucial importance in our nation.

This analysis suffers from serious short comings. There is paucity of data on Consumption. The NSS rounds are the main sources of data on consumption. since the samples and sampling procedures have changed across different rounds, there are difficulties in identifying trends. Similarly while the selection of states varied from one round of survey to another there is danger in generalising at an all

India level. Therefore the inferences drawn from this analysis have to be regarded as merely indicative of the broad trends rather than accurate account of behaviour of consumption.

We have in our analysis six tables [indicating food and non-food items whose definitions are attached in appendix, Table I]. which are further classified as Urban and rural and given in real, nominal terms. Also tables on percentage for better understanding have been added. Details of the tables are enumerated as below.

TABLE I: Value of Monthly Per Capital Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food and Non-food Items over NSS Rounds. [ALL INDIA]

TABLE II: Value of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food Items over NSS Roods. [ALL INDIA]

TABLE III: Value (Rs.) of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of consumption of Non-Food Items over NSS Rounds. [ALL INDIA]

TABLE IV: Percentage Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] by

Broad Groups of Consumption Items over NSS
Rounds. [ALL INDIA]

TABLE V: Value (Rs.) of Monthly Per Capita
Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of
Consumption of Cereals and Pulses Over NSS
Rounds. [ALL INDIA]

TABLE VI: Quantity (Kg.) of Monthly Per Capita
Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of
Consumption of Cereals and Pulses Over NSS
Rounds. [ALL INDIA]

TABLE IA: Value of Monthly Per Capita Consumption
Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food
and Non-food Expenditure Over NSS Rounds.
[ALL INDIA] Value in Rs.(0.00)

Table IA: Value of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food and Non-Food Expenditure over NSS Rounds.

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 25.33 | 29.68 | 30.83 | 33.96 | 36.00 |
| FOOD | 16.34 | 17.80 | 18.23 | 18.99 | 19.68 |
| NON-FOOD | 9.00 | 11.88 | 12.61 | 14.97 | 16.33 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 12.00 | 21.33 | 21.54 | 24.32 | 24.54 |
| FOOD | 8.74 | 13.72 | 14.12 | 15.51 | 15.50 |
| NON-FOOD | 3.26 | 7.60 | 7.42 | 8.81 | 9.43 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

In both Rural and Urban areas there is growth in consumption expenditure although the growth has been more impressive for the rural areas where total expenditure has more than doubled from (12 to 24.54) Infact the significance of this increase is due to general Improvement in the living standards among the people.

As for Urban areas, (Total) Per capita monthly expenditure on food and Non-Food items is Rs. 36.00 in the 5th round for the year 1993-94, it is hardly more than a rupee per day which is far too meagre.

In the Urban areas there is consistent increase in the total expenditure on food and Non-Food items but in case of non-food items the amounts of money spent is much more that in rural areas. We can observe from Table IA that especially in late 80's and early 90's the Consumption of Non-Food items has increased in the Urban areas more than in the Rural areas.

The increase in Food Items is markedly visible in Rural as compared to the Urban areas. The overall picture highlighted from these two tables helps us to derive that both food and non-food consumption has grown from 1972-73 onwards to 1993-94, but the variation in growth can be inferred in varying degrees both for the Urban and for the Rural areas.

The growth in consumption of food and non-food items in rural and Urban areas has shown a growth from 70's to early 80's, But this growth has been consistent or stagnant since late 80's to early 90's in food items. This limitation is attributed to low Income (disposable) especially for rural areas i.e from 1987 to 1994.

However true is a Significant change in the consumption of non-food items. Consumption in the Urban areas in late 80's and 90's as compared to rural areas [which is more or less stagnant] for Urban areas expenditure on food stagnates after 1987. Usually with economic prosperity there is shift from the consumption of food to non-food items and this essentially is the case in the point with the Indian masses.

Table IB: Percentage (%) Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food and Non-food Items over NSS Rounds [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 , to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| FOOD | 64.50 | 60.00 | 59.10 | 56.40 | 54.70 |
| NON-FOOD | 35.50 | 40.00 | 40.90 | 43.60 | 45.30 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 | 100.00 |
| FOOD | 72.90 | 64.30 | 65.60 | 64.00 | 63.20 |
| NON-FOOD | 27.10 | 35.70 | 34.40 | 36.00 | 36.80 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Table IB Indicates that in early 70's food formed the major portion of Consumption basket in the Rural areas with 72.90% and non-food with 27.10% and also in the Urban areas, food with 65% and Non-Food with 36% respectively.

- In rural area there is a steep fall in food expenditure from the 27th to 32th round which is significant and shows minor variations form 32th to 50th round. For Urban areas the drop in food expenditure is steady.

- For Non-Food expenditure growth in both the Urban and the Rural areas has been consistent, but for ALL INDIA (Urban and Rural) significant change is seen from 27th to 32th round (Refer Table IB), that is, for the Urban areas increase is of 4.50 points and for the Rural 8.60 points.

Further for 50th round over all increase for the Urban areas is 9.80 points and for the Rural areas is 9.70 points.

This Indicates the growth of non-food expenditure both for the Urban as well as for the Rural areas.

Inspite of the fact that the percentage share of food expenditure has decreased in the Rural areas, it still holds the substantial part of expenditure, almost 3/4th for food (63.29%) and 1/3rd for non-food items (36.80), Comparatively for the Urban areas the gap is very marginal between food and non-food expenditure (9.40 points) where as for the Rural areas it stands at 26.40 points.

Table IC: Value Rs.(0.00) of Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food and Non-food Items over NSS Round in Nominal Terms [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 63.330 | 96.150 | 164.03 | 249.93 | 458.04 |
| FOOD | 40.84 | 57.67 | 96.97 | 139.75 | 250.32 |
| NON-FOOD | 22.49 | 38.48 | 67.06 | 110.18 | 207.72 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 44.17 | 68.89 | 112.45 | 158.10 | 281.40 |
| FOOD | 32.16 | 44.33 | 73.73 | 100.82 | 177.77 |
| NON-FOOD | 12.01 | 24.56 | 38.71 | 57.28 | 103.64 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Table IC indicates the widening gap for non-food expenditure between rural and urban areas where the Rural expenditure is almost double of the Urban expenditure.

Overall Table IA, IB and IC on food and non-food expenditures indicates the changing preferences of consumers and their habits over the period.

The gap between food and non-food expenditure in the Urban and the Rural areas leads us to the Conclusion that urban expenditure has shifted from basic necessities like food but shelter/housing still forms the formidable part of expenditure.

Also life-style pattern has moved towards consuming non-food items. The similar trend in the Rural areas also

indicate that there is a subtle change in food Consumption habit to non-food consumption but the majority of masses might still be investing comparatively more on food. This picture will clearly emerge as we analyse in-depth about particular items in foods and non-foods.

From the Table IIA it can be inferred that even though the food consumption has decreased substantially for the Urban as compared to the Rural areas, as derived from per capita percentage (Table IB), still we can see that the trend of expenditure on particular items of food consumption like Milk Products, Vegetables, Meat and so on has gone up.

However, in rural areas the Consumption for different food items has been high since 1972-73 to 1977-78 to 1993-94.

In the food basket, cereals constitute a large portion of expenditure for both rural and urban areas. However for both rural and urban areas expenditure on cereals has shown a decline over time.

Table IIA: Value Rs.(0.00) of Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food Items over NSS Round in Real Terms [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|---------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Cereals | 5.91 | 6.07 | 5.99 | 5.02 | 5.05 |
| Gram | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.07 |
| Cereals sub | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Pulses | 0.86 | 1.06 | 0.99 | 1.15 | 1.09 |
| Milk & Milk product | 2.36 | 2.83 | 2.85 | 3.24 | 3.53 |
| Edible oil | 1.23 | 1.38 | 1.50 | 1.80 | 1.58 |
| meat & fishes | 0.83 | 1.03 | 1.11 | 1.20 | 1.22 |
| Vegetable | 1.11 | 1.31 | 1.54 | 1.78 | 1.97 |
| Fruits | 0.51 | 0.58 | 0.65 | 0.85 | 0.96 |
| Sugar | 0.91 | 0.78 | 0.76 | 0.80 | 0.86 |
| Salt & Spices | 0.58 | 0.79 | 0.69 | 0.78 | 0.74 |
| Beverages etc. | 1.93 | 1.88 | 2.07 | 2.29 | 2.60 |
| Food Total | 16.34 | 17.80 | 18.23 | 18.99 | 19.68 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|------------------------|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Cereals | 4.87 | 6.99 | 6.96 | 6.36 | 5.94 |
| Gram | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.06 | 0.06 | 0.05 |
| Cereals sub | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.02 |
| Pulses | 0.51 | 0.81 | 0.76 | 0.96 | 0.93 |
| Milk & Milk product | 0.88 | 1.64 | 1.62 | 2.10 | 2.33 |
| Edible oil | 0.42 | 0.76 | 0.87 | 1.37 | 1.08 |
| meat & fishes | 0.30 | 0.57 | 0.65 | 0.79 | 0.82 |
| Vegetable | 0.43 | 0.81 | 1.02 | 1.27 | 1.48 |
| Fruits | 0.12 | 0.24 | 0.30 | 0.40 | 0.43 |
| Sugar | 0.45 | 0.56 | 0.61 | 0.69 | 0.75 |
| Salt & Spices | 0.33 | 0.65 | 0.54 | 0.70 | 0.65 |
| Beverages etc. | 0.29 | 0.53 | 0.11 | 0.95 | 1.02 |
| Food Total | 8.744 | 13.72 | 14.12 | 15.51 | 15.50 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Consumption of Pulses has been fluctuating although the trend indicates a small but gradual rise. Consumption of edible oil registered a steady growth till 1987-88. Since then, as the 43th round show, there has been a decline of expenditure in both the Urban and the Rural areas.

Consumption of Sugar in urban areas has come down whereas for the Rural areas this has happened more recently.

However Expenditure on Milk, Milk products, Meat, Fish, Eggs, Vegetables and Beverages has shown consistent growth, both in urban and rural areas. Consumption expenditure on these items is high in the Urban areas as compared to the Rural areas.

Table IIB: Value Rs.(0.00) of Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Food Items over NSS Round in Nominal Terms [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|------------------------|---|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Cereals | 14.77 | 19.66 | 31.85 | 36.97 | 64.27 |
| Gram | 0.28 | 0.24 | 0.31 | 0.41 | 0.84 |
| Cereals sub | 0.08 | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.30 |
| Pulses | 2.16 | 3.43 | 5.29 | 8.44 | 13.92 |
| Milk & Milk product | 5.19 | 9.16 | 15.15 | 23.83 | 44.87 |
| Edible oil | 3.07 | 4.46 | 7.94 | 13.23 | 20.09 |
| meat & fishes | 2.07 | 3.33 | 5.92 | 8.85 | 15.52 |
| Vegetable | 2.77 | 4.23 | 8.17 | 13.12 | 25.00 |
| Fruits | 1.27 | 1.88 | 3.46 | 6.27 | 12.17 |
| Sugar | 2.28 | 2.54 | 4.03 | 5.86 | 10.91 |
| Salt & Spices | 1.44 | 2.55 | 3.51 | 5.78 | 9.42 |
| Beverages | 4.82 | 6.09 | 11.21 | 16.82 | 33.01 |
| etc. | | | | | |
| Food Total | 40.84 | 57.67 | 96.97 | 139.75 | 250.32 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Cereals | 17.92 | 22.59 | 36.31 | 41.33 | 8.13 |
| Gram | 0.25 | 0.29 | 0.29 | 0.38 | 0.54 |
| Cereals sub | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.21 | 0.21 | 0.28 |
| Pulses | 1.89 | 2.63 | 3.96 | 6.27 | 10.72 |
| Milk & Milk product | 3.22 | 5.29 | 8.45 | 13.63 | 26.72 |
| Edible oil | 1.55 | 2.46 | 4.53 | 8.88 | 12.43 |
| meat & fishes | 1.09 | 1.84 | 3.40 | 5.11 | 9.37 |
| Vegetble | 1.59 | 2.60 | 5.30 | 8.23 | 17.01 |
| Fruits | 0.45 | 0.77 | 1.56 | 2.57 | 4.89 |
| Sugar | 1.66 | 1.82 | 3.16 | 4.51 | 8.57 |
| Salt & Spices | 1.23 | 2.09 | 2.83 | 4.52 | 7.43 |
| Beverages etc. | 1.07 | 1.72 | 3.72 | 6.18 | 11.69 |
| Food Tot | 32.16 | 44.33 | 73.73 | 100.82 | 177.77 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Expenditure on Beverages has increased in both urban and rural areas although the increase is much more impressive for urban areas.

Table IIA and IIB Highlight the Shift in consumer preferences and food habits. There is a shift from Cereal-Substitute (Coarse Grains) to cereals and Pulses but more and more people prefer to consume Milk and Milk products, Vegetables and Meat.

There is evidence that health Consciousness drive of media and the like have brought about this change.

Also, the supply of Milk, Cereals and Oil Seeds have increased over the years.

Table IIIA: Value Rs.(0.00) of Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Non-Food Items over NSS Round in Real Terms [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Pan, Tobacco & Intoxicants | 0.70 | 0.72 | 0.75 | 0.89 | 0.84 |
| Fuel/light | 1.43 | 1.90 | 2.14 | 2.27 | 2.37 |
| Clothing | 1.34 | 2.09 | 2.35 | 2.02 | 1.68 |
| Footwear | 0.10 | 0.18 | 0.34 | 0.37 | 0.33 |
| Misc. goods | 3.80 | 4.34 | 6.33 | 7.97 | 9.91 |
| Durable goods | 0.56 | 2.64 | 0.69 | 1.44 | 1.19 |
| Non-food | | | | | |
| Total | 9.00 | 11.88 | 12.61 | 14.97 | 16.33 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Pan, Tobacco & Intoxicants | 0.37 | 0.62 | 0.64 | 0.77 | 0.87 |
| Fuel/light | 0.68 | 1.28 | 1.52 | 1.81 | 1.81 |
| Clothing | 0.84 | 1.85 | 1.85 | 1.62 | 1.32 |
| Footwear | 0.06 | 0.16 | 0.21 | 0.24 | 0.22 |
| Misc. goods | 1.04 | 2.20 | 2.70 | 3.50 | 4.25 |
| Durable goods | 0.26 | 1.49 | 0.49 | 0.87 | 0.67 |
| Non-food | | | | | |
| Total | 3.26 | 7.60 | 7.42 | 8.81 | 9.04 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

It is noticed that the expenditure on all items have increased over the NSS round starting from 1972-73 that is, 27th round for both the Urban and the Rural sector. Expenditure increased for urban area on items such as Pan, Tobacco, Intoxicants, Fuel Light and so on has shown regular growth over the NSS round from 27th to 43th but not for 50th rounds, Correspondingly which also holds true for rural areas where the steady rise in expenditure of these items are noticed over NSS rounds.

Expenditure on clothing and footwear reveal inconsistent pattern. While expenditure on clothing in urban

areas increased gradually from 1972-73 till 1983, from the 43th round to the 50th round, there has been a slide downwards.

Similarly, for the Rural areas there has been growth from 27th to 38th round and subsequently decline with regard to expenditure on Fuel and Light, Clothing and Footwear. Expenditure on footwear, both in urban and rural areas, registered tremendous growth from 1972-73 onwards upto 1977-78, but eventually it was overtaken by a declining trend in 1993-94. Correspondingly, for the Rural areas a similar pattern is noticed, with increase over 27th and 32th rounds, a steady growth over 38th and 43th rounds and then a drop.

The expenditure on miscellaneous goods have shown a tremendous growth in last two decades both for urban and rural areas at all India level, thereby registering the highest growth. [For Definition of Miscellaneous goods refer appendix (Table I)].

Durable goods expenditure over NSS rounds for All-India has shown a variable growth both for the Urban and the Rural areas. In 1972-73 expenditure on durable goods in urban areas was 0.56. It registered phenomenal growth to 2.64 in 1977-78. Correspondingly figure for rural areas over this period was 0.26 and 1.49. But for both the Urban and the

Rural areas expenditure fall in the 38th round to recover by the 43th round.

Data for the 50th round shows the increase in expenditure in durable goods.

Table IIIB: Value Rs.(0.00) of Distribution of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Non-Food Items over NSS Round in Nominal Terms [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|----------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Pan, Tobacco & Intoxicants | 1.75 | 2.34 | 4.01 | 6.53 | 10.74 |
| Fuel/light | 3.57 | 6.17 | 11.36 | 16.72 | 30.15 |
| Clothing | 3.34 | 6.78 | 12.52 | 15.00 | 21.43 |
| Footwear | 0.26 | 0.59 | 1.80 | 2.69 | 4.19 |
| Misc. goods | 9.51 | 14.05 | 33.68 | 58.64 | 126.03 |
| Durable goods | 1.40 | 8.55 | 3.69 | 10.60 | 15.17 |
| Non-food | | | | | |
| Total | 22.49 | 38.48 | 67.06 | 110.18 | 207.72 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|-------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Pan, Tobacco & Intoxicants | 1.36 | 1.99 | 3.36 | 5.03 | 8.97 |
| Fuel/light | 2.49 | 4.13 | 7.92 | 11.77 | 20.69 |
| Clothing | 3.09 | 5.99 | 9.66 | 10.52 | 15.12 |
| Footwear | 0.23 | 0.51 | 1.11 | 1.55 | 2.48 |
| Misc. goods | 3.84 | 7.12 | 14.10 | 22.78 | 48.70 |
| Durable goods Non-food | 0.95 | 4.82 | 2.55 | 5.64 | 7.67 |
| Total | 12.01 | 24.56 | 38.71 | 57.28 | 103.64 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

From Table IIIA it is clear that expenditure on miscellaneous goods and durable goods is more than half of the expenditure on Non-Food items in 30th round.

Overall the picture which emerges from the analysis of non-food items indicate health conscious attitude of general masses as expenditure on Pan, Tobacco and Intoxicant has not increased substantially, whereas for fuel and light it has increased. Fuel and light forms part of basic Infrastructure

for growth of any economy, these items have registered growth due to government effort in making budgetary allocation. Footwear and clothing which had grown in early 70's indicate the hygienic aspect and consciousness in terms of life-style but further decline in these two categories and tremendous growth in miscellaneous good and durable over the period show the changing consumption pattern.

When there is growth in disposable income, the basic necessities are taken care of and these is generally a shift toward non-food items. This is reflected from the Table IIIB. Growth in miscellaneous goods expenditure indicates general preference toward education, medical consciousness, amusement and personal care products, Durable goods growth in early 70's indicate demand for T.V, Refrigerator, Washing machine and other. household items. This growth is more sharply seen form 43th to 50th round both for urban and rural areas.

Table IVA: Percentage Distribution Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of by 18 Groups of Consumption Items over NSS Rounds [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round | 32nd round | 38th round | 43rd round | 50th round |
|--|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | July 1977 to June 1978 | Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | July '87 to June '88 | July 1993 to June 1994 |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Cereals | 23.3 | 20.5 | 19.4 | 15.0 | 14.0 |
| Gram | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Cereal Subst | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Pulses & Prod. | 3.4 | 3.6 | 3.2 | 3.4 | 3.0 |
| Milk & Prod. | 9.3 | 9.5 | 9.2 | 9.5 | 9.8 |
| Edible oil | 4.9 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 5.3 | 4.4 |
| Meat, Egg, Fish | 3.3 | 3.5 | 3.6 | 3.6 | 3.4 |
| Vegetables | 4.4 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 5.3 | 5.5 |
| Fruits & Nuts | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 2.7 |
| Sugar | 3.6 | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.4 | 2.4 |
| Salt & Spices | 2.3 | 2.7 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 2.0 |
| Beverages etc. | 7.6 | 6.3 | 6.8 | 6.8 | 7.2 |
| Food Total | 64.5 | 60.0 | 59.1 | 56.4 | 54.7 |
| Pan, Tobacco & Intoxicants | 2.8 | 2.4 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.3 |
| Fuel & Light | 5.6 | 6.4 | 6.9 | 6.8 | 6.6 |
| Clothing | 5.3 | 7.1 | 7.6 | 5.9 | 4.7 |
| Footwear | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 0.9 |
| Misc. goods & services* | 19.2 | 14.6 | 20.5 | 23.2 | 27.5 |
| Durable goods | 2.2 | 8.9 | 2.3 | 4.1 | 3.3 |
| Non-food Total | 35.5 | 40.0 | 40.9 | 43.6 | 45.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Expenditure (Rs.) | 63.3 | 96.2 | 164.0 | 249.9 | 458.0 |
| MPCE index (27th round = 100) | 100 | 152 | 259 | 395 | 724 |
| Consumer price index (27th round = 100) | 100 | 160 | 258 | 364 | 618 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Round | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Cereals | 40.6 | 32.8 | 32.3 | 26.3 | 24.2 |
| Gram | 0.6 | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| Cereal Substitute | 0.5 | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Pulse & Prod. | 4.3 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 3.8 |
| Milk & Prod. | 7.3 | 7.7 | 7.5 | 8.6 | 9.5 |
| Edible oil | 3.5 | 3.6 | 4.0 | 5.0 | 4.4 |
| Meat, Egg, Fish | 2.5 | 2.7 | 3.0 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| Vegetables | 3.6 | 3.8 | 4.7 | 5.2 | 6.0 |
| Fruits & Nuts | 1.1 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 1.6 | 1.7 |
| Sugar | 3.8 | 2.6 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 3.1 |
| Salt & Spices | 2.8 | 3.0 | 2.5 | 2.9 | 2.7 |
| Beverages etc. | 2.4 | 2.5 | 3.3 | 3.9 | 4.2 |
| Food Total | 72.9 | 64.3 | 65.6 | 64.0 | 63.2 |
| Pan, Tobacco & Intoxicants | 3.1 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 3.2 | 3.2 |
| Fuel & Light | 5.6 | 6.0 | 7.0 | 7.5 | 7.4 |
| Clothing | 7.0 | 8.7 | 8.6 | 6.7 | 5.4 |
| Footwear | 0.5 | 0.7 | 1.0 | 1.0 | 0.9 |
| Misc. goods & services* | 8.7 | 10.3 | 12.5 | 14.5 | 17.3 |
| Durable goods | 2.2 | 7.0 | 2.3 | 3.1 | 2.7 |
| Non-food Total | 27.1 | 35.7 | 34.4 | 36.0 | 36.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Expenditure (Rs.) | 44.2 | 68.9 | 112.5 | 158.1 | 281.4 |
| MPCE index (27th round=100) | 100 | 156 | 255 | 358 | 637 |
| Consumer price index (27th round = 100) | 100 | 144 | 227 | 289 | 520 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

The share of cereals in household consumer expenditure has fallen steadily in both rural and urban areas by about 40% of its magnitude in 1972-73 (27th round of NSS).

In the rural sector, the share of food as a whole has not altered substantially since the 32th round (1977-78). The Share of some food groups notable Milk and Milk Products, Vegetables and Beverages, Refreshment and Processed Food, have increased in this sector at the expense of Cereals.

In the Urban sector, on the other hand, the share of Food has continued to fall throughout the period 1972-94, the overall decline being of the order of 10 percentage point=. In this sector the share of the non-cereal food groups have not changed much. A rise in the share of Vegetables by about 1 percent point and a fall in the share of Sugar from its 27th round value, are the only noticeable changes.

Among non-food groups, the category "Miscellaneous Goods and Services" registered a steady rise in share over the period under consideration. In the Rural sector, the share of this category has doubled between 1972-73 and 1993-94.

Both in the Rural and the Urban areas, the overall rise in monthly per capita Consumption expenditure (MPCE) over

this period was a little higher than the rise in Consumer price. In real terms, the rise in monthly per Capita Consumption expenditure (MPCE) works out to be approximately 22.5 percent for rural areas and 17.2 percent for urban areas, between 1972-73 and 1993-94.

In the Rural areas, the increase in average monthly per capita consumption expenditure (MPCE) between 43rd and 50th round appears to be wholly accountable to the rise in prices [As does the increase between 32th and 38th rounds]. In the Urban areas, on the other hand, average monthly per capita consumption expenditure has increased faster than the price level since 1983 (38th round).

The trend shows overall increase in expenditure on Cereals as well as on Pulses items. However, expenditure on Wheat and Jowar has shown a comparatively higher growth than that of Grains such as Bajra, Small Millets, Ragi but the share of Rice, Wheat and Jowar are major items in the food basket during 1972-73 for both the Urban and the Rural areas and this pattern has been Consistently maintained over the period.

Table VA: Value (Rs.) of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption Cereals and Pulses over NSS Rounds in Nominal Terms [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|---------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Rice | 7.72 | 10.92 | NA | 21.42 | 39.17 |
| Wheat | 5.32 | 7.14 | NA | 13.66 | 23.73 |
| Jowar | 0.87 | 0.93 | NA | 1.22 | 1.45 |
| Bajra | 0.42 | 0.31 | NA | 0.35 | 0.50 |
| Maige | 0.21 | 0.11 | NA | 0.10 | 0.11 |
| Barley | 0.07 | 0.03 | NA | 0.02 | 0.01 |
| Small Millets | 0.01 | 0.04 | NA | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Ragi | 0.15 | 0.18 | NA | 0.19 | 0.30 |
| TOTAL Cereals | 14.77 | 19.66 | 31.85 | 36.97 | 64.27 |
| Pulses | 2.16 | 3.43 | 5.29 | 7.96 | 13.92 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|---------------|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Rice | 9.14 | 12.68 | NA | 24.88 | 43.45 |
| Wheat | 4.01 | 5.29 | NA | 11.46 | 18.34 |
| Jowar | 1.70 | 1.93 | NA | 2.23 | 2.51 |
| Bajra | 0.93 | 0.89 | NA | 1.14 | 1.72 |
| Maige | 0.97 | 0.78 | NA | 0.80 | 1.23 |
| Barley | 0.34 | 0.22 | NA | 0.90 | 0.04 |
| Small Millets | 0.18 | 0.23 | NA | 0.12 | 0.08 |
| Ragi | 0.60 | 0.57 | NA | 0.61 | 0.76 |
| TOTAL Cereals | 17.92 | 22.59 | 36.31 | 41.33 | 68.13 |
| Pulses | 1.89 | 2.63 | 3.96 | 5.97 | 10.72 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

In the Cereals consumption, rice and wheat always formed the major part, around 95 percent of the expenditure, in both the Urban and the Rural areas.

Over the NSS rounds it has been noticed that there is a shift from coarse grains to superior cereals like rice and wheat and this trend is also visible in rural areas.

Expenditure on pulses has also increased over the period which shows that the demand for pulses has gone up. It has become a major part of the consumption basket and the increase in expenditure on this item by a factor of 10 lends support to this fact.

Over the period, Wheat consuming states like Punjab, Haryana and Western Uttar-Pradesh have also shown signs of increasing rice consumption. Similar effect is noticeable in Rice consuming states of Southern India where Wheat has been accepted as part of the diet. Overall there has been increase in expenditure on pulses, rice and wheat.²

Table VIA: Quantity (Kg.) of Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure [MPCE] of Consumption of Cereals and Pulses over NSS Rounds [All India].

Urban

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|---------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Rice | 4.94 | 5.48 | NA | 5.35 | 5.28 |
| Wheat | 4.82 | 4.87 | NA | 4.98 | 4.72 |
| Jowar | 0.71 | 0.75 | NA | 0.56 | 0.39 |
| Bajra | 0.34 | 0.23 | NA | 0.14 | 0.13 |
| Maige | 0.21 | 0.09 | NA | 0.04 | 0.03 |
| Barley | 0.06 | 0.03 | NA | 0.01 | 0.00 |
| Small Millets | 0.01 | 0.02 | NA | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Ragi | 0.15 | 0.15 | NA | 0.09 | 0.09 |
| TOTAL Cereals | 11.24 | 11.62 | NA | 11.19 | 10.63 |
| Pulses | NA | NA | NA | 0.89 | 0.86 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

Rural

| Rounds item | 27th round Oct. '72 to Sept. '73 | 32nd round July 1977 to June 1978 | 38th round Jan. 1983 to Dec. 1983 | 43rd round July '87 to June '88 | 50th round July 1993 to June 1994 |
|---------------|--|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Rice | 6.59 | 7.12 | NA | 7.04 | 7.02 |
| Wheat | 3.88 | 4.05 | NA | 4.94 | 4.40 |
| Jowar | 1.59 | 1.74 | NA | 1.18 | 0.84 |
| Bajra | 0.95 | 0.75 | NA | 0.51 | 0.48 |
| Maige | 1.05 | 0.67 | NA | 0.37 | 0.38 |
| Barley | 0.35 | 0.21 | NA | 0.04 | 0.01 |
| Small Millets | 0.21 | 0.21 | NA | 0.07 | 0.02 |
| Ragi | 0.64 | 0.50 | NA | 0.32 | 0.24 |
| TOTAL Cereals | 15.26 | 15.25 | NA | 14.47 | 13.40 |
| Pulses | NA | NA | NA | 0.80 | 0.76 |

Source: National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO).

From the above Table VIA we can observe that expenditure on Rice and Wheat formed a major part of Cereal consumption. It has gone down in the 50th round as Compared to the 27th and 32rd round both for the Urban and the Rural areas.

Consumption of Coarse Grains such as Jowar, Bajra, Maize, Barley, Small Millets, Ragi are going down both for the Urban and the Rural areas.

Data on the expenditure in pulses is not available for the initial rounds. From the available data it can be

noticed that the expenditure has been declining in the 43th and 50th round, although it was minimal.

From the above analysis it can be concluded that there is certainly, growth in consumer expenditure both for the Urban as well for the Rural areas infact growth has been more impressive for the Rural areas. (Refer Table IA) This shows that living standard of general Indian masses has gone up since 70's. However it has also been noticed that gap between food and non-food items in the Rural areas is higher than the Urban, which indicate that incomes are still lower for rural area.

Also our analysis indicates that there is growth in the consumption of Milk, Milk products, Vegetable, Meat, Fish, Eggs and Beverages for both the areas. But for urban area this growth is high indicating increase in income and also changing preferences in food items. Also growth in Pan, Tobacco and Intoxicants has gone up for both areas but in 80's and 90's their steady decline indicate health consciousness among people. Growth in fuel and light indicates growth of economy which is very true for both the areas. However, the significant aspect of growth is noticeable in Miscellaneous Goods and Durable Goods, particularly for the Urban areas, where expenditure on them stands more than half of other non-food items, that is,

expenditure on Education, Medical facilities, Amusement, goods for personal care and durables like T.V. Refrigerator, Washing Machine and so on.

The over all pattern that emerges from the above analysis is the changing consumption pattern of food and non-food items among Indian masses. From here we move on to conclusion part where we will summarize our research.

ENDNOTES

1. "Sarvekshana, National Sample Survey, Central Statistical Organisation New Delhi.

| | Topic's | Rounds | Survey period | Vol.No | Year |
|---|--|--------|-------------------|----------|------------|
| A | First Quinquennial Survey on consumer Expenditure | 27 | Oct 72 - Sep 73 | II (3) | Jan 1979 |
| B | Second Quinquennial Survey on consumer Expenditure | 32 | July 77 - June 78 | IX (3) | Jan 1986 |
| C | Third Quinquennial Survey on consumer Expenditure | 38 | Jan - Dec 1983 | IX (4) | Paril 1986 |
| D | Fourth Quinquennial Survey on consumer Expenditure | 43 | July 87 - June 88 | XVII (2) | Oct-Dec 93 |
| E | Fifth Quinquennial Survey on consumer Expenditure | 50 | July 1993-94 | - | - |

2. Radha Krishana, R. "Indian Journal of Agricultural Economic" vol. 51, Nos 1 and 2 Jan-June 1996. "Food Trends, Public distribution system and Food Concerns" pp.168-183.

CONCLUSION

Consumption has become a process which signifies late "modern" or "post-modern" capitalism as discussed in our work. In contemporary times people's sense of identity is also bound up with their pattern of consumption and not merely with their work roles. It can also be said that in Indian context a subtle shift has taken place in consumption profile particularly after late 80s, as indicated from our research. Although India is a vibrating democracy the society is much more complexities, interams of its multilingual, regional, caste groups which have wide disparity in income and it is also the home for all regnant ideologies of the world like, capitalism, socialism, communism and so on. In spite of this hurdles few generalization are possible. Through our work we can assume that consumer goods and household pattern of consumption are slowly playing the important part in social and cultural construction of identities for 'Individuals'. Here the Urban areas have certainly taken the lead as compared to the Rural India.

We have studied how consumption played dominant role in the ancient and the medieval period. In Indian society, however this consumer culture, at that time was the

prerogative of the privileged few. The much needed boost and a sort of a watershed in consumption pattern was derived with the advent of the British rule in India. The new values which set the standard for independent Indian were enshrined in our constitution which was adopted in 1950. With the state playing a major role, the journey was embarked on the road of mixed planning. Through planned efforts from colonial period to modern time, India has cut out for itself a niche in world economy. Even though it still remains a developing economy. Late eighties saw the period of liberalization and today with the Ninth plan (1997-2002 A.D.) on anvil, it carries ambitious targets for the economy with expected growth rate of 7 percent, export target of 14.5% in real terms; imports of 14.53% with saving rate of 26.2% and the total plan outlay of Rs.8,75,000 crores. Indian economy has remained sensitive to the global trends and has already planned to do much needed revisions like Capital Account Convertibility, shift from Foreign Exchange Regulation Act [FERA] to Foreign Exchange Management Act [FEMA]. Also accession to Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency [MIGA] of World Bank, trade reforms, banking reforms and host of other measures are already in the pipeline. All these measures have paved the way for a booming economy and

it has indeed become a fertile ground for new pattern of consumption activities.

Whether post-modern form of consumption is a "good-thing" or a "bad-thing", this is still a debatable issue. On the contrary it is a straight binary opposition a la Lévi-Strauss. Actually the process of consumption cannot be categorised appropriated simply as a 'good-thing or as a 'bad-thing'. Practically it can be both, Consumption has become a major process in modern/post-modern societies in which common individuals are mostly affected. Consumption has provided access, to common-masses, to various consumer items like Car, T.V., Refrigerator, Washing machine, Music system, better facilities like banking, health, transport, education, consultancy and others. Consumption has boosted the economy of several nations, that is, when spending goes up, demand is created, more production take place, Job opportunities are created and other related factors lead to increase in per capita income thereby providing better standards of living. Also in consumption dominated society state has much less role to play where the Individuals have choice to pursue their vocations, using their creative talents. Nevertheless, it is this hope of individuals to consume en-mass the material goods, like T.V., Refrigerator, Washing machine, Cars and so on and also the numerous

packages of consumer services like travel, and sports which has helped to legitimise the capitalism. This new "Consumer culture" is integral part of the Capitalism.

The question of "who am I?" is one which is likely to be answered in terms of consumption pattern as it is done in terms of an occupational role by many people. The pleasure which is derived from this aesthetics of consumption of goods by common individuals, who buy them, and also those who cannot afford most of the items of modern consumption, describe it as a "good-thing." Consumption is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid in capitalist social formation. Even during the economic down-turns, recessions or depression, consumption remains important as a hope, if not a practise, among people. Especially the unemployed become depressed, if they do not consume. Not only, their sense of worth as a earner is found missing but also because their role as a provider for their families, that is, provider of the consumer items of all kinds is lost. It is because consumption is not only to do with use-value or the functional role of the item but it also has a demonstration effect where by status of "consumer" is thought to be enhanced in the eyes of others. In Weberian term consumption places our consumer in a specific "status group." Further other hidden psychological factors like hedonism, escapism,

fantasy and the desire for novelty are also at work simultaneously. For example a washing machine performs not only a functional role but also acts as a status symbol, as an element of comfort, of style, of prestige and so on.

On the negative side of the dialectics of modern consumption what we notice is erosion which is in full swing now in the current phase of globalization and marketization of human provisions. At no point of time was so much comforts and luxuries were at the disposable of man. Today, from information to material, from idea to its conception, everything is available around him. For example communication revolution has made every area of the world accessible. Computers have almost taken over the human functions in every aspect of life.

In modern society man has ended up as organization man, that is, he spent his entire life shifting from one organization to another. Be it washing clothes or taking education, or getting entertained, or eating food almost everything is available in the market controlled by different organizational setups. What people could produce on their own, now has to be purchased from the market and their bases of self-sustenance and nurturance are being systematically destroyed by the regnant system of production and consumption which is controlling the world market today.

Consumption has now become a new religions in as much as, it provides meaning to individual's life and defines his sense of purpose and purusartha. Consumption today has become part of fantasy, rather than mere fulfilment of needs.

To quote Robert Bellah

"Consumerism denies the needs of the poor in the name of our own anxious desire. But most of all, consumerism kills the soul, as any good Augustinian can see, because it places things before the valuing of god and human community"¹

The ideal of new commodity aesthetics is to deliver the absolute minimum of use-value and provide us with seductive illusion. Commodities now seduce us through their sexual appeal, they are enveloped, by a surface of sexuality. But the question arises, can all the member of society take part in this activity of consumption? There are numerous examples in India where basic facilities like schools, public hospitals, drinking water, to name a few, are non-existent. In Consumption oriented society, which works on the fundamentals of free markets does not provide solace to entire masses. It is those who have resources indulge in the activities of consumption, leaving rest to fend for themselves, outside the purview of this "Consumer Culture" poor become more poor in the relative sense because they are deprived of even the basis necessities of life.

A creative society has to think of the ways to confront this challenge. While realising the instrumental significance of consumption for the generation of well being, it must enable us to make 'consumption choices' and help us to live a balanced life. That is, a Balance between individual wellbeing, environmental preservation and the well being of the humanity. The Consumer desires once aroused, are difficult to control easily. What is desired in 'post-modern consumerism is not the' 'real' chocolate, the 'real' car, or house and furniture which is consumed. Rather these 'real' things are substitutes, the desires they arouse, to satisfy our symbolic desires. Consumption, thus appears as one of the main ways by which alienation continues, which even deepens by entering into the psychic lives of people. It does this by tapping into the unsatisfied desires at the unconscious levels.

The question which arises is, whether there will be a change of attitudes so that people could alter their desires into other dimensions of activity and expenditure. One of the powerful cultural and socio-psychological institution which could do this is 'religion'.

Religions have provided satisfaction to the desires of the unconscious in the earlier epochs, hence it can continue to provide such unconscious satisfaction, even in

technological-driven society. This discourse of religion in tandem with environmentalism and ecology could produce a broad-based movement containing post-modern consumerism in practice. Also religion in contemporary time has negative, social and cultural effects. Also in post-modern context it is individual who is the best judge to accept the tenets of religion in its pure form. If more educated and aware section of consumers take interest in it, then consumption as well as distorted form of religion could be controlled.

To conclude, our study points that consumption activity is not merely an economic one, it is entrenched in much deep rooted in socio-psychological factors where desires, habits, values, beliefs, habits class positions plays important role. Consumption patterns are not only guided by above mentioned factors but also by the impact of westernization, liberalisation, political ideologies like Gandhism, swadheshi, Government policies and others. Our study raises the hypothesis which can become part of further academic pursuit. They are :

1. In Indian society urban areas have already adopted "consumer culture" as the way of life. How rural India will follow this pursuit because it is still entrenched in traditional moorings, backwardness due to underdevelopment and lack of economic backing.

2. Relationship between mass media like T.V. Radio, Newspaper, Advertising and Consumer in boosting consumption activities.
3. Relationship between consumption patterns in Food and Non-Food items due to growth in income, advertising impact and Values prevailing in the society.
4. Effect of social institution in the growth of consumption pattern and the ever changing complex relationship between market and consumers.

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APPENDIX TABLE - I

The groups of Food items and Non-Food items of Consumption as presented in the tables are defined here in terms of their constituents.

1. Cereals: rice, wheat, jowar, bajra, maize, barley, small millets, ragi and their products.
2. Gram: Bengal gram and its products.
3. Cereal Substitutes: Cereal Substitute like papoica, pea etc.
4. Pulses and products: arhar, tur, gram mong, masoor, urd, khesari, pea and other pulses and their products.
5. Milk and milk products: liquid milk (cow, buffalo, and goat) and other milk varieties (condensed, powder etc) ghee (cow and buffalo), butter, Curd or dahi, ghol, lassi and other milk products.
6. Edible oil: vanaspati, mustard oil, coconut, oil, groundnut oil, linseed oil, refined oil, other edible oil and oils seeds.
7. Meat, fish and eggs: meat (goat meat, mutton, beef, pork, buffalo meat and other meats) egg, poultry, fish (fresh and dried), birds and others,
8. Vegetables: potato, onion, tomato, brinjal, cabbage, cauliflower, root vegetables (arum, raddish etc), leafy vegetables and other vegetables.
9. Fruits and nuts: banana, orange, lemon, mango, coconut, guava, pineapple, grapes, other fresh fruits, coconut copra, grandnut, cashewnut, dates, raisins, other dry fruits and nuts.
10. Sugars: Sugar (factory), khandsari sugar, gur (cane and others) candy and other sugars.
11. Salt: Sea salt, rock salt and other salts.
12. Spices: turmeric, black pepper, dry chillies, green chilles, garlic, tamarind, ginger, curry powder and other spices.
13. Beverages and refreshments: tea (number of cups), tea, coffee (number of cups), coffee powder, other drinking beverages, biscuits, confectionaries, salted refreshments, prepared sweets, cooked meals, pickles, sauce, jams and jellies and other processed food items.

14. Pan, Tobacco and Intoxicants: pan leaf, pan finished, supari (betel nut, other ingredients for pan), biri, cigarettes, leaf tobacco, hookat, tobaccol, cheroot, snuff, ~~garda~~, kiman, surti, other tobacco products, opium, ganja, toddy, country liquour, foreign liquor and other drugs and intoxicants.
15. Fuel and light: coke, coal, firewood, electricity, gas, dung cake, charcoal, kerosene, candle, matches, methylated spirit and other fuel and light.
16. Clothing: cotton (mill made, power-loom, hand-loom, khadi), wool, art silk or rayon, pure silk and others including items of bedding and upholstery.
17. Footwear, boat, shoe, slipper, sandal, chappal, wooden sandal etc.
18. Miscellaneous goods and services: This include educational and medical expenses and expenditure on amusement, goods for personnel care, toilet articles, consumer services and conveyance. In fact all items other than food, fan, tobacco, intoxicants fuel and light, clothing, footwear and durable goods come under the "miscellaneous" category.
19. Durable goods: This terms refers to durable goods other than clothing and footwear. T.V., refrigerator and other items included here are distinguished from miscellaneous goods by having a longer expected lifetime of use (roughly, one year or more). Expenditure incurred on repairs and construction of durables, used for domestic purpose is included in "expenditure on durable goods".