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INCOME AND EXPENDITURE STRUCTURE OF BAWARIA CASTE IN NORTH-WEST HARYANA: A BLOCK-WISE ANALYSIS

Ashu Rani¹ and K. V. Chamar²

¹Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, Ahir College, District Rewari, Haryana, India ²Former Professor & Head, Dept. of Geography, M. D. University, Rohtak, Haryana, India Email: ashu.igu9900@gmail.com, chamar kv@yahoo.com

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Abstract: The present research aims to analyze the income and expenditure structure of the Bawaria caste, a marginalized community among the scheduled castes in North-West Haryana. For this study, primary data has been collected from 945 households of Bawaria caste across 28 villages, with two villages selected from each of the 14 blocks in the study area. The data has been collected on monthly household income and expenditure across ten major aspects like food, clothing, lighting, fuel, luxuries, religious activities, education, health, transport, and mobile/internet usage. Household and per capita monthly incomes have been categorized into four income groups, each with a class interval of Rs.10, 000. Similarly, expenditures have been expressed as a percentage of the total monthly household expenditure. Based on the sample survey, the average monthly household income and per capita income have been recorded at Rs. 11,697 and Rs. 2,646, respectively. Likewise, the average monthly household and per capita expenditures have been observed Rs. 9,074 and Rs. 2,053, respectively. The highest average monthly household and per capita incomes have been observed in the Nathusari Chopta block, which also exhibited a similar trend in expenditure patterns. On average, 43 per cent of monthly household expenditure has been spending on food, followed by transport (10 percent), healthcare (8 percent), and clothing (7 percent). Among the blocks, Baragudha and Bhuna recorded the highest proportion of expenditure on food, while Bhattu Kalan showed the highest expenditure on transport (13 percent) and similar expenditure on education in Uklana. Dabwali recorded 11 per cent for healthcare and Jakhal reported 9 percent for clothing. The study concludes that a higher proportion of household expenditure on food and clothing reflects the poor economic status of households among the Bawaria caste.

Key words: Bawaria Caste, Income Structure, Expenditure Structure, Selected Aspects

Introduction

The study of economic structures by social scientists is crucial for comprehending and promoting socio-economic transformation within rural communities (Shukla, 1976). Monopolized occupations and functions of caste are closely linked with the community's economic structure, particularly within the context of the Jajmani system. Variations in caste status are influenced by multiple factors, among which land ownership and the accumulation of wealth are regarded as the most significant at the local level (Bailey, 1955). The economic structure of a village not only depends upon the general level of community development block, district and state, but also by the cultural traits and socio-religious practices of different castes (Mann, 1979). Mishra (1983) observed that the urban poor often consist of landless laborers and small or marginal farmers, predominantly from scheduled castes and other backward castes. Thakur and Singh (2006) highlighted that economic development brings significant changes not only in the socio-economic and cultural life of the population but also influences their standard of living in the long run. The nature and quality of economic activities undertaken by a population have a profound influence on the socio-economic, cultural, and demographic characteristics of a region (Tiwari & Sharma, 2009). Researchers have conducted numerous studies on the income and expenditure patterns at the village, district, and social group levels. Likewise, Rekha (2013) examined the socio-economic structure of the Chura community in Badli village of Jhajjar district, Haryana. Based on a sample of 91 households, the study found that about 90 per cent of the households earned a monthly income of up to Rs. 15,000. She observed that more than two-fifths of the total household expenditure has been spend on food and clothing. The expenditure pattern across different clans is more or less similar. Clans such as Bagri, Lauth, Tank, and Deeka, who are predominantly employed in government jobs tended to allocate a higher proportion of their total expenditure to clothing and fuel. Arya, (2016) analyzed the economic status of Dhanak caste in rural Haryana. Based on 320 sample households, the study reveals that the average monthly and per capita income is recorded Rs. 6418 and Rs. 1242 respectively. Among the surveyed districts, the highest household and per capita income is recorded in Gurgaon, while the lowest is observed in Rewari district among the Dhanak caste in the study area.

Rani and Chamar (2018) analyzed the income, expenditure and saving structure of Bawaria caste in Rewari district. The study revealed that the average monthly household income of the Bawaria caste has been recorded Rs. 12,342, with a per capita income of Rs. 2,398. Among the various clans, the Khodiwala clan reported the highest levels of both income and expenditure, representing the most prosperous segment of the Bawaria caste. In contrast, the Badgujjar clan has been found to be in relatively poor condition within the study area. Kumar (2019) examined the socio-economic characteristics of scheduled castes in the Jind district of Haryana. The study found that scheduled caste households in the Jind and Narwana blocks reported higher-than-average monthly household and per capita incomes. Further, households in the Narwana, Jind, Safidon, and Julana blocks exhibited substantial expenditure on food and education, while Pillu Khera and Uchana blocks allocated greater portions of their expenditure to food, transport, and education. Similarly, households in the Alewa block reported the highest expenditure on food and healthcare services among the scheduled castes in the study area. Recently, Dhanak (2023) described that about 87 per cent of households falls into the monthly income group up to Rs. 15,000. The average monthly household and per capita income above from average income is observed in Bahadurgarh, Salhawas and Jhajjar blocks. Most households from Chura community spend more than one third of their total expenditure on food. Households in the Salhawas and Bahadurgarh blocks spend maximum amount on food, religious activities and education

in the study area. In the same year, Mahapatra, Sahoo, and Basu highlighted that about 74 per cent of households among the Van Bawaria community in four selected districts of Rajasthan experienced high levels of food vulnerability and insecurity. Additionally, 24 per cent faced severe food insecurity, while less than 2 per cent experienced moderate food insecurity. Keeping in mind the above studies, the present study analyzes the income and expenditure structure of the Bawaria caste at the block level in North-West Haryana.

About the Bawaria Caste

The Bawaria is a nomadic community primarily found in the north-western region of India, particularly in the states of Haryana, Punjab, and Rajasthan (Singh, 1994). They are classified as a 'Scheduled Caste' by the government of India. In Haryana, the Bawaria population is mainly concentrated in the districts of Sirsa, Fatehabad, Rewari, Hisar, Mahendragarh, and Jhajjar. They speak Hindi and follow Hinduism. Traditionally, the Bawaria were hunters and gatherers, but many have transitioned to working as daily wage laborers. Despite this shift, a significant number of Bawaria families continue to experience low literacy levels and poor socio-economic conditions. They face challenges of poverty, lack of land ownership and limited access to development resources.

Study Area

The north-west Haryana comprises the districts of Sirsa and Fatehabad. It lies between 29° 12' to 30° 0' north latitudes and 74° 32' to 75° 57' east longitudes. It is enclosed by state of Punjab to the north and north-east, by Hisar district of Haryana to the south and by the state of Rajasthan to the south and south-west. As per Census 2011, the north-west Haryana consists of two districts, seven tehsils, 14 blocks and 575 villages including three uninhabited villages. As per 2011 Census, the total rural scheduled caste population of Haryana is 37.20 lakh (22.53 percent) comprising 19.73 lakh males (53.04 percent) and 17.47 lakh females (46.96 percent). The Bawaria caste account for 63276 persons (1.7 percent) to total rural scheduled caste population of Haryana, out of which 32503 are males (51.37 percent) and 30773 are females (48.63 percent). Similarly, as per 2011 Census, the total rural population of Bawaria caste is 33365 persons in north-west Haryana, representing 52.72 per cent of the total rural Bawaria population in Haryana. Among them 17106 persons are males (51.27 percent) and 16259 persons are females (48.73 percent) in the study area.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of the present study is to analyze the income and expenditure structure of Bawaria caste across the selected blocks in north-west Haryana.

Database and Research Methodology

The present study is based on both primary and secondary sources of data. Secondary data has been obtained from the Primary Census Abstract of 2011, while primary data has been collected through a well-structured schedule and personal interviews conducted with the heads of households during the year 2021. Based on four key parameters such as the percentage of scheduled caste population, literacy rate, work participation rate, and the number of Bawaria community households in a village, 945 households belonging to the Bawaria caste have been selected from 28 villages across 14 blocks, with two villages chosen from each block using stratified random sampling (Table 1). Data for the first three parameters has been directly obtained from the Primary Census Abstract 2011, whereas information regarding the fourth parameter has been collected from the village head (Sarpanch) of each respective village. Subsequently, primary data on the monthly income and expenditure across 10 major aspects like food, clothing, lighting, fuel, luxuries, religious activities, education, health, transport, and mobile/internet have been collected. The monthly household and per capita income have been

classified into four broad categories, each with a class interval of Rs./10,000. Similarly, the expenditure on various aspects has been calculated as a percentage of the total household expenditure. The major findings have been interpreted using tables and diagrams with the help of suitable cartographic techniques and methods.

Table 01: North-West Haryana: Selected Blocks, Villages and Number of Sample Households

0-141	Calactad	Commis	Calantad	Calaatad	Camarala
Selected	Selected	Sample	Selected	Selected	Sample
Block	Villages	HHs	Block	Villages	HHs
	District Sirsa			District Fatehabad	
Dabwali	Dabwali (Rural)	55	Ratia	Ganda	30
	Desu Jodha	55		Mehmra	40
Odhan	Odhan	35	Jakhal	Talwari	30
	Kheowali	40]	Jakhal	25
Baragudha	Nagoki	35	Tohana	Manghera	25
	Shekhpuria	50]	Dharsul Kalan	20
Sirsa	Panihari	30	Uklana	Hansawala	05
	Dabri	45]	Saniyana	05
Nathusari	Ding	50	Bhuna	Lehrian	20
Chopta	Gadli	05		Kheri Rohan	30
Rania	Dhanoor	45	Fatehabad	Jhalnian	25
	Ottu	45		Mohammadpur Rohi	55
Ellenabad	Talwara Khurd-1	40	Bhattu Kalan	Dhand	50
	Kesopura	35		Kirdhan	20
Total Sample Households		565	Total Sample Households		380

Note: The households have been selected as per the availability of number of households of Bawaria caste in the villages.

Source: Field Survey, 2021

Results and Discussions

Based on sampled data from 945 households, the total population of the 28 selected villages across 14 blocks in the study area is 4177, consisting of 2149 males (51.45 percent) and 2,028 females (48.55 percent).

Population Characteristics

The Dabwali block accounts for the largest share of the population with 11 per cent, and followed by Fatehabad, Rania, Bhattu Kalan and Ellenabad blocks which together comprise nearly 45 per cent of the total sample population. The average literacy rate among the Bawaria caste has been recorded at about 73 per cent in the study area. The Uklana block reports the highest literacy rate at 92 per cent, followed by Fatehabad, Bhattu Kalan, Jakhal, Ratia, Tohana, and Bhuna, all of which exceed the average literacy rate. In contrast, the lowest literacy rate has been recorded in the Sirsa block. Furthermore, about 31 per cent of the population is engaged in economic activities. The highest work participation rate has been recorded in the Baragudha block (35.55 percent), while the lowest has been recorded in the Uklana block (21.15 percent). Interestingly, an inverse relationship between literacy rate and work participation rate has been observed in the Uklana block. This may be due to higher levels of educational attainment, with individuals prioritizing education over immediate employment. The household size, as a primary unit of society, is influenced by various demographic, social, economic, and political factors. Among the Bawaria caste in north-west Haryana, the average household size has been found to be 4.4 persons. The largest household size has been observed in the Uklana block, with an average of 5.2 persons per household, while the smallest has been recorded in the Baragudha block, with an average of 3.5 persons per household (Table 2).

Income and Expenditure Structure

The income and expenditure structure of a household is a critical reflection of its economic status. Generally, household expenditure is closely linked to income levels; as income rises, expenditure tends to increase accordingly. The per capita income serves as a vital indicator of purchasing power and living standards.

Table 02: North-West Haryana: Population Characteristics of Bawaria Caste, 2021

Selected	Sample	Total	Educated	Work	Size of
Blocks	HHs			Force	Household
			Percent	T .	Persons/House
Baragudha	85	7.21	68.27	35.55	3.5
Bhattu Kalan	70	8.00	84.82	30.24	4.8
Bhuna	50	6.03	78.97	30.95	5.0
Dabwali	110	11.06	60.93	32.25	4.2
Ellenabad	75	8.00	62.16	30.84	4.5
Fatehabad	80	9.24	86.74	27.72	4.8
Jakhal	55	6.66	83.67	31.29	5.1
Nathusari Chopta	55	5.72	69.23	34.31	4.3
Odhan	75	7.01	72.35	32.76	3.9
Rania	90	9.17	67.77	30.81	4.3
Ratia	70	7.69	81.13	28.35	4.6
Sirsa	75	7.61	60.57	35.22	4.2
Tohana	45	5.36	80.21	31.25	5.0
Uklana	10	1.24	92.31	21.15	5.2
North-West Haryana	945	100.0	73.31	31.41	4.4

Source: Compiled by Authors.

Average Monthly Income

Table 3 presents the average monthly household and per capita income across selected blocks in the study area (See Fig. 1). The highest average monthly household income has been recorded in the Nathusari Chopta block (Rs. 15,927), followed by Odhan, Sirsa, Dabwali, and Tohana blocks, all of which reported incomes above the study area's average. This may be attributed to the development of infrastructure facilities in both the government and private sectors. In contrast, the lowest average monthly household income has been observed in the Uklana block (Rs. 9,400), followed by Baragudha, Bhuna, and Ratia blocks. A similar pattern has been noted for per capita income, with the highest and lowest values observed in Nathusari Chopta and Uklana blocks, respectively.

Table 4 depicts the distribution of households across different income groups in various blocks of north-west Haryana. The income groups are classified into four broad categories: (i) very low income (below Rs. 10,001), (ii) low income (Rs. 10,001–20,000), (iii) moderate income (Rs. 20,001–30,000), and (iv) high income (above Rs. 30,000). The analysis reveals that about two-thirds of the households fall into the very low-income category (below Rs. 10,001), highlighting the prevalence of widespread poverty among the Bawaria community in the study area. Nearly 30 per cent of the households are classified within the low-income group (Rs. 10,001–20,000). The proportion of households in the moderate- and high-income groups is minimal, with each accounting for less than two percent, indicating that a very limited segment of the population has transitioned into moderate- or higher-income groups. A closer examination across blocks shows that Uklana records the highest proportion of very low-income households, with 90.0 per cent falling into this category. In contrast, Nathusari Chopta and Sirsa blocks exhibit a comparatively better income distribution. Besides Uklana, Dabwali

and Ratia blocks also reflect high levels of poverty. Fewer than four per cent of households among the Bawaria community, report a monthly income exceeding Rs. 20,000. About seven per cent of households in the Nathusari Chopta block fall within the high-income group (above Rs. 30,000), followed by households in Tohana, Dabwali, and Rania blocks. Notably, in the Baragudha and Uklana blocks, all households report a monthly income of up to Rs. 20,000, highlighting extreme economic vulnerability prevailing in these areas.

Table 03: North-West Haryana: Block-wise Average Monthly Income of Bawaria Caste, 2021

Selected	Sample	Total	Average Monthly	Average Monthly
Blocks	HHs	Population	Income (Rs./HHs)	Income (Rs./Capita)
Baragudha	85	301	9788	2764
Bhattu Kalan	70	334	11686	2449
Bhuna	50	252	10330	2050
Dabwali	110	462	12055	2870
Ellenabad	75	334	11347	2548
Fatehabad	80	386	11475	2378
Jakhal	55	278	11691	2313
Nathusari Chopta	55	239	15927	3665
Odhan	75	293	12627	3232
Rania	90	383	11567	2718
Ratia	70	321	10436	2276
Sirsa	75	318	12380	2920
Tohana	45	224	11822	2375
Uklana	10	52	9400	1808
NW Haryana	945	4177	11697	2646

Source: Compiled by Authors.

Table 04: North-West Haryana: Block-wise Distribution of Monthly Income of Bawaria Caste, 2021

Selected	Households in Various Income Groups (percent)							
Blocks	Below Percent		10001-	Percent 20001-		Percent	Above	Percent
	10001		20000		30000		30000	
Baragudha	61	71.76	24	28.24	-	-	-	-
Bhattu Kalan	43	61.43	24	34.29	02	2.86	01	1.43
Bhuna	34	68.00	15	30.00	01	2.00	-	-
Dabwali	86	78.18	20	18.18	-	-	04	3.64
Ellenabad	54	72.00	18	24.00	02	2.67	01	1.33
Fatehabad	49	61.25	29	36.25	02	2.50	-	-
Jakhal	35	63.64	17	30.91	02	3.64	01	1.82
Nathusari Chopta	21	38.18	28	50.91	02	3.64	04	7.27
Odhan	48	64.00	24	32.00	02	2.67	01	1.33
Rania	64	71.11	24	26.67	-	-	02	2.22
Ratia	55	78.57	12	17.14	02	2.86	01	1.43
Sirsa	35	46.67	39	52.00	01	1.33	-	-
Tohana	33	73.33	08	17.78	01	2.22	03	6.67
Uklana	09	90.00	01	10.00	-	-	-	-
NW Haryana	627	66.35	283	29.95	17	1.80	18	1.90

Source: Compiled by Authors

Average Monthly Expenditure

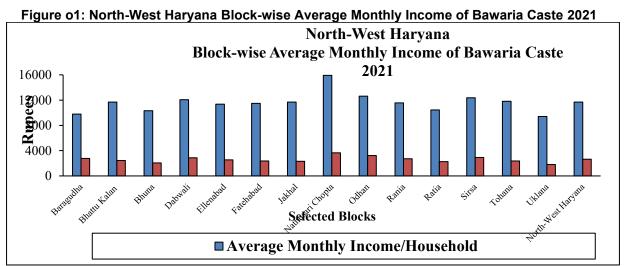
The analysis of income levels naturally extends to an examination of expenditure patterns, as expenditure plays a critical role in the daily lives of households. With increasing incomes, the proportion of spending on food tends to increase. However, it is important to examine how households from different income groups allocate their expenditure across various aspects such as food, clothing, healthcare, luxury goods, education, transportation, lighting, mobile/internet services, fuel, religious activities, and other expenses.

Table 5 reveals the average monthly per household and per capita expenditure across the selected blocks (See Fig. 2). The highest average monthly household expenditure has been found in the Nathusari Chopta block (Rs. 11,095), followed by Fatehabad, Jakhal, Bhattu Kalan, Rania, Sirsa, and Tohana blocks, all of which reported expenditures above the study area's average. In contrast, the lowest average monthly household expenditure has been observed in the Baragudha block (Rs. 7,730), followed by Uklana and Dabwali blocks. It may be noted that the highest and lowest average monthly per capita expenditure has also been recorded in Nathusari Chopta and Uklana blocks, respectively.

The distribution of household expenditure across different aspects, expressed as percentages, is shown in table 6. Food consistently accounts for the largest share of expenses, with an average of 43.48 per cent across the blocks, ranging from 40 per cent to 47 per cent. This indicates that food constitutes the major essential expenditure in the study area. Following food, other significant aspects include transportation (10.34 percent), healthcare (8.0 percent), clothing (7.46 percent), luxuries (7.36 percent), education (6.75 percent), and lighting (6.67 percent), though their shares are considerably smaller than food. Expenditures on items such as mobile services, fuel, and religious activities each account for less than four per cent of the total household spending.

Further analysis reveals that the highest average monthly household expenditure on food (46.78 percent) and education (12.60 percent) has been recorded in the Uklana block. Bhattu Kalan block reported the highest share of expenditure on transportation (12.95 percent), while Dabwali block recorded the highest expenditures on healthcare (10.58 percent), fuel (5.40 percent), mobile services (5.32 percent), and religious activities (4.67 percent). In Jakhal block, clothing accounted for the highest expenditure share (8.65 percent), whereas the highest expenditure on lighting (7.28 percent) has been observed in the Fatehabad and Tohana blocks among the Bawaria community. Lastly, the detailed highlights on expenditure of various aspects across the blocks have also been represented in the table 7.

Finally, it is observed that purely rural blocks tend to allocate a larger proportion of household expenditure to food and other basic necessities. Conversely, blocks located near urban centers and with better connectivity exhibit higher spending on transportation. Higher expenditure on education may reflect greater awareness and improved access to educational facilities among households. Likewise, a relatively higher share of spending on healthcare may be linked to the availability or greater necessity of medical services.



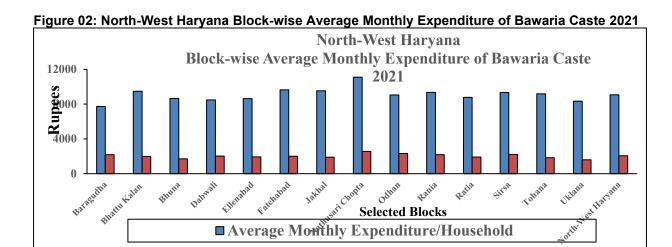


Table 05: North-West Haryana: Block-wise Average Monthly Expenditure of Bawaria Caste, 2021

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Selected	Sample	Total	Average Monthly	Average Monthly
Blocks	HHs	Population	Expenditure	Expenditure
			(Rs./HHs)	(Rs./Capita)
Baragudha	85	301	7730	2183
Bhattu Kalan	70	334	9486	1988
Bhuna	50	252	8660	1718
Dabwali	110	462	8489	2021
Ellenabad	75	334	8630	1938
Fatehabad	80	386	9649	2000
Jakhal	55	278	9535	1886
Nathusari Chopta	55	239	11095	2553
Odhan	75	293	9062	2320
Rania	90	383	9354	2198
Ratia	70	321	8784	1915
Sirsa	75	318	9331	2201
Tohana	45	224	9193	1847
Uklana	10	52	8335	1603
NW Haryana	945	4177	9074	2053

Source: Compiled by Authors.

Table 06: North-West Haryana: Block-wise Average Monthly Expenditure of Major Aspects among Bawaria Caste, 2021

Selected	Major Aspects (Per cent)									
Blocks	Food	Clothing	Health	Luxuries	Education	Lighting	Mobile	Fuel	Religious	Transport
Baragudha	45.90	6.39	8.90	8.96	5.21	6.61	3.60	3.30	2.98	08.15
Bhattu Kalan	42.33	8.36	6.67	6.76	7.18	6.93	3.49	2.98	2.35	12.95
Bhuna	45.73	8.24	7.85	7.34	5.66	6.44	3.19	2.96	2.54	10.05
Dabwali	42.83	7.87	10.58	5.54	5.04	6.73	5.32	5.40	4.67	06.02
Ellenabad	43.27	7.18	8.03	7.26	8.57	5.61	3.42	3.37	3.60	09.69
Fatehabad	44.11	6.74	6.02	7.95	9.07	7.28	2.67	2.66	2.36	11.14
Jakhal	44.43	8.58	7.44	8.20	6.20	6.35	3.11	2.78	2.46	10.45
Nathusari Chopta	40.32	7.29	7.78	6.39	9.83	5.80	4.03	3.51	3.41	11.64
Odhan	42.16	7.06	8.90	8.53	5.64	7.12	3.30	3.17	3.16	10.96
Rania	43.48	6.77	7.48	7.96	7.58	6.76	3.68	2.92	2.74	10.63
Ratia	44.96	7.73	6.83	6.72	6.29	6.72	3.44	3.06	2.54	11.71
Sirsa	43.36	7.59	9.22	8.00	4.16	6.84	3.35	3.09	2.86	11.53
Tohana	42.90	8.34	7.25	6.62	6.53	7.28	3.43	2.90	2.54	12.21
Uklana	46.78	6.00	6.00	4.80	12.60	6.84	4.98	2.76	2.64	06.60
NW Haryana	43.48	7.46	8.00	7.36	6.75	6.67	3.62	3.31	3.01	10.34

Source: Compiled by Authors

Table 07: Block-wise Major Highlights on Monthly Expenditure among Bawaria Caste, 2021

Selected Block	Major Highlights on Expenditure						
Baragudha	Very high spending on food and health.						
Bhattu Kalan	Highest expenditure on transport, meaning mobility is a major concern; very high to high spending on clothing; education and luxuries.						
Bhuna	Very high spending on food and clothing.						
Dabwali	Highest expenditure on health, fuel, mobile, and religious activities, comparatively much higher than others and lowest on transportation.						
Ellenabad	High spending on education seems a priority on education.						
Fatehabad	Highest expenditure on lighting and very high on education and transportation than others.						
Jakhal	High spending on clothing and comparatively high on luxuries to other blocks.						
Nathusari Chopta	High spending on education and transport.						
Odhan	Significant expenditure on health, transport and luxuries.						
Rania	Notable expenses on education and transport.						
Ratia	Fairly high expenses on transport and high on food						
Sirsa	Significant expenditure on health, transport and luxuries.						
Tohana	Highest expenditure on lighting, very high on transport and clothing.						
Uklana	Extremely high spending on food and education, while very low on transport.						

Source: Compiled by Authors.

Conclusion

The income and expenditure structure of a household reflects its economic condition, with spending closely linked to income levels. Based on the sample survey, the average monthly household income and per capita income has been recorded at Rs. 11,697 and Rs. 2,646, respectively. Likewise, average monthly household and per capita expenditures stood at Rs. 9,074 and Rs. 2,053. Among blocks, Nathusari Chopta reported the highest, and Uklana the lowest, average household and per capita incomes. The analysis indicates that about twothirds of households fall into the very low-income category, signifying widespread poverty. This is followed by just near to one-third in the low-income group, while moderate and high-income groups constitute less than 4 per cent. Uklana block has the highest proportion of very lowincome households, whereas Nathusari Chopta and Sirsa show relatively better income distribution. Only seven per cent of households in the Nathusari Chopta block fall within the high-income group. Nathusari Chopta recorded the highest average monthly household and per capita expenditures, while Baragudha and Uklana registered the lowest, respectively. It has been recorded that food accounted for the largest share of household expenditure (43 percent), followed by transportation (10 percent), healthcare (8 percent), and clothing, luxuries, education, and lighting each about 7 per cent. Expenditures on mobile services, fuel, and religious activities each have been shared less than 4 per cent.

Among the blocks, Uklana block recorded the highest proportion of expenditure on food (47 percent); and Bhattu Kalan showed the highest expenditure on transport (13 percent). The similar expenditure on education in Uklana (13 percent), while Dabwali recorded 11 per cent for healthcare and Jakhal reported 9 per cent for clothing. The study concludes that a higher proportion of household expenditure on food and clothing reflects the poor economic status of households among the Bawaria caste.

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