# On the Population of Khardaha Village

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## カルダハ村の人口変化

### 前 田 俊 二\*

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## **Preface**

A survey in the year of 1967 by Hiroshima University (Yonekura,1973) revealed various features concerning the population of Khardaha Village. The main features were as follows:

- 1) The population in 1967 was 724 and this was small as compared to the other general villages in the Uttar Pradesh State.
- 2) The number of households was 93 and the average number of family members including the number of migrant workers and students was 8.6 persons. This average number of family members was larger than that of the Chiraigaon Village which is located near to Varanasi City. In other words, Khardaha Village, a pure village unaffected by the urbanization because of its remoteness from the large city, had the larger scale of family.

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3) The population structure by age group was similar to that of the whole of India, that is, the so called pyramid shape structure. But especially in the age group of 20-54, the ratio of males to the females was lower than that of India as a whole, and in the case of females, the component ratio was lower in the age group of under 35 years old. This distorted age structure was considered due to the existence of many migrant workers from this village. And in relation to this, the number of females exceeded that of males strikingly in the age group of 30-59 because almost all of the migrant workers were males.

The purpose of the present study is to analyze the findings of the above, to determine the changes between the former survey and the present one and to reveal some additional facts.

## I. Population and household trends

As seen in Table 2, the population of Khardaha Village almost doubled between 1967 and 1991. The average annual growth rate was 2.7 % which almost parallels the national growth rate (Table 1). Although this growth rate was much higher than that of advanced counties (e.g. the growth rate of Japan was only 0.4 % between 1985 and 1990), this rate is typical for advancing countries.

Like the population trend, the number of households also doubled during the same period. But the curve of increase was very different between the two periods of 1967—81 and the 1981—91. That is, the annual growth rate of the former was 1.8 % and the latter was 7.7 %. This means that regarding the number of households a drastic change has occurred since about 1981. It might be said that the trend towards smaller sized families and nuclear families has just begun in recent years. As a matter of fact, we saw many nuclear families in this village.

The number of family members, therefore, tends to be decreasing. In comparison with the 7.8 in 1967 and the 8.6 in 1981, the average number of family members went down to 6.3 in 1991 (Table 2). But this number is still large in comparison with that of advanced countries. For example, Japan has an average of only 2.7 members per family (1990).

The trend towards smaller sized families can be seen also in Table 3, that is, excepting the one member households the rate of increase of the number of households was in inverse proportion to the number of family members. The number of small sized

Table 1 Indices concerning the population of India

	1981	1991
Population	683,329,097	843,930,861
Growth rate(%)		23.5
Sex ratio	107	108
Literacy rate(%)	43.6	52.1
Males(%)	56.4	63.9
Females(%)	29.8	39.4
Density of population	208	267
(persons/km²)		

- The data is cited from the Census of India.

  The literacy rate is calculated based on the population of 7 years old and over.
- 3. The sex ratio means the number of males per 100 females.4. The area of India is 3,287 thousand square km in 1991.

Table 2 The change of population and number of households in Khardaha village

	1967	1981	1991
Population	724	998	1,289
Growth rate(%)	-	37.8	29.2
Annual average growth rate(%)		2.7	2.9
Number of households	93	116	205
Growth rate(%)	-	24.7	76.7
Annual average geowth rate(%)	-	1.8	7.7
Average number of family members	7.8	8.6	6.3
Density of Population			
(persons/km²)	662	913	1,179

Notes: 1. The data for both 1967 and 1991 comes from the survey by Hiroshima University. The data for 1981 is from the Census of India.

Table 3 The number of households by the division of family members and expenses and the rate of increase between 1967 and 1991

member	0∼1000 Rs.	1000~2000	2000~3000	3000~5000	unknown	total	1967	1967~1991
1	4		1		1	6	4	50.0%
2~3	24	4	2		1	31	8	287.5
$4\sim\!6$	37	16	3	1	4	61	22	177.3
7 <b>∼</b> 9	24	19	10	5		58	28	107.1
10~	13	17	10	7	2	49	31	58.1
total	102	56	26	13	8	205	93	120.4

The area of Khardaha Village is 1.093 km²

families of only 2 or 3 members increased most rapidly between 1967 and 1991. The number of 4 to 6 member families increased second most rapidly. Table 3 also shows, however, that the proportion of small sized families is larger in the groups of lower family expenditure. The number of large sized families is striking in the group of more than 2,000 Rs(rupees) expenditure.

Since the area of the village has remained unchanged while the population increases, the population density goes up year by year. The population density doubled between 1967 and 1991. It seems that population pressures are increasing gradually because agricultural productivity does not seem to match the high population growth rate. However, with the development of industrialization, the problem of population pressure will be solved. In Japan, the population density in relation to the area of arable land is more than 2,000. In comparison to this, the population density of Khardaha (1,179 persons/km²) could still be said to be lower; but the population of Khardaha Village will decrease and undergo redistribution as industrialization and urbanization in India advances. The figures for population density of Japan show two opposite phenomena, the overcrowding in urban areas and depopulation in rural areas.

The population of Khardaha Village is very large in comparison with that of Japanese villages, which have approximately  $400 \sim 500$  persons in the same area (100ha) as the Khardaha Village in typical rural areas. In Japan, the average farming house has 1 ha of agricultural land and each family has 4 or 5 members on average. This was also true of Japanese villages throughout the feudal age (agricultural era).

# II. The population structure by sex, age and industry

As seen in Table 4, in Khardaha Village, the female population is larger than the male (the sex ratio is 91.8). This is the opposite phenomenon to the whole nation which has a higher male population than female (a high sex ratio is common among advancing countries). In order to consider the reasons why the female population is larger, the author decided to analyze the sex ratios according to age. According to the Table, in the age group 15 to 64, the sex ratio is very low while both of the other two age groups have high sex ratios over 100. Therefore, it may be said that the majority of the outflow of the male population is taking place in the age group 15 to 64. This age group is generally regarded as the working population in society. In fact, many migrant workers left this

Table 4 The population of Khardaha village based on the present address and its several indices

Δαο	Persons	Males	Femals	Sex Ratio
Age	1,289	617(47.9)	672 (52.1)	91.8
$0 \sim 14$	558 (43.3)	299 (23.2)	259 (20.1)	115.4
15~64	662 (51.4)	280(21.7)	382 (29.6)	73.3
$65\sim$	69 (5.4)	38(2.9)	31(2.4)	122.6

Notes: 1. The number in blankets gives the ratio of each component to the total number

2. If the population who migrate for the purpose of work and study is added to the population of this table, the number (defined here as fundamental population) becomes as follows:

Fundamental Population	1,444
Migrant Workers and their	
Family Members	142
Out – Migrants for Studying	13

village in this age group, as discussed in a later section.

Table 5 (with Figure) shows more precise features of the above. That is, in the working age group, the sex ratio goes down strikingly after the age of 20 and it is noticeable that after this age, especially in both the  $50 \sim 54$  and the  $65 \sim 69$  age group, the sex ratio becomes very high (over 100). For these age groups, the author postulates the existence of retirement movements (the return to the village).

There are other several noteworthy points in Table 5:

- 1) Until 19 years old, the sex ratio is very high in comparison with the other age groups (except the above two age groups of 50-54 and 65-69). The reason why the sex ratio of the age group  $10 \sim 19$  is high is that in this age group the outflow of females in order to marry is high. The reason why the sex ratio is high especially in the  $0 \sim 4$  age group may be due to the feeling of preferring sons to daughters. Since the ratio of 120 far exceeds the natural sex ratio of 105 at birth and given the fact that there is almost no outflow and inflow in this age group, the author assume that this feeling influenced (it is well known that this kind of feeling is widespread both in agricultural society and in advancing countries).
- 2) After 70 years old, the sex ratio decreases remarkably and this phenomenon resembles that in advanced countries. But it is very interesting that after 80 years old there are only males. This is quite different from the trend of advanced countries in which the female lives longer than the male. In India it is said that the diet of the female is nutritionally inferior to that of the male (Johnson,1983). And it is said that the majority of the less developed countries have a low female superiority in life

Table 5 The population structure by 5 year age groups and their sex ratios

Δ	D	N. f. 1	D 1	Ratio	of Compo	nents	Sex Ratio
Age	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
0- 4	180	98	82	14.0	7.6	6.4	120
5- 9	200	102	98	15.5	7.9	7.6	104
10 - 14	178	99	79	13.8	7.7	6.1	125
15 - 19	131	69	62	10.2	5.4	4.8	111
20 - 24	95	37	58	7.4	2.9	4.5	64
25 - 29	84	31	53	6.5	2.4	4.1	58
30 - 34	62	24	38	4.8	1.9	2.9	63
35 - 39	54	20	34	4.2	1.6	2.6	59
40 - 44	62	26	36	4.8	2.0	2.8	72
45 - 49	51	21	30	4.0	1.6	2.3	70
50 - 54	52	27	25	4.0	2.1	1.9	108
55 - 59	24	8	16	1.9	0.6	1.2	50
60 - 64	47	17	30	3.6	1.3	2.3	57
65 - 69	32	21	11	2.5	1.6	0.9	191
70 - 74	19	7	12	1.5	0.5	0.9	58
75 - 79	11	3	8	0.9	0.2	0.6	38
80 - 84	4	4	0	0.3	0.3	_	_
85 —	3	3	0	0.2	0.2	_	

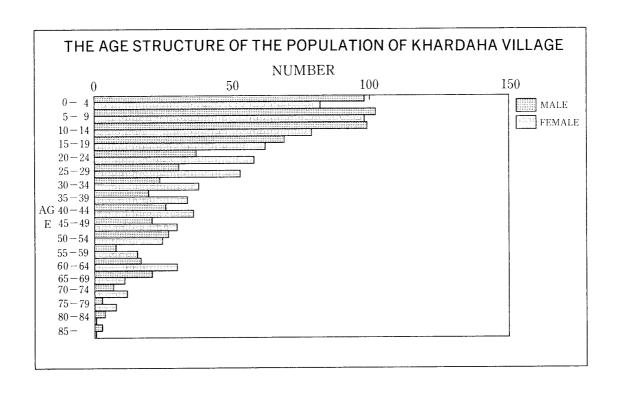


Table 6 The average age, the average age of marriage and the literacy rate

÷	Persons	Males	Females
Average Age	24.1	22.9	25.2
Highest Age	100	100	42
Lowest Age	0	0	0
Average Age of Marriage	15.1	16.9	13.8
Highest Age	45	45	36
Lowest Age	_	1	9
Literacy Rate	48.6%	69.7%	30.2%

Notes: The lieracy rate is calculated based on the population of 7 years old and over.

Table 7 Indices concerning the head of households

			(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)				
Expense(Rs.)	Persons	Average number of fam-	Average number of	Average number of	(1)-(2)	(2)-(3)	Average age	Average age of	Number of illiterate	Number of migrant
3,000~5,000	13	14.7	4.0	2.0	2.0	0.0	9.09	22.1	2(15.0)	1(7.7)
$2,000\sim3,000$	56	10.8	4.2	2.2	2.0	0.2	56.0	18.0	10(38.5)	3(11.5)
$1,000\sim2,000$	26	9.1	3.9	2.3	1.5	8.0	49.7	18.3	25 (44.6)	6(10.7)
$0\sim1,000$	102	6.7	2.8	1.8	1.0	8.0	46.9	16.6	54 (52.9)	24(23.5)
Unknown	$\infty$						_	7	3	2
total	205	8.5	3.4	2.0	1.4	9.0	49.9	17.6	94	34

Notes: The average expense per household is 1,159 Rs.

expectancy at birth (Chandna,1986). Does this apply to the length of the lives of females in Khardaha Village? Although the average age is higher for females than for males (Table 6), this will be largely due to the remarkable reduction in the number of males of working age, as already referred to above.

The average age of marriage is very low as seen in Table 6. This is the same as the whole of India. In Japan, this age is high (the average age for men is 28 and for women is 24 in 1990). One of the reasons why the average age of marriage is low generally pointed out is that the number of children entering into school is low owing to the poor education system. To be sure, as the literacy rate among females is far less than that among males (Table 6), the average age of marriage of females is lower than that of males. This fact shows that if the number of children entering school were raised, the average age of marriage would also be raised.

The number of workers in this village is 287. The types of work are as follows: Those in the agricultural sector form 55.7% (160 persons), those in the industrial sector 21.6% (62 persons) and in the tertiary sector 22.6% (65 persons). In comparison to the nation's percentage of workers in the agricultural sector(66.5% in 1981), the figure is rather low. One of the reasons is that the number of weavers who work mainly in saree weaving is large(51 persons). Besides the weavers, there are masons (8 persons), construction workers (2 persons) and a furniture worker (1 person) in the industrial sector. In the tertiary sector, it is notable that the number of shopkeepers is 8, of which 4 work outside the village, while the number of teachers is 4.

### III. Various features of population based on the groups by expenditure

Table 7 shows the various aspects of populaton based on the groups by expenditure. These aspects are described as follows:

- 1) The number of the head of households decreases as the size of expenditure increases.
- 2) The average number of family members increases as the expenditure increases (this was already pointed out in the former section). This was in contrast to the expectation that rich families would have a smaller number of members as seen commonly worldwide(Chandna,1986).
  - 3) In relation to the above, the average number of children in a family tends to increase

according to the amount of expenditure.

- 4) There seems not so much difference in the average number of male children among the family groups. However, the difference between the average number of female and male children is clearly wide in the lower classes of expenditure. So at least in these classes it is considered that the feeling of preferring sons had an effect.
- 5) The average age of the head of the household increases as the amount of expenditure increases. Does this mean that the upper class people live longer than the lower class people? The author postulates that this relates to the degree of nutritional intake.
- 6) The average age of marriage of the head of the household is higher in the most upper class than that of the lowest class. As the number of illiterate head of households decreases with amount of expenditure, one of the reasons of this is considered due to the educational level.
  - 7) Facts concerning the migrant workers will be discussed in a later section.

## IV. Migration

Of the population living in the village, in—migrants occupy 28.1%. And among these in—migrants, 92.3% are females. Most of these women are considered to have come to the village because of marriage. In India it is generally said that the number of female migrants is considerably high, although the Indian population is considered as the least mobile (Davis,1951). Almost all of the in—migrants came from nearby regions (60.9% came from within the same district and others from adjoining regions in Varanasi district).

Concerning the out—migrant, although this was limited in this analysis to the people related to the sons and the daughters of householders and the householders themselves, 251 persons left the village. Of this number, 168 (66.9%) were daughters, 57 were sons (22.7%), 21 (8.4%) were the wives of either householders or the sons and 5 (2.0%) were householders. Among the daughters, the average age of out—migration is 15.1 years old, the highest age is 24 and the lowest age is 0 (0–9 age group has 7 persons ,10–14 age group 45, 15–19 age group 77, 20–24 age group 11). In accordance with the statement in India the daughter leaves her village after the age of 15 to marry, there are most female out—migrants in the age group 15-19 (for reference, see Table 8-1). And from the

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comparison between Table 8-1 and Table 8-2, it is clear that the male is less mobile than the female and that there is little difference in the number of male out—migrants between the two age classes (10-19 and 20-29).

In this village, there exists the phenomenon of a remaining population. For example, there are 20 persons who are not eldest sons among the sons living in this village of more than 20 years old (all of these are sons of householders of which there are 79). Among the remaining sons, there are some examples of highly educated university graduates who have been obliged to engage in agriculture due to the scarcity of employment opportunity in the whole country. In Japan, during the era of industrialization before World War II, there was an exodus of almost all the sons other than the eldest; only the eldest son could stay in the village and inherit his father's estate. From these facts, it can be assumed that the attractive power of cities is still weak in India.

Table 8-① The year of outmigration and the age of outmigrant (Female)

the year of		the age	e of migr	ant(fema	le) in mo	ving ou	t	total
outmigration	0- 9	10 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 —	unknown	totai
1942~1951								
1952~1961		5						5
$1962 \sim 1971$	2	19	3					24
1972~1981		44	2			1	1	48
1982~1991	5	62	10				1	78
total	7	130	15			1	2	155

Notes: 1. In this table, the persons whose year of outmigration are not known are excluded (the next table is also same).

Table 8-(2) The year of outmigration and the age of outmigrant (Male)

the year of		the ag	ge of mig	rant(mal	e) in mov	ing out		total
outmigration	0- 9	10 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50-	unknown	totai
1942~1951								
$1952 \sim 1961$		1						1
$1962 \sim 1971$	1		1	1				3
1972~1981	3	1	3			1	1	9
$1982 \sim 1991$	5	17	12				1	35
total	9	19	16	1		1	2	48

<sup>2.</sup> The number of the female whose age in migration is between 15 and 19 is 81.

## V. Migrant workers and commuters

#### 1. Migrant workers

There are many migrant workers in the village (the number of migrant workers is 131). One of the reasons for this is that traffic conditions surrounding the village are not so good, making it difficult to commute to the nearby large city (called Varanasi).

Of these migrant workers, there is only one female; there are 27 householders included in these migrants is 27 (this is 13.0 % of all householders), 65 sons of householders (24 eldest sons and 41 others), 15 brothers or sisters of householders (only one sister) and the other is 24. In total, the number of households which send a migrant worker reaches 80 (39.0% to the total households as seen in Table 9).

The average age of migrant workers is 34.9 years old (the highest age of migrant workers is 67 and the lowest is 12). The number in each age class is as follows: 7 persons are in the 10-19 age class, 36 in the 20-29, 46 in the 30-39, 24 in the 40-49, 12 in the 50-59 and 6 in the 60-69 age class. From this, it can be seen that most migrants come from the young age group of 20-39 years old.

The destinations of the migrant workers are as follows: 55 persons went to Bombay City, 32 to the Punjab State (19 persons to Amritzar City), 11 to Calcutta City, 9 to Varanasi City, 4 to Agra City and 20 to other places. It is surprising that 42% of migrant workers went to a very distant place, that is, Bombay. Of the migrant workers who went to Bombay, the majority engaged in the occupation of weaving (11 persons), influenced by the fact that Bombay is famous for its cotton textile industry. The second most popular occupation in Bombay was factory work, with 9 persons (3 persons in

Table 9 The rate of households sending migrant workers and commuters to the total in each division

expense(Rs)	(a)	(b)	(b) / (a)	(c)	(b) + (c)	(b) + (c) / (a)
3000~5000	13	5	38.5%	2	7	53.8%
2000~3000	26	7	26.9	3	10	38.5
1000~2000	56	24	42.9	5	29	51.8
0~1000	102	42	41.2	17	59	57.8
unknown	8	2	6.9	2	4	50.0
total	205	80	39.0%	29	109	50.2%

note: (a) indicates the number of households

(b) indicates the number of households which send migrant workers.

(c) indicates the number of households which send commuters.

furniture factories) and the third was selling work with 8 persons. Other kinds of occupations include dairy farmers (4 persons), clerks (3 persons), railroad workers (3 persons), teachers (2 persons), a tailor and a service worker. With regard to migrant workers in other places, it is notable that there are 23 persons who work in wool factory in the Punjab State (most of these in the Amritzar City).

In regard to the destination of migrant workers, it must be added that there are many cases in which members of the same household go to the same places. There were not many migrant workers belonging to the same family who went to different locations. This shows that it is very important for succeeding workers to have a connection with the worker being succeeded when moving out. There were 22 households which sent migrant workers to the same location among the 32 households having more than two migrant workers (68.8 %). Interestingly, this rate declines in the Rajpoot caste people to 37.5 % (3 households among 8). One of the reasons for this is that in this caste there are many people who get jobs in the military, so the destination naturally differs from person to person because these people belong to different army units. Another reason is that the kind of job differs from individual to individual according to each person's particular higher educational background (for example, doctor, press reporter, supervisor in steel factory etc.). The Rajpoot caste people belong to the most upper class in this village and are rich (Table 10), so the percentage of school attendance is high and there are many highly educated people among them.

From Table 7, it can be seen that the number of householders who are migrant workers increases as expenditure decreases. This shows that for the people of lower

Table 10 The kinds of "Jati" in each expense group

							(Rs.)
less tha	n 1,000	1,000~	~2,000	2,000	~3,000	3,000~	~5,000
Jati	number of households	12 f1	number of households	Jati	number of households	Jati	number of households
RAJ POOT	15	RAJ POOT	16	RAJ POOT	13	RAJ POOT	13
YADAV	29	YADAV	16	YADAV	9	YADAV	1
RAJ BHAR	38	RAJ BHAR	22	RAJ BHAR	2		
MAURYA	3	TELI	2	MAURYA	1		
TELI	7						
GAUR	4						
GONDA	3						
SC	2						
unknown	1						

class the income gained from outside the village is very important.

As for the age of migrant workers when moving out, most of them leave the village at a young age (10-29) as expected (Table 11). Incidentally, there are people of a comparatively old age who have moved out recently (between 1982 and 1991 in Table 10). From this fact and the fact in the previous paragraph concerning the migrant workers in lower classes, the author assumes the existence of population pressures. It is very interesting that the total number of migrant workers is far more than that of male out—migrants. One of the reasons is that permanent migration is very dangerous because of the scarcity and the instability of employment opportunities in the labor market, necessitating the maintenance of family and village ties in order to be able to return at any time. There are still few households which vanish from the village (on the contrary, the number of households is increasing rapidly).

## 2. Commuters

In this analysis, among the persons who work outside the village and send back money, those people who replied that Khardaha Village was where they lived were differentiated from the migrant workers. The former come back to the village once a week as a rule, so it may be said that these people are weekly commuters. The number of these commuters is 27 and most of the places of they go to work are near (for example, 9 persons to the Varanasi City and 6 persons to other places within Varanasi District). Of these people, 9 persons are householders, 16 are the sons of householders (7 are eldest sons, 9 others) and 2 are the brothers of householders. The average age of these people is 31.2.

Table 11 The years of migrant working and the age of migrant worker on moving out

The year of	the age of migrant worker on moving out								
migrant working	0- 9	10 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 —	unknown	total	
1942~1951	1	2	1					4	
1952~1961	1	1	7					9	
$1962 \sim 1971$		7	5					12	
1972~1981		14	20	4	1			39	
1982~1991		17	22	2	2	1		44	
unknown					_	-	21	21	
total	2	41	55	6	3	1	21	129	

# VI. Supplemental sample survey concerning the number of children

Although the number surveyed is few (16 members were surveyed as seen in Table 12), several points can be drawn from this survey and these corroborate mentioned above.

- 1) There is a trend that young people prefer few children.
- 2) Among the older age group (over 40 years old), there are many children. But the person who receved higher education (No.5) has fewer children than the others. The marriage age of this person is also high.
- 3) Among the members including the farmers and agricultural laborers, it is notable that there are 4 respondents who prefers male children to female and there is none who prefers female.

Table 12 Sample survey concerning the number of children

No	AGE	MARRIED AGE	SEX	JATI	EDUCATION(YEARS)	OCCUPATION	EXPENDITURE(Rs.)	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	CHILD SUFFIC IENCY	EXPECT. NUM. OF CHILD	EXPECT. MALE/FEMALE
1	60	12	MALE	RAJBHAR	0	FARMER	400	6	YES	6	M•F
2	60	12	MALE	YADAV	0	FARMER		0	NO	0	M
3	55	14	MALE	KAHAR	5	MERCHANT	400	9	YES	9	M•F
4	47	14	MALE	RAJBHAR	0	FARMER	1300	6	YES	6	M•F
5	46	23	MALE	RAJPUT	18	FARMER	4000	4	YES	4	$M \cdot F$
6	41	12	MALE	YADAV	0	MERCHANT	3000	6	YES	6	$M \cdot F$
7	40	15	MALE	RAJBHAR	0	FARMER		5	YES	5	M•F
8	38	21	MALE	RAJPUT	10	FARMER	1400	3	YES	3	$M \cdot F$
9	35	14	MALE	YADAV	8	MERCHANT		4	YES	4	M
10	30	15	FEMALE	RAJBHAR	0	LABORER		4	NO	5	M
11	30	13	FEMALE	RAJBHAR	0	LABORER		6	YES	6	M•F
12	25	23	MALE	RAJPUT	15	STUDENT	2000	0	NO	2	M
13	23	20	MALE	RAJPUT	15	STUDENT		1	NO	2	
14	23	16	MALE	RAJPUT	10	FARMER	2000	0	NO	2	M•F
15	22	18	MALE	RAJPUT	16	FARMER	1500	0	NO	3	M•F
16	20	14	MALE	RAJBHAR	0	AGRICULTUR AL LABORER	400	1	NO	3	M•F

notes: The persons are arranged based on the ages. EXPECT. NUM. OF CHILD means expectancy for the number of children. M is the initial of Male and F is that of Female.

#### VII. Conclusion

The characteristics on the population of Khardaha Village can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The rate of population increase has been high, the same as that of India as a whole, so that the population has nearly doubled between 1967 and 1991. There appears a typical pyramid shape in the population structure by 5 years age, similar to that of India. But there are several features different from those of India. That is, firstly, the sex ratio is low and under 100, though that of India is over 100. Secondly, the number of males decreases considerably in the working age group. This is due to the existence of many migrant workers. Therefore, thirdly, the average age of females becomes higher than that of male. It is also notable that there is a very high sex ratio in the age group of 0-4. This will be due to the existence of the feeling preferring male children.
- 2) According to the economic classes (as one of the indices of this, expenditure was used), various kinds of population indices change regularly. For example, concerning the householders, the average age of marriage, the average age, the average number of family members and children increased with the amount of expenditure (this is contrary to the commonly held belief that the poorest all over the world generally have large families and high birth rates wherereas the richest have small families and low birth rates). Conversely, the number of householders, the number of illiterate householders, the difference between the average number of male and female children and the proportion of migrant workers was inversely proportional to the amount of expenditure.
- 3) There are fewer male out—migrants than female out—migrants, like that of the whole country and more migrant workers than out—migrants. The author postulates that these facts are due to the scarcity and instability of employment opportunities in the labor market nationwide. And in addition to these, from the fact of the existence of a remaining population, the problem of population pressure seems to play a role.
- 4) Besides the migrant workers and commuters, in relation to the population pressure, the number of people who earn cash have increased strikingly. This is especially true of the weavers. In the 1967 survey, there were almost none.
  - 5) Regarding other features, it is pointed out that the average age of marriage and the

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literacy rate are higher in males than in females. And it is noteworthy that the family size has a trend of becoming smaller. That is, the system of so called "joint family" is

becoming weaker. It is also noticeable that in over 80 years old there were only males

and no females.

(6) In relation to the trend towards smaller sized families, it also appears from the

sample survey that young people want fewer childlen. As the birth rate is decreasing on

a nationwide scale, so there exists the same trend in Khardaha village.

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