CHAPTER IV

THE DETAILED PATTERN

This chapter will discuss the composition of household expenditure items in detail.

A. Average Distribution of Expenditure.

The average distribution of the monthly expenditure by different items per average spending unit is shown in Table IVA on page 28. It shows that among the home-prepared food items, rice and fish which form the daily diet of two meals per day are the most important items. But expenditure on these items varies slightly according to income.

A great deal of fish is obtained "free" of cost. On fishing days the fisherman brings home some of his catch, for the family consumption, and when he is not out fishing he normally helps his fellow fishermen to land their fishing boats and in return receives some fish, usually enough for his family needs.

Snacks, which are shown in three items under non-home-prepared food, are the next important item. Snacks are either taken by men at coffee shops or at home by children or house-wives. Of the two expenditures on snacks, those taken at coffee shops are more important. Children's pocket money to school is mostly spent on sweetmeats and cold drinks. On the whole the expenditures on snacks and sweetmeats together form about 20.5 per cent of the total expenditure. The exceptionally high

TABLE IV
AVERAGE CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE
PER HOUSEHOLD PER MONTH

Items	Expenditure per Household in $	% of Total Expenditure
A. HOME-PREPARED FOOD		
Rice	12.00	13.0
Wheat Flour	3.00	3.2
Glutinous Rice	2.60	2.8
Sugar	4.50	5.0
Coffee/Tea	1.40	1.5
Milk	2.00	1.9
Coconut Oil	1.40	1.5
Coconuts	1.20	1.3
Salt, Chillies, Curry Powder and Onions	3.00	3.2
Salt Fish, Ikan Bilis and Fish Paste	2.40	2.6
Fresh Fish	12.00	13.0
Vegetables	1.50	1.6
SUB-TOTAL	48.00	51.5
B. NON-HOME-PREPARED FOOD		
Sweetmeats	2.70	2.8
Snacks (Taken at Coffee shops)	8.00	8.6
Snacks (Taken at Home)	3.80	4.1
Pocket Money to Schoolchildren	4.50	5.0
SUB-TOTAL	19.00	20.5
C. NON-FOOD ITEMS		
Fuel (Kerosene and Matches)	3.00	3.1
Cigarettes/Stinsees/Daun Pradok	8.00	8.6
Betel	1.00	1.2
SUB-TOTAL	12.00	12.9
D. "OTHERS"	14.00	15.1
TOTAL	93.00	100.0

expenditure on these items is because of the fact that snacks, which have a high income elasticity of demand, are an integral part of the fisherman's life.

The next important items among the home-prepared food are wheat flour, glutinous rice and sugar. These form the important items for breakfast. Sweetmeats, which come under the non-home-prepared food item, form the non-home-prepared foodstuffs at breakfast. However, sweetmeats which have relatively high income elasticity of demand are only substituted for wheat flour and glutinous rice when income is high. It was also learned that the consumption of sweetmeats at breakfast is only common among those of the higher income group.

Owing partly to traditional consumption habits and partly to low income, milk is seldom taken with coffee or tea at break-fast at home. However, the menfolk, especially those among the higher income group with few dependents, normally have their coffee or tea with milk in the coffee shops. It was also found that among households with babies, milk, either condensed or powdered, is bought for the babies only. This explains the small expenditure on milk in Table IVA on page 28.

To the fisherman in this village meat is an expensive luxury, bought only on rare and ceremonial occasions. Eggs

are also beyond fisherman's reach though they are bought more often than meat, especially if there is a prolonged absence of fresh fish. For example, during the off-fishing season when the fisherman cannot get their free supply of fresh fish, eggs are more regularly taken than during the fishing season.

It is interesting to note, especially to a distitian, that the expenditure on fresh vegetables occupies only a small place in the household budget. Especially, when fish is abundant fresh vegetables are seldom taken and at normal times, at the most, they are taken only three times per week.

Fuel, which includes kerosene oil used for lighting and matches, forms about 3 per cent of the total expenditure.

Among the non-food items cigarettes, which form about 8.5 per cent of the total expenditure and two-thirds of the non-food items, are the most important in this group. The smoking habit is so great that although cigarettes are considered as an expensive item, they are smoked by both low and high income groups. However, the amount and the type of cigarettes they smoke depend on their financial status.

The expenditure on 'others', which form about 15.1 per cent of the total expenditure, has already been explained earlier in Chapter III.

B. Expenditure by Income Groups.

An average expenditure pattern for all spending units irrespective of income is not very revealing, since expenditure pattern varies considerably with changes in income. It is, therefore, necessary to analyse the expenditure of the various spending units according to the income groups. This analysis is given in Table IVB, on page 32, and Table IVC on page 33 which give a summary of the behaviour of consumption expenditure among the fishermen in the village.

It will be seen from Table IVB and Table IVC that among the food groups, the expenditure on home-prepared food, such as rice and wheat flour which are considered as necessities behaves differently from that of the non-home-prepared food, such as snacks and sweetmeats, which are considered as luxuries.

Table IVB shows clearly that, as expected, while the percentage expenditure on rice, wheat flour and glutinous rice increases from the higher income group to the lower income group, that of snacks and sweetmeats decreased from the higher income group to the lower income group. This peculiar behaviour on food consumption confirms with Engel's Law which states that "as income increases, the expenditure on different items of the budgets have changing proportions and that the proportions devoted to the urgent needs, such as food, decreases, while those devoted

TABLE IVB

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE AMONG DIFFERENT INCOME GROUPS

Items	Income Groups (Per Month)			
	Under 70.00	70. - 100.	100. - 130.	Over 130.00
A. HOME-PREP. FOOD				
Rice	21.2	15.6	12.5	11.4
Wheat Flour	4.5	3.2	2.7	2.1
Glutinous Rice	3.9	3.0	2.6	1.9
Sugar	6.5	5.5	4.7	3.8
Coffee/Tea	2.8	2.2	2.0	1.5
Milk	-	-	3.3	4.1
Coconut Oil	3.3	2.3	2.7	1.9
Coconuts	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.6
Chillies, Curry Powder, Onions and salt	5.1	3.9	3.5	3.2
Salt Fish, Ikan Bilis, Fish Paste	3.3	2.5	2.4	1.9
Fresh Fish	15.0	11.0	10.6	9.7
Vegetables	3.2	2.3	2.1	1.7
SUB-TOTAL	70.5	53.0	50.8	44.8
B. NON-HOME-PREP. FOOD.				
Sweetmeats	2.0	3.2	4.2	4.0
Snacks (Taken at Coffee Shop)	4.0	5.9	6.2	8.0
Snacks (Taken at Home)	-	4.8	4.0	6.2
Pocket Money to School-children	7.1	6.7	6.3	6.4
SUB-TOTAL	13.1	20.6	20.7	24.6
C. NON-FOOD ITEMS				
Fuel (Kerosene and Matches)	4.1	3.2	2.5	2.1

Item	Income Groups (Per Month)			
	Under 70.00	70. – 100.	100. – 130.	Over 130.00
A. HOME-PREP. FOOD				
Rice	21.2	15.6	12.5	11.4
Wheat Flour	4.5	3.2	2.7	2.1
Glutinous Rice	3.9	3.0	2.6	1.9
Sugar	6.5	5.5	4.7	3.8
Coffee/Tea	2.8	2.2	2.0	1.5
Milk	–	–	3.3	4.1
Coconut Oil	3.3	2.3	2.7	1.9
Coconuts	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.6
Chillies, Curry Powder, Onions and salt	5.1	3.9	3.5	3.2
Salt Fish, Ikan Bilis, Fish Paste	3.3	2.5	2.4	1.9
Fresh Fish	15.0	11.0	10.6	9.7
Vegetables	3.2	2.3	2.1	1.7
SUB-TOTAL	70.5	53.0	50.?	44.?
B. NON-HOME-PREP. FOOD.				
Sweetmeats	2.0	3.2	4.2	4.0
Snacks (Taken at Coffee Shop)	4.0	5.9	6.2	8.0
Snacks (Taken at Home)	–	4.8	4.0	6.2
Pocket Money to School-children	7.1	6.7	6.3	6.4
SUB-TOTAL	13.1	20.6	20.7	24.6
C. NON-FOOD ITEMS				
Fuel (Kerosene and Matches)	4.1	3.2	2.5	2.1
Cigarettes, Tobacco/"Daun Nabak"	4.1	10.0	7.8	7.6
Betel	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.1
SUB-TOTAL	9.9	14.7	10.7	10.?
D. "OTHERS"	6.5	11.7	18.0	19.?
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE IVC

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE AMONG DIFFERENT INCOME GROUPS

Items	Income Groups (Dollars Per Month)			
	Under 70.00	70.00-100.00	100.00-130.	Over 130.00
A. HOME-PREPARED FOOD	$	$	$	$
Rice	13.00	14.00	15.00	16.25
Wheat Flour	2.70	2.90	3.30	3.00
Glutinous Rice	2.40	2.70	3.20	2.75
Sugar	4.00	5.00	5.75	5.50
Coffee/Tea	1.70	2.00	2.40	2.10
Milk	-	-	4.00	5.90
Coconut Oil	2.00	2.10	2.30	2.45
Coconuts	1.10	1.40	2.00	2.30
Chillies, Curry Powder & Salt	3.10	3.50	4.30	4.60
Salt Fish, Dhan Ellis, Fish Paste	2.00	2.30	2.90	2.75
Fresh Fish	9.00	10.00	13.95	13.95
Vegetables	2.00	2.10	2.50	2.65
SUB-TOTAL	43.00	48.00	62.00	64.50
B. NON-HOME-PREPARED FOOD				
Sweetmeats	1.20	1.90	5.10	5.75
Snacks (Taken at Coffee Shops)	2.50	5.30	7.50	11.75
Snacks (Taken at Home)	-	4.20	4.90	8.95
Pocket Money to School Children	4.30	6.10	7.50	9.25
SUB-TOTAL	8.00	18.50	25.00	35.00
C. NON-FOOD ITEMS				
Fuel (Kerosene and Matches)	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00
Cigarettes/ Tobacco/Pan	2.50	9.00	9.00	12.50

Items	Income Groups (Dollars Per Month)			
	Under or 70.00	70.00-100.00	100.00-130.	Over 130.00
	$	$	$	$
A. HOME-PREPARED FOOD				
Rice	13.00	14.00	15.00	16.25
Wheat Flour	2.70	2.90	3.30	3.00
Glutinous Rice	2.40	2.70	3.20	2.75
Sugar	4.00	5.00	5.75	5.50
Coffee/Tea	1.70	2.00	2.40	2.10
Milk	-	-	4.00	5.90
Coconut Oil	2.00	2.10	2.30	2.15
Coconuts	1.10	1.40	2.00	2.30
Chillies, Curry Powder & Salt	3.10	3.50	4.30	4.60
Salt Fish, Dum Nlis, Fish Paste	2.00	2.30	2.90	2.75
Fresh Fish	9.00	10.00	13.95	13.95
Vegetables	2.00	2.10	2.50	2.65
SUB-TOTAL	43.00	48.00	62.00	64.50
B. NON-HOME-PREP FOOD				
Sweetmeats	1.20	1.90	5.10	5.75
Snacks (Taken at Coffee Shops)	2.50	5.30	7.50	11.75
Snacks (Taken at Home)	-	4.20	4.90	8.95
Pocket Money to School Children	4.30	6.10	7.50	9.25
SUB-TOTAL	8.00	18.50	25.00	35.00
C. NON-FOOD ITEMS				
Fuel (Kerosene and Matches)	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.00
Cigarettes/Tobacco/"Dum Buchok"	2.50	9.00	9.00	12.50
Betel	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
SUB-TOTAL	6.00	13.00	13.00	15.50
D. "OTHERS"	4.00	10.50	22.00	28.50
TOTAL	61.00	90.00	122.00	144.00

to luxuries and semi-luxuries increase.[1] It is further noted that while the percentage expenditures on rice, wheat flour and glutinous rice, as shown in Table IVB, increase from the higher income group to the lower income group the actual expenditures on these items as shown in Table IVC, increase from the lower income group to the higher income group. However, the change in the actual expenditures on these items is rather small because they are on the whole, items which have fairly low income elasticity of demand, and therefore cannot very well be much curtailed among the low income group.

It was also learned that with a fall in income slightly more rice, wheat flour and glutinous rice are purchased as substitutes for the more expensive food items such as snacks and sweetmeats. It was also learned that with a fall in income a low quality rice may be substituted for a better quality rice.

Assuming that the fishermen form a homogeneous society, with similar consumption habits and similar tastes, but differing only with respect to income, the consumption pattern of the different income groups, as shown in Table IVB and Table IVC, is a good indicator of what the consumption behaviour of the society would be with changes in income. Expenditure on snacks, sweetmeats and cigarettes will increase greatly with a rise in income

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1. R.G.D. Allen and A.L. Bowley, Family Expenditure, P.S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1935, p.7.

and will decrease with a fall in income. The consumption behaviour of the fishermen indicates that the propensity to consume on food is very high.

It is also interesting to note from Table IVB, on page 32, that the percentage expenditure on sugar, coffee or tea, coconut oil and vegetables increases from the higher income group to the lower income group. This indicates to the fact that the income elasticity of demand for those items is very low and that, while income has fallen assuming other things remaining the same, the expenditure on these items as shown in Table IVC remain almost the same, thus causing the percentage expenditure to go up.

Among the non-home-prepared food items the expenditure on pocket money to school children does not decrease with a fall in income. The writer was told during the interview that it was very difficult to reduce the expenditure on such item when income is low.

Table IVB also shows that the percentage expenditure on fish increases from the higher income group to the lower income group, but in actual fact the imputed value of fresh fish consumed, as shown in Table IVC, decreases from the higher income group to the lower income group. The fall in the imputed value

of fresh fish consumed is because among those with low incomes
it is common for the fishermen to bring back the low quality
fish and sell the better fish for higher prices.

Table IVB also shows that the percentage expenditure on
cigarettes is almost the same among the households with income of
more than $100.00 per month but the percentage expenditure on
this item increases suddenly among those with incomes of between
$70.00 to $100.00 per month and falls again among those with
income of less than $70.00 per month.   This characteristic beha-
viour on the expenditure on cigarettes is due to the fact that it
takes a really big fall in income before the fishermen will reduce
the amount of cigarettes they smoke or before they will substitute
the cheap locally-prepared "daun pachok" for cigarettes.   Such
substitution seems to take place among the households with income
of less than $70.00 per month, where as seen in Table IVB there
is a sudden drop in the percentage expenditure on cigarettes.

Table IVB also shows that the percentage expenditure on
"others", as expected, decreases with a fall in income.   Its
significance has already been discussed earlier in Chapter III.