GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN RELATION TO TOTAL CONSUMPTION OF THE POPULATION IN ASIAN AND PACIFIC COUNTRIES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA*

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The paper focuses on hitherto neglected fields of trends in the total consumption of the population in the Asian and Pacific countries and pays special attention to situations in India. In doing so it presents a comparative picture on the basis of four variants of the concepts as delineated in the Technical Report prepared by the United Nations Statistical Office. The proportion of government services in the total consumption of the population in the countries depended on socio-political arrangements and policy considerations. Over the years these proportions either increased or remained constant or declined as the situation developed. In the Indian context the paper deals in detail with the magnitude and proportions of each type of government service over the period 1960-79. Recognizing that it is the access to and not provision of the services which should rightly be considered, the Indian National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) during July 1980-June 1981 collected countrywide data from households on the benefit they received from public services in the field of education, health and public distribution of essential commodities. The data from the survey in conjunction with further work proposed by the NSSO should help in the preparation of quantitative estimates of benefit received from these services by various socio-economic groups in rural and urban areas. The paper touches upon the factors affecting personal consumption expenditure. It provides broad direction for future work on the subject.

INTRODUCTION

The UN system of National Accounts (SNA) makes a distinction between three types of final consumption expenditure, viz. household consumption expenditure, consumption expenditure of private non-profit institutions serving households and final consumption expenditure of government; the former two combined are known as private consumption expenditure. Of these it is the household consumption expenditure which has been the subject of intensive study in connection with the measurement of level of living of the people at the national and regional level, as also of different socio-economic groups. With the introduction of socio-economic planning in the countries of the ESCAP region the governments, in addition to providing collective services in the form of general public services and defence, have been progressively assuming increasing responsibility for the provision of welfare services and amenities to individuals and households and economic services to producers. It has been recognized that in the changed situation household consumption alone, either total or its distribution by size groups of income and/or expenditure, does not depict the aggregative consumption of the people at a given time or over time unless all such expenditures of direct benefit to consumers as are provided free or at a reduced cost by general government, non-profit institutions and enterprises are taken into account.

To resolve this problem the countries following the System of Balances of the National Economy (MPS) make use of the concept of total consumption

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of the population. The same concept with variations has been suggested for use in the developing market economies in the UN documents related to this subject, viz. Studies in Methods, Series M, no. 61, entitled *Provisional Guidelines on Statistics of the Distribution of Income, Consumption and Accumulation of Households* (hereafter referred to as Provisional Guidelines), and UN document No. E/CN.3/512, entitled "Total Consumption of the Population: Technical Report" (hereafter referred to as Technical Report).

The object of the present paper is to briefly discuss the concept and scope of the total consumption of the population, as given in the two UN documents, from the point of view of their usefulness and applicability to the countries of this region in general and India in particular. This is followed by comparative but broad estimates of total consumption of the population for a few countries in ESCAP as they are based on limited data. Subsequently detailed estimates are presented for India at the national level. Finally the paper deals with recent developments and the direction of future work in the countries in general and India in particular.

Concept and Scope

In the Provisional Guidelines the concept of total consumption of the population has been elaborated in the distributional setting. Besides household consumption expenditure financed from personal income, it is designed to include the value of those goods and services that government, non-profit institutions and enterprises furnish free or at reduced charges and that are clearly and primarily of benefit to the households as consumers. In selecting the public goods and services to be included it is necessary to take account of the difficulties of allocating their value among the various groups of households. The Technical Report recognizes this and takes a comprehensive view of the matter. It proposes a number of variants out of which the countries can choose depending upon their needs and availability of data for their compilation. It stresses that only such items are to be included which are of direct benefit to the population. The following are the variants of the concept:

- Concept I Personal consumption plus health and education (services provided by the government)
- Concept II —Concept I plus welfare, housing and community amenities (services provided by the government)
- Concept III—Concept II plus community and social services (services provided by the government)
- Concept IV—Total of household and general government consumption expenditure

Of these only I, II and III are relevant in connection with total consumption of the population. Concept IV is important in connection with an assessment of the importance of public services in the national consumption. In the developing countries of ESCAP, although there is definite interest in the aggregate based on concept III, there is greater interest in that variant which includes such items for which data can be collected in respect of access to goods and services by different households. Thus, in order to assess the standard of living of various socio-economic groups in particular the first variant would be the most appropriate choice.

The services which are of direct benefit to households are education, medical and health, social security and welfare services, housing and other community amenities, and cultural, recreational and religious services. Questions are often raised whether expenditure on administration, regulation and research under any service category may be included or not. The Technical Report accepts in principle that overhead administrative cost be excluded but for reasons of uniformity and comparability of data among countries suggests that they be included. However, it may be stated that in distribution studies it is meaningless to include such overheads which will be allocated only on a pro-rata basis or broad considerations irrespective of the extent of access to a service of individual households.

The SNA makes a distinction between final consumption expenditure of resident households, and final consumption expenditure of resident and nonresident households in the domestic market. It has not been stated in the Technical Report as to which of these concepts should be applied in the estimates of total consumption of the population. For meeting distributional needs it would seem desirable to give priority in the developing countries to the estimates of final consumption expenditure in the domestic market.

The concept includes all goods and services received free of charge or at reduced prices. In this connection questions have been raised on the exact nature of such goods and services. Should subsidies to public and private enterprises be included, and if so, what should be their nature? Similar questions are raised in respect of relief of calamities such as earthquakes, cyclones, hurricanes, floods, droughts etc. The Technical Report does not provide definite guidance except that whatever is done, such subsidies be counted only once rather than once as subsidies to enterprises and a second time as a contribution by the enterprises to total consumption of the population. In respect of relief of calamities too the Technical Report is not very clear.

Subsidies are generally provided on the production and distribution of goods and services for sale in the domestic market or exports in order to influence prices. In the case of private and public enterprises working on a competitive basis primarily with the objective of making profit, the subsidy should not form part of total consumption of the population. The real problem arises in the case of such activities as are generally undertaken in the public sector with varied policy objectives. For example distribution of essential goods in India through fair price shops at prices lower than the purchase price is undertaken in order to influence the consumer prices in the market and to realize as much cost of the goods as is possible. Acquisition of food grains through imports and from domestic producers, its stocking and releasing in the market as is appropriate by the Food Corporation of India is more for food security and regulation of market prices. In such cases the entire loss incurred should not be treated as a subsidy. Only the difference between the purchase price and sale price of goods either sold through fair price shops or released by the Food Corporation of India should be treated as a subsidy and included in the total consumption of the population.

The provision of highly subsidised rail transport in Thailand to link different parts of the country rather than providing services for profit should also be viewed in the same mainer. It is the same case with state road transport in hilly and outlying regions in India or Sri Lanka where the social considerations as well as considerations of unity and security of the country prevail in addition to supplying services to the people.

Relief in calamity is both current and capital in nature. In general such relief in cash and kind to meet the consumption needs of the population is not treated as a current transfer to households but as a part of consumption expenditure of general government. All such expenditure should be treated as total consumption of the population.

PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

In spite of intensive studies undertaken since 1960 in the field of income distribution and level of living in the countries of ESCAP, not much work has been done on estimation of total consumption of the population. The first such attempt was made by the United Nations Statistical Office in 1978 based on information contained in the UN Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics. It was done for preparing the Technical Report. In India the Indian Association for Research in National Income and Wealth organized a seminar on Public Services in National Consumption—Concepts, Evaluation and Measurement, in October 1982. No other attempt seems to have been made in other countries in the region.

COMPARATIVE ESTIMATES

Being handicapped for want of detailed information I have made use of the information contained in the Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics to estimate broadly the percentage of public contribution to total consumption of the population for the years 1970, 1975 and 1979 for a number of developing countries in the ESCAP region based on the four concepts proposed in the Technical Report. Here again the number of countries had to be restricted, as necessary data for a large number of them is either not available or is available only for a limited period, and even in the case of countries included, data for a number of them on the basis of four concepts is lacking. It is of course recognized that these data do not take into account the inter-country differences in the prices of similar goods as a result of variations in the purchasing power of currencies.

Table 1 presents the share of public services in the total consumption of the population in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Korea and Papua New Guinea in 1970, 1975 and 1979. Varying trends have been observed in the provision of public services, total as well as such services which are of direct benefit to the population. Whereas the share of public services is lowest in Korea as a proportion of total consumption of the population according to all the concepts, it was relatively much larger in all other countries. With the exception of Papua New Guinea the share of education and health, which was highest in Sri Lanka in 1970, has been falling gradually, while it has been increasing in most other countries. In Sri Lanka the fall was mainly due to policy changes.

TABLE 1

		India	L	1	Pakista	n	Sr	i Lank	a
Concepts	1970	1975	1979	1970	1975	1979	1970	1975	1979
Concept I	1.6	1.9	2.5	2.1	2.1	1.9°	6.5	4.4	4.2
Concept II	2.0	2.4	2.9	NA	NA	NA	8.I	5.9	5.7
Concept III	2.3	2.8	3.4	2.7	2.2	2.2°	8.3	6.0	5.7
Concept IV	11.3	12.2	12.9	12.0	12.0	11.4	14.2	11.8	11.8
		Thailaı	nd		Korea		Papua	New G	iuinea
Concepts	1970	1975	1979	1970	1975	1979	1970	1975	1979
Concept I	3.7	4.4	5.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	12.6 ^b	11.8	12.4
Concept II	3.8	4.5	5.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	13.5 ^b	13.4	13.4
Concept III	3.9	4.5	5.3	0.6	0.5	0.6	13.9 ^b	15.3	14.6
Concept IV	12.6	13.6	15.3	12.6	12.9	15.2	34.8 ^b	38.2	36.

SHARE OF PUBLIC SERVICES IN THE TOTAL CONSUMPTION OF THE POPULATION IN SELECTED COUNTRIES IN 1970, 1975 AND 1979^a (Percentages)

^aTotal consumption of the population is taken to consist of private final consumption expenditure and government consumption expenditure. Obviously this is an underestimate as it invariable does not include the services provided by non-profit institutions and enterprises.

^bRelates to the year 1972.

^cRelate to the year 1978.

For Papua New Guinea detailed data for years other than 1972 are not available in the National Accounts Yearbook and ratios based on concepts I, II, III and IV for 1972 contained in the Technical Report were 12.6, 13.5, 13.9 and 34.8 percent. Data on expenditure of the central government, which formed about 99 percent of the combined central and provincial government expenditure, are available in the IMF Government Finance Statistics Yearbook for 1975–79. It is considered that the use of these data would fairly represent the pattern of government expenditure over these years. Using them in conjunction with private consumption expenditure from the National Accounts Yearbook the ratios based on concepts I, II, III and IV were found to be broadly the same in 1979 as in 1972.

In 1975 when Papua New Guinea attained independence the ratios based on concepts I and II declined slightly but on concepts III and IV increased markedly. The increase in the ratios was caused by premature retirement of senior government officers in exchange for sumptuous lump sum payment.

The very high ratios observed in Papua New Guinea in relation to all other developing countries are explained by the predominance of subsistence economy on the one hand and on the other a modern administration financed and manned by the Australian Assistance Team during the trusteeship and thereafter by different nationalities of the region in conjunction with local persons, but still to a large extent by Australian and New Zealand nationals whose salary scales in their very nature are far higher than those prevalent for local persons.

The ratios presented above are based on the data on functional classification of government transactions and also include overhead administrative costs which could not be excluded as data on them except for India were not available.

Indian Estimates

Estimates presented for India are based on comprehensive examination of available information. They cover a much longer period, *viz* 1960–61 to 1979–80. In addition they also exclude government administrative overheads and include those services and expenditures by general government, enterprises, and non-profit institutions which are of direct benefit to the population.

India has a federal structure consisting of the Union (the Centre) and the Federated States (States) with exclusive as well as concurrent responsibilities and functions in different fields. In addition there are a number of local authorities, such as city corporations, municipalities, port trusts, district, village and other local self government institutions providing social and community services.

The estimates for the country are based on the detailed analysis of transactions of general government and some public enterprises included in National Accounts Statistics as well as the estimates for some items prepared by Kumar and Bhatnagar¹ duly adjusted for administrative overhead expenses and a number of other items in order to conform to concept III. The budget documents of central government are available. However, in respect of state governments and union territories all the budget documents do not become available in time. Therefore provisional estimates for them are prepared for inclusion in the latest issue of National Accounts Statistics, and these are revised in the following issue when maximum data become available from budget documents. In respect of local authorities the situation is less satisfactory as due to difficulties of flow of budgetary documents from them data do not become available regularly and systematically. Estimates for a number of them are prepared on the basis of grants given to them by the state governments and past data.

Estimates in respect of non-profit institutions are merged in the estimates of private final consumption expenditure as the latter are derived on the basis of the commodity flow approach. This procedure obviously omits their expenditure financed through current transfers by way of subscription, donations, etc.

Expenditure of enterprises, other than railways, of benefit to households is also not included due to non-availability of detailed data on the cost structure of these enterprises.

Estimates of total consumption of the population at current prices classified by private final consumption expenditure and expenditure on public services of direct benefit are presented in Table 2. They relate to 1960-61, 1965-66, 1970-71, 1975-76 and 1979-80 and show that the proportion of public services in the total consumption of the population was very low at 2.5 percent in 1960-61 and increased to 3.2 percent in 1965-66, at which level it remained up to 1970-71. Subsequently the proportion rose steadily to 4.0 percent in 1979-80.

The composition of total consumption of the population by object of expenditure is of great significance. It throws light on the proportion of the services provided by the government included under various objects. For this purpose no separate analysis was undertaken of the services which are of direct benefit to the population. Rather, the available data by broad groups of services

¹Kumar, J. and Bhatnagar, H. R. Public Services in National Consumption. Paper considered in the seminar organized by Indian Association for Research in National Income and Wealth.

		E	Expenditu	ire on Public	Services			Proportion of Public
Year	Private final Consumption Expenditure		Medical and Health	Housing and Community Services	Others	Total	Total Consumption of the Population	Service
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1960-61	11,968	171	70	20	46	307	12,275	2.5
1965-66	18,528	337	138	39	90	604	19,132	3.2
1970-71	29,838	569	212	67	152	1,000	30,838	3.2
1975-76	52,992	1,024	531	144	244	1,943	54,935	3.5
1979-80	73,545	1,670	823	222	350	3,065	76,610	4.0

 TABLE 2

 Estimates of Public Services in the Total Consumption of the Population, India (at current prices, Rs crores)

was allocated among relevant objects. Table 3 shows that of the total consumption of the population, expenditure on food, drink, clothing and footwear during 1960–61 to 1979–80 fluctuated between 73.1 to 67.8 percent with a general trend to fall. The proportion of expenditure on gross rent, taxes and housing varied between 3.1 to 5.5 percent with a general tendency to decline. However an increasing trend was observed in medical and health, and education, namely, 2.2 to 3.1 percent in respect of the former and 3.6 to 4.9 percent in the case of the latter. The same was the case with all other items which increased from 16.2 percent to 20.9 percent over the years.

Another analysis of total consumption of the population is presented in Table 4 which shows the proportionate share of private consumption expenditure and general government services in the total consumption by object.

It is also interesting to see from Table 5 that the total consumption of the population as a proportion of net national disposable income was 86.2 percent in 1960–61. This declined continuously to 78.1 percent in 1975–76 and 76.1 percent in 1979–80.

DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND TARGET GROUPS

From the standpoint of equity and social justice and for related policy measures it is important that total consumption of the population should be worked out on the basis of access to these services by persons belonging to various socio-economic groups living in rural and urban areas. However, such data are not yet available. The Working Group on Social Consumption of Population set up by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) in 1975 in India recommended that such data be collected from households as well as institutions.

The NSSO has initiated action and during its thirty fifth round (July 1980-June 1981) it collected data from households on the benefits they received from public services in the field of education, health and public distribution of essential commodities. As yet data have not become available from the survey.

		Rs cro	ores, current	prices				Percentages	S	
Objects	1960-61	196566	1970-71	1975-76	1979-80	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1979-80
1. Food, drink, clothing and footwear										
a) Private final consumption expenditureb) Direct benefit public services	8,897	13,565	22,546	39,363	51,939	72.5	70.9	73.1	71.7	67.8
Sub-total	8,897	13,565	22,546	39,363	51,939	72.5	70.9	73.1	71.7	67.8
2. Gross rent, taxes and housing										
a) Private final consumption expenditure	650	910	1,086	1,556	2,298	5.3	4.8	3.5	2.8	3.0
b) Direct benefit public services	20	39	67	144	222	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3
Sub-total	670	949	1,153	1,700	2,520	5.5	5.0	3.7	3.1	3.3
3. Medical and health										
a) Private final consumption expenditure	205	390	612	1,187	1,567	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.0
b) Direct benefit public services	70	138	212	531	823	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0	1.1
Sub-total	275	528	824	1,718	2,390	2.2	2.7	2.7	3.1	3.1
4. Education										
a) Private final consumption expenditure	269	481	896	1,253	2,092	2.2	2.5	2.9	2.2	2.7
b) Direct benefit public services	141	337	569	1,024	1,670	1.4	1.6	1.9	1.9	2.2
Sub-total	440	818	1,465	2,277	3,762	3.6	4.3	4.8	4.1	4.9
5. Other										
a) Private final consumption expenditure	1,947	3,182	4,698	9,633	15,649	15.8	16.6	15.2	17.6	20.4
b) Direct benefit public services	46	90	152	244	350	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.5
Sub-total	1,993	3,272	4,850	9,877	15,999	16.2	17.1	15.7	18.0	20.9
Total private final consumption expenditure	11,968	18,528	29,838	52,992	73,545	97.5	96.8	96.8	96.5	96.0
Total direct benefit public services	307	604	1,000	1,943	3,065	2.5	3.2	3.2	3.5	4.0
Grand total	12,275	19,132	30,838	54,935	46,610	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3Estimates of the Consumption of the Population by Objects of Expenditure for 1960-61 to 1979-80

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Object	1960-61	1965-66	1970-71	1975-76	1979-80
1. Food, drink, clothing and footwear					
a) Private final consumption expenditure	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
b) Direct benefit public services	_				
Sub-total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2. Gross rent, taxes and housing					
a) Private final consumption expenditure	97.0	95.9	94.2	91.5	91.2
b) Direct benefit public services	3.0	4.1	5.8	8.5	8.8
Sub-total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
3. Medical and health					
a) Private final consumption expenditure	74.5	73.9	74.3	69.1	65.6
b) Direct benefit public services	25.5	26.1	25.7	30.9	34.4
Sub-total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
4. Education					
a) Private final consumption expenditure	61.1	58.8	61.2	55.0	55.6
b) Direct benefit public services	38.9	41.2	38.8	45.0	44.4
Sub-total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5. Other					
a) Private final consumption expenditure	97.7	97.2	96.9	97.5	97.8
b) Direct benefit public services	2.3	2.8	3.1	2.5	2.2
Sub-total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total private final consumption expenditure	97.5	96.8	96.8	96.5	96.0
Total direct benefit public services	2.5	3.2	3.2	3.5	4.0
Grand total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4 Percentage of Private Consumption Expenditure and Direct Benefit Public Services by Object

It is expected that in respect of education data will relate to the amount of exemption from tuition fees, the kind of supply of commodities and services either free or at a reduced cost, and average expenditure per student pursuing primary, secondary and higher education on tuition fees, books, mid-day meal/tiffin or any other nutritional programme, examination fees, other fees,

TABLE 5

TOTAL CONSUMPTION OF T	HE POPULATION	and Net	NATIONAL	DISPOSABLE I	NCOME, AT
	Curre	NT PRICES			

Year	Net National Disposable Income	Total Consumption of the Population	Total Consumptior of the Population as a Percentage of National Disposable Income
1	2	3	4
1960-61	14,238	12,275	86.2
1965-66	22,798	19,132	83.9
1970-71	37,885	30,838	81.4
1975-76	70,311	54,935	78.1
1979-80	100,634	76,610	76.1

books and stationery, uniforms, transport and private coaching. In the field of health services the survey collected data in respect of public health, maternity and child care, medical services for illness and injury, and family planning facilities.

These data by themselves would not permit compilation of estimates on the money value of benefits received. It is for this reason that the NSSO plans to continue work and undertake the collection of data from institutions on cost and other related matters, collate information from households and institutions and evaluate the results. Once this information becomes available it should be possible to obtain usable distribution information on the preferred variant of total consumption of the population which includes education and health from among the direct benefit services.

FACTORS AFFECTING PERSONAL CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE

The question is often raised as to what factors have influenced per capita personal/household consumption expenditure in India. An answer to this requires multiple classification analysis of consumption expenditure which should show the variance in per capita expenditure of households explained by each variable after adjusting for other variables.

This type of analysis calls for availability of survey data which in addition to household consumption expenditure also include data on key variables in respect of (a) stratification categories, (b) household characteristics and (c) characteristics of the head of the household. The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) in India has collected for the first time a large part of the data (other than income) needed for the above analysis in its 27th round (October 1972 to September 1973) covering over 200,000 households. The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) also undertook a panel survey, namely Additional Rural Incomes Survey, covering about 5,000 households during 1968-69 to 1970-71.

In connection with the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and World Bank (ESCAP-IBRD) Project on Income Distribution in Asia, Mr. Pravin Visaria undertook an analysis of NSSO data relating to a sample of two states of Western India (*viz*, Gujarat and Maharashtra) which, although not representative of all the regions, still bring out clearly the variables (other than income) in order of importance. For reasons of reference period for collection of data, coverage and other factors he did not subject the NCAER data to multiple classification analysis. The result is that the most important variable, *viz* income, could not be considered among the stratification categories and hence its influence had to be ignored, although it is recognized that the size of household and per capita income are the most important variables in determining the level of personal consumption. In the absence of any other analysis and also because no analysis of this type has been done by me I have utilized results of the above two states with necessary adjustments.

After taking into account the information available on the differing importance of various variables in the two areas of the western region, and after taking into account other parts of the country as well as on pragmatic grounds,

	Ranking of Variables by Area				
Key Variables	Rural	Urban			
A. Region	4				
B. Household characteristics					
Household size	5	2			
Child dependency ratio	6	3			
Labour force participation rate Incidence of unemployment	_	7			
Per capita land/average hours worked	1				
C. Characteristics of household head					
Age	_	6			
Education attainment	3	1			
Class of worker	7	_			
Occupation	2	4			
Industry	8	5			

 TABLE 6

 Key Variables Influencing Household Consumption Expenditure

Table 6 shows the variables in order of importance that are considered to influence household consumption expenditure in rural and urban India.

FUTURE WORK

For satisfactory development of aggregate national, regional and state estimates of total consumption of the population on the basis of concept III developmental work is needed in most countries in ESCAP on the following:

- (a) Further development and clarification of the concept in order to remove ambiguities;
- (b) Improvement in the quality and development of national and regional accounts in general so as to build better estimates of personal consumption expenditure;
- (c) Comprehensive collection of budget documents of various levels of governments and their detailed and meaningful economic and functional analysis, which should show separately administrative overhead cost;
- (d) Adoption of judicious approaches in the analysis of accounts of those government bodies and public enterprises which operate in a dual capacity, that is, as organs of the State and also as enterprises;
- (e) Inclusion of consumption of fixed capital, especially government owned buildings, in the final consumption expenditure of general government, thereby eliminating underestimation;
- (f) Collection and analysis of data on non-profit institutions serving households, an area which has received very little attention;
- (g) Detailed analysis of accounts of public and private enterprises with a view to building estimates of goods and services provided by them to their employees either free or at a reduced cost, such as free or cheap housing, transport and other services and such items;

(h) Multiple classification analysis of per capita household income/consumption expenditure.

For building of distribution statistics on the basis of access to public services not financed from personal income, priority is needed in country programmes for the collection through household surveys of statistics on access to public services and other benefits, and to begin with education and health.

In India such data were collected during 1980-81. Tabulated results are yet to come and much work remains to be done before the desired data can emerge. This would involve collection of information on the cost structure of educational, medical and health institutions and programmes of direct benefit to consumers. Similar data would also be required in respect of the distribution of essential goods through fair price shops if such estimates are included in the total consumption of the population.