

**SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC  
CHARACTERISTICS OF MUSLIMS IN AN INDUSTRIAL-URBAN  
SETTING A CASE STUDY OF EIGHT WARDS OF  
AHMEDABAD**

*IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIRMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

**SOHAIL HASHMI**

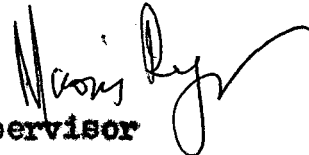
*CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
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CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY  
NEW DELHI-110057

I certify that the dissertation entitled "Some Socio-Economic and Demographic Characteristics of Muslims in an Industrial-Urban Setting - A Case Study of Eight Wards of Ahmedabad" submitted by Sohail Hashmi, in fulfilment of six credits out of the total requirement of twenty-four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy (M. PHIL) of the University, is, to the best of my knowledge, a bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dated:

  
Supervisor

Dated:

11.1.77

  
Chairman

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NEW DELHI-110057

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DEDICATION

TO MY FATHER

Haneef Hashmi

WHO BECAME A MEMORY

ON September 26, 1976

### A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t s

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I am most obliged to the Social Studies Division, Census of India, for permitting me to use the data generated on Ahmedabad through the "Special Project on Muslims", conducted in 1961.

## A B S T R A C T

The present study is an attempt to test empirically whether there is any justification in the hypotheses that "Indian Muslims are backward". It is argued that it is unscientific to treat Muslims as an independent national category, homogenous in its internal structure, and interacting with other national categories. It is further argued that it is regions which develop or remain underdeveloped, and classes which flourish at the expense of other classes, and that development or underdevelopment cannot be studied in terms of religious communities.

The city of Ahmedabad has been chosen as the region for testing the hypothesis because of the historical role played in her development by Muslim artisans and craftsmen, and the availability of almost uninterrupted data for the last hundred years or so with community-wise break-up. These reasons make it easy to study the changing trends over time.

The first chapter deals with the rise of the city, the growth of handicrafts and trade, the arrival of the British and the establishment of a colonial economy, the results of the economic policies pursued by the British on the trades and crafts of the city, the position of the

rich and the poor among the Hindus and Muslims alike, and the differences in the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the Muslims and the non-Muslims etc.

The emerging pattern provides the basis against which the present situation is viewed. Chapters II and III show the changes that have been brought about in the spheres of socio-economic and demographic parameters. The relative position of the Muslims in terms of education, employment, and educated unemployed etc. has been studied and conclusions have then been drawn to be tested against the hypothesis.

The study suffers on account of the non-availability of comparative and time-series data. Notwithstanding such limitations the conclusions assert that if more detailed empirical work were to be done it will reveal that (1) it is not as a religious community that the Muslims are backward or developed, and (2) that they are as heterogeneous in their internal structure as any other community.

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## INTRODUCTION

"Muslims in India" is a much researched, and much more misunderstood topic of social science enquiry in India today. The whole gamut of surveys, papers, research works, enquiries and the whole genre of published works has laid emphasis on one or the other features of the "peculiarities" inherent in the 'Muslim Problem'. It is the contention of this researcher that much of this has been innocently done, but there is also a certain amount of conscious effort to either divert attention from the crucial problems which the Muslims share with others or to deny their existence altogether.

There have been basically three entirely diverse and essentially contradictory approaches towards an understanding of what has come to be known as the Muslim Problem in India. Firstly, its genesis is explained in terms of the Government and the individuals responsible for implementing developmental schemes having discriminated against the Muslims; and thus Muslims having been prevented from reaping any gains from developmental planning at large.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the psychological make-up of the Muslim community - - its conservatism and its socio-cultural ethos which have

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1. Imtiaz Ahmad (quoting K. L. Gauba), "Economic and Social Change" in Zafar Imam (ed.), Muslims in India, (Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1975), pp. 231-32.

prevented it from benefiting from the economic development of the country. The third argument runs along the line that Muslims have benefited from planned economic development equally successfully as other sections of the Indian population. All the three approaches to the study of the Muslim problem treat the community as a monolithic unit, ignoring the various socio-economic and political differences within the community, and thus they attempt to find all embracing solutions to problems which are in essence not common to all sections of the community. The concept that Muslims constitute a separate national stream interacting with other religions or other groups which constitute other national streams is a concept inspired by imperialist and colonial traditions of scholarship.<sup>2</sup> This trend of 'pre-1947 vintage' has found devout adherents and followers in communalist politicians as also some well-meaning scholars who have operated within this framework of 'Anglo-Saxon' scholarship. The academic endeavours of most of these scholars have created a situation which is marked by the absence of any logical approach being taken in the study of this problem.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Moonis Raza, Aijazuddin Ahmad and Nafis Ahmad, "Muslims of India - Some Aspects of Regional Demography" in Muslims in India, p. 114.

3. Ibid., p. 115.



The biggest drawback with all these studies is the fact that they have without any major exceptions, ignored one important, in fact the most important feature of the process of socio-economic development, namely, that it is regions that develop or remain underdeveloped, that certain classes develop while keeping others backward and underdeveloped. The process of development takes place by and large without regard to religious categories, and therefore studying and trying to explain development or backwardness in terms of the religious beliefs of the community concerned is utterly unscientific. It is possible that in a given area, the two categories, i.e., the poor and the Muslims may coincide, but there is no causal relationship between the two.

The present study has taken upon itself the task of trying to look at this problem in the light of available data from both primary and secondary sources.

#### Area of Study:

The city of Ahmedabad has been selected as the area of study and the data available on the city would be used to at least partly test the validity or otherwise of the hypothesis that "Muslims in India are more backward than the rest of the population". The choice of the area

has been governed both by the specific historical past of the city, the role played by Muslims in its development and by the availability of data.

Ahmedabad was, at the time of the arrival of the British, an important commercial and 'industrial' city and has through time retained this character of being one of the important cities of the Indian-sub continent. The concentration on a substantive scale of the textile industry, of Muslims in this and allied industries, their level of development in terms of literacy, employment etc. are parameteres on which information on a limited scale is available for this area and this would facilitate putting the above mentioned hypothesis to emperical test.

#### Data Base:

The basic source of information on the situation in the 18th and 19th centuries in this region is the Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. IV, published in 1879, the information has been supplemented from secondary sources like work done on the city of Ahmedabad by contemporary scholars as also through more recent writings on the city and the surrounding region.

The Gazetteer supplies information on demography, education, employment, residence, medical and public health services etc. for total population as also on religious

communities separately and this information forms the backbone of the chapter that deals with developments in the Pre-British and British period.

For the modern period information has been collected from the special report of the Census report on the city of Ahmedabad, and the district Census handbook of Ahmedabad. These two volumes have made available the total population figures for demographic and economic parameters. These have been compared with the returns for Muslims.

The data on Muslims has been provided by the office of the Registrar-General, Census Operations, New Delhi. This data was generated through a special project on the Muslims of five selected regionsnamely the cities of Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Madras and Calcutta and the rural areas of twenty-four-Parganas. From this the data for Ahmedabad Muslims has been utilized in chapter-II and III of the present study. The data has been compiled in the shape of the following tables:

TABLE-BI	-	Workers and Non-Workers classified by sex and broad age-groups
TABLE-BIII (part-A)	-	Industrial classification of Workers and Non-Workers by educational levels in urban areas only
TABLE-BIV (part-B)	-	Industrial classification by sex and class of Workers of persons at work in non-household industry, trade, business, profession or service

TABLE-BVIII (part-A)	-	Persons unemployed aged 15 and above by sex, broad age-groups and educational level in urban areas only
TABLE-BIX	-	Persons not at work classified by sex, broad age-groups and type of activity
TABLE-CII	-	Age and Marital status
TABLE-CIII	-	Age, sex and education in urban areas only.

The above tables give information on the position of the Muslims living in 8 of the 29 wards of the city. These wards account for 57% of the total Muslims of the city. Out of the eight wards, covered by the special Muslim Project, at least four, i.e., Raikhad, Kalupur, Dariapur I and Shahpur II fall within an area that has been the heart of the city since the late 1850s. The other four wards though for long suburbs of the city did not come within the Municipal limits of the city till fairly recently. The wards of Dariapur-Kazipur, Shahar-Kotda, Asarva and Rakhiyal are located in an area most of which was incorporated within the city by the late 1930s, though enlargements continued till as late as 1956. In the case of Asarva and Rakhiyal, boundary extensions were made even in 1958. Asarva and Rakhiyal are the only wards that do not touch the fort walls. The other two i.e., Dariapur-Kazipur and Shahar-Kotda, are adjacent to the city wall and have obviously been in existence longer than the other two.

The very fact that the geographical location of the wards divides them into two clear halves would indicate that the trends projected by the present study would not be biased in favour of either the old city or that of its later extensions. And, therefore the results of the study can, with a fair amount of accuracy, be taken to be valid on the conditions of the Muslims living outside the eight wards also.

Statistically speaking also a 25% sample is considered fairly reliable for drawing fruitful conclusions, the data which we are dealing with is not a sample, but it covers more than 57% of the total Muslim population of the city and thus the results can be taken to be fairly reliable. Table-A would show the position of the Muslims as a percentage of the total population of the ward concerned, as a percentage of the total Muslim population of the 8 wards and as a percentage of the total Muslim population of the city of Ahmedabad.

For a fruitful comparative study, it would have been better had data been available for the eight wards for the non-Muslims also in the same parameters as those for which data on Muslims has been generated. But unfortunately this data is not available and the norms for the Muslims have had to be compared with the norms for the total population of the city, and at times even with the norm for the total urban population of Ahmedabad district.

TABLE - A

WARD	Total Population of the Ward	Total Muslims Population of the Ward	Muslims Population of the Ward as a % of T.P. of the Ward	Muslims Population of the Ward as a % of the T.M.P. of the 8 Wards	Muslims Population of the Ward as a % of the T.M.P. of the City
<u>Raikhad</u>	41,677	19,380	33.54	18.97	10.86
<u>Kalapur I</u>	31,380	12,940	46.38	12.67	7.25
<u>Dariapur I</u>	43,678	19,119	43.77	18.71	10.72
<u>Shahpur II</u>	54,512	12,362	23.59	12.10	6.93
<u>Dariapur-Kazipur</u>	99,737	8,111	8.13	7.94	4.55
<u>Shahar-Kotada</u>	44,705	12,021	26.89	11.77	6.74
<u>Asarva</u>	1,07,376	7,329	6.83	7.17	4.11
<u>Rakhival</u>	82,926	10,901	13.15	10.67	6.11

The comparisons therefore suffer from some obvious short-comings, the most glaring of which are (1) that intra-ward difference between Muslims and non-Muslims cannot be compared; and (ii) that Muslims are included in the norm for the total population, and it is largely due to the latter that we have had to ignore all marginal differences between the norms for the Muslims and the total population, and only very large differences have been considered significant.

The last of the short-comings of the data is the absence of time series information. This prevents a temporal study of changing patterns.

The study is thus constrained and limited in its generalizations. The factor in favour is the large population size of the data, which makes it possible to draw at least some conclusions. The limitations imposed are due largely to absence of data and the study should be seen only in the light of these limitations.

The conclusions arrived at in spite of the limitations of data are meaningful and by and large statistically valid, they at least stress the need to study the problem in greater depth, both on the temporal and spatial planes.

The present study will consist in comparing the Ahmedabad district (urban areas), Ahmedabad city or wardwise norm where available, for the various parameters to the position of the Muslims in those parameters. Where permitted by data Muslim-non-Muslim differences will be compared and studied.

The fact that detailed data for Muslims and non-Muslims is available only for one point of time, i.e., 1961, will greatly restrict the scope of drawing generally applicable conclusions, but this limitation will, to an extent, be removed by referring to secondary sources of data in order to fill in information gaps as and when permitted by the nature of the data available, and also by seeking to give emphasis to historical processes which have led to the present situation.

It is the contention of the researcher that, if the present study underlines the need to look anew at the problem in order to put it to a more serious and rigorous test, taking into account the major socio-economic developments over time, before any conclusions are sought to be drawn, then it would have fulfilled its objective.

The study would, therefore, begin by studying the political, social and economic processes at work in the city before the arrival of the British. The role played in this and the latter period by Muslims to the development of the city. The development, rise or decline, of the economic activities in which Muslims have traditionally engaged themselves in this area. The changing share of the Muslim population to the population of the city, their position in terms of availability of educational facilities, social amenities etc.; and the divergences in the demographic characteristics of the Muslims when compared to total population and non-Muslim population, and the implications of these divergences. The consideration of the above would constitute the first chapter.

The two chapters that follow will deal with the 1961 data on Ahmedabad city and will compare the position of Muslims in various parametres to that of the non-Muslims or to that of the total population where data on the former is not available.



The former of the two chapters would consist of two sections-the first will be a comparison of demographic aspects like the age and sex structure of the population of the Muslims to that of the non-Muslims total population. This will bring out whether significant differences exist between the Muslims and non-Muslims. In the latter part of this section an attempt would be made to explain those differences in the light of the process of development through which the Muslims of the area under study have passed. The second section would deal with social parametres and will cover paramatres like total married, unmarried and widowed etc. as a proportion of the total population in different age-groups. This section would also deal with the extent of child marriages, the living conditions of the population of the Muslims in comparison with that of the total population. The last seen in the light of the spatial distribution of the Muslims of Ahmedabad in terms of occupational status is likely to bring into light interesting relationships which might substantially effect the conclusions that this study seeks to arrive at or reject.

The latter chapter would deal with the socio-economic parametres of the Muslim population of the eight (8) wards of Ahmedabad in comparison with the non-Muslims and / or total population. The first part would seek to bring to light differences, if any, and the latter would analyse these in the light of past trends. This chapter would deal with the sectoral distribution of the work force, the extent of education and literacy, the extent of educated

unemployed, in particular and total unemployed in general, and the occupational structure of the working force etc.

If the present study indicates greater incidence of socio-economic backwardness among Muslims, even then in the opinion of the researcher the backwardness of Muslims cannot be substantively established. In such a situation definite statements cannot be made unless one goes into the class composition of the Muslims and when this is done, which will not be possible in the present study, it would be seen that certain sections are poor and backward, not because they are Muslims, but because they belong to a particular class which consists not only of Muslims, but of the poor the deprived and the backward of all the religions. And this would lead to exposing the fruitlessness of treating the Muslims as a separate 'national stream', or as an independent sub-unit, homogeneous in its internal structure and inter-acting with other 'national streams' (other religious communities) which in turn are homogeneous in their internal structure.

## CHAPTER - I

We will study the developments in the city in some detail only in the 19th and 20th centuries, but in order to comprehend the forces at work in the region a basic understanding of the developments upto the 19th century is essential. We will analyse these processes in the following pages. The information is based on secondary sources like Memoirs and the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, as also on works done in recent times on the city as it was immediately after the occupation by the British.

This chapter would give a historical background of the growth of the city. The rise and growth of its population, its religious and sex composition, and the extent of migration etc. The impact of the economic policies pursued by the "Company", their repercussions on the trade, industry and crafts of the city, and the creation of the infrastructural facilities so necessary for an industrial town.

An attempt would be made to study the operation of socio-economic processes that bring out a continuation of connections between various factors, which would help in obtaining a clearer understanding of the situation that now exists.

The City:

The sea-coast settlements in Gujarat have for a long time been important trading centres. Traders are known to have been settled in these trade marts of the west Indian sea-coast from where they carried much of the sea-borne trade across the Indian-Ocean.<sup>1</sup>

Arab geographers and traders of the 9th and 10th centuries speak of self-administered colonies (of traders) with centuries of history behind them. Bharuch, Junagadh, Khambhat (Cambay) and Surat etc. were important trading centres in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. Arab and Persian traders lived not only in coastal marts but also in inland towns. Inscriptions record the construction of a mosque by a family of traders in Cambay in A.D. 1218 and by a ship-master in Somnath Patan in A.D. 1264<sup>2</sup>.

The Somnath Patan inscription is very significant in as much as it gives direct evidence not only of the emergence, but also of the social importance, of trade and occupation guilds in a developed mercantile community with its own forms of social organisation. In the above mentioned inscription at Somnath-Patan an arrangement has been detailed out for the management of the mosque trust which had to be jointly run by members of various Jama'ats or congregations namely, that of

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1. See Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, Vol. IV, Ahmedabad, (Govt. Central Press, Bombay, 1879) also R.C. Mazumdar in S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat, Preliminary Studies in their History and Social Organisation, (ASIAPUB House, London), 1964.

2. Ibid.

the owners and commanders of ships and sailors, that of the oil-men of the town with their Khatib, that of Muslim Lime-Workers etc.<sup>3</sup> It is evident that by the 13th century the Muslim Community had grown out of its original limit of a trading community. There were now in the community not only wealthy traders, shippers and sea-faring men but also a sizeable population of indigenously employed persons like oil pressers, lime-workers and masons as also other heterogeneous groups of people with miscellaneous occupations. It is at this time that the conquest of Gujarat opened the way to a large-scale influx from the north.<sup>4</sup>

It is during this period of rapid economic and socio-political changes that Ahmedabad grew in importance and came to occupy the position of eminence among the commercial centres of the medieval world which it retained upto the end of the eighteenth century and probably till later. Farishta described Ahmedabad as the handsomest city in Hindoostan, and perhaps in the world.<sup>5</sup>

Ahmedabad was founded by Sultan Ahmed Shah of Gujarat in A.D. 1411 near the ancient trading centre - Asaval (or Asapalli or Karnavati). Ahmed Shah encouraged merchants, weavers and skilled craftsmen to come to Ahmedabad and make

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3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 13

5. See Kenneth L. Gillion, Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History (Berkeley University of California Press, 1968).

it a flourishing commercial and industrial city. Between the early fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries Ahmedabad grew and developed its trade and crafts. The decay of the Gujarat Sultanate had its impact on the capital and Ahmedabad passed through a period of declining trade and industry through most of the sixteenth century; the Portugese interference with its export and import trade from Cambay Port also contributed substantially to the decline of the city for this period of sixty years or so. The incorporation of Gujarat in the Mughal Empire in A.D. 1572 and the political stability resulting from it led to a recovery of the crafts and trade of the city. This trend continued by and large unhampered till the eighteenth century when the disintegration of the Mughal Empire left in its wake a city which was losing the very economic basis of its survival.

The political power in the city changed hands thrice between A.D. 1738 and 1837. This political instability adversely effected the economy of the region and the city went into decline from which it emerged much later with an entirely changed economy.

#### Population and Migration:

According to population estimates given in the Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency 1879, the population of Ahmedabad in the year 1780 was in the neighbourhood of 1,00,000

souls of which an estimated 66 percent or around 66,000 were Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

The plague and pestilence which stalked Rajasthan and Gujarat between 1813 and 1815 reduced the population of Ahmedabad by half and the 1817 survey recorded a population of 80,000 of which less than 40,000 were Muslims.<sup>7</sup> As has already been noted the period between 1780 and 1817 was a period of political turmoil, the attacks and victories of the armies of the Peshwa in Gujarat led to a large scale migration of Muslim artisans craftsmen, weavers and the nobility out of Ahmedabad to Surat and other flourishing cities in the western districts of India.<sup>8</sup> Though no reliable figures are available for this period, the 1824 survey reported 22,282 Hindus and 6913 Muslims. It is probable that the population of muslims had fallen faster in the late 18th century,<sup>9</sup> since many of the officials and the military officers had, with their retainers left the city to its new rulers - The Peshwas.

The decline of the muslim families of 'high-status' continued under the British. There were no longer the openings for muslim countries, officials, scholars and soldiers

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6. Op.Cit., Gazetteer, 1879.

7. Ibid.

8. Forbes, Oriental Memoirs,

9. Op.Cit., The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency, 1879.

that the Ahmedabad Saltanate had provided.<sup>10</sup> The percentage of Hindus and Jains in the population of the city rose from 76.31 percent in 1824 to 79.24 percent in 1872.

Like other pre-modern cities, Ahmedabad also could not replenish its population without immigration from the rural areas. The excess of deaths over births was balanced by the drift into the city of some of the rural population. Many of these brought their families into the city or sent for them later.<sup>11</sup> Hewlett,<sup>12</sup> in his report in 1872 noted ~~for them later~~ that there were 58477 males and 58,396 females in Ahmedabad, "an equality of sexes" which he found 'remarkable for an Indian city'.

The population of Ahmedabad was essentially a rooted urban population and was not made up of a large number of floating individuals. Very few agriculturists lived in the city.<sup>13</sup> The labour-force of Ahmedabad was more settled than that of Bombay or other parts of India. It was noted for 1892, "In Ahmedabad and Surat only does there seem to be a permanent class of workers who do not look forward to going back to agriculture".<sup>14</sup> Ahmedabad was the only great centre

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10. Op. Cit., K. L. Gillion, Ahmedabad: A Study in India Urban History, 1968.
11. Ibid., p. 28
12. Op. Cit., Gazetteer, Vol. IV, 1879 section on Population.
13. Op. Cit., K. L. Gillion, p. 28.
14. Bombay Presidential Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act; 1892; see also Gillion Ibid.



of the cotton industry that possessed what could be called a separate mill population. The Ahmedabad Mill Owners' Association told the Royal Commission on Labour in 1929 that 80 percent of their work-force was permanent, that only 10 percent to 20 percent went to their villages for a short while during the festivals and that most of the workers had brought their families to the city.<sup>15</sup>

The more settled character of the population of Ahmedabad in general and that of the labour-force in particular, when compared to Bombay, was reflected in the proportion of the sexes in the two cities. According to 1921 Census there were 765 females to every 1000 males in Ahmedabad, whereas in Bombay there were only 525. It may be noted that the large migration of male workers into Ahmedabad since the late 19th century had greatly altered the earlier situation as is reflected in the following table (Table-1.1).

Table-1.1

AHMEDABAD

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Females Per thousand Males</u>
1881	1,010
1891	937
1901	919
1911	844

15. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, 1929  
in K.L. Gillion Ibid.

The 1921 Census also provides figures on the proportion of migrants to the total population of Ahmedabad city. In 1921 out of every 1000 persons in the city 603 had been born within Ahmedabad district, 128 in Baroda State, 73 in Rajputana, 54 in Kathiawar, and 40 in Kaira; the rest came from other parts of the country and from foreign lands.<sup>16</sup> From among the cotton workers very few came from outside Gujarat. Figures for 1926 state that 20 percent of the cotton mill-workers were born within the city (including Muslim weavers and some of the Dhed spinners). 25 percent were born elsewhere in Ahmedabad district, 20 percent in Baroda, 10 percent in Rajputana, 5 percent in Kathiawar, 10 percent elsewhere in Gujarat, 5 percent in the Deccan and Konkan, and 5 percent elsewhere. The Ahmedabad Mill Owners' Association informed the Royal Commission on Labour in 1929 that 80 percent of their labour was drawn from within 50 miles of the city. The immigrants to the city who worked in the cotton textile industry included many landless labourers, such as dheds and handloom weavers like the Vankars, who could no longer make a living in the village, Kolies, Waghris, and Pattidar weavers also made a fair contribution to the cotton-mill-working population in the city of Ahmedabad.

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16. For information on this and related matter see K. L. Gillion, Op. Cit. Chapter 3.



The textile mills brought about a great increase in the population of the city both by providing opportunities of employment for those within the city, and thus checking any exodus of population and by attracting many new-comers-workers for the mills, as also traders and artisans to serve the expanding population. The growth of population adjusted for inter-censal changes in municipal boundaries, between the year 1872 and 1911 is shown in the following table (Table-1.2).

Table-1.2  
AHMEDABAD POPULATION  
1872-1911

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1872	1,28,505
1881	1,37,041
1891	1,59,366
1901	1,99,609
1911	2,32,777

Source: Census of India Vol. IX (1921)

Adjusted to changing boundaries of the city by K. L. Gillion, Op. Cit. (1968)

Y,73(Q,7).443641-02,31N7

Settlements:

DISS  
L7 G-39039



Economic-Stratification/Distribution of Population: Like most traditional cities, the social divisions of the population were reflected in the lay-out of the city. Members of one guild lived and worked in one house-group known as a 'Pol',

with the poor and the 'low-castes' living in big clusters in extremely crowded localities. The impoverished Muslim weaver was invariably found in the neighbourhood of the Dhed spinner, who was considered such a low caste that when it was found that one member of this caste had found a job in a mill by hiding his caste name, all the other workers went on a strike till he was removed. And since this caste had specialised in spinning cotton yarn the spinning sections in most mills were separated from the main buildings. The Bohra trader on the other hand lived a life of ease and plenty, living in well protected houses often in close proximity of the Nagar Brahmins of the city, but even among the Bohras the petty shop-keeper and trader did not enjoy a similar position in the hierarchy of social divisions, which was accorded to his more successful brethren.

The Gazetteer provides important information on the socio-economic status of the inhabitants of Ahmedabad, on those who lived in the municipal divisions within the old walls as also on those who lived in the suburbs. Description of uses which households were put to also throws some light on the nature of economic organisation of city. Such information as is relevant for the present study is being given below.

Before the establishment of the municipality in the 1870s the town within the walls was divided into nineteen wards. This area, on the introduction of the municipality, was

reorganised into four wards; Shahpura in the North-West, Daryapura in the North-East, Khadia in the South-East, and Jamalpura in the South-West. Outside the city there were over a hundred settlements, some of which had been deserted, of the remaining only sixteen were settlements of any consequence, a description of the conditions within these as also of the four wards within the walls has been given in the following section (Table-1.3).

Table-1.3

WARD WISE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION SHOWING NUMBER OF HOUSES, CASTES AND OCCUPATION OF POPULATION

Name of Ward	Population	HOUSES		Caste Structure	Occupation of Caste
		Single Storey	Double Storey		
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Shahpur	20,000	7,000	2,800	Shravakas Dheds Bangias Vaghries	Jewellers Paper Making
2. Daryapur	33,000	10,649	7,000	Nagar Brahmins Kshytrias Bohras, Jains Bangias and Dheds	
3. Khadia	33,649	10,605	8,829	Brahmins, Kshytrias Bohras	Traders-Bankers Civil Servants Artisan Muslim removed from ward
4. Jamalpur	23,883	9,331	4,514	Mishries, Banias Kanbis, Jains, Dheds Bangias Bohras Momens	Calico printing Location of Becharidas spinning and weaving factory

(Table Contd.)

Table-1.3 (Contd.)

Name of Ward	Population	HOUSES		Caste Structure	Occupation of Caste
		Single	Double Storey		
1	2	3	4	5	6
5. Kadipeth					Earlier import centre for paper
6. Uttampura	170	15	0		Mostly day labourers
7. Madhavpura	678	318	0		Mostly warehouses
8. Hatipura	40	62	0		Servant and labourers, some shops
9. Baradailapur	170	61		Not available	Mostly warehouses
10. Saraspura	5,193	1,662		Not available	Carpenters, black-smiths weavers, dyers, animal husbandary
11. Railwaypura	850	303	135	Not Available	Cotton mills - Ginning-small sugar factory warehouses
12. Rajpura	600	189		Muslim and Dhed weavers	Weaving and ginning
13. Gaumatipur	2,613	825		Not available	Gold and Silver thread silk weaver and dyers.
14. Waghriwad	170	120		Not available	Brick makers and day labourers
15. Bhawanipur and Raghunathpur	700	N.A.		Not available	Labourers and Daily-wage earners
16. Kangalpur	140	39		Not available	Day labourers.

Shahpura: The Shahpura ward was the largest, the poorest, and the most thinly populated ward of the city. Out of a population of about 20,000 in 1872 there was a large population of the poorer classes like the Dheds, Bhangias, and Vaghria. Most of the open-land had been procured for house-building by the well-to-do Shravaks and the gold-working Kanbis, the rest had been acquired by the Ahmedabad spinning and weaving Company's Mill. The old Khanpura ward which had been made a part of the Shahpuraward continued to be the most backward area with a substantive population of poor Muslims, Dheds and Bhangias. About two-thirds of the population of Shahpura was Hindu of which many belonged to the 'lower castes'. The rest were Mussalmans whose major occupation had been paper-making and who had suffered much from the competition of cheap European paper, depressing them economically still further.

Daryapur: Daryapur was situated to the east of Shahpur and covered the north-eastern part of the city, with a population of around 33,000 it had 10,649 houses more than 7,000 of which had two or more stories. (compare this with Shahpur which with a population of about 20,000 had around 7,000 houses of which around 2,800 had two or more stories). The ward was especially towards the east and south-east, most thickly populated. This ward was the head quarter of the trading classes, all the upper castes except the Nagar Brahmans and Kashatrias lived in this area especially the Vanias both Jain

and Brahman, there were also many Bohra traders. The rest were Muslim weavers Bhangias and Dheds living on the outskirts of the ward.

Khadia: Khadia was the smallest and the most thickly populated ward of the city. A population of 33,649 lived in 10,605 houses 8,829 of which had two or more stories. Both Hindus and Muslims lived in the area. Hindus were, by-and-large, well-to-do; traders, bankers, government servants, pleaders and artisans. This ward was the only area of the city where Nagar Brahmins and Kashatris lived. Muslims comprised about one-sixth of the total population of the area and were chiefly Bohras. There were not many of the other Muslims like weavers etc., and even these were, due to their general poverty, being driven out of this ward into the poorer quarters of the city.

Jamalpur: This ward was located to the west of Khadia, had a population of 23,883 living in 9,331 houses out of which 4,514 had two or more stories. A little more than two-thirds of the population consisted of Hindus while the rest were Muslims. The Meshris, Vanias, Kanbis and Brahmins as also a few Jains lived in this ward. Among the Muslims there were many Bohras and Momnas, there were also huts of Dheds and Bhangias in the out-laying areas. Calico-printing employed a large number of workers both Hindu and Muslim, this industry too, like many others was declining in the face of competition



from cheap machine-made prints from local mills and those from Bombay, the Bechardas spinning and weaving mill was ~~also located~~ also located in this area.

A summary of the conditions of the suburbs during this period would throw some light on the condition of the workers as also on the various occupations of the people, some of which were dying a slow death while others prospered and flourished.

In 1879 there were in all sixteen suburbs, housing a population of 11,741 in 3,870 houses.

Kagdipeth: Which was inhabited till 1824 was no longer so since then. By 1879 the only signs of its old importance as a centre of paper manufacture that remained were some buildings for pulping papers and rags but the workers lived in the city. Since the industry was on the decline, many of the buildings destroyed in 1872 had not been repaired even seven years later in 1879.

Uttampura: Uttampura was located outside the Delhi-gate had 15 houses and housed 170 people most of them worked as day labourers.

Madhavpur: Madhavpur was situated to the north of Uttampura, a population of 679 lived in 318 houses in this area. Most of the buildings were ware-houses Madhavpur was an important

business centre, though most of those who carried on this business lived in the city.

Hathipur: Hathipur was another such suburb with a population of 40 people who were servants and labourers. There were 62 houses, most of which were warehouses and stores.

Borradailepur: Borradailepur was located to the east of Hathipur and was used by the cultivators of the adjoining lands. With a population of 170 Borradailepur had 61 houses.

Fulpura and Fatehpura: Fulpura and Fatehpura, both had servants, warehouse-hands and labourers living in them. Most of the households were used as warehouses.

The most important of the suburbs was Saraspura. It was the largest among the suburbs, a walled town with five gates and a population of 5193 (about half of the total suburban population of Ahmedabad in 1872) living in 1662 houses. The residents were by occupation carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, dyers and husbandmen. The suburb was famous for its cartwheels, brocades and silks, which by 1879 were declining professions. It was also an important trading centre. Saraspura was a part of Ahmedabad for municipal purposes.

Railway Suburb: Railway Suburb now known as Railwaypura, had a population of 850 with 303 houses, 135 of which had two or more stories. The suburb housed two cotton mills, two cotton ginning factories, one small sugar manufactory and many ware-houses.

Rajpura: Rajpura was located one mile to the South of Saraspura with a population of 600 living in 189 houses. The Gazetteer mentions weaving of coarse cotton-cloth as the chief industry and therefore it can be assumed with a fair amount of accuracy that the population had a substantive section of poor Muslims and Dhed weavers.

Gauntipura: Gauntipura to the East of Rajpura, had a population of 2613 that lived in 825 houses; most of the population was fairly well to do, consisting of gold and silver thread makers as also some silk weavers and dyers.

Bhawanipura and Raghunathpura: Bhawanipura and Raghunathpura put together had a total population of around 700. Most of the inhabitants were labourers and daily-wage earners.

Waghrivada: Waghrivada to the South of Raghunathpura with 120 houses and 470 inhabitants consisting chiefly of brick-makers and labourers. South of Waghrivada was a colony called Kangalpuri. It had 39 huts wherein lived a population of 140 day labourers.

Thus we see that although no clear cut line between residential and working areas had as yet emerged but certain beginnings had been made, many ware-houses were located outside the city, of the four cotton mills in operation 1879 two were located outside the city. In spite of a certain amount of

industrialization which had taken place caste distinctions were still very strong and in keeping with the old tradition of keeping the lower-castes away from the main settlements, a majority of these and other poorer and therefore lower classes were either clustered in a given area in the city or were kept out of the city. A major section of labourers, daily wage workers and those doing menial work lived outside the city in the suburbs. Gauntipura was perhaps the only suburb which housed <sup>the</sup> well-to-do trader alongside the artisan; while in the rest of the suburbs the majority of the population was of impoverished weavers, artisans and craftsmen whose crafts were dying a slow death, or landless labourers who had migrated from the surrounding regions and worked as daily-wage earners.

#### General Economic Conditions:

The linkages which had existed between the village and the city registered the impact of the gradual impoverishment and destruction of the industries of the craftsmen of Ahmedabad, a destruction which had been systematically carried on for a long time. This also left its effect on the population of the city in terms of the nature of its composition. In the following section we shall try to study how this was brought about and what its effects were on the poor classes in general and on the Muslim artisans in particular.

The British take-over of Gujarat and especially of the capital, put a stop to the fights and plunder that had gone on for over three decades. Having established their hegemony, the British got down to gearing up the economy of the city in a manner that would best suit their interests. They provided a stable administration and this was sufficient to convince the trader that he could now carry-on his transactions undisturbed, he set about the task and in a short while commercial and industrial activity revived. The first textile mill started functioning in 1861, extensive labour migration into Ahmedabad city, reference to which has been made earlier, was reported by Andrew Dunlop in the early 1870s.<sup>17</sup> The immigrants were from the neighbouring dominions of the Caekwad. Many merchants and artisans started returning to Ahmedabad and the weavers once more deserted Patan in favour of Ahmedabad almost in a body.

The 1872 figures reported 92,619 Hindus and 11,643 Jains and 23,491 Muslims (including 1,594 Bohras) along with 446 Parsis, 40 Jews, and 264 Christians.<sup>18</sup> This division of the population according to religion represented a composition which was undoubtedly different from that which had existed in Muslim and Maratha days. The share of Muslims by this time had come down to 26.76 percent of the total population of the city from 66 percent in the year 1780.<sup>19</sup>

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17. K.L. Gillion, *Ibid*, p. 54.

18. *Gazetteer*, *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 31-48 and pp. 230-248.

19. *Ibid.*, estimates not necessarily accurate.

The forces which brought about this change in the population composition and the effects of these forces on the economic life of the Muslim workers will be seen in the following section which deals with economic stratifications that took place in the conditions of socio-political turmoil and flux which shook Ahmedabad to its very foundations from the early eighteenth century well into the nineteenth century.

At the time of the arrival of the British, Ahmedabad city already had an organized system of production, distribution, import-export, and finance at various levels. There were organized guilds of Merchants and workers. The merchants and Financers' guilds were known as 'mahajans', and the workers' and artisans' guilds as 'Panch'. The Muslim guilds were in "weak imitation" of the Hindu model and not so important as the guilds of the Muslim Merchants and traders in the Middle-East.<sup>20</sup>

There was a close link between the village and the city. The Banias of Ahmedabad, some of whom were entitled to receive a share in the produce of the peasant, played an important role in revenue-collection. Not only this, cotton-cloth woven by the Muslims and the Dheds in the villages was dyed in the city. Some of the early stages of silk-manufacture, such as reeling and spinning, were also carried-out in the villages. All of this was greatly and to a large extent broken after and during the fall of the Mughal dynasty.

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20. K. L. Gillion, Op. Cit., p. 20.

Subsequent to the fall of the Mughal Empire, Ahmedabad became a source of profit to the successive Maratha governors. While the Peshwa and the Gaekwad competed to wring what they could from it. Ahmedabad went into a serious decline. The industry, trade, and finance of Ahmedabad contracted sharply, though some of it managed so survive the onslaught.

As late as the mid-1800s Ahmedabad was a medieval city. Old institutions continued, the Mahajans' and the Saraffs' domination over trade and industry still survived and the ancient crafts still formed the basis of its prosperity. But the 20 years between 1850 and 1870 changed all that. A railway line connected Ahmedabad to Bombay and extended further to the North and to the West. Ahmedabad's importance as a trade centre grew still further. The railways brought about a tremendous changes in the economy of Ahmedabad, the most important of which - the threat of competition from the Bombay mills - was literally brought home to the craftsmen in the guilds in Ahmedabad. And this, more than anything else, assured that Ahmedabad's reliance on handloom textile production will have to go.

There were other developments which indicated that Ahmedabad could not, for very long, continue in the old way. By 1878 the very lucrative opium trade had passed from the hands of the Ahmedabad traders into those of Baroda State. The Saraffs had lost most of their business as state bankers,

money-lenders to the rulers, and army pay-masters. But the most significant development, as has already been noted, was the greater outside competition which the Ahmedabad weavers, dyers, and other artisans had to face now.

The famous paper industry declined in the face of competition from France. Calico printing met the same fate at the hand of cheap European prints. The silk industry was ruined by import of silks from the industries of Europe and China. The decline in the silk industry also led to a fall in the prices of local silks and thus in turn wages of the artisans.

The above developments were coupled with the impoverishment of the rich Muslim families, the deposition in A.D. 1875 of the Gaekwad, and the resulting decrease in the consumption of Brocades etcetera by these and the other Rajput princes and chiefs. All these combined to bring about a decline in the demand for Ahmedabad's traditional products in the second-half of the nineteenth century. Wages were depressed further and further. Thus the most important conditions for the establishment of a colonial economy were created. The village-city links were broken, the self-sufficiency of regions and their handicrafts industry were destroyed, wages were brought down and the artisan was forced to sell himself and his ability to work into the hands of the rising class of the industrialists.



These were the general economic conditions that prevailed in the region from the mid-eighteenth century to the turn of the century. Let us now try to study the conditions of the various communities and especially those of the Muslims.

'New' Economic Order:

The 1872 Census gave the figures of 80,979 Hindus and 23,491 Muslims in Ahmedabad city. Out of the Hindus 23,000 - 25,000 were described as poor, the rest were middling, well-to-do, or prosperous. The corresponding figures for the Muslims were 1875 Bohra and Meman traders were described as being in good condition. The rest were listed as poor. Most of these had been poor low-caste Hindus who had converted to Islam and many still continued to retain their caste affinities, marrying within the families of their own castes.<sup>21</sup> The difference is clearly very great. It is important to note here that the poor among the Muslims, by and large, were those who had converted from the lower Hindu castes and had been unable to change their class with a change in their religion.

Fawcett, a British officer in Ahmedabad, had this to say on the conditions of the people in the year 1879, "the native Hindu populations are undoubtedly in better circumstances than the Mohamedans. There are a few wealthy Mussalmans who trade in silk and peice goods but the majority of the

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21. Gazetteer, Ibid.

Mussalmans seek for employment as peons, weavers, or labourers".<sup>22</sup> The Muslims continued to live the life of "humble weaver or gentlemen pensioners living in pride and semi-poverty". The army attracted the Muslims of Ahmedabad in a big way, but with the exception of this branch of employment they trailed behind the Hindus in professions, trade, and industry. This, as Gillion notes, was not peculiar to Ahmedabad but was generally true of India as a whole. Some pockets of Muslim enterprise were to be found in Gujarat, including the two in Surat, but the lagging behind was certainly noticeable in Ahmedabad where there were no Muslim mill-owners and only one industrialist who started a match-factory on 1895.

Before the coming of the British, except for the Bohras, most of the well-to-do Muslims had been soldiers and high officers, almost all lost their jobs under the British and showed 'no greater occupational inflexibility than the Vanias or Nagar Brahmins'.<sup>23</sup> A majority of these sections also faced economic ruin due to changed conditions of production and trade.

The effects of the destruction of the handloom industry were much deeper and widespread than the picture given by British officers and European travellers of that period. The

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22. Fawcett, p. 70 (II) quoted in K. L. Gillion, p. 65.

23. K. L. Gillion, Ibid, pp. 89-90.

Gazetteer notes<sup>24</sup>: "at present (1878) the lower classes are suffering from long continued high prices of food grains and the upper classes from the dullness of trade and losses in Bombay mills".

The textile mills of Ahmedabad had by 1878 grown substantially and 'provided employment to about two thousand of its poorest inhabitants',<sup>25</sup> but still 'in the Jamalpura division of the city Calico printing employed a large number of Mussalmans and Hindu'.<sup>26</sup>

The Bohra traders were still well-off. The Khadia division of Ahmedabad city in 1879 had a Muslim population which was about one-sixth of the population of the division. Muslims here were chiefly Bohras of both the sects, there were not many Muslims of the other sects and their general poverty was driving them into the poorer quarters of the city while their houses were passing into the hands of the thrifty Jains and other Vantias.<sup>27</sup>

The Muslims and the Dhed weavers used to produce coarse cloth for sacking and clothing, the market for these goods was ruined by the Ahmedabad and Bombay mills and the jute mills of Calcutta.<sup>28</sup> This led to the impoverishment of the

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24. Gazetteer, Ibid; p. 262.

25. Ibid., p. 262, see also K. L. Gillion pp. 100-101.

26. Ibid., pp. 307-308.

27. K. L. Gillion, pp. 55-69, also see Gazetteer, pp. 293-317, and p. 323.

28. Gazetteer, Chapter-VI: 'Trade and Manufacture', pp. 31-105, 116-141, and Chapter-XIII on Subdivisions, pp. 230-48.

rural areas which in turn forced people out of the villages and thus provided a source of cheap labour for the new mills.

We notice that the changing socio-economic conditions spelt disaster for a substantive section of the population in and around Ahmedabad. European paper destroyed the famed paper industry, an industry which had traditionally been in the hands of the Muslims. The ruin of Calico printing and the weaving branches of the local traditional textile industry ruined the Muslim artisan and craftsmen further. The other factors that contributed to the ruin of the Muslim artisan, craftsman and weaver were (one) the breaking up of the city village linkages in the coarse textile, sacking, and silk textile production, (two) the increasing imports of cheap textile and petty material from other textile centres like Bombay and Calcutta, and (three) the recently restricted employment opportunities ~~of~~ for the Muslims in the management sector as well. But the Muslims were not alone in their economic ruin, all those who were engaged in similar activities were also likewise effected. The Dheds, the Bhangias, the handloom weavers, the Vankars, the gold-thread workers, the Kolis, Vaghris, and Pattidar weavers were some of the artisans and craftsmen's sects which suffered economically during this period. It will be wrong to presume that these new developments completely broke the backbone of all Muslims. In trade, the Bohra traders were still wealthy and influential. All those who did not or could not change fast enough to keep

pace with the new order of production and distribution perished economically and socially.

Sectoral Distribution of Work Force:

Simon Kuznets, in a study of various countries, has shown that the countries which have passed through a gradual shift from an agrarian economy to an industrialised one demonstrate a change away from agriculture in two gradual processes. The first is a shift from primary activities to secondary activities and in the second stage there is a simultaneous shift from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary activities. This study gives us a tool with which to measure any society or any segment of the society in order to make an assessment of the level of development of its economy.

The 1872 survey figures for Ahmedabad district give us an opportunity to measure this for the Muslims as also for the other communities, had figures been available for Ahmedabad city our conclusions would have had a greater applicability; in the absence of this information only a general picture can be obtained.

The 1872 survey of the district divided all economic activities in seven classes and the proportion of the working population i.e. total population excluding women and children to these activities is available. We shall study the differences as they existed between total working population of the district and the total Muslim working population

of the district with the help of the following figures (Table-1.3):

Table-1.3  
SURVEY 1872 AHMEDABAD-DISTRICT - MALE ADULTS

	Employed: Govt. Municipal, Local Authority	Professional Persons	In Services or Performing Personal Offices	Commerce and Trade	Mechanics, Arts, Engg. Operations Manfg. & Sale of Articles	In Agri. & with Animals	Misc. Callings
Total Working Population	1.87	1.68	3.36	5.37	44.04	37.39	6.28
Muslim Working Population	5.65	3.22	4.19	5.93	47.27	23.35	10.39

The above table brings out many interesting details some of which are as follows:

- (i) That among those employed as white-collar workers or in personal service Muslims had a much greater concentration than the total working population; 9.84 percent as compared to 5.23 percent.
- (ii) That among professional persons the share of Muslims in this occupation as a proportion of the total Muslim working force was almost double that of the total workers in this occupation as

a proportion of the total work force i.e. 3.22 percent as opposed to 1.68 percent for the total work force.

- (iii) That less than one-fourth of the total Muslim work force earned its livelihood from agriculture as opposed to the total work force wherein more than one-third was thus engaged. 23.35 percent of the Muslim work force was engaged in agriculture and with animals whereas for total population this figure was 37.39 percent.
- (iv) That of the total Muslim work force in the district 47.07 percent was engaged in practicing mechanical arts, engineering operations or in the manufacture and sale of articles where as for the total work force this figure stood at 44.04%. In occupations listed as Miscellaneous callings too Muslims had a clear edge over other communities and here the share of Muslims engaged in such occupations to total Muslim work force was 10.89 percent as opposed to 6.28 percent for the total work force. Thus we see that till 1872 in the district of Ahmedabad as a whole the biggest concentration of Muslims was in the secondary sector the second in order of concentration of work force was the primary sector and the third was the service sector. The picture would have been more acute in the case of Ahmedabad city where all the industries which

had traditionally been in the hands of the Muslims were concentrated. The foregoing section has shown us the these very industries were the most hard hit by the emergence of the colonial economy and this would surely have lead to the economic deprevation of the artisan in general and of the Muslim artisans in particular.

More fruitful conclusions could have been drawn had data on the sectoral concentration of the Muslim work force for the subsequnt censuses been available, but in the absence of this data we shall try to study the changes over time in the light of (i) the changing share of Muslims to the total population of the city (ii) the share of Muslim literates to total and the (iii) differences in the field of literacy between Muslims and non-Muslims. An estimate of the extent of modernisation among Muslims can be had by comparing the extent of child marriages among the Muslims to that of the total population and of the non-Muslims. The age structure of the Muslims of the city when compared with that of the total population and of the non-Muslims may also throw some light on the differences, if any that existed between Muslims and non-Muslims.

#### Growth of Population in Ahmedabad Muslims - Non-Muslims:

If we compare the changing share of Muslims to total population in the period 1780 to 1961 we notice that though their numbers have increased their share to the total population



has been decreasing (Table-1.4). Muslims constituted 66 percent of the total population of Ahmedabad according to 1780 estimates, the share had come down to 23.69 percent in 1824 to 19.28 percent in 1921 and to 15.51 percent in 1961. The share of Muslim population to total population registered a slight increase in 1911 when it went upto 20.89 percent from the 1901 figure of 20.52 percent. The 1931 figures show a substantive rise in the proportion of Muslims to the total population when the figure went upto 26.76 percent of the total population from 19.28 percent in 1921. The 1941 figures once again went down to 19.67 percent. The 1931 and 1941 are clear cases of over statement; this is seen by the fact that Muslims constituted 26.76 percent of the enumerated population which was put at 2,38,054 in 1931 whereas the estimated population was stated to be 310000 this anomaly arises due to (i) the strong non-co-operation movement of that period because of which many did not get themselves enumerated this would explain the decline in the total population which was returned at figures lower than the 1921 census; 1,74,335 in 1931 as against 2,21,179 in 1921. (ii) The Muslim population is shown to have increased to 63,699 persons as against 52,828 persons in 1921. It has been suggest, with some justification, that this upward trend in Muslim population was due to deliberate inflation of their strength by Muslims who had been convinced of the need of a Pakistan and had been told by their leaders that all Muslim majority areas would constitute the new nation and it was under the

Table-1.4

AHMEDABAD CITY (MUNICIPALITY, CANTT)-1780-1961(Total Population (Muslims, Non-Muslims)  
showing Percentage share to total  
Population)

YEAR	Total Population	Total Muslim Population	Total Non-Muslim Population	Total Muslims as % of Total Population	Total Non-Muslims as % of Population
<u>1780</u>	<u>1,00,000</u>	<u>66,000</u>	<u>44,000</u>	66.00	44.00
<u>1817</u>	<u>80,000*</u>	<u>40,000</u>	<u>40,000</u>	50.00	50.00
<u>1824<sup>%</sup></u>	-	<u>6,913</u>	-	23.69	76.31
<u>1872</u>	-	-	-	20.76	79.24
<u>1891</u>	<u>1,48,412</u>	<u>30,946</u>	<u>1,17,466</u>	20.85	79.15
<u>1901</u>	<u>1,85,889</u>	<u>38,159</u>	<u>1,47,730</u>	20.52	79.48
<u>1911</u>	<u>2,16,777</u>	<u>45,282</u>	<u>1,71,495</u>	20.89	79.11
<u>1921</u>	<u>2,74,009</u>	<u>52,828</u>	<u>2,21,179</u>	19.28	80.72
<u>1931</u>	<u>2,38,054**</u>	<u>63,699</u>	<u>1,74,355</u>	26.76	73.24
<u>1941</u>	<u>5,95,237</u>	<u>1,17,094</u>	<u>4,78,143</u>	19.67	80.32
<u>1951</u>	<u>7,88,333<sup>⊙</sup></u>	<u>1,37,404</u>	<u>6,50,929</u>	17.43	82.57
<u>1961</u>	<u>11,49,918</u>	<u>1,78,393</u>	<u>9,71,525</u>	15.51	84.49

\* Wide spread plague and pestilence reduce population greatly

% 1824 survey returned 22,282 Hindus and 6,913 Muslims

\*\* Enumerated figures, estimated population in 1931, 310,000 low returns due to non-co-operation high Muslim figures are overstatements

⊙ For the five towns of Acher, Vadaj, Amraivadi, Rakhialand Khokhra-Mehmedabad Khokhra-Mohammedabad, the religious composition is not available therefore the population of these towns has not been included for 1951. In 1961 their population has been included.

influence of this propaganda that the Muslims of Ahmedabad along with those of so many other regions inflated their strength in 1931 and 1941, but for these two decades the trend of a declining share to the total population has continued, from 19.67 percent in 1941 it came down to 17.43 percent in 1951 and to 15.51 percent in 1961.

Literacy Differences Between Muslims and Non-Muslims in Ahmedabad City:

The 1879 Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency gives information on literacy differences between the Muslims and the Hindus. The figures are available for Ahmedabad district as a whole and can give but a rough estimate of the situation as far as literacy rates in Ahmedabad city are concerned (Table- 1.4A, B, and C).

Table-1.4A

AHMEDABAD DISTRICT: Proportion of Literates to total population of Hindus and Muslims - 1877-78

		AGE GROUPS		
		0 - 12	12 - 20	20 Plus
HINDU	Males	7.78	15.22	16.79
	Females	0.40	0.37	0.22
MUSLIM	Males	9.22	16.75	14.48
	Females	1.18	1.04	0.53

Table-1.4B

YEAR	Total Litt. Rates as % of Total Population	Total Litt. in Eng. as % of Total Population	Muslim Litt. As % of Total Muslim	Muslim Litt. in Eng. As % of Total Muslim Litt.	Non-Muslim Litt. As % of Total Non-Muslim Population	Non-Muslim Litt. in Eng. As % of Total Non-Muslim Literates
1901	20.14	16.93	12.06	37.93	22.24	13.98
1911	7.94	4.98	6.21	6.52	8.22	15.90
1921	14.54	10.47	15.45	5.81	14.42	11.10
1931	16.34	N.A.	13.83	N.A.	17.25	N.A.

Table-1.4C

YEAR	Brahman Litt. as % of Total Brahmans	Non-Brahman Litt. As % of Total Non-Brahmans	Dep. Class Litt. As % of Total Depressed Population	Jain Litt. as % of Total Jain Population	Sikh Litt. As % of Total Sikh Population	Christian Litt. As % of Total Cristian Population	OTHERS Litt. to Total
1931	53.41	13.94	2.86	47.93	9.86	31.73	68.41

We find that from among Muslim males in the age group 0-12, 9.22 percent are literates or receiving instruction, the ratio in this age group for Hindu males is much less at 7.78 percent in the same age group from among Muslim females 1.18 percent were either literates or were receiving education for Hindu females the proportion was much-less at 40 percent. In the age-group 12-20 Hindu male literates were 15.22 percent of the Hindu population in that age group and females 0.37 percent whereas

in Muslims the proportions were 16.75 and 1.04 percent respectively. In the 20 and above age-group the proportions for muslim literates are males 14.48 percent and females 0.53 percent whereas among Hindus they are males 16.79 percent and females 0.22 percent. It is only in the 20 plus age-group that a greater proportion from among Hindus is of the literates when compared to the Muslims, though females among Muslims have an edge over their Hindu counterparts. The greater literacy among the Muslims may have been due to two factors one of which was the fact that a greater proportion of Muslims was engaged in white-collar occupations when compared to the average for the total population and the second could have been due to the Madrasah system prevalent among the Muslims where the young received along with formal religious education; instruction in the vernacular and mathematics.

Between the years 1901 and 1921 figures for total literates in all religions as also for literates in English among all the religions are available and they provide very interesting information. According to the 1901 census report of Bombay presidency 20.14 percent of the total population of Ahmedabad was of literates 16.93% of the total literates knew English. Muslim literates were only 12.06 percent of the total Muslim population of the city whereas this ~~proportion for the non-Muslim population of the city~~ proportion for the non-Muslim population of the city was much higher at 22.24 percent. The figures for literates in English did not conform to this pattern, from among the Muslim

literate a substantive section knew English though for the non Muslims this figure was surprisingly low at 13.98 percent as opposed to 37.93 percent among the Muslim literates.

The literacy figures for the total population as also for Muslims and non-Muslims went through what appears to be a qualitative transformation in 1911 when only 7.94 percent of the total population were returned as literates this figure is lower for Muslims at 6.21 percent and slightly higher for non-Muslims at 8.22 percent. The figures for total literates in English as a proportion of total literates in the three categories also shows a significant decline the figures are 4.98 percent for total population 6.52 percent for Muslims and 15.90 percent for non-Muslims.

In 1921 returns for both literates and literates in English showed an improvement the figures stood at 14.54 percent and 10.47 percent respectively. The share of Muslim literates to total Muslims registered an increase and moved up to 15.45 percent but the proportion of Muslim literates in English to total literates among Muslims came down to 5.81 percent. Similarly for non-Muslims too the literacy figures moved up to 14.47 percent whereas the figures for literates in English moved down to 11.10 percent.

The 1931 literacy figures give returns according to different castes among the Hindus and it is clear from the figures that levels of literacy are positively correlated to the economic status of these castes in the social and economic

hierarchy and though similar figures for Muslims are not available it can safely be assumed that had such division been made among the Muslims the intra-religious disparities between the various classes would have made themselves conspicuous.

The 1931 census returned 16.34 percent of the total population as literate the figure for Muslims was lower at 13.83 percent and higher at 17.25 percent for non-Muslims, the break-up according to communities from among the non-Muslims was; literate Brahmans as a proportion to total Brahmans 53.41 percent from among the non-Brahman Hindus only 13.94 percent were literates, only 2.86 percent of the depressed classes were literates while 47.93% of the Jains were literates. Literacy amongs Sikhs was 9.86 percent and among Christians 31.73% and from among the followers of other religions and persuasions 68.41 percent were literates.

From the forgoing we see that while there has been a numerical increase in the population of the Muslims and of the Muslim literates in terms of proportions there has in effect been a decline and that from this declining proportion an ever decreasing proportion is constituted of those who have been classified as literates and literates in English and finally that the decline in the literacy rates of the Muslim population of the city is faster than the rate of decline of their population as a proportion of the total population of the city.

The Age-Profile:

The 1872 Survey of the population of Ahmedabad gives population break-up in three age groups viz: 0-12, 13-30 and above with percentage distribution of all religions and the total population according to these figures, next to Parsis, Jews etc. Muslims have the highest concentration in the under 12 age group, the figures for the total population and the community wise break-up is as follows. Out of the total population of Ahmedabad city 26.18 percent were in the age-group 0-12. Among Hindus 25.43 percent of the population was in this age-group. 28.99 percent of the Muslims of Ahmedabad city were between the ages of 0 to 12 years. Among Christians the figure was 24.75 percent. Parsis Jews and others returned figures of 34.56 percent in this age group which were the highest recorded for the region.

In the age-group 13-30 the highest concentration was returned by the christians followed by Hindus, Muslims and then by the Parsis Jews and others. The figure for Hindus was not much different from the norm for the city. The figure was 37.15 percent among the former and 37.07 percent for the latter. Christians returned a figure of 41.69 percent while it was 36.68 percent for the Muslims. Parsis Jews etc. returned figures lower than any other community for the city at 34.56 percent.

The norm for the city in the 30 plus age group was 36.75 percent Hindus were higher at 37.42 percent and Muslims



much lower at 34.33%. Christians showed returns of 33.56 percent and the Parsis Jews and others appear with the lowest concentration again with a figure of 30.88 percent (Figure-1.1).

#### Age and Marital Status:

A comparative study of marital status among Muslims and non-Muslims in the census years 1901, 1911 and 1921 shows clear differences between the norms for Muslims and non-Muslims (Figure-1.2).

We notice that in age-group 0-15 returns for Muslims unmarried are much higher than those for the non-Muslims. For the 1901 census 89.41 percent of the Muslim population in age-group 0-15 was returned as unmarried comparative figures for non-Muslims were 77.63 percent. Similar figures for 1911 were 91.98 percent for Muslims and 79.61 percent for non-Muslims, the trend continues even in 1921 with figures of 90.99 percent for Muslims and 83.10 percent for non-Muslims. The share of those returned as widowed for the non-Muslims. ~~The share of those returned as widowed for the non-Muslim population in this age-group was significantly higher than that of the Muslim population.~~

The differences with returns for unmarried become small and at times marginal in age-group 15-30 in all the census years. They remain so in 30-45 age-group also with the only change that the returns for Muslims are now higher than those of the non-Muslims. The trend continues unaltered in 45-60 and 60 + age-groups.

The figures for those returned as widowed are always lower for Muslim and higher for non-Muslims. The causes for these are fairly easy to understand and they would present themselves again in the 1961 picture. The lesser extent of child-marriages among Muslims is due to the fact that young girls are not encouraged to find work even today. 50 years ago the taboos were much stronger, the result is that they depend for their livelihood on the head of the family, marriages are thus delayed. The situation for the non-Muslims especially the poor is different. Women and Girls are invariably found to be working for their daily-bread. They are therefore not fully dependent on their husbands, and are thus in a more advantageous position as far as matrimony is concerned.

The lesser extent of those returned as widowed from among Muslims could very well be due to somewhat greater extent of re-marriage among the widowed in the Muslims as compared to the Hindus. Another factor could be the longevity of the Muslim woman which would be lower than her non-Muslim counterpart, a fact which has been empirically shown in <sup>the</sup> figures for the 1961 survey of the Muslims in Ahmedabad. But cannot be shown here for lack of data.

The demographic feature that stand-out are (one) the higher concentration in the 0-12 age-group among the Muslims and lower returns for the higher age-group (two) in terms of marital status, the Muslims of <sup>the</sup> region were characterised by late-marriages and greater extent of widowed re-marriage.

Characteristics which have continued over-time, though with some relative changes leading to lessening of differences between the Muslim and non-Muslim as would be seen from the analysis of demographic data of more recent origin.

We have in this chapter dealt with the changing patterns among the Muslims and non-Muslims on the demographic and socio-economic parameters in the city of Ahmedabad. The period covered is from the time of the arrival of the British to the middle of the twentieth century. Certain characteristics have been pointed out and some trends have <sup>been</sup> studied. Some of the more obvious of these are as follows:

1. The systematic destruction of handicrafts leading to the ruin of the artisan, both Muslim and Hindu, lowering of wages and establishment of modern textile industry.
2. The partial polarisation of the work force according to religious communities with a higher concentration of Muslims in secondary and tertiary activities and of Hindus in primary and tertiary activities. This has subsequently gone through many changes as would be noted in the next two chapters.
3. The decline over time in the proportion of the Muslims to the total population of the city.  
The proportion of Muslim literates, and Muslims

literate in English has also declined over-time. This decline has been faster than the drop in their proportion to the total population.

4. The lesser extent of child marriages among the Muslims when compared to non-Muslims as also the greater extent of those returned as widowed among the non-Muslims when compared to the Muslims.

The following two chapters would make a study of these parameters for the year 1961. Conclusions drawn from this study would be tested against our initial hypothesis in the last section of the present study.

## CHAPTER - II

This chapter would consist of a study of demographic and social factors and would bring to light the patterns that existed among the Muslims and the total population. These factors would be discussed in the light of the economic situation as obtaining in Ahmedabad in 1961 and would make it possible to study the changes that have taken place from the situation discussed in the earlier chapter.

### Demographic Aspects:

The age structure of the total population of the city of Ahmedabad follows almost the same pattern as that followed by the age structure for the Muslims of the 8 wards (Figure-2.1). The only difference is that relatively there is a higher concentration among Muslims in the 0-19 age-group. For the Muslims the age-group 20-59, i.e., the central part of the pyramid, would be somewhat narrower than that of the total population in the same age-group, and that at the top that is 60+ age-group the peak of the pyramid would be flatter for the Muslim population in comparison to that of the total population of the city of Ahmedabad. In the age-group 0-9 the proportion of Muslims is higher than the share of total population, their share being 29.02 percent as compared to 28.12 percent for the total population. Age-group 10-14 shows the greatest positive difference in favour of the Muslims of the 8 wards. The Muslims in this age-bracket contribute 12.21 percent of the total Muslims of the 8 wards as opposed to 10.74 percent for

Fig. 2:1  
 AGE STRUCTURE OF POPULATION  
 AHMEDABAD CITY URBAN & MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS  
 (1961)

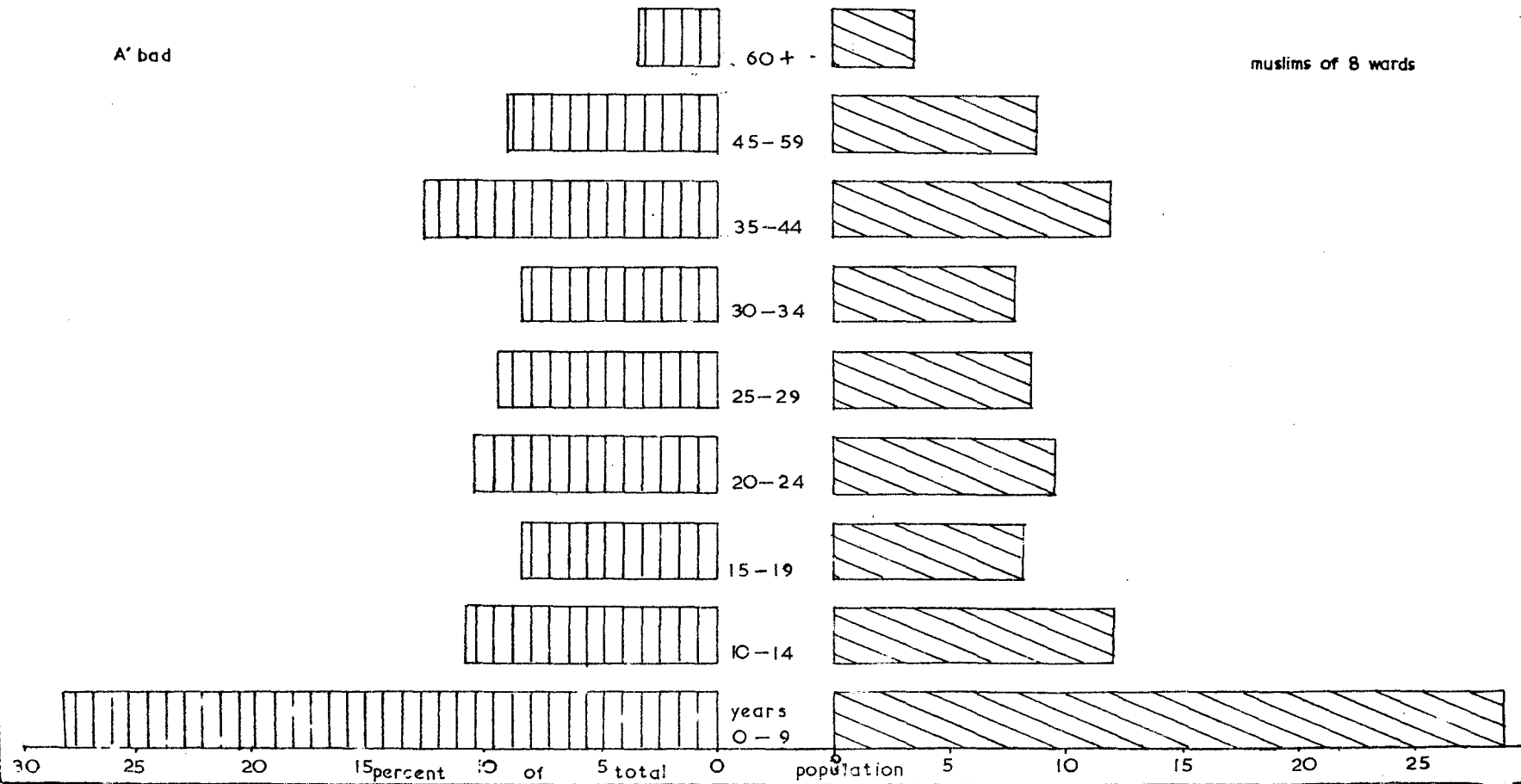
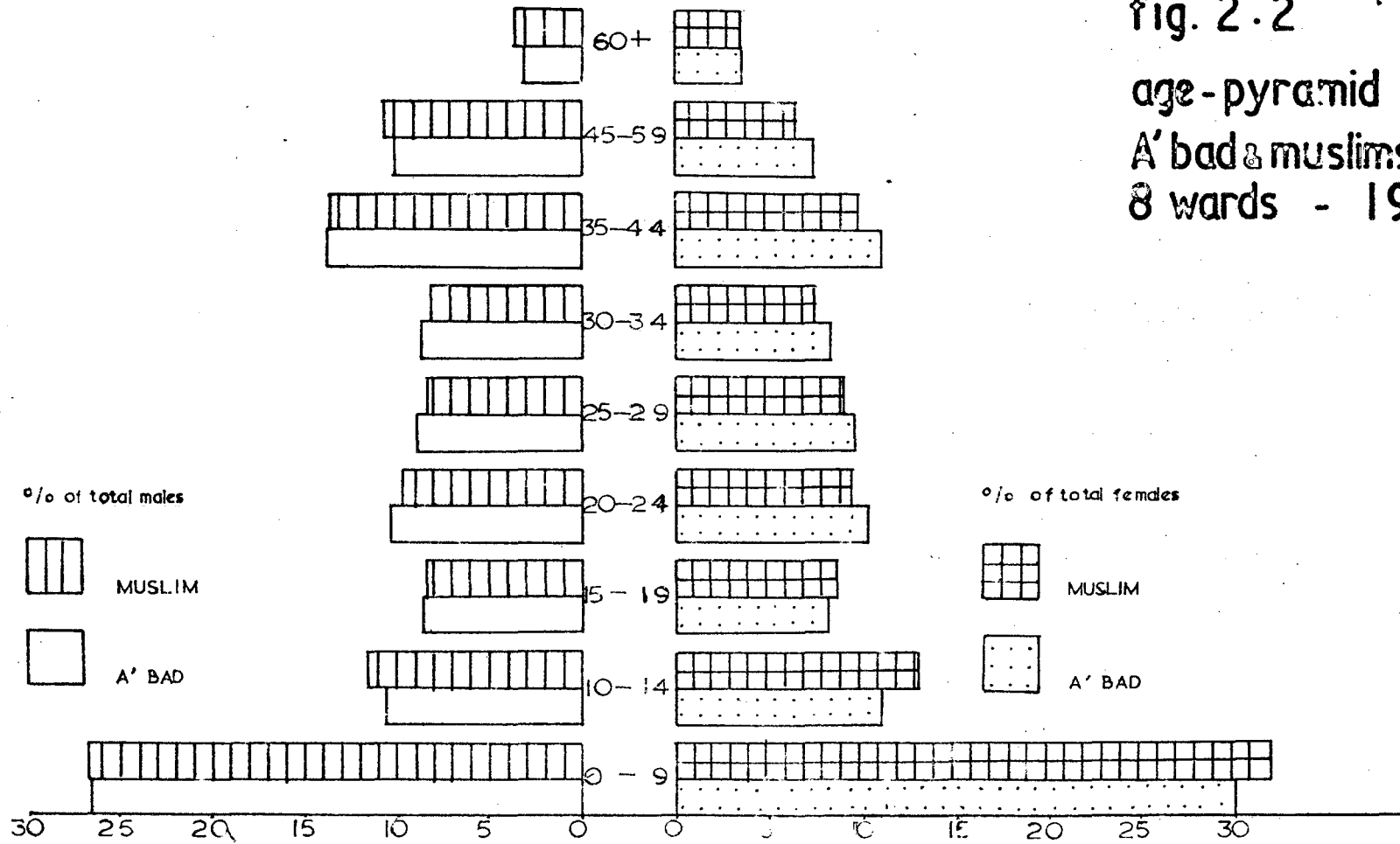


fig. 2.2  
 age - pyramid  
 A' bad & muslims of  
 8 wards - 1961



the total population of the city. In the 15-19 age-group the difference is minimal (0.10 =) i.e. 8.41 percent for Muslims as against 8.31 percent for the total population of the city. In the subsequent age-brackets the returns for Muslims are lower in comparison with those of the total population, the difference never being more than 0.82 (age-group 25-29) and lower than 0.12 (age-group 45-49). In the age group 60 +, the returns are: Muslims 3.57 percent and total population 3.36 percent.

When we study the age-pyramid for the male and female components separately we immediately notice that it is the female component that contributes to the higher returns for Muslims in the 0-19 age-group (Figure-2.2). Whereas it is the longevity of the Muslim males, higher than that of the Muslim females as also than those of the male-female component of the total population of the city, that contributes to the higher returns for Muslims in the 60 + age-group (Table-VIII). The share contributed by Muslim females in the age-group 0-9 is higher at 32.04 percent as compared to the share of the female component of the total population which is 30.05 percent; the margin is of the order of 2 units in the age-group 10-14 and 0.53 units in the percentage share of the age-group 15-19. The return for Muslim males are also marginally higher than the returns for the male component of the total population of the city in age-groups 0-9 and 10-14, 0.10 and 1.06 respectively. Between the ages 20-44 the returns for both the components of the Muslim population are lower than those



of the total population of the city and this is also reflected in the age-pyramid of total population. In the age-groups 35 + we see that the returns for the female component of the total population are significantly higher than those of the Muslim women their values being 22.22 percent and 20.10 percent respectively. This is a clear indicator of the relatively shorter span of life of the Muslim women in comparison with that of the Hindu women. This is further corroborated in the study of the tables on age and marital status (tables IX and X) which have returned high male-female ratios for the Muslims in this age-group.

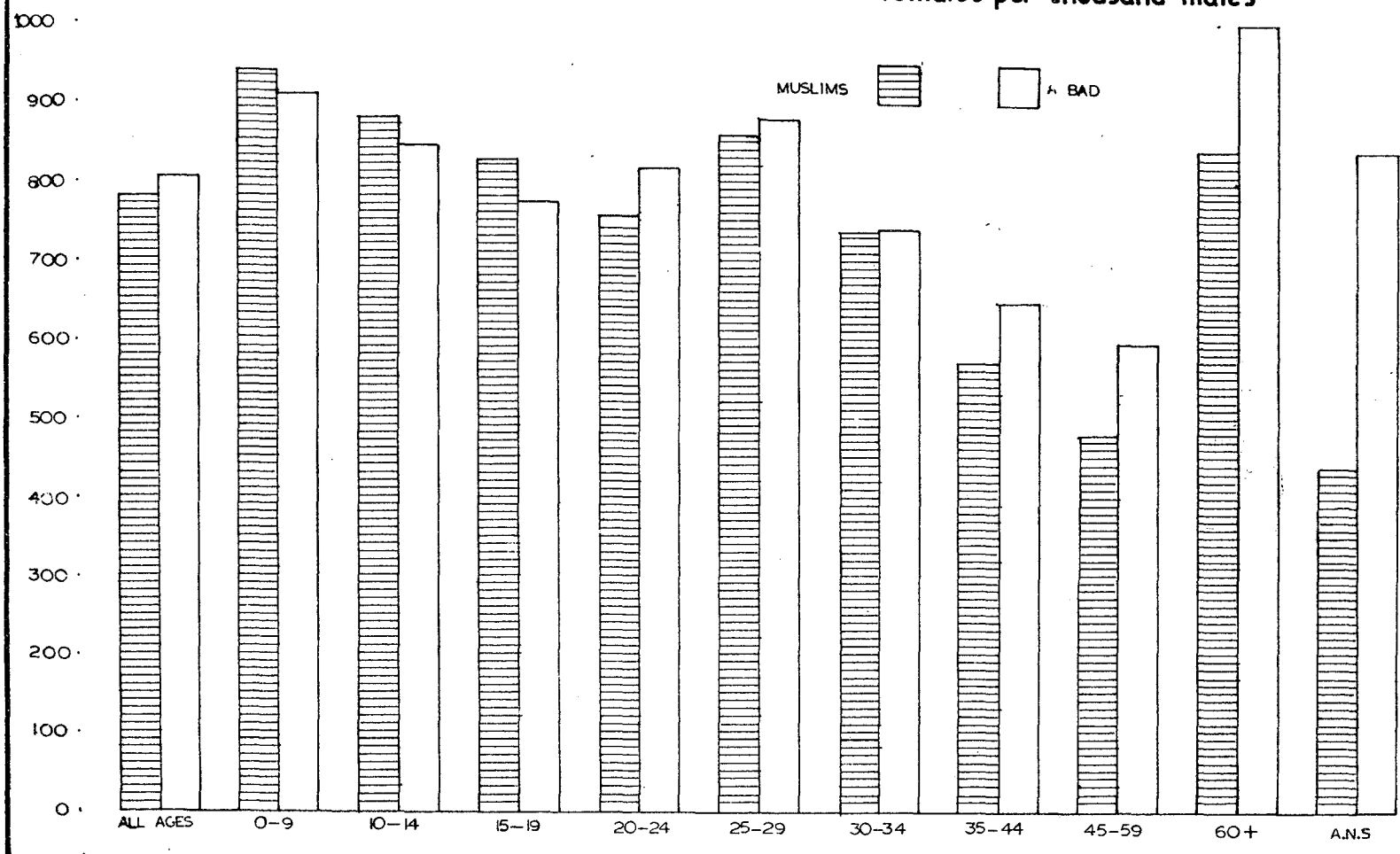
The returns for males in the age-group 35 + are clearly indicative of the reasons which have made the top of the age structure for the total Muslim population flatter than that of the total population of the city.

The Muslim males of the 8 wards of Ahmedabad city contribute 27.50 percent to the total male population of the wards. Compare this to the figure for the male component of the total population of the city which is 26.76 percent i.e. 0.72 units lower than the returns of its Muslim counterparts.

Sex Ratio (Female / 1000 Males):

In the overall male-female ratio for all the ages, the figure returned by the city of Ahmedabad is higher by 22.79 per thousand in comparison with that of the Muslims of the 8 wards. The figures are 805.03 per thousand for the

fig. 2.3  
females per thousand males



city and 782.24 per thousand for the Muslims of the 8 wards (Table-III). The age-group wise break-up once again brings to light the features that have already been noted. The male-female ratio is higher in the first three age-groups (i.e., 0-9, 10-14 and 15-19) among Muslims by 28.49 per thousand, 39.88 per thousand, and 53.43 per thousand. In all subsequent age-groups it is lower than the figure for the city. The difference between the two is significant in age-group 25-29 (22.38 .) and very marginal in age-group 30-34 (1.95 .). In the age-groups 35-44 onwards the gap between the returns for Muslims and that of the total population of the city keeps on increasing. It is 76.25 per thousand in the age-group (35-44) goes to 117.39 per thousand in the age-group (45-49) and reaches a peak of 158.86 per thousand in the 60 + age-group (Figure-2.3).

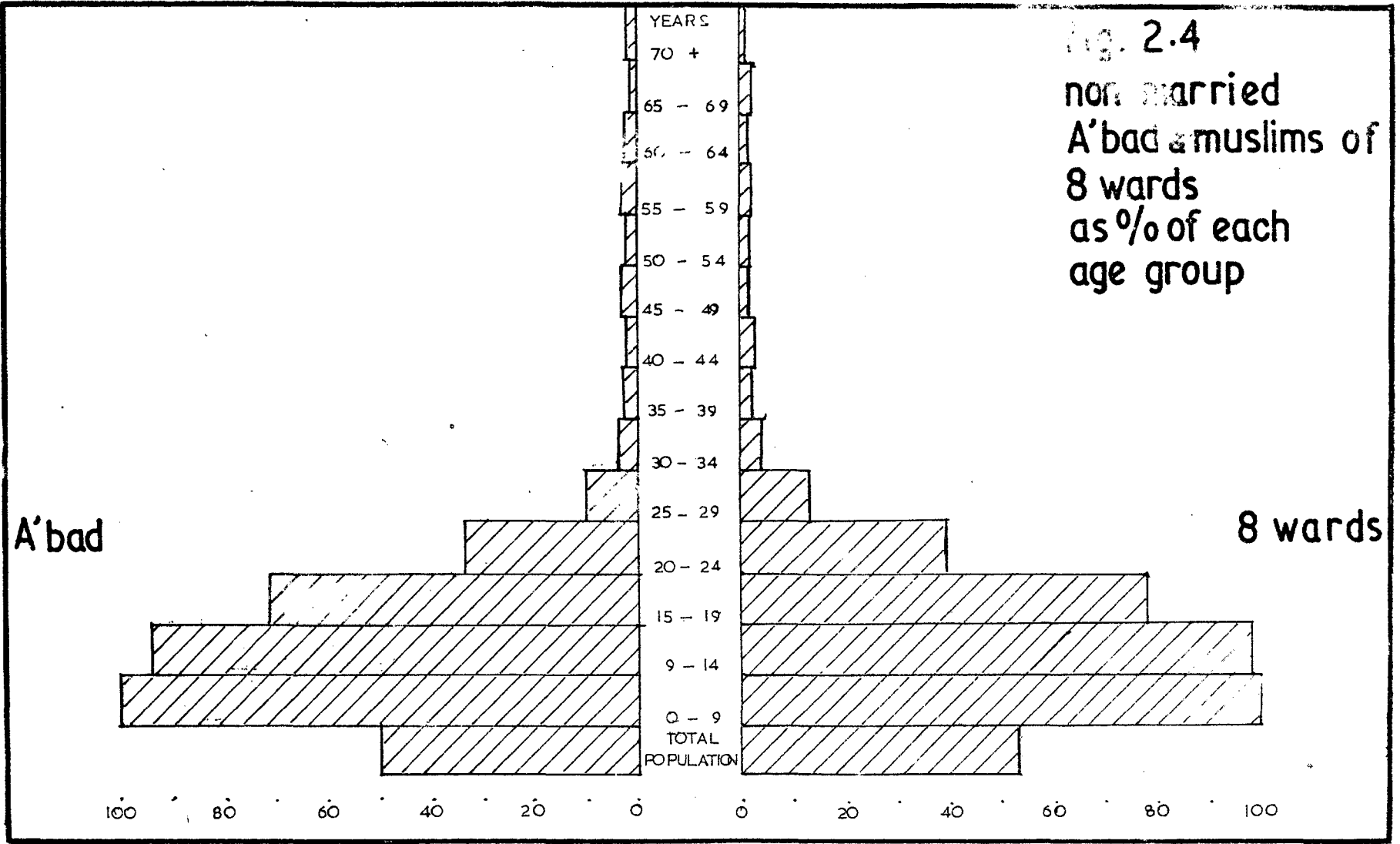
The reasons for this increasing gap in the sex ratio among Muslims are both economic and social. A lower sex ratio in a city is almost always indicative of the presence of the male selective migration of labourers/ <sup>in a significant</sup> proportion. Migrant labour is an almost universal phenomena for nearly all the cities of India. Over and above the migrant labour there is the push factor operating in the villages which disgorges many of the disguised unemployed into the city. Those that manage to find work stay on in the city. Many of these cannot afford to bring their families to the city and thus they inflate the numbers of males. There can be no strong objection to the statement that migrant labour contributes to the lowering of the sex ratio. The

extent of the influence varies from place to place and can be ascertained only after detailed fieldwork.

The social causes which will be taken up in the section on social factors can be mentioned here in passing. They would include the living conditions of the Muslims, the availability of basic services like public health, to the Muslim population etc. The shorter span of life of the Muslim women will also be affected by some of the social customs like the practice of purdah and of keeping the women-folk confined within the four walls of the house etc. These would also be taken up at some length in the section on social factors.

#### Social Factors:

Age and Marital Status: Comparison in this parameter could be made between the norm for the city of Ahmedabad and the norm for the 8 wards of the total population of Ahmedabad city. In the city of Ahmedabad 49.45 percent of the population was returned under the head 'never married' as opposed to 53.44 percent for the 8 wards covered by the Muslim project (Tables-IX and X). Both the areas returned 100 percent of the population in the age-group 0-9 as unmarried but in the next age-bracket that is 10-14, the never married among the Muslims have a slight edge over those of the total population, the figures being 97.17 percent and 98.64 percent respectively. We notice that there is greater extent of child marriage in the total population 2.83 percent as opposed to 1.36 percent amongst Muslims. The



next age-bracket 15-19 shows marked differences in the extent of marriage between the two groups of the Muslim population of the 8 wards. 21.84 percent was returned as married as compared to 28.79 percent for the total population of the city as a whole (Figure-2.4).

The higher returns for married in the total population should be a result of early marriages in the economically and socially deprived section of the population like the Harijans and the lower castes. In the opinion of the researcher, the very social fabric of Muslim families in the city would by and large lead to a situation where young girls would not be encouraged to find work and would by and large depend on the income of the head of the family, i.e., their father, before they are married and their husbands after their marriage. The situation would not present itself in such an acute form to the young girls and women of the socially and economically deprived sections of the non-Muslim population, which in the case of Ahmedabad would consist mainly of Hindus. These girls would be engaged in menial jobs and / or other household jobs. They would be earning their living and would find it relatively easier to get married. This would not be true of the daughters of the Muslim, worker, wage labourer, porter, rickshaw puller etc. and this would result in a greater proportion of never married in these age-groups from among Muslims as compared to the total population. This trend was much more marked in the returns for Muslims between

1901 and 1921, there have definitely been changes in the economic and social sphere which have greatly reduced the differences overtime.

The difference discussed above continues to be significant even in the age group 20-24 where the returns for never married as a percentage of total population are 35.52 percent for the city as a whole and 39.47 percent for the Muslims of the 8 wards. Thereafter the differences cease to be significant. Except for the age-group 25-29 wherein 13.37 percent of the Muslim population of the 8 wards is returned as unmarried as compared to 10.21 percent for the population of the city as a whole. In no other age-groups are the differences between the two categories substantially greater than 1.00.

In the section of population returned under the category divorced or separated, there are no great differences between the total population of the city of Ahmedabad and the Muslim population of the 8 wards except for the fact that a slightly higher return in this category comes for the 8 wards. 0.27 percent of the total population of the Muslims in the 8 wards as opposed to 0.17 percent for the total population of the city. This could be due to the relatively liberal rules for divorce among Muslims as also the fact that the stigma attached to divorced / separated women is not so great among Muslims as among the Hindus. But the difference is only marginal for, notwithstanding the liberal nature of the religious laws governing divorces among Muslims, the activity is socially locked down upon

# widowed males

fig 2.5

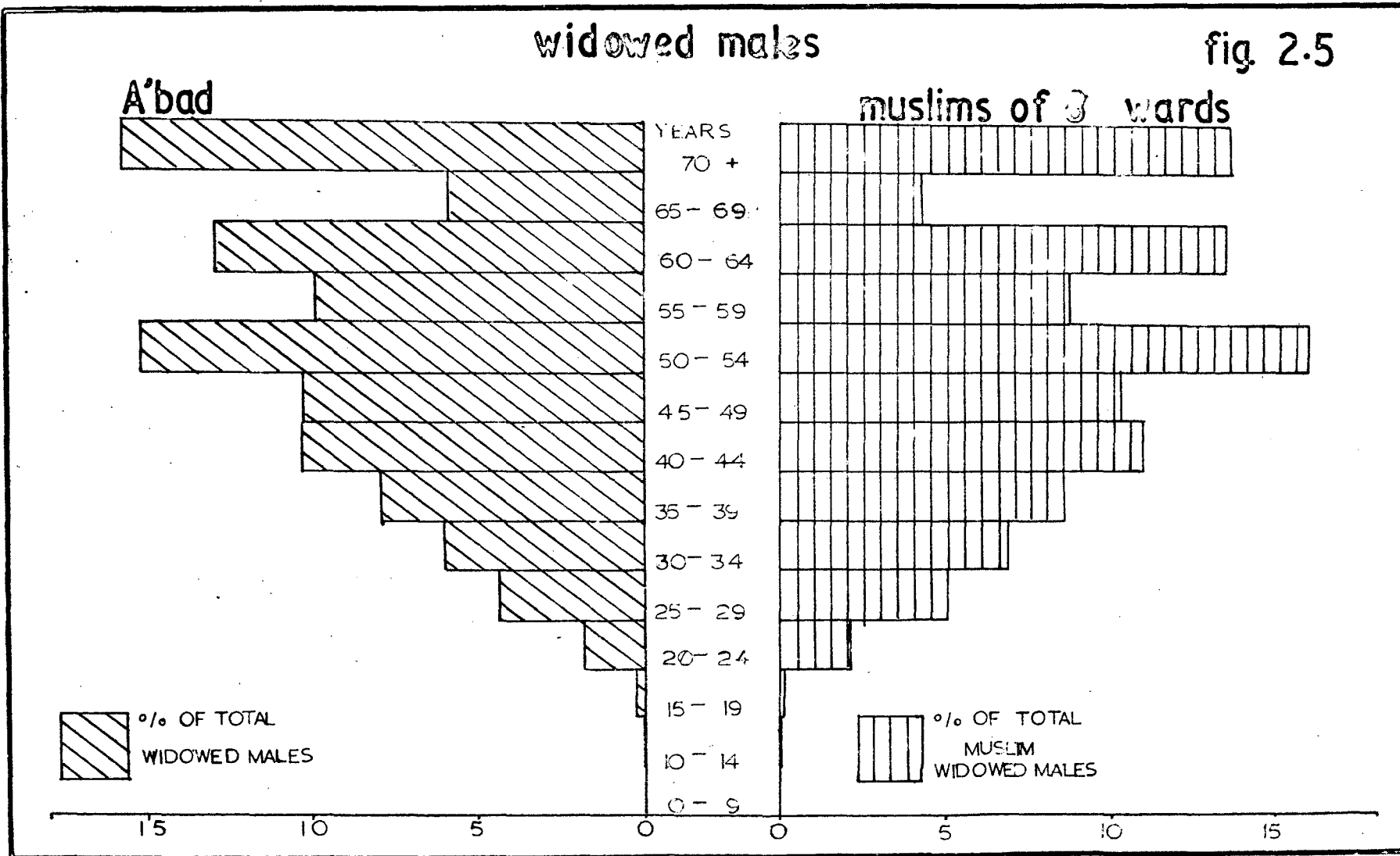




fig. 2.6 widowed females

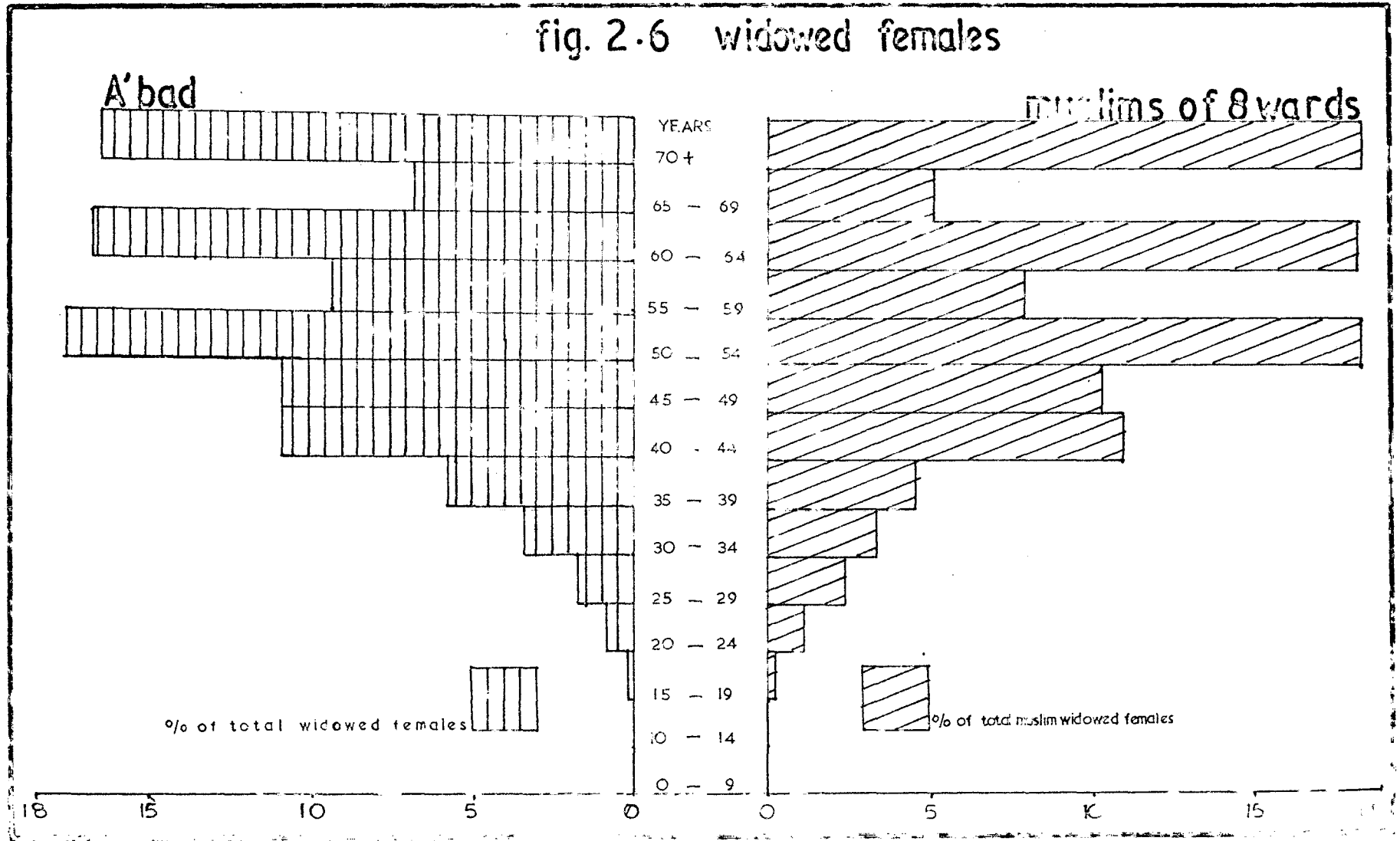
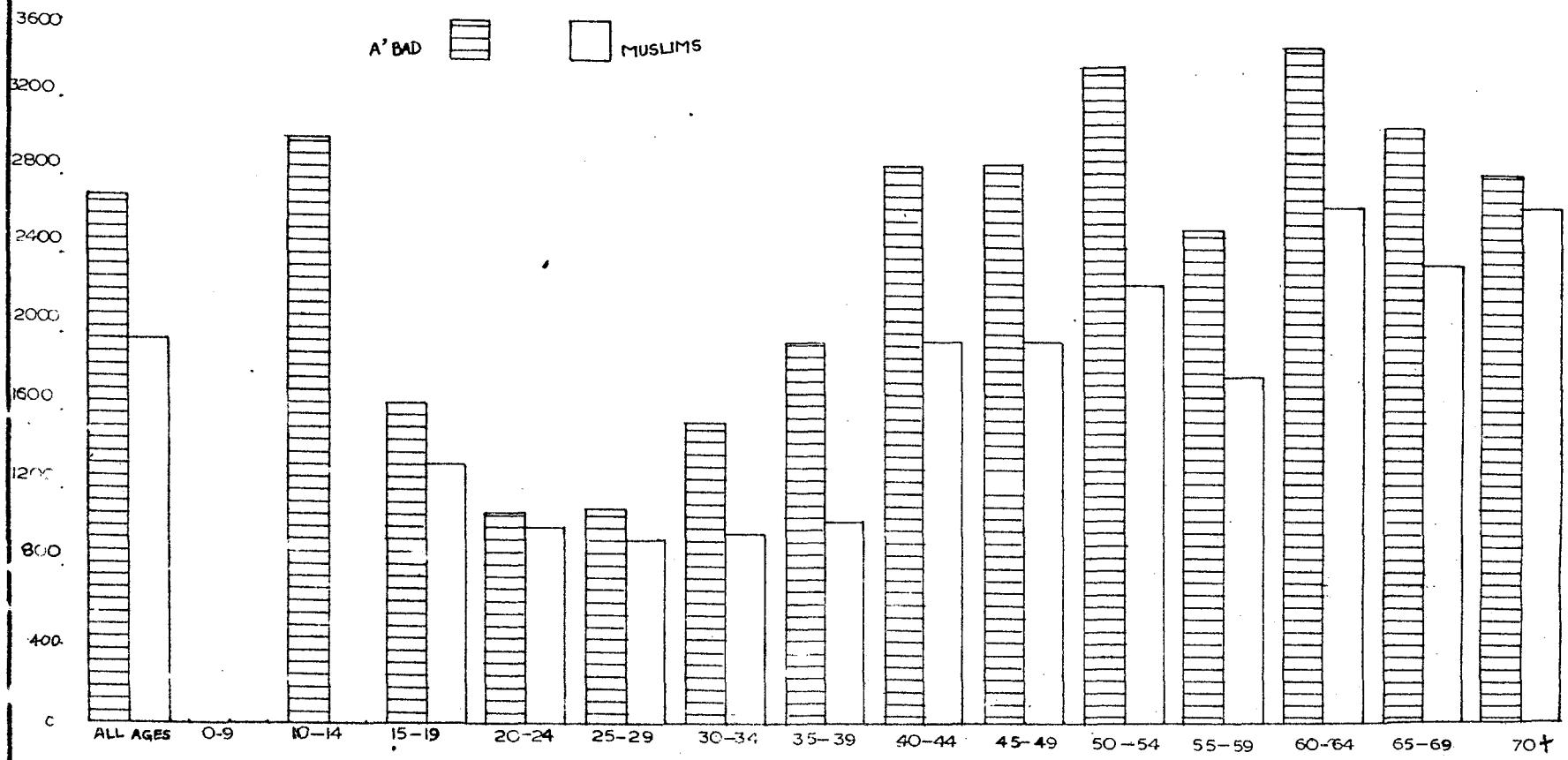


fig. 2.7  
 widowed females per thousand widowed males  
 A'bad & muslims of wards



and in a society still within the grip of strong feudal values these tendencies are resisted.

The section of the population returned under the head 'widowed' does not indicate any particular pattern when taken in terms of total Muslims returned as widowed as compared to total population of the city returned as widowed (Figures-2.5 and 2.6), except for the fact that the returns for Muslims are somewhat higher 4.76 percent of the total Muslims of the 8 wards as compared to 4.68 percent of the total population of the city. But, when we take the ratio of females per thousand males for all ages as also in different age-groups we notice starting divergencies between the norms for the city and that of the 8 wards, the results are very interesting (Table-XI). We notice that among Muslims as also from among the total population of the city enumerated as widowed, there is a much greater concentration among females than among the males (Figure-2.7). The norm for Ahmedabad city is that for every 1000 males returned as widowed, there were as many as 2708.25 females. The norm for the 8 wards was much lower for there were 1971.13 females returned as widowed for every 1000 males returned as widowed. The highest male-female ratio for the total population of the city was in the age-group 60-64 where there were 3460.35 females per 1000 males, the highest male-female ratio for the widowed among Muslims of the 8 wards was also in the same age-groups with 2642.85 females being returned as widowed for every 1000 males returned as widowed.

The reasons for the general trend common to both the population groups, that of higher proportion of women among the total persons returned as widowed seems to be a direct result of the fact that it is very difficult for widowed women to get remarried and so at each age group there would be a greater proportion of widowed females, than that of widowed males. The fact that in comparison to the picture for total population of the city as a whole, the situation among the Muslims of the 8 wards is not so acute, i.e., among the Muslims there are fewer women per 1000. Males as compared to the figures for total population is explained by two factors one is that a Muslim widow has a better chance of getting remarried than her Hindu counterpart, the difference cannot be exactly computed with the nature of the data available and then it may not be very large, but nevertheless, it would to some extent explain the difference. The other reasons would be the difference in the longevity of the Muslim female as compared to that of the total population, this would be borne out by the table on age and sex structures of the two groups of population (Tables-VIII and Figure-2.2). This is due to the unhygienic conditions in which the poor and middle class Muslims live in the city. This would also be due to the social restrictions placed on the free movement of the women in most Muslim families living in the city even today. This would also be borne out by a study of the areas which have been declared as slums in the city of Ahmedabad and quite a few of which are located in the very wards where the highest concentration of the Muslims is to be found.

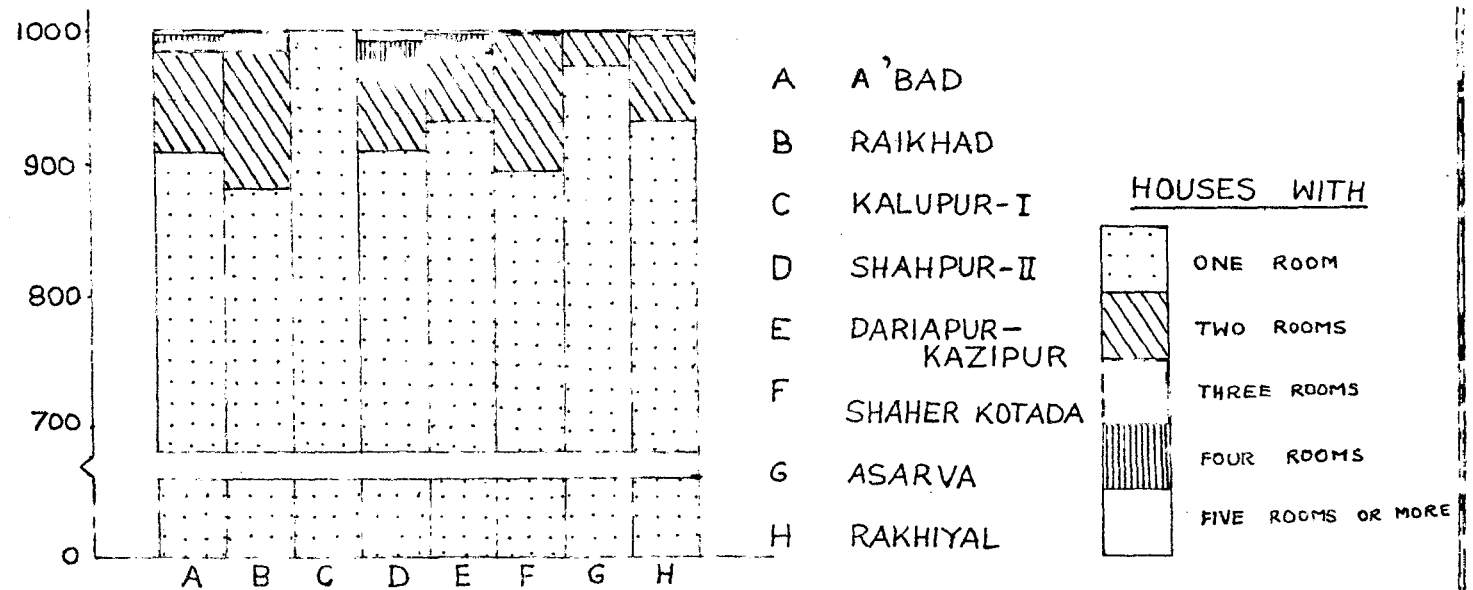
Distribution of 1000 Census Households according to Number of Rooms Occupied - 1961 ( in wards which have Slum Areas)

As per the census sub-divisions of the city of Ahmedabad there were as many as 29 wards in the city of Ahmedabad. Out of these 15 wards were those which had at least one area that had been declared a slum (table-XIII). These wards accommodated within their confines 70.96% of the total population of the city. The data supplied in the special tables on slums in "Special Report on Ahmedabad City Census 1961" the break-up of slum dwellers and non-slum dwellers is not given and therefore one cannot make a comparison between percentage of Muslim slum dwellers and non-Muslim slum dwellers. Information on the proportion of slum dwellers in the total Muslim population of the 8 wards was not collected and therefore only general observations can be made on the specific problem of slums in Ahmedabad city. We notice that out of 29 wards almost half, i.e. 15 wards, were such that had at least one slum area within their boundaries, out of the 8 wards of Ahmedabad which were covered by the Muslim project and which accounted for about 57 percent of the total Muslim population of the city as many as 7 were those that had slums within their confines. These 7 wards, namely, Raikhad, Kalupur I, Shahpur I, Dhariapur-Kazipur, Shaher-Kotda, Asarva and Rakhiyal, accounted for 81.29 percent of the Muslim population living in the 8 wards and then out of the 8 wards of the Muslim project the only ward that did not have slums within its boundaries was Dariapur I which accounted for 18.71

fig. 2.8

distribution of thousand census  
house holds according to number  
of rooms occupied

AHMEDABAD & 8 WARDS



percent of the Muslim population living in the 8 wards.

Coming to the distribution of 1000 census households according to number of rooms occupied in the wards, parts of which had been declared slums, we notice that the average for the city of Ahmedabad was as follows. The share of households with no regular rooms was negligible, that of households with one room was 910 per thousand, that of households with 2 rooms was 75 per thousand. There were 8 households out of every 100 that had 3 rooms, only 5 households out of 1000 in the city of Ahmedabad had 4 rooms, and only 2 households out of 1000 had 5 rooms or more (Figure-2.8). Comparing this norm with the figures for those wards which account for an overwhelming section of the Muslim population covered by the Muslim project we notice that only one of the 7 wards that fall in this category, namely Dariapur-Kazipur, had any households that had no regular rooms. Even here the share of households in this category was negligible. Four wards, namely Kalupur I, Dariapur-Kazipur, Asarva and Rakhiyal had returned a proportion of households with one room that was higher than the norm for the city. The norm for the city was 910 such households per 1000 census households. The returns for these four wards were that in Kalupur all the 1000 households were returned as one-roomed houses, in Dariapur-Kazipur there were 918 one-roomed households for every 1000 census households. The figures for Asarva and Rakhiyal were 972 out of 1000 households and 931 out of 1000 households respectively. Raikhad and Shaher-Kotda had returns lower than the

norm for the city, i.e., 882 and 892 out of 1000 households respectively. The returns for Shahpur II were almost identical to those of the city in this category, i.e., 908 out of 1000 households, Daripur I, the 8th ward covered by the Muslim project had no slum area within its boundaries and is therefore not being considered in this section.

In the category of two-roomed houses the norm for the city was 75 out of 1000. The returns for Raikhad were higher at 103 out of 1000 as were for Shaker-Kotda at 104 out of 1000. These same wards had returned figures lower than the city norm in the category of one-roomed households discussed above. Out of the remaining five wards, four of which had higher returns in the former category and the fifth which approximated the city norm, all have returned figures lower than the city norm. Kalupur has not returned even one household out of 1000 which has more than one-room, Shahpur II has only 55 houses out of every 1000 that fall in this category, while Rakhiyal, Dariapur-Kazipur and Asarva have 65, 35 and 26 respectively out of 1000 households as compared to 75 for the city as a whole.

In the city of Ahmedabad, from every 1000 households covered by the census, there were 8 houses that had a three-room accommodation. The returns for Shahpur II and Dariapur-Kazipur were higher at 13 and 10 out of 1000 while they were lower or absent in the other wards. Raikhad and Kalupur I returned none in this category while Shaker-Kotda, Rakhiyal and Asarva respectively had only 4, 3 and 2 houses



with 3-rooms out of 1000 census households.

The proportion of households with 4 rooms was 5 such households out of every 1000 census households in the city of Ahmedabad. The picture for the 7 wards out of the 8 covered by the Muslim project was as follows. Two, namely Shahpur I and Raikhad, had returned figures higher than the city norm, i.e. 16 percent out of 1000 and 15 out of 1000, the remaining five had returned figures which were substantially lower than the norm, except for Dariapur-Kazipur which returned the figure of 4 houses with four rooms out of every 1000 households, in the ward. The figures for the remaining four wards were: Rakhiyal - negligible, Asarva - 1 per thousand, Shaher-Kotda - none and Kalupur I - none.

The last category, in the distribution of 1000 census households according to number of rooms occupied in wards with slum areas, is the class of houses with 5 rooms or more. For the city as a whole, they account for 2 houses out of every 1000 census households. It is only Shahpur II which has returned a figure of 8 out of 1000 which is much higher than the norm. The returns for the remaining 6 wards are much lower. In fact, except for Asarva which has a negligible proportion of such houses, no other ward has reported even a negligible proportion of these houses out of one thousand houses, distribution for which has been tabulated in each of the 6 categories.

Thus we notice that those wards which have accounted for more than 80% of the Muslims covered in the "Muslim

Project 1961" show a concentration of lower class houses, a concentration which is higher than the norm for the city in 4 out of 7 of these wards which have slum areas falling within their territories. We also notice that as we move up the scale of class of houses in terms of increasing accommodation, there is a decline in the proportion of such wards which reported returns higher than those of the city. Another trend is also obvious and that is the fact that even among those wards which have reported returns higher than the norm, there is a decline in margin the as we move up the scale of accommodation.

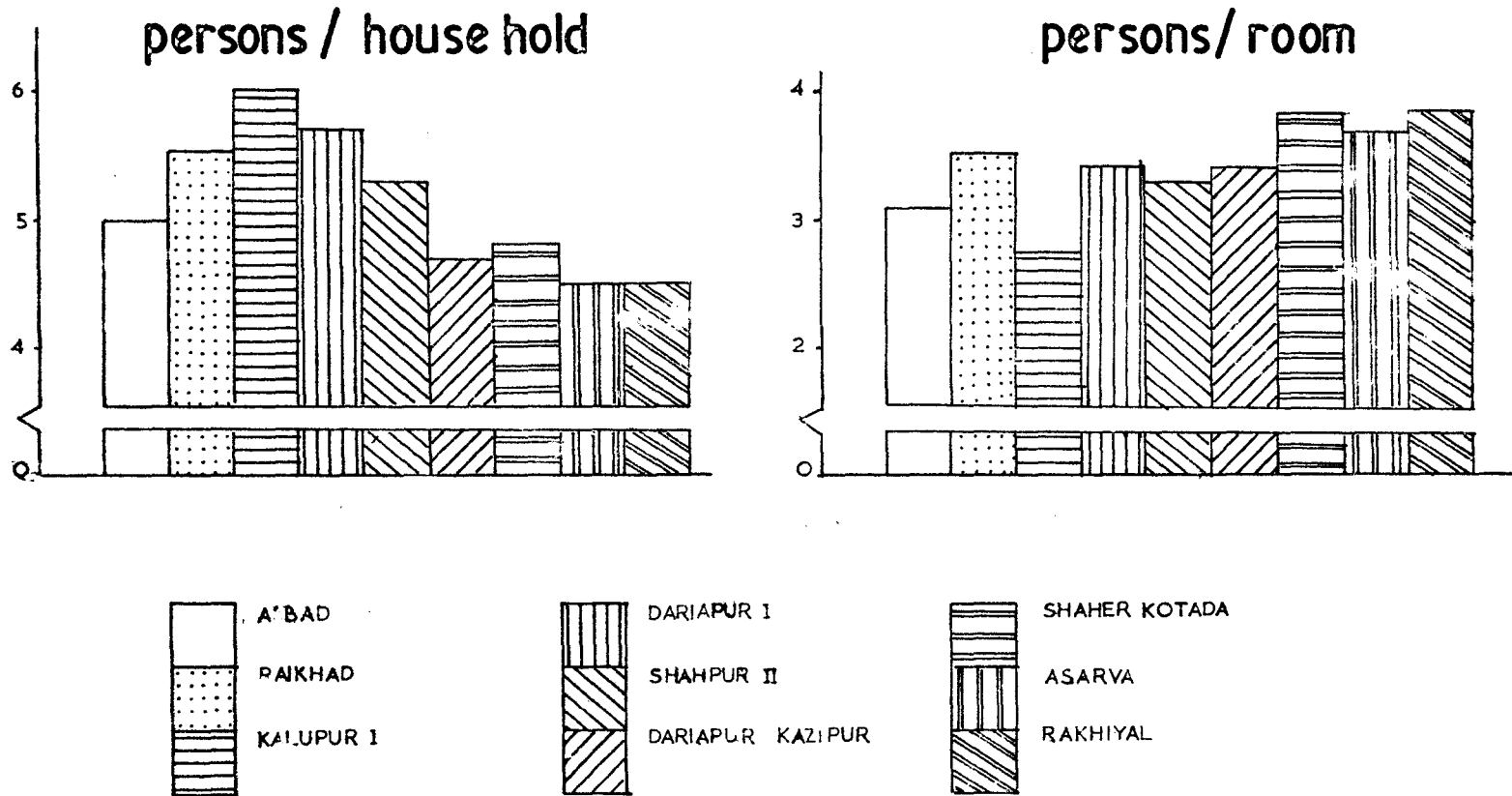
Interesting relationship emerge if we compare the results of the present table with those of the table on households by number of members and number of persons per room.

Households by Number of Members and Number of Persons per Room:

The norm for the city of Ahmedabad in this table was that there were 4.97 persons per household and their concentration was 3.11 persons per room. Out of the 8 wards covered by the Muslim Project four returned higher concentration of persons per household than those of the city. The returns of the other four wards were lower (Table-XII).

Kalapur I returned the highest concentration of persons per household at 6.02, the same ward had returned all the 1000 households in the category of one-roomed houses.

fig. 2.9  
A' bad & 8 wards



This ward has surprisingly returned a per room concentration of persons which is lower than the norm of 3.11 and the lowest among the 8 wards, the figure is 2.75. This seems unexplainable in the light of the fact that all houses have been returned in the category of one-roomed houses in which case we would expect the per household and per room density to be exactly the same. There can be only two explanations of this, namely that either the sample of 1000 houses chosen was not representative of the general picture or there is some computational mistake. This ward accounted for 2.53 percent of the households of the city and 2.73 percent of the total population of the city. This amounted to 6.20 percent of the total population of 8 wards. The other wards which have returned a higher concentration of persons per household are Raikhad 5.53, Dariapur I 5.68 and Shapur II 5.28.

Seven wards out of the 8 covered by the Muslim project have returned figures for persons per room for the total population which are higher than the norm for the city (Figure-2.9). Kalupur I with per room concentration of 2.74 has returned a figure lower than the norm for the city which is 3.11. The highest concentration is in Rakhiyal where 3.88 persons were living per room. This was followed by Shaher-Kotda with 3.86, Asarva with 3.70, Raikhad with 3.54, Dariapur 3.44. This ward has no slum area but is definitely more congested and crowded than the norm for the city because it is significantly higher in the returns for persons per household also, where the figure is computed

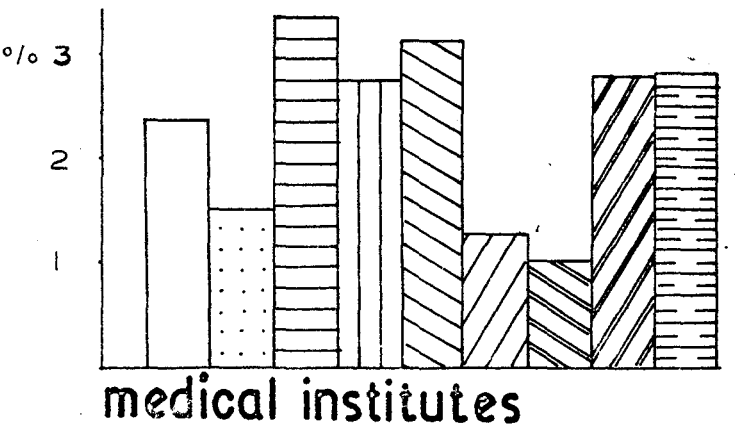
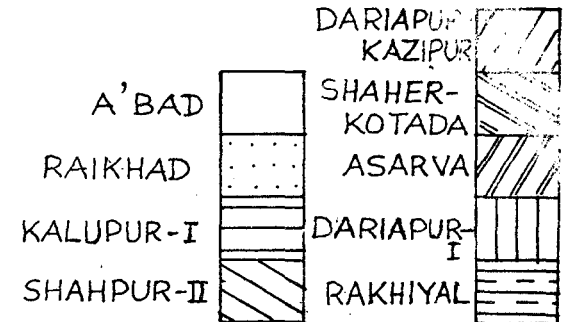
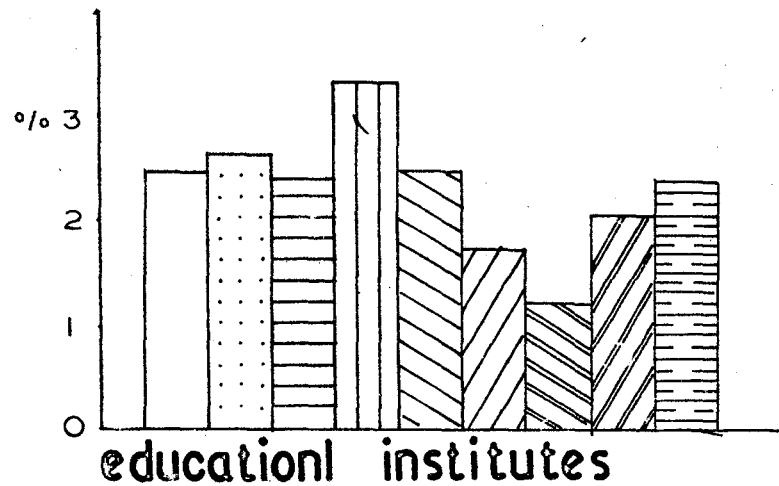
to be 5.68 as against the city norm of 4.97. Dariapur is followed by the wards the returns for which are the closest to the city norm - Dariapur-Kazipur 3.42 and Shahpur II 3.30.

If we take the results of the two tables and study the distribution of population in the city, we notice that these 8 wards include some of the most densely populated areas of the city. Dariapur I with a per-acre density of 526 personstops the list. The density per acre for Kalupur of 468 persons is the third highest in the city. The two wards jointly account for 7.42 percent of the total population of the city of Ahmedabad, 16.82 percent of the total population of the 8 wards. Except for Asarva, all the other wards have returned a higher per-acre density than that of the city.

If we assume that within wards there is no great difference in the living conditions of people belonging to different religions, as long as they belong to the same class, we will still notice that in terms of the living conditions Muslims will emerge in a more disadvantaged position. This is due to the fact that they are concentrated in the most crowded areas of the city. The 8 wards account for almost 60 percent of the Muslim population of the city. Out of these more than 80 percent live in those wards which have returned higher concentration of persons per household and persons per room than the norm for the city. They live in wards most of which have returned an overwhelmingly higher proportion of small and congested houses. A further

fig.2.10

A'bad & 8 wards  
non residential houses  
% of n.r.h.s.



analysis of the uses to which non-residential houses are put will show exactly what services are lacking in the areas which account for a major section of the population of the Muslims in the city of Ahmedabad.

Total Non-Residential Houses and some of the Uses to which they are put:

Out of all the census houses, 16.21 percent were returned as non-residential for the city as a whole. We have in this table tried to see the difference between the share taken up by educational institutions, places of entertainment and public health services for the city as a whole in comparison with the shares for these services in the total census houses of the 8 wards (Table-XIV).

For the city as a whole, 2.43 percent of the total non-residential houses accounted for schools and other educational institutions. This was higher than the figures for 5 out of 8 wards. The shares were 2.39 percent for Dariapur I, 1.72 percent for Dariapur-Kadpur, 1.21 percent for Shaher-Kotda, 2.04 percent for Rakhiyal and 2.39 percent for Asarva. The last of these four returned figures lower than the city norm for places of entertainment and community gathering. The norm for the city was 0.61 percent of the total non-residential houses, the figures for these four wards were 0.32 percent, 0.09 percent, 0.32 percent and 0.34 percent respectively (Figure-2.10).

The contribution made by public health and medical institutions, hospitals, health centres, doctors, clinics

and dispensaries etc. to the total non-residential houses was to the tune of 2.39 percent for the city of Ahmedabad as a whole, the returns for the three wards of Raikhad, Dariapur-Kazipur and Shaher-Kotda were lower than the norm at 1.50 percent, 1.28 percent and 1.06 percent respectively. These three wards account for 36.82 percent of the total population of the 8 wards and 35.07 percent of the total population of the Muslims of these wards.

From a study of the above three tables we see that the 8 wards which account for almost 60 percent of the Muslim population are characterised by relatively higher returns for density per acre, relatively higher concentration of persons per household and per room, the houses in which the population lives are by and large of one-room accommodation, there is a relatively smaller proportion of school, hospitals and places of entertainment in comparison with the norm of the city if we assume that within wards the distribution of public services is not biased against the areas where Muslims are concentrated. Even then we will have to concede that the very fact that a majority of Muslims live in areas within the city which are relatively backward in terms of these facilities and in as much as they live in such areas, they will be in a position disadvantageous in terms of social amenities etc.



## CHAPTER - III

### Socio-Economic Features:

The socio-economic features of the Muslim population on which data is available for Ahmedabad for the Census year 1961 consist mainly of the following:

- 1 Structure of the working force and participation ratios for this wardwise information for non-Muslim population is also available and we will be able to study this feature at some length.
- 2 There is data available with age-group break-up for workers with their sectoral distribution and for non-workers. The comparison here is between the norm for the Muslims of the 8 wards of Ahmedabad city and that of the total population of all urban areas of Ahmedabad district.
- 3 For the occupational status of the working force data is available for all the 9 divisions of economic activities in terms of total persons engaged in each division and their occupational status, i.e., whether they belong to the category of family workers or single workers, whether their status is that of an employee or of an employer. The norm for the 8 wards covered by the Muslim project is compared here

with the norm for all the urban areas of the district of Ahmedabad.

- 4 Industrial classification of workers and non-workers by educational levels (in urban areas only) for this parameter equivalent information on the urban or total population of the city of Ahmedabad is not available and therefore comparison will be possible only with the norm for all the urban areas of Ahmedabad district.
- 5 The age-group wise distribution of unemployed persons aged fifteen and above with their education levels for the Muslims of the 8 wards is compared with the norm for the total population of all the urban areas of Ahmedabad district.
- 6 Lastly, the break-up of data of the activities in which the non-workers engaged themselves is also available for the Muslims of 8 wards. The norm here is compared once again with the norm for total non-working population of all the urban areas of Ahmedabad city information is available without the age-group break-up and the total norms for the total Muslim population of Ahmedabad city will be compared with this data also.

These we shall study in the same order as they have been presented above and analyse the differences, limitations

and inter-linkages within and without these parameters in order to understand the economic roots of the Muslim problem.

### 1. Structure of the Working force and Participation

Ratios: The total available data in this parameter has been calculated as percentage share of the given unit. Each ward shows the percentage share of Muslims and non-Muslims to total population, Muslim workers and non-Muslim workers as proportion of the total Muslim population and the total non-Muslim population respectively. And finally, the Muslim and non-Muslim non-workers as a proportion of the total population (Table-I).

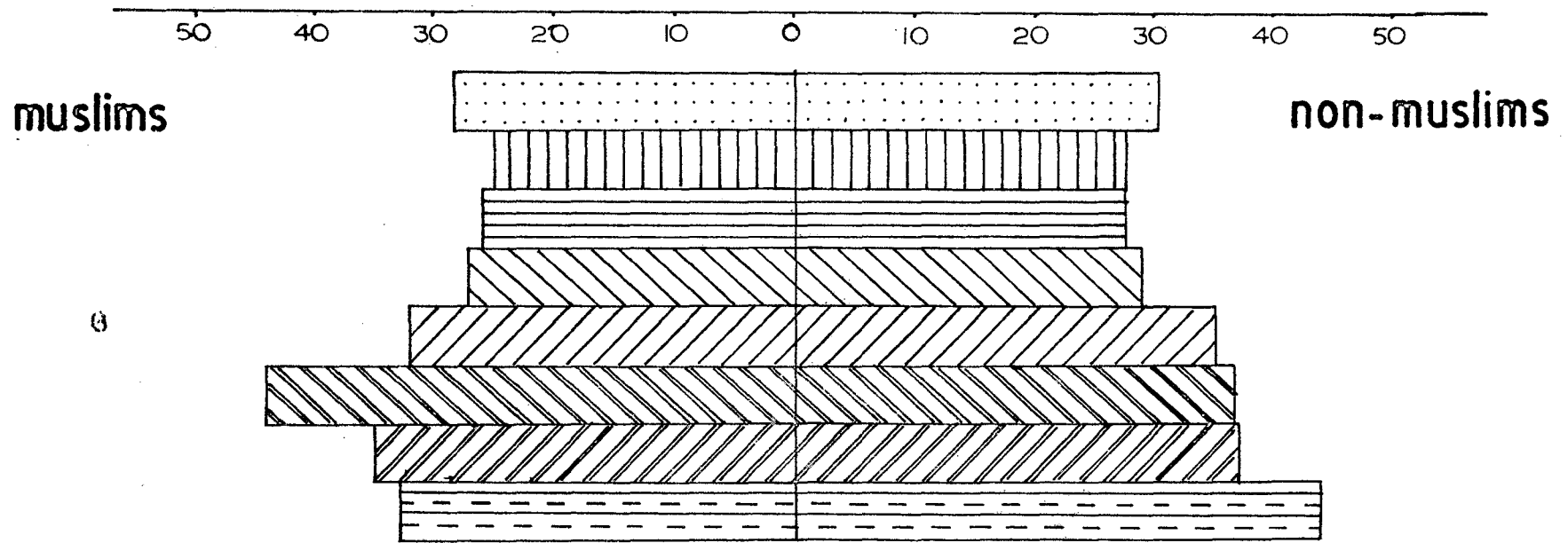
In the 8 wards of Ahmedabad, namely, Raikhad, Kalupur I, Dariapur I, Shahpur II, Dariapur-Kazipur, Shaher-Kotda, Asarva and Rakhiyal which were covered by the "Muslim Project" survey in 1961. The most contrasting features of population distribution in the two groups of Muslims and non-Muslims are as follows:

Muslims do not constitute more than 15.15 percent of the total population of the city of Ahmedabad, but in these wards, they account for 20.19 percent of the total population. The share of non-Muslim population therefore comes down from 84.85 percent for the city as a whole to 79.81 percent for these wards. Returns in 1961 showed 57.27 percent of the total Muslim population of the city residing in these

wards. The distribution of the Muslim population in these 8 wards is in no way uniform. They constitute 46.38 percent of the population of Kalupur I, and 43.77 percent of the population of Dariapur I, whereas their share in the total population falls down to 6.83 percent and 8.13 percent in Asarva and Dariapur-Kazipur wards respectively. In Asarva, Dariapur-Kazipur and Rakhial, the proportion of Muslim to the total population of these wards is lower than their proportion to the total population of the 8 wards. While in the remaining 5, it is higher, ranging from 23.59 percent in Shapur II to 46.38 percent in Kalipur I. The proportion of non-Muslim population is 79.81 percent of the total population of the 8 wards. The highest percentage is in Asarva ward where non-Muslim constitute 93.17 percent of the population of the ward while the lowest figures come from Kalupur I where the non-Muslims constitute 53.62 percent of the total population.

Workers as a Proportion to the Total Population: Total Muslim workers in the eight wards are less than one-third of the total Muslim population of the eight wards, 29.21 percent to be exact. As opposed to this, non-Muslim workers in the eight wards constitute 34.01 percent of the total non-Muslim population of these wards. Comparing Muslim workers as a proportion of Muslim population with Muslim workers as a

fig.3.1  
 participation ratios  
 8 wards of A'bad



muslims

non-muslims

8

RAIKHAD  
 KALUPUR I

DARIAPUR I  
 SHAHPUR II

DARIAPUR - KAZIPUR  
 SHAHER - KOTADA

ASARVA  
 RAKHYAL

proportion of total population, some interesting details are brought out. Firstly, wards with the highest concentration of Muslims do not show a larger Muslim work force in fact it is much smaller when compared to the wards with Muslims constituting a smaller share of the population. For instance, Kalupur I and Dariapur I have 46.38 percent and 43.77 percent of the population composed of Muslims. But of these, only 25.09 percent and 25.98 percent are engaged as workers. Whereas Asarva with only 6.83 percent Muslims shows 35.16 percent of them engaged as workers. The figures for Dariapur-Kazipur are 8.13 percent for Muslims and 32.81 percent of these engaged as workers. The only exception to this is Shaher-Kotda where Muslims constitute 26.89 percent of the population and 44.40 percent of them have been returned as workers (Figure-3.1).

The two wards of Kalupur I and Dariapur I with the highest concentration of Muslims are also the wards for which the lowest figures of Muslim workers as a proportion of total Muslim population of the ward have been returned. In five of the eight wards, the figures for Muslim workers as a proportion of total Muslims far out-weigh the proportion of Muslims to total <sup>the</sup> population of the wards.

The picture for the non-Muslim population is significantly different. In no ward except for Shaher-Kotda are the figures for non-Muslim workers as a proportion of total non-Muslim population less than similar figures for Muslims. In spite of this, there is not a single ward where

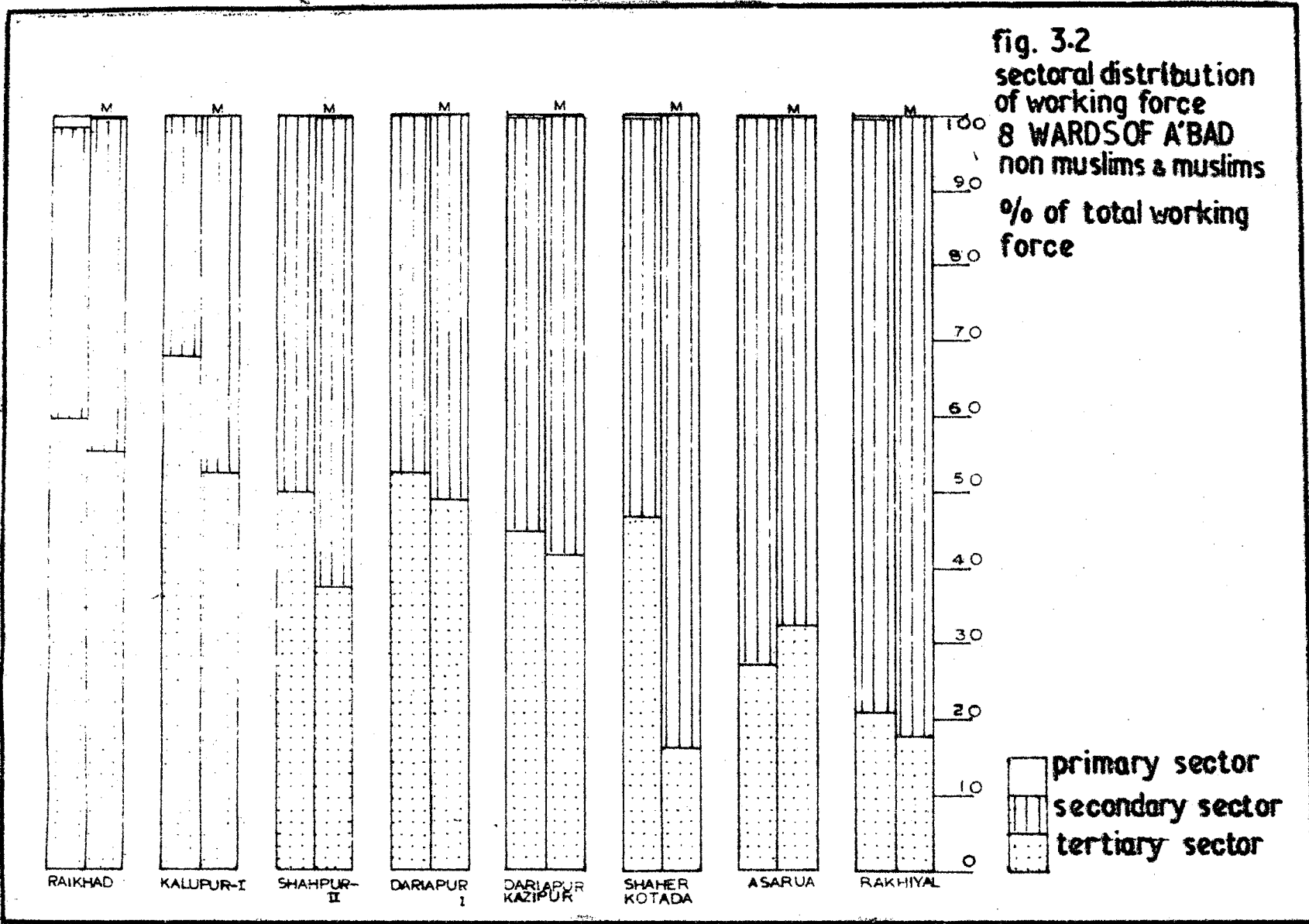
the proportion of non-Muslim workers to total non-Muslim population is greater than the proportion of the non-Muslims to the total population of the wards, this situation has presented itself not less than five times in the case of the Muslim workers. Kalupur I and Dariapur I show the lowest concentration of non-Muslims as also the lowest return of non-Muslim workers as a proportion of total non-Muslim population. Asirva with the highest concentration of 93.17 percent of non-Muslim population also gives the highest return of non-Muslim workers in the eight wards. That is, 36.62 percent of the total non-Muslim population. These distinctions notwithstanding the feature that emerges most clearly is the fact that there are four wards which show a relatively higher concentration of workers, and thus higher participation ratios both among Muslims and non-Muslims and this is a fact which, in the opinion of the researcher, is very significant, for if there are areas in which there is a higher concentration of workers, the figures for Muslims as well as for non-Muslim workers as a proportion to the total population of the two groups also go up. And in areas where the concentration is low it is low for both the segments which we are studying. The fact worth noting is that when the proportion of non-Muslim workers goes up by one unit, the proportion of Muslim workers goes up by slightly less than one unit. The same may be said of the situation when the proportion of the work force goes down. The norm for the Muslim and non-Muslim segments show the difference but too clearly, non-Muslim workers as a percentage of total non-Muslim population are 34.01 percent

as against the figure for Muslims which is 29.21 percent. The four wards with a higher concentration of work force both for Muslims and non-Muslims are Dariapur-Kazipur, Shaher-Kotda, Asarva and Rakhiyal. And the wards which have returned figures lower than the norm for the eight wards are Raikhad, Kalupur I, Shaherpur II and Dariapur I.

We will now study the sectoral distribution of the work force in order to see which segment is engaged in what kind of economic activity, and whether there are significant differences between the Muslims and non-Muslims. We will also study the nature of these differences, if any, and their implications in terms the stage of development of the two segments of the population of the eight wards.

2. Sectoral Distribution of the Work Force: When we divide the total work force of the Muslim population for the eight wards of Ahmedabad City in the three sectors, i.e., primary, secondary and tertiary, in terms of proportions of the total working force which is taken to be 100, and compare these figures with those of similar categories of the non-Muslim population of the eight wards, there is one thing that stands out very clearly and that is the fact that Muslim workers in the city are more heavily concentrated in the secondary production activities even today vis-a-vis the non-Muslim population. (Table-I)





The general pattern that emerges is that while 0.40 percent of the non-Muslims working population of the eight wards is engaged in primary activity, the figure for Muslim workers is almost one-fourth at 0.11 percent. The picture is reversed in the secondary sector, although the difference is not so large. 60.98 percent of the non-Muslim population is engaged in secondary activities while 63.19 percent of the Muslim working population is thus engaged. The difference in the sectoral distribution of the Muslim and non-Muslim workers in the tertiary sector is once again higher than that of the secondary sector, the figures being 39.35 percent for the non-Muslim and 36.35 percent for the Muslim workers.

A somewhat detailed study of the differences and similarity in the sectoral distribution of the Muslim and non-Muslim work force as also its intra-sectoral and inter-sectoral trends is likely to indicate directions in which answers may be found for some of the questions which the present study seeks to tackle. It would also give us a framework which may be useful in understanding the demographic features as they exist in these 8 wards as also the peculiarities of the patterns indicated by the data on the social indicators, in order to achieve this objective. We will undertake now a study on the sector wise distribution of the work force both for Muslims and non-Muslims. (Figure-3.2)

The Primary Sector: A very small section of the total population is engaged in primary activities in the city of

Ahmedabad. And these eight wards are not different in their character from the rest of the city. In a city which is more than 300 years old and lacks mining activities on any significant scale. One does not expect to find any significant section of the work force engaged in primary activities and we see that of the total non-Muslim work force from the 8 wards only 0.40 percent is engaged in such activities. The figure for the Muslim population is much lower at 0.11 percent of the total Muslim work force of these wards. In the two wards of Kalupur I and Shaher-Kotda there are no Muslim workers engaged in primary activities.

Kalupur I has returned the lowest figures both for Muslim and non-Muslim workers engaged in primary activity. The figure is 0.04 percent for non-Muslims as against 0.0 percent for the Muslim work force.

The highest returns of workers in this class for non-Muslims come from Raikhad where the figure is as high as 1.30 percent more than three times of the norm for total non-Muslim population of the 8 wards. Rakhiyal has the second highest concentration of non-Muslim workers in this category. And the figure here is 0.62 percent. Almost one-and-a-half times higher than the norm for this sector for the non-Muslim work force of these 8 wards.

The areas of comparative high concentration of Muslim workers engaged in primary activity are: (1) the Dariapur-Kasipur ward(0.34) percent of the total Muslim work

force of the ward); and (2) Raikhad (0.28) percent. In terms of concentration of work force in the primary sector Raikhad has returned at the highest figure for the non-Muslim segment of the work force. The second place has been taken by Rakhiyal and the third by Dariapur-Kazipur. For the Muslims the concentration in the sector is in the wards of Dariapur-Kazipur, Raikhad takes the second position and the third goes to Rakhiyal. And thus we see that there are no significant differences in terms of geographical location of economic activities for Muslims and non-Muslims in the primary sector. The only difference is the slightly smaller sections of the Muslim work force is engaged in such activity as compared to their non-Muslim counterparts. And this can be explained to a certain extent when the Muslim-non-Muslim concentration of workers is studied in the other two sectors also, namely the secondary and the tertiary sectors.

The Secondary Sector: Ahmedabad has for a long time been a centre of industry. The textile industry of the city has been the basis on which the city has grown from a centre of handicrafts to one of the important modern industrial complexes of the country. And therefore it is not strange that more than 60% of the total work force of various wards earns its livelihood from secondary production. The secondary sector is the only sector in the 8 wards under study which provides livelihood to a greater proportion of the Muslim work force as compared to the total non-Muslim work

force which situation does not occur in the case of any other sector. From among the Muslim work force of the 8 wards, 63.19 percent are engaged in secondary activities whereas the share of non-Muslim work force in this sector is 60.98 percent.

The highest concentration of the non-Muslim work force in the secondary sector is in the wards of Rakhiyal (78.56 percent of the total non-Muslim work force), Asarva (72.60) percent and Dariapur-Kazipur (54.62 percent). The wards which returned the highest concentration of Muslim workers in the secondary sector as a proportion of the total Muslim work force of the wards in order of decreasing concentration are Shaher-Kotda 83.83 percent, Rakhiyal 82.18 percent and Asarva 67.76 percent.

We have noticed earlier that the four wards of Dariapur-Kazipur, Shaher-Kotda, Asarva and Rakhiyal have returned figures of relatively higher participation ratio both for the Muslims and the non-Muslims. All the four have returned figures of higher concentration of non-Muslims secondary workers also and the last three of these have also returned figures of higher concentration of Muslim workers in the secondary sector. A significant fact, however, is that though Muslims form only 6.83 percent of the total population of Asarva, lower than any other ward, in terms of participation ratio for Muslims it ranks second and in terms of concentration of Muslim workers in the secondary sector it ranks third in the eight wards.

On the other hand is the Kalupur I ward with the Muslims forming 46.38 percent of the total population, which is the highest for any ward, but the proportion of workers among Muslims is the lowest in this ward at 25.09 percent. The ward also ranks seventh in terms of the share of Muslim workers in the secondary sector, as a proportion of the total workers. The participation ratio for non-Muslims is also low in this ward. It is higher than Dariapur I, but lower than the rest of the wards. In terms of concentration of non-Muslim workers in the secondary sector, its position is lower than all the other wards.

Another feature which emerges from a study of the share of workers in the secondary sector both among Muslims and non-Muslims is that there are five wards which have returned figures lower than the norm, for Muslims, the same five wards have returned figures lower than the norm for non-Muslims in the eight wards.

Thus we see that irrespective of the share of any community in the total population of an area, participation ratio can be high or low for that community. In Kalupur, for instance, high concentration of Muslims does not reflect in participation ratio which are low and in the case of non-Muslims, relatively lower concentration does not lead to high participation ratio whereas in Asarva, in spite of a very small share in the total population, the participation ratio for Muslims are high. And a high concentration of non-Muslims has not brought down the participation ratio. One more factor which emerges clearly from an analysis of

the picture of sectoral distribution is the fact that high participation ratios reflect themselves in high concentration in the secondary sector irrespective of the relative strength of the community concerned, and that low participation ratio seem to be a result of lower concentration in the secondary sector for Muslims as well as for non-Muslims.

Tertiary Sector: The tertiary sector includes all the services, transport, communication, business, trade and commerce, maintenance and construction etc. Any area with substantial industrial activity tends also to divert a significant section of the working force into the service sector. Ahmedabad is a centre of industrial production and therefore the growth of tertiary activities is only natural, this is coupled with the historical past of the city when because of being a capital city a significant concentration of bureaucracy had taken place. The city still remains the capital of Gujarat State and therefore the additional growth of administrative offices etc. also contributes to increasing the share of this sector in the total work force.

The norm for the 8 wards is that 36.35 percent of the total Muslim workers are engaged in this sector and 39.35 percent of the non-Muslim workers earned their livelihood from tertiary activities. Asarva is the only ward where the proportion of Muslim workers in this sector is higher than that of the non-Muslim workers. A comparative study of the work force in the secondary sector with that of the tertiary sector would show that all such wards which return

a higher concentration in the secondary sector have shown lower returns in the tertiary sector and the five wards which gave lower returns in the secondary sector have shown higher returns in the tertiary sector. This pattern points out that of the 8 wards two, that is Asarva and Rakhiyal, are predominant in activities which fall within the secondary sector. This is true both for the Muslim work force and also for the non-Muslim workers. Further, that the two wards of Raikhad and Kalupur I are areas with a concentration of tertiary sector activities. In Raikhad, 59.45 percent of the non-Muslim work force and 54.61 percent of the Muslim work force is engaged in tertiary activities. The proportions are 67.88 percent and 52.39 percent for Muslims and non-Muslims respectively in Kalupur I. Another factor which comes to light is the fact that in wards of lower concentration of workers in the tertiary sector activities, the share of Muslims is noticeably lower, than that of the non-Muslims, while in areas of higher concentration of workers in the secondary sector, Muslims are more numerous than non-Muslims.

This study of the distribution of Muslim and non-Muslim workers in the three sectors of production in the eight wards of the city of Ahmedabad shows very clearly that there are no differences in the nature of this community-wise distribution to indicate that Muslims constitute a separate national stream identifiable by the nature of their occupation. Traditionally, the Muslim weaver has occupied an important position in the textile industry of Ahmedabad, and even today a greater concentration of the Muslim workers



is to be found in the secondary sector, though the difference is no longer as marked as it was more than a hundred years ago.

The Hindus which form the bulk of the non-Muslim population have been metal craftsmen, weavers, small traders menial workers as also financiers, industrialists and so on. And this is due to the position they had held during the days of Ahmedabad Sultanate, which went through a transition during the time when Ahmedabad economy was eclipsed due to the economic policies pursued by the "Company" and later the rise of Ahmedabad city as the centre of industrial activity saw the emergence of the erstwhile Baniya in the form of an entrepreneur, for the newly rising textile industry of the city. This class of the rich was but a small fragment of the total population much more significant were the dyers, small craftsmen, the bureaucrats essential for running an industrial city of the size and importance of Ahmedabad and it is this which is reflected in the higher concentration of non-Muslim workers in the tertiary sector.

3. Occupational Status: The four categories of employer, employee, single worker and family worker would divide the total economically active population in two scales of production operations. The first would be large-scale production and the second small scale production. The terms are being used here only in a relative sense, by large scale it is meant that economic activity is carried on a scale when there are one or more persons engaged as employees

by the owner of the establishment or by the State in a particular division of one of the sectors, i.e., primary, secondary or tertiary. By small scale, the meaning that is sought to be conveyed is that the scale of work is such that persons are not employed by the owner or part owner of the establishment. The single worker can be a member of a co-operative and a family worker can be engaged in work where one or more members of a family are also engaged, without being in receipt of any wages or salaries in cash or in kind. A family worker works in an establishment that is larger in scale than household industry as defined by the Census 1961, that is to say that the work is not confined to those living in a single household. It could also involve other members of the family at various stages of production who live outside the confines of the village or the city etc.<sup>1</sup>

Having explained the meaning of various terms we can now take up our comparison between the norm for the Muslims of the eight wards and the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district. If we assume that the total number of persons engaged in economic activity in all the nine divisions is hundred, we notice that 7.26 percent have been returned as employers in all the urban areas of Ahmedabad district. The figure for the Muslims is 7.07 percent. The share

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1. For definition of household industry, employer, employee single worker and family worker, see section on 'Definitions', pp. 261-267, Census of India 1961, Vol. V, Gujarat, Part L-A (ii)b, General Report on the Census.

constituted by employees is 73.67 percent for the district and 76.88 percent for the Muslims of the eight wards. Single workers account for 15.47 percent and 12.89 percent respectively. Family workers constitute 3.60 percent for the urban areas of the district and 3.96 percent for the eight wards (Tables-VII and VIIA). The overall picture shows that the share of Muslims returned as employees and as family workers is higher in comparison with the share of the total population of the urban areas of the district of Ahmedabad in the two parameters.

As opposed to this, the share of the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad city is higher than that of the Muslims of the eight wards. For those who were returned as employers and as single workers.

When we study the intra-division distribution of occupational sectors, we notice that Muslims returned as employers have an edge over the norm for the total population in division 0 (Zero), i.e., agriculture, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting. 9.10 percent of the persons engaged in these activities were returned as employers from among Muslims. The figure for the total urban population of the district was 8.03 percent. In the proportion of those returned as employees, Muslims have a clear edge in this division, 68.18 percent being returned as employees as against 52.47 percent for the total urban population of the district. Among single workers in this category, the share of Muslims is much lower, 4.54 percent as compared to 24.83



percent for the total population of the urban areas of the district. From among family workers, Muslim again return higher figures than those of the total population, 18.18 percent and 14.66 percent respectively.

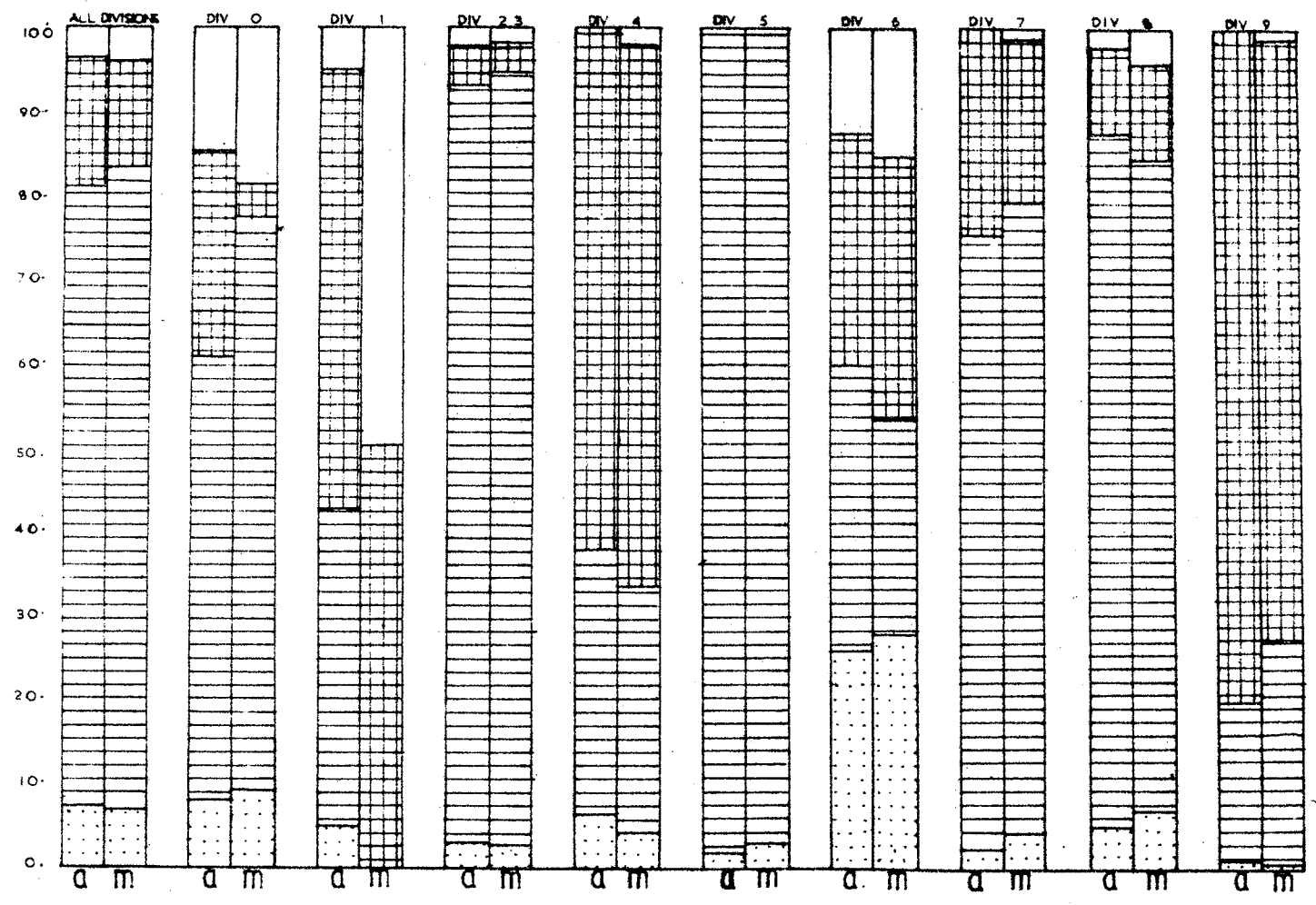
There were no Muslim workers engaged in mining and quarrying, i.e., Division-1, either as employers or as employees. Among single workers their returns are lower, 50 percent against 52.50 percent for the total urban population in the district, and higher again from among family workers, 50 percent as against 5 percent. The returns for the total urban population of the district engaged in Division-1 as employer, and employees were 5 percent and 37.50 percent respectively. But the great divergence between the norms for the Muslims of the eight wards and the urban population of the district do not lead to great divergence economically between the two groups for the simple reason that they form a very small share of the total population, either of the urban areas of the district or of the Muslims of the eight wards. Division 0 engages 0.35 percent of the total persons in Ahmedabad district (Urban) who have been enumerated for the table on occupational sector. For the Muslims of the eight wards, the proportion is lower still at 0.08 percent. Similarly, Division-1 accounts for 0.01 percent of the persons from among those returned for Ahmedabad district (urban) and 0.00 percent from among the Muslims of the eight wards (Figure-3.3(a))

The divisions which accounts for significant proportions



**fig. 33b**  
**occupational status**  
**A bad distt(urban) a, a muslims of 8 wards.m.**

% OF TOTAL PERSONS IN EACH DIVISION



for both the groups are Division 2+3, i.e., manufacturing. Division-6, i.e., trade and commerce, and Division-8, i.e., Services like public education, health, etc. They account for 85.99 percent of the total persons returned as employers, employees, single workers and family workers, From among the total urban population of the district of Ahmedabad. The same three divisions account for 90.63 percent of those returned in the above categories from among the Muslims of the eight wards. We will take these 3 divisions in serial order and study the intra-group variation among the Muslims and the total population in each of these divisions.

Divisions 2 + 3 - Manufacturing: From among Muslims engaged in this class, 2.69 percent were returned as employers, 92.05 percent as employees, 3.76 percent as single workers and 1.49 percent as family workers (Figure-3.3(b)). They accounted for 23.72 percent of the Muslims returned as employers from the 8 wards, for 74.34 percent of those returned as employees, 19.31 percent of those returned as single workers and 23.43 percent of those returned as family workers, comparative figures for the total urban population of the district of Ahmedabad were 3.03 percent of those engaged in manufacturing were returned as employees accounting for 20.62 percent of the total persons returned as employer for this areas. 90.07 percent of those engaged in manufacturing were employees, 5.00 percent were single workers and 1.90 percent were family workers. These respectively accounted for 60.40 percent of the employees, 15.97 percent of the single worker and 26.09 percent of the family workers.

A comparative study of these figures would show that manufacturing accounts for three-fourth of the total Muslims returned as employees, almost one-fourth of all those returned as employers and family worker and about 20 percent of those returned as single workers. This division accounts for 62.09 percent of all the Muslims in the 8 wards that are covered by this table. Manufacturing is an important activity in Ahmedabad but it is not as vital for the total population as it is for the Muslims for it accounts for only 49.40 percent of the persons covered by this table. This could be due partly to the fact that while the figures for Muslims are only from the city of Ahmedabad, the figures for the total urban population cover all the urban areas of the district including such areas where manufacturing activity may not be all that important. This could lead to deflating the figures for the total population. But the differences clearly are so great that they cannot be explained away and it will have to be conceded that there is a concentration of Muslims in manufacturing, i.e., much larger than what we would expect in relation to their proportion to the population of the city and this is something which has been borne out in the earlier comparison of sectoral distribution of the work force.

Another thing that we notice from the figures returned by this division is the fact that in spite of the heavy concentration of the Muslims in this division, they have returned a small proportion under the category of employer as also under the category of single worker. This is inspite



of the fact that this Division Accounts for the highest proportion among all divisions for the category of employers. The share of employer among Muslims is somewhat higher, 23.72 percent as against 20.62 percent of the total urban population of Ahmedabad district.

Division 6 - Trade and Commerce: The returns for the total urban population of the district are employers 25.70 percent, employees 34.08 percent, single workers 27.60 percent, family workers 12.61 percent. The returns for Muslims are employers 27.62 percent, employees 25.85 percent, single workers 27.60 percent and family workers 15.47 percent.

The two sets of figures show one feature very clearly, i.e., as compared to Muslims there are fewer employers and more employees in the total population. In the opinion of the researcher, this would indicate that in the comparison with the total population, there would be fewer rich traders among Muslims and that most traders would be petty shopkeepers employing one or two persons at a time, if they employ any at all. The higher returns for family workers and single workers from among the Muslims in this division would also indicate the same trend. This division accounts for 15.03 percent of the total Muslims covered by this table. It also accounts for 58.53 percent of the Muslim employers, higher than all other division, 4.99 percent of the Muslim employees, 39.14 percent of the Muslim single worker and 58.62 percent of the family worker. The last two values are the highest in their class. The returns for the total

urban population of Ahmedabad are: of all the persons covered by this table, 16.90 percent are accounted for by trade and commerce, which accounts for 59.87 percent of all those returned as employers from the population of Ahmedabad district (urban), 30.15 percent of single workers, and 59.23 percent of family workers. All these figures are higher than the returns for any other division. This division accounts for 7.82 percent of the total persons returned as employees from among the total urban population of Ahmedabad district.

Division 8 - Services: This division includes almost all the services like public, educational and scientific, medical and health, welfare, legal and business, recreational and personal services. This accounts for 13.51 percent of the Muslims of the 8 wards covered by this table and 19.69 percent of the urban population of Ahmedabad district. The proportion of the total population is higher than that of the Muslims in all categories except that of the family workers which accounts for 13.20 percent of the total persons returned as family workers from among the total population of Ahmedabad district (urban) as against 14.72 percent for the Muslims of the 8 wards. Among employers this division accounts for 12.91 percent of the Muslim employers and 13.88 percent of the employers from the total population of Ahmedabad district (urban), 13.63 percent of the Muslim employees and 22.01 percent of those returned as employees from among the total urban population, 12.69 percent of the Muslim single worker and 13.63 percent of those returned

as single workers from the urban areas of Ahmedabad district are also accounted for by this division. The differences are marginal except in the case of employees when the returns for Muslims in this category are significantly low. This is in spite of the fact that they are higher than all divisions except divisions 2 + 3, i.e., manufacturing.

From this table it is once again borne out that there is a concentration of Muslims in manufacturing industry in Ahmedabad city of an order which is higher than what we would expect from their proportion to the population, that they are still concentrated to some extent in small scale production like their artisan ancestors. Their role is even today that of petty shop-keepers and traders and that trade and commerce on a large scale is even today, by and large, beyond their reach and finally that among the rich, i.e., the really rich in terms of the total population of the city, the proportion of Muslims is much smaller from what we would expect because of the proportion to the total population of the city. Take manufacturing as an example. We see that while out of every 100 persons from the total urban population returned in this division, 3.03 percent are employers. The figure for Muslims is 2.69 percent. For employees, the picture is different - 90.07 percent and 92.05 percent respectively, but this is what we had expected all along and most other comparisons have given us results which have supplied us additional information in the same lines.

4. Industrial Classification of Workers and Non-Workers by Educational Levels (in Urban Areas only): The norm for the total Muslims of the eight wards covered by the project is here compared with the norm for the total population of all the urban areas of Ahmedabad district. This has been done due to the compulsions imposed by the nature of the data available. The trends which are clearly observable will obviously not be as applicable as they would have become, had data for total population, for this parameter, been available for the same units as that of the Muslims. Given the limitations, the forthcoming comparison can at best be regarded as indicating broad trends.

When we compare the total literates among Muslims of the 8 wards to the total literates among the total urban population of Ahmedabad district, we find that literacy rates are lower among Muslims. The literacy rate of the total urban population of Ahmedabad district is 53.33 percent whereas for the Muslims of the 8 wards of Ahmedabad city it is 48.66 percent. Literates without educational level reflect higher returns among Muslims of the 8 wards - 26.79 percent - than among the total urban population of Ahmedabad district - 15.88 percent (Tables-IV, IVA and,  $\frac{V}{VA}$ ). This could be due to the Madrasah system still prevalent among the Muslims. The combined strength of literates without educational level and illiterates accounts for 80.12 percent of the Muslim population of the 8 wards whereas for the total urban population of the district this figure is only 64.53 percent and thus we see that Muslims return markedly lower figures

fig 3.4a  
 literacy and educational levels  
 Ahmedabad district (urban areas only)  
 and 8 wards of Ahmedabad city (muslims only)  
 % of total population

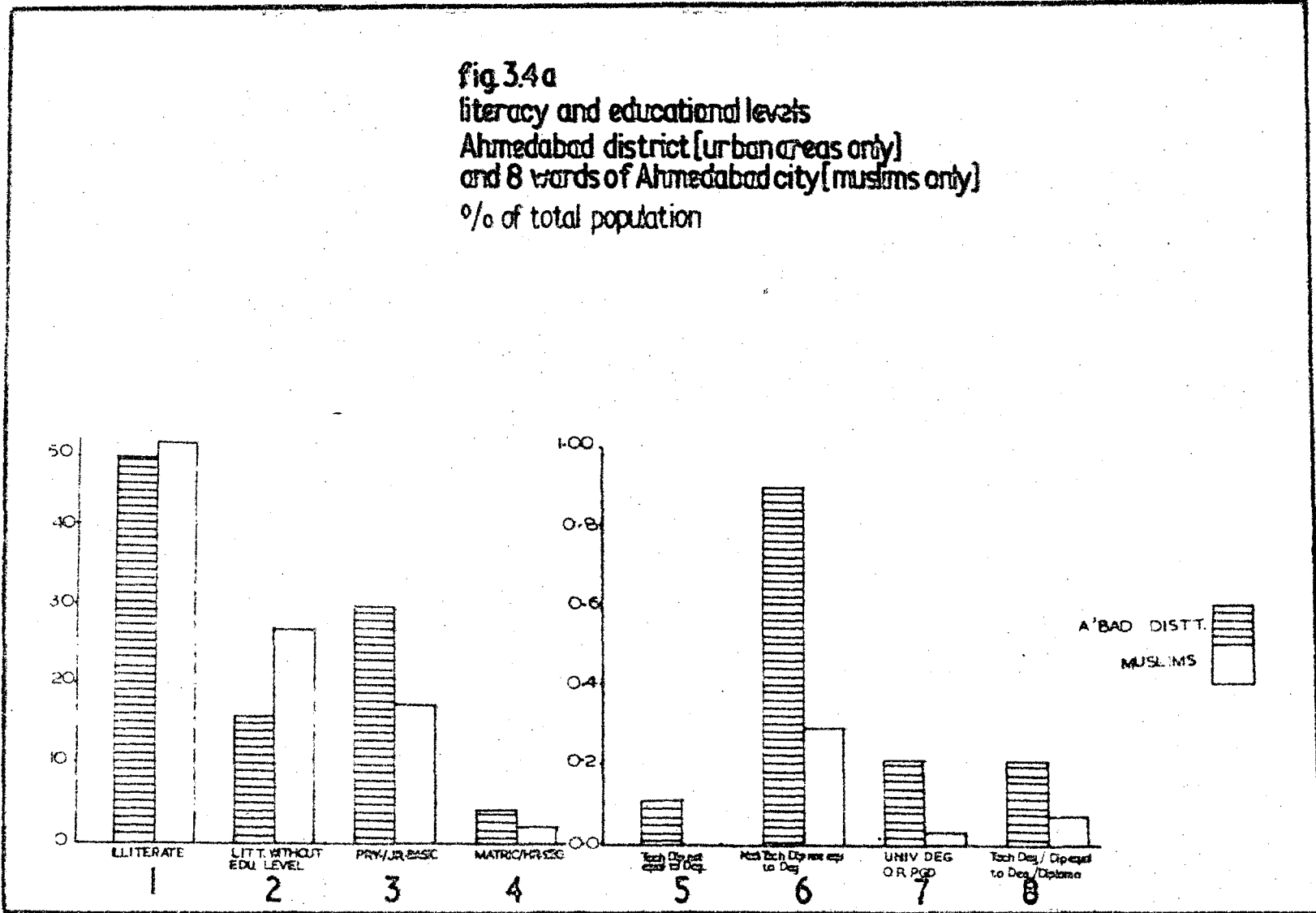
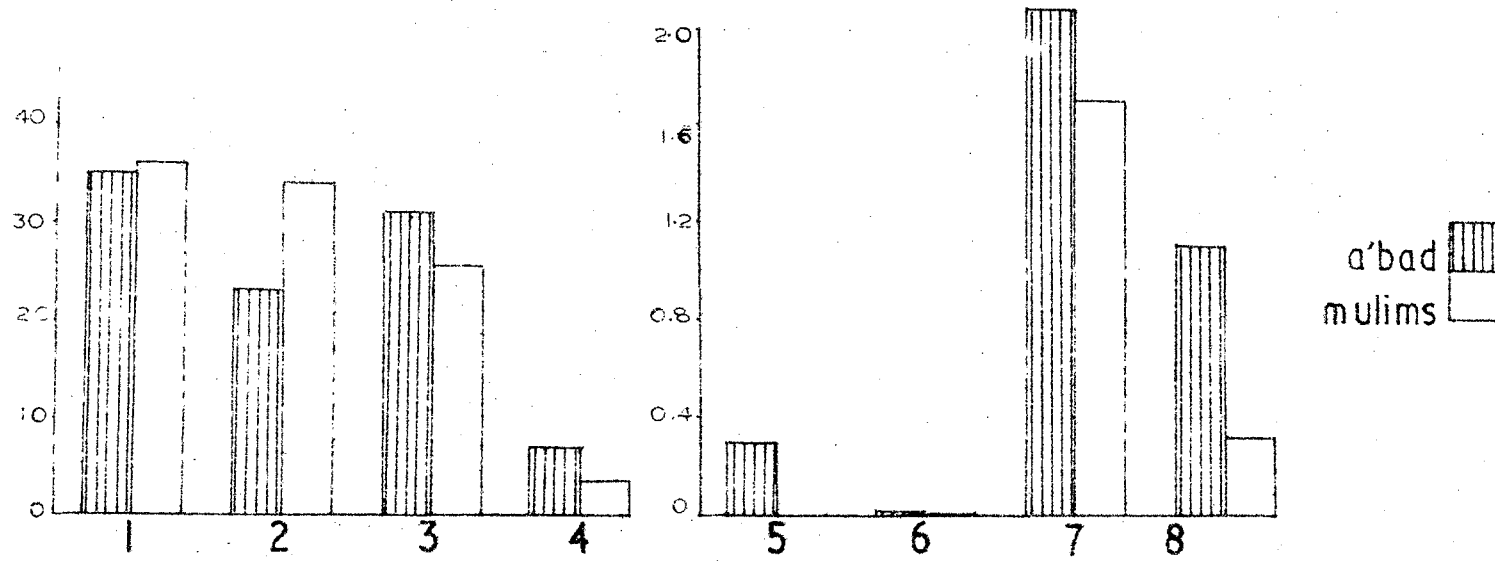


fig.3.4 b  
 workers by educational levels  
 urban areas of ahmedabad district  
 and muslims of 8 wards  
 % of total workers



for the remaining higher levels of education. Only 17.34 percent of the Muslims of the 8 wards had reached the primary or junior basic level as compared to the figure of 29.74 percent for the total urban population of the district. At the highest level of education, i.e., university degrees, post-graduate degrees or technical degrees, we find that the returns for the total urban population of the district are 1.11 percent of the population while for the Muslims of the 8 wards, the figure is 0.32 percent (Figure-3.4(a)).

Some other interesting features of the distribution become apparent when we compare the literacy figures for the total workers of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district to those of the Muslim workers of the 8 wards of the city covered by the project. We notice that out of the total workers in the urban areas of the district, 35.04 percent are illiterate. They constitute 22.53 percent of the total illiterate urban population of the district. The figures for Muslims are not much different. 35.98 percent of the work force of the 8 wards is composed of illiterates and they constitute 20.70 percent of the Muslim illiterates in the 8 wards (Table-III). This gives us almost identical participation ratio for the illiterates. In the next category, i.e., literates workers (without educational levels) clear differences between the total urban workers and Muslim workers of the 8 wards of the city manifest themselves (Figure-3.4(b)). We find that 45.58 percent of those falling in this category for the total urban population of the district are engaged as workers constituting 23.09 percent of the total work force of

the district, whereas for the Muslims of the 8 wards the picture is substantially different. 38.82 percent of the Muslims who are classified as literates without educational level are engaged as workers, but they constitute 33.90 percent of the total Muslim work force of the 8 wards and thus we see that illiterates and literates without educational level account for 69.88 percent of the total Muslim work force as compared to 58.13 percent of the total urban population of the district.

If we include that section of the work force whose educational level is upto primary or junior basic, then the figures for Muslims go upto 95.28 percent of the total Muslim work force and for the total urban working of the district to 89.38 percent of the total work force and this would give us a very direct proof of the nature of the "Muslim problem" and this can be better understood in the light of the following comparison:

We notice that of the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district, 94.27 percent is composed of those whose educational level is not above primary or junior basic. This section of the population provides 89.38 percent of the total working force of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district, which leaves 5.10 percent of the population to supply the remaining 11.62 percent of the work force. Similar ratios for the Muslims of the 8 wards of Ahmedabad city area as follows:



97.46 percent of the total Muslim population of the areas concerned has received education upto primary and junior basic or below, this section supplies 95.28 percent of the work force leaving 4.71 percent of the jobs for the 2.59 percent of that section of the Muslim population which has received education above ~~it would seem that there w~~ primary or junior basic.

From the figures given above it would seem that there would be greater incidence of unemployed among those Muslims who have received relatively higher education and if this is true then we shall have at least one argument in support of the "Muslim problem", namely that from among the privileged sections of our society, those who are Muslims are less privileged, we shall test this hypothesis with the help of the 1961 data for the total urban population of Ahmedabad district and the figures for Muslims for the 8 wards of the city of Ahmedabad covered by the Muslim project.

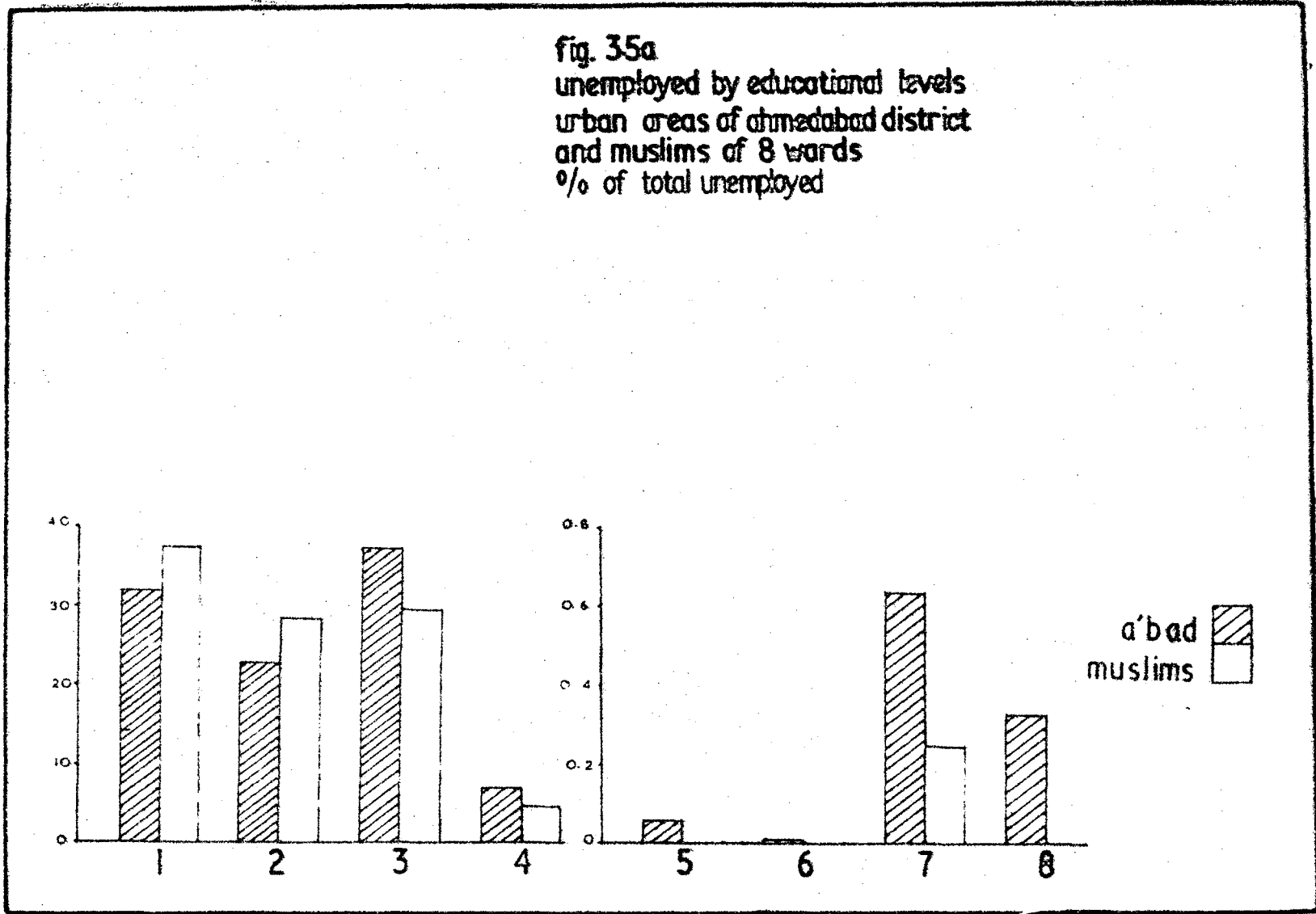
We see that there were 76,870 people in the urban areas of Ahmedabad district who had received Matric/Higher Secondary or higher education. Out of these 44,771 were employed which comes to 58.44 percent of the people in this category being returned as employed. Figures for Muslims of the 8 wards in this category are: 2,463 people with Higher Secondary/Matric or higher education of which 1,405, i.e., 57.44 percent were employed. The above comparison shows that there is not much divergence between the figures for

Muslims of the 8 wards and the total urban population of the district. At least as far as employment among educated is concerned, slightly more than 40 percent of the people in this category are unemployed (though they are classified as non-workers in the Census ) it would not be incorrect to assume that most if not all of these people would fall in the 15 + age-group. Having attained <sup>educational</sup> qualifications upto or above Matric / Higher Secondary.

5. Unemployed - Persons aged 15 and above by Educational Level and Broad Age-Groups: The total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district was enumerated at 1343579 souls in 1961. Out of these those who were not registered as fulltime students engaged in household duties and returned as disabled, dependents, beggars, inmates of mental or charitable institutions etc. and were above the age of 15 and not gainfully employed were included in the list of unemployed. The number of such individuals came to 15581 or 1.16 percent of the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district. From among the Muslims of the 8 wards covered by the Muslim project, 1573 or 1.62 percent of the Muslims population of the 8 wards were returned as unemployed.

The break-up of the unemployed in terms of levels of education as obtained in the 1961 Census was as follows: 0.76 percent of the total illiterates above the age of 15 from among the total urban population of Ahmedabad district were unemployed. For Muslims of the 8 wards, this

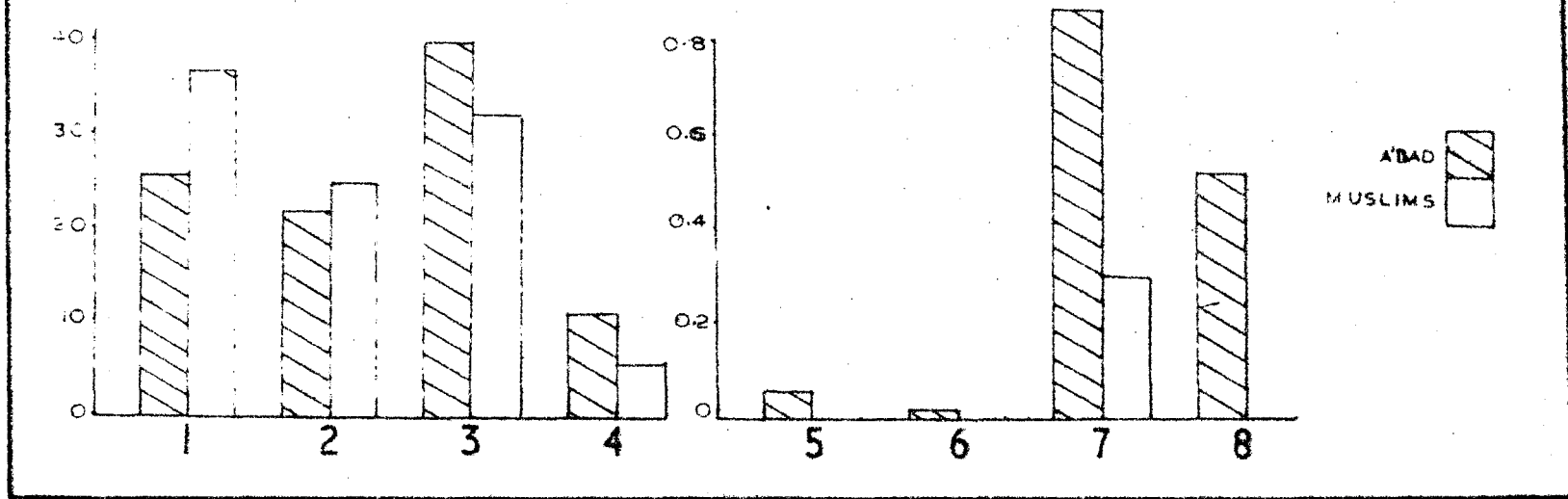
fig. 35a  
 unemployed by educational levels  
 urban areas of ahmedabad district  
 and muslims of 8 wards  
 % of total unemployed



share was 1.13 percent, for literates without educational level the figures were 1.66 percent and 1.71 percent and for those with primary or junior basic these figures were 1.46 percent and 2.77 percent respectively. At the level of technical and non-technical diplomas not equal to degrees and technical diplomas equivalent to degrees of post-graduate degrees, no unemployment was reported among Muslims. Though comparatively a much lower proportion of the Muslim population was returned with these qualifications, but in terms of employment they were almost as well off with total urban population if not better off. Again from among those who had acquired university degrees or post-graduate degrees other than technical degrees, the extent of unemployment among Muslims was greater when compared to the total urban population of Ahmedabad district (Tables-II and IIA). From the total population holding such degrees, 0.82 percent were returned as unemployed whereas 1.39 percent from among Muslims of the 8 wards in this category were returned as unemployed. (Figure-3.5(a)).

Although the above trend shows Muslims in a somewhat disadvantageous position, it is nowhere as clear as it appears in an analysis of the section of the unemployed who were in possession of a matric or equivalent examination certificates. 1.90 percent of those with educational qualifications upto matric or higher secondary from the total urban population of Ahmedabad district were returned as unemployed where as similar figures for Muslims were as high as 3.43 percent though the difference in terms of employment

fig.3.5b  
 persons seeking work for the first time  
 educational levels  
 urban areas of ahmedabad district and  
 muslims of 8 wards  
 % of persons seeking work for the first time



at the other levels could be explained away as in-significant or of minor importance but in the case cited above it would seem that some discrimination was in operation, no definite statements can yet be made because a much more detailed study of primary source material would be necessary before one could come to a definite conclusion. But it would not be far away from the truth if one were to state that it is the Muslim youngman looking for a white collar job who finds himself face to face with the fact that there are no jobs for him and that he has less of a chance of getting one than his other countrymen.

The above statement could be borne out further if we go deeper into the break-up of job seekers, with these educational qualifications. 52.11 percent of the unemployed with education upto Matric or Higher Secondary were in the employment market in 1961 for the first time. That is to say that they had not been employed before and one would expect most of them to be in the age-group 15-19, but this is far from the actual situation. 27.03 percent of these were in the age-group 15-19 and 62.16 percent in the age-group 20-24, with the remaining 10 percent or so in the 25 + age-group. (Figure 3.5(b)).

Comparative figures for total urban population were 29.07 percent and 57.98 percent in age-groups 15-19 and 20-24 respectively for those whose education level was immediately below Matric or Higher Secondary, i.e., primary or junior basic. 38.54 percent of the total unemployed Muslims in this category were in the employment market for the first time with

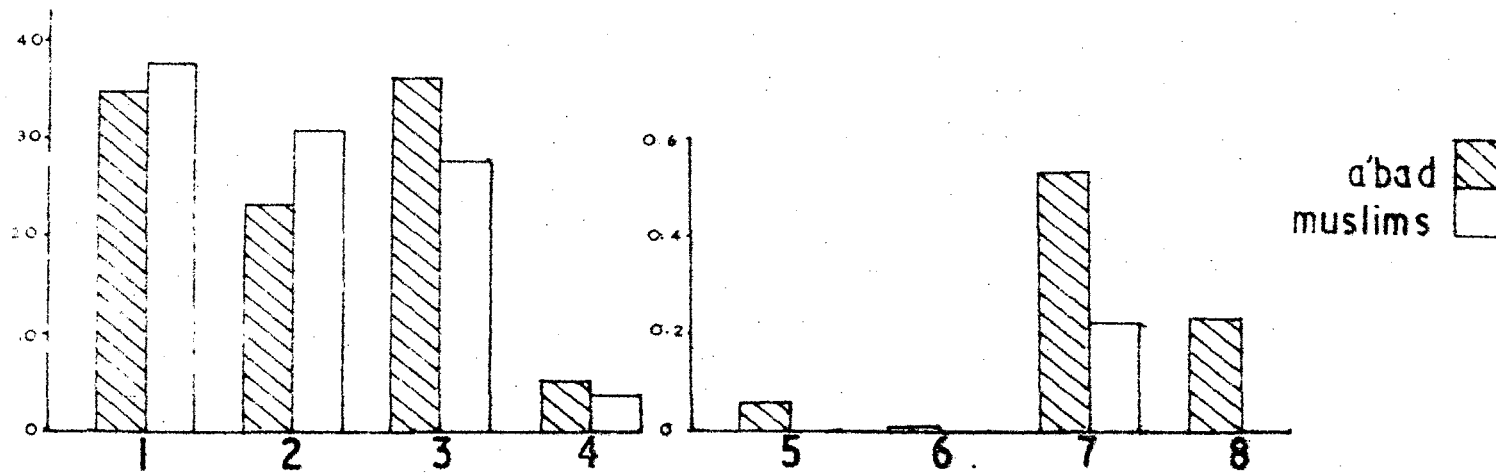
fig.35c

persons employed before, now unemployed

educational levels

urban areas of ahmedabad district and muslims of 8 wards

% of total persons employed before, now unemployed



67.22 percent in the 15-19 age-group and 25.56 percent in the 20-24 age-group (Figure-3.5(b)). Comparable figures for total population were 53.76 percent and 32.88 percent respectively.

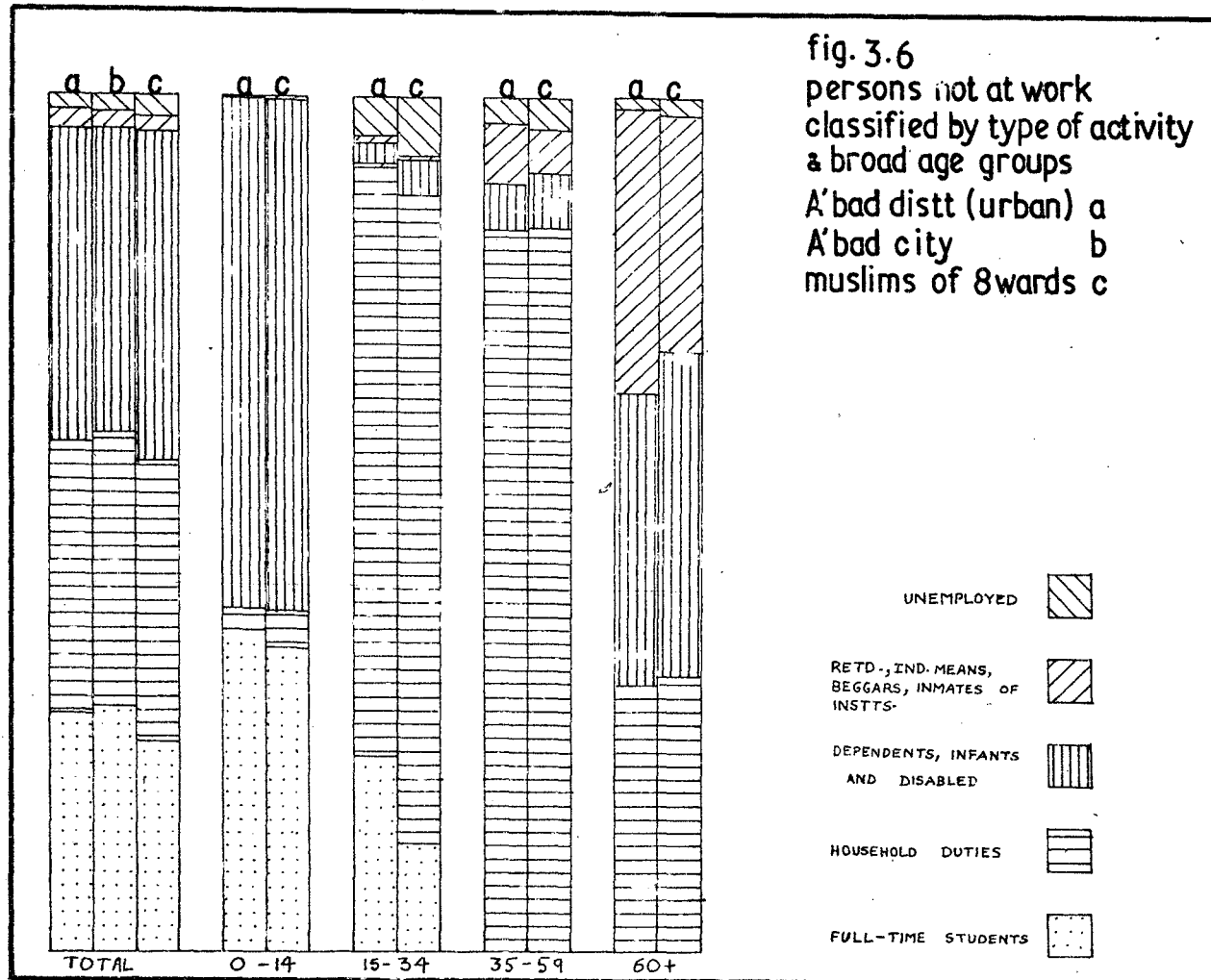
The overall picture for the unemployed Muslims seeking work for the first time was as follows:

They constituted 35.73 percent of the total Muslims unemployed in the 8 wards of which 58.01 percent were in the age-group 15-19, 30.25 percent in the age-group 20-24, 7.30 percent in the age-group 25-29 and the rest were 30 years or above in age.

The other sub-division of the unemployed consists of those who were employed before but were unemployed at the time of enumeration and were seeking work. 64.27 percent of the total unemployed Muslims, aged 15 and above, from among the residents of the 8 wards of Ahmedabad city under study fall in this category. The proportion is lower than that of the total population in this sub-division which stood at 66.34 percent. Carrying on with our analysis of the Matric or Higher Secondary passed unemployed Muslims, one notices that 47.89 percent of the unemployed at this educational level fall within this sub-division and the age-groupwise distribution of those aspiring for employment is as follows: (Figure-3.5(c)).

14.71 percent in the age-group 15-19, 44.14 percent in the age-group 20-24, 23.53 percent in the age-group





25-34. 62.16 percent of the job seekers in the category from the previous sub-division are also added to their counterparts in the 20-24 age-group. The alarming nature of the situation should require no further explanation.

6. Persons not at work - classified by type of activity and broad age-group: Data on this parameter is available for the city of Ahmedabad's total population without age-group break-up and therefore it has become necessary to compare the norm for the urban areas of Ahmedabad district with that of the 8 wards covered by the Muslim project. At the level of total population, figures for all three units, i.e., urban areas of Ahmedabad district, Ahmedabad city and the 8 wards have been compared. Whereas the comparison at the age-group level had to be restricted between the urban areas of the district and the 8 wards of the Muslim Project.

Comparing figures for the total population returns for the three units we notice that only 24.62 percent of the total population is returned as full-time students for the Muslims of the 8 wards as opposed to 28.70 percent for Ahmedabad city and 27.95 percent for the urban areas of the district as a whole (Figure-3.6 ). The proportion of population engaged in household duties or returned as dependents, infants and disabled is greater among the Muslims of the 8 wards than for the two units with which we are comparing this data. (Tables-VI and VIA)

The distribution of population engaged in household duties is 32.88 percent for the Muslims of the 8 wards, 32.15 percent for the city of Ahmedabad and 31.77 percent for the urban areas of the district. The returns for dependents, infants and disabled are: Muslims of the 8 wards 38.40 percent, Ahmedabad city 35.26 percent, urban areas of the district, 36.31 percent.

The share of total Muslims of the 8 wards returned as retired rentier or with independent means is 1.39 percent of the total Muslims of the 8 wards. This is marginally lower than the norm for the city of Ahmedabad which is 1.80 percent and also lower than the norm for the urban areas of Ahmedabad district which has returned the figure of 1.81 percent of the total urban population of the district in this category. For the proportion of population returned as beggars and vagrants etc. the share of Muslims is marginally higher when compared to the norm for the city as a whole and relatively lower than the norm for the urban areas of the district of Ahmedabad. The figures are 0.08 percent, 0.07 percent and 0.11 percent respectively. Likewise the share of those Muslims who were enumerated as inmates of mental and charitable institutions was lower among Muslims at 0.15 percent whereas their counterparts in the total population of the city constituted 0.17 percent of the population and in the urban areas of the district 0.31 percent of the population.

In the next two categories there are clear differences between the norms for the Muslims of the 8 wards and the norm

for the city or for that matter that of the urban areas of the district. Those who were seeking employment for the first time accounted for 0.59 percent of the total urban population of the district. 0.61 percent of the total population of the city of Ahmedabad and 0.93 percent of the total population of the Muslims of the 8 wards covered by the special Muslim project. The picture obtaining for the total population returns in the category of those who were employed earlier were out of jobs and seeking employment in 1961 follows the same pattern as that of those who were seeking work for the first time. Persons returned under this parameter accounted for 1.15 percent of the population of the urban areas of the district of Ahmedabad, 1.24 percent of the population of Ahmedabad city and 1.55 percent of the Muslim population of the 8 wards. This trend has been discussed at some length in the preceding section and the distribution of "persons without work" does not in any way contradict the conclusions arrived at in that section.

A study of the distribution of persons not at work classified by type of activity in different age-groups will bring to light some very interesting facts. Comparisons between the Muslims of the 8 wards will be made with the norm for the total population of Ahmedabad district, this has become necessary because age-groupwise break-up of the total population of the city is not available.

When we study the distribution of that section of the Muslims of the 8 wards who are not at work we notice that 35.94 percent of the persons enumerated under this parameter

were returned as full-time students. The comparative figures for the total population of the urban areas of the district is 37.93 percent. There is clearly a difference between the two and it is weighted against the Muslims. But the difference is not alarming, it becomes so in the 15-34 age-group when the figures for Muslims not at work for the 8 wards returned as full-time students goes down to 12.74 percent of the total Muslims in this age-group, whereas for the total population of the urban areas of the district the proportion is 23.74 percent (Figure-3.6 ). From a marginal difference in the age group 0.14 the gap has grown out of all proportion in the 15-34 age group. It is the contention of the researcher that if data in this category was available in age-group brackets with a 5 year difference, then we would notice a sudden drop, immediately after the age-group bracket 15-19 and the drop-outs would be those who would go to swell the ranks of the unemployed with educational qualifications equivalent to Matric or Higher Secondary.

Full time students do not contribute in any significant proportion to the 35 + age-group in this parameter and the differences between the returns for the Muslims and total population are again reduced to a level where they cease to be alarming.

The pattern of the distribution of those who were returned as engaged in household duties also follows a pattern which is similar to that of the fulltime students. The norm for the total Muslims of the 8 wards was 32.88 percent

and that of the total population of the urban areas of the district was 31.77 percent, the difference grows somewhat to 4.06 percent and 2.37 percent in the age-group 0-14 respectively. In the following age-group, i.e., 15-34, the gap grows once again and the shares of those enumerated as engaged in household duties go upto 75.73 percent for the Muslims and 69.15 percent for the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district.

The higher returns for the Muslims in this category can be due mainly to one factor which would be corroborated by a study of the table on age and marital status for Muslims and the factor is that in contrast to the poor Hindu women, the poor and lower middle class Muslim women does not by and large earn her livelihood and depends on her father or husband for her daily bread. This would result in a far greater share of the Muslim young girls and women staying at home and busying themselves in household duties full time as opposed to the Hindu women from the same economic strata. And this would tend to inflate the numbers among Muslims of these persons who are enumerated as being engaged in household duties. The gap once again closes itself in the 35-59 age-group and the differences remain marginal even in the 60 + age-group.

In the proportion for those returned as dependents infants and disabled from among Muslims of the 8 wards as also from among the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district there is no great divergence, neither for the figures for the total population nor for its age-

groupwise break-up. Except for the fact that the returns for Muslims are marginally higher, the higher returns for Muslims in the 15-34 age-group could well be due to late marriages due to which un-married Muslim women in this age-group, a large section of which would be in the 15-24 age-group, would be returned as dependents.

From among those returned as retired rentier or with independent means, as beggars and vagrants and as inmates of mental and charitable institutions the proportions among Muslims of the 8 wards are somewhat lower than those for the total population of the urban areas of Ahmedabad district.

There is greater extent of unemployment among Muslims of the 8 wards in comparison to the total urban population of Ahmedabad district. This has been pointed out in section 4 of the present chapter. The unemployed among Muslims constitute a much greater proportion in the age-group 15-34. They (including both sub-divisions of unemployed, i.e., those seeking employment for the first time and those who were employed before but were unemployed at the time of enumeration) constitute 7.02 percent of the Muslim population in this age-group as opposed to 4.60 percent for the total urban population of Ahmedabad district. The differences once again become marginal in ~~35-44~~ the 35 + age-group. Thus we see that it is the 15-34 age group which shows the greatest drop in the proportion of full-time students the greatest rise in the proportion of those engaged in household work, significant difference from the norms for the total

population in the proportion of those returned as dependents etc. as also the greatest divergence in the proportion of the unemployed. The causes are sufficiently clear, and will become more so if seen in comparison with the pattern that emerges from tables on age and sex ratios age and marital status and educated unemployed.



## CONCLUSIONS:

The present study of the city of Ahmedabad spread over a period of almost ninety years from A.D. 1872 to 1961, has been able to show, inspite of the limitation imposed by the nature of the data, that the important socio-economic and demographic norms for the Muslims in an urban setting do not differ substantially from those of the general population.

Comparisons between demographic characteristics of Muslims and total population indicate some divergences, especially in the age and sex structures of the two groups. But these divergences as also those relating to marital status etc. are more a consequence of some specific features of the socio-cultural ethos of the Muslims rather than of their economic characteristics. The differences for these parameters between the norms for the Muslims and those of total population or the non-Muslim population have undergone a sea-change over the period of ninety years covered by this study. The gaps stand greatly reduced and are consequence of the processes of historical change that the city has passed through.

The differences between the returns for Muslims and non-Muslims in tables on age and marital status etc. are today not as prominent as they were in 1872 or 1891. The differences relating to the extent of child marriages and

and widow re-marriage between the two groups are also not as glaring today as they were in 1872. The life expectancy of the Muslim women is even today significantly lower than her non-Muslim counterpart. This is a feature which should be more marked in the cities than in the rural areas and would to a great extent be due to some social customs of the Muslims.

The pattern that emerges from a study of the tables on (i) the distribution of 1000 census households according to number of rooms occupied, (ii) households by number of members and number of persons per room, and (iii) census houses and the uses to which they are put etc. will by-and-large be true for almost all the Muslims living in old urban areas. Though the detailed time series study of these features has not been possible, it is felt that if such a study were carried out the erosion of differences over-time between the Muslims and the non-Muslims will be clearly established.

A study of socio-economic characteristics of the Muslim population of the 8 wards in comparison with the non-Muslim population of the 8 wards does not show any significant differences.

Participation ratios are not negatively or positively correlated to the concentration or dispersal of either the Muslim or the non-Muslim work force.

If participation ratios are returned as being high in a particular ward for the non-Muslims, they are also high for the Muslims. If on the other hand, they are low in a ward they are low both for the Muslim work force as also for the non-Muslim work force.

The same pattern is reflected in the sectoral distribution of the work force. There seem to be no significant differences - intra-region or inter-community, except for a greater concentration of the Muslim work force in the secondary sector. This is to be expected, the city has a concentration of textile industry, it is an established centre of textile manufacture and significant sections of the Muslims have been engaged in this industry for a long time. As opposed to this the non-Muslim work force has a higher concentration in the tertiary sector. The primary sector is very small and is significant for neither of the groups.

The distribution of the work force in terms of their occupational status shows that employees and family workers constitute a higher proportion of the Muslim working force than do employers and single workers. A break-up of the various divisions of economic activity shows that economically the Muslims of these wards are workers, handicraftsmen, family workers and petty traders. The share of the Muslims in the category of employers is small even in the secondary sector, where the highest concentration of the Muslims is to

be found. Trade and Commerce on a large scale is beyond the reach of the Muslims and this would lead us to conclude that Muslims in 8 wards would by-and-large belong to what are known as the middle and the working classes. It is felt that if more detailed work were to be done for the country as a whole, it would be seen that a greater concentration of the Muslims would be found in the lower-middle income group and that their share from among the rich and the very rich would be less than what one might expect from their share to the total population. It is also felt that even from among the very poor, that is, the landless etc. the returns for Muslims would be lower than their returns in the total population.

In terms of literacy and employment, it is seen that Muslims are in a somewhat disadvantageous position. A smaller proportion from the Muslims goes in for higher education than does from the total population of Ahmedabad district, but for those who have attained higher education, whether from the Muslims or from the total population the chances of employment were by-and-large the same. It was seen that the extent of drop-outs was higher for the Muslims, after the primary school level, than that of the total population. It was also seen that a higher segment, of those who had finished matriculation / higher secondary education was employed from the total population than from among the Muslims.

It would seem that if discrimination was being practiced against Muslims, it was being practiced at this level. But no definite statements can yet be made, especially

in the light of the fact that comparisons of all earlier parameters have not indicated any such trends and unless detailed empirical work substantiates this statistically it can not be held up as proof. Even if some discrimination was shown to be in operation, at the level of white collar jobs, it would be difficult to accept it as positive proof of the backwardness of Muslims as such. What has to be shown is that the poor among the Muslims are poorer than the poor from among the rest of the population.

To demonstrate this one would have to show that those who belong to the working class from among the Muslims were economically and socially more deprived than their non-Muslim counterparts, that participation ratios for Muslims were lower, that economic activities in which Muslims engaged themselves were less remunerative than the economic activities in which non-Muslims were engaged. Some of these have been covered in the present study and we have not been able to show greater economic deprivation of the Muslims, and therefore as far as the scope of the present study is concerned, the hypothesis that "Muslims are backward" stands by-and-large unsubstantiated.

The present study shows that Muslims are not homogeneous in their internal structure, what is the extent of the heterogeneity among the Muslims, is it greater or lesser than the non-Muslims is something which only a detailed study of the city can show.

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**SPATIAL VARIATION IN THE STRUCTURE OF THE WORKING-FORCE AND  
PARTICIPATION RATIOS OF MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS IN 8 WARDS  
OF AHMEDABAD CITY - 1961**

WARD No.	NAME OF WARD	Total Population	Total Non-Muslim Population	Non-Muslim Population As a % Total Population	Total Muslim Population	Total Muslim Population as a % of Total Population	Total Non-Muslim Workers	Non-Muslims Workers as a % Non-Muslim Population	Total Muslim Workers	Total Muslim Workers as a % of Total Muslim Population
0	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
6	Raikhed	41677	27679	66.46	19380	33.54	8355	30.17	3963	28.35
7	Kalapur I	31380	18840	53.62	12940	46.38	5063	27.46	3247	25.09
10	Dariapur I	43678	24559	56.23	19119	43.77	6713	27.33	4968	25.98
13	Shahpur - II	54512	41650	76.41	12361	23.59	11976	28.73	3502	27.23
16	Dariapur-Kazipur	99737	91626	91.87	8111	8.13	31743	34.64	2661	32.81
18	Shaher-Kotda	44705	32684	73.11	12021	26.89	11922	36.40	5337	44.40
20	Asarva	107376	100047	93.17	7329	6.83	36639	36.62	2577	35.16
21	Rakhival	82926	72025	80.85	10901	13.15	24915	34.59	3587	32.91
TOTAL										

WARD No.	NAME OF WARD	PRIMARY SECTOR		SECONDARY SECTOR		TERTIARY SECTOR		NON - WORKERS	
		Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim
		As % of TMMW	As % of TMU	As % of TMMWS	As % of TMWS	As % of TMMW	As % of TMW	As % of NMMWS	As % of MNWS
0	0	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
6	Raikhed	1.30	0.08	39.25	42.65	59.45	54.61	69.83	71.65
7	Kalapur I	0.04	-	31.09	47.61	67.88	52.39	72.54	74.91
10	Dariapur I	0.07	0.12	49.99	62.84	49.94	37.04	72.67	74.02
13	Shahpur - II	0.20	0.09	47.37	51.06	52.43	48.85	71.27	72.17
16	Dariapur-Kazipur	0.50	0.34	54.62	58.06	44.88	41.60	65.36	67.19
18	Shaher-Kotda	0.41	-	52.75	83.80	46.84	16.20	63.52	55.60
20	Asarva	0.15	0.08	72.60	67.76	27.25	32.16	63.38	64.84
21	Rakhival	0.62	0.17	78.56	82.18	20.82	17.65	65.41	67.09



TABLE - II

PERSONS UNEMPLOYED AGED 15 AND ABOVE BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS  
AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN URBAN AREAS ONLY ( Part 'A' )

Sl. No.	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	TOTAL POPULATION		TOTAL UNEMPLOYED (TUA) IN AHMEDABAD CITY		TOTAL UNEMPLOYED MUSLIMS IN THE 8 WARDS (TUM)	
		Ahmedabad District 'A'	Muslims of 8 Wards 'B'	Persons	As a % of 'A'	Persons	As a % of 'B'
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	TOTAL	1343579	97261	15581	1.16	1573	1.62
2	Illiterate	653681	51867	4963	0.76	585	1.13
3	Literate (without Educational level)	213387	26059	3535	1.66	446	1.71
4	Primary or Junior Basic	399641	16864	5831	1.46	467	2.77
5	Matric or Higher Secondary	57432	2071	1090	1.90	71	3.43
6	Technical Diploma not equivalent to Degree	1487	8	9	0.61	-	-
7	Non-Technical Diploma not equivalent to Degree	100	4	2	2.00	-	-
8	University Degree or PGD. other than Technical Degree	12125	287	100	0.82	4	1.39
9	Technical Degree or Diploma equivalent to Degree or PGD.	5726	103	51	0.89	-	-

TABLE - II (Part 'A') Contd.

Sl. No.	SEEKING EMPLOYMENT FOR THE FIRST TIME											
	TOTAL		15 - 19		20 - 24		25 - 29		30 - 34		35 +	
	As a % of 'TUA' SEFT	As a % of 'TUM' MSEFT	As a % of 'SEFT'	As a % of MSEFT	As a % of SEFT	As a % of MSEFT	As a % of SEFT	As a % of MSEFT	As a % of SEFT	As a % of MSEFT	As a % of SEFT	As a % of MSEFT
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
1	33.06	35.73	50.46	58.01	33.00	30.25	8.97	7.30	2.99	2.49	4.58	1.96
2	26.84	33.16	56.98	60.31	22.45	22.68	10.81	10.31	3.23	1.55	6.53	5.15
3	31.94	33.41	47.21	52.35	32.42	38.26	7.17	6.04	4.34	3.86	5.31	-
4	35.16	38.54	53.76	67.22	32.88	25.56	7.17	4.44	2.54	2.22	3.66	0.56
5	51.74	52.11	29.08	27.03	57.98	62.16	9.75	8.11	1.24	2.70	1.95	-
6	33.33	-	-	-	66.67	-	33.33	-	-	-	-	-
7	50.00	-	-	-	50.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	45.00	50.00	-	-	46.67	-	42.22	50.00	6.67	50.00	4.44	-
9	52.94	-	3.70	-	37.04	-	55.56	-	-	-	3.70	-

Abbreviations Used: 'A' - Total Population of Ahmedabad District (URBAN)  
 'B' - Total Muslims of the 8 Wards of Ahmedabad City  
 TUA - Total Unemployed of Ahmedabad District (URBAN)  
 TUM - Total Unemployed Muslims in the 8 Wards  
 SEFT - Seeking work for the first time in Ahmedabad District (URBAN)  
 MSEFT - Muslims of 8 Wards seeking work for the first time.

TABLE - IIA

PERSONS UNEMPLOYED AGED 15 AND ABOVE BY BROAD AGE-GROUPS AND  
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN URBAN AREAS ONLY ( Part 'B' )

Sl. No.	EMPLOYED BEFORE BUT NOW UNEMPLOYED AND SEEKING WORK													
	TOTAL		15 - 19		20 - 24		25 - 34		35 - 44		45 - 59		60 + & ANS	
	As a % of TUA-1	As a % of TUM-2	As % of EBNUSW	As % of MEBNUSW	As % of EBNUSW	As % of MEBNUSW	As % of EBNUSW	As % of MEBNUSW	As % of EBNUSW	As % of MEBNUSW	As % of EBNUSW	As % of MEBNUSW	As % of EBNUSW	As % of MEBNUSW
	3	4												
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1	66.94	64.27	24.79	27.40	22.12	21.96	20.80	21.17	14.18	12.07	14.17	12.17	3.94	4.25
2	73.16	66.84	28.53	23.27	13.11	18.166	18.62	24.04	15.89	12.53	17.85	16.37	6.00	5.63
3	68.06	66.59	22.11	33.33	25.27	21.21	21.82	20.88	12.72	9.09	14.13	11.78	3.45	3.70
4	64.84	61.46	24.31	28.22	24.97	25.44	21.93	17.42	13.94	14.63	12.09	11.15	2.78	3.14
5	48.26	47.89	16.35	14.71	50.00	44.12	19.01	23.53	9.51	8.82	4.37	5.88	0.76	2.94
6	66.67	-	-	-	66.67	-	-	-	-	-	33.33	-	-	-
7	50.00	-	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	55.00	50.00	1.82	50.00	10.91	-	49.09	-	27.27	50.00	9.09	-	1.82	-
9	47.06	-	-	-	20.83	-	50.00	-	16.67	-	12.50	-	-	-

- Abbreviations Used:
- (1) TUA - Total Unemployed of Ahmedabad District (URBAN AREAS)
  - (2) TUM - Total Unemployed Muslims in the 8 Wards of Ahmedabad
  - (3) EBNUSW - Employed before, now Unemployed and seeking work, in Ahmedabad District (URBAN)
  - (4) MEBNUSW - Muslims Employed before, now Unemployed and seeking work.

**TABLE - III**  
**INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY EDUCATIONAL**  
**LEVEL IN URBAN AREAS OF AHMEDABAD DISTRICT AND AMONG MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS**

Sl. No.	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	TOTAL POPULATION AND TOTAL WORKERS					
		Ahmedabad District (Urban)	Muslims of 8 Wards	In Ahmedabad District		Among Muslims of 8 Wards	
		'A'	'B'	Persons T W A'	As % of 'A'	Persons T M W	As of of 'B'
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	Total	1343579	97261	421285	31.36	29841	30.68
2	Illiterate	653681	51867	147603	22.58	10738	20.70
3	Literate (without educational level)	213387	26059	97258	45.58	10116	38.82
4	Primary or Junior Basic	399641	16864	131649	32.94	7581	44.95
5	Matric or Higher Secondary	57432	2071	29888	52.04	1101	53.16
6	Technical Diploma not equivalent to Degree	1487	8	1283	86.28	-	-
7	Non-Technical Dipomsa not equivalent to Degree	100	4	74	74.00	2	50.00
8	University Degree or PGD. of the other than Technical Degree	12125	287	8771	72.34	206	71.78
9	Technical Degree or Diploma equivalent to Degree or PGD.	5726	103	4755	83.04	96	93.20
	i) Engineering	864	3	741	85.76	3	100.00
	ii) Medical	1068	12	927	86.80	10	83.33
	iii) Agriculture	36	-	32	88.89	-	-
	iv) Veterinary and Dairying	8	-	6	75.00	-	-
	v) Technology	166	3	162	97.59	3	100.00
	vi) Teaching	710	16	644	90.70	16	100.00
	vii) OTHERS	2856	72	2243	78.54	64	88.89

TABLE - III (Contd.)

Sl. No.	Educational Level	PRIMARY SECTOR		SECONDARY SECTOR		TERTIARY SECTOR		NON - WORKERS	
		Ahmedabad	8 Wards	Ahmedabad	8 Wards	Ahmedabad	8 Wards	Ahmedabad	8 Wards
		As % of T W A	As % of T M W	As % of T W A	As % of T M W	As % of T W A	As % of T M W	As % of A	As % of B
0	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
1	TOTAL	2.31	0.11	50.90	63.20	46.79	36.69	68.64	69.32
2	Illiterate	4.16	0.12	54.73	66.99	41.10	32.90	77.42	79.30
3	Literate (without educational level)	1.80	0.09	59.08	69.94	39.12	29.97	54.42	61.18
4	Primary or Junior Basic	1.29	0.12	50.46	56.89	48.23	43.02	67.06	55.05
5	Matric or Higher Secondary	0.37	0.18	22.25	22.71	77.38	77.11	47.96	46.84
6	Technical Diploma not equivalent to Degree	-	-	45.36	-	54.64	-	13.72	-
7	Non-Technical Diploma not equivalent to Degree	-	-	6.76	100.00	93.24	-	26.00	50.00
8	University Degree or PGD. other than Technical Degree	0.17	-	16.10	10.68	83.73	89.32	27.66	28.22
9	Technical Degree or Diploma equivalent to Degree or PGD.	0.13	-	23.11	5.21	76.76	94.79	16.96	6.80
	i) Engineering	-	-	20.24	33.33	79.76	66.67	14.24	00.00
	ii) Medical	-	-	2.70	-	97.30	100.00	13.20	16.67
	iii) Agriculture	6.25	-	18.75	-	75.00	-	11.11	-
	iv) Veterinary and Dairying	-	-	-	-	100.00	-	25.00	-
	v) Technology	-	-	83.95	-	16.05	100.00	2.41	00.00
	vi) Teaching	-	-	3.26	-	96.74	100.00	9.30	00.00
	vii) OTHERS	0.18	-	33.93	6.25	65.89	93.75	21.46	10.11

TABLE - IV

AGE AND EDUCATION IN URBAN AREAS OF AHMEDABAD DISTRICT AS PERCENTAGE  
OF TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH AGE-GROUP

AGE-GROUP	TOTAL POPULATION	LITERATES		LITERATES WITHOUT EDUCATIONAL LEVEL		PRIMARY OR JUNIOR BASIC		MATIC OR HIGHER SECONDARY	
		Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	1343579	653681	48.66	213387	15.88	39964	29.75	57432	4.27
<u>0 - 4</u>	192198	192198	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>5 - 9</u>	188217	98098	52.12	28981	15.40	61138	32.48	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	145802	27209	18.66	30436	20.87	88136	60.45	21	0.01
<u>15 - 19</u>	111904	29595	26.45	19133	17.10	52150	46.60	10866	9.71
<u>20 - 24</u>	136776	48233	35.26	23611	17.26	41666	30.46	19099	13.96
<u>25 - 29</u>	124278	51285	41.27	23528	18.93	35928	28.91	8482	6.83
<u>30 - 34</u>	110639	47084	42.56	22489	20.33	32161	29.07	5529	4.99
<u>35 - 44</u>	165076	73627	44.60	33810	20.48	46671	28.27	7369	4.46
<u>45 - 59</u>	120782	57133	47.30	23634	19.57	32888	27.23	4735	3.92
<u>60 +</u>	47679	29021	60.87	7753	16.26	8891	18.65	1329	2.79
<u>ANS</u>	228	198	86.84	12	5.26	12	5.26	2	0.88

TABLE - IV (Contd.)

AGE-GROUP	Total Population	TECHNICAL DIPLOMA NOT EQUIVALENT TO DEGREE		NON-TECHNICAL DIPLOMA NOT EQUIVA- LENT TO DEGREE		UNIVERSITY DEGREE OR PGD. OTHER THAN TECHNICAL DEGREE		UNIVERSITY DEGREE OR DIPLOMA EQUIVALENT TO DEGREE OR PGD.		OTHERS	
		Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %	Persons	Total Population As %
		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	1343579	1487	0.11	100.	0.00	12125	0.90	2870	0.21	2856	0.21
<u>0 - 4</u>	192198	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>5 - 9</u>	188217	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	145802	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>15 - 19</u>	111904	22	0.02	7	0.00	100	0.09	8	0.01	23	0.02
<u>20 - 24</u>	136776	327	0.24	15	0.01	2829	2.07	351	0.26	645	0.47
<u>25 - 29</u>	124278	341	0.27	27	0.02	3093	2.49	699	0.56	895	0.72
<u>30 - 34</u>	110639	191	0.17	19	0.02	2061	1.86	531	0.48	574	0.52
<u>35 - 44</u>	165076	294	0.18	16	0.00	2230	1.35	589	0.36	470	0.29
<u>45 - 59</u>	120782	251	0.21	13	0.01	1372	1.13	541	0.45	215	0.18
<u>60 +</u>	47679	61	0.13	3	0.01	439	0.92	150	0.31	32	0.06
<u>ANS</u>	228	-	-	-	-	1	0.44	1	0.44	2	0.88

TABLE - IVA

## AGE AND EDUCATION IN URBAN AREAS OF AHMEDABAD DISTRICT

(Persons in Different Age-Groups as Percentage of Total Persons at each Level of Education)

AGE - GROUPS	Total Population	Illiterate Rate	Literate Without Education level	Primary of Junior Basic	Matric or Higher Secondary	Technical Diploma not equivalent to Degree	Non-Tech. Diploma not equivalent to Degree	University Degree or PGD. other than Tech. Degree	Technical Degree or Diploma equivalent to Degree of PGD.	OTHERS
<u>ALL AGES</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>0 - 4</u>	14.30	29.40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>5 - 9</u>	14.00	15.01	13.38	15.30	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	10.85	4.16	14.26	22.05	0.04	-	-	-	-	-
<u>15 - 19</u>	8.33	4.53	8.97	13.05	18.92	1.48	7.00	0.82	0.28	0.81
<u>20 - 24</u>	10.18	7.38	11.06	10.43	33.25	22.00	15.00	23.33	12.23	22.58
<u>25 - 29</u>	9.25	7.85	11.03	8.98	14.77	22.93	27.00	25.52	24.36	31.34
<u>30 - 34</u>	8.23	7.20	10.53	8.05	9.63	12.84	19.00	17.00	18.50	20.10
<u>35 - 44</u>	12.29	11.26	15.84	11.67	12.83	19.77	16.00	18.39	20.52	16.45
<u>45 - 59</u>	8.99	8.74	11.08	8.23	8.24	16.88	13.00	11.31	18.85	7.53
<u>60 +</u>	3.55	4.44	3.63	2.24	2.31	4.10	3.00	3.62	5.22	1.12
<u>ANS</u>	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00	-	-	-	0.03	0.07



TABLE - V

AGE AND EDUCATION FOR MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS OF AHMEDABAD CITY AS  
A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION OF EACH AGE-GROUP -

AGE-GROUP	PERSONS	Illiterates	Literates Without Education Level	Primary or Junior Basic	Matric or Higher Secondary	Technical Diploma and Education to Degree	Non-Technical Diploma not Education to Degree	University Degree or PGD, other than Tech. Degree	Technical Degree or Diploma Education to Degree or PGD.	OTHERS
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	100.00	53.33	26.79	17.34	2.13	0.00	0.00	0.29	0.03	0.07
<u>0 - 4</u>	100.00	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>5 - 9</u>	100.00	54.63	43.27	2.09	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	100.00	22.84	42.93	33.88	0.34	-	-	-	-	-
<u>15 - 19</u>	100.00	30.60	25.08	37.78	6.45	0.01	-	0.07	-	-
<u>20 - 24</u>	100.00	38.37	27.10	27.19	6.31	0.03	0.02	0.88	0.05	0.03
<u>25 - 29</u>	100.00	47.96	26.34	21.12	3.46	-	0.02	0.95	0.06	0.07
<u>30 - 34</u>	100.00	49.72	27.76	19.43	2.42	-	-	0.49	0.11	0.05
<u>35 - 44</u>	100.00	52.35	27.18	17.73	2.14	-	-	0.37	0.04	0.19
<u>45 - 59</u>	100.00	57.90	25.03	14.68	1.65	0.01	-	0.39	0.05	0.39
<u>60 + &amp; ANS</u>	100.00	71.13	17.02	10.02	1.40	0.09	-	0.14	0.09	0.11

TABLE - VA

AGE AND EDUCATION FOR MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS OF AHMEDABAD CITY  
( Persons in Different Age-Groups as Percentage of  
Total Persons at each Educational Level )

AGE-GROUPS	PERSONS	Illiterate	Literate Without Education Level	Primary or Junior Basic	Matric or Higher Secondary	Technical Diploma not Equivalent to Degree	Non-Tech. Diploma not Equivalent to Degree	University Degree or PGD. other than Tech. Degree	Technical Degree or Diploma Equivalent to Degree or PGD.	OTHERS
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>0 - 4</u>	14.36	26.94	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>5 - 9</u>	14.66	15.02	23.67	1.76	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	12.21	5.23	19.56	23.85	1.98	-	-	-	-	-
<u>15 - 19</u>	8.40	4.83	7.87	18.31	25.45	12.50	-	2.09	-	-
<u>20 - 24</u>	9.66	6.93	9.77	15.15	28.63	37.50	50.00	28.91	16.13	4.17
<u>25 - 29</u>	8.53	7.67	8.39	10.38	13.86	-	50.00	27.53	16.13	8.33
<u>30 - 34</u>	7.85	7.32	8.13	8.79	8.93	-	-	13.24	29.03	5.56
<u>35 - 44</u>	11.93	11.70	12.09	12.19	11.97	-	-	14.98	16.13	30.55
<u>45 - 59</u>	8.80	9.54	8.22	7.44	6.81	12.50	-	11.50	12.90	45.83
<u>60 + &amp; ANS</u>	3.60	4.81	2.29	2.08	2.37	37.50	-	1.74	9.68	5.56

TABLE - VI

PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY AND BROAD  
AGE-GROUPS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NON-WORKING POPULATION IN  
AHMEDABAD DISTRICT (URBAN) - AHMEDABAD CITY (TOTAL ONLY) AND  
MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS -

AGE-GROUP	AREA	Full-time Students	House- Hold Duties	Dependents INFANTS & DISABLED	Retired, Rentiers or Indep- dent Means	Beggars, Vagrants, etc.	Inmates of Mental & Charitable Institutes	Seeking Employment for the first time	Employed before now unemployed and seeking work
<u>Total</u>	Ahmedabad District (Urban)	27.95	31.77	36.31	1.81	0.11	0.31	0.59	1.15
	Ahmedabad City	28.70	32.15	35.26	1.80	0.07	0.17	0.61	1.24
	Muslims of 8 Wards	24.62	32.88	38.40	1.39	0.08	0.15	0.93	1.55
<u>0 - 14</u>	Ahmedabad Distt. (Urban)	37.93	2.37	59.60	-	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.03
	Muslims of 8 Wards	35.94	4.06	59.73	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.17	0.08
<u>15 - 34</u>	Ahmedabad Distt. (Urban)	23.05	69.15	2.50	0.08	0.10	0.52	1.89	2.71
	Muslims of 8 Wards	12.74	75.73	4.16	0.07	0.07	0.22	3.06	3.96
<u>35 - 59</u>	Ahmedabad Distt. (Urban)	0.05	84.51	5.53	5.30	0.46	1.16	0.21	2.79
	Muslims of 8 Wards	0.10	84.77	6.42	3.95	0.37	0.72	0.14	3.59
<u>60 +</u>	Ahmedabad Distt. (Urban)	-	31.45	34.25	31.64	0.79	0.65	0.03	1.20
	Muslims of 8 Wards	-	32.43	38.14	26.72	0.59	0.25	0.04	1.82
<u>ANS</u>	Ahmedabad Distt. (Urban)	4.43	10.84	83.74	-	0.99	-	-	-
	Muslims of 8 Wards	-	-	100.00	-	-	-	-	-

**PERSONS NOT AT WORK CLASSIFIED BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY AND BROAD AGE GROUP  
IN AHMEDABAD DISTRICT-(A) - (URBAN) AND MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS OF AHMEDABAD  
CITY-(B) - (Persons in Different Age-Groups as Percentage of  
Total Persons Engaged in Each Activity)**

AGE-GROUPS	TOTAL NON-WORKING POPULATION		FULL-TIME STUDENTS		HOUSEHOLD DUTIES		DEPENDENTS INFANTS AND DISABLED		RETIRED, RENTIER OR INDEPENDENT MEANS	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>0 - 14</b>	56.50	58.99	76.68	86.12	4.21	7.29	92.74	91.76	-	0.42
<b>15 - 34</b>	28.24	26.74	23.30	13.84	61.48	61.58	1.94	2.90	1.22	1.28
<b>35 - 59</b>	11.50	10.74	0.02	0.04	30.61	27.68	1.75	1.80	33.67	30.62
<b>60 +</b>	3.73	3.51	-	-	3.69	3.45	3.51	3.48	65.10	67.67
<b>ANS</b>	0.02	0.02	0.00	-	0.01	-	0.05	0.06	-	-

AGE-GROUPS	BEGGARS AND VAGRANTS		INMATES OF MENTAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTES		SEEKING EMPLOYMENT FOR THE FIRST TIME		EMPLOYED BEFORE NOW UNEMPLOYED AND STARTING SEEKING WORK	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
0	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
<b>TOTAL</b>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<b>0 - 14</b>	2.29	5.36	1.48	2.97	4.86	10.65	1.66	3.16
<b>15 - 34</b>	25.04	21.43	47.45	39.60	90.78	87.60	66.58	68.30
<b>35 - 59</b>	46.56	48.21	43.16	51.49	4.19	1.59	27.88	24.42
<b>60 +</b>	25.91	25.00	7.91	5.94	0.17	0.16	3.88	4.12
<b>ANS</b>	0.19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TABLE - VII

**INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF CLASS OF WORKERS OF PERSONS AT WORK  
IN NON-HOUSE HOLD INDUSTRY, TRADE BUSINESS PROFESSION OR SERVICE  
IN AHMEDABAD DISTRICT - URBAN (A) AND FOR MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS (B)**

( Class of Worker as a Percentage of Total Persons  
in each Division )

DIVISION	Description	PERSONS		EMPLOYER		EMPLOYEE		SINGLE WORKER		FAMILY WORKER	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
ALL DIVISIONS		100.00	100.00	7.26	7.07	73.67	76.88	15.47	12.89	3.60	3.96
DIVISION '0'	Agriculture, Live- stock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	100.00	10.00	8.03	9.10	58.47	68.18	24.83	4.54	14.66	18.18
DIVISION-1	Mining and Quarrying	100.00	100.00	5.00	-	37.50	-	52.50	50.00	5.00	50.00
DIVISION-2 & 3	Manufacturing	100.00	100.00	3.03	2.69	90.07	92.05	5.00	3.76	1.90	1.49
DIVISION-4	Construction	100.00	100.00	6.35	4.24	31.33	29.15	62.32	65.01	-	1.59
DIVISION-5	Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	100.00	100.00	1.76	2.27	98.23	90.90	-	6.82	-	-
DIVISION-6	Trade and Commerce	100.00	100.00	25.70	27.62	34.08	25.85	27.60	31.05	12.61	15.47
DIVISION-7	Storage, Transport and Communication	100.00	100.00	2.37	4.32	72.95	75.05	24.67	19.49	-	1.14
DIVISION-8	Services, Public, Educational and Scientific, Medical and Health, Welfare, Legal and Business, Recreational and Personal Services	100.00	100.00	5.11	6.75	82.37	77.57	10.10	11.36	2.42	4.32
DIVISION-9	Not Adequately Described	100.00	100.00	1.04	0.65	18.75	26.80	80.20	71.24	-	1.31

TABLE - VIIA

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF CLASS OF WORKERS OF PERSONS AT WORK  
IN NON-HOUSE HOLD INDUSTRY, TRADE BUSINESS PROFESSION OR SERVICE  
IN AHMEDABAD DISTRICT - URBAN (A) AND FOR MUSLIMS OF S UARD (B)

( Persons in a Division as Percentage of Total Persons in each  
class of workers )

DIVISION	DESCRIPTION	PERSONS		EMPLOYER		EMPLOYEE		SINGLE WORKER		FAMILY WORKER	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
ALL DIVISIONS		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
DIVISION '0'	Agriculture, Live- stock, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	0.35	0.08	0.38	0.10	0.25	0.07	0.55	0.03	1.40	0.34
DIVISION-1	Mining and Quarrying	0.01	0.00	0.01	-	0.00	-	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.09
DIVISIONS-2 & 3	Manufacturing	49.40	62.09	20.62	23.72	60.40	74.34	15.97	19.31	26.09	23.43
DIVISION-4	Construction	2.76	1.96	2.43	1.17	1.18	0.74	11.16	10.51	-	0.78
DIVISION-5	Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitary Services	0.83	0.30	0.20	0.10	1.10	0.36	-	0.17	-	-
DIVISION-6	Trade and Commerce	16.90	15.03	59.87	58.53	7.82	4.99	30.15	39.14	59.23	58.62
DIVISION-7	Storage, Transport and Communication	6.36	5.44	2.07	3.32	6.29	5.31	10.13	8.77	-	1.57
DIVISION-8	Some Services, Public Educational and Scientific, Medical and Health, Welfare, Legal and Business, Recrea- tional and Personal Services	19.69	13.51	13.88	12.91	22.01	13.63	12.85	12.69	13.26	14.72
DIVISION-9	Not Adequately Described	3.70	1.59	0.53	0.15	0.94	0.55	19.15	9.34	-	0.53

TABLE - VIII

AGE-SEX AND MALE-FEMALE RATIO IN AHMEDABAD CITY (URBAN)  
AND FOR MUSLIMS OF 8 WARDS OF EACH AGE-GROUP AS A PERCENT-  
AGE OF TOTAL OF ALL AGES - (A = Ahmedabad City Urban,  
B = Muslims of 8 Wards)

AGE-GROUP	TOTAL PERSONS		MALES		FEMALES		FEMALES PER 1000 MALES	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	805.03	782.24
<u>0 - 9</u>	28.12	29.02	26.57	26.67	30.05	32.04	910.78	939.27
<u>10 - 14</u>	10.74	12.20	10.49	11.55	11.05	13.05	847.39	883.27
<u>15 - 19</u>	8.31	8.41	8.45	8.18	8.15	8.68	776.39	829.83
<u>20 - 24</u>	10.30	9.66	10.23	9.78	10.40	9.51	818.58	759.89
<u>25 - 29</u>	9.35	8.53	8.96	8.17	9.84	8.99	883.95	861.57
<u>30 - 34</u>	8.41	7.85	8.52	8.04	8.27	7.61	742.78	740.83
<u>35 - 44</u>	12.46	11.93	13.65	13.52	10.98	9.88	647.52	571.27
<u>45 - 59</u>	8.92	8.80	10.08	10.59	7.47	6.49	596.55	479.15
<u>60 +</u>	3.36	3.57	3.03	3.47	3.77	3.73	1002.02	841.16
<u>ANS</u>	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	840.71	437.15

TABLE - IX

## AGE AND MARITAL STATUS IN AHMEDABAD CITY (URBAN)

PERSONS IN EACH CATEGORY AS PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP	PERSONS IN EACH AGE GROUP
AGE - GROUPS	Total Population	Never Married	Never Married as % of Total Population	Married	Married as a % of Total Population	WIDOWED	Widowed as a % of Total Population	Divorced/Seperated	Divorced/Seperated as % of Total Population
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ALL-AGES	1149918	568611	49.45	525523	45.70	53803	4.68	1981	0.17
0 - 9	323408	323408	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 - 14	123504	116308	94.17	7176	5.81	12	0.01	8	0.00
15 - 19	95577	68061	71.21	27305	28.57	104	0.10	107	0.11
20 - 24	118497	39482	33.32	78097	65.91	582	0.49	336	0.28
25 - 29	107570	10983	10.21	94925	88.24	1306	1.21	358	0.33
30 - 34	96697	3446	3.56	90695	93.79	2211	2.28	345	0.36
35 - 39	77416	1910	2.47	71905	92.88	3337	4.31	264	0.34
40 - 44	65834	1468	2.22	58414	88.73	5746	8.73	206	0.31
45 - 49	44478	1243	2.79	37386	84.06	5733	12.89	116	0.26
50 - 54	40451	1061	2.62	30029	74.24	9247	22.86	114	0.28
55 - 59	17630	399	2.26	12171	69.03	5015	28.45	45	0.26
60 - 64	18515	321	1.73	9769	52.76	8381	45.26	44	0.24
65 - 69	6961	140	2.01	3358	48.24	3454	49.62	9	0.13
70 +	13172	208	1.58	4265	32.38	8670	65.82	29	0.22
ANS	208	173	83.17	30	14.42	5	2.40	-	-



TABLE - IX (Contd.)

PERSONS IN EACH AGE - GROUP AS	PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN EACH CATEGORY				
AGE - GROUPS	Total Population	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced / Separated
0	10	11	12	13	14
<u>ALL - AGES</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>0 - 9</u>	28.12	56.88	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	10.74	20.45	1.37	0.02	0.40
<u>15 - 19</u>	8.31	11.97	5.20	0.19	5.40
<u>20 - 24</u>	10.30	6.94	14.86	1.08	16.96
<u>25 - 29</u>	9.35	1.93	18.06	2.44	18.07
<u>30 - 34</u>	8.41	0.61	17.26	4.11	17.42
<u>35 - 39</u>	6.73	0.34	13.68	6.20	13.33
<u>40 - 44</u>	5.73	0.26	11.12	10.67	10.40
<u>45 - 49</u>	3.87	0.21	7.11	10.66	5.86
<u>50 - 54</u>	3.52	0.19	5.71	17.19	5.75
<u>55 - 59</u>	1.53	0.07	2.32	9.32	2.27
<u>60 - 64</u>	1.61	0.05	1.86	15.58	2.22
<u>65 - 69</u>	0.61	0.02	0.64	6.42	0.45
<u>70 +</u>	1.15	0.04	0.81	16.11	1.46
<u>ANS</u>	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00	-

TABLE - X

## AGE AND MARITAL STATUS IN 8 WARDS OF AHMEDABAD CITY (FOR MUSLIMS ONLY)

AGE-GROUPS	PERSONS IN EACH CATEGORY AS PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN EACH AGE-GROUP					PERSONS IN EACH AGE-GROUP AS PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS IN EACH CATEGORY				
	PERSONS	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated	PERSONS	Never Married	Married	Widowed	Divorced/ Separated
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	100.00	53.44	41.52	4.76	0.27	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>0 - 9</u>	100.00	100.00	-	-	-	29.02	54.31	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	100.00	98.64	1.36	0.00	-	12.20	22.53	0.40	0.02	-
<u>15 - 19</u>	100.00	78.16	21.50	0.08	0.25	8.40	12.29	4.35	0.15	7.98
<u>20 - 24</u>	100.00	39.47	59.46	0.70	0.36	9.66	7.14	13.83	1.42	12.93
<u>25 - 29</u>	100.00	13.37	84.21	1.83	0.58	8.53	2.14	17.30	3.28	18.25
<u>30 - 34</u>	100.00	4.35	92.21	2.71	0.71	7.85	0.64	17.43	4.51	20.53
<u>35 - 39</u>	100.00	2.74	92.23	4.40	0.65	6.31	0.32	14.03	5.83	15.20
<u>40 - 44</u>	100.00	2.31	88.10	9.28	0.29	5.60	0.24	11.90	10.92	6.08
<u>45 - 49</u>	100.00	1.66	84.64	13.15	0.55	3.71	0.12	7.57	10.25	7.60
<u>50 - 54</u>	100.00	1.79	74.72	22.98	0.51	3.62	0.12	6.51	17.47	6.84
<u>55 - 59</u>	100.00	1.55	71.52	26.50	0.43	1.47	0.04	2.53	8.16	2.28
<u>60 - 64</u>	100.00	1.44	54.28	44.04	0.23	1.79	0.04	2.33	16.52	1.52
<u>65 - 69</u>	100.00	1.94	54.95	42.91	0.19	0.53	0.02	0.70	4.77	0.38
<u>70 +</u>	100.00	0.81	36.10	63.00	0.08	1.62	0.02	1.09	16.69	0.38
<u>ANS</u>	100.00	69.57	36.43	-	-	0.02	0.03	0.01	-	-

TABLE - XI

WIDOWED MALES AND FEMALES IN AHMEDABAD CITY URBAN AND FOR MUSLIMS  
OF 8 WARDS AGE-GROUP WISE DISTRIBUTION AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL  
MALES/FEMALES WIDOWED AND WIDOWED FEMALES PER THOUSAND WIDOWED MALES

AGE-GROUPS	MALES		FEMALES		WIDOWED FEMALES 1000 WIDOWED MALES	
	Ahmedabad City Urban	Muslims of 8 Wards	Ahmedabad City Urban	Muslims of 8 Wards	Ahmedabad City Urban	Muslims of 8 Wards
<u>ALL-AGES</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	2708.25	1971.13
<u>0 - 9</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>10 - 14</u>	0.02	-	0.02	0.03	3000.00	-
<u>15 - 19</u>	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.13	1642.85	1333.33
<u>20 - 24</u>	1.84	2.12	0.80	1.07	1179.78	1000.00
<u>25 - 29</u>	4.29	5.07	1.73	2.38	1096.31	924.05
<u>30 - 34</u>	6.03	6.80	3.40	3.35	1526.86	971.61
<u>35 - 39</u>	7.79	8.53	5.62	4.46	1953.09	1030.07
<u>40 - 44</u>	10.25	10.97	10.83	10.90	2864.42	1959.06
<u>45 - 49</u>	10.20	10.26	10.82	10.25	2871.03	1958.75
<u>50 - 54</u>	15.11	15.97	17.95	18.22	3372.37	2248.99
<u>55 - 59</u>	9.77	8.72	9.15	7.89	2536.67	1779.41
<u>60 - 64</u>	12.95	13.47	16.54	18.06	3460.35	2642.85
<u>65 - 69</u>	5.87	4.23	6.62	5.04	3053.99	2348.48
<u>70 +</u>	15.67	13.66	16.28	18.23	2812.66	2629.11
<u>ANS</u>	-	-	0.01	-	-	-

TABLE - XII

AHMEDABAD CITY - NORM FOR THE CITY OF AHMEDABAD (URBAN)  
AND FOR TOTAL POPULATION OF 8 WARDS

CITY / WARD	HOUSEHOLD BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS AND NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM				
	Number of House-Holds	Number of Persons	Number of Persons Per House-Hold	Total Number of Rooms	Number of Persons Per Room
AHMEDABAD CITY	45210	224942	4.97	72253	3.11
Raikhad	1439	7953	5.53	2244	3.54
Kalupur I	1022	6149	6.02	2240	2.75
Dariapur I	1507	8560	5.68	2487	3.44
Shahpur II	1979	10445	5.28	3166	3.30
Dariapur- Kezipur	4095	19119	4.69	5606	3.42
Sheher-Kotpa	1984	9538	4.81	2468	3.86
Asarva	4661	20975	4.50	5670	3.70
Rakhiyal	3756	16983	4.52	4382	3.88

TABLE - XIII

AHMEDABAD CITY - NORM FOR THE CITY OF AHMEDABAD (URBAN)  
AND FOR 15 WARDS OF THE CITY WHICH HAVE  
SLUM AREAS

City / Ward	DISTRIBUTION OF 1000 CENSUS HOUSEHOLDS IN WARDS WITH SLUM AREAS ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ROOM OCCUPIED					
	Number of Regular Rooms	1 Room	2 Rooms	3 Rooms	4 Rooms	5 Rooms
AHMEDABAD CITY	N	910	75	8	5	2
Jamalpur I	-	971	29	-	-	-
Raikaad	-	882	103	-	15	-
Kalupur I	-	1000	-	-	-	-
Shahpur I	-	774	179	25	16	6
Shahpur II	-	908	55	13	16	8
Ellisbridge	-	833	102	14	35	16
Dariapur-Kazipur	N	918	35	10	4	3
Shaher-Kotda	-	892	104	4	-	-
Asarva	-	972	26	2	N	-
Rekhiyal	-	931	65	3	1	N
Rajpur Hirapur	-	896	101	3	-	-
Khokhara- Mehmedabad	-	822	152	-	5	21
Kankaria T.P.S.	-	899	49	19	26	7
Jamalpur T.P.S.	-	908	83	7	2	-
Baherimpura	-	944	42	14	-	-

**AHMEDABAD CITY - TOTAL POPULATION AND MUSLIM POPULATION OF THE 8 WARDS,  
TOTAL CENSUS HOUSEHOLDS AND THE USES TO WHICH THEY ARE  
PUT ( Percentage Distribution )**

CITY / WARD	Total Population of each of the 8 wards as % of Total Population of Ahmedabad City	Total Population of the 8 wards as % of the Total Population of 8 wards	Total Muslim of 8 wards as a % of Total Population of the 8 wards	Census Houses in each ward as % of Census Houses in Ahmedabad	Vacant Houses as % of Total Census Houses in each of the 8 wards	Residential Houses of % of Total Census Houses in each of the 8 wards	Non-Residential Houses as % of Total Census Houses in each of the 8 wards	Schools and other Educational Institutes as a % of Total Non-Residential Houses in each ward	Places of Entertainment and Community Gathering as % of Total Residential Houses in each ward	Public Health and Non-Educational Institutes etc. as a % of Total Non-Residential Houses in each ward
AHMEDABAD CITY	100.00	-	-	100.00	3.95	79.84	16.21	2.43	0.61	2.39
Raikhad	3.62	8.24	14.37	3.39	4.27	74.74	20.99	2.61	1.05	1.50
Kalupur I	2.73	6.20	13.30	2.53	3.35	71.80	24.85	2.39	1.08	3.35
Dhariapur I	3.80	8.63	19.66	3.27	2.96	82.13	14.91	3.29	1.68	2.77
Shahpur II	4.74	10.77	13.22	4.42	2.31	79.96	17.73	2.64	1.09	3.14
Dariapur - Kazipur	8.67	19.71	8.34	8.97	4.39	81.08	14.53	1.72	0.32	1.28
Shaher - Kotda	3.88	8.84	12.36	4.39	2.78	80.46	16.76	1.21	0.09	1.06
Asarva	9.34	21.22	7.54	9.46	2.74	88.02	9.24	2.04	0.32	2.82
Rakhyal	7.21	16.39	11.21	6.78	4.18	88.11	7.71	2.39	0.34	2.87