

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1951



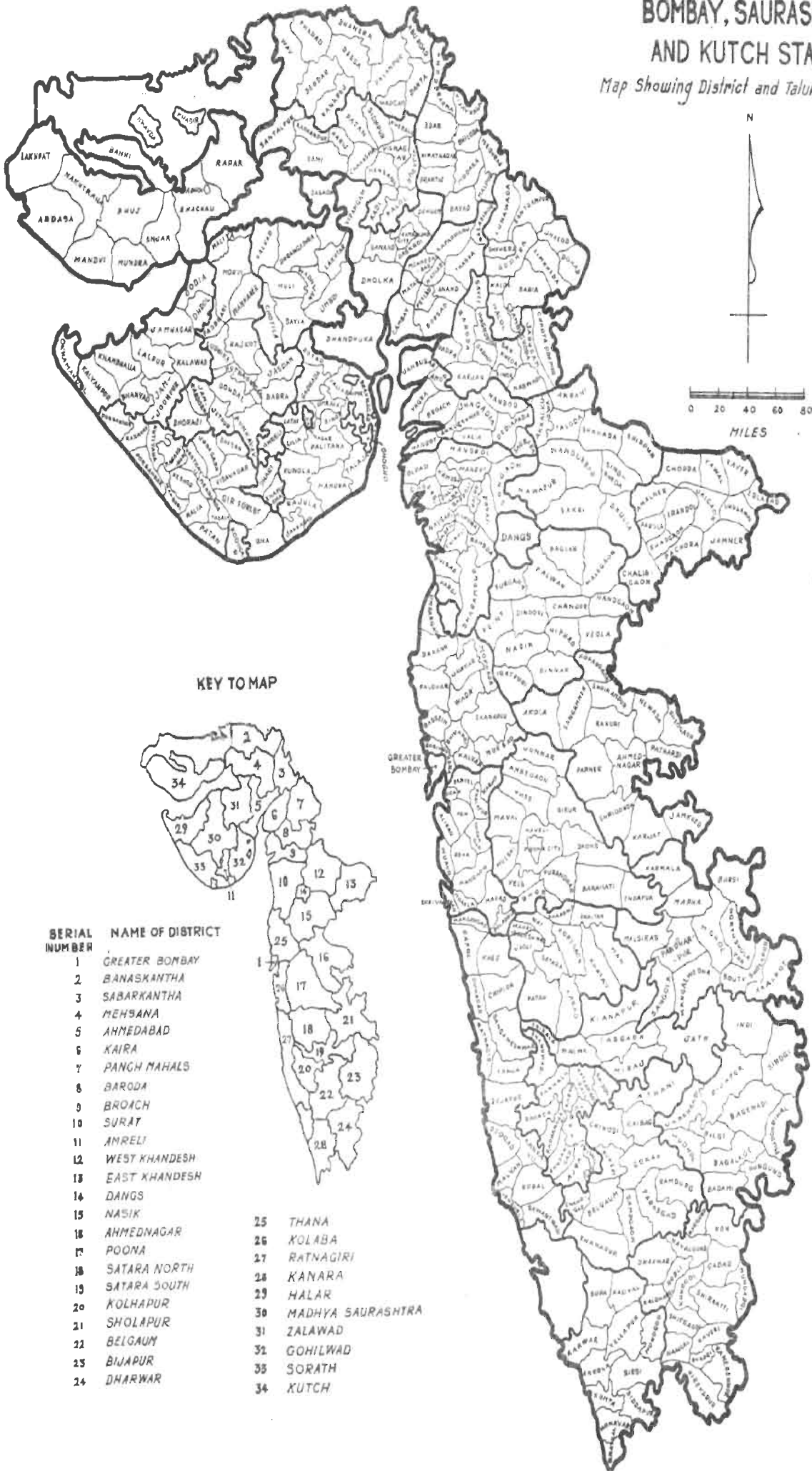
DIGEST OF THE 1951 CENSUS REPORT FOR BOMBAY, SAURASHTRA AND KUTCH

By
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Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch

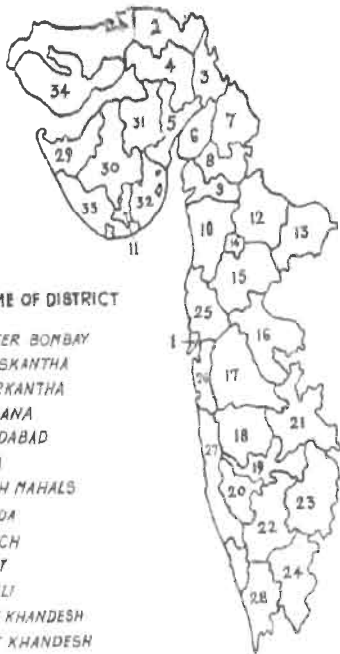
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BOMBAY, SAURASHTRA AND KUTCH STATES

Map Showing District and Taluka boundaries



KEY TO MAP



SERIAL NUMBER	NAME OF DISTRICT
1	GREATER BOMBAY
2	BANASKANTHA
3	SABARKANTHA
4	MEHSANA
5	AHMEDABAD
6	KAIRA
7	PANGH MAHALS
8	BARODA
9	BROACH
10	SURAT
11	AMRELI
12	WEST KHANDESH
13	EAST KHANDESH
14	DANGS
15	NASIK
16	AHMEDNAGAR
17	POONA
18	SATARA NORTH
19	SATARA SOUTH
20	KOLHAPUR
21	SHOLAPUR
22	BELGAUM
23	BIJAPUR
24	DHARWAR
25	THANA
26	KOLABA
27	RATNAGIRI
28	KANARA
29	HALAR
30	MADHYA SAURASHTRA
31	ZALAWAD
32	GOHILWAD
33	SORATH
34	KUTCH

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I—General Population	1
CHAPTER II—Rural Population	7
CHAPTER III—Urban Population	12
CHAPTER IV—Agricultural Classes	18
CHAPTER V—Non-Agricultural Classes	26
CHAPTER VI—Families, Sexes and Principal Age Groups	31
CHAPTER VII—Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes	35
CHAPTER VIII—Displaced Persons	37
CHAPTER IX—Literacy	38
CHAPTER X—Language	39
CHAPTER XI—Religion	40

MAPS

Map showing District and Taluka boundaries	Frontispiece
Map showing Density of Population	facing page 2

Digest of the 1951 Census Report for Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch

CORRIGENDUM

Page.	Column.	Line.	For	Read
27	2	20	being self-supporting persons with a secondary	being self-supporting persons without a secondary

Many busy people will lack the time to read the Census Report. For their benefit
this summary has been prepared.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL POPULATION

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

During the decade 1941-51 the population of Bombay State as at present constituted increased by 23·2 per cent, that of Saurashtra by 16·2 per cent and that of Kutch by 11·8 per cent. Extensive territorial changes took place during the past decade. 176 of the former Indian States were merged in Bombay in 1948-49. Saurashtra was formed when the 202 States of the Kathiawar peninsula covenanted into a new Union of States. The administration of the

State of Kutch was taken over by the Government of India in June 1948.

Among the States of the Indian Union Bombay with a 1951 population of 35,956,150 and an area of 111,434 square miles was the fourth most populous and the fifth largest in area. None of the Part A States recorded such a heavy increase in population as Bombay during the past decade.

SECTION 2

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY

It has been customary to examine the census data with reference to what are called "natural divisions" into which districts with roughly similar characteristics were grouped.

There were seven natural divisions in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch at the 1951 census. The Deccan Northern Division comprised the districts of West Khandesh, East Khandesh, Dangs, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Poona, Satara North, Satara South, Kolhapur, and Sholapur, with a combined population of 12,364,735, and an area of 45,155 square miles. The Deccan Southern Division comprised the three districts of Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar, with a combined population of 4,698,479 and an area of 17,430 square miles. The Gujarat Division, like the Deccan Northern Division, comprised ten districts. They were Banaskantha, Sabarkantha, Mehsana, Ahmedabad, Kaira, Panch

Mahals, Baroda, Broach, Surat, and Amreli, having a combined population of 11,396,789 and an area of 33,136 square miles. The five districts of Saurashtra State, which constituted a separate natural division, were Halar, Madhya Saurashtra, Zalawad, Gohilwad and Sorath, having a total population of 4,137,359 and an area of 21,451 square miles. The State of Kutch, with a population of 567,606, and an area of 16,724 square miles, also constituted a separate natural division. Greater Bombay, with a population of 2,839,270 and an area of 111 square miles, was a separate natural division and an exclusively urban area. The natural division of the Konkan consisted of the four districts of Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Kanara, having a population of 4,656,877 and an area of 15,602 square miles.

The density of the area that now forms Bombay State was 201 persons to the square mile in 1921, 227 in 1931, 262 in 1941 and 323 in 1951. The density of Saurashtra was 119 in 1921 and 193 in 1951. Kutch recorded a more modest rise from 29 in 1921 to 34 in 1951. Within the State of Bombay in 1951 the density of Gujarat was 344, of the Konkan 298, of the Deccan Northern Division 274, and of the Deccan Southern Division 270. Greater Bombay had a density of 25,579 persons to the square

mile. In the 25·24 square miles that formed Bombay City before the extension of its boundaries during the decade the density was 92,275.

Forest areas in Dangs and Kanara reduced the densities of these districts to 72 and 130. Kaira district had a density of 634 and Kolhapur of 445. A fertile soil and, in Kolhapur, a fairly assured rainfall, accounted for these high densities.

SECTION 3

GROWTH

Increase in population is determined only by three factors—births, deaths, and migration. India's population growth in modern times has not been exceptional but close to average. The population of Bombay State increased by 55 per cent between 1872 and 1941, as against 120 per cent in Japan, and 23 per cent in the U. S. A. The growth of population in India exhibited marked fluctuations from decade to decade until 1921, due principally to the great famine of 1899 and the influenza epidemic of 1918-19. Since 1921, however, Bombay not only shared the increases at successive censuses, but recorded increases above the average for the country as a whole.

The population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch—increased by 60 per cent between 1921 and 1951. The experience of districts varied. At one extreme Greater Bombay increased by 119 per cent, Ahmedabad by 98 per cent, Ahmednagar and Dangs by 96 per cent, Thana by 80 per cent, and Poona by 77 per cent. At the other extreme Kutch increased by only 17 per cent, Ratnagiri by 26 per cent, Kanara by 29 per cent and Kolaba by 34 per cent. Greater Bombay, Ahmedabad, Thana and Poona attracted migrants, while Kutch, Ratnagiri, Kanara and Kolaba are emigrant districts.

During 1921-31 when the population of Bombay State increased by 12·9 per cent, Greater Bombay increased by only 0·6 per cent. The slump in trade caused workers to return to their homes in the districts, and there was some under-enumeration at the census of Bombay City in that year. During 1931-41 the population of Bombay State increased by 15·6 per cent, Greater Bombay increasing by 30·1 per cent. During 1941-51 the population of Bombay State increased by 23·2 per cent, the

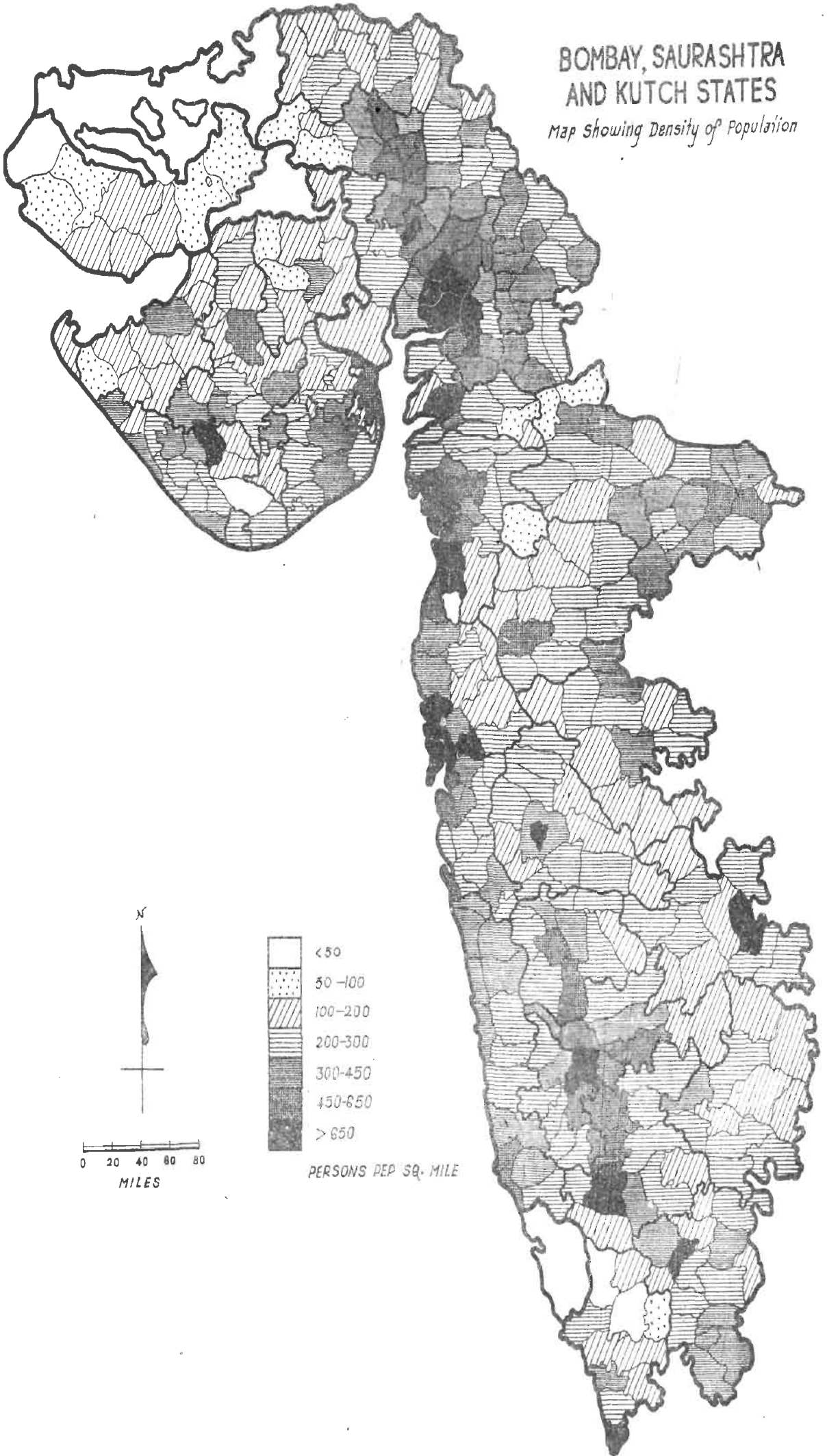
highest increase ever recorded. Substantial increases in population were the rule. The eight districts of Greater Bombay, Thana, Poona, Ahmedabad, Banaskantha, Nasik, Ahmednagar, and West Khandesh increased by more than 25 per cent, and only the five districts of Ratnagiri, Broach, East Khandesh, Kolaba and Amreli recorded increases of less than 15 per cent. Greater Bombay recorded a spectacular increase from 1,695,168 in 1941 to 2,839,270 in 1951. Banaskantha's unusual increase was largely due to the famine migrants of 1940 returning to their homes. Thana district, which adjoins Greater Bombay, developed considerably during the decade. Displaced persons from Pakistan were settled in the new township of Ulhasnagar in that district. Even Kanara district, where the 1941 population was less than the 1901 population, had a 17·4 per cent increase during the decade. DDT spraying revived the area where population had been in decline because of malaria.

409,882 displaced persons from Pakistan were found in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch at the census. It is clear that they were not the major factor responsible for the increase in population during the decade.

The spreading of the census enumeration over as long a period as three weeks in 1951 probably reduced the amount of under-enumeration by comparison with previous censuses. Despite the longer enumeration period there is no evidence of people being erroneously counted twice in 1951. A sample verification carried out by magistrates shortly after the census, and another independent check by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of the Bombay Government, suggested that the head count was accurate within 1 per cent.

BOMBAY, SAURASHTRA AND KUTCH STATES

Map Showing Density of Population



SECTION 4

MOVEMENT

Information about migration is derived mainly from the birthplace question at the census. This is not an entirely accurate measure of the extent of migration as a person's place of birth may be unrelated to normal residence. A wife generally returns to her parents' house, which may be across a district or state boundary, for her first confinement.

Place of birth can give no indication of the number of moves an individual may make in his lifetime. In 1940 a large scale migration took place to Sind from Banaskantha following famine. These persons returned after the partition of India and were enumerated in the district of their birth in 1951. Yet so far as census figures go these persons might never have moved. Again, 2,274 displaced persons from Pakistan were enumerated in Ratnagiri in 1951, yet only 1,558 persons in the district were born in Pakistan. The clue to this riddle lay in the mother tongue data. 2,251 displaced persons in Ratnagiri district returned Marathi as their mother tongue. They were Maharashtrais who had migrated to Sind and then been displaced as a result of partition.

There are various types of migration. Women migrate for marriage and men for jobs, as a rule. Hence in migration between adjacent districts females predominated. 11,626 males and 22,484 females born in Kolhapur district were enumerated in Belgaum, and 14,093 males and 27,329 females born in Belgaum district were enumerated in Kolhapur. Where females predominate in a migration stream it is generally marriage migration. In the migration stream as a whole males predominate. The proportion of females to males tends to fall progressively the greater the distance travelled because most male migrants from long distance leave their wives behind. There were 1,395 females per 1,000 males among persons enumerated in districts of Bombay State and born in districts of the same natural division, but only 244 females per 1,000 males among persons enumerated in Bombay State but born in other parts of India. Among displaced persons from Pakistan the migration was from a long distance but was a special type of migration involving whole families, hence there were as many as 734 females per 1,000 males.

Western India is an area that attracts migrants yet, in relation to the total population,

the movement of people was fairly small. 86.2 per cent of the population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch in 1951 were enumerated in the districts of their birth while fifty years ago the percentage was 90.0. However in 1951 sweeping boundary changes had made most districts bigger, and the method of enumerating people at their normal residence provided they were there at any time during 20 days must also have minimised the amount of recorded movement of a short-term character.

In general the figures indicate a comparatively high degree of immobility. The population is immobile because it is peasant, and attachment to the ancestral soil is a feature of peasant societies everywhere. Early marriage and the assumption of adult responsibility in the village community also tended in the past to act as discouragements to migration as did the caste and joint family systems, though the latter undoubtedly cushioned the risks of migration.

Migration tends to follow well-defined paths. Ratnagiri, Satara North and Kolaba are emigrant districts. Ratnagiri had a population of 1,711,964 in 1951, but 488,205 persons born in Ratnagiri were enumerated in other parts of Bombay State, and as many as 410,999 of these were enumerated in Greater Bombay. The Konkan is a poor tract and the surplus population of Ratnagiri has always sought employment for its brains and brawn outside the confines of its home districts. Kolaba, Surat and Satara North also contributed considerably to Greater Bombay's population.

The number of immigrants to Bombay State doubled between 1931 and 1951. A total of 2,254,672 persons were immigrants to Bombay State from other parts of India in 1951, while only 437,021 persons born in Bombay State were enumerated in other States in India. In 1931, by contrast, there were 1,072,867 immigrants to Bombay State from other parts of India and 607,852 emigrants. The States which contributed most heavily to Bombay's population were Saurashtra, Hyderabad, Uttar Pradesh, Madras, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh. The number of immigrants from Madras to Bombay State quadrupled by comparison with 1931, almost tripled in the case of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and was two and a half times as great in the case of Rajasthan.

Out of the 2,254,672 immigrants to Bombay State in 1951 338,096 were displaced persons from Pakistan. 59,787 out of the 128,511

immigrants to Saurashtra were displaced persons. Out of the 14,501 immigrants to Kutch 11,999 were displaced persons.

SECTION 5

BIRTHS

Growth of population is primarily due to excess of births over deaths. This is called natural increase. Arrangements for the registration of births and deaths now exist in every village in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch. In villages information about births that have occurred is reported to the police patel (headman) by the village servants, and he makes a record. In municipal areas the municipal authorities register births and deaths. The fact that an area is nominally under registration of births and deaths or that a statutory obligation to report births has been imposed in most municipal areas does not mean that all births and deaths that occur are registered.

The Director of Public Health in Bombay State collects and publishes the birth and death rates, i.e., the number of births and deaths per 1,000 population. The mean decennial registered birth rate in Bombay State was 35.9 in 1921-30, 37.2 in 1931-40 and 32.9 during the past decade. These figures suggest that the birth rate declined during the past decade while the mean decennial growth rate, contradictorily enough, was higher than ever before, being 20.8. Has there been a real drop in the birth rate or is the drop illusory and due merely to a decline in the efficiency of registration during the past decade? Certainly there has been no great shift in the proportion of married women in the reproductive age groups during the decade. In the absence of birth control on any but the minutest scale one would expect that the birth rate would be determined mainly by the proportion of married women in the age group 15-45. These constituted 22.24 per cent of the total population in 1921-30, 22.47 in 1931-40 and 22.18 in 1941-50. It is possible that under-registration of births was particularly heavy during the past decade because of the extra load of other work placed on the registration

agency. The food shortage compelled Government to control distribution of food to the landless have-nots in villages. In many municipal areas too the efficiency of registration may have deteriorated.

Even in 1921-30, when the registered birth rate in Bombay State was 35.9 and 1931-40, when it was 37.2, a fair proportion of the births escaped registration. Professor Kingsley Davis estimated that 22.8 per cent of the births that took place in Bombay Province in 1926-30 were omitted from registration, and that the true birth rate was between 41.8 and 44.5. The Census Actuary in 1951, Shri S. P. Jain, using the methods of Differencing and Reverse Survival calculated by the first method that the birth rate during the past decade was 41.0 and by the second method that it was 41.8. He estimated that the death rate during the decade was 24.9 as against a registered death rate of 22.6. The mean decennial growth rate during the past decade was 20.8. If displaced persons be excluded, the growth rate would be 19.9. The actuary estimated that 16.1 of the growth rate was accounted for by excess of births over deaths, and 3.8 by fresh migration during the decade.

A birth rate in the region of 40 per 1,000 is by world standards extremely high. Thus, though there is some evidence that the birth rate has fallen slightly since the turn of the century, it seems that a stage has been reached where public health measures have already begun to cut down the death rate even faster. No revolution in agricultural practice is in sight which would usher in an era of abundance. In the long run there is no solution but to control births and, if this is not done, nature is likely to solve the problem by the more horrifying alternatives of famine and epidemics.

SECTION 6

DEATHS

Like the birth figures the death figures are also defective, though they are probably less so than the birth figures.

The same machinery that registers births also registers deaths. The mean decennial death rate in Bombay State was 26.7 in 1921-30,

25.1 in 1931-40 and 22.6 during the past decade. The trend is unmistakably downward, and there seems little doubt that there has been a real fall in the death rate during the past decade. The Census Actuary estimated

that the true death rate during the past decade was 24.9. This figure represents the most probable level of deaths during the decade, consistent with the other data of births and migration that we possess.

SECTION 7

LIVELIHOOD PATTERN

Roughly three-fifths of the population of the area was returned at the census as principally dependent on agriculture, and the remaining two-fifths on non-agricultural means of livelihood. The census split up the population into eight means of livelihood. The principal means of livelihood of a dependant, whether earning or non-earning, was recorded as being that of the self-supporting person on whom he or she was dependent.

For an enumerator to distinguish between an agricultural and a non-agricultural means of livelihood was easy. But for him to distinguish between the four agricultural means of livelihood was frequently very difficult. It is not uncommon for an agriculturist to own some land of his own and also cultivate land on lease ; or to be the tenant of a piece of agricultural land and also work as an agricultural labourer.

A good deal too was dependent on how a person saw himself. He had to say which means of livelihood provided the greater income, and here a subjective factor entered. Changes of classification within the agricultural category may thus be the result not only of economic shifts and changes, but a change in how people saw themselves. The 1951 census returned almost two-thirds of the population dependent on agriculture as belonging to livelihood class I (owner-cultivators), a not unusual result for a predominantly ryotwari area ; yet at the 1931 census more persons were returned as agricultural labourers than as owner-cultivators. Probably the 1931 data were wrong because the 1921, 1941 and 1951 results were at variance with them. There may have been a tendency to claim a superior category in 1951 and a person with any piece of land of his own, however small, may have returned himself as belonging to livelihood class I. But there is no reason to suspect that completely landless persons returned themselves as owner-cultivators. Many enumerators were village officers who knew the persons they were enumerating and would have been able to correct any such tendency.

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch 39.75 per cent of the general population belonged to livelihood class I (Cultivators of owned land and their dependants), 9.56 per cent to livelihood class II (Cultivators of unowned land and their dependants), 8.42 per cent to livelihood class III (Agricultural labourers and their dependants), and 1.95 per cent to livelihood class IV (Non-cultivating owners of land and their dependants). The agricultural classes thus comprised 59.68 per cent of the population. The 40.32 per cent of the population who belonged to the non-agricultural classes were the persons (including dependants) who derived their principal means of livelihood from livelihood class V—Production other than cultivation (14.27 per cent), livelihood class VI—Commerce (7.98 per cent), livelihood class VII—Transport (2.27 per cent) and livelihood class VIII—Other services (15.8 per cent).

The livelihood pattern disclosed differences from region to region. The Deccan Northern Division and the Deccan Southern Division were much more heavily dependent on agriculture than the other divisions in Bombay State. The Konkan was notable for the very high proportion of the population who were tenants (livelihood class II). The higher percentage of agricultural labourers and landlords (livelihood classes III and IV) in the Deccan Southern Division probably reflected the fairly extensive alienation of Government lands in the form of inams that were a feature of the districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur.

The non-agricultural classes constituted almost two-fifths of the population of Bombay State. In Saurashtra and Kutch more than half the population belonged to them. The reason for the higher percentage of non-agricultural classes in Saurashtra and Kutch appears to lie in the greater distances that separate the population centres in these States, leading to the satisfaction of non-agricultural needs by local effort. The large number of separate states in the Kathiawar peninsula before the integration of the States

there may also have tended to increase the number of persons living in small urban areas and dependent on non-agricultural means of livelihood.

The relative proportions of the population dependent on agricultural and non-agricultural

means of livelihood is of vital importance, because in a situation where practically all the cultivable land is already under cultivation relief and a better standard of living can only come by the absorption of the surplus agricultural population in non-agricultural activities.

SECTION 8

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The most remarkable feature of the past ten years was the very rapid growth of population in Bombay State. For the first time since the censuses began a decennial increase of over 20 per cent in the population was recorded. Some part of the increase may have been due to the slack in previous census enumerations being taken up, since the circumstances of the 1951 census were very favourable to a complete enumeration. A part was undoubtedly due to a quickening in the tempo of immigration from outside the area. There is no evidence that the census count was inaccurate by reason of people being erroneously counted twice, despite the fact that the enumeration was spread over twenty days and despite the existence of rationing, generally believed to lead to a bogus ration card holder problem.

If one accepts the 1951 census figures as authentic it is clear that they pose a grave population problem. Though there is some evidence that a slight downward trend in the birth rate has occurred in recent years the true birth rate during the past decade would seem to have been somewhere in the region of 40 per thousand. Though birth rates as high as 50 per

thousand are possible, a birth rate of 40 per thousand is by world standards extremely high. The death rate has shown a tendency to fall. It is impossible to state with certainty what part of the unusually heavy population increase of the past decade was due to a cutting down of the death rate, but Bombay State may have already entered on a cycle of rapid population increase based on a slightly lowered birth rate but a greatly diminished death rate.

1921 marks the great dividing line in the population history of the area. Up to that time population rose or fell from census to census as famine or disease stayed their hand or took their toll. From 1921 the history of the State has been one of rapid and accelerating growth. The population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch has increased by 60 per cent since 1921. A population forecast is always a hazardous business. If, however, present trends continue, a further increase of about 20 per cent in the population of Western India may be expected during the coming decade. Though this may eventually mean more hands to work, it means more immediately more mouths to feed.

CHAPTER II

RURAL POPULATION

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

It is customary to examine the distribution of the population after the census according to residence in rural or urban areas. In general the term "rural" connotes a population living in places with less than 5,000 inhabitants. 80·0 per cent of the population of Kutch, 68·9 per cent of the population of Bombay and 66·3 per cent of the population of Saurashtra lived in rural areas.

There were 34,227 villages in Bombay State, 4,342 in Saurashtra and 964 in Kutch. The character of the villages in Bombay State is extremely varied. In the open plains the villages generally have only one village site, but in jungle tracts numerous hamlets may be grouped in one village.

SECTION 2

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION ; AND DISTRIBUTION AMONG VILLAGES CLASSIFIED BY SIZE OF RURAL POPULATION

Saurashtra was the least rural and Kutch the most rural among the natural divisions in Western India, if we exclude Greater Bombay which was entirely urban. Dangs, Sabarkantha, Banaskantha, Ratnagiri and Kolaba were the most intensely rural districts in Bombay State.

Only 18·1 per cent of the rural population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch lived in small villages with less than 500 inhabitants. More than half the rural population—55·0 per cent—lived in medium sized villages with between 500 and 2,000 inhabitants. The remaining 26·9

per cent lived in large villages with 2,000 or more inhabitants.

Small villages were frequently found in forest areas or in areas where the soil was comparatively barren and infertile, as in Dangs, Kanara, Banaskantha and Kutch.

Large villages with 2,000—5,000 inhabitants were a feature of the districts of Belgaum, Satara South, Kaira and Kolhapur, fertile districts where the open plains are favourable to the growth of large villages.

SECTION 3

GROWTH

The rural population is not a static and unchanging one. During the past decade a large number of promotions from the rural to the

urban category took place. The rural population increased by 13·1 per cent in 1921-31, 12·4 per cent in 1931-41, and 10·8 per cent in

1941-51. During the past decade, however, the urban population increased by 58.5 per cent, while the rural population showed a decelerating rate of increase. This was due to expansion in population of the existing urban areas and to the exceptional number of promotions which took place to the urban category during the decade.

Demotion from the urban category to the rural being exceptional we can insulate the figures from the effect of promotion of rural areas to urban during the past decade by seeing how the lowest rural category fared. The areas in Bombay State that were rural in 1951 increased by 16.9 per cent during the past decade, indicating that there was an above-average increase in population even in the population of those areas that were most rural.

The usual method of analysing the increase or decrease in the rural population is to trace the growth rate in the population treated as rural at successive censuses. The decade 1921-31 was unique. The rural population in that decade increased more than the urban as many urban workers returned to their village homes because of the world slump in trade,

while normally, of course, the migration goes from rural to urban areas. The rural population of the Deccan Northern Division increased by 17.9 per cent during 1921-31. During 1931-41 it was Gujarat that recorded the heaviest increase in the rural population, rivalled only by Saurashtra.

During the past decade the rural population of Gujarat increased by 15.5 per cent. Next came the Deccan Northern Division with 12.0 per cent, Kutch with 10.0 per cent, Saurashtra with 7.6 per cent, the Deccan Southern Division with 6.0 per cent and the Konkan with 5.2 per cent.

Since a rural population is predominantly dependent on agriculture the density of the rural population is a matter of considerable importance. There were 239 persons to the square mile in the rural areas of Bombay State in 1951. A density of 279 was recorded in Gujarat, Kaira district having the extremely high density of 494 in its rural population. Gujarat is the most fertile agricultural region in Bombay State. The density in the Konkan, where much of the cultivation is of paddy, was 249, in the Deccan Southern Division 217 and in the Deccan Northern Division 214.

SECTION 4

MOVEMENT

Immigration into rural areas is generally seasonal in character and limited in numbers. The rural population of some sugar growing talukas in Ahmednagar district rose fairly steeply during the past 20 years, but in general

most rural colonisation ceased long ago, and most of the movement of population that takes place nowadays goes from the rural areas to the urban.

SECTION 5

BIRTHS

The rural birth rate is higher than the urban birth rate. Because there are more men than women in the cities the urban birth rate tends to be artificially low, because birth rates are calculated on the total population, while births occur only to women in the reproductive age groups.

The mean decennial rural birth rate registered in Bombay State was 39.8 per cent in 1921-30, 40.2 in 1931-40, and 35.8 in 1941-50. During the past decade the birth rate registered by the rural population was 39.1 in the Deccan Southern Division, 37.8 in the Deccan Northern Division, 36.2 in Gujarat and 28.8 in the Konkan. No figures for Saurashtra and Kutch were available. More defective registration of births in

the Konkan tract where the villages frequently consist of several hamlets seems principally responsible for the low Konkan birth rate. The rural population of the districts of Broach, East Khandesh and Sholapur had registered birth rates of more than 40 per 1,000 during each of the past three decades. The rural population of the districts of the Deccan Southern Division have also recorded birth rates of about 40 consistently. When one considers that some omission of births from registration inevitably occurs even in those districts where the registration arrangements are most efficient it seems clear that the true birth rates in these areas must have been considerably over 40 per 1,000.

SECTION 6

DEATHS

The mean decennial registered death rate among the rural population in Bombay State was 27.5 in 1921-30, 26.2 in 1931-40, and 24.5 in 1941-50. When birth rates are high death rates also tend to be high because almost half the total deaths are among children under five years of age. The death rates like the birth

rates were highest in the Deccan Southern Division and lowest in the Konkan. East Khandesh district has consistently recorded high death rates. The most noticeable decline in the rural death rate during the past decade took place in Kanara district.

SECTION 7

LIVELIHOOD PATTERN

Four-fifths of the rural population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to the agricultural classes. The livelihood pattern of the rural population differed from region to region.

Livelihood class I

More than half the rural population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch derived their livelihood from the cultivation of their own land. The proportion was highest in the Deccan Northern Division where 65.5 per cent of the rural population were returned under livelihood class I as compared with 54.3 per cent in the Deccan Southern Division, 54.2 per cent in Gujarat, 44.9 per cent in Saurashtra, 33.7 per cent in the Konkan and 33.5 per cent in Kutch. A very high percentage of owner-cultivators in the population, as in Dangs and Panch Mahals while indicative of a healthy social trend, is not necessarily an indication of agricultural prosperity. The high percentage of owner-cultivators in these two districts was due to the large number of Scheduled Tribes in their populations.

Livelihood class II

Kanara, Kolaba, and Thana districts in the Konkan were the only districts where the percentage of the rural population dependent on the cultivation of unowned land (livelihood class II) exceeded the percentage in livelihood class I. Next to the Konkan where 35.3 per cent of the rural population belonged to livelihood class II came the Deccan Southern Division with 12.6 per cent, Saurashtra with 12.0 per cent, Gujarat with 12.3 per cent, while in the Deccan Northern Division, where so many persons belonged to livelihood class I, there were only 4.7 per cent.

The circumstances leading to the creation of a class of tenant cultivators would vary. A man might let out land to tenants because he was a large landholder who could not cultivate personally all the land he held. By the same token a tenant might take the land on lease because he would otherwise have no land to cultivate, or because the income which he secured from the cultivation of his own land or from agricultural labour or some other occupation was insufficient to maintain him. The ratio of livelihood class II to livelihood class IV does not give a full picture because of the very varying circumstances under which land might be leased to tenants. Where, however, as in Thana, Kolaba, Kanara, Banaskantha, Panch Mahals, Surat, Kolhapur and Belgaum districts the proportion of those in livelihood class II was high compared to the proportion in livelihood class IV it suggests a situation where a class of big landlords let out land to tenants, and this accords generally with the situation in these districts.

Livelihood class III

The 1931 census figures of Bombay State gave the peculiar result that most agriculturists were returned as labourers. The definitions employed at successive censuses have varied, but not to such an extent as to warrant this result. The legislation of the past decade has probably led to a more acute awareness of the distinction between a cultivating owner, a cultivating tenant, and a labourer. Inevitably the bias would be towards claiming to be an owner-cultivator (livelihood class I), and probably in the case of those who combined agricultural labour with the cultivation of their own land there was a tendency to claim that they were primarily cultivators of owned land.

11.0 per cent of the rural population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch were returned as dependent on livelihood class III (Cultivating labourers), the proportions being 17.4 per cent in the Deccan Southern Division, 13.2 per cent in the Deccan Northern Division and 10.5 per cent in Gujarat, but only 5.9 per cent in the Konkan, 3.4 per cent in Kutch and 5.3 per cent in Saurashtra.

The circumstances leading to the creation of a class of landless labourers require analysis. Under circumstances where population relative to the land available was sparse, everybody could have land of their own, if not for the asking, at least for payment of the assessment. Within the time of recorded history, however, a class of landless labourers had grown up in most areas.

The growth of irrigation and the cultivation of special crops such as cotton, sugarcane or paddy, which require more labour than millets, would seem to be factors making for an increase in the size of livelihood class III.

Livelihood class III could arise out of poverty induced by over-population, or because a flourishing agriculture created a demand for agricultural labour.

25.5 per cent of the rural population of East Khandesh were recorded at the census as dependent on agricultural labour. An earlier survey carried out by the Bureau of Economics and Statistics of the Bombay Government suggested a similar result. Other districts where dependency of the rural population on agricultural labour as revealed by the census was heavy were Broach (24.5 per cent), West Khandesh (22.4 per cent), Dharwar (21.8 per cent), Bijapur (18.9 per cent) and Surat (18.3 per cent). In Thana, Surat, and Broach districts the Adivasis helped to swell the proportion of agricultural labourers, as did the landless Bhils in West Khandesh.

Livelihood class IV

On an average only 2.2 per cent of the rural population in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to livelihood class IV (Non-cultivating owners of land, agricultural rent receivers and their dependants or, more loosely, landlords). In the Konkan the percentage was lowest of all—1.5 per cent—not because landlordism there was not a problem (the high percentage of tenants disproves that) but because the landlords in question had large holdings.

Livelihood class V

Persons belonging to livelihood class V (Production other than cultivation) in the rural areas would include carpenters, potters and blacksmiths as well as spinners, weavers, basket makers and other craftsmen. The livelihood class also included herdsmen and shepherds. If a very small proportion of the population of a district belonged to livelihood class V, as happened in Dangs and Panch Mahals, it would be prima facie evidence of backwardness, though the converse would not hold good. Kutch, a rather poor region, had more adherents of livelihood class V than any other district, and the proportion was also high in Saurashtra. Greater distances separate the villages in Saurashtra and Kutch, necessitating a greater number of producers to satisfy the local needs of more isolated village communities.

Livelihood class VI

Only 2.7 per cent of the rural population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to livelihood class VI (Commerce). In Dangs and Panch Mahals the percentage was about 1 per cent. These districts are fairly backward and commercial activities were not well developed in their rural areas. Even in the rich agricultural districts of Kaira and East Khandesh the percentage belonging to this livelihood class was below the average for the State. As in the case of livelihood class V Saurashtra and Kutch returned the highest percentages of the rural population as dependent on Commerce, followed by Gujarat. Possibly in Kutch the numbers were swollen by the dependants of emigrant Kutchi traders.

Livelihood class VII

Transport (livelihood class VII) was the principal means of livelihood of only 0.9 per cent of the rural population in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch. Ratnagiri district returned the highest percentage of 2.4 per cent. The existence of sea transport gave the coastal Konkan districts higher percentages under transport than other areas. Elsewhere the length of rail or road mileages was a determining factor, and so far as the rural population was concerned rail transport seemed the more important since most bus and lorry depots and workshops are in towns, while country railway stations and level crossings are features of the rural landscape.

Livelihood class VIII

Livelihood class VIII (Other services and miscellaneous sources) was the most important of the non-agricultural classes. 7.6 per cent of the rural population of Bombay State belonged to it as compared with 6.9 per cent in livelihood class V (Production). It included such varied occupations as teachers, village officers and servants, doctors, priests and policemen, as well as persons variously

described as coolies or mazdoors, and those whose occupations were otherwise unclassified. Saurashtra and Kutch respectively returned 14.9 per cent and 21.1 per cent of their rural populations in this livelihood class. Poor communications and a sparse population or over-population with a consequent swelling of the ranks of unskilled labourers could equally be factors making for a large livelihood class VIII.

SECTION 8

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The population was divided into rural and urban in examining the results of the census. It has always been customary to divide the population into these two categories of rural and urban at censuses in India, but the 1951 census was the first one after which the distinction between rural and urban was regularly maintained in exhibiting results in the census tables.

The precise point at which a rural area qualifies for promotion to the urban category must always cause difficulty. A population of 5,000 has in general marked the dividing line at successive censuses, though there were exceptions. Almost a quarter million people in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch were treated as urban in 1951 though they inhabited places with less than 5,000 inhabitants, and almost three quarters of a million people were treated as rural though the places they lived in had more than 5,000 inhabitants. Despite this anomaly the distinction between rural and urban is a necessary and useful one.

Perhaps the most significant development of the past twenty years has been the de-celerating rate of increase of the rural population as compared with the urban. In all countries of

the world there is a trend from the countryside towards the town. Even in countries where the rural population is increasing the urban population is increasing at a faster rate, so that everywhere the proportion of the rural to the total population is decreasing. This typical modern development was experienced to a greater degree in Western India during the past ten years than at any previous period.

At the end of the decade, however, almost 70 per cent of the population was rural, and there had been no decrease in the absolute numbers of the rural population—quite the reverse. Even the smallest rural areas—those places that were rural in 1951 and had been rural at preceding censuses recorded a heavier rate of increase in population than ever before.

Four-fifths of the rural population was dependent on agriculture. Food is the essential thing, and the problem presented by the pressure of an increasing population on the soil is perhaps the gravest that confronts the country and, indeed, the world, today. Some aspects of this problem are touched on in section 9 of chapter IV of this report.

CHAPTER III

URBAN POPULATION

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

All municipalities, all cantonments, all civil lines, and all places with populations of more than 5,000 which possessed urban characteristics were treated as urban. The opinion of the District Collector on the urban character or otherwise of a place was accepted. Substantially the definition of "urban" has remained unchanged since 1891.

The total urban population of Bombay State in 1951 was 11,170,340. Urban areas with less than 5,000 inhabitants comprised only 1.3 per

cent of the urban category in Bombay State. 113 places, with a combined population of 688,749 in Bombay State were treated as rural though they had more than 5,000 inhabitants, as they did not possess urban characteristics.

At the census of 1951 there were 499 towns in Bombay State, 85 in Saurashtra, and 10 in Kutch. 33.7 per cent of the population of Saurashtra, 31.1 per cent of the population of Bombay and 20 per cent of the population of Kutch lived in urban areas.

SECTION 2

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION ; AND DISTRIBUTION AMONG TOWNS CLASSIFIED BY SIZE OF URBAN POPULATION

Saurashtra State was on the definition slightly more urbanised than Bombay State. Within Bombay State, Greater Bombay was exclusively urban. In the Deccan Northern Division 26.5 per cent, in the Deccan Southern Division 26.2 per cent, in Gujarat 25.6 per cent and in the Konkan 19.4 per cent of the population were urban.

The manner of life in a small urban centre is fundamentally different from that in a large town or city. Hence the average population per town is a much more accurate measure of the true degree of urbanisation of particular areas. The average population per town in Gujarat was 19,859, as compared with 17,340 in the Deccan Northern Division, 13,688 in the

Deccan Southern Division, and 12,535 in the Konkan. In Saurashtra it was 16,390 and in Kutch 11,375.

Only 19.7 per cent of the urban population of Gujarat lived in small towns of 5,000-10,000 inhabitants, as against 30.7 per cent in the Deccan Southern Division. The percentage of the urban population of Gujarat who lived in large towns of 20,000 and over was 66.2 per cent, higher than in any other division, excepting of course Greater Bombay which was entirely urban. Thus, though only 25.6 per cent of the total population of Gujarat was on definition urban as compared with 26.2 per cent in the Deccan Southern Division, Gujarat was in actual fact the most urbanised natural

division in Bombay State from the point of view of the proportion of the urban population who lived in large-sized towns and not small market towns or over-grown villages.

Six classes of towns were recognised in arranging the statistics :-

Class I—With a population of 100,000 and over,

Class II—With a population of 50,000—100,000,

Class III—With a population of 20,000—50,000,

Class IV—With a population of 10,000—20,000,

Class V—With a population of 5,000—10,000,

Class VI—With a population of under 5,000.

Towns with populations of 100,000 and over ranked as cities. There were eight cities in Bombay State—Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona,

Sholapur, Surat, Baroda, Kolhapur and Hubli. They comprised 45.5 per cent of the urban population of Bombay State.

The three cities of Bhavnagar, Rajkot and Jamnagar comprised 26.9 per cent of the urban population of Saurashtra. There were no class I or class II towns in Kutch.

In Bombay State almost half the urban population lived in cities. In Saurashtra and Kutch more of the urban population lived in class III towns with 20,000—50,000 inhabitants than in any other size class of town. In Bombay 1.3 per cent, in Saurashtra 5.6 per cent and in Kutch 14.2 per cent of the urban population lived in towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants.

SECTION 3

GROWTH

The proportion of the general population of Bombay State that was urban has shown a progressive increase, particularly during the past decade. The percentage who were urban was 21.7 per cent in 1921, 21.4 per cent in 1931, 23.6 per cent in 1941 and 31.1 per cent in 1951.

Save for the decade 1921-31 the urban population in Western India increased faster during the past thirty years than the rural population. During 1921-31 the urban population increased by only 12.9 per cent while the rural population increased by 13.1 per cent. Because of the world slump in trade some immigrants returned from the urban areas to their villages. There was also under-enumeration in some urban areas in 1931, particularly in Gujarat and Greater Bombay where political conditions were disturbed. At the census of 1941 the urban population of Surat district increased by as much as 50.2 per cent, and of Ahmedabad by 77.0 per cent. The 1931 figures seem clearly to have erred on the side of under-enumeration. The urban population of Gujarat increased faster during 1931-41 than at any of the past three censuses, while in other natural divisions the decade 1941-51 marked the most rapid growth phase of the urban population. Under-enumeration in 1931 probably magnified and distorted the true growth rate in urban Gujarat.

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch as a whole the most remarkable growth phase of the urban population occurred in the past ten years. In

part this was due to the expansion of population in the areas that had always been urban: in part to the promotion of rural areas to the urban category because of increased population. There were 207 new towns out of a total of 499 towns in Bombay State in 1951, 26 new towns out of a total of 85 towns in Saurashtra, and 2 new towns out of a total of 10 towns in Kutch.

The urban population of Nasik district increased by 114.2 per cent, of Poona by 111.4 per cent, of Ahmednagar by 80.9 per cent, of Thana, which adjoins Greater Bombay and where a new displaced persons' township has sprung up at Ulhasnagar, by 335.7 per cent. The population of Greater Bombay increased by 67.5 per cent during the past decade, as compared with 30.1 per cent in 1931-41 and only 0.6 per cent in 1921-31. The stimulus to industry given by the war intensified and magnified the tendency to large urban concentrations.

The growth of the population of all cities during the past decade was especially rapid. Poona increased by 72.9 per cent, Bombay by 67.5 per cent, Kolhapur by 47.1 per cent, Baroda by 37.9 per cent, Hubli by 35.7 per cent, Ahmedabad by 33.3 per cent, Sholapur by 30.3 per cent, and Surat by 30.2 per cent. Greater Bombay increased its boundaries during the decade, and had a population in 1951 of 2,839,270, as compared with Calcutta's 2,548,677.

The figures of recent censuses suggest that the bigger the urban area the greater the rate

of subsequent expansion. In other words, heavy urbanisation is itself a factor making for greater urbanisation. The small market towns of 10,000–20,000 inhabitants are tending to stagnate and to be surpassed in their growth rate by urban centres of more monolithic proportions.

The population of Rajkot, the new capital of Saurashtra, increased by 99 per cent from 66,353 to 132,069 during 1941-51. Though spectacular this performance was perhaps less impressive because more artificial than that of a great urban industrial centre like Greater Bombay during the decade.

SECTION 4

MOVEMENT

The growth of the urban population during the past two decades was particularly rapid, and most of it was due to immigration. No information was collected at the census about whether a person was born in the town where he was enumerated, except in those rare cases where a town constituted a separate census district. A continuous series of figures exists of the population who were born outside Bombay City, because Bombay has always been a separate census district. The percentage of the population who were born outside Bombay City was 76.6 in 1901, 80.4 in 1911, 84.0 in 1921, 75.4 in 1931, and 72.6 in 1941. In 1951 the percentage of the population who were born outside Greater Bombay was 72.1. The proportion of out-born has thus shown no real diminution in the past fifty years, despite the fact that it takes a high number of migrants to outweigh

the greater number of births that inevitably take place in a large city.

There were only 178 females to every 1,000 males among the persons enumerated in Greater Bombay in 1951 who were born in other States in India, a more masculine sex ratio than was recorded in this category at any of the past four censuses. The reason lay in the great increase in male immigration from non-contiguous states like Uttar Pradesh during the past decade. On the other hand immigrants from Goa now tend to bring their families with them.

The proportion of non-adults in the population of Greater Bombay has shown a tendency to rise at recent censuses. If this trend is maintained the city may develop a more normal sex and age distribution in coming decades.

SECTION 5

BIRTHS

In most municipal areas the registration of births is legally compulsory but in practice default was not visited with prosecution—at least during the past decade. The registered urban birth rate has always been lower than the rural. The registered birth rate among the urban population was 23.2 per 1,000 in 1921-30, 27.9 in 1931-40 and 26.1 in 1941-50.

The birth rates show a greater fluctuation from one natural division to another than would be accounted for by the fact that the sex ratio in some urban areas is heavily adverse to females. The mean decennial urban birth rate (registered) during 1941-50 was 23.1 in Greater Bombay, 36.2 in Gujarat, 28.0 in the Deccan Northern Division, 24.8 in the Deccan Southern Division, and 16.9 in the Konkan. A major part of the difference is probably due to the fact that the registration of births is most defective in the smaller urban areas, and in the Deccan Southern Division and the Konkan where registered urban birth rates were lowest there were very few large and efficient municipalities like Greater Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona.

One way of checking whether there are real differences in fertility between areas is to measure the ratio of children aged 0-4 at the census to the married women in the reproductive age group. This comparison suggested that a differential in fertility does exist between rural and urban areas and between a large urban area like Greater Bombay and other urban areas, but the difference was much smaller than in other countries. The lower fertility of the urban areas does not therefore have much lowering effect on the general birth rate or population growth. Most fertility studies in India have suggested that the differences in married fertility according to incomes and occupations are slight. Fertility is inversely correlated with social position in India as elsewhere, but the explanation has been found to lie primarily in the operation of an indirect institutional form of birth control—the ban on widow remarriage.

SECTION 6

DEATHS

The mean registered death rate among the urban population of Greater Bombay during 1941-50 was 16, of Gujarat 24.9, of the Deccan Northern Division 20.8, of the Deccan Southern Division 16.2 and of the Konkan 9.5. The higher death rate recorded in Gujarat is probably due to registration in its urban areas being better than in the Deccan Southern Division and the Konkan.

The death rate in Greater Bombay was 28.1 in 1921-30, 21.1 in 1931-40, but only 16.0 during the past decade. All the evidence points to an improved survival rate, not only in Greater Bombay, but throughout the State as a whole, though the vital statistics are unfortunately so deficient that they fail to bring out the true extent of the trend.

SECTION 7

LIVELIHOOD PATTERN

There are two ways in which the urban livelihood pattern can be examined. One can start with the eight broad livelihood classes adopted at the census and see what proportion of each livelihood class lived in the towns. 6.7 per cent of livelihood class I, 6.9 per cent of livelihood class II, 10.3 per cent of livelihood class III and 23.7 per cent of livelihood class IV lived in the towns in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch. The percentage of all the agricultural classes who lived in the towns was fairly small though there were exceptions to this rule in some districts.

A more illuminating picture is obtained if we follow the second method of examining the urban population separately and seeing the proportion of each livelihood class within it. Only 14.9 per cent of the urban population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to the agricultural classes. 8.6 per cent of the urban population belonged to livelihood class I (Cultivating owners) which thus outranked in importance the other three agricultural classes combined as a means of livelihood of the urban population. Many of the places that qualified for inclusion in the urban category were in reality over-grown villages and the manner of life in small towns and villages does not differ greatly, both being predominantly dependent on agriculture. In the Deccan Southern Division as much as 33.2 per cent of the urban population belonged to the agricultural classes. In the Deccan Northern Division the percentage was 23.7, while in Gujarat it was as little as 12.9. The percentage of the population of the Deccan Southern Division and of Gujarat who were urban on the census definition was roughly equal, but the difference in the character of the

urbanisation is clearly brought out by the livelihood patterns. The urbanisation of those natural divisions and districts in which sizable proportions of the urban population belonged to the agricultural classes was obviously of a fairly superficial character.

85.1 per cent of the urban population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to the non-agricultural classes. 31.9 per cent of the urban population belonged to livelihood class VIII (Other services and miscellaneous sources), 28.2 per cent to livelihood class V (Production other than cultivation), 19.7 per cent to livelihood class VI (Commerce), and 5.3 per cent to livelihood class VII (Transport). The livelihood pattern is analysed below according to natural divisions.

Greater Bombay

Greater Bombay, an exclusively urban area, had only 0.55 per cent of its population dependent on agriculture, as compared with 35.0 per cent in livelihood class V, 31.7 per cent in livelihood class VIII, 24.3 per cent in livelihood class VI and 8.4 per cent in livelihood class VII. The factors that chiefly distinguished these results from those of other natural divisions were the relatively higher percentages found under Commerce and Transport, and the fact that the percentage belonging to livelihood class V exceeded that belonging to livelihood class VIII. Production, Commerce and Transport are the distinguishing badges of a metropolitan port and manufacturing city.

Gujarat

The urban population of Gujarat was more heavily non-agricultural than that of any other

natural division in Bombay State. The proportion of the urban population of Gujarat who belonged to livelihood class V was 32.3 per cent, due largely to the high figures in this livelihood class returned by Ahmedabad and Surat districts, important centres of the cotton textiles industry.

Deccan Northern Division

The Deccan Northern Division had 23.7 per cent of its urban population in the agricultural classes. 24.2 per cent of the urban population belonged to livelihood class V (Production), a percentage roughly comparable to that returned by other divisions, excluding Gujarat and Greater Bombay where the percentages were very much higher. Only 14.9 per cent of the urban population of the Deccan Northern Division belonged to livelihood class VI (Commerce), as compared with 20.8 per cent in Gujarat. As much as 42.4 per cent of the urban population of Poona district belonged to livelihood class VIII (Other services). Poona is a Government headquarters and an important educational centre. Its livelihood class structure may be usefully compared with Ahmedabad. In Ahmedabad the emphasis is on industry: in Poona on administration and education.

Deccan Southern Division

The Deccan Southern Division had 32.2 per cent of its urban population in the agricultural classes. The towns of the Deccan Southern Division were less truly urban in character than elsewhere. The proportion of the urban population of the Deccan Southern Division who belonged to livelihood class VIII (Other services) was small.

Konkan

Except in Thana district the proportion of the total population of the Konkan who lived in towns was small. It is a coastal division and its moderately sized towns are separated by fairly heavy distances. For that reason the proportion of the urban population who belonged to livelihood class VIII (Other services) was high—36.4 per cent. Only Saurashtra and Kutch returned equally high figures.

Saurashtra and Kutch

Saurashtra and Kutch returned only 11.5 and 9.4 per cent of their urban populations as belonging to the agricultural classes. Only a fifth of the population of Kutch State was urban, but it was more genuinely non-agricultural in its pursuits than the urban population of other natural divisions. Almost a quarter of the urban population of Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to livelihood class VI (Commerce), a figure very much akin to Gujarat. The urban centres of Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kutch are obviously important trading centres. The most striking divergence, however, was in respect of livelihood class VIII (Other services and miscellaneous sources). As much as 40.8 per cent of the urban population belonged to this livelihood class in Kutch and 36.4 per cent in Saurashtra. Where the percentage of the urban population in this livelihood class was high, particularly when compared with the proportion engaged in Production, it suggests that the towns are important administrative rather than industrial centres and such, in general, was the position in Saurashtra and Kutch.

SECTION 8

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The definition of what constitutes an urban community has not been uniform from one country to another, but the definition of "urban" in India, though a multiple one, has remained substantially unchanged since 1891. It has therefore been possible to measure the change in the rural-urban distribution of population. A notable development of the past decade was the very rapid increase in the proportion of the population who were urban. 17.3 per cent of the population of Bombay State were urban in 1872 and 23.7 per cent in 1941. In 1951 the proportion rose sharply to 31.1 per cent.

The growth of towns and cities has been characteristic of modern industrial society, and the change from hand to power driven machine production largely motivated it. However it was principally the impetus given to urban development by the war that led to the very substantial rise in the percentage of the population of Western India who were urban during the past decade. It seems unlikely that the coming decade will witness a continuing rise in the urban proportion at the same rapid rate as during 1941-51. The 1931 urban percentage was, for instance, slightly below that of 1921 in Bombay State, but the slump of 1921 was largely

responsible. Another slump could arrest the growth of urbanisation, particularly as such a large proportion of the urban population are recent immigrants, but if the experience of other countries is any guide, then the growth of urbanisation seems likely to continue.

It was the largest urban areas—the cities—that grew most rapidly during the past ten years. This trend seems likely to continue and, if it does the problem of housing and maintaining essential services to this increasing urban population is likely to assume considerable importance.

CHAPTER IV

AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The 1951 census laid great stress on the collection of economic data. The definitions, the information collected, and the way in which the information was treated have been different at each census since 1921.

In 1921 a distinction was drawn between "actual workers" (who were equivalent to the self-supporting persons plus the earning dependants of 1951) and "dependants" (who corresponded to the non-earning dependants of 1951). The "dependants" of 1921 were classified under the occupational groups of the persons on whom they were dependent.

In 1931 a distinction was drawn between "principal earners," "working dependants" and "dependants." The working dependants were classified according to their actual occupations, as were earners. Non-working dependants were not classified in 1931 according to the occupations of the persons on whom they were dependent, so that it is impossible to say for 1931 which occupations supported more and which less of the non-workers.

In 1951 everyone was assigned to one of three categories—self-supporting, earning dependant or non-earning dependant. In forming livelihood classes dependants, whether earning or non-earning, were classified according to the

principal means of livelihood of the persons on whom they were dependent. The occupation that gave an earning dependant his income was also recorded.

Because of the changes in definitions and classifications comparisons are difficult to establish. In 1921, when (non-earning) dependants were classified according to the occupations of the persons on whom they were dependent, and earning dependants were classified according to their own means of livelihood, 64·4 per cent of the population of Bombay State belonged to the agricultural classes. A similar method of classification in 1951 would have put the size of the agricultural classes at 61·2 per cent.

Figures of total (or non-earning) dependency are available for the past four censuses. Non-earning dependants formed 54·9 per cent of the total population of Bombay State in 1921, 59·2 per cent in 1931, 59·8 per cent in 1941 and 57·2 per cent in 1951.

The actual working population consists of self-supporting persons plus earning dependants. The percentage of the population who were actual workers in Bombay State was 45·1 per cent in 1921, 40·8 per cent in 1931 and 42·8 per cent in 1951.

SECTION 2

AGRICULTURAL POPULATION RATIOS; SELF-SUPPORTING PERSONS AND DEPENDANTS; SECONDARY MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD OF AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch 59.7 per cent of the population belonged to the agricultural classes. In the Deccan Southern and Deccan Northern Divisions 73.2 and 69.1 per cent belonged to the agricultural classes; in the Konkan the percentage was 64.7 while in Gujarat it fell to 62.2. In Saurashtra and Kutch 46.6 and 42.0 per cent of the population belonged to the agricultural classes; and in Greater Bombay only 0.5 per cent. In 15 out of 27 districts in Bombay State more than 70 per cent of the general population belonged to the agricultural classes.

The main factors affecting the ratio of agricultural and non-agricultural classes in Bombay State were the extent and nature of urbanisation in the districts.

Dependency pattern of agricultural as compared to non-agricultural classes

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch the agricultural classes had a lower percentage of self-supporting persons, a higher proportion of earning dependants and a lower proportion of non-earning dependants. This was due to the fact that in agricultural families women and children assist in cultivation.

Self-supporting persons

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch the percentage of self-supporting persons in the agricultural classes was 24.5 compared to 28.7 in India as a whole. It is difficult to explain this lower percentage, but there was a surprisingly little variation in the percentage of self-supporting persons as between one district and another in the State.

Earning dependants

11.3 per cent of the males in the agricultural classes were returned as earning dependants while as much as 31.3 per cent of the females in the agricultural classes were so returned. The proportion of earning dependants was high in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch as compared to India as a whole. The pattern of earning dependency of the agricultural population as returned at the census coincided with the results of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry conducted in sample villages by the Government of India.

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Non-earning dependants

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch 46.4 per cent of the males and 62.1 per cent of the females in the agricultural classes were returned as non-earning dependants. For the total population the percentage was 54.2. This was less than the average for India as a whole. According to the Agricultural Labour Enquiry slightly less than half the population of Bombay State were non-earning dependants. The slight difference may be due to the difference between a sample count and a complete count, or to differences in the definitions and interpretation of the instructions by the enumerators. *The difference between the two sets of figures may also have been due to the different standards adopted in the case of very young and very old persons.* The lower proportion of non-earning dependants in Bombay in the agricultural classes is due to the fact that women and children do assist in cultivation.

Secondary means of livelihood of self-supporting persons

Past census reports referred to the deterioration in the quality of the returns of secondary means of livelihood as enumerators did not record them properly. The error was considered to take the form of under-statement of the frequency of a subsidiary means of livelihood. In the 1931 census of Bombay only 6.7 per cent of the principal earners returned a subsidiary means of livelihood. In 1951 the percentage was 14.8.

20 per cent of the agricultural classes were self-supporting persons without a secondary means of livelihood while 4.5 per cent were self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood. The distribution of this 4.5 per cent according to the secondary means of livelihood returned was 0.4 per cent in livelihood class I, 0.7 per cent in livelihood class II, 0.8 per cent in livelihood class III, 0.2 per cent in livelihood class IV, 0.9 per cent in livelihood class V, 0.4 per cent in livelihood class VI, 0.1 per cent in livelihood class VII and 1.0 per cent in livelihood class VIII.

Secondary means of livelihood of earning dependants

21.3 per cent of the persons belonging to the agricultural classes were returned as earning

dependants. The distribution of this percentage of 21·3 among the eight livelihood classes was as follows : Class I—9·7 per cent, Class II—2·6 per cent, Class III—7·3 per cent, Class IV—0·1

per cent, Class V—0·6 per cent, Class VI—0·5 per cent, Class VII—0·1 per cent and Class VIII—0·7 per cent.

SECTION 3

RELATIVE PROPORTIONS OF DIFFERENT AGRICULTURAL CLASSES ; CORRELATED TO DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS OF DIFFERENT SIZES

Livelihood Class I—Cultivators of owned land

66·6 per cent of the population belonging to the agricultural classes in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to livelihood class I. In the Deccan Northern Division it was as much as 75·5 per cent. This was due to the prevalence of the ryotwari system of tenure in that area. Only in the Konkan Division did the percentage of livelihood class I fall below 60 per cent. The reason was the great importance of livelihood class II in that division. In Saurashtra 70·3 per cent of the agricultural classes belonged to livelihood class I. The Saurashtra figure seems high when one considers that girasdari abolition had not been effected by the time of the census. The returns perhaps anticipated this legislation.

Livelihood Class II—Cultivators of unowned land

16·0 per cent of the agricultural population in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch, and 45·9 per cent of the agricultural classes in the Konkan belonged to livelihood class II. The Deccan Northern Division returned only 5·7 per cent. In Gujarat 15·8 per cent of the agricultural classes belonged to livelihood class II.

Livelihood Class III—Cultivating labourers

14·1 per cent of the agricultural classes in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to livelihood class III. In East Khandesh district, the percentage was as high as 29·9. The importance of agricultural labour in that district has been confirmed by the Agricultural Income Enquiry conducted by the Government of Bombay. In Broach and Surat districts the percentages of the agricultural classes in livelihood class III were 28·7 and 23·9 respectively. The reason for these high percentages is to be sought in the "Hali" system which used to exist in these districts,

20·7 per cent of the agricultural population in the Deccan Southern Division belonged to livelihood class III, Dharwar district returning 26·2 per cent. The factors making for high percentages in livelihood class III are the land tenure system prevailing in the areas, *the cultivation of a cash crop like cotton which stimulates a demand for agricultural labour, and the existence of irrigation facilities.*

The Agricultural Labour Enquiry conducted in sample villages by the Government of India corroborated that cultivation of owned land outclassed other agricultural classes, and also corroborated the outstanding importance of livelihood class I in the districts of the Deccan Northern Division and the great importance of livelihood class II in the districts of the Konkan. The actual percentages differed in the two enquiries partly because the result of a sample will differ from that of a complete count, and partly because of the phenomenon of the mixed agricultural class.

Livelihood Class IV—Non-cultivating owners of land

3·27 per cent of the agricultural classes in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to livelihood class IV. The proportion was highest in the Deccan Southern Division where the alienations of Government lands in the forms of inams were most extensive.

Distribution of land according to size of holdings

A holding means the area of land held by one person who is primarily responsible for the payment of the land revenue to Government. A holding may consist of land in several places, so the number of holdings does not indicate the extent of sub-division and fragmentation. The data compiled do not also give information about how many holdings are economic to operate. Ordinarily a holding of 15 acres of dry land or 5 acres of irrigated land is regarded as constituting an economic holding

in Bombay State. Even though a holding may satisfy the area test of an economic holding it may consist of a large number of fragments of the minimum size below which it is definitely unprofitable to cultivate. Despite these limitations the data collected are interesting. *The most important feature brought out by the data is the extent to which small holdings up to 5 acres dominate the picture.* Slightly more than half the total number of holdings in Bombay State consist of less than 5 acres. About 80 per cent of the holdings, comprising about 40 per cent of the occupied land, consisted of holdings of 15 acres or under. About 18 per cent of the total number of landholders held about 50 per cent of the occupied agricultural land in holdings of between 15 and 100 acres.

Small holding were a feature of practically every district in Bombay State. There was no invariable connection between the size of holdings and the livelihood class break-up at the census but, whenever there was a consider-

able proportion of large or very large holdings, there was also a large proportion in livelihood class II (Thana, Kolaba, Kanara and Belgaum districts), or in livelihood class III (Sholapur, Bijapur, Dharwar and Baroda districts), or in both (Surat).

Large and very large holdings were a marked feature of the Konkan and the Deccan Southern Division. In Thana and Kolaba districts 31.4 and 26.7 per cent of the occupied land was held in holdings of over 100 acres. This explains why such a large proportion of the agricultural population of these two districts belonged to livelihood class II. In Kolhapur and Belgaum districts where much of the land is irrigated, the size of livelihood class II exceeded livelihood class III. The reason may be that irrigation facilities or an assured rainfall stimulate the tendency to lease out land in such districts. The reason for the large holdings in Belgaum, Bijapur, Dharwar and Sholapur districts is to be sought in the alienation of Government lands in these districts.

SECTION 4

CULTIVATORS OF LAND WHOLLY OR MAINLY OWNED; AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

Self-supporting persons in livelihood class I

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch 23.2 per cent of livelihood class I were returned as self-supporting persons. Self-supporting males were nine times as numerous as self-supporting females. The number of earning dependent females was, however, high indicating that a large number of women in this livelihood class work. The proportion of self-supporting persons in Gujarat and the Deccan Northern Division, the two largest natural divisions, were 22.6 and 22.8 per cent respectively. In the districts of Banaskantha, Dharwar, Bijapur, Kolaba and Kanara more than 25 per cent of the population were returned as self-supporting persons. *The reason was that a large proportion of women were returned as self-supporting in these districts, and this may have been due to enumerators there conceding self-supporting status to women.* Kutch State returned a very high percentage of self-supporting persons in livelihood class I. 4.3 per cent of the population of livelihood class I were self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood. This percentage was split up among the following livelihood classes:—Class II—1.1 per cent, Class III—0.8 per cent, Class IV—0.2 per cent,

Class V—0.8 per cent, Class VI—0.4 per cent, Class VII—0.1 per cent and Class VIII—0.9 per cent.

The percentage of non-earning dependants in livelihood class I was 55.4 per cent of the total population of livelihood class I. The lowest percentages of non-earning dependants were returned from Banaskantha, Panch Mahals and Thana districts where women and children in the family work to a greater extent than elsewhere. Within the natural divisions of Bombay State the recorded percentage of non-earning dependants showed little variation from one natural division to another. Saurashtra and Kutch returned lower percentages of non-earning dependants than Bombay State. As between livelihood classes I, II and III, livelihood class I returned the highest percentage of non-earning dependants and livelihood class III the lowest, which is as should be expected.

Earning dependants in livelihood class I constituted 21.5 per cent of the persons belonging to livelihood class I. 3 out of every 4 earning dependants were women. Almost two-thirds of the proportion of 21.5 per cent were engaged in livelihood class I, 5.5 per cent were in livelihood class III and the remaining 2 per cent were distributed among other livelihood classes.

SECTION 5

CULTIVATORS OF LAND WHOLLY OR MAINLY UNOWNED; AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

Self-supporting persons.

23.8 per cent of livelihood class II in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch were self-supporting persons. 6.1 per cent of livelihood class II were self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood. This percentage of 6.1 was distributed among the other livelihood classes as follows: Class I—1.7 per cent, Class III—1.3 per cent, Class IV—0.1 per cent, Class V—1.1 per cent, Class VI—0.3 per cent, Class VII—0.4 per cent and Class VIII 1.2 per cent.

Non-earning dependants

Non-earning dependants in livelihood class II were 53 per cent of the population of this livelihood class. The lowest proportion of non-earning dependants was found in the Konkan where only 50.6 per cent were non-earning dependants. The proportion was highest in Gujarat with 55.8 per cent followed

by the Deccan Northern Division with 54.9 per cent and the Deccan Southern Division with 53.9 per cent. The census results in this respect corroborated the finding of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee that it was only in Gujarat "that manpower was not utilised fully." The reason may be the greater fertility of the soil, the higher literacy and higher proportion of children undergoing education. Saurashtra and Kutch returned a lower percentage of non-earning dependants in livelihood class II than Bombay State.

Earning dependants

Earning dependants in livelihood class II constituted 23.2 per cent and as in livelihood class III, three out of every four persons were women. Slightly more than half the number of earning dependants were engaged in livelihood class II itself. 6.5 per cent were employed in livelihood class III.

SECTION 6

CULTIVATING LABOURERS; AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

The data compiled after the 1931 census suggested that in the agricultural classes more than half the population were agricultural labourers. In a ryotwari area this was extraordinary and the results were at variance with the results of the 1921 census. The results of the 1941 as well as 1951 censuses also do not confirm the results of the 1931 census in this respect.

Self-supporting persons

31.1 per cent of livelihood class III in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch were self-supporting persons. This is a greater proportion than in livelihood classes I and II. Male self-supporting persons were only three times as numerous as female self-supporting persons in this class, while in livelihood classes I and II they were about nine times as numerous. In Kutch 42.3 per cent of livelihood class III were returned as self-supporting persons and in the Konkan the percentage was 37.5. Kanara district returned 48.9 per cent of self-supporting persons in livelihood class III. This may be due to the migration of adult agricultural

labourers from other areas as the proportion of non-earning dependants was very low.

The proportion of self-supporting persons who had a secondary means of livelihood was small. Only 3.0 per cent of the persons in livelihood class III were self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood. This percentage of 3.0 was distributed among the following livelihood classes: Class I—0.9 per cent, Class II—0.3 per cent, Class IV—0.4 per cent, Class V—0.6 per cent, Class VI—0.2 per cent, Class VII—0.02 per cent and Class VIII—0.6 per cent.

Non-earning dependants

The percentage of non-earning dependants in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch in livelihood class III was 47.6. Kanara was the only district where the proportion fell below 40 per cent. In Saurashtra and Kutch the percentages were the lowest. The percentage was highest in Gujarat (49.6) followed by the Deccan Northern Division (48.4) and the Deccan Southern Division (46.5). The census results

corroborate the finding of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee that "the earning strength of the families of agricultural labourers was the highest."

Earning dependants

The earning dependants in this livelihood class constituted 21.3 per cent. The proportion

of women who were earning dependants was smaller than in livelihood classes I and II as more women were self-supporting in livelihood class III. The overwhelming majority of earning dependants (17.9 out of 21.3 per cent) were engaged in livelihood class III itself.

SECTION 7

NON-CULTIVATING OWNERS OF CULTIVABLE LAND; AGRICULTURAL RENT RECEIVERS; AND THEIR DEPENDANTS

Distinctive features of this livelihood class were the high ratio of females to males within it, and its dependency pattern. In livelihood class IV there were 1,213 women to every thousand men. This livelihood class had a greater burden of non-earning dependants than any other agricultural livelihood class. The reason for this preponderance of females is probably that widows maintained themselves by leasing out the land of their deceased husbands.

Self-supporting persons

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch 27.4 per cent of livelihood class IV were self-supporting persons. Kutch and Gujarat recorded higher percentages of self-supporting persons than other natural divisions. 8.7 per cent of the persons in livelihood class IV were self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood, a higher proportion than in any other agricultural livelihood class. This percentage of 8.7 was distributed among the following livelihood classes: Class I—0.9 per cent, Class II—0.1 per cent, Class III—1.7 per cent, Class V—1.3 per cent, Class VI—1.5 per cent, Class VII—0.2 per cent and Class VIII—3.0 per

cent. Livelihood class VIII formed the most important secondary means of livelihood followed by livelihood classes III, VI and V.

Non-earning dependants

The percentage of non-earning dependants in livelihood class IV was 64.5 in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch, the highest proportion of non-earning dependants found in any agricultural livelihood class. The proportion of non-earning dependants was highest in the Konkan districts. Saurashtra and Kutch also returned very high proportions of non-earning dependants.

Earning dependants in livelihood class IV

The proportion of earning dependants in this livelihood class was 8.2 per cent in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch. The reason for the low percentage might be that the social and economic status of this class was superior, members of the family were not obliged to work and more children would be undergoing education. Only in the Deccan, especially in the districts of Nasik, Ahmednagar, Satara North, Sholapur, Bijapur and Dharwar, were the proportions of earning dependants fairly high.

SECTION 8

ACTIVE AND SEMI-ACTIVE WORKERS IN CULTIVATION

The active workers constituted the self-supporting persons in livelihood classes I, II and III. Semi-active workers were self-supporting persons whose principal means of livelihood was other than cultivation but whose secondary means of livelihood was livelihood classes I, II and III and earning dependants

whose secondary means of livelihood was livelihood classes I, II and III. On this basis the total number of active and semi-active workers in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonging to livelihood class I was 6.32 million persons, livelihood class II 1.62 million persons and livelihood class III 3.05 million persons.

SECTION 9

PROGRESS OF CULTIVATION CORRELATED TO GROWTH OF GENERAL POPULATION

One-third of the total cultivated area of Bombay State is subject to frequent scarcity, sometimes bordering on famine conditions and another one-third is very liable to famine. Only about 3·8 per cent of the cultivated land is irrigated. The rest depends almost entirely on the nature of the season. The total area of Bombay State after merger is about 67·44 million acres of which the cultivable area is 49·05 million acres. Forests, barren and uncultivable land, land put to non-agricultural uses, etc. accounted for 18·39 million acres in 1949-50. Not all of the estimated cultivable area of 49·05 million acres was or could be under cultivation during the year. 7·04 million acres in 1949-50 were current fallows and 1·06 million acres were cultivable but not cultivated. 42·36 million acres were under crops. A faulty classification and confusion about terms suggested in the past that a large amount of land was waiting to be put under the plough. This is a myth. A land utilisation survey found that *less than 40 per cent of the land classified as cultivable waste was fit for cultivation either immediately or after certain land improvement schemes had been undertaken. Most of these lands were marginal lands where the profit of cultivation is an uncertain factor.*

In the old province of Bombay the average net area sown in 1921 was 26·61 million acres,

in 1931 27·81 million acres, and in 1941 it was 28·55 million acres. In 1949-50 in the present State of Bombay the net area sown was 42·36 million acres.

The area of cultivation per capita has shown a progressive decrease during the last 30 years because of the steady increase in the population. The area of cultivation per capita in Bombay province was 1·66 acres in 1921, 1·54 acres in 1931 and 1·37 acres in 1941. In the year 1951 for the present Bombay State the area of cultivation per capita was higher in the Deccan than in Gujarat. The area of cultivation per capita in the Konkan where the pressure on land is acute was small. The amount of land per capita is not the only factor. The quality of the land, the nature of the rainfall and the irrigation facilities available are also very important factors. The average area of cultivation per capita was 80·6 and 69·4 cents in the comparatively prosperous agricultural districts of Kaira and Kolhapur while it was 253·1 cents in Bijapur, a tract with precarious rainfall and very liable to famine.

The number of people dependent on agriculture has increased since 1921 which means that the rural areas of the State must be worse off in respect of food supply than 20 or 30 years ago.

SECTION 10

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Livelihood class I supported more people than any other agricultural livelihood class. Livelihood class III came next in importance as an occupation for those engaged in agriculture followed by livelihood class II. Livelihood class IV was and always has been a small category.

The proportion of non-earning dependants among agricultural labourers was smaller than in any other livelihood class. Agricultural labour was the most important means of livelihood for earning dependants. There were very wide fluctuations in the proportions of the various agricultural classes at the 1931 and 1951 censuses. A part of the explanation of

the failure of the 1931 classification of agriculturists lies in the fact that agricultural classes are not water-tight compartments. A person might own some land of his own, and combine with it cultivation of leased land and work as an agricultural labourer. The assignment of a person to a particular category would depend on the care which an enumerator took to ascertain what the principal means of livelihood was and in cases where the enumerators were not careful would depend on the view point of the person enumerated. *The pattern outlined by the census data on agricultural classes in 1951 was clear and consistent.*

Agricultural production is not keeping pace with the expanding population. The increase suggests the inescapable conclusion that population in relation to the available agricultural resources is too great. There is no

agricultural technology that can give the State an acceptable modern standard of living when more than half the population is dependent on agriculture, and the cultivation of land per capita is only a little over an acre.

CHAPTER V

NON-AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

At the initial sorting of the census slips the non-agricultural classes were separated into four main livelihood classes :—

- V—Production other than cultivation,
- VI—Commerce,
- VII—Transport,
- VIII—Other services and miscellaneous sources.

38·54 per cent of the population of Bombay State belonged to the non-agricultural classes, and 53·38 per cent of the population of Saurashtra. Only West Bengal among the Part “A” States had a higher percentage of its population in the non-agricultural classes. Saurashtra had a higher percentage of urban population than any other Part “B” State.

After the 1951 census persons who were returned as self-supporting as a result of engagement in Industries and Services were divided into occupational divisions and subdivisions and groups under a new scheme called the Indian Census Economic Classification Scheme.

Additional data were provided by classifying the economically active self-supporting persons in the non-agricultural classes into employers, employees and independent workers.

Means of livelihood is by far the most difficult of the census questions to enumerate fully and to classify accurately, not only in India but elsewhere. Incomplete returns are a bugbear because the clichés “service” and “labour” as descriptions of means of livelihood enjoy wide currency. Another cause of error or misunderstanding has always related to the classification of persons who were both makers and sellers of the same article.

143,895 persons, or 2·89 per cent of the total number of self-supporting persons in the non-agricultural classes in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch were returned as dependent on non-productive means of livelihood—pensioners, etc. The balance of 4,829,265 persons represent the economically active population within the non-agricultural classes.

SECTION 2

NON-AGRICULTURAL POPULATION RATIOS ; SELF-SUPPORTING PERSONS AND DEPENDANTS ; SECONDARY MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD OF NON-AGRICULTURAL CLASSES

Approximately two-fifths of the population of Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to the non-agricultural classes. The non-agricultural bias was naturally much heavier among

the urban population, 85·1 per cent of whom belonged to the non-agricultural classes, than among the rural population, of whom 20·1 per cent belonged to the non-agricultural classes.

There were marked regional variations in the proportion of the population returned as belonging to the non-agricultural classes. 99.5 per cent of the population of Greater Bombay belonged to the non-agricultural classes; in Gujarat 37.8 per cent; in the Konkan 35.3 per cent; in the Deccan Northern Division 30.9 per cent; and in the Deccan Southern Division 26.8 per cent. Gujarat was more intensively urbanised and industrialised than the Deccan Southern Division.

Dependency

The non-agricultural classes had a greater load of non-earning dependency than the agricultural classes. 61.9 per cent of the non-agricultural classes were non-earning dependants as against 54.2 per cent of the agricultural classes. This fact is largely due to the fact that women in the agricultural classes assist in cultivation. Thus 21.3 per cent of the agricultural classes were earning dependants as against only 7.8 per cent in the non-agricultural classes. 24.5 per cent of the agricultural classes and 30.3 per cent of the non-agricultural classes were self-supporting persons. A man who might be an earning dependant in a rural family assisting in a family occupation tended to become a self-supporting person in the non-agricultural classes when he migrated

to a town. His occupation ceased to be a family occupation and was self-determined.

16,395,121 persons in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch were returned as belonging to the non-agricultural classes. There were 8,801,192 males and 7,593,929 females. Half the males in the non-agricultural classes were self-supporting, as compared with only one out of every 14 women.

There were 1,270,660 earning dependants among the non-agricultural classes, comprising 7.8 per cent of the non-agricultural classes. The majority were females.

Non-earning dependants numbered 10,151,301, of whom 3,862,807 were males and 6,288,494 were females.

Secondary means of livelihood

Among the non-agricultural classes 30.3 per cent were self-supporting persons, 27.2 per cent being self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood and 3.1 per cent being self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood. In other words 10.3 per cent of the self-supporting persons in the non-agricultural classes had a secondary means of livelihood, while among the agricultural classes the percentage of self-supporting persons with a secondary means of livelihood was as high as 18.6.

SECTION 3

EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES AND INDEPENDENT WORKERS ; AND EMPLOYMENT IN FACTORIES AND SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

An innovation at the 1951 census was the tabulation of self-supporting persons in the non-agricultural classes into employers, employees and independent workers.

4.65 per cent of the self-supporting population were employers, 50.25 per cent were employees, 42.21 per cent were independent workers and 2.89 per cent were "Others." Independent workers were twice as numerous as

employees in the rural areas, while in urban these proportions were reversed and employees were twice as numerous as independent workers. In the larger urban areas there were fewer opportunities for the independent craftsman or artisan than in rural areas.

Among those engaged in Commerce many were independent workers or employers, while in Transport the majority were employees.

SECTION 4

PRIMARY INDUSTRIES OTHER THAN CULTIVATION, MINING AND QUARRYING

209,552 persons in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch belonged to Primary Industries not elsewhere classified. 112,814 were engaged in

stock-raising. Forestry and fishing were of great importance in the coastal Konkan districts.

SECTION 5

MINING AND QUARRYING

Only 31,189 self-supporting persons were classified under the mining and quarrying head in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch. Stone-

quarrying and salt manufacture were the most important sub-divisions.

SECTION 6

PROCESSING AND MANUFACTURE—FOODSTUFFS, TEXTILES, LEATHER AND PRODUCTS THEREOF

A total of 1,000,241 self-supporting persons were classified in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch under foodstuffs, textiles and leather products manufacture. A total of 603,002 persons were returned as engaged in cotton textiles manufacture. Greater Bombay, Ahmed-

abad, and Sholapur were the most important centres of the industry. The figures suggested a fall in the number of women employed in this important industry as compared with 1931, while the number of men employed rose sharply.

SECTION 7

PROCESSING AND MANUFACTURE—METALS, CHEMICALS AND PRODUCTS THEREOF

A total of 215,298 self-supporting persons were classified under the Metals and Chemicals manufacture division. 94,337 persons were

blacksmiths, coppersmiths or workers in other metals.

SECTION 8

PROCESSING AND MANUFACTURE—NOT SPECIFIED ELSEWHERE

326,480 persons were classified under this division. Wood and wood products manufacture, principally carpenters, sawyers, and basket makers accounted for 141,579 persons.

There were 47,247 goldsmiths. 31,796 persons were classified under printing and book-binding.

SECTION 9

CONSTRUCTION AND UTILITIES

A total of 191,263 self-supporting persons were classified under Construction and Utilities. 116,580 were engaged in the construction

and maintenance of buildings, the most important sub-division.

SECTION 10

COMMERCE

887,580 self-supporting persons were classified under Commerce. They comprised 18.38 per cent of the self-supporting persons belonging to all Industries and Services. Both relatively and absolutely commercial activities were of greater importance in the urban than in the rural areas.

243,713 persons came under Retail trade otherwise unclassified—general store-keepers, hawkers, etc. 345,062 came under Retail trade in foodstuffs. These were the most important sub-divisions.

SECTION 11

TRANSPORT, STORAGE AND COMMUNICATIONS

308,125 self-supporting persons were classified under Transport, Storage and Communications. 110,477 came under road transport,

101,770 under railway transport and 59,133 under transport by water.

SECTION 12

HEALTH, EDUCATION AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

524,647 persons came under the Health, Education and Public Administration division. 120,186 came under educational services and research, a big increase on the 1931 figure.

67,672 were classified under Police, 136,180 as employees of State Governments, 65,305 as employees of the Union Government, and 57,884 as employees of municipalities and local bodies.

SECTION 13

**SERVICES NOT ELSEWHERE SPECIFIED ; AND MISCELLANEOUS
MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD**

Services not elsewhere specified accounted for 1,134,890 persons, comprising 23.5 per cent of the self-supporting persons in all Industries and Services.

560,198 persons came under Services otherwise unclassified, of whom 449,212 persons were returned as "coolies", "mazdoors" or other variants of the same expression. Proportionately large numbers of these were found in Saurashtra and Kutch.

221,812 persons were classified as domestic servants, 63,621 as barbers, and 33,744 as washermen.

There was a great rise in the number of persons classified as engaged in hotels and eating houses between 1931 and 1951. The 1951 figure was 127,502.

SECTION 14

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Because of changes in the definitions and classifications adopted from census to census the data compiled in relation to the non-agricultural classes have not always been comparable. When to these changes the risks of inadequacies or inaccuracies in descriptions of occupations at the census enumeration, and vagaries in the subsequent abstraction, are added it will be seen why the occupational returns have to be scrutinised with special care.

Inaccuracy in classification was undoubtedly the reason why the number of village officers declined between 1931 and 1951. It is impossible to be certain whether the fact that the number of washermen and barbers did not increase during the same period reflected a true trend or was due to inaccuracy. On

the other hand there was a very steep and noticeable rise in the number of self-supporting persons returned as engaged in the sugar, tobacco, cotton textiles and printing industries in 1951 by comparison with 1931, as also in the number of persons engaged in transport, medical and educational services, and the hotel and restaurant trade, and this rise seems to reflect a true trend.

The number of persons returned as engaged in the manufacture of such articles of common use as soap, matches, vanaspati and plastic goods was small in relation to the output of which the factories making these products are capable. A modern factory bottling aerated water in Bombay is reputedly so highly mechanised as to function with about a dozen workers. The tendency for men to be replaced

by machines is somewhat disturbing. Probably, however, these factories give rise to a lot of secondary employment in the demand they create for materials and the employment they create among the distributive trade and transport workers.

The extent to which Greater Bombay with less than one-tenth of the total population dominated several fields of activity was marked. The tendency for new industries to be located in Greater Bombay or its vicinity has increased. It is a trend which those who believe in the dispersal of industry will deplore, though what precisely should be done if it were desired to arrest the trend is not quite clear.

Analysis of the proportion of employers, employees and independent workers among self-supporting persons was an important and interesting innovation at the 1951 census. Is the independent worker being squeezed out and converted into an employee? The fact that three-quarters of the self-supporting persons in Greater Bombay in 1951 were employees suggests that it may be so. It seems part of an inevitable trend, but the only way in which the trend could be measured is to repeat these questions with the same definitions at the next census.

CHAPTER VI

FAMILIES, SEXES AND PRINCIPAL AGE GROUPS

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This chapter deals with households, families, sexes and age. In 1951 a 4 per cent sample of households was extracted from the National Registers and their composition was examined, while a 10 per cent sample of the census slips was used to compile the age returns. Many people do not know their exact age, hence the

tendency to return ages in round numbers—in numbers ending in 0 or 5 in even rather than odd numbers. To eliminate these biases ages were exhibited by groups—0, 1-4, 5-14, 15-24 etc. in several tables, though single year age returns from which any desired groupings can be constructed have also been published.

SECTION 2

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES AND HOUSEHOLDS

The 1951 census distinguished the "house" and the "household". A house was defined as "a dwelling with a separate main entrance". A household meant "all the persons who lived together in the same house and had a common

mess". The household of 1951 resembled the "house" of earlier censuses, which was based on the commensal family. The figures are therefore not comparable.

SECTION 3

SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS

In Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch there were 7,248,611 houses in 1951, containing 8,066,427 households, an average of 5.6 persons per census house. 414,132 persons, or 1 per cent of the population, were enumerated in institutions or were houseless.

In the total population there were 4.9 persons per household—5.0 in the rural population and 4.7 in the urban population, according to the analysis of 4 per cent sample

households. The rural household was larger than the urban, except in Kutch and the Deccan Southern Division.

More persons lived in households of medium size having from 4-6 members than in any other size category. Slightly over 40 per cent lived in medium sized households, while about the same proportion lived in large and very large households with 7-9 and 10 members or more.

The old-style joint family in the sense of

numerous families living together is much rarer than is commonly supposed. Dependency seems primarily to determine family composition. In every district the number of sons of heads of households exceeded the number of daughters because daughters marry at an earlier age than sons and when they marry they generally leave their fathers' households. But the fact that the average family household in Western India had only five members and that only about one quarter of the household population were other than heads of households and their wives, or sons and

daughters of heads of households, suggests that the composition of the average family household departed from the unitary husband-wife-children pattern only to the extent necessary to take care of dependants.

In Greater Bombay for every 945 male heads of households per 1,000 households there were only 633 wives of heads of households. On the other hand in Ratnagiri, Satara North, Kolaba and Kutch, from which emigration occurs, the number of women who were heads of households exceeded the number of men.

SECTION 4

SEX RATIOS

There were 938 females per 1,000 males in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch in 1951. Men have consistently outnumbered women in India, particularly in the West and North-West. A number of theories have been advanced to explain this, racial, environmental, climatic, dietary and social. In most—probably all—parts of the world more boys than girls are born, and India is no exception. What is exceptional is not the ratio of male to female births but the deficiency that develops in the number of females relatively to males round about age 40.

Migration acts as a powerful distortion to sex ratios. There were 1,224 females per 1,000 males in Ratnagiri district, 1,079 in Kutch, 1,051 in Satara North and 1,040 in Kolaba, indicating male emigration.

Districts with an unusually masculine sex ratio were Greater Bombay (596 females per 1,000 males), Ahmedabad (849), and Thana (907), indicating male immigration.

SECTION 5

MARITAL STATUS RATIOS

There has been a steady rise in the number of unmarried persons since 1921, because the age of marriage is becoming progressively higher. There were 319 unmarried females per 1,000 females in 1921, 324 in 1931, 369 in 1941 and 406 in 1951. More than half the male population—525 males per 1,000 males—were unmarried in 1951 as compared with 464 in 1921. In 1951 there were 434 married males and 462 married females per 1,000 of each sex as compared with 467 and 490 respectively in

1921. However as many as 60 out of every 1,000 married women in 1951 were less than 15 years old, in breach of the statutory minimum age of marriage for women. This figure of 60 was however an improvement on the 1941 figure of 97.

There was a fall in the number of widowed persons. 19.1 per cent of the entire female population were widows in 1921; in 1951 the figure had fallen to 13 per cent.

SECTION 6

INFANTS (AGED 0)

Infants returned as less than one year old at the census comprised 3.25 per cent of the population in 1951, as compared with 2.52 per cent in 1941. It would be unsafe to argue from this that the birth rate was higher in the year preceding the 1951 census or that infant morta-

lity had greatly decreased because a variation in the form of instructions for recording age can cause distortion, particularly, it would appear, in regard to this age group. For purposes of analysis therefore it is safer to consider this age group along with the age group 1-4.

SECTION 7

YOUNG CHILDREN (AGED 1-4)

Young children less than 5 years of age comprised 11.9 per cent of the population in 1901, 14.5 per cent in 1911, 12.7 per cent in 1921, 15.0 per cent in 1931, 13.7 per cent in 1941, and 13.8 per cent in 1951 in Bombay area. The low percentages in 1901 and 1921 were due to the effects of the famine of 1899 and the influenza

epidemic of 1918-19 on these young age groups, both by way of mortality and a fall in the birth rate.

There was a rise in the proportion of young children in Kanara from 11.6 per cent of the population in 1941 to 14.2 per cent in 1951, due principally to DDT spraying.

SECTION 8

BOYS AND GIRLS (AGED 5-14)

Boys and girls aged 5-14 formed approximately one quarter of the total population—24.9 per cent in 1941 and 25.5 per cent in 1951. There was an increase in the proportion that the under 15's comprised of the total popula-

tion from 37.3 per cent in 1941 to 38.6 per cent in 1951. Any decline in the birth rate in recent years has thus been accompanied by an even steeper decline in the death rate.

SECTION 9

YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN (AGED 15-34)

The age group 15-34 is compounded of two decennial age groups—15-24 and 25-34. One would expect the age group 15-24 to be larger than the age group 25-34. However at every census until 1931 in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch the age group 25-34 had more people in it than the age group 15-24 at the preceding census. Immigration would explain the phenomenon in part, but the principal

cause, almost certainly, was inaccuracy in age reporting at earlier censuses, which took the form of over-concentration on the numerals 25 and 30 in returning ages. Because of greater inaccuracy in female age reporting, females outnumbered males at the favoured round numbers 18, 20, 22, 25 and 30, even in 1951 in Bombay State.

SECTION 10

MIDDLE AGED PERSONS (AGED 35-54)

Persons returned at the census as aged 35-54 comprised 19.5 per cent of the population of

Bombay State in 1951, as compared with 20.8 per cent in 1941.

SECTION 11

ELDERLY PERSONS (AGED 55 AND OVER)

The proportion of elderly persons aged 55 and over was 7.1 per cent in 1951, as compared with 7.6 per cent in 1941. One might have expected to find an increase in the proportion of elderly persons as a consequence of the decline in the death rate. That the proportion of elderly persons has not increased is not due to increased mortality among them but to the fact that the youngest age groups have increased faster than the old. As a recent UNESCO publication observed: "Census

data for various countries in Asia and Africa, and for most Latin American countries, show little change in the age composition of the population during recent decades, even when mortality has been considerably reduced. In fact, such changes as have occurred appear, in most cases, to have been in the direction of increasing the burden of childhood dependency, because of the initial increases in the numbers of surviving children which are brought about by declines in childhood mortality rates".

The so-called weaker sex is in reality the stronger at the business of continuing to live. Thus in the age group 65-74 in Bombay State

there were as many as 1,135 women to every 1,000 men. At age 75 there were 1,177.

SECTION 12

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The age structure of the population has remained remarkably constant throughout the past half century. This is also evidenced by the fact that the median ages varied only within narrow limits. The acceleration of growth in the past three decades might have been expected to increase greatly the proportion of young persons in the population, but this effect has apparently been counterbalanced by a greater longevity.

This distribution of the population between three main age groups—under 15, 15 to 64, and 65 years of age and over varies widely in different parts of the world. Bombay, where the under 15's comprised 39·3 per cent of the

population in 1951 had what is known as a heavy "youth dependency" as compared, for instance, with a country like Britain where they comprised only 22·5 per cent, and there is a high ratio of old persons to producers.

Age structure affects future population growth. Bombay's age structure is such that it has a potential growth far exceeding that of western countries where fertility has shown a progressive decline. The general picture in Bombay since 1921 is one of increasing population growth and high fertility, unaccompanied by famine, epidemic or deliberate restriction of numbers.

CHAPTER VII

SCHEDULED CASTES, SCHEDULED TRIBES AND OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES

SECTION 1

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The Scheduled Castes comprise those formerly labelled "untouchable". The Scheduled Tribes are the Adivasis, or aboriginal inhabitants. The unscheduled backward

classes are those who because of economic or educational backwardness have been treated by the State Governments as "other backward classes".

SECTION 2

THE SCHEDULED CASTES

The Scheduled Castes comprised 8.35 per cent of the population of Bombay State in 1951, 2.88 per cent in Saurashtra, and 1.31 per cent in Kutch. The proportion of Scheduled Castes was highest in the districts of Sholapur, Satara South, Kolhapur, Satara North, Ahmednagar and Poona, where it was between 10 and 15 per cent of the total population of these districts.

73.5 per cent of the Scheduled Castes lived in rural areas and 26.5 per cent in urban areas in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch. They were thus slightly less urbanised than the general population. However, the proportion of the Scheduled Castes who belonged to the non-agricultural classes was greater than among the

general population—45.58 per cent as compared with 40.32 per cent in the general population in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch.

Only 26.0 per cent of the Scheduled Castes were cultivating owners (livelihood class I), while 19 per cent were cultivating labourers. In Baroda, Broach, West Khandesh, East Khandesh, Sholapur, Belgaum, Bijapur and Dharwar districts more than 30 per cent of the Scheduled Castes were agricultural labourers. Almost half the Scheduled Castes belonged to the non-agricultural classes. Tanning and, in towns, sweeping, are traditional Scheduled Castes skills, accounting for the non-agricultural bias.

SECTION 3

THE SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Scheduled Tribes were of numerical importance only in Bombay State where they comprised 9·34 per cent of the population as against 3 per cent in Kutch and 0·94 per cent in Saurashtra.

The Scheduled Tribes probably have a higher fertility than the general population, though vagaries in the recording or tabulation of caste particulars at successive censuses may partly be responsible for their numbers rising from 2,645,594 in 1941 to 3,359,305 in 1951, a rise of 26·98 per cent in Bombay State.

The Scheduled Tribes were concentrated in the ten districts of Dangs, Surat, Panch Mahals, West Khandesh, Broach, Thana, Baroda, Nasik, Sabarkantha, and Kolaba. In eleven out of twenty-eight districts in Bombay State they formed less than 1 per cent of the population. Only 6·5 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes lived in urban areas. The great majority of the Scheduled Tribes—83·71 per cent—were agriculturists. A large proportion of the Scheduled Tribes were either tenants or agricultural labourers.

SECTION 4

OTHER (UNSCHEDULED) BACKWARD CLASSES

12·49 per cent of the population of Bombay State belonged to the unscheduled backward classes, in Saurashtra 38·1 per cent, in Kutch only 0·22 per cent. More than three-fourths of these unscheduled backward classes lived in rural areas.

Taking the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes¹ together only 10·67 per cent of them were literate, while almost a quarter of the total population were literate.

CHAPTER VIII

DISPLACED PERSONS

There was a special question for displaced persons at the census, and the slips of displaced persons were sorted separately to get the fullest information about them.

338,096 displaced persons were enumerated in Bombay State in 1951, 59,787 in Saurashtra and 11,999 in Kutch. They comprised 0.94 per cent of the population in Bombay State, 1.45 per cent in Saurashtra and 2.11 per cent in Kutch.

Less than 1 per cent of the displaced population came from East Pakistan, and 99.4 per cent from West Pakistan. Less than 10 per cent came from West Punjab, over 80 per cent from Sind and the remainder from Khairpur.

The main influx of displaced persons was compressed into the last months of 1947 and the first half of 1948.

Thana district and Greater Bombay between them accounted for 55.3 per cent of the displaced persons in Bombay State.

88 per cent of the displaced persons in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch lived in urban areas. In the general population the percentage was only 68.8.

Only 2.29 per cent of the displaced population were agriculturists; the rest were non-agriculturists.

In the general population 8.0 per cent of the population belonged to livelihood class VI (Commerce), but among the displaced population the proportion was 40.9 per cent. The burden of non-earning dependency was heavier among displaced persons than in the general population because not all had been rehabilitated. However, a higher percentage of the displaced population were employers than in the general population.

The age groupings of displaced persons showed that the migration from Pakistan had the character of a mass exodus of whole families.

The marital status returns suggested that displaced persons marry less and later than the non-displaced population.

The displaced population were twice as literate as the non-displaced population, 53 per cent literate as against 24 per cent.

CHAPTER IX

LITERACY

The results of the decennial censuses furnish an index of the lee-way made up in education during the decade.

The census definition of literacy was the ability to read and write a simple letter in any language, a more stringent definition of literacy than that adopted by a good many other countries which merely require that a person be able to read. The definition has remained substantially unchanged since 1911.

Up to 1931 the increase in the percentage of the total population who were recorded as literate was only one or two per cent every decade. The percentage of the total population of Bombay State returned as literate was 6·75 in 1901, 7·13 in 1911, 8·93 in 1921, 9·87 in 1931, 18·28 in 1941 and 24·56 in 1951.

In Greater Bombay almost half the population were literate in 1951 as compared with 25 per cent in Gujarat, 20·6 per cent in the Deccan Northern Division, 21·86 per cent in the Deccan Southern Division, 21·39 per cent in the Konkan, 18·47 per cent in Saurashtra and 17·06 per cent in Kutch.

Roughly one male in three and one female in eight in Bombay State was literate. The gap between male and female literacy was striking. Excluding Greater Bombay, Gujarat had the best record for female literacy. Female literacy has increased faster than male literacy since 1921.

The towns were much more literate than the villages. Only 17 per cent of the people who lived in villages were literate, while 37 per cent of those who lived in towns of up to 100,000 population were literate. In the eight cities of Bombay State 46 per cent of the population were literate.

16·3 per cent of the agricultural classes and 37·8 per cent of the non-agricultural classes were returned as literate, percentages which correspond very closely to the rural-urban literacy percentage. Among those engaged in Commerce the percentage of literacy was very high.

Analysis of the figures of literacy according to age groups showed that the older the individuals the greater the inequality in literacy between men and women.

Only 10·67 per cent of the Backward Classes were literate in Bombay State. In areas like Gujarat where general literacy was high, backward class literacy was also high. Female literacy in particular among the backward classes was very low.

Literacy has made great strides in the past twenty years. In Bombay State in 1951, 30 per cent of the population aged ten and over were literate. That still leaves a formidable burden of illiteracy, but an increasing number of children, particularly girls, are now acquiring literacy.

CHAPTER X.

LANGUAGE

SECTION 1

MOTHER TONGUE

Though 85 languages were enumerated as being spoken as mother tongues in Bombay State and 67 in Greater Bombay alone the problem of linguistic diversity is not as complicated as these figures suggest. Only a few languages were of outstanding numerical importance.

44.08 per cent of the population of Bombay State spoke Marathi, 31.74 per cent Gujarati,

12.1 per cent Kannada and 5.33 per cent Urdu. These four languages between them accounted for 93.25 per cent of the total population.

In Saurashtra and Kutch the linguistic picture was less diversified. 96.06 per cent of the population of Saurashtra spoke Gujarati. In Kutch 98.75 per cent spoke Gujarati or Kachchhi.

SECTION 2

BILINGUALISM

If a person commonly spoke any Indian language other than his mother tongue in daily or domestic life it was recorded.

Two main types of bilingualism can be distinguished—the territorial bilingualism that arises in those border areas where the regional languages co-exist, and the socio-economic bilingualism that arises out of the necessity for immigrants to employ a regional language or a lingua franca as a means of communication.

The percentage of bilingualism among Gujarati speakers was only 2.62 per cent as

against 3.23 per cent among Marathi speakers and 8.94 per cent among Kannada speakers. Konkani speakers had a high percentage of bilingualism. More than half of the Urdu-speaking population were bilingual.

485,278 persons in Bombay State returned Hindi as their mother tongue, but 440,867 persons were bilingual in Hindi. This latter figure indicates, not the extent to which Hindi, the lingua franca, is understood, but merely the extent to which it was in daily currency.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

At the 1951 census information was extracted about the number of persons who returned themselves as Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, the four principal religions of Indian origin, and as Zoroastrians, Muslims, Christians and Jews, the four main religions of non-Indian origin.

Nobody was recorded as professing a Tribal religion in the area in 1951. The average enumerator in Western India has always regarded the aboriginal tribes as Hindus, and Hindu influence pervades practically every Tribal religion. Even in 1941 in those areas like Baroda State where Tribals were classified according to religion and precautions were taken to prevent aboriginal tribes being recorded against their wishes as Hindus the number of Tribal religionists fell from 44,890 in 1931 to 2,395 in 1941.

Bombay State

In Bombay State there were 31,785,614 Hindus in 1951, comprising 88·40 per cent of the population.

Muslims numbered 2,906,887 or 8·09 per cent of the population.

Jains numbered 572,093 or 1·59 per cent of the population.

Christians numbered 525,454 or 1·46 per cent of the population.

Zoroastrians numbered 97,573 or 0·27 per cent of the population.

There were 37,017 Sikhs, 20,135 Jews and 2,395 Buddhists.

Saurashtra and Kutch States

In Saurashtra Hindus formed 86·72 per cent of the population, Muslims 10·2 per cent and Jains 3·0 per cent. In Kutch the proportion of Muslims and Jains in the population was higher than in Bombay State. In Kutch 69·26 per cent of the population were Hindus, 19·63 per cent Muslims and 10·99 per cent Jains.

One of the most striking points of difference between the various religious groups in Bombay, Saurashtra and Kutch was their degree of urbanisation. Excepting Hindus, only 27·22 per cent of whom were urban, other religious groups had sizable proportions of their adherents in the towns. 58·4 per cent of the Muslims lived in urban areas, 56·3 per cent of the Jains, 67·6 per cent of the Christians, 92·2 per cent of the Zoroastrians, 87·3 per cent of the Sikhs, 92·5 per cent of the Jews and 94·9 per cent of the Buddhists.