CHAPTER 5
CHANGES IN SOCIO-SPATIAL STRUCTURE

The concept of morphology as used in the study of the form and function of a city is a spatial construct. The interaction between various social groups and space manifests itself in the social morphology or socio-spatial structure of a settlement, and forms a vital component in comprehending a settlement in totality. Socio-spatial structure, therefore, refers to the grouping of population within a settlement according to socio-cultural and religious affiliations which results in distinct patterns of clustering of groups with a similar background or spatial distancing in the non-cohesive groups.

This chapter deals with the identification and distribution of social groups within the Civil Area of Jalandhar Cantonment during pre-Independence and post-Independence periods. The purpose of such an enquiry is to understand the socio-spatial patterning of population in planned civil areas of cantonment towns. It seeks to examine whether the social patterning followed the flow of natural occupance or was it regulated under the influence of colonial cultural system; how did the socio-spatial structure change after gaining of Independence by India; and in what aspects the socio-spatial structure of the Civil Area differs from or conforms to the general attributes found in evolved cities across India?

Socio-Spatial Structure of British Period Settlement: Cantonment Towns and their Civil Areas

The traditional socio-spatial structure of Indian cities changed during the British period. The physically and socially distinct British annexes gave rise to what has popularly been known as the dual city structure. These appendages were socially distinct in having only European inhabitants in the physically compact residential areas, defined by a formal street pattern, spacious arrangement of residential plots, low residential density and generous provisions of basic amenities. Thus, the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the city was expressed through spatial segregation of residential enclaves for the British, known as the ‘White Town’ and the indigenous area referred to as the ‘Black Town’. In the post-Independence period, the erstwhile British enclaves like the civil lines were engulfed within the expanding indigenous town, whereas the cantonment towns remained distinctly separate, but formed a part of the suburban development as areas commanding higher socio-economic status.
A three way spatial segregation of residential areas based on social identity was a marked feature of cantonment towns, with distinction between areas of (i) British officers and soldiers, (ii) British and Native soldiers, (iii) military area and civil area comprising the native population. The military area was socially patterned along racial lines, with distinction between the whites and the natives as well as class distinctions between the officers and the soldiers. The civil area remained socially exclusive by comprising only the indigenous population but grew functionally into a subsystem within the larger military system. Broadly, two distinct social areas within cantonment towns included: (i) the military area comprising military personnel and their families; and (ii) the civil area formed by the non-military, civilian population.

A strict segregation from indigenous town necessitated the establishment of cantonment towns as self sufficient settlements. Non-military population in every conceivable role was settled in their civil or bazaar areas. This civilian population formed a part of the entourage of army regiments as camp followers and military contractors who migrated to cantonments from different parts of the country for better economic prospects. In fact, “The military contractor was among the most prosperous and mobile of figures in early colonial society…army service provided openings which did not arise in ordinary agricultural trade, still bound by the restraint of low consumer income”.

Among the various social groups, the merchant community including the Banias, Maheshwaris, Oswals especially from Marwar and Shekhawati region of Rajasthan and Khatri from Punjab gained prominence on account of their long distance networks of trade. The functional interaction of this community through their historical network of regional and pan-India circulation which also continued during the British period is well documented. In effect, the movement and spread of merchant communities to cantonments created the system of regimental bazars (such as British Infantry Bazaar, British Cavalry Bazaar, Royal Artillery Bazaar) during early nineteenth century for the purpose of supply of material for the army.

Similar economic relationships in cantonment towns were also fostered by members of other caste groups. Numerous employment opportunities for the lower caste artisan and service communities such as the Chamars (leather workers), the Kahars (water carriers), the Teli (oil men) and the Kalwars (liquor distillers) not only existed in their traditional vocations but also as cooks, stable boys, bearers, domestic servants in European households in the cantonments.
The social patterning within the Civil Area does not suggest an arbitrary mode of occupancy by different social groups, but is reflective of regulated distribution of social groups in neighbourhood units known as *mohallas*. Grants for occupation of land sanctioned by the Cantonment Authorities placed the religiously and socially cohesive groups in proximity to each other, and spatially segregated the non-cohesive groups in order to minimise any discord among them. Such attempts by the British to deliberately create specific socio-spatial patterning and control the distribution of indigenous population have been noted in the colonial port city of Madras.

The basis of socio-spatial patterning in the civil areas of cantonment towns showed:

(i) occupationally determined social patterning in the civil areas of cantonment towns like Barrackpur, Meerut, Lucknow and Pune was associated with the settling of same or functionally related occupational categories at a place. This was an outcome of large scale and widely spread commercial activities, operating over a fairly long time. This type of social patterning and the naming of sub-areas is a common feature within towns in India;

(ii) caste and religion based spatial organization in the civil areas of cantonment towns like Ambala, Firozpur and Jalandhar was related to a rapid occupation of site, and an absence of dominant community. These sub-areas were identified on the basis of number rather than names.

Given this background, some of the features of the socio-spatial structure of the Civil Area of Jalandhar Cantonment have been enunciated in the following pages.

**Sources of Data**

Two unpublished secondary sources were consulted for data pertaining to this chapter, viz. the General Land Register (GLR) of 1939, and the Voter’s List of 2008. The religious affiliation of the owners of individual plots within the Civil Area in 1939 was identified from the names listed in the GLR. The caste and religious background of the families was identified from the names of adult population as listed in the Voter’s List. Help was also sought from the locals in identifying these attributes. Additional information gathered through informal interviews during the course of field work in 2008-2009 was used in condensing the interpretation on various social groups residing within the Civil Area of Jalandhar Cantonment.
Methodology

This chapter follows an exploratory approach for bringing out spatial patterns of the social groups who have inhabited and presently inhabit the Civil Area. The socio-spatial structure of the Civil Area has been analysed for two time frames, viz. 1939 and 2008 which pertain to the pre-Independence period and the post-Independence period (existing) respectively. The data for studying the socio-spatial structure in the pre-Independence period were collected at plot level in individual mohallas. In the absence of data on social composition of religious groups, only the main religious groups which were identified, viz. (A) Hindus, (B) Muslims and (C) Sikhs have been studied in terms of the distribution of ownership of plots in mohallas. The data for studying the existing socio-spatial structure were identified at the family level according to their caste and religious affiliation within individual mohallas. Six groups were identified, viz. (A) Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes, (B) Trading Castes, (C) Khatri, (D) Sikhs, (E) Brahmin and (F) Others. The distribution of individual castes in mohallas was analysed.

The concentration index of these social groups was calculated in order to understand the distribution of each of these in different mohallas of the Civil Area. The method of calculating concentration index has been described in the methodology of Section II of Chapter 3. The ‘sub-variable’ in concentration index in the context of this chapter refers to the number of plots owned by a religious group in a mohalla in 1939 and the number of families belonging to a particular caste / religious group in a mohalla in 2008.

The areal distribution of each social group has been presented through choropleth maps based on the concentration index values classified into four categories, viz. high concentration, moderately high concentration, moderately low concentration and low concentration. It is pertinent to add that Khatri caste has been treated separately from the trading castes, although occupationally they are traders and merchants. Khattris have never been classified as Banias for members of this caste believed themselves to be descended from the Aryan warrior class, the Kshatriya, and therefore claimed a higher ritual rank than many commercial castes. A large section of this community was resettled in the Civil Area after the Partition, whereas the trading castes, which included the Banias and Jains, have been amongst the earliest settlers of the Civil Area. Hence, both these caste groups were analysed separately. In addition, the category of ‘other’ religious group families (largely comprising Christians) have been mentioned only in the tables since they formed an insignificant number and proportion in the total.
Data Limitations

While care has been taken in identifying the religious affiliation of the owner from the name as recorded in the GLR, however, it is necessary to admit that, the distinction between the Hindu and Sikh names was not as clearly marked in the past as it has been in recent decades. Therefore, a marginal error in judgement is not ruled out. In addition, the absence of comparatively old voter’s list has restricted the analysis on social patterning to 2008 only, for which voter’s list was available. Older data could have provided an opportunity for comparing the social patterning of various caste and religious groups residing within the Civil Area with that of the ownership pattern at an earlier point of time also. This would have helped in a better understanding of the process of socio-spatial shifts, if any, in the study area.

1. Socio-Spatial Structure during Pre-Independence Period (1939)

Four religious groups were identified from the ownership records contained in the General Land Register of 1939, viz. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians.

Table 5.1
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area): Ownership of Plots According to Religion (1939)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Identity of Owners</th>
<th>No. and Per cent of Plots</th>
<th>Mohallas with above Civil Area % of Plots</th>
<th>Mohallas with above Civil Area % of Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>1867 (64.58)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1, 2, 7, 11, KM, 5, 9, 3, 14, 10, 6, 8, 20, 13, 15, 23, 30, 31, 22 &amp; RAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>867 (29.99)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29, 25, 28, 24, 4, 32, 26, 27, 12, 21, 16, BIB, RAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhs</td>
<td>153 (5.29)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19, 17, 21, OSM, 24, 22, 18, 31, 6, 25, BIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians</td>
<td>4 (0.14)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>OSM, BIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Area Total</td>
<td>2891* (100.00)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Figures calculated from General Land Registers 1939
Note: Civil Area comprises Sadar Bazaar which includes Mohalla 1 to 32 and OSM: Outside Mohalla; BIB: British Infantry Bazaar; RAB: Royal Artillery Bazaar; KM: Kumhar Mandi
* This figure excludes 62 plots whose holder of occupancy rights is the Cantonment Board
Figures in parentheses are in per cent calculated from a total of 2891 plots.

Out of a total of 2891 plots in the Civil Area, 1867 plots were under the ownership of Hindus and formed the highest proportion (64.58 per cent) among all the religious groups. The Hindus were predominant in a majority of the mohallas (20 out of 36) in which they owned above average proportion of plots (Table 5.1). Muslims were the second dominant religious group with an ownership over 867 plots which accounted for 29.99 per cent of all the plots in the Civil Area. They owned above average proportion of Muslim owned plots in eleven mohallas of Sadar Bazaar besides BI Bazaar and RA
Bazaar (Table 5.1). The Sikhs owned only 153 plots in the Civil Area, which formed 5.29 per cent of the total plots. The proportion of their ownership was above average in eleven mohallas. The Christians owned only 4 plots in two mohallas, viz. Outside Mohalla and BI Bazaar and formed an insignificant proportion of 0.14 per cent.

Among the different religious groups, Hindus were more pervasive and owned plots in varying numbers in all the mohallas of the Civil Area. In fact, Mohalla 1, 2, 7, 11 and Kumhar Mandi were completely homogeneous in having exclusive ownership of plots by the Hindus. In comparison, Muslims and Sikhs displayed a strong tendency of concentrating in a few mohallas and did not record exclusive ownership of all plots in any mohalla. Broadly, the Civil Area was characterised by heterogeneous ownership of plots involving two or more religious groups, viz. the three main communities owned plots in a majority of the mohallas (19 out of 36), whereas all the four religious groups were represented in Outside Mohalla and BI Bazaar; both the Hindus and Muslims owned plots in ten mohallas, and the Hindus and the Sikhs in only two mohallas. Overall, Hindus were the dominant community in most of these mixed social group mohallas as well, except in Mohalla 29, 25, 28, 24, 4, 32 and 26 in which the Muslims were dominant. The Sikhs were not dominant in any mohalla but were second dominant community after the Hindus in Mohalla 17 and 19.

There existed a clear cut north-south spatial divide in terms of ownership of plots among the three religious groups (Maps 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3). The almost flat site of the Civil Area by itself did not provide any natural barrier between cohesive and non-cohesive religious groups as well as high and low caste groups. The concept of physical distance and therefore, spatial separation was met through the main arterial road, i.e. Phagwara Road. It formed a zone of transition with plots in the northern mohallas dominated by the Hindus, those along its southern flank were dominated by Muslims and further beyond Cross Road 6 by the Scheduled Castes and other occupationally low castes. The central mohallas along its northern flank and Cross Road 5 emerged as a buffer between the two dominant communities, with plots largely owned by the Sikhs.

(A) Spatial Pattern of Distribution of Ownership of Plots by Hindu Population

The distribution of ownership of plots by the Hindus is depicted in Map 5.1. On the basis of concentration index values, the Civil Area has been divided into the following four categories:
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Ownership of Plots According to Religion: Hindus (1939)

Sadar Bazaar

Royal Artillery Bazaar

Kumhar Mandi

Concentration index

- Mohalla number
- Road/Street/Lane

Data by mohallas

Source: Computed from data in General Land Register, 1939

Map 5.1
(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 1.40)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 1.40 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.80)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.80)

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 1.40): Eleven mohallas comprised this category, of which five mohallas; viz. Mohalla 1, 2, 7, 11 and Kumhar Mandi recorded a concentration index of 1.54 each. The plots in these areas were exclusively owned by the Hindus. The remaining six mohallas included Mohalla 5 (1.52), 9 (1.51), 3 (1.50), 14 (1.47), 10 (1.45) and 6 (1.41). All the mohallas in this category together accounted for 31.76 per cent of the plots owned by Hindus in the Civil Area. The number of plots varied between 12 in Kumhar Mandi and 92 in Mohalla 11. In the six mohallas which were not exclusively Hindu dominated, Sikhs and Muslims together owned less than ten per cent of the total plots.

Mohallas with a high concentration of Hindu owned plots formed a single large cluster in the northern parts of Sadar Bazaar and comprised of contiguously located mohallas along the junctions of Hardayal Road up to Ganga Road with Cross Roads 1 to 4 (Map 5.1). A high concentration of Hindu owned plots was related to the development of commercial activity in Mohalla 10, 11 and 14, with both the wholesale and retail trade carried out within the Civil Area in general and these mohallas in particular/largely in the hands of the trading castes (Banias). This caste also formed an important and significant appendage of the British Army as military contractors. The cultural expression of high concentration of Hindu population is evident in the location of a number of temples in these mohallas, such as the Kali Bari Mandir in Mohalla 6, Bara Mandir in Mohalla 10, Hanuman Mandir in Mohalla 11 and Digamber Jain Temple in Mohalla 14. In fact, Bara Mandir in Mohalla 10 is amongst the oldest and largest temples in the Civil Area.

(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 1.40 and 1.00): This category included nine mohallas, viz. Mohalla 8 (1.38), 20 (1.38), 13 (1.31), 15 (1.25), 23 (1.16), 30 (1.11), 31 (1.09), 22 (1.06) and RA Bazaar (1.06). Together these mohallas comprised one third of all the plots owned by Hindus. Areas with moderately high concentration mostly formed dispersed pattern of non-contiguous mohallas except two small pockets in central and southern parts of Sadar Bazaar (Map 5.1). Interestingly, all the mohallas were heterogeneous with plots owned by either two or
three religious communities. In absolute terms, the number of plots owned by the Hindus ranged between 107 in RA Bazaar and 45 each in Mohalla 8 and 20. They owned a high proportion of plots in these mohallas which ranged between 90.00 per cent and 69.03 per cent. On the other hand, both the Muslims and the Sikhs together comprised up to 30 per cent of the total plots in these mohallas. The location of five temples in the mohallas of this category attest to the concentration of Hindus, viz. the Mahamaya Mandir, Balmiki Mandir, Laxmi Narain Mandir, Kali Mata Mandir and Mata Mandir in Mohalla 15, 20, 22, 31 and RA Bazaar respectively.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.80): Moderately low concentration of plots owned by Hindus was found in seven mohallas, viz. Mohalla 16 (0.99), 18 (0.96), 12 (0.92), BI Bazaar (0.91), Outside Mohalla (0.81), 17 (0.80) and 27 (0.80). This category formed small pockets along Cross Road 4 in central parts and along the eastern periphery comprising two mohallas each (Map 5.1). Together the mohallas of moderately low concentration comprised 22.71 per cent of all the plots owned by Hindus in the Civil Area. Hindus were predominant in all the mohallas, however, their proportion was below the Civil Area average of 64.58 per cent since a significant proportion of plots (between 47.27 per cent and 15.31 per cent) were owned by the Muslims, and up to 32.65 per cent by the Sikhs. The actual number of plots owned by the Hindus ranged between 180 in BI Bazaar and 10 in Outside Mohalla. In fact, BI Bazaar recorded the highest number of Hindu owned plots in the entire Civil Area.

(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.80): This category comprised of nine mohallas, namely Mohalla 19 (0.72), 21 (0.69), 26 (0.67), 32 (0.58), 4 (0.53), 28 (0.47), 24 (0.31), 25 (0.18) and 29 (0.11). The low concentration of plots owned by Hindus formed linear pattern of contiguously located mohallas in the southwest periphery along Hardayal Road and the southeast periphery along Ganga Road. Mohalla 4 and 19 formed isolated pockets (Map 5.1). All the mohallas individually recorded below the Civil Area average proportion of plots owned by Hindus. The actual number of plots in these mohallas showed a wide range, i.e. 52 plots out of 120 plots in Mohalla 26 to only 6 plots out of 86 plots owned by Hindus in Mohalla 29. The low concentration of Hindu ownership was associated with a dominance of Muslims in these mohallas, since both the religious groups are spatially and socially non-cohesive.
The Muslims were the second most dominant religious group in the Civil Area, who owned nearly thirty per cent of all the plots in 1939. However, unlike the Hindus who owned plots in all mohallas in the Civil Area, the Muslims owned plots in twenty nine mohallas. They did not own a plot in seven mohallas, viz. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 11 and Kumhar Mandi. Their distribution was characterised by a very high concentration in a few mohallas, in which they formed the dominant community and mostly comprised occupationally low class Muslims. On the other hand, high class and trading communities of Muslims such as the Hussain, Khan, Rahman and Beg owned plots in some mohallas in the eastern periphery of Sadar Bazaar.

The spatial pattern of their ownership was clearly marked by Phagwara Road in Sadar Bazaar which formed a divide, with very high concentration in southern mohallas, low concentration in central parts and a clear absence in northern parts (Map 5.2). On the basis of concentration index values of Muslim ownership of plots, the Civil Area has been divided into the following four categories:

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 1.40)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 1.40 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.80)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.80)

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 1.40): Eight mohallas of Sadar Bazaar recorded high concentration of plots owned by the Muslims, viz. Mohalla 29 (3.10), 25 (2.67), 28 (2.31), 24 (2.24), 4 (2.18), 32 (2.07), 26 (1.89) and 27 (1.58). Together these mohallas accounted for more than fifty per cent of all the Muslim owned plots in the Civil Area. They were predominant in seven mohallas and owned more than three quarters of the plots in Mohalla 29 and 25; more than two thirds in Mohalla 28, 24 and 4, and more than half in Mohalla 26. The only exception was Mohalla 27 in which Muslims owned 47.27 per cent of the total plots and were second dominant after the Hindus.

The cultural expression of their concentration was also associated with the location of a mosque each in Mohalla 26, 29 and 32. This category formed a conspicuous axial pattern along south of Phagwara Road and east of Ganga Road in the southern parts of Sadar Bazaar. Mohalla 4 constituted an isolated pocket in the northeast (Map 5.2).
pattern reflects their traditional dominance in peripheral locations which was largely associated with their ritually impure occupations such as slaughtering and skinning of animals, tanning of hides etc.

Their very high concentration in these mohallas was related to the early occupancy by several occupational groups, i.e. bhishties (water carriers) and mochis (cobbler) in Mohalla 26, 27 and 28, Kasais (butchers) in Mohalla 29, Ghosis (milk men, Gujjar Muslims) in Mohalla 32. The settlement of butchers and other low caste professional groups in southern mohallas of Sadar Bazaar was essentially related to greater access provided by Hardayal Road to their clients including military personnel. A slaughter house, mutton and beef market for officers stationed in the Cantonment is known to have existed in Outside Mohalla and in the proximity of Mohalla 29. Interestingly, there was also spatial segregation among the cow-herders/milkmen, with the Gujjar Muslims dominant in southern mohallas whereas the ahrs belonging to the Hindu religious fold dominant in the north eastern parts in Mohalla 4 and 8.

(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 1.40 and 1.00): Five mohallas which recorded a moderately high concentration of plots owned by Muslims include Mohalla 12 (1.35), 21 (1.29), 16 (1.10), BI Bazaar (1.06) and RA Bazaar (1.01). These mohallas recorded above Civil Area average proportion (29.99 per cent) of plots owned by Muslims. These formed a dispersed pattern across the Civil Area with BI Bazaar to the south and RA Bazaar to the northwest of Sadar Bazaar. Only two contiguously located mohallas, i.e. 12 and 16 along Ganga Road formed a small pocket in the eastern periphery (Map 5.2). Four mohallas were characterised by the location of a mosque in each of them, with the largest mosque of the Civil Area in BI Bazaar. The exception was Mohalla 21 which was proximally located to the second largest mosque of the Civil Area located in Mohalla 17.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.80): Only three mohallas, viz. 18 (0.95), 30 (0.93) and Outside Mohalla (0.88) respectively located in the central, southern and western parts of Sadar Bazaar comprised this category. These collectively constituted 6.76 per cent of all the plots owned by Muslims in the Civil Area. The first two mohallas had a mosque each and an Idgah in Outside Mohalla. The Muslims in Mohalla 30 were mostly associated with low occupational category comprising the jamadars (sweepers) and mochis (cobblers).
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Ownership of Plots
According to Religion: Muslims (1939)

Sadar Bazaar

Source: Computed from data in General Land Register, 1939
Map 5.2
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.80): The low concentration of Muslim owned plots was recorded in thirteen mohallas. These included Mohalla 23 (0.79), 22 (0.67), 31 (0.67), 15 (0.59), 19 (0.52), 17 (0.51), 13 (0.37), 8 (0.33), 20 (0.27), 3 (0.08), 9 (0.05), 14 (0.04) and 10 (0.04). Spatially this category formed a large cluster of contiguously located mohallas in the central and northern parts of Sadar Bazaar (Map 5.2). Mohalla 31 associated with Gujjar Muslims was the only isolated pocket of low concentration in the Muslim dominated southern parts of Sadar Bazaar. The actual number of plots owned by the Muslims was quite insignificant (less than 6 plots each) in several mohallas comprising this category. Even Mohalla 17 with the second largest mosque in the Civil Area had only 15 plots owned by the Muslims out of a total of 98 plots. A moderately low concentration of Hindus and a high concentration of Sikhs in this mohalla suggest the settlement of these two communities predating the establishment of the Mosque, and consequently low concentration of Muslims.

(C) Spatial Pattern of Distribution of Ownership of Plots by Sikh Population
The Sikhs formed the third important religious group in terms of ownership of plots in the Civil Area in 1939. They owned 153 plots out of 2891 plots and formed 5.29 per cent of all the plots in the Civil Area. The ownership of plots by the Sikhs was recorded in only twenty one mohallas and in the remaining fifteen mohallas they did not own even a single plot. The Sikhs recorded very wide variation in their concentration index values ranging between 7.50 and 0.13, which suggested their tendency of either spatial cohesiveness or wide distribution. Therefore, the distribution of plots owned by the Sikhs displayed a clustering of this religious group in two extreme categories, viz. high concentration and low concentration. The spatial pattern of distribution of plots owned by the Sikhs showed marked areas of concentration in central and western parts and an absence in northern and southern parts (Map 5.3). On the basis of concentration index values of Sikh ownership of plots, the Civil Area has been divided into the following categories:

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 1.40)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 1.40 and 1.00): No mohalla recorded moderately high concentration of ownership of plots by Sikhs.
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.80)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.80)
(i) **Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 1.40):** This category comprised eleven mohallas, namely Mohalla 19 (7.50), 17 (6.53), 21 (3.30), Outside Mohalla (3.16), 24 (2.53), 22 (2.17), 18 (1.82), 31 (1.78), 6 (1.67), 25 (1.60) and BI Bazaar (1.58). These together constituted 88.24 per cent of all the plots owned by the Sikhs in the Civil Area. The actual number of plots owned by the Sikhs in individual mohallas varied between 32 plots in Mohalla 17 and 3 plots each in Mohalla 6 and Outside Mohalla. All the mohallas with high concentration of plots owned by the Sikhs recorded above Civil Area average proportion (5.29 per cent) of their ownership.

The central part of Sadar Bazaar between Cross Roads 4, 5 and Phagwara Road emerged as a near contiguous zone of high concentration of plots owned by the Sikhs. Mohalla 6, 24, 31 and BI Bazaar constituted isolated pockets (Map 5.3). Their high concentration in central part was associated with their early occupancy in mohallas dominated by commercial activity. Further, Guru Singh Sabha Gurudwara located in Mohalla 19 formed the only religious nucleus of the Sikhs in the Civil Area and contributed to their highly concentrated distribution in the mohallas in its vicinity.

(ii) **Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.80):** Only one mohalla, i.e. Mohalla 10 (0.89) located along Patel Road in the northern part of Sadar Bazaar recorded a moderately low concentration of plots owned by the Sikhs in 1939. In absolute terms only 4 plots out of 90 plots were owned by them.

(iii) **Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.80):** Nine mohallas recorded a low concentration of plots owned by the Sikh community, viz. Mohalla 13 (0.73), 14 (0.68), 16 (0.55), 20 (0.40), 5 (0.27), 15 (0.27), 23 (0.19), 27 (0.18) and RA Bazaar (0.13). This category formed a linear pattern of contiguously located mohallas bordering the high concentration zone and isolated pockets comprising Mohalla 5 and RA Bazaar (Map 5.3). This community owned three plots each in Mohalla 13 and 14, two plots in Mohalla 16, and only one plot each in the remaining six mohallas.

Broadly, a comparison of the spatial distribution of ownership of plots by the three religious groups revealed distinct areas of high concentration of each religious group, which were marked by a concomitantly low concentration of other religious groups. A large part of the Civil Area, however, comprised heterogeneous composition, with religious exclusivity limited to only five mohallas associated with the Hindus.
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Ownership of Plots
According to Religion: Sikhs (1939)

Sadar Bazaar

Source: Computed from data in General Land Register, 1939
Map 5.3
2. Existing Socio-Spatial Structure (2008)

The Partition of India in 1947 led to mass exodus of Muslims and a large scale immigration of Hindus and Sikhs. This social flux contributed to the domination of Hindus and Sikhs in the religious composition of the population. In the absence of direct data on religious composition of Jalandhar Cantonment, the dominant status of the three religious groups can be gauged from their ownership status within the Civil Area, viz. the Hindus were the most dominant religious community, followed by the Muslims and the Sikhs. This was at variance from the dominant status of Muslims followed by the Hindus, Christians and Sikhs in Jalandhar City. However, Hindus and Sikhs almost entirely replaced Muslims in Jalandhar Cantonment as well as Jalandhar City after the Partition. Further, Sikhs are numerically the most dominant religious community in Punjab, but are second to the Hindus in large urban areas in the State including Jalandhar Cantonment.

Table 5.2
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area):
Number and Proportion of Families according to Main Castes and Religious Groups (2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castes / Religious Groups</th>
<th>No. of Families</th>
<th>No. of Families in Muslim Owned Plots</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled Castes &amp; Backward Class</td>
<td>831 (35.74)</td>
<td>235 (27.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading Castes*</td>
<td>529 (22.75)</td>
<td>102 (11.76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatri</td>
<td>468 (20.13)</td>
<td>292 (33.68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikh</td>
<td>227 (9.76)</td>
<td>156 (18.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>220 (9.46)</td>
<td>71 (8.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>50** (2.15)</td>
<td>11 (1.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Area Total</td>
<td>2325 (100.00)</td>
<td>867 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Note: Civil Area comprises Sadar Bazaar which includes Mohalla 1 to 32 and OSM: Outside Mohalla, BIB: British Infantry Bazaar, RAB: Royal Artillery Bazaar, KM: Kumhar Mandi

* Refers to the number of families whose caste could be identified, * includes Banias and Jain families, and ** includes Christian and Muslim families

Figures in common parentheses refer to the percentage of families in each caste to the total number of families identified. Figures in curly parentheses refer to the percentage of each caste in Muslim evacuee plots.

Of the total number of families (2595) in the Civil Area, caste / religious affiliation of 2325 families was identified. These included five main social groups, viz. Scheduled Castes and backward classes, trading castes (including Banias and Jains), Khatri, Sikhs and Brahmins (Table 5.2). The Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families were numerically the largest with 831 families who constituted more than one third of the total number of families (35.74 per cent). They were followed by the trading castes (529), Khatri (468), Sikhs (227) and Brahmins (220). Christian and Muslim families together considered as ‘others’ comprised a rather insignificant number (50) and

251
proportion (2.15 per cent) of families within the Civil Area. In fact, Muslim families numbered only 7, while Christian families numbered 43, and formed 0.30 per cent and 1.85 per cent of the total number of families respectively. All the five main social groups were represented in a majority of the *mohallas* (27) within the Civil Area. *Kumhar Mandi* was the only homogeneous pocket with all its families belonging to the low castes, whereas the remaining eight *mohallas* (1, 2, 5, 15, 20, 30, 31 and 32) recorded at least two social groups each.

In the first Census in 1951 after the Partition, a total of 9224 displaced persons (5460 males and 3764 females) were enumerated in Jalandhar Cantonment. Most of the displaced persons migrated from Montgomery, Sialkot, Lyallpur and Peshawar in Pakistan and were rehabilitated in Muslim evacuee plots within the Civil Area. As many as 867 Muslim owned plots were allotted to the displaced families belonging to different caste groups and the Sikhs. In addition, about one hundred plots previously owned by the Hindus and Sikhs were later owned by the displaced families.

Among the families who were rehabilitated in Muslim evacuee plots, *Khatris* and the Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families constituted a significant proportion with 33.68 per cent and 27.10 per cent of the total evacuee plots respectively. In fact more than half the number of *Khatri* families (292 plots) resided in Muslim evacuee plots. The Sikhs, trading castes, *Brahmins*, and others comprised 18.00 per cent, 11.76 per cent, 8.19 per cent and 8.19 per cent of the Muslim owned plots respectively (Table 5.2). The rehabilitation of various caste groups after the Partition in Muslim evacuee plots brought about changes in Muslim dominated *mohallas* in southern parts of *Sadar Bazaar* as well as in *RA Bazaar* and *BI Bazaar*. On the other hand, the social patterning in non-Muslim dominated northern *mohallas* of *Sadar Bazaar* and *Kumhar Mandi* largely remained unaffected.

**(A) Spatial Pattern of Distribution of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class Families**

The Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families formed the largest social group with 831 families out of a total of 2325 families in the Civil Area. The number of families belonging to this caste in individual *mohallas* varied considerably (between 211 and 1). Their spatial pervasiveness within the Civil Area can be gauged from the fact that the Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families were found in thirty three
out of thirty six mohallas (the exceptions being Mohalla 1, 2 and 15). This was reflected in a majority of the mohallas (22) recording their value of concentration index less than 1. The spatial pattern of distribution of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families revealed a high concentration in mohallas located in the periphery of the Civil Area. This reflects the marginal status of this social group within the caste hierarchy, since members of this social group have been traditionally rendering services to other sections of the society and particularly associated with menial work. The following four types of areas have been identified on the basis of concentration index values of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families (Map 5.4):

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50)

(i) **Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00):** A high concentration of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families was found in six mohallas, viz. Kumhar Mandi (2.78), Mohalla 31 (2.35), 32 (2.25), 20 (2.22) and 30 (2.17), and BI Bazaar (2.01). Spatially, this category formed a linear pattern of contiguously located mohallas in the southern periphery of Sadar Bazaar and isolated pockets comprising Mohalla 20, Kumhar Mandi and BI Bazaar (Map 5.4). Together these mohallas accounted for nearly two thirds of all the families belonging to this community within the Civil Area. This caste group was predominant in all the mohallas and formed a very high proportion (more than 70 per cent) of the total families in individual mohallas.  

Kumhar Mandi was entirely dominated by families belonging to kumhar caste who are associated with pottery making. In fact, this has remained a potter’s enclave since the establishment of the Cantonment. The other mohallas are associated with the Balmiki community, sweepers (jamadars), butchers, cobbler (mochis), washer men (dhobis) and tailors (chhimba or darzis). Their predominance in the mohallas comprising the high concentration category is linked to their early occupancy related to the location of meat market and skinning shed in Outside Mohalla, and several dhobi ghats at Lal Diggi in the vicinity of Sadar Bazaar and BI Bazaar. On account of the historical discrimination restricting their entry into temples, this community has separate temples in different mohallas. Of the five Balmiki Temples two are located in BI Bazaar and one each in Mohalla 20, 30 and 32.
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00):
This category included five mohallas, viz. Outside Mohalla (1.77), RA Bazaar (1.42), Mohalla 4 (1.14), 8 (1.11) and 24 (1.06) which constituted nearly a quarter (23.47 per cent) of all the families belonging to this community within the Civil Area. However, at the individual mohalla level, they were predominant in Outside Mohalla and RA Bazaar with 63.87 per cent and 51.04 per cent respectively and were the dominant caste in the remaining three mohallas comprising upto 41 per cent of all the families. The moderately high concentration of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families were spatially characterised by peripheral location in the eastern and western parts of Sadar Bazaar and an isolated pocket of RA Bazaar (Map 5.4).

A majority of the families were rehabilitated in the Muslim evacuee plots, except those in Mohalla 8 and Outside Mohalla. Families in Mohalla 8 belong to the ahir (cattle herders and milkmen), nai (barber) and dhobi (washer men) sub-castes and formed a part of early occupancy in the Civil Area. In addition, these groups were also associated with the occupancy of old grain market area which was closed down around 1888. The Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families in Outside Mohalla mostly comprised Class IV employees of the Cantonment Board residing in the Safaiwala Colony which was built about a decade back.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50):
Only three mohallas constituted this category, viz. Mohalla 3 (0.93), 5 (0.60) and 27 (0.51). This category formed a dispersed pattern within the Sadar Bazaar since none of the mohallas are contiguously located (Map 5.4). The low caste families comprised between 18.18 per cent and 33.33 per cent in individual mohallas but within the Civil Area these together accounted for only 4.09 per cent of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families.

(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50): This category comprised nineteen mohallas, viz. Mohalla 9 (0.41), 25 (0.40), 19 (0.40), 18 (0.37), 26 (0.30), 16 (0.29), 17 (0.27), 28 (0.24), 6 (0.23), 7 (0.20), 11 (0.15), 12 (0.14), 21 (0.12), 13 (0.11), 29 (0.07), 22 (0.06), 10 (0.05), 23 (0.04) and 14 (0.04). Together they constituted 8.18 per cent of all the families belonging to this community within the Civil Area, whereas their proportion in individual mohallas varied between 14.63 per cent and 1.54 per cent. Numerically these mohallas comprised less than ten families each, which in most cases was associated with their settlement in Muslim evacuee plots.
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class Families (2008)

Sadar Bazaar

Concentration index

2.00
1.00
0.50
Nil

Source: Computed from data in Voter’s List, 2008 and Field Work, 2009

Map 5.4
The overall pattern of distribution of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families revealed a widespread distribution of professional groups such as the dhobis and nais within the Civil Area. Their spatial proximity to the high class residential mohallas in northern parts was related to their occupation requiring less centralization. On the other hand, low caste groups associated with ritually impure activities such as slaughtering and skinning of animals as well as sale of meat etc. were concentrated in southern parts due to centralisation of these activities at one location within the Civil Area.

(B) Spatial Pattern of Distribution of Trading Castes Families

The trading castes, comprising Banias and Jains formed the second most dominant social group with 529 families who constituted 22.75 per cent of all the families in the Civil Area. With the exception of Mohalla 30, 31 and Kumhar Mandi the trading caste families were recorded in thirty three mohallas, and among which their number and proportion was the highest in Mohalla 7 (44 families comprising 78.57 per cent of all the families). The status of trading caste families as the second dominant social group within the Civil Area is attributed to their historical economic linkage with the army during the British period as canteen contractors attached with specific units for catering and provision of items of routine use, and military suppliers of a variety of commodities. Besides this, they also functioned as money lenders to soldiers and officers. In fact, they continue to be associated as contractors of unit canteens.

The value of concentration index of trading castes families ranged between 3.42 in Mohalla 7 and 0.09 in BI Bazaar. The trading castes families displayed spatial cohesiveness within the Civil Area as majority of the mohallas recorded their concentration index value of more than 1. On the basis of concentration index values of trading castes families, the Civil Area has been divided into the following four categories (Map 5.5):

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50)

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00): Ten mohallas recorded a high concentration of families belonging to the trading castes. These are Mohalla 7 (3.42), 1 (3.07), 6 (2.94), 15 (2.92), 2 (2.90), 11 (2.74), 10 (2.42), 9 (2.12), 5 (2.08) and
Nearly half the total number of trading caste families, (261 out of 529) reside in these *mohallas* and numbered between 44 and 8 families in individual *mohallas*. They were the predominant caste in seven *mohallas* in which they comprised between 79 and 55 per cent of all the families, whereas they were the dominant caste among the five social groups inhabiting *Mohalla* 9, 5 and 13. Most of the *mohallas* in this category were characterised by an entirely Hindu ownership (*Mohalla* 1, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 11) which contributed to their permanent residential status.

High concentration of trading castes families formed a conspicuous cluster of contiguously located *mohallas* in the northern parts of *Sadak Bazaar* between Hardayal Road, Patel Road and Moolraj Road and up to Cross Road 3 (Map 5.5) which comprised the second areas of their occupancy (as compared to the earliest occupied central *mohallas*). This was associated with the location of two wholesale grain markets in their vicinity, in *Mohalla* 8 and 11 in which the *Banias* functioned as commission agents or *arhtiyas* for the sale and purchase of food grains, sugar, and other food items. While the former was closed down around 1888, the latter was shifted out of the Cantonment a decade after the Partition. Most of the traders, since then, shifted to retail trade, and only a few continue to deal in wholesale sale of food grains, and smaller shop owners of the Civil Area. However, *mohallas* in the vicinity of grain markets continue to be associated with the trading community.

(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00): The moderately high concentration areas of trading castes families included eight *mohallas*, namely *Mohalla* 16 (1.98), 14 (1.94), 22 (1.92), 18 (1.83), 23 (1.79), 17 (1.67), 12 (1.59) and 4 (1.11). One third of the total number of trading caste families (175 families) in the Civil Area resided in these *mohallas*, in which they numbered between 30 and 13 families and their proportion varied between 45 and 25 per cent of all the families. Spatially, these *mohallas* are contiguous to those with high concentration of trading castes families, and formed a large cluster in central parts between Hardayal Road and Moolraj Road and an axis in the east along Ganga Road (Map 5.5).

The moderately high concentration of trading castes including several Jain families in these *mohallas* is linked with the development of commercial activity (mostly retail trade) along Phagwara Road and Patel Road at the time of establishment of the Cantonment. Field enquiries revealed that the Jain families along with other *Banias* families settled in *Mohalla* 14, 18 and 22 during the initial phase of growth of the Civil
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Trading Castes Families
(2008)

Sadar Bazaar

Concentration index

- 2.00
- 1.00
- 0.50
- Nil

Metres
@) -- Mohalla number = Road/Street/Lane

Source: Computed from data in Voter's List, 2008 and Field Work, 2009

Map 5.5
Area. Therefore, these comprised the earliest occupancy areas of this caste. A temple of the Jain community in Mohalla 14 attests to their significance as part of the trading caste families in these mohallas. In addition, several families in mohallas along Ganga Road comprise the relatively new occupancy of trading caste associated with their rehabilitation in Muslim evacuee plots.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50): Seven mohallas which comprised this category include Mohalla 8 (0.87), 21 (0.87), Outside Mohalla (0.62), 19 (0.62), 27 (0.59), 3 (0.54) and 28 (0.52). The moderately low concentration of trading caste families formed a dispersed pattern across the Sadar Bazaar except a small pocket in the southeast (Map 5.5). Together these mohallas constituted 11 per cent of the total number of trading castes families in the Civil Area. In most mohallas of this category, the trading caste families ranked third or fourth after the Khatri, Sikh and Scheduled Castes families. The trading caste families in Mohalla 8 formed a part of early occupancy associated with the old grain market, whereas a few displaced families were rehabilitated in Muslim evacuee plots in other mohallas.

(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50): This category comprised eight mohallas, viz. Mohalla 20 (0.43), RA Bazaar (0.36), 26 (0.27), 32 (0.16), 29 (0.16), 25 (0.14), 24 (0.11) and BI Bazaar (0.09). They formed small cluster of contiguously located mohallas in south western periphery, and a linear pattern along Ganga Road in the eastern periphery. Both RA Bazaar and BI Bazaar formed isolated pockets of low concentration of trading caste families (Map 5.5). The number and proportion of trading caste families in individual mohallas was quite low. The low concentration of trading castes families was related to the predominance of Muslims who also controlled commercial activity in these mohallas during the pre-Partition period. The subsequent rehabilitation of displaced Khatri families, who are traders by occupation in Mohalla 24, 25, 26 and 29 and of the low castes groups in Mohalla 32, resulted in a continuance of low concentration of trading castes families. On the other hand, BI Bazaar and RA Bazaar comprised a small number of trading castes attached to individual regiments, as compared to a more numerous occupational groups such as the nais, dhobis, khausamas, darzis and other helpers. Therefore, the concentration of trading caste families has been traditionally low in these pockets.
The Khatris form a part of the high caste group which include the Brahmins and the Rajputs. Within the Civil Area, the Khatri families ranked third in terms of numerical strength (468 families) and proportion in the total families (20.13 per cent). The Khatri families numbering between 41 and only 1 were recorded in all the mohallas with the exception of Mohalla 20 and Kumhar Mandi. The highest proportion of Khatri families (63.08 per cent) was recorded in Mohalla 26 and the lowest proportion of 3.13 per cent in Mohalla 15.

The occupancy of Khatri families and their varying concentration in different mohallas of the Civil Area was primarily influenced by the rehabilitation of displaced families in Muslim evacuee plots after the Partition. This resulted in their maximum concentration in mohallas along Phagwara Road in Sadar Bazaar and adjoining low caste mohallas. Four types of areas have been identified on the basis of the concentration index values of Khatri families (Map 5.6). These are:

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50)

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00): Four mohallas recorded high concentration of Khatri families, viz. Mohalla 26 (3.15), 29 (2.69), 25 (2.50) and 28 (2.37). These together accounted for 30.55 percent of all the Khatri families in the Civil Area. The Khatri families comprised more than fifty per cent of all the families in the first three mohallas and were the predominant community in them, whereas in Mohalla 28 they were the most dominant caste among the five social groups with 47.46 per cent of all the families. The high concentration of Khatri families formed a conspicuous cluster to the south of Phagwara Road, with three contiguously located mohallas in the southwest and one mohalla in the southeast (Map 5.6). Their high concentration was associated with the rehabilitation of displaced Khatri families in Muslim evacuee plots after the Partition. These mohallas comprised only the displaced Khatri families who occupied 142 plots out of 292 Muslim owned plots in which displaced Khatri families were rehabilitated. These mohallas, therefore, formed areas of late settlement of the Khatris within the Civil Area.
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Khatri Families (2008)

Sadar Bazaar

Source: Computed from data in Voter’s List, 2008 and Field Work, 2009

Map 5.6
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00):

Moderately high concentration of Khatri families was recorded in twelve mohallas, namely Mohalla 27 (1.82), 23 (1.75), 2 (1.67), 21 (1.67), 24 (1.60), 22 (1.51), 19 (1.43), 8 (1.33), 3 (1.25), 13 (1.18), 17 (1.15) and 5 (1.09). Together these mohallas accounted for the highest number (166 families) and proportion (35.47 per cent) of all the Khatri families in the Civil Area. Individual mohallas recorded between 36.36 per cent and 21.74 per cent of all their families belonging to the Khatri caste which was higher than their Civil Area proportion of 20.13 per cent. In fact, Khatris were numerically the largest community in two mohallas, viz. 21 and 27, with 15 out of 45 families and 32 out of 88 families respectively belonging to this community. In other mohallas, they were second ranking, usually after the trading castes or Scheduled Castes.

This category formed an axial pattern comprising spatially contiguous mohallas along Hardayal Road in the west; Phagwara Road in central parts and eastern flank of Moolraj Road. In addition, a small cluster in the northern parts along Cross Road 1 was also quite distinct (Map 5.6). Several mohallas, particularly those along Hardayal Road and Phagwara Road comprised areas of their early occupancy along with the Sikhs, with whom the Khatris are known to have close cultural affinity. Further, their high concentration in these mohallas associated with commercial activity is expected considering that the Khatris are a trading caste. In comparison, in mohallas like 24 and 27, Khatri families formed a part of their late occupancy areas associated with the rehabilitation of displaced families in these pre-Partition Muslim dominated mohallas.

In fact, displaced Khatri families comprised a significant proportion (44 per cent) of all the Khatri families recorded in the mohallas of moderately high concentration category.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50):

Twelve mohallas which comprised this category include Mohalla 9 (0.98), 10 (0.96), 14 (0.92), 16 (0.83), 18 (0.79), 4 (0.78), 12 (0.75), 30 (0.64), Outside Mohalla (0.59), 11 (0.56) and 6 (0.54) and RA Bazaar (0.68). This category formed a conspicuous linear pattern of contiguously located mohallas along Patel Road and Cross Road 2. Only Mohalla 4, 30 and RA Bazaar formed isolated pockets (Map 5.6). The numerical strength of Khatri families varied between 15 and 4 families in individual mohallas, but together constituted 116 families who accounted for 24.78 per cent of all the Khatri families in the Civil Area. A significant proportion (about 40 per cent) among these families comprised the displaced families.
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50): Areas of low concentration of Khatri families included six mohallas, namely BI Bazaar (0.46), Mohalla 31 (0.33), 1 (0.29), 32 (0.24), 7 (0.18) and 15 (0.16). Only 43 Khatri families were recorded in these mohallas, which together accounted for 9.18 per cent of all the Khatri families in the Civil Area. These included 31 families in Muslim owned plots. This category formed a dispersed pattern, except for a small pocket of two mohallas in south eastern part of Sadar Bazaar (Map 5.6).

(D) Spatial Pattern of Distribution of Sikh Families

As many as 227 families residing in thirty four mohallas of the Civil Area and constituting 9.76 per cent of the total number of families were identified as belonging to the Sikh community. The proportion of Sikh families in different mohallas varied between 28.89 per cent in Mohalla 21 to only 1.54 per cent in Mohalla 14. An overwhelming majority of the Sikh families (68.72 per cent) comprised displaced families who were rehabilitated in 156 Muslim owned plots of the pre-Partition period. This contributed to their spatial pervasiveness within the Civil Area as all the mohallas except Mohalla 2 and Kumhar Mandi recorded Sikh families in varying numbers (between 21 and 1 families). This was in contrast to their absence in nearly half the Civil Area during the pre-Partition period.

In addition, the Sikh families emerged as fairly well distributed within the Civil Area with the maximum concentration index value of 2.89 as compared to a highly concentrated distribution of Sikh ownership in the pre-Independence period, with the maximum concentration index value of 7.50. Spatially, the Sikh families continued to be concentrated in mohallas of their old occupancy along the western periphery and central mohallas but constituted low concentration in the northern parts.

Four categories of concentration of Sikh families which have been identified in the Civil Area are (Map 5.7):

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50)
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Sikh Families (2008)

Sadar Bazaar

Concentration index

- 2.00
- 1.00
- 0.50
- Nil

Source: Computed from data in Voter's List, 2008 and Field Work, 2009

Map 5.7
(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00): The areas of high concentration of Sikh families comprised six mohallas, namely Mohalla 21 (2.89), 29 (2.63), 17 (2.50), 28 (2.37), 27 (2.16) and 18 (2.11). Together they accounted for nearly forty per cent of all the Sikh families in the Civil Area with 88 out of 227 Sikh families, most of whom were the displaced Sikh families. With their proportion ranging between 28.89 per cent and 21.05 per cent, the Sikhs were second dominant social group in the mohallas in this category. These mohallas formed two conspicuous pockets, one along Hardayal Road and between Cross Roads 4 and 5; and the other in south eastern part of Sadar Bazaar along Phagwara Road (Map 5.7). Only Mohalla 29 forms an isolated pocket. The former area comprised their old area of ownership and occupancy whereas the latter comprised their post-Partition area of occupancy in the Muslim evacuee plots. Maiyan Gurudwara in Mohalla 29, which is a converted structure of the earlier existing Mosque of the pre-Partition period, formed the religious centre of new occupancy areas.

(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00): This category included nine mohallas, viz. Mohalla 24 (1.98), 13 (1.76), 25 (1.61), 19 (1.43), 15 (1.25), 26 (1.23), 1 (1.18), 8 (1.11) and 12 (1.00) which comprised 65 Sikh families. This category formed small clusters in the east along Ganga Road and to the south of Phagwara Road, while isolated pockets were formed by Mohalla 1 and 13 along Hardayal Road (Map 5.7). Seven mohallas among these have been the traditional areas of Sikh occupancy, whereas two mohallas, viz. Mohalla 26 and 1 which did not record any ownership of Sikhs during pre-Partition period represented new occupancy areas with 8 and 2 Sikh families respectively. Overall the displaced Sikh families constituted an overwhelming majority with 45 families recorded in eight of the nine mohallas in this category, with the exception of Mohalla 1.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50): Nine mohallas which recorded moderately low concentration of Sikh families include Mohalla 4 (0.98), 22 (0.93), 23 (0.79), 30 (0.76), 9 (0.73), 5 (0.65), RA Bazaar (0.63), Mohalla 32 (0.57) and 20 (0.50). Together these families constituted nearly one fifth of all the Sikh families within the Civil Area. Spatially, these mohallas formed small clusters, each comprising two mohallas, one along Hardayal Road in the northern parts and the second along Phagwara Road in central parts of Sadar Bazaar. The remaining mohallas were non-contiguous and formed isolated pockets (Map 5.7).
Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50): A low concentration of Sikh families was found in ten mohallas comprising BI Bazaar (0.48), Mohalla 16 (0.45), 3 (0.42), 10 (0.38), 7 (0.36), 31 (0.33), 6 (0.27), 11 (0.19), Outside Mohalla (0.17) and 14 (0.15). The proportion of Sikh families was less than 5 per cent in individual mohallas. Most of the mohallas in this category formed a conspicuous axial pattern on either side of Moolraj Road in northern parts of Sadar Bazaar whereas BI Bazaar and Mohalla 31 formed isolated pockets (Map 5.7). These areas have traditionally been associated with a low concentration of Sikhs, with three mohallas of this category, viz. Mohalla 3, 7 and 11 not having a single Sikh owned plot and Mohalla 10, 14 and 16 recording moderately low to low concentration of Sikh owned plots in 1939. In addition, Mohalla 31 and 6 which recorded 8 and 3 Sikh owned plots respectively in 1939, now have only 3 and 1 Sikh families respectively. This suggests a shifting of Sikhs outside these mohallas.

(E) Spatial Pattern of Distribution of Brahmin Families (2008)

The Civil Area comprised 220 Brahmin families in thirty two mohallas. The four mohallas which did not record any Brahmin families include Mohalla 2, 5, 32 and Kumhar Mandi. This caste accounted for the lowest proportion among the five main social groups, i.e. only 9.46 per cent. Their proportion ranged between 32.31 per cent in Mohalla 14 and 1.67 per cent in Mohalla 20. While the highest number of 21 Brahmin families was recorded in Mohalla 14, their number was less than ten families each in a majority of the mohallas (24). This caste was the second or third ranking among the five social groups in all the mohallas. Their wide range of concentration index values (between 3.59 and 0.19) suggests spatial cohesiveness of Brahmin families with clearly defined areas of their high and low concentrations. On the basis of concentration index values, four areas of concentration of Brahmin families have been identified (Map 5.8):

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00)
(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00)
(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50)
(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50)

(i) Areas of high concentration (C.I. value more than 2.00): Seven mohallas of Sadar Bazaar recorded a high concentration of Brahmin families which include Mohalla 14 (3.59), 12 (3.52), 19 (3.17), 3 (2.78), 16 (2.19), 10 (2.14) and 11 (2.06). These formed a compact cluster of contiguously located mohallas in the north and
Jalandhar Cantonment (Civil Area)
Distribution of Brahmin Families
(2008)

Sadar Bazaar

Concentration index

2.00
1.00
0.50
Nil

Data by mohallas

Source: Computed from data in Voter's List, 2008 and Field Work, 2009

Map 5.8
eastern parts between Cross Roads 2 and 4 (Map 5.8). Only Mohalla 3 formed an isolated pocket to the north of this cluster. Together these mohallas accounted for more than a third (36.81 per cent) of all the Brahmin families in the Civil Area, whereas this caste comprised between 32.31 per cent and 18.52 per cent in individual mohallas of this category. Like the case of towns and cities in India, the Brahmin families within the planned Civil Area got consolidated around religious nucleus in several mohallas. Field enquires suggest that Bara Mandir in Mohalla 10 and Makhan Lal Mandir in Mohalla 19 are the oldest religious structures within the Civil Area, which contributed to the early occupancy and high concentration of Brahmin families within and in neighbouring mohallas. Another three temples, viz. Hanuman Mandir, Shri Sita Ram Mandir and Bajrang Bhawan Mandir in Mohalla 11, 12 and 19 respectively also led to their high concentration.

Further, the spatial proximity of high concentration of Brahmin families in or adjoining mohallas of high concentration of trading caste families is mainly associated with the temples in these mohallas (except Bara Mandir) having been built on land donated by the trading caste families and their routine caretaking assigned to the Brahmin families. However, the high concentration of Brahmins in Mohalla 16 which is adjacent to Scheduled Castes dominated Mohalla 20 presented an interesting case of segregation among the sub-castes of the Brahmins. Interviews with some prominent Brahmin families revealed the settlement of Charjee or Mahabrahmin in Mohalla 16, who are considered low among the Brahmins as they perform the last rites of the dead. In fact, Mukti Dham Bagichi, which had earlier been in use for performing rituals of the dead, was located in Mohalla 24, across Mohalla 20; and in same line as Mohalla 16 in the eastern periphery of Sadar Bazaar.

(ii) Areas of moderately high concentration (C.I. value between 2.00 and 1.00): This category comprised ten mohallas, viz. Mohalla 15 (1.91), RA Bazaar (1.85), 25 (1.79), 23 (1.59), 22 (1.55), 29 (1.25), 21 (1.23), 6 (1.20), 27 (1.14) and 9 (1.08). These mohallas recorded the highest number (83) and proportion (37.72 per cent) of Brahmin families in the Civil Area. These families constituted between 17.19 per cent and 9.76 per cent of all the families in individual mohallas. This category formed a horse shoe pattern with six out of ten mohallas in south western periphery along Hardayal Road and central parts along Phagwara Road (Map 5.8). Mohalla 6, 9, 15 and RA Bazaar formed isolated pockets.
Moderately high concentration of Brahmin families was associated with old as well as new occupancy areas. The early occupancy of this caste was associated with Kali Bari Mandir, Mahamaya Mandir, Laxmi Narain Mandir in Mohalla 6, 15 and 22 respectively which were built by Brahmin families residing in these mohallas. Mohalla 9 and 23 adjoining these mohallas also formed a part of the early consolidation of the Brahmin families. Kali Bari Mandir was built by some Bengali families who had come to Jalandhar Cantonment with a British Officer in the late 1880s and 1890s. The new occupancy of Brahmin families was associated with their rehabilitation in erstwhile Muslim dominated mohallas (21, 25, 27, 29 and RA Bazaar). Among these, Mohalla 27 partly comprised early settled Brahmin families around two temples built by Pt. Tulsi Ram, viz. Shri Sanatan Dharam Shiv Mandir and Tulsi Mandir.

(iii) Areas of moderately low concentration (C.I. value between 1.00 and 0.50): Nine mohallas recorded moderately low concentration of Brahmin families, namely Mohalla 28 (0.94), 18 (0.88), 4 (0.87), 13 (0.87), 26 (0.85), 24 (0.82), 7 (0.79), Outside Mohalla (0.75) and 1 (0.65). These mohallas together accounted for about one fifth of all the Brahmin families in the Civil Area, while individually these mohallas comprised less than ten per cent of the Brahmin families. These mohallas formed a dispersed pattern, except for a small pocket along Ganga Road in eastern periphery (Map 5.8). Mohallas along Phagwara Road and Patel Road recorded ten Brahmin families who were rehabilitated in Muslim evacuee plots.

(iv) Areas of low concentration (C.I. value less than 0.50)
This category included six mohallas, viz. Mohalla 17 (0.43), 8 (0.25), 31 (0.24), 30 (0.19) and 20 (0.19) of Sadar Bazaar, besides BI Bazaar (0.31). They together formed the lowest proportion of Brahmin families (7.27 per cent) in the Civil Area. Their number in these mohallas was very small, with eight in BI Bazaar, two each in Mohalla 17, 30 and 31 and 1 each in Mohalla 8 and 20. None of these families formed a part of early occupancy since these mohallas were dominated by the Muslims and the low castes with which Brahmins have traditionally maintained spatial distance. All the families in these mohallas comprised the displaced families who were rehabilitated in Muslim evacuee plots in these mohallas.

Although religious diversity within the Civil Area is limited to the two major religious groups, viz. the Hindus and Sikhs, but its caste composition displayed diversity and the distribution of different castes in individual mohallas reflected traditional norms of spatial patterning also found in several towns in India.

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Summary

This chapter explored the socio-spatial structure of the Civil Area of Jalandhar Cantonment in the pre-Independence and the post-Independence period. The social patterning of the Civil Area during the Pre-Independence period comprised three groups, viz. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs owning plots in mohallas in varying proportions. The Hindus formed the highest proportion (64.58 per cent) of ownership of plots within the Civil Area and were mostly concentrated in the northern mohallas of Sadar Bazaar in addition to Kumhar Mandi and RA Bazaar. Muslims, the second largest religious group, owned 29.99 per cent of all the plots, with southern mohallas of Sadar Bazaar forming their areas of concentration. The Sikhs owned 5.29 per cent of all the plots. Their concentration in mohallas in the west and central parts of Sadar Bazaar formed a buffer zone between the two dominant communities of the Civil Area.

The social structure of the Civil Area got realigned into two religious communities, viz. Hindus and Sikhs in the post-Independence period. The importance of the main arterial road, i.e. Phagwara Road as a line of transition and social demarcation remained distinct between the high and low caste groups in the post-Independence period.

Five main caste and religious group families were identified within the Civil Area in 2008. In the descending order of their proportion, these include the Scheduled Castes and Backward Class, trading castes, Khatri, Sikh and Brahmins. The Scheduled Castes and Backward Class families comprised the largest proportion with more than one third (35.74 per cent) of all the families. Their numerical dominance is in consonance with the regional characteristic of high concentration of Scheduled Castes and Backward Class. Their overwhelming dominance in mohallas in the periphery, i.e. southern and eastern parts of Sadar Bazaar, besides the BI Bazaar, RA Bazaar and Kumhar Mandi validates their historically determined peripheral locations within cities in India, and to which the planned Civil Area is no exception.

The trading castes formed the second dominant social group with 22.75 per cent of all the families. Their concentrations were found to be functionally associated with commercial activity in northern, central and western parts along main arterial and sub-arterial roads. The Khatis comprised 20.13 per cent of all the families within the Civil Area and ranked third among the various social groups. Their distribution in southern mohallas of Sadar Bazaar was attributed to their resettlement in Muslim evacuee properties in the post-Independence period and comprised their later occupancy areas.
The Khatris were also found to be spatially associated with areas of traditional dominance and concentration of the Sikhs in west and central parts. The latter constituted 9.76 per cent of all the families within the Civil Area. The Sikhs were also concentrated in some of the pre-Partition Muslim dominated mohallas in the south and east in the Sadar Bazaar. The high caste group comprising Brahmins families formed the lowest proportion (9.46 per cent) among all the social groups. Their concentration in central and eastern mohallas of Sadar Bazaar and a near absence in the low castes dominated mohallas to the south revealed the traditional norms of social distance.

Overall, the Civil Area was characterised by multi-caste and religious composition, with considerable variations in the social groups in individual mohallas. The emergent spatial pattern by different caste groups resembled concentric squares, with the high castes forming central areas and a declining caste status towards the periphery. This socio-spatial structure broadly conformed to the socio-spatial patterning also found in cities in India.

**References and Notes**

1. Principles of socio-spatial organization in ancient Indian cities were based on the four varnas, i.e. the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras accommodated to the north, east, south and west respectively and the royal palace, administrative buildings or a temple accorded prime status of central position. The traditional socio-spatial patterning within cities in India subsequently acquired religious, caste, occupational and linguistic associations, which have continued to remain intact in old cities and old parts of cities but a gradual shift towards an economic status based patterning is gaining ground in newly established cities. See Mehta, S.K. (1968): “Patterns of Residence in Poona (India) by Income, Education and Occupation (1937-65)”, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 73 (4), pp. 496-508; Begde, P.V. (1977): *Ancient and Medieval Town Planning in India*, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, p. 37; Rao, M.S.A., C. Bhat and L.N. Kadekar eds. (1991): *A Reader in Urban Sociology*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, p. 84.


4. The appellation used for the indigenous city and its European enclave, viz. Black Town and White Town respectively has most commonly been used to describe the socio-spatial structure of port cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. See Lewandowski, S.J. (1977): “Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and the Colonial Port City in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 11 (2), pp. 183-212; Neild, S.


7. Personal interviews with residents of the Civil Area of Jalandhar Cantonment revealed their family ancestry and origin to areas outside Punjab, viz. Rajasthan (Jaipur, Sawai Madhopur, Bikaner, Sikar, Behror, Alwar), Haryana (Gurgaon, Narnaul, Yamuna Nagar) and Uttar Pradesh (Saharanpur, Mathura, Amethi, Gonda). The establishment of the Cantonment acted as an economic pull for the forefathers of the present generation of residents of the Civil Area to migrate from some of these dry and agriculturally poor areas.

8. The migration of Marwaris from their native areas in Rajasthan during the British period has been attributed to: (i) decline in areas of activity due to the emergence of new commercial centres favoured by the British, such as port cities, (ii) shifting of old trade routes, emergence of new trading routes and markets, (iii) diminishing traditional avenues of financial services in princely courts due to government restrictions on trade, custom barriers between princely states and British governed territories, (iv) maladministration and security concerns arising out of frequently warring princes, natural calamities like drought and famines, or circumstantial factors like outbreak of plague and wars. See Timberg, T.A. (1978): The Marwaris: From Traders to Industrialists, Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, p. 96-103; Bayly, C.A. (1997): Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion (1770-1870), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 214.


12. See Bayly, C.A. (1997), op. cit., p. 215. “The 1200 residents of village Bokhapore, near the Meerut cantonments in 1817, all obtained their livelihood by ‘daily labour in and near the Cantonments’. There was a brisk trade in spirits and ‘cheroots’ for the troops while the production and repair of soldiers’ garments provided employment for a small army of Muslim tailors”.


14. It was noted that although the settlement of different caste groups was encouraged in the colonial port city of Madras, however, different caste groups were assigned streets on which to reside. Thus, the British not only created a segmentary urban form but also controlled the settlement patterns by determining the residential areas of and therefore, distribution of various occupation groups. Further, the East India Company authorities encouraged the entry of different caste groups into activities not related to their traditional caste callings, to discourage collusion among the dominant castes. This sense of insecurity also reflected in restricting the number of Muslim settlers in the town by limiting the amount of land they could occupy. See Lewandowski, S.J. (1975, 1977), op. cit., p. 202 & 359; Neild, S.M. (1979), op. cit., p. 238.

15. As noted from personal interviews with officials of Barrackpur Cantonment Board in 2004 and residents in Meerut and Lucknow Cantonments in 2005-06, one comes across mohallas such as Baker Mohalla, Mochi Mohalla in Barrackpur Cantonment; Banya Mohalla, Darzi Mohalla in Lucknow Cantonment, Ghosi Mohalla, Dholki Mohalla in Meerut Cantonment. The bazaar area of Pune Cantonment has distinct social areas like Butler Mohalla, Shimpri Ali etc. These refer to the occupation of resident community respectively associated with baking, shoe-making (cobbler), traders, tailoring (also called Shimpri in Pune), and milkmen (Gujar Muslims). These attest to cultural transference of socio-spatial segregation norms practiced widely in native towns to which the camp followers and residents of the bazaar area belonged and the implantation of these norms in “planned” Civil Areas which were established by a culture group alien to the indigenous culture. While these names usually refer to the dominant community in that mohalla, it also highlights the practice of traditional segregation of different


17. Personal interviews with Cantonment Board officials and residents of Ambala, Firozpur and Jalandhar cantonments revealed that mohallas in the civil areas are numbered. Similar system of numbering neighbourhoods has been used in several planned cities like Chandigarh, Gandhinagar as well as planned accretions to already existing cities, such as Gurgaon, Karnal etc. in which mohallas are called sectors in contemporary parlance.


19. In explaining the identity of Khatris, Grewal noted that those Kshatriyas who did not yield to the Rajput superiority migrated from ‘Hindustan’ to the Punjab, where they took to service, trade, and business etc. See Grewal, J.S. (1984), op. cit., p. 213. The claim of Khatris as being different from the Banias is attributed to Timberg, T.A. (1978), op. cit.; Dale, S.F. (1994), op. cit., p. 58.


21. Field enquiries revealed that a Bania merchant by the name of Kishna donated land on which Gurudwara Singh Sabha, Arya Samaj Mandir and Nanak Chand Dharamshala were built in Mohalla 19. A part of the Gurudwara complex was later converted to Guru Nanak Kanya
Mahavidyalaya; Arya Samaj Mandir was converted to K.L. Arya Girls High School in 1965; Nanak Chand Dharamshala was converted into N.C. Model Senior Secondary School.

22. From the data on religious composition of population of Jalandhar City in 1901, the Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs formed 59.17 per cent, 36.49 per cent, 2.28 per cent and 1.33 per cent of the total population of Jalandhar City respectively. The remaining 0.73 per cent comprised the ‘others’ category. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1904), Vol. XIV, Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 231.

23. Hindus formed the most dominant community in Jalandhar Cantonment with a consistently increasing proportion ranging between 81.38 per cent in 1971 and 83.63 per cent in 2001. Sikhs formed the second dominant community, however, with a consistently declining proportion from 15.02 per cent in 1971 to 12.84 per cent in 2001. They are followed by Christians who comprised 1.4 to 2.15 per cent and Muslims who accounted for less than 1 per cent in the total population in the same period. In Jalandhar City the sequence of numerical dominance follows that of Jalandhar Cantonment. However, the trend in proportion of Hindus was of a consistent decline from 76.61 per cent in 1971 to 72.47 per cent in 2001, and that of Sikhs was an increasing trend during 1971-1991 from 22.07 per cent to 25.38 per cent followed by a decline to 24.75 per cent in 2001. The other communities, viz. Christians, Jains, Muslims and Buddhists have always recorded an insignificant proportion of less than 1 per cent each during 1971-2001. Census of India (1971): *Distribution of Population by Religion and Scheduled Castes*, Series 17-Punjab, Part II-C (i) and Part V-A; Census of India (1981): *Household Population by Religion of Head of Household (Upto Tahsil and Town Level)*, Series 17-Punjab, Paper 1 of 1984; Census of India (1991): *Religion*, Series 20-Punjab, Table C-9, Part IV-B (ii); Census of India (2001): *Table C-1: Population by Religious Community (Punjab)* available in electronic format.

24. Hindus form a majority in the urban population of Punjab, and their proportion is higher in large towns and cities as compared to small sized towns. This is related to their traditional association with business, trade, commerce and industry. On the other hand, Sikhs comprise a majority in the rural population which is related to their primary occupation of agriculture. See Gill, M.S. (1986): “Religious Composition of Punjab’s Urban Population, 1981”, *Population Geography*, Vol. 8 (1 & 2), pp. 38-49.