Chapter 7

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The present study has been undertaken to understand the land use pattern, thereby spatial patterns and the resulting life styles of the residents of the historic walled city of Amritsar. The descriptive study is based on the data collected through surveys and pre-tested Structured Interview Schedules from amongst the three hundred households’ selected randomly using proportionate technique from amongst four areas of four different wards again selected randomly. The emphasis is laid to understand the socio-economic profile, family structure, life style and role of community, and community opinion in the conservation process. In addition, reconnaissance surveys are conducted to identify the buildings of historical, architectural and religious importance, nomenclature of streets and identifying the heritage zones. The study is designed to cover all these aspects so that a comprehensive strategy may be chalked out for the conservation of the tangible and thereby intangible heritage.

The socio-economic profile of the selected areas reveals that overall percentage of the respondents in the age group of 31 to 60 years is the highest. The proportion of the old people is comparatively less. Similarly the proportion of male respondents dominates with 83.8 per cent as against the female respondents (16.2 per cent). Analysing the total family structure of the respondents reveals that the percentage of the male in the selected areas is high (54 per cent) as compared to the female residents (46 per cent). Data also reveals that all the studied areas are dominated by the respondents having faith in Hindu religion (69.6 per cent). Though the city is the seat of Sikh religion, the proportion of Sikh respondents is low in comparison to that of the Hindus. Singh (1978) too finds the same. Though there was large scale migration of Muslims during the partition, the population structure of the walled city of Amritsar changed with the migration of Hindus and the Sikhs from Pakistan. Interestingly, only 3.1 per cent of the total respondents are migrants in the study areas who have settled in Katra Garba and Katra Hakima Areas. From this, it may be derived that the majority of the
respondents originally belong to the areas and therefore may be having an attachment not only to their place of residence but also their buildings and other important places.

Regarding caste, it has been found that all the respondents of the studied areas are dominated by the upper caste (66.2 per cent). As compared to other areas, Katra Hakima Area has a high proportion of the scheduled caste respondents (23.2 per cent). This is followed by Katra Garba Area where the proportion of such population is 15.2 per cent. The proportion of the scheduled castes is low in the rest of the areas. From the above, it may be inferred that the proportion of upper castes is high in Chowk Passian Area whereas the Scheduled castes have comparatively high percentage in Katra Hakima Area.

Trading castes have preponderance in almost all the areas, but their representation is somewhat more in Katra Hakima and Cheel Mandi Areas. On the other hand, artisans dominate those areas where craft/skill activities such as gold smithy, carpentry and the like dominate and these areas are the part of Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi. Undoubtedly, the trading castes dominate all the areas but the respondents whose occupation is business predominates Katra Garba area. Besides business, there is high proportion of the respondents in ‘other’ category which include labour, gold craftsmen, carpenter, rickshaw puller, tailor, and the like.

A comparison of change in previous and present occupations shows that business and trading activities are on the increase whereas there is decline in the percentage of respondents engaged in service sector. So, there is a shift in the occupational structure from the previous to the present one and this shift is towards increasing business activities. This may have an impact on the life style of the people as well as land use patterns.

Like other studies Sjoberg (1960), Mohsin (1964), Maheshwari (1978), Kulkarni (cited in Ferreira and Jha, 1976) and Gill (1991), the study finds a strong relation between work area and living area. Majority of the working residents travel less than five kilometres to reach their work place which is considered to be the walking distance. Not only this, the respondents prefer to travel either on foot or use two wheeler to go to their work place shows that the city is on human/pedestrian scale; a feature of old
walled cities. Also, majority of the respondents own two wheelers such as cycle/scooter/motor cycle. This supports the connotation that Amritsar is a historical city with medieval characteristics.

Data regarding monthly income depicts that the respondents of Katra Hakima Area and Cheel Mandi Area have comparatively less monthly income as compared to the rest. Majority of the respondents of Chowk Passian and Katra Garba Areas have more than Rs. 15000/- monthly income as compared to the other two. This fact is further corroborated by the possession of gadgets by the respondents of the respected areas. This indicates the scale of economic status of the areas as well and accordingly Katra Hakima Area stands at the lowest level. In other words, the economic status of the residents of Katra Hakima is low and that of Chowk Passian is high as compared to the others. It may also be made out that the artisans particularly engaged in gold smithy (Chowk Passian Area) are having higher income than those engaged in trade (Katra Hakima Area). In addition, the possession of four wheelers is found to be more among the respondents of Chowk Passian Area. On the other hand, the residents of Katra Hakima lack in possession of gadgets like air conditioner, refrigerator, washing machines, and computer/internet as compared to those of the other areas. This is further evident from the electricity bill paid by the respondents. The respondents from Chowk Passian Area are paying more for electricity consumption (above Rs. 1500/- per month) as compared to the rest of the areas. A high consumption of electricity in the Cheel Mandi Area may be attributed to the industrial activity in the form of the saw mills.

Further, the composition of family structure is largely nuclear as all the studied areas show its predominance (48.27 per cent) as against that of the joint family (16.55 per cent). The extended families constitute 35.18 per cent of the total respondents. This indicates that the joint family has given way to the nuclear family, which is an emerging phenomenon of modern society. The increased percentage of extended families is a pointer in this direction. This may have an effect on the life style of the people.

Further, 95.18 per cent respondents are owner, where as only 4.82 per cent are tenants. It is evident from this that the buildings of historical and architectural importance may be owned by the residents. It may be assumed that the ownership status
may be an indicator of emotional attachment as well and for this; the buildings are/may be better maintained.

The respondents may be owning buildings of heritage importance but not be aware of their significance in the context of future as literacy level of the respondents is not high (27.9 per cent are illiterate and about 54 per cent are having education level up to primary). Moreover, the city has high proportion of those engaged in business/trade as the predominant occupation and these respondents are continuing with their traditional occupation. In addition, the shift in occupation between the present and the past generation is too little. This may be one of the reasons for low level of education among the respondents/residents.

The study provides that the residents are dependent on auto/van (62.7 per cent) to a large extent rather than rickshaw or cycle to ferry their wards to educational institutions and vice versa. The study also reveals that the use of cycles for this purpose is negligible. None of the residents uses scooter, motorcycle, or car for this purpose. It may be concluded that the residents are on the path of adopting new lifestyle; shifting from simple to motorised means of transport. It is further evident from their means of transport to reach their place of work as nearly 80 per cent are using motorised means of transport against 17.2 per cent who use cycle/rickshaw may be the place of work is within 5km.

The study further reveals that all the selected areas are predominantly residential in nature. Katra Garba and Katra Hakima Areas are largely residential in nature whereas Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi are comparatively less residential. Study shows that the commercial activities are concentrated more in Cheel Mandi Area as compared to the others. Further, residential-cum-commercial area is found to be high in Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi Area. It may be stated that all the four areas are, no doubt, predominantly residential in nature but commercial activities have invaded more in Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi areas. This is the character that has been enumerated by Sjoberg (1960) about the pre-industrial cities. Moreover, the invasion of commercial activities in the residential areas is affecting the lifestyle as well as the land use patterns to some extent. Bhatnagar in his study of Chamba town (2008) and Bayo and
Marin (2004) about historic walled towns of England with special reference to Chester too have found the same. Bertaud (2005) recommends that municipalities should strictly restrict land use transformations in historic neighbourhoods. Further, industrial or industrial-cum-residential area is restricted mostly to the Cheel Mandi Area, where a few saw mills are functional.

The area under circulation consists of streets and bazaars. They are not only acting as lines of movement but also enhancing sociability because of labyrinth pattern (Mumford, 1958., Moughtin, 1992). Study reveals that almost all the studied areas have predominantly narrow dead end street pattern with width varying from 4 feet to 16 feet. The area under circulation is the maximum in the case of Cheel Mandi (22.9 percent) mainly due to the main road of Cheel Mandi bazaar which is wide enough for the movement of truck loaded with timber. The other study areas, Katra Hakima and Katra Garba have total area under circulation and these are predominant the residential ones; this shows that more the residential area more is the area under circulation. These circulation areas have surprising open spaces which are used for social, religious and political functions showing the vibrating social life of the areas and make them a fit case of heritage zones. This finding is also supported by Pozo, (1979), Crawford (2005), Mateo-Babiano (2005) and Pyla (2008).

The study of the selected areas reveal that parks are either non-exist or ill maintained. The city used to have traditional trees at the corners or open spaces. The study reveals that the respondents of Chowk Passian Area have stated that these used to be but have been axed and one of that has been axed a few years back. This indicates that such trees are not being protected in the walled city. The study depicts that all the areas have religious places of worship under public and semi public use. Such places are maintained by the residents. No doubt, the selected areas have traditional wells but due to the shift to piped water system, these lie in an abandoned state. Now some of these wells are being used as bins where residents freely throw their garbage. In Chowk Passian Area, one of the wells has a temple alongside. Consequently, this well is conserved from degradation.
In all the studied area, the size of plots is very small and their percentage is high in Katra Garba (84 per cent) and Chowk Passian Areas (74 per cent) as compared to the rest. On the other hand, Cheel Mandi and Katra Hakima Areas have relatively larger plot size. The basic derivation is that both these areas have industrial activity which may be the reason for comparatively bigger size of plots. Another reason may be the location of these areas, as these areas are located on the inner periphery of the walled city. The plots are carved in rows along the labyrinth streets and are found to be totally covered. Such feature is in consonance with the pattern of the walled city. In other words, small plot size, row housing, and nearly hundred per cent covered area is a prominent feature of a walled city, having medieval character, ultimately leading to a typical life style. So as to protect the heritage character of a walled city the building bye laws especially the front setback need to be reviewed. This may help to save the streetscape of historically important urban areas. Hosagrahar (2008) and Huan, Smolders, and Verweij (2008) too support this finding of the study.

All the buildings despite having nearly hundred per cent covered areas are also vertically built. Majority of the buildings are three storeyed and there proportion is high in all the areas except Katra Hakima Area. Cheel Mandi Area does not have any building above three storeys. Almost same is the case of other areas located on the inner periphery of the walled city. Chowk Passian Area is located in the centre of the walled city, it has about one fourth of the total buildings of four storeys. This indicates that in the central part of the city, the buildings may be up to four storeys (five storeyed also) but on the inner periphery, these are generally not more than three storeys. The gradient of built-in structures decreases from the centre to the periphery.

Of course, the city was founded in 1577 AD; the first residential locality came up in 17th century. The city has experienced many vicissitudes in its short history of physical growth. Regarding the year of construction of the buildings, majority of the respondents hold that the buildings have been constructed during the period 1951 to 1975 (43.4 per cent). Only 18.3 per cent of the respondents that the buildings were constructed before 1950 and such built area is found more in Cheel Mandi Area (37.5 per cent) followed by Chowk Passian Area (25.6 per cent). Most of the buildings, as per the respondents, in Katra Hakima Area have been constructed during 1951 to 1975.
whereas in Katra Garba Area during 1976-2000, which means that Katra Garba and Katra Hakima Areas have maximum percentage of relatively newer construction; these are the buildings which are either renovated or reconstructed after demolishing a part of the original structure. From this, it may be made out that the core areas were built earlier than those of the inner periphery of the walled city and still possess much of the traditional elements.

In these localities, repair work has been undertaken mostly after 2001 and especially in the case of Chowk Passian Area. It is only in the Katra Hakima Area that buildings have been repaired the most in different years. Thus, almost all the areas have got the buildings repaired. Analysis shows that all the buildings are repaired with the use of cement and the bricks available in the market. Use of cement for repair, instead of traditional building materials, such as *surkhi*, lime, which was earlier used for construction of most of the structures in the walled city, means drastic change in the character of the historical buildings. It also indicates that the residents are least aware about the conservation of built heritage and at the same time non-availability of such materials in the market. It may be assumed that the built heritage, if getting defaced, is due to non availability of such materials in the market, insensitivity on the part of the government by not providing these materials for repair of buildings and lack of awareness among the residents about the importance of such built/tangible heritage.

The analysis so far shows that all the studied areas fulfils most of the conditions of heritage zones such as buildings in row, mixed land use, surprising open spaces, traditional wells (abandoned now), and narrow streets with dead ends. Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (1987) also confirms these parameters and stresses on the character of the area. The study depicts that all the areas have typical street pattern (labyrinth) which depicts the traditional way of life of the residents. Study shows that Katra Garba Area has labyrinth as well as grid street pattern, Katra Hakima Area has a mixture, where as rest of the two areas have only labyrinth pattern. The surprising open spaces have also social and cultural relevance especially for the residents. Pyla (2008) also supports this and uses the term gossip squares for such spaces. The residents use these spaces for social, cultural and religious functions. They also serve as a place for the children to play and the old to sit for recreation, especially for playing cards.
Accordingly these have been classified as primary (Chowk Passian Area) and secondary (rest of the three areas) heritage zones.

The study finds that the nomenclature of the streets is linked with predominant caste and in certain cases with the dominant occupation or an important person. It is also linked to even temple, mosque, trees and the like. Srivastava (2008) too has found the same. International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) terms such patterns as ‘the spirit of the place’ (2008). The study of Chowk Passian Area reveals that there are about seventeen such streets. Some are named after the caste such as Gali Upplan Wali, Gali Pandita Wali, Chowk Passian Gali and the like. There are other streets which are named after the dominant occupation like Rababbian Wali Gali (who play musical instruments), Gali Sarafan Wali (who deals in gold ornaments), Kucha Ptang Frosh (who make and sell kites), Gali Achargan (who collect clothes put on the dead bodies before cremation) and so on. It does not mean that other occupation categories are non-existent in these streets. Shikarpurian Gali, Mela Kucha Ram, Gali Ram Ganesh, Gali Jai Krishna are some of the streets which have been named after prominent personalities of that area. On the other hand, Guru Ka Mehal and Shivala Wali Gali are the depiction of religiously important places on the basis of which these streets have been named.

In case of Cheel Mandi area, the streets named such as Gali Kharas Wali, Dabgara Gali and Gali Dhanjla. These names reflect the artisan castes that used to dominate this area. Dhanjals are the Ramgharias (carpenters), and Kharas are the artisans who work as blacksmiths.

Similarly, analysis of streets in Katra Garba Area reflects important social elements based largely on the caste/community, for instance, Bazaar Gujjran, Gali Gujjaran Wali, Tellian Wali Gali (oil related business), Mochian Wali Gali (Coblers), Nalkian Wali Gali (hand pump related GI pipes), Pehalwana Wali Gali (wrestlers) and Kamboj Wali Gali. These streets manifest a relationship between the caste and the occupation as well. Equally, certain streets are named after prominent personalities such as Dewan Singh Wali Gali, Manumal Gali, Gali Partap Singh, and Chela Ram Wali Gali. Peeran Wali Gali and Maseet Wali Gali had been inhabited by the Muslims who left after partition but the existence of their religious places explains the relationship.
between religion and the street nomenclature. Similarly there are *Devi Wali Gali* and *Mandir Wali Gali* which is another indication of the relationship between the nomenclature of the streets and the religion.

Further, the nomenclature of the streets is also different to some extent as in addition to occupation, there are names of the streets related to a tree as has been depicted in case of Katra Hakima area such as *peepal (ficus religiosa) Wali Gali*; religious seer like *Peeran Wali Gali*; width namely *Choura Bazaar* and the like. The name of this area and particularly *Gali Hakima* shows the people who used to dominate this area and were important functionary related to the health of the inhabitants. *Malika Wali Gali* might be synonymous to some princes who might have visited this area and in her honour the street may have been named. From this, it may be concluded that the traditional urban areas have street patterns that shows the importance of caste, occupation, religion, important personalities and the like.

Further, the study depicts that Chowk Passian Area has maximum buildings of architectural importance showing the traditional building materials, wooden carving, eves (*chajjas*) and frescoes as compared to that of the Cheel Mandi and Katra Hakima Areas. But analysis shows that there is no such building in Katra Garba Area, as most of the buildings have been repaired or structurally altered.

The study of the respondents of the selected areas shows that majority of the respondents (77.9 per cent) are unaware of the existence of buildings of historical and architectural importance. It means that the inhabitants are either unaware of the meaning of historical/architectural important buildings or they have defaced the buildings to such an extent that its decorative elements have all together been eliminated.

On the contrary, analysis depicts the attachment of the inhabitants with their street formulation/pattern as majority of the respondents (82.7 per cent) feel proud of the streets of their residential areas. Such feeling has been reported by all the respondents of the Katra Hakima and majority of Katra Garba (93.5 per cent) and Chowk Passian Areas (86.0 per cent). Study shows that respondents of Cheel Mandi
Areas does not have such feeling to a large extent due to the presence of many saw mills which create noise pollution besides heavy traffic volume in the area.

Analysis proves that local immediate needs are well served within the area due to the mixed residential and commercial character as reported by nearly 96 per cent of the respondents of the study areas. Only a small proportion of the respondents (4.1 per cent) have shown their dissatisfaction in this regard owing to the reasons cited above.

Since majority of the respondents are living in their respective areas for quite a long time, they must have healthy neighbourly relations. Urbanism as a way of life has transformed the primary relations to the secondary ones particularly in the urban areas, but in the area under study the respondents have largely good neighbourly relations. The study shows that 99.3 per cent of the respondents have healthy and cooperative relations amongst the neighbours. Such cooperation is reported by almost all the respondents of the selected study areas. This is further supported by the data which shows that the majority of the respondents (99.0 per cent) are satisfied with their neighbours. In other words, the satisfaction with the neighbour and good neighbourly relations are the result of typical spatial patterns in terms of traditional principles of town planning (mixed land use, human scale, labyrinth street pattern and the like), ancestral or occupational background and to some extent familial relations. Such relations promote social interaction and help in the development of emotional value towards the neighbours and the physical surroundings. Jacobs (1961) and Desai (2009) hold similar view and further state that it is the emotional value of street culture that includes and promotes interaction. In other words, good neighbourly relations within the walled city are the product of residential stability coupled with a street culture which not only promotes but also integrates the residents into a social fabric giving thereby emotional attachment to the area.

Though the areas lack proper space for the children to play the games, the open spaces provide opportunities to the children to play games like cricket. Majority of the respondents (91 per cent) have reported that there is no space in the areas for the children to play the games they are interested in but open spaces and streets are used by the children to play their most favourite game that is cricket. Children also play other
games such as *looken meeti* (hide and seek), *latoo, kanche* (small glass balls), *pithu garam, patang bazi* (flying kites), *kabootar bazi* (flying pigeons) and the like—the traditional games. Area-wise analysis shows that in all the studied areas, cricket is the most played game. The traditional games are being played largely in Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi Areas. This reflects the changing scenario of game patterns of the children despite narrow street patterns of the areas as is evident from the fact that streets are being utilized for playing games by the children (76.9 per cent). At the same time, 23.1 per cent of the respondents are of the view that children use open space/surprising open space for playing. So the narrow street pattern and lack of playgrounds are no hindrance to meet the play space need of the children, rather it strengthens the bonds among the children and their attachment with the place.

Interestingly, 71.8 per cent of the total respondents hold that streets are still used for holding socio-religious functions. Amongst the different studied areas, streets are used for social and religious functions by the residents of Cheel Mandi Area (80.8 per cent) and Katra Garba Area (79.3 per cent). Marriage palaces or hotels are used for socio-religious functions by some of the residents of Chowk Passian Area (25.6 per cent) and Katra Hakima Area (20.3 per cent). To a large extent, streets and surprising open spaces are still the preferred sites for holding social and religious functions. Desai (2009) also finds that it is extensively used for folk dances, religious gatherings, processions, festivals and weddings. Use of hotels or marriage palaces though is limited but shows a changing trend.

As stated earlier, the residents have close and intimate neighbourly relations and are attached with their areas of residence; it is evident that criminal activities remain at the lowest level. The study finds that crimes on a large scale are not committed in the residential areas as reported by the majority of the respondents (81.4 per cent). The areas where the crimes have not been reported comprises of Chowk Passian (97.7 per cent) and Katra Garba Areas (89.1 per cent): both the areas are centrally located having narrow dead end street pattern leaving little scope for theft and other related crimes. On the contrary, the areas namely Cheel Mandi and Katra Hakima, no doubt, have negligible crime but these areas are located on the inner periphery of the walled city and have potential for the criminal to escape. So the traditional labyrinth street patterns deter
the criminals to commit heinous crimes. Committing petty crimes like snatching and then eloping in the labyrinth streets is possible only for those who are well conversant with the street pattern but presence of dead ends may deter the same. In other words, it may be inferred that the traditional street pattern is more conducive to curtail criminal activities in the urban areas where crime rates are increasing. This finding is supported by Jagmohan (1975) and Michelson (cited in Kimaryo, 1999) too. They hold that such street pattern helps in locating the strangers in their areas and thereby any outsiders involved in criminal activity can be easily traced.

Although, the areas are to a great extent free of criminal activities, there may be other types of nuisance that disturb the peace of the inhabitants. Except Cheel Mandi Area where maximum percentage of the respondents (51.1 per cent) have reported noise pollution of traffic and that of the saw mills, no other area has reported any type of activity that disturbs their peace. So, the traditional street patterns provide sufficient space for peaceful living, devoid of especially noise and transport pollution. The study finds that the respondents are not satisfied with the sewerage, drainage system, the solid waste management and overall cleanliness but are satisfied with water supply, health, education, banking and the like facilities. Data depicts respondents’ view that garbage collection is the main responsibility of the municipal corporation in most of the areas; still some of the respondents have hired sweepers for this activity who collect and dispose of the garbage in the municipal garbage bins placed at certain convenient points. But during the surveys, heaps of garbage have been observed on Sundays in all the studied areas. This shows that garbage disposal is a serious problem in the walled area.

In spite of lack of physical facilities as stated above, majority of the respondents are satisfied with the present conditions of their localities. The satisfaction level is the highest among the respondents of Katra Hakima (99.1 per cent) and Katra Garba (95.7 per cent) as compared to the other two areas. Some respondents are not satisfied and they are largely the inhabitants of Cheel Mandi Area (25.5 per cent) and Chowk Passian Area (20.9 per cent). This may be due to the changing land use pattern in Chowk Passian Area where invasion of commercial activity is on the rise. The dissatisfaction
among the respondents of Cheel Mandi Area is because of the pollution of air, noise and dust from saw mills besides traffic.

With all the problems and lack of proper play space for the children, majority of the residents (90.4 per cent) do not want to shift to areas outside the walled city. The unwillingness of the majority of the respondents reflects the spirit of the place or the emotional attachment to the place of residence or area besides signifying their satisfaction with the physical, social infrastructure and socio-cultural life within the walled city. In addition, place attachment, is expression of one’s emotional or affective ties to a place, and is the result of a long-term connectivity with their physical and social environment. Halpenny (2006), ICOMOS (2008), Casakin & Kreitler (2008) and Brezovec and Bruce (2009) hold the similar view. For them, the memory of a place is as much about emotional experience as the physicality of it.

The attachment with their place of residence is equally evident from the fact that religious buildings existing in their areas are maintained in good condition. It is interesting to note that none of the respondents have replied bad condition of such buildings. This reflects the concern and emotional attachment of the residents with their religious places. Majority of the respondents have stated that the efforts to protect such buildings are made by the community (86 per cent to 93 per cent respondents of different areas) and not by the Government.

Regarding the use of materials for repairing such buildings, the study shows that the respondents to a great extent are unaware of the traditional materials that form the basic component of the building construction of that time particularly the lime and surkhi (red brick powder). Despite the changes in the building materials and in the structure of the religious buildings, most of the respondents feel proud of such buildings in their respective areas. From this, it can be derived that although the residents are not much aware about the conservation of religious buildings but still have emotional attachment (spirit of the place) with such buildings and are protecting them as per their knowledge. Their emotional attachment with such buildings is being expressed through their feeling of the proudest about the existence or location of these in their respective areas. In spite of such feeling, the use of new materials in restoration or repair is the
disturbing feature from the conservationist point of view as it destroys or defaces the originality of such sacred structures.

The areas though have many religious buildings depicting traditional character but architecturally important buildings are a few in number. Such buildings are not reported by the respondents of Katra Garba and Katra Hakima Areas (89 and 87 per cent respectively) whereas some of the respondents of Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi Areas (53.5 and 48.9 per cent respectively) have reported about these. Such buildings in Chowk Passian Area are visually in good condition; in other areas, the condition of such buildings is quite deplorable. In their opinion, such buildings have decorative elements but the carving, design and the like are in such a bad shape that these cannot be restored. The study shows that almost 100.0 per cent of the respondents of all the areas find that no efforts have been made by the community or the Government to protect such buildings. At the same time, a few respondents of Chowk Passian Area feel that efforts have been made by the community for the conservation. This reflects that the residents as well as the government are not concerned about the conservation of architecturally important buildings as they are about the religious ones. It is further evident from the fact that traditional materials have not been used in the repairs that have been carried over in certain buildings. But a few of the respondents of Chowk Passian Area do feel proud of such buildings and their proportion is more as compared to that of the other areas. It may be inferred that such buildings are either defaced/demolished or their architectural features do not arouse much sentimental feeling among the respondents/residents.

The walled city of Amritsar has many historic buildings where important personalities lived and contributed for the growth of this important historic-religious city. Some of the prominent amongst them include a great poet and scholar of Punjabi literature, Padam Shri Dr Bhai Vir Singh, present Prime Minister of India Dr Manmohan Singh, film actor Rajesh Khanna, freedom fighter Mr. Saifudin Kichlu and many other great personalities. The city has haveli’s also related to important personalities of Sikh period such as haveli of Jamadar Khushhal Singh (important person of the darbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh), Bunga Giannia (demolished now) residence of Gianni Sant Singh another important person of the darbar of Maharaja
Ranjit Singh. Many of such buildings have either been demolished or defaced. With all such changes over the period, the walled city of Amritsar still has many historic buildings that make its character distinct.

The study finds that the situation of historic buildings is a little different from that of the buildings of architectural importance as reported by the respondents. A large proportion of the respondents of Katra Hakima (92.6 per cent) and Katra Garba Areas (89.1 per cent) have stated that there is no historic building in their area. No doubt, the original house of Padam Shri Dr Bhai Vir Singh is located in Katra Garba Area, but none of the respondent is aware of that. The reasons may be that Dr Bhai Vir Singh shifted outside the walled city around the year 1924 and that house might have been reconstructed (this is reported by the family members of the said personality to the researcher). It has been verified and found that the original house was demolished and reconstructed by the new owner. Few of the respondents of Chowk Passian Area (11.6 per cent) have stated that the condition of such buildings is good. On the contrary, 48.9 per cent of the respondents from Cheel Mandi Area and 25.6 per cent from that of Chowk Passian Area have stated the condition of such buildings is bad. This shows that the condition of historically important buildings is not good in comparison to that of the religious ones.

The study further depicts that no effort has been made by the government for the protection of historic buildings. Most of the respondents hold that the community has made certain efforts for their protection but the response varies between those of Katra Garba and Katra Hakima Areas and that of Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi Areas. Further, for the restoration of such historical buildings, traditional materials have not been used. In spite of this, some of the respondents of Chowk Passian and Cheel Mandi Areas feel proud of the presence of historical important buildings.

In addition to religious, historical and architectural buildings, streets too are the integral part of the traditional urban areas. Majority of the respondents of all the studied areas hold that the government has done nothing to maintain the traditional character of the streets rather the streets are either laid by mortar or concrete. Some community level efforts have been made in Katra Hakima followed by those of Katra Garba Areas to
retain the traditional character but in other areas such efforts are limited as most of the respondents want the government to do such efforts; may it leads to change in the very character of the street. Even where the effort to retain the traditional character of the streets has been made, the material used for its repairs is not traditional rather it is either cement or the concrete. In spite of such changes, most of the respondents of all the studied areas feel proud of their streets.

The analysis of the public opinion about the surprising open spaces shows that most of the respondents of Katra Garba and Katra Hakima Areas find absence of surprising open space in their localities. In the opinion of the respondents, the invasion by the commercial activities is one of the reasons for the deteriorating conditions of the surprising open spaces. Another surprising open space that exists in Kaddan Wali Gali in Chowk Passian Area used to have an idol under the tree, which now stand axed and idol removed so as to make room for the parking of vehicles of the surrounding residents. But at the same time small structure of the water works has been converted into a temple and idol placed there. Such instances reflect the changing trend in the use of surprising open spaces in the walled city of Amritsar. The study shows that the role of government in the protection of surprising open spaces is negligible in the view of majority of the respondents. On the other hand, most of them hold community responsible for the degradation of the surprising open spaces despite their social importance.

Further, most of the respondents from all the studied areas state that mortar of cement and sand or RCC rather than the traditional building materials have been used for the repairs of such open spaces. Despite degradation/encroachments and use of modern building materials for repairs of the open spaces, the respondents of Chowk Passian Area (65.0 per cent) to a large extent and that of other areas to a small extent feel proud of these. In their view, these places provide avenues of meeting families’ social and cultural needs like marriage, jagratas, and the like. On the other hand, many of the respondents feel that open spaces are used for dumping the waste by the residents and that is why they do not have the feeling of pride.
Another important feature of old historic cities is the water supply system which invariably depends on the wells dug in the different residential localities to cater their need. Each street was having a well at a convenient place so that all the residents can make use of it. In some instances, the rich and influential families have their own wells within the premises. Except Cheel Mandi Areas, the respondents of the remaining areas have stated that the wells still exist in their areas but water supply system has changed thereby making the wells redundant and these have been transformed into garbage dumping bins. Almost all the respondents of the studied areas have stated that neither the community nor the government has made any effort for the protection or maintenance of the traditional wells. This is the reason that the respondents of studied areas do not feel proud of the traditional wells existing in their areas.

Thus, the intangible heritage comprising of value system, life style, and so on is undergoing a change. With such change, the conservation of tangible heritage assume importance but the community participation is still missing as is evident from the analysis of the study.

Regarding the expectations from the government related to conservation or demolition of tangible heritage, change of land use, creation of a heritage cell and similar questions, majority of the respondents are for the conservation of the tangible heritage. The proportion of the respondents holding such an opinion is the largest among those of Katra Hakima followed by those of Katra Garba and Chowk Pashian Areas.

Second priority in the view of the respondents is to set up heritage cell so as to enforce the conservation of heritage buildings/areas. Such view is supported by a large proportion of the respondents of Katra Hakima and Chowk Pashian Areas. Another important dimension of maintaining the traditional character of the city is to stop the change of the land use. It is expected from the government to take steps in this regard and such view is held by many of the respondents of Cheel Mandi and Chowk Passion Areas. They hold that change in land use leads to invasion of commercial activities thereby affecting the living conditions. Stopping the demolition of old buildings and purchase of such heritage buildings by the government are the other expectations of the
respondents. Although, the community participation is negligible but the respondents are keen for the conservation of their heritage and expect much more from the government.

The study thus concludes that the spatial patterns in the form of street layouts, solids and voids have not changed much. The walled city still depicts the labyrinth street pattern with traditional surprising open spaces; showing labyrinth spatial pattern and grid pattern in certain areas depending upon the settlement pattern. The land use pattern is predominantly residential in nature. Despite invasion by the commercial activities the main land use pattern has remained predominantly residential. The invasion of commercial activities in certain areas has affected the life styles of the inhabitants to some extent. Commercial activities have invaded even the surprising open spaces. There exists a relationship between height of the building and distance from the core as the gradient decreases towards the periphery. The walled city exhibits traditional character as the nomenclature of the streets depicts a relationship with caste, occupation, prominent personalities, religious places and even the trees.

Another interesting feature of the social structure of the walled city is a relationship between the living and the work areas. In spite of this, the motorised means of transportation have invaded thereby reflecting changed life style of the inhabitants. The study further infers that the traditional street pattern is responsible for good neighbourly relations, interaction among the residents and provide avenue for easy view of the passers-by. This helps in curtailing the criminal activities besides providing avenues of personal encounters with their neighbours; essential for maintaining social cohesiveness among the members of the community. Because of the strong social bonds, the residents are not willing to move out to the outer areas even in the face of lack of basic utility services like drainage, sewerage, garbage collection and disposal. From this, it can be concluded that despite lack of physical amenities and adoption of modern means of transportation the inhabitants are emotionally attached and have a feeling of identity with the area reflecting the spirit of the place.

Moreover, the people are concerned about the religious, historical and architectural important buildings and areas but the community participation is mostly
limited to maintaining the religious buildings rather than the other ones. Also, the community lacks awareness about the use of traditional materials in the repair of heritage buildings and areas. The inhabitants are concerned about the historical and architecturally important buildings and expect the conservation and preservation of such buildings as the responsibility of the government and for this purpose, heritage cell needs to be established and strengthened. They are equally concerned about the conservation of the traditional streets, the surprising open spaces and the wells. The study affirms that provision of basic amenities like sanitation, waste disposal, and convenient parking will help in protecting the traditional streets and surprising open spaces which meet their social, recreational and religious needs. Such efforts will maintain the traditional street patterns and thereby the intangible heritage.

On the basis of the study, it is recommended that a Heritage cell may be established in the Municipal Corporation which can generate awareness among the residents about the importance of the buildings and areas of heritage value and seek their participation. In addition, initiative to list buildings of historical, architectural and religious importance and identification of heritage zones/conservation areas should be made. It is also recommended that separate building bye laws and conservation guidelines for the walled cities/historic urban areas may be evolved keeping their heritage significance into consideration. The study recommends that there is a dire need to frame a policy to curtail or to freeze the change of land use of the historic urban areas/heritage zones/conservation areas, so as to keep their historic character intact. Finally, residents and the Municipal Corporation should make efforts to keep heritage areas clean through management of refuse collection and disposal thereby making these more attractive, liveable besides attracting the tourists. This will further assist in the protection and sustenance of the character of the traditional spatial patterns especially the land use and labyrinth street patterns, and thereby the lifestyles and heritage conservation of the historic urban areas.