DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF AMRITSAR (PUNJAB)

Submitted for Partial Fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Philosophy

Birinder Pal Singh

Guide: Dr. M. K. Premi

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY,
NEW DELHI-110057.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I certify that the dissertation entitled "Demographic Profile of Amritsar (Punjab)" submitted by Birinder Pal Singh in fulfilment of six credits out of the total requirements of twenty four credits for the degree of Master of Philosophy of the University, is a bonafide and original work to the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for their consideration.

M.K. Premi

M. K. Premi
SUPERVISOR

Forwarded to the Dean, School of Social Sciences.

for G. S. Bhalla
CHAIRMAN

Dated: 30th April, 1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

PUNJAB, 1931
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
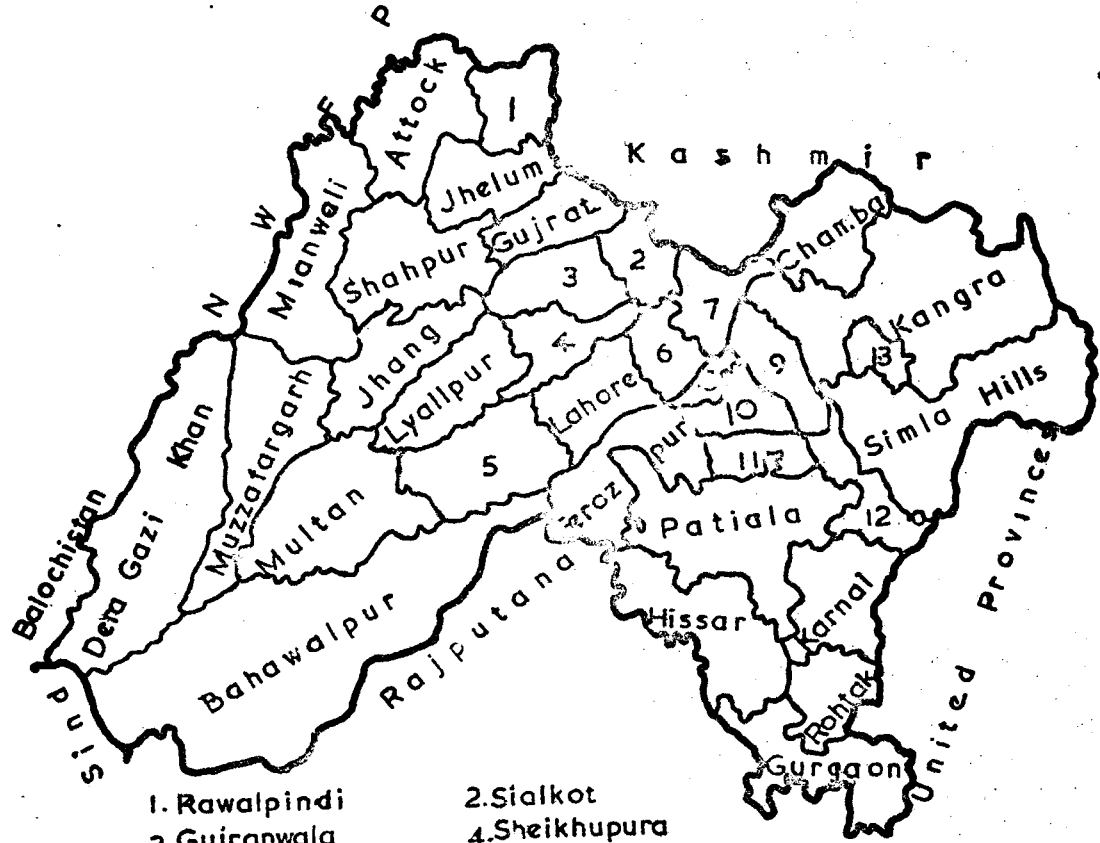
1. Rawalpindi   2. Sialkot
3. Gujranwala   4. Sheikhupura
5. Montgommery   6. Amritsar
7. Gurdaspur   8. Kapurthala
9. Hoshiarpur   10. Jullundur
11. Ludhiana   12. Ambala
13. Mandi

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INTRODUCTION

A 'demographic profile' tends to look into the type size
and composition of a population for a given time or through a
specified time period. The former involves the primary study
which is not possible at this level due to technical reasons
and the latter takes the help of history which is more relevant
and suitable for this study as it forms the infra-structure of
a study (Religion and Urbanization) which the researcher intends
to take at a higher level.

Such a profile is not only an adumbration of demographic
characteristics of a population like sex, age, and marital
status but an integrated approach of study inclusive of sociolo-
gical (religion, ethnicity, caste and economic characteristics,
like the type of working population, income etc. A 'profile'
through history would elucidate the changes which have occurred
as a result of interplay of the above mentioned characteristics
and the factors responsible for these changes. Very apparently
such factors are the births, deaths, migration and social mobility.

For the present study the selection of the following
variables - growth rates, sex ratio, migration, classification
of working population, religion and the marital status is based
largely on the availability of the data from the historical
records (gazetteers and census volumes). More over these include
all the significant constituent variables of a demographic
profile mentioned above to the exclusion of only birth and death
rates for which data are not available. As the growth of the

population is explained through migration, a resultant of sociological and economic factors, birth and death rates are however also employed to account for it (increase or decrease), wherever necessary.

These variables do not exist in isolation for a given period of time, but are in constant interaction. with one another, where the traditional modes of thought and behaviour enjoy tremendous influence on these trends. The present is influenced by both the past and the future; what it was and what it would like to be. To quote Louis Henry; "Demographic phenomena are inscribed in time. Such phenomena cannot be explained or understood unless they have been traced through the concatenations of many decades or centuries, as far back as available observations and documents permit us to go. To study demography only from current events is equivalent to the study of astronomy without the benefit of earlier observations or to the construction of the theory of evolution with attention to none but presently living species. Can one imagine a meteorology which did away with the information of the last century under the pretext that it was no longer current. He further says "future is based on present and past. Only the observations of as long a chronological series as in possible will furnish all the relations observable upto the present. In demography, therefore important factor is not to posses the most recent information about the population of a certain country or city, but to be able to dispose of

homogeneous retrospective statistics extending as far into the past as possible"[1].

Furthermore, "through history, it is possible to escape the calculations of statistics, often excessively abstract, and that exactness which is so often very far from exact. Statistics on their own are valid when they can be based on sufficiently large numbers, covering considerable periods of time and wide geographical and administrative areas". This is the view point of Louis Chevalier in his essay 'Towards a History of Population' (Population, 1946, p.p. 245-256)[2]. He further goes to say, "the exacting statistician will not perhaps feel entirely at home with these complex studies, which differ from his in the documents used, in the interpretation of sources and in the nature of conclusions drawn. But he would be wrong to scorn them and to underestimate the importance of this work towards the creation of a contemporary demographic policy".

Besides it, Louis Henry's remarks are interesting to note. "To fail to observe demographic phenomena in the manner of statistical services is no longer considered erroneous; moreover historical demography is now completely independent of statistical services and is free to pursue its observations in terms of its need, taking into account all relevant documents. No other branch of demography, now benefits from an equal autonomy". He not only stops here but goes further to say, "the diminished participation

1. Louis Henry, 'Historical Demography, Daedalus, Journal of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Massachusetts, Spring 1968: Historical Population Studies, Vol: 97, No.2, p. 390.

2. From D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Everseley (eds.), Population in History; essays in historical demography. E. Arnold, London, 1965.

of the statistical service in the development of demography as
a science minimizes the importance of purely contemporary events.
As a result of this evolution, frontier between historical
demography and current demography has been reduced, if not
eradicated".[3]

This study intends to reveal the structure and
characteristics of the population at two levels, firstly and
primarily at the city level and secondly at the district level.
The greater emphasis on the former is laid because it would be
subjected to further study which the researcher intends to
carry out at a higher level in the premises of 'Religion and
Urbanization'. Very briefly it would look into the impact of
religion (Sikhism) and its sacred most structure (The Golden
Temple), situated in the heart of this densely populated city,
on the urban character of its population, as it effects its
communality, its entrepreneurial spirit and its industrializing
and urbanizing aspects. The otherwise peculiar growth and structure
of the town in the sense of distribution of its markets
throughout the walled city and the residential areas, further
make it worthy of probing. This is the backbone for the present
study and the manner in which it is dealt.

This study would not only reveal the structure and
characteristics of the population at present but also the phases
and the states it has undergone at various points of time to
assume the existential structure. It would highlight the natural,

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3. Louis Henry, Op. cit., p. 389.

economic and political events which drastically affected the
social state of the population, only to rebound at the economy
of the town. The 'when' and 'how' of these changes are brought
to light quite elaborately. This has resulted in the rhythmic
representation of the various demographic variables. This
laying of the foundation would facilitate the development of the
super-structure.

This, in brief, is the purpose and hence the contribution
of this exercise. The researcher would not take up the latter
issue to any further extent because the 'concept of contribution'
is itself very brittle, very subjective and highly relative.
Relatively, nothing contributes to anything.

The above mentioned contentions limit the field of study
only to the town and in some cases to the district, where the
data were either insufficient or not at all available. This
would help infer some trends for the former; being a part of
the larger whole. These would however be quite generalized.
The data are collected purely from the gazetteers of Amritsar
district from 1883-84 to 1934 and the censuses of Punjab and
India volumes from 1881 to 1971. The researcher has to content
himself with what so ever be got from these two major sources.
These data have depicted tremendous variability from one decade
to another. Some data are available only for certain decades
in one comparable form and not for the other. This is the
limitation of the data for historical demography which deals with
unique sources that can never be improved.[4] Any way the researcher

4.   T. H. Hollingsworth, 'The importance of the quality of
        data in historical demography'. Daldalus, Op. cit.,
        p. 418.

has tried his best to bring as much data as possible, on one
comparable scale to its maximum proximity and comparability.
But still some lacunae are left which could not be helped.
Wherever the data are dealt with without much adjustment (e.g.
putting industrial categories of workers in 1971 on the scale
of 1961), it is taken care that it would not be very significant.

The methodology followed is nevertheless a complicated one.
The first step was 'to make the data comparable', which was
mainly an exercise, firstly to group different observations in
one decade under suitable heads and then put these in one common
conceptual framework, previsely (cf. workers) but quite broadly
in other case (cf. migrants). Once combined the percentages of
these observations from the total number of observations under
different heads, within one decade, are calculated. This would
help plot an 'absolute graph' (chapters II, III and IV) showing
the position for and within each decade. Though this method
is useful to depict the proportion of different variables within
one it fails to show the change relative to the previous decade.
The increase in one registers a proportionate decrease in its
co-variables. This limitation can be got over by plotting a
'relative graph (chapters II, III and IV) obtained by dividing
the population for laters years (say 1971) by that of one base
year population (say 1901). Multiplying these with 100 gives
us the relative increase or decrease in population. The rates
calculated are the crude rates (cf. type of available data) which
are predominantly per 100 observations. In case of migrants net
results have been obtained to show the migration streams
(chapter III). In chapter VI, these rates are hexiled for plotting

the data in the blocks of the walled city to show the spatial
distribution of the five selected variables, namely scheduled
castes, sex-ratio, female literacy and employment in secondary
and tertiary sectors. This exercise is concluded by super
imposing these maps to evolve specific social areas. Pearson's
coefficient of correlation is also employed to test three sets
of hypotheses.

For the remaining chapters, though the logical conclusions
would be derived but the researcher would not go for the
formulation of hypotheses and their testing with this scanty and
insufficient data. It is thought better to explain it as such
than forming forced, ingenuine hypotheses which would be faulty
in its technical sense. To quote J.A. Banks it becomes very
clear:"Historians may employ generalizations of a sociological
or psychological order to account for particular occurrences
and in doing so they may make it plain that such generalizations
are of limited validity, but they do not set out deliberately
to test hypotheses in this fashion. It asserts the perfectly
valid principle of historical logic that no useful purpose is
served, by putting forward plausible hypotheses to explain the
'facts' when we do not know what the facts are".[5]

One of the limitations of this study is that the data
missing for certain decades, precisely those ending 1941 and 1961,
could not be substituted by interpolation because of the drastic
changes in those years which totally disrupted the tradition

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5.   J. A. Banks, 'Historical Sociology and the Study of
        population', Daedalus, Op. cit., p. 399.

(c.f. Indo-Pakistan partition of 1947 which resulted in unnatural tremendous refugee influx). The mean method is also abondonned for similar reasons.

The study can be planned in six capters. In the first chapter, the historical background of the city with special emphasis on the events which are deemed important for socio-economic changes, would be elaborated. It would also include the population growth and the changes in the sex ratio.

The second chapter concerns the working population with variations in both the absolute and relative terms from 1901 to 1971 at the city level only. The variations in different industrial categories of workers would be related adequately to historical events respons-ible for it.

The third chapter deals with migration, an important measure of the population growth and structure. Due to scanty data and other factors, it is studied at both the city (1921 to 1961) and the district levels (1881 to 1961). The latter is further split into two parts, first deals with it from 1881 to 1921 and 1931 and the other with 1951 and 1961. The net migration is studied in the first part which is not possible for the second. The contribution of different regions in noted and explained with probable historical reasons. The streams of migration are also delineated.

The fourth chapter deals with religion and civil condition. The first to be discussed is the religious composition of the population from 1881 to 1971 and growth rates for various religions.

----This is discussed with the help of both the absolute and relative graphs. Secondly, religion-wise civil condition of the population is discussed mainly at the district level as it is available at the city level only for three decades - 1911, 1921 and 1931. The latter is also analysed broadly.

The fifth chapter deals with the evolvement of 'social areas' of the city. Before evolving these, five variables mentinned elsewhere are discussed in terms of their spatial distribution within the walled city at the block level. The singularly mapped variables are superimposed to give social areas. Three sets of Pearsons coefficient of correlation are also worked out to test the plausible hypotheses.

The sixth chapter concludes the study.

CHAPTER - ONE

AMRITSAR AND ITS POPULATION

Amritsar, a trapezoidal district with its base resting on the river Beas, lies between $31^{\circ}-07'$ and $32^{\circ}-03'$ North latitude and $74^{\circ}-29'$ and $75^{\circ}-23'$ East longitude on the north-western front of Punjab adjoining the international border with Pakistan. The northeast is surrounded by Gurdaspur, east by Kapurthala and south by Ferozepur districts. River Beas separates it in the northeast from Kapurthala and in the southeast from Ferozepur. The Ravi snicks past the district in the west.

The district has a population of 1,835,500 persons according to 1971 census in an area of 5088 sq. kms. accounting for a density of 361 persons per sq. km. It has a sex ratio of 856 females per 1000 males and literacy of 35.32%. The district has 29.17% of its total population in its nine towns.[1] With the exception of only two towns, one of which specializes only in primary activity and the other in primary-cum-service functions, all others specialize in industry, trade and commerce. Among these, two are service and one industrial town. Besides there nine towns, it has 1254 villages, of 1181 of which are inhabited and 73 uninhabited, housing 70.83 of its total population.

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1. Class-I (Amritsar); II (NIL); III (Taran Taran); IV (Chheharta, Jandiah and Patti); V (Majitha and Khem Karan) and VI (Ramdas and Amritsar Contonement). From Punjab District Census Handbook, Amritsar District, 1971. Punjab Government Press, Chandigarh, 1974, parts X-A & B, p. 16.

The city of Amritsar, as the district headquarters, lies
31°-38' North and 74°-53' East on the Grand Trunk Road only 27 kms.
away from the Pakistan border. It lies in a depression, in the
middle of the Bari Woab occupying 33.3 sq. kms. with a total
population of 434, 951 persons. It is served by a class-I
municipality, since 1857.

History tells that the fourth of the sikh gurus, Ramdas,
first settled near the tank (which now has the Golden Temple in
the centre) about 1574 A.D. He procured some 500 bighas of land
(1 bigha = 1000 sq. yards) around it from Emperor Akbar in 1577 A.D.
The fifth guru, Arjan Dev started work on the temple (Harmandar
Sahib) in the centre of this 'tank of nectar or immortality',
after which the city came to be known later on[2]. The atrocities
inflicted on Sikhs by Afgan rulers made them organize strongly.
The martyrdom of Bhai Mani Singh in 1738, invasion of Amritsar
and defilement of the temple by Timur Khan and Jahan Khan in 1757
and third and the hard blow by Ahmad Shah Abdali who defiled
the tank and blew the temple by gunpowder in 1762, furthered
and hastened the stronger organization of sikhs. Till now it
had already grown as a religious and political institution.
After 1762 it again rose from the ashes and became the acknowledged
capital of an independent community.[3]

With the establishment of sikh supremacy over Afgans, the
different confederates occupied land around the temple and built
their fortresses with their own, people and own markets. These

2. J.D. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, 1849. Reprinted
by S. Chand and Co., Delhi, 1972, p. 45.

3. V. N. Datta, Amritsar: Past and Present, The Muncipal
Committee, Amritsar, 1967, pp. 11 - 19.

were known as 'Katras', bearing the names of their Chieftains
of respective 'misls' which persist till today. These Katras were
independent of one another with perpetual feuds. The Bhangi
confederacy later on got hold of the town till the merger of all
misls by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1802. The Harmandar was given its
present gilded shape (after which it came to be known as the
Golden Temple) in 1807 by the Maharaja who was an ardent sikh devout.[4]

During the reign of Maharaja from 1799 to 1839 the city
grew in trade and commerce very rapidly. The trade contacts were
established right upto Kabul and Bokhara[5] (Afganistan). The annual
octroi yield of the administration was of the order of Rupees
9 lakhs.[6] There were about 100 looms for wool manufacture. The
'pashmina shawl was the luxury and a product of exclusive eminence.

After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, Amritsar was
declared a district. The first railway was opened in 1862 between
Amritsar and Lahore. Later on it was extended to Delhi.[7] This
furthered already flourishing trade and commerce of the town.
In the later part of 19th century, there were nearly 4000 looms
in the city.[8] This shawl manufacture was mainly carried out by
the Kashmiris who were partially the victims of a severe famine

4.   Ibid., p. 28.

5.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, Calcutta Central
          Press Co. Litd., Calcutta, 1884, Chapter IV-B, p. 45.

6.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Calcutta Central
          Press Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1893, Chapter VI, p. 152.

7.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914. The Civil and Military
          Gazette. Press, Lahore, 1914, Chapter II-G, p. 122.

8.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, Op. cit., Chapter
          IV-B, p. 40.

in 1878 in Kashmir.[9] With the change in fashion of shawl in Europe, it dwindled in later part of 19th century and shifted to carpet manufacturing.[10] The silk industry however kept itself up without much upheavals.

Inspite of the blows of famine, floods in recent past,[11] epidemics and other social and political disasters like the religio-political partition of 1947, the city has grown steadily in population. Presently it is classified as an 'industrial-cum-trade and commerce' town.[12] Besides, it has all the eminent institutions of learning viz. Medical and Dental Colleges, Guru Nanak University, Khalsa College and numerous other institutions of basic and higher learning for both men and women. It's linked by air to Srinagar, Delhi and Kabul. The railway links are available for all the major cities of India in all directions.

Population And It's Variations: The population of Amritsar city had been growing with tremendous fluctuations throughout the last century (1872 to 1971). The highest crest is formed by +65.30% growth in 1931 and the lowest trough by -16.69% annual growth of population in 1951 (see figure-1). The rise and fall in population at times is very obscure.

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9.   Ibid., Chapter III-A, p. 16.

10.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, op. cit., Chapter
            II-E, p. 107.

11.   Punjab District Census Handbook, No. 13, Amritsar
            District, 1961, Punjab Government Press,
            Chandigarh, 1966, p. 122.

12.   Amritsar District, 1971, Op. cit., Statement 1, p. 98.

The increase of 11.84% in the very first decade of 1872 to 1881 (see table-1) is due to the scarcity of 1868-69 because of the failure of the monsoon. The upland tracts in the south of the district were much distressed. It is especially true of the menial classes which impressed by the city's wealth fled to it in thousands, subsisting purely on charity.[13] Another reason is the influx of Kashmiris impelled by the Kashmir famine of 1878.[14] Besides these two factors, the flourishing trade of Amritsar drew much population from the densely populated sub-montane districts of Gurdaspur, Hoshiarpur and Sialkot and Jullundur in the plains. This increase in population is also supported by the Punjab Census Report of 1881: "The attractive influence of a great centre of commerce is at one apparent in the figures. Amritsar draws population from all parts of the province. While 90% of the rural population is indigenous, no less than 30% of the people of town are born outside the district and nearly 9% beyond the limits of the province; 4 per mille come from outside India."[15] Moreover till 1881, it was the biggest town in the province, but yielded this position to Lahore after 1881.[16]

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13.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1913, The Civil and Military
       Gazette Press, Lahore, 1913, Chapter I-B, p. 28.

14.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, Op. cit.; on page 16,
       another reason is attributed for this influx: Kashmir
       contributes three quarters of surplus population due
       to migration, though here a large part of migration is
       probably due rather to the demand for skilled labour on
       the shawl looms of Amritsar, than the pressure of
       famine in Kashmir. Also see, Amritsar District Gazetteer,
       1913, Op. cit., Chapter I-B, p. 25.

15.   Ibid., p. 16.

16.   A. Macfarquhar, Punjab District Gazetteers, Amritsar District,
       1947, Controller of Printing & Stationary, Punjab,
       Chandigarh, Section-C, p. 35.

TABLE - 1

PERCENT POPULATION GROWTH OF AMRITSAR CITY (1872-1971)

Census Year	Percent Growth
1872	--
1881	+ 11.84
1891	- 09.96
1901	+ 18.77
1911	- 05.96
1921	+ 04.88
1931	+ 65.30
1941	+ 47.64
1951	- 16.69
1961	+ 15.52
1971	+ 15.69

Source - Census of India

The decrease in the next decade (1881-1891) is also explicable. Two of the important factors were - firstly, the great epidemic of 1881 and secondly, the dwindling of the shawl trade. The severity of the former can be gauged from the mortality to the order of 14,568 persons. The death rate for that year climbed to 125 per 1000 persons against an average of mere 56. In the month of October only 5788 persons died, which was sufficiently appalling to create terror in the stoutest heart. The business almost entirely suspended and thousands fled from the city.[17]

17. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Op. cit., chapter VI, p. 163.

Growth of Population in Amritsar City, 1872-1971
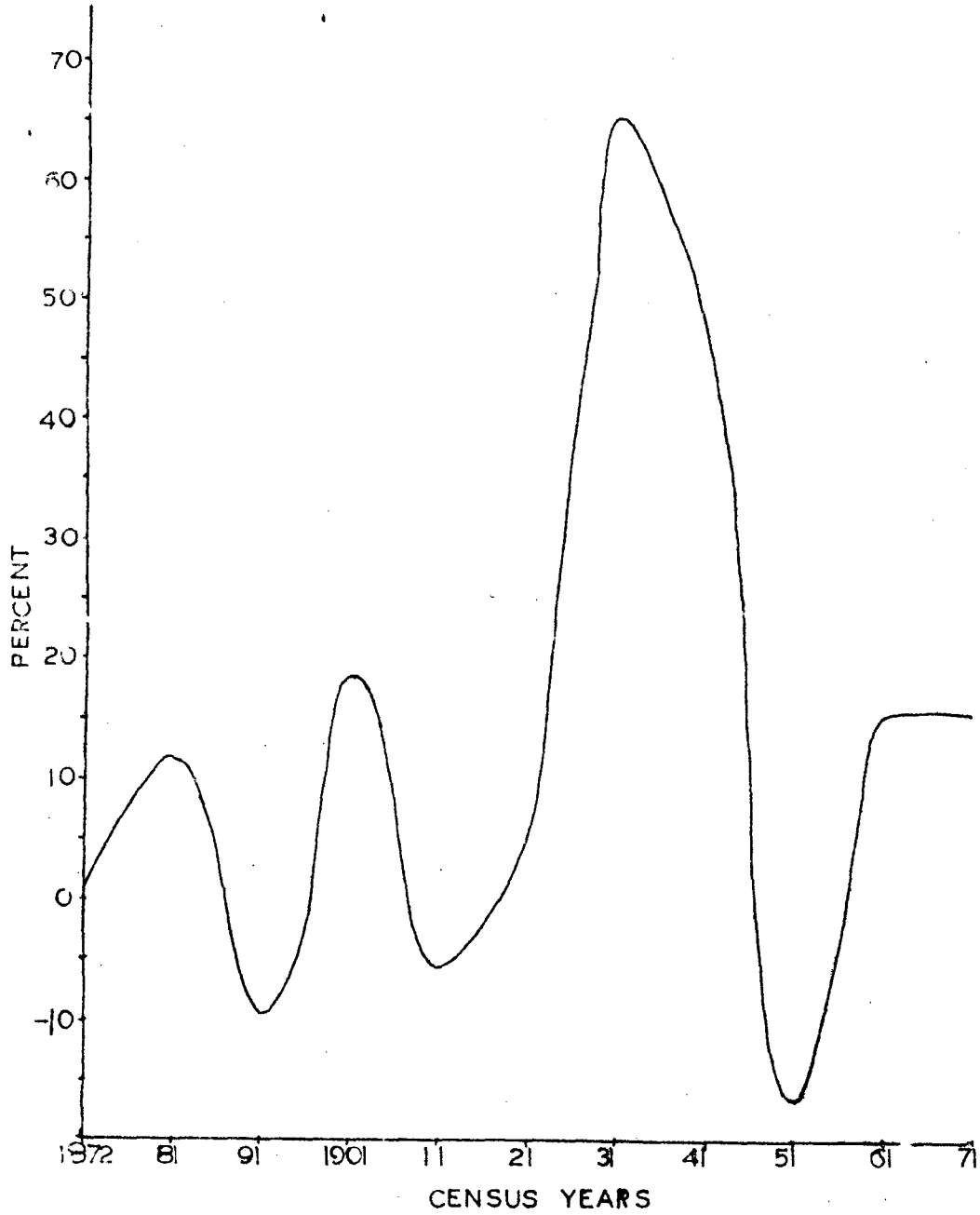
CENSUS YEARS

FIG.-1

Quoting Maclagan from the Punjab Census Report of 1891 - The
city of Amritsar decreased by 11% during the last ten years.
The local authorities say, it is due to unhealthiness of the town.
That it is not due to the falling off in prosperity of the town in
other ways, seems apparent from the fact that while decrease is
15,130 souls, the deaths in decade exceeded births by 20,000. The
town has not yet recovered from the fearful visitation of the
epidemic. The rural areas show population increase in prosperity.
The expansion is taking place at a rate rapid than the previous
years.[18]

The fleeing of the people was corroborated by the decreasing
shawl trade due to the change of fashion in Paris, followed by
Europe.[19] This factor, along with the restoration of normalcy in
Kashmir induced backward migration.[20]

The following decade (1891-1901) registered a substantial
increase to +18.77%, which is attributed to the restoration of
normalcy in the town and switching over to the carpet industry
which was gaining importance day by day.[21] The report of Census
is worth mentioning - Amritsar district increased by 3.10% during

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18.   Ibid., Chapter II-A, p. 33.

19.   Ibid., Chapter VI, p. 152.

20.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1913, Op. cit.,
            Chapter I-B, p. 28.

21.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Op. cit.,
            Chapter VI, p. 153.

The decade. Amritsar city alone increased by 25,663 persons
excluding which the district population rose only by 0.5% i.e.
5468 persons. The Deputy Commissioner notes that immigration
from Bombay and Sind in considerable. The plague measures in
Bombay and elsewhere appear to have driven people to Amritsar
city.[22]

The decrease in the subsequent decade (1901-1911) can
again be attributed to the outbreak of malaria and plague. The
latter epidemic was very severe between 1903 to 1907. This did
cost the town a large number of souls.[23] However 1908-1909
recorded an enoromous decrease in deaths.[24] These epidemics
further repulsed the Kashmiris.

The decrease in death of 1908-09 is implied from the
increase of +04.88% during the next decade (1911-1921). It is
attributed to the improvement in the sanitary conditions of the
town, as the new system of water supply has also completed
recently. Besides this the industrialization process had started,
especially the expansion of carpet industry which started in 1919.
However the first woollen mill for carpet manufacture came into
production in 1924.[25] Moreover this energetic town attracted
population from languishing towns like Majitha and Jandiala
in its neighbourhood.[26]

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22. Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII, Punjab and its fendatories
    and the NWFP, The Government Central Printing Office,
    Simla, 1902, Part I, p.p. 49-80.

23. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, Op. cit., Chapter I-C,
    p.27. The figure for town is not available. The deaths
    in district from fever alone amount to 45,103 persons.

24. Ibid., p. 27.

25. A. Macfarquhar Op.cit., Chapter II, Section-E, p. 171.

26. Census of Punjab, 1961, India Government Press, Simla, 1965
    Part I-A (1), p. 170.

The industrialisation set in the previous decade flourished in the subsequent decade of 1921-1931. At the close of it, there were upwards of 600 looms employing more than 3000 weavers.[27] This expanding industrialisation which continued till the end of this decade attracted people from its surrounding region. This industry flourished till thirties when the economic crisis shook the world. The demand in American markets, the chief consuming centres, almost absolutely subsided.[28] This drastically affected the growth of the town's population. The tremendous growth of 1921-1931 was also due to the excess of births over deaths. This excess of 16,848 persons was highest in the eight selected towns of the state. Lahore, the biggest town, stood next to it with only 11,404 persons.[29] The Muslims also had a higher natural growth rate which dominated the city (49.98%).[30]

The economic crisis, exacerbated by the great world war drastically affected the growth of the city. Compared to the previous decade it decreased by about 20%. This declining trend continued till 1951 to register a growth rate of - 16.69%, ever lowest in the history of the town. It is quite obvious. The partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 pushed out the muslim population which dominated the city till then. In absolute terms the muslims population of 132,362 persons in 1931 was reduced to a mere 1654 persons in 1951. This slump was subsitituted to some

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27. A. Macfarquhar, Op. cit., Chapter II, Section-X, p.171.

28. Ibid., p. 172.

29. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII, Punjab and Delhi, The CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTEE PRESS, Lahore, 1933, Part I, Chapter II, p. 93.

30. Ibid., Chapter 'Religion and Growth of the Population', p. 69.

extent by Hindu/Sikh refugees who were counted at 113,884 persons
in 1951. Besides this upheavalous movement of population, the
local traders and industrialists got terrified and invested in
Delhi or Kanpur or Faridabad. The loss of individuals in the
second war and the riots of 1947, together accounted for this
record low growth.

With the restoration of normalcy, city started growing,
registering the population growth rate of +15.52% during
1951-1961. This decade was also marked by increasing industriali-
zation and urbanization which pulled people to the city. The
refugees who settled in the city might have produced more in
anomie.

The final decade of our analysis, ending 1971 experienced
growth equivalent to theprevious decade. It is +15.59%. It's
the feeling of the researcher that this rate would have been
quite high had there been no perpetual tension on the international
border, only 27 kms. away. The war of 1965, which hit hard the
town, terrified the traders and industrialists and impelled them
to invest at distant places.

This analysis shows that the town was always in a state
of healthy growth except in pathological conditions of natural
or political disruptions. The activated latent potential for
growth, after every disruption, furthered it on the path of
progress.

VARIATIONS IN THE SEX RATIO:

After having looked at the growth of a population
it's important to look into its structure. The sex ratio (females
per 1000 males) is a very significant index of its composition.

A careful glance at the sex ratio graph (figure-2) reveals two very prominant trends. The first one represents a steep decline between 1901 and 1931 and the other, a rather steeper incline right upto 1971, with a 'U-shaped' turn at 1931. This presents a rather curious exercise.

TABLES - 2

SEX - RATIO (FEMALES/ MALES 1000) FOR AMRITSAR CITY (1872-1971)

Census Year	Sex Ratio
1872	710
1881	751
1891	735
1901	742
1911	718
1921	684
1931	665
1941	705
1951	761
1961	801
1971	828

The steep rise between 1872 and 1881 in attributed to the scarcity of 1868-69 in the south district and 1878 in Kashmir pushing the populace to the city. This involved a large excess of female to male immigrants.[31] The dearth of the females due to

31.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Op. cit.
            Chapter III-A, p. 30.

AMRITSAR CITY
Variations In Sex Ratio (f/m 1,000)
(1872 – 1971)

CENSUS YEARS
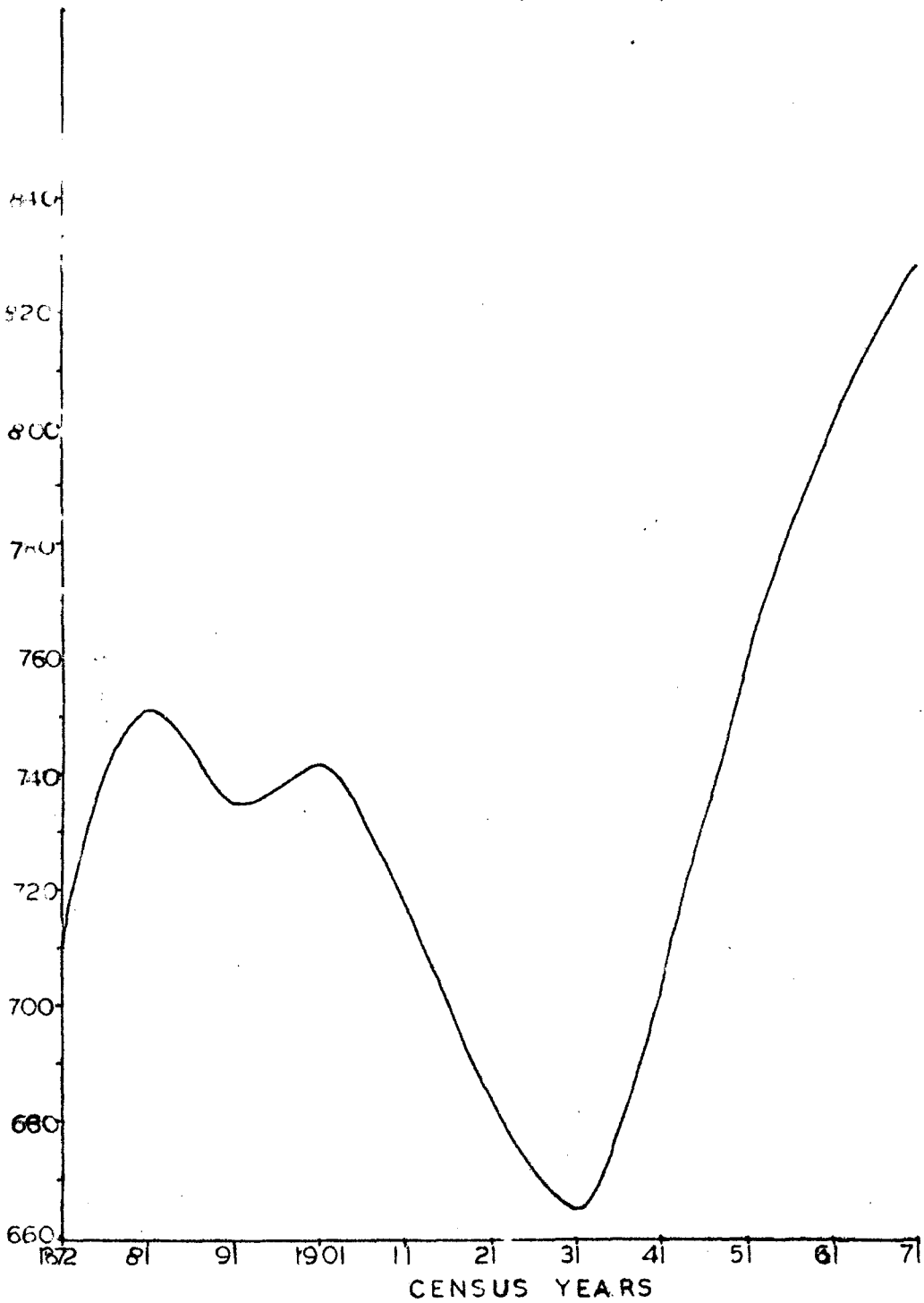
FIG.-2

greater mortality and higher rate of infanticide was condusive to female immigration.[32] This increase to 751 females per 1000 males was followed by an immediate decline to 735 (Females/Males 1000) in the decade ending 1891. It is very genuine; reasons being the fatal epidemic of 1881 which carried away 14,568 souls. The female mortality was higher than the males. For that very year, the average mortality rate of 56 per 1000 persons shot upto 125 per 1000 persons for the total population and that of the females leapt to 146 females per 1000 persons against a normal average of 62 females per 1000 persons.[33] The enormity of this rate is attributed to the neglect of female infants which is very much prevalent in this part of the province, besides the central districts.[34]

The subsequent decade of 1891 to 1901 registers an increase which is indicative of greater female immigration to the city to fill the lacuna created by excessive female mortality in the preceding decade.[35] Besides this the out migration of males due to the alluring effects of Burma and Hongkong[36] and their attraction towards military services raised the ratio only to 742.

Beyond this limit, the sex ratio has shown a very steady steep fall through the three decades ending 1931, to a mere 635 females per 1000 males. This is a pretty curious excercise. The

32. Ibid., p. 30.
33. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Op. cit.,
         Chapter VI, p. 163.
34. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1913, Op. cit.,
         Chapter I-B, p. 25.
35. Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII, Op. cit., Part I, p. 71.
36. Ibid., p. 94.

decline till 1911 could be attributed to the epidemics of malaria and plague which inflicted tremendous mortality, being consequently higher for the females as a consequence of their neglect. But after it, why so much decline? is beyond the scope of this exercise. This decline becomes all the more exciting when excessive outmigration of the males to military services,[37] (details in chapter four 'The religion and Civil condition') and extensive colonisation of Chenab Colony attracting huge number of migrants are notice.[38] The female infanticide was also extremely negligible.[39] Therefore with this decrease in the denominator the ratio should have gone up significantly, while the reverse is true in practice. Furthermore the ratio has been falling when highly prolific muslims[40] (relative to Hindus and Sikhs) who bore more females than males were a dominant constitudent of the city's population.[41] Contrarily when they outmigrated due to the partition of 1947, the sex ratio had been going up with a steep incline right upto 1971, to achieve the ever highest level of 828 females per 1000 males, in the history of the town. The natural growth alone cannot explain this increase. A significant proportion of females is added through migration from other districts within the state.

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37. V.N. Datta (ed.), New Light on Punjab Disturbances in 1919, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1975. Appendices VIII (p. 491) and X (p.496).

38. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, Op. cit., Chapter I-C, p.25.

39. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII, Op. cit., Chapter I, P. 154.

40. Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII, Op. cit., Part I, p. 206.

41. From 1901-1931, on an average, there were 47.33% Muslims in the city compared to 39.06% Hindus and 12.45% Sikhs.

During 1951-61, when the proportion of males from other districts of the state rose from 9.62% to only 13.55%, that of the females sprang from 4.18% to 11.55%, an almost three fold increase,[42] Other supporting factors are: increase in female literacy, advancement in medical aid, absence of famines and epidemics etc. The earlier dearth of females resulted in heavy marriage migration.

42a. Punjab District Census Handbook, Amritsar District, 1951, India Government Press, Simla.

 b. Census of Punjab, 1961, Op. cit., Part II-C (iii), p. 270.

CHAPTER - TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE WORKING POPULATION

The level of economic development of a place is determined by the proportion of its population in the working force. What matters more and measures this development is the type of work and the quality of work and labour which engages itself in a given sector of labour force. The level of development and the growth of the working population follow an 'S' - shaped logistic curve.[1]

This part of the study tends to undertake the evolution of the working population for the city, to delineate the course it has followed to assume the existing structure. It becomes all the more important as the city is not a recent emergence, but had specialised in trade and commerce since the dawn of 19th century. But the present study takes into account only the periods from 1901 to 1971 because the census data had become more stringent and reliable from this time only.

The concept of 'worker' has constantly changed since 1901. This has become most stringent by the latest census of 1971. For the first three decades, 1901-1921, the population was divided into two very broad classes, 'actual workers' and

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1. Donald O. Cowgill, 'The Use of Logistic Curve and the Tradition Model in Developing Nations', in Ashish Bose et. al. (eds.), Studies in Demography: Essays presented to Professor S. Chandrashekhar on his fifty first birthday. Allen & Unwin, London, 1970, p. 157.

'dependents', with a reference period of one year. 1931 census classified the population at three levels - earners, working dependents and non-working dependent, keeping the reference period same. The census of 1951 was also in no way very different from that of 1931 when it classified population into 'self-supporting person','earning dependent' and 'non-earning dependent'. with similar reference period. Such broader classifications were quite vague and inadequate and hence a more strict definition was evolved in 1961 census which divided the population into 'workers and non workers' with the reduction of reference period to only 15days. A worker was defined as a person who engages him self, directly or indirectly, in an economically productive activity. It included not only the actual work but also effective supervision and direction of work. In case of seasonal work, like cultivation, dairying etc. a person was called a worker if he had some regular work of more than an hour a day throughout the greater part of the working season. And in the case of a regular work like trade profession, service or business etc., if he was employed during any of the fifteen days preceding the day of enumeration.[2] Accordingly a person could be engaged in two, three or more activities. This fallacy is checked in the census of 1971 which employs the concept of 'main' activity'. The reference period has also been reduced to one week.

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2.   S. C. Srivastava, Indian Census in Perspective, census
        centenary Monograph No. 1, Census of India 1971,
        Office of Registrar General, India, New Delhi,
        p. 172.

Now the foremost step to be taken is to make this data comparable by putting it on a common scale. As the tripartite division of the economic status has been shunned in 1961 the changes in 1951 and 1931 data have been made in order to conform to the new division of the population into workers and non-workers. With this the actual workers have remained as workers but those pursuing un productive activities have been transferred to non-workers. All the dependents are treated as non-workers.

For the present study, it had always been better to adjust the data from 1901 according to the 1971 census definition of worker, but since the detailed industrial classification is not available for the town the adjustment has been obtained by 1961 census definition. The latter divides workers into nine industrial categories.[3] The data from 1901 to 1951 are put to the 1961 census definition on the basis of the adjustment of divisions and groups as devised by B.R. Kalra.[4] The industrial categories III and IV of workers for 1971 are combined with category III of 1961 and Va and Vb for the joint category of IV and V of 1961. The rest however remains untouched.

At this stage it becomes clear that first three (I, II and III) of the nine industrial categories of workers together

---

3. I - Cultivators; II - Agricultural labourers;

   III - Mining and Quarrying; IV and V - Manufacturing and House-hold industry; VI - Construction; VII - Trade and Commerce; VIII - Transport, Storage and Communication, IX - Other services.

4. B.R. Kalra, A note on Working Force Estimates, 1901-61, Paper No. 1 of 1962, Census of India 1961, Office of Registrar General of India, New Delhi, Appendix-1, p.p. 389-413.

constitute a very small proportion of the total workers in the town. Hence these three are combined together with no harm to the analysis (see table-1).

After the data has been made comparable, it was subject to two excercises - first, to obtain the absolute percentage rates of each of the categories from the total workers of the same decade. This would help plot an 'absolute graph' (from chapter one). These exercises are carried out for each sex including the total persons. The graphs are plotted by taking the census years along X-axis and per 100 variations in the working pre population along Y-axis. For the 'relative graph', 100 is taken some wherealong the middle to show increase (+) or decrease (-) on a log graph. The wider range of the indices of relative growth could not be plotted on an ordinary graph paper, like the absolute percentage rates. The analysis of both the graphs is carried out simultaneously.

A careful observation of Figure-2 conduces the interpretation of variations in categories to be dealt with in two sets - a) those aborbing the bulk of the working population and (b) having the remaining working population. It shows that the percentage of the workers to the total population has gradually declined, touching the ever lowest 29.55% in 1971 from its peak of 42.76% ~~lowest 29.55% in 1971 from its peak of~~ in 1901 (see figure-1). It is quite surprising for a town which was labelled as an entrepot of trade[5] in the later part of the 19th century and had

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5.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Calcutta Central Press Co;Ltd., Calcutta, 1893, Chapter VI, p. 152.

TABLE - I

PERCENT INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF WORKERS FOR THE CITY (1901-1971)

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL WORKERS			I + II + III			IV + V			VI			VII		
	P	M	P	P	M	P	P	M	P	P	M	P	P	M	P
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1901	42.76	67.74	9.13	3.91	4.04	2.59	38.01	34.84	69.62	1.06	1.17	..	29.48	31.22	12.07
1911	40.55	64.99	6.55	4.01	4.11	2.75	34.37	33.62	44.65	4.79	5.08	0.69	22.66	23.75	7.55
1921	36.60	57.97	5.38	22.20	23.28	3.35	24.51	22.50	56.12	2.42	2.50	1.19	27.77	28.99	7.62
1931	36.11	58.27	2.83	9.01	8.27	0.66	26.64	26.59	28.40	1.75	1.80	..	27.05	27.17	23.26
1951	29.98	49.96	3.73	3.66	3.64	4.25	15.68	15.44	19.92	1.09	0.86	5.10	29.95	31.62	0.55
1961	30.54	52.79	2.80	1.65	1.71	0.52	33.82	34.36	21.29	3.04	3.17	0.08	25.27	26.23	2.94
1971	29.55	51.89	2.60	2.61	2.63	0.79	30.80	31.57	11.52	2.27	2.35	0.21	30.42	31.44	5.90

CENSUS YEAR	VIII			IX		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	17	18	19	20	21	22
1901	5.51	5.98	0.77	22.00	22.71	14.90
1911	6.17	5.67	0.86	24.66	27.72	43.46
1921	1.10	1.16	0.17	22.03	21.55	29.50
1931	5.04	5.19	0.33	31.46	30.95	47.32
1951	12.49	7.38	0.39	30.09	41.03	69.75
1961	10.60	11.01	1.06	25.57	23.50	74.08
1971	9.87	9.38	2.10	23.94	21.64	79.38

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR, 1901-71

Variation of Total Workers
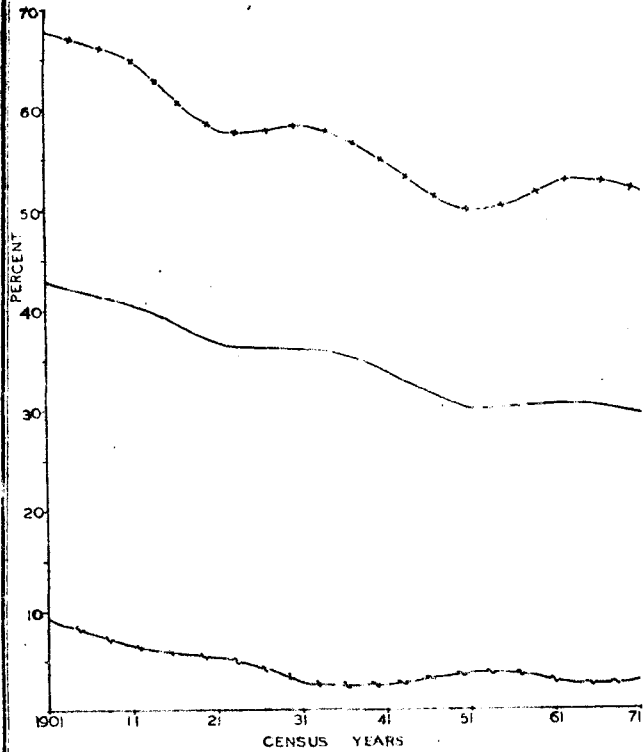
Variation of Male Workers

PERCENT

70
60
50
40
30
20
10

1901 11 21 31 41 51 61 71

CENSUS   YEARS

FIG-1
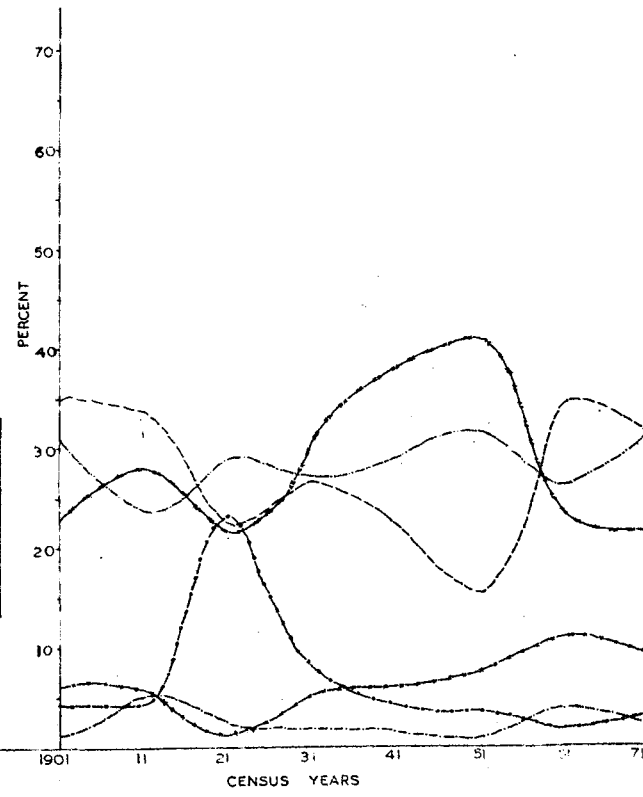
Legend:
— Total workers
—•— Male workers
—▼— Female workers
— IX Industrial category
— VIII   DO
—·— VII   DO
— VI   DO
— — V and IV DO
—•— III, II and I DO

PERCENT

70
60
50
40
30
20
10

1901 11 21 31 41 51 61 71

CENSUS   YEARS

FIG-2

22

experienced extensive industrialisation since the dawn of this
century.[6] Does this constant decline mean:

    i)   retrogression,

    ii)   growth of population more than the employment
           oppurtunities (that is, the population growth
           has not followed the logistic curve of
           development),

    iii)   extensive mechanisation,

    iv)   increasing affluence withdrawing more and more
           of the working population from the labour force,
           especially the children and youth (who go for
           education and the females (lower and lower
           female participation in the labour force coming
           down to 2.60% in 1971 from 9.13% in 1901) and

    v)   improvement in the means of transport and
           communication encouraging more of local traders
           to reside outside the town or inviting more
           people from outside to work in the town.

    Speaking in absolute terms the decline had been steady
except between two decades (see figure-1) - (a) ending 1931 in
                   change
which it registered no/as compared to 1921 and (b) ending 1961
which represented a slight increase from 1951, for the total
working population (persons). The 'relative growth' (see figure-5)

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6.   A. Macfarquhar, Punjab District Gazetteer, Amritsar
           District, 1947. Controller of Printing and
           Stationery, Punjab, Chandigarh, Chapter II,
           Section-I, p. 171.

on the other hand has shown a steady gradual increase (137.7 to
185.0) between 1931-1971, after a steep rise 84.4 to 137.7)
between 1921 and 1931. The two decades ending 1921 registered
a sole slump in the negative direction, to the lowest of 84.4.
These trends in the working population are corroborated by
similar trends in the relative growth of total population of
the town (see table-2). It could be seen that it registered a
steady increase from 163.0 to 267.7 between 1931-1971 after a
steep rise between 1921-1931 of 98.6 to 163.0. The two decades
ending 1921 depicted decrease in total population relative to
1901. This similarity in trends suggests that the growth of
workers was proportional to the total population. The decline
till 1921 was due to the distressed condition of the town marked
by cholera and plague epidemics,[7] outmigration to the canal
colonies[8] and recruitment in army and police[9] of the productive
population. An immediate substantial growth could be attributed
to the onset of industry[10] and increasing demand of the local
carpets in the western market.[11] Such a spurt in the growth
rates could never be recalled till 1971.

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7.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, The Civil and Military
      Gazette Press, Lahore 1914, Chapter I-C, p. 27.

8.   Ibid., p. 25.

9.   V.N. Datta (ed.), New Light on Punjab Disturbances in 1919,
      Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1975,
      Appendices VIII (p. 491) and I (P. 496).

10.   A. Macfarquhar, .   ., Op. Cit., Chapter II, Section-E, P. 171.

11.   Amritsar District Gazetteer 1914, Op. cit., Chapter II-E,
      p. 107.

Categorywise Variation of Total Workers
AMRITSAR CITY (1901-1971)
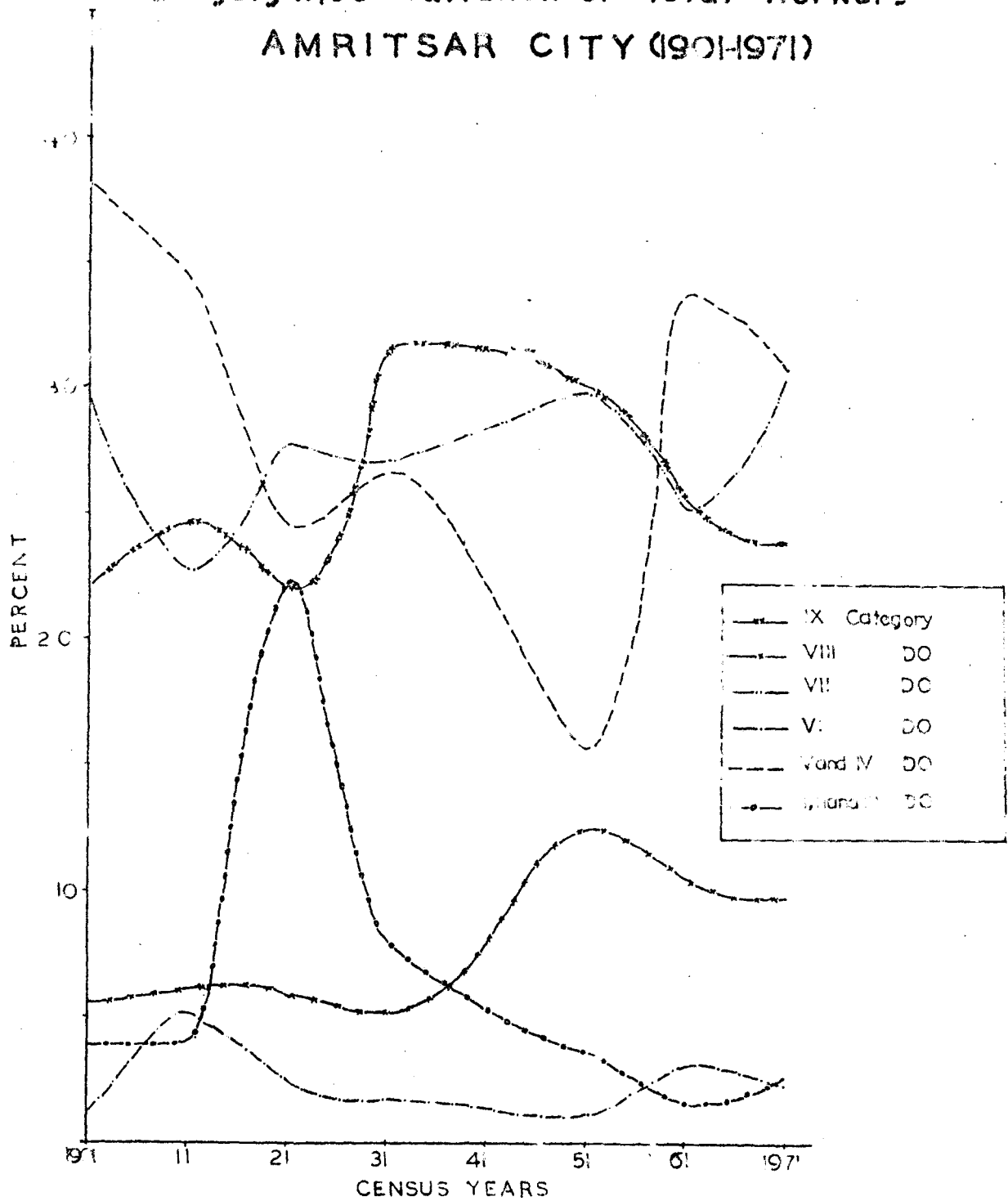
FIG.-3

The variations in different categories of the total working population can be studied under two groups - (i) those categories absorbing the bulk of population and (ii) others with the remaining population (see figure-5). Under the first head are categories (IV and V), VII and IXth. The remaining (I, II and III), VI and VIII constitute the other group. A characteristic feature of the former is highly unstable upheavalous variation in the working force (persons) and almost never attaining the level of 1901 in 1971. As explained earlier and also in chapter one, these fluctuating trends in general are influenced by the growth of total population affected by epidemics, slumps in trade, industrialisation, economic depression, partition of 1947 etc. Manufacturing was most drastically affected. This category (IV and V) grew between 1921-1931 due to industrialisation but decreased subsequently because of muslim exodus in 1947 who worked mainly on the looms. Industrialisation in the post independence period took it from 15.68% (1951) to 33.82% (1961) only to decrease by 3% in 1971 due to the war and tension on international border (Pakistan war, September, 1965). Trade and commerce (VII) is the sole category which could proximate it's level of 1901 in 1971 (from 29.48% to 30.42%) inspite of heavy fluctuations.

The relative growth of there categories (figure-6) shows that manufacturing category could grow in the decades mentioned above (ending 1931 and 1961) for similar reasons. It would cross its level of 1901 only in 1961. The trade and commerce (VII) has registered a steady increase but other services (IX) declined after 1951 having enjoyed a high rise since 1921.

T A B L E - 2

INDEX OF RELATIVE GROWTH OF WORKERS IN THE CITY ACCORDING TO INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION (1901-1971)

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION			TOTAL WORKERS			I, II and III			IV and V		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1901	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1911	94.0	95.4	92.3	89.2	91.5	66.2	91.6	93.0	70.3	80.7	88.3	42.5
1921	98.6	102.0	94.1	84.4	87.3	55.4	477.5	50.10	113.9	54.4	56.4	44.7
1931	163.0	170.6	152.9	137.7	146.7	47.4	281.8	299.1	12.1	96.5	112.00	19.3
1941*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1951	200.5	198.4	203.9	140.6	146.3	83.2	131.6	131.3	135.7	58.0	64.9	23.8
1961	231.7	224.1	241.9	165.5	174.6	74.3	70.4	74.0	15.1	147.3	172.2	22.8
1971	267.7	255.1	284.7	185.0	195.4	81.1	124.0	130.3	26.6	150.2	177.5	13.4

CENSUS Year	VI			VII			VIII			IX		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
1901	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	10080	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1911	401.1	397.2	..	68.6	69.6	41.4	86.5	86.7	73.5	116.7	111.7	193.1
1921	192.3	186.6	..	79.4	81.1	35.0	16.9	16.9	12.2	84.5	82.9	109.7
1931	226.2	226.2	..	126.4	127.7	91.2	126.1	127.5	20.4	196.9	200.00	150.3
1941	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1951	143.9	107.7	..	142.8	148.2	3.8	178.8	180.6	42.9	272.1	264.4	389.1
1961	472.8	472.3	..	141.9	146.7	18.1	318.6	321.6	102.0	192.3	180.7	369.0
1971	395.0	393.5	..	190.9	196.8	39.7	331.5	332.9	220.4	201.4	186.2	932.1

* Data for 1941 are not available.

These data when related to chapter one get elucidated to reveal that the town was always on the path of progress. But the decrease in manufacturing is due to the emergence of industrial suburbs like Chheharta, Jandiala, Verka in the district itself and Fatehgarh Churian and Batala (a complex) in the adjoining Gurdaspur district. All these are located within 40 Kms. from the city. The very development of these was due to evasion of taxes imposed by the city municipal committee.[12] The location # of these centres on the routes of transportation hastened their development. On the other hand trade and commerce (table-2) grew steadily in the town. In the post independence period, perpetual tension on the border and occasional wars have discouraged the normal growth especially of the industry which requires substantial investment.

From the second group (ii), two sub-groups can further be delineated (see figure-3) first one depicting high variations includes (I, II and III) and VIII categories and the other one with relatively less, includes VI. In the first sub-group, the primary sector (I, II and III) has consistently declined after achieving an all time high of 22.20% in 1921. This increase is mainly due to the cultivators (I) which rose to 17.17% in 1921. The decline after 1921 corroborates the processes of industriali-sation and urbanisation as an increasingly urban centre has less and less of its working population engaged in primary activity. Extensive mechanisation of agriculture has also influenced it.

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12.   A. Macfarquhar   , Op. cit., Chapter E–II p.p. 168–169.

The developing urban character is further strengthened by the increase in the means of transport, storage and communication. The relative growth (see figure-6) fully complies with the above discussion. A slight increase in (I, II and III) to 2.61% in 1971 during 1961-71 is mainly due to I and II categories (2.19%) which might be due to gentleman farming or to evade taxes. The category VIII has increased steadily after 1921 from its all time low of 16.90 to 331.50 in 1971. For obvious reasons in the sense that being a residual category (in terms of functions) it would follow the increase in others especially the tertiary sector.

In the second sub-group (see figure-3) the absorbption of workers in construction (VI) is extremely low except the decades ending 1911 and 1961 which can be seen as the phases of development in terms of new construction. The perpetual decline from 4.79% in 1911 to 1.09% in 1951 is indicative of the critical years undergoing severe economic depression and disasterous political disturbances. The decade ending in 1961 registered a substantial increase to 3.04% signifying rapid industrialization and urbanisation. The decrease in subsequent decade was due to the war of 1965. Similar trends are reported by the relative growth of these categories (see figure-6).

The variations in the working categories for males do not deviate at all from those of the total population (persons) for the simple reason that majority of workers are the males. The females are in substantial minority. Therefore 'males' are not discussed separately. The total fall, however, is substantial, coming down to 52.79% in 1971 from 67.74% in 1901 (see figure-1).

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR
VARIATIONS IN WORKERS (1901-1971)

INDEX
- - - - Manufacturing household & non-ho.
- - · - Construction
- x - Other service
- x - x Transport etc
- · - Trade & Commerce
- · - · Primary activitie

PERCENT WORKERS (FEMALE)

CENSUS YEARS

FIG.—4
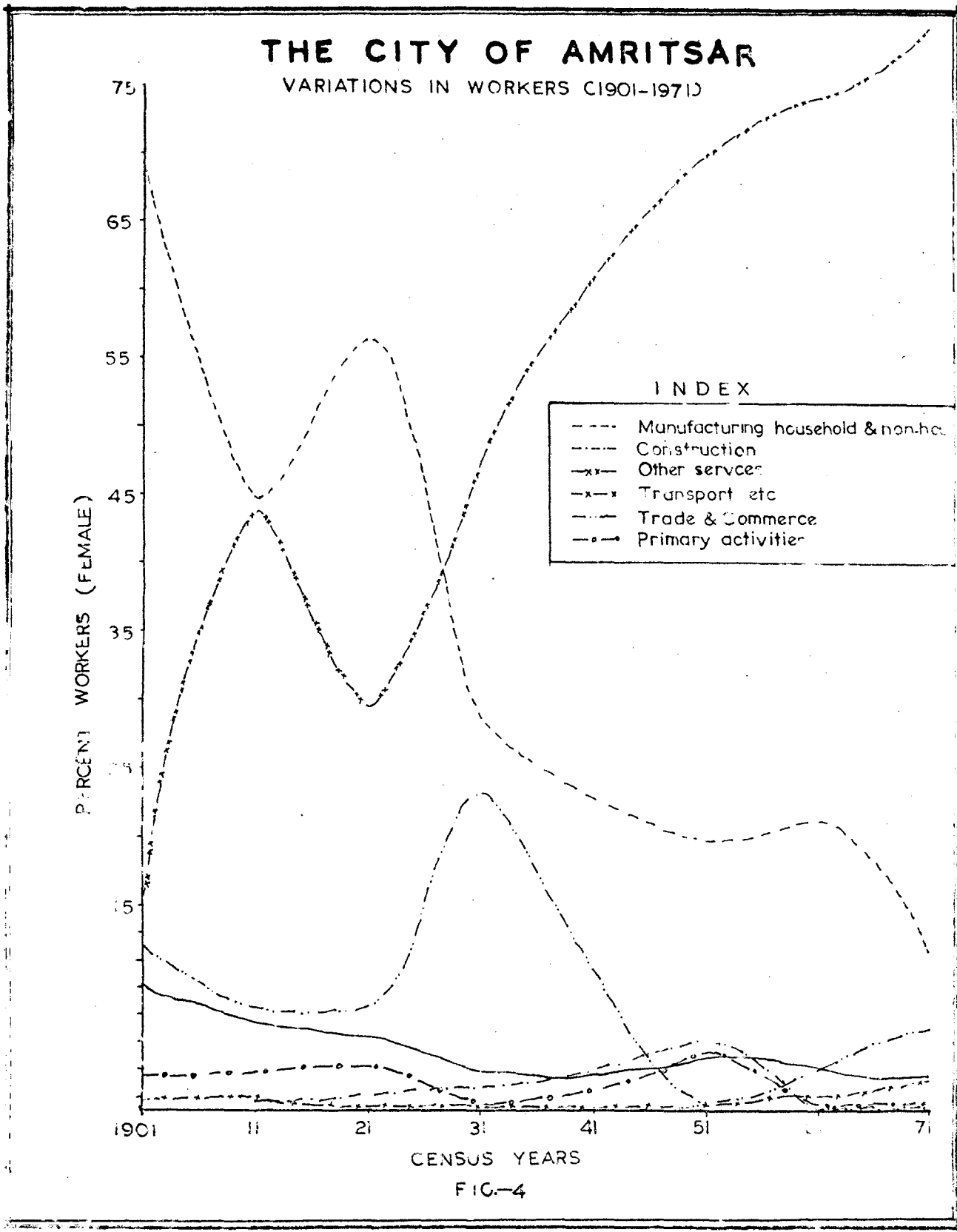
Contrarily, the variations in female employment are very significant, though their participation in the labour force is very meagre. As an indicator of urbanization,[13] the female participation has declined instead of going up. It has fallen down to its lowest of 2.80% in 1971 from its peak of 9.13% in 1901 (see figure-1). Does it mean that the urban standard of the city has fallen, decade by decade? Probably not. It is due to the fact that this cultural region does not favour female employment. Their employment is only out of necessity. Moreover, increasing mechanisation demands more and more of skilled labour which the females in the lower rung of strata lack.[14] Furthermore, improvement in the socio-economic conditions withdraws females from the labour force. It is due to these reasons that their participation rate has been falling inspite of tremendous increase in sex ratio after 1931 (665 females per 1000 males to 825 Females/Males 1000 in 1971).

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13.   Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, 'Social Area Analysis' from George A. Theodorson (ed.), Studies in Human Ecology, Row, Peterson and Co., Elmsford, New York, 1961, Part II, Section-B, p.p. 226-235.

14.   Percentage of females engaged in 'manufacturing and household' has fallen from 69.62% in 1901 to 11.52% in 1971. Category VII registered decrease from 12.07% to 5.90% respectively. Other categories unlike those mentioned above do not show much change. Cultivators (I) decreased from 0.25% in 1901 to 0.19% in 1971, Agricultural labourers (II) from 1.89% to 0.52%, Mining and Quarrying from 0.45% to 0.08% (I, II, III combined-from 2.59% to 0.79%), construction (VI) from 0.69% (1921) to 0.21% respectively. Increase in other services (IX) from 14.90% to 79.38% respectively due to increase in literacy (female) and liberalisation of values regarding female employment in service sector.

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR
Relative Growth of Workers
(1901 1971)

INDEX NUMBER OF TOTAL POPULATION AND WORKERS

INDEX NUMBER OF WORKERS IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES
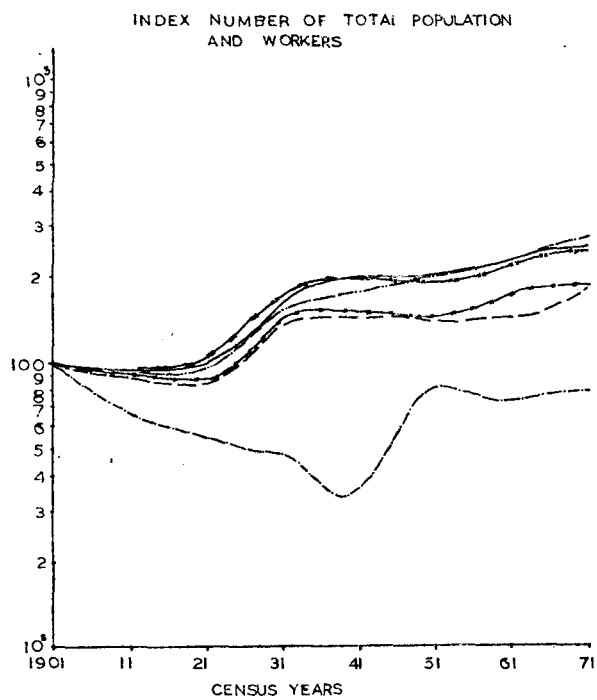
Legend:
- ———— TOTAL POPULATION
- — — T. WORKERS
- —·— T. MALES
- —··— T. MALE WORKERS
- —···— T. FEMALES
- —·—·— T. FEMALE WORKERS

- ———— OTHER SERVICES
- —·—·— TRANSPORT etc.
- —··—·· TRADE and COMMERCE
- —·—·— CONSTRUCTION
- — — — MANUFACTURING
- —·—·— PRIMARY ACTIVITIES

CENSUS YEARS

FIG.—5

CENSUS YEARS
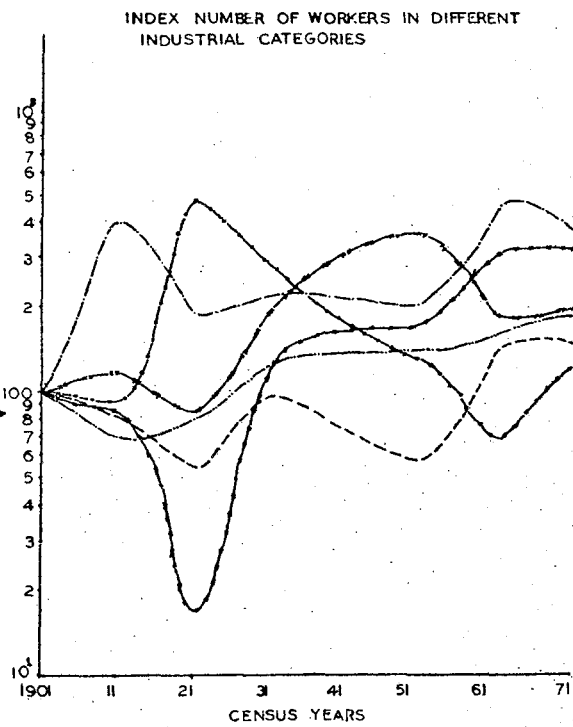
FIG.—6

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR
Relative Growth of Population
1901-1971

Male Workers

Female Workers

OTHER SERVICES
TRANSPORT etc.
TRADE&COMMERCE
CONSTRUCTION
MANUFACTURING
PRIMARY ACTIVITIES

CENSUS YEARS

FIG - 7

CENSUS YEAR
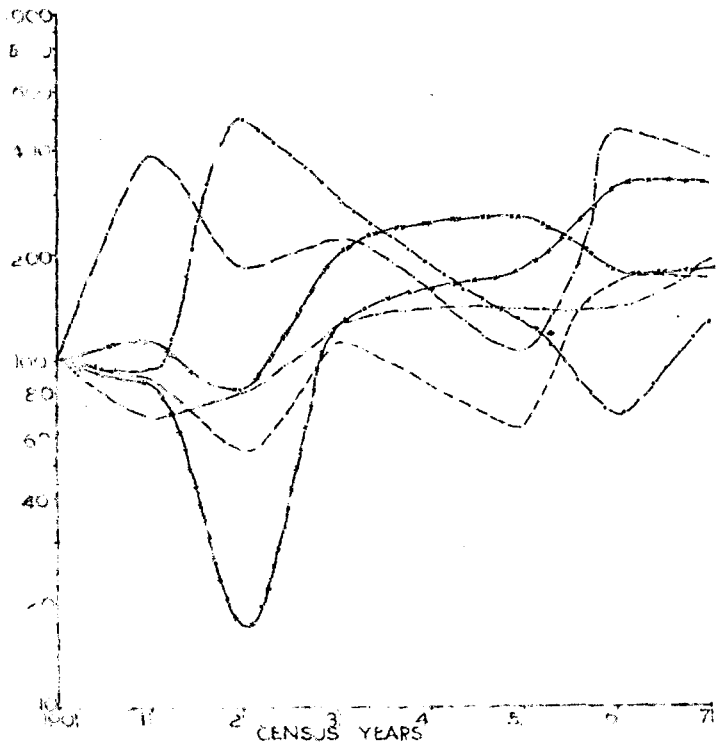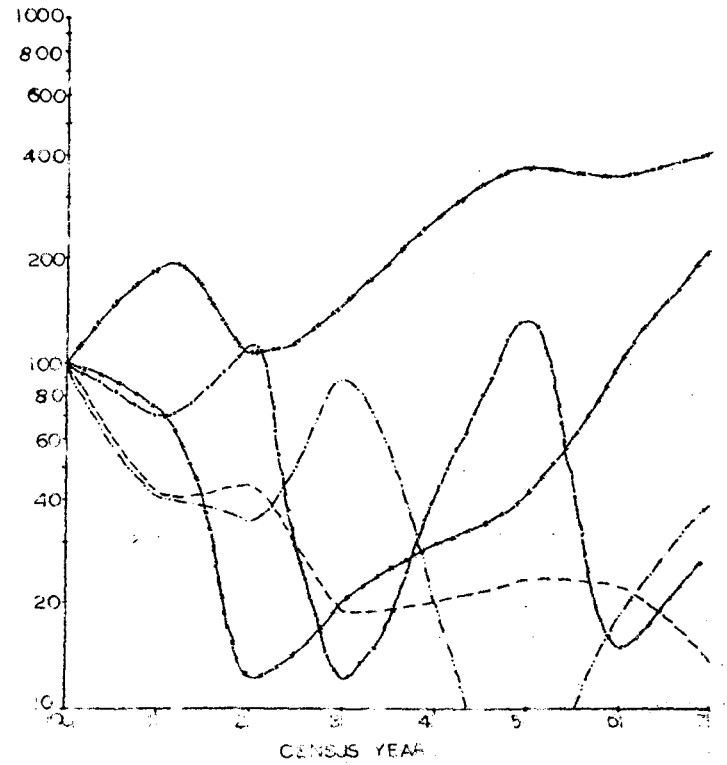
FIG - 8

The absolute graph for female workers (see figure-4) brings forward two important industrial categories (IV and V) and IX which have followed diametrically opposite trends right from 1901 to 1971. The percent female workers in former category decreased consistently from 69.62% to a mere 29.29% respectively, forming a slight crest in 1921 (figure-4). Correspondingly, employment in 'other services' (IX) increased from 14.90% to 74.08% respectively with an equal trough (c.f. the crest of IV and V category) in 1921. The steep rise after 1921 is more pronounced and steady than the decline in category (IV and V). The relative growth of female workers (figure-8) in these categories corroborates the description made earlier.

The remaining categories except the VIIth have very low proportion of female workers only to show very minor or no change at all from 1901-1971, which donot seem to attract any attention worth description. The variability of category VII is very high starting from 12.07% in 1901, after a little depression till 1921 it shoots up to 23.26% in 1931 but again to fall to all time low of 0.55% in 1951. After this a gradual increase to 5.90% is registered in 1971. When their counterparts (males) do not vary much, this variation remains obscure. The relative growth of these categories in extremely fluctuating with high inconsistency.

CHAPTER — THREE

THE MOVEMENTS IN THE POPULATION

The migration is one of the most significant variables which determines the size and the structure of a given population, though Malthus considered it only of local significance.[1] It is not an independent variable to come into play by itself but depends almost absolutely on a variety of economic, sociological and geographical factors. The streams of migration determine the growth of any given area, as a consequence of the 'push and pull' factors which are the net results of the above mentioned factors.[2] This coincides with the contention of Malthus that other factors being equal, the population of a place keeps on growing as far as its economy supports it. Inferentially, depending upon the growth of a place the outmigrants would be replaced by the immigrants. This would involve turnover of the economically productive population. But even then the decrease of economically productive population does not mean that the place is/decaying because of the following important factors due to the advancement in technology. For instance, (i) industrialization might have become more organized, barring unskilled labourers from work, (ii) industry becoming more and more capital intensive and (iii) advancement in transport drastically increasing the number of daily commuters to their place of work.[3]

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1. James M. Beshers, *Population Processes in Social Systems*, the free Press, New York, 1967, p.p. 5-31.

2. There is a close relationship between migration and population growth, influenced by (a) the direct movements of the migrants themselves, (b) impact on the population structure of the two regions and (c) effect on the socio-economic conditions of the two regions, which may reduce or negate the results of transfer.

The migration is dealt with in this chapter at two levels, firstly for the district and secondly for the city. The data available are very scanty. So the analysis is made on the basis of its uniform availability. At the district level again it is worked out at two levels, firstly on the basis of net migrants (immigrants less emigrants) from 1881 to 1931 and secondly on the basis of enumerations at the place of birth for 1921, 1931, 1951 and 1961. As the data for net migration were not available at the city level it is carried out only with the place of birth data for 1881, 1901, 1921 and 1931 decades. Besides the territorial changes that have taken place one forte of this study is that the limits of the tahsils which now constitute the district (1947) have substantially remained the same since 1854. All the village transfers have been made before this time.[4] But the surroundings have undergone a drastic change. The biggest is that of 1947 effected by the partition of India and Pakistan. Therefore, in accordance with the changes, the study is divided into two periods — — one relating to it before 1931 and the other from 1951 to 1961.

Migration to and from the District: The first part deals with 'net migration' between 1881 and 1921 (data not available for 1931) which is the net result of the excess of immigrants to emigrants (+) and vice verca (-) of the same time period. The figures thus obtained do not give a better picture and hence to find out inter-censal net migration, survival ratio[5] is applied.

3. K.C. Zachariah, Migrants in Greater Bombay, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, p. 337.

4. A. Macfarquhar, Punjab District Gazetteers, Amritsar District, Controller of Printing and Stationery, Punjab, Chandigarh, , p.30.

5. $\frac{10 \text{ Years population of the preceding year}}{\text{Total population of the succeeding year}}$. The ratio

The results are given in table-1. A careful glance of this table reveals that excepting Lahore which shows a constant inflow of migrants (inmigration stream) from Amritsar, no other district depicts in or outflow of the migrants from or to Amritsar. Those who outflowed to it in first two decades registered inflow from it in the next decade and vice versa. Hence to ease out the analysis, first two decades 1881-1891 and 1891-1901 are eliminated for which sex-wise composition of migrants is also available. The rest two decades do not depict a similarly consistent pattern and hence discussed individually.

For the first two decades (1881-1901), three groups of districts are formed, depending upon the migration stream:

  (i)   Those which lost population to the district;

  (ii) Those which gained from the district and

  (iii) Those of the (mixed type) which sometimes lost and
        sometimes gained.

The first category includes the districts of Hoshiarpur, Jullundur, Kapurthala, Ferozepur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gurdaspur and Gujrat. As most of these are the neighbouring districts, so the promimity plays a significant role in this population turnover. The densely populated sub-montance districts of Hoshiarpur, Sialkot and Gurdaspur push population to the district. Jullundur district also has highy density. Besides this the flourishing trade and commerce of Amritsar city exerts a big pull factor. The census reports that "the attractive influence of a great centre of commerce is at once apparent in the figures. Amritsar

5.(contd.) Multiplied with the net migrants of that decade
            subtracted from net migrants of the next decade.

TABLE - 1

ESTIMATED SIZE OF INTER-CENSAL NET MIGRATION TO AND FROM

AMRITSAR DISTRICT BETWEEN 1881 and 1921

Name of the Districts		1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911	1911-1921	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ambala		-8	180	-38	-170	-
Kangra		-77	555	774	821	+
Hoshiarpur	+	1569	1921	-1280	1846	
Jullundur	+	950	1942	-1124	1348	
Kapurthala	+	2009	2392	-2357	136	
Ludhiana		-5	207	-66	-126	-
Ferozepur	+	280	828	-1013	885	
Patiala		-461	362	-465	-38	-
Montgomery	-	-1916	-4210	2161	-5455	
Lahore	-	-15232	-5243	-17627	-3457	-
Sialkot	+	5322	8791	7490	1324	
Gujranwala	+	569	10984	-2722	7120	
Gurdaspur	+	7761	8147	-5987	4387	
Gujrat	+	51	1253	-1172	81	
Rawalpindi		-943	110	333	-146	
Jhang		279	-55668	44509	21	+
Multan	-	-1008	-2279	-1415	9497	
Other districts of the states in Punjab	-	-41	-1170	-74998	-24227	-
Peshawar	-	-250	-132	-434	N.A.	
N W F P		..	..	..	N.A.	

Table Contd....

Table-1 (Contd.)

Name of the Districts		1881-1891	1891-1901	1901-1911	1911-1921	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
TOTAL	-	1151	-31030	-55431	-6153	
Rajputana (Ajmer & Mewar)		84	1163	- 360	N.A.	
United Provinces of Agra and Quoh		-2201	- 724	- 514	N.A.	
Kashmir		-1953	- 858	- 146	N.A.	
Other Indian States beyond Punjab and N W F P		278	655	-11721	N.A.	
Foreign Countries		416	106	366	N.A.	
TOTAL	-	4527	-30688	-67806	-6153	

Signs in Col. 2:   (+) Excess of immigrants to emigrants in the decades (1881-91) and (1891-1901)

(-) Excess of emigrants to immigrants in both the decades

( ) mixed type.

Signs in Col. 7   Similar connotation between (1901-1911) and (1911-1921).

draws population from all parts of the province. While 90% of the rural population is indigenous no less than 30% of the town people are born outside the district and nearly 9% from beyond the province".[6]

TABLE -2

PERCENTAGE OF MALES OF BOTH THE SEXES FOR DISTRICTS

OF (i) CATEGORY

Name of the Districts	1881		1891	
	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants
Hoshiarpur	52.00	48.20	55.00	45.00
Jullundur	37.90	48.00	45.00	45.00
Kapurthala	...	...	...	...
Ferozepur	23.50	61.70	26.00	58.00
Sialkot	43.10	37.70	41.00	32.00
Gujranwala	53.20	48.70	52.00	59.00
Gurdaspur	37.40	32.90	29.00	32.00
Gujrat	57.40	64.00	62.00	56.00

Source: Amritsar District Gazetteers,

1883-84 and 1892-93.

6.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, Calcutta Central
      Press Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1884, Chapter III-A,
      p. 16.

Table-2 shows that there is a larger proportion of female to male immigrants from these neighbouring districts. It indicates three things - firstly it is due to the dearth of females created in the district due to heavy female mortality in the great plague epidemic of 1881 to the order of 146 females per 1000 persons against a normal of 62 only for that year.[7] Their dearth is also attributed to the neglect of females and their infanticide.[8] Secondly the increasing shawl trade might have attracted a substantial proportion of females along with the males to work on the loom.[9] Thirdly, their(district's) proximity. It becomes clear when we noticed low proportion of female migrants to and from the relatively distantly placed districts of Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala and Gujrat. The only district which enjoys substantial gain of male emigrants from Amritsar over its male immigrants to that place is Ferozepur. It is due to its very low density and abundance of fertile land attracting the distressed (from epidemics) population of Amritsar to cultivation.[10] The dry area is also more hygenic and healthier as compared to Amritsar.[11]

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7.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1892-93, Calcutta Central Press Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1893, Chapter VI, p. 163.

8.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1913, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1914.

9.   Amritsar District Gazetter, 1892-93, Op. cit., Chapter III-A, p. 30.

10.   Amritsar District Gazetter, 1883-84,/Op. Cit.,/Chapter III-A, p. 16

11.   Census of Punjab, 1961, Punjab Government Press, Chandigarh, Part I-A (1), p. 171.

The second category includes the districts of Montgomery, Lahore, Multan and Peshawar. These districts enjoyed a substantial gain of population from Amritsar. The reasons are obvious, Lahore being the capital of the state with low density and increasing amenities attracted large population from Amritsar. Since 1881 Amritsar has yielded its first position of the largest city to Lahore.[12] And the other districts have come under the canal colonization scheme which tremendously increased the cultivable average of land attracting the cultivators.[13]. The distressed condition of the district has acted as a catalyst.

TABLE-3

PERCENTAGE MALES OF BOTH THE SEXES FOR DISTRICT OF (ii) category

Name of the Districts	1881		1891	
	Immigrants	Emigrants	Immigrants	Emigrants
Montgomery	69.60	60.90	63.00	62.00
Lahore	41.20	45.00	32.00	38.00
Multan	67.60	72.80	66.00	67.00
Peshawar	63.1	84.90	57.00	75.00

Source: Amritsar District Gazetteers of 1883-84 and 1892-93.

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12. .. ., A. Macfarguhar, Op.cit.Ch. II-C, p. 35.

13. Amritsar District District Gazetteer, 1914, The Civil and Military Gazettee Press, Lahore, 1914, Chapter I-C, p. 25.

Table-3, shows that this mutual turnover of the population was predominantly a play of the males. It shows that the distance has played a significant role in this migration stream. The proportion of males was always more in emigrants than immigrants which alludes to the fact that emigration was predominantly due to the 'economic pull' of those districts. The marriage migration was drastically cut down with increasing distance. Lahore, an adjointing district enjoyed greater female migration.

The third category includes Ambala, Kangra, Ludhiana, Patiala, Rawalpindi and Jhang. All these districts except Jhang lost population to Amritsar during(1881-91) but gained from it in the subsequent decade. The extents of gain or loss are not large except the population loss to Jhang during 1891-1901. This pull of Jhang was due to the net work of canals in this region of the province which was sparsely populated.[14] The net outmig ration to these districts in the first decade was due to the plague epidemic which was regained in the subsequent decade marked by the upcoming carpet industry.

It's not possible to handle the two decades 1901 to 1921 in the above manner, because of the greater mutual exchange of population between these districts. Excepting Kangra from which Amritsar has gained in both the decades it has lost only to Ambala, Ludhiana, Patiala and Lahore consistently during 1901-1921. Only Lahore's share is significant. For the rest of the districts in

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14.   Ibid., p. 25.

general it is clear that Amritsar lost significantly during 1901
to 1911. This was a period of malaria and plague epidemics.[15]
Besides these, Amritsar also lost significantly to other districts
of the states in Punjab compared to the proportion lost during
1881 to 1901.

Other decade, 1911-1921, regained the lost population to a
great extent. Besides the absence of so severe epidemics in this
part of the province the water-logging of the canal colonies of
Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat & Sheikhupura which lost a considerable
area from under cultivation pushed back the migrants to their place
of origin.[16]

Now looking at the net migrants to and from states outside
Punjab it is noticed that by 1881 there were 699 net immigrants
from Rajputana 7216 from United Provinces of Agra and Oudh,
#718 from Kashmir 950 from other Indian states and 582 from foreign
countries.[17] This is indicative of the flourishing trade and
commerce of this district esp. the city. But the epidemic of 1881
followed by a decrease in shawl trade pushed back the migrants
esp. the skilled workers from Kashmir. The restoration of normaly
back home (Kashmir) catalysed their return.[18] All the states
registered a gain of population from Amritsar in the subsequent
decades. The district always gained population from abroad mostly
due to its international trade links.[19]

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15. Ibid., p. 27.
16. Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII, Punjab and Delhi, Part I,
      The Civil and Military Gazettee Press, Lahore, 1933,
      Chapter I, p. 40.
17. Punjab District Gazetteers, Amritsar District, 1933, Punjab
      Government Press, Lahore, 1934, Vol. XIII, Statistical
      Tables, Table-8, p. 18.
18. (Op. cit.) 1913, p. 25. (Amritsar District Gazetteer)
19. ... ..., A. Macfarquhar, Op.cit Chapter II, Section-E, p. 171.

The migration data available for 1931, 1951 and 1961 are by place of birth only. These data are discussed in two groups because drastic territorial changes took place in 1947. Now looking at the 1931 data, it becomes clear that this decade (1921 to 1931) experienced tremendous growth in population. Besides this, much of migration did not take place as 97.59% of the population was born within the district. Only 1.15% were born outside the district but within the state and 1.14% in other states. This mainly due to natural increase in which Muslims (with high natural increase) played a predominant role.[20]

The last two decades of 1951 and 1961 refer to the post partition period. This partition resulted in the muslim exodus to be substituted by Hindu/Sikh refugees, totalling 317,743 persons (170,975 males and 146,768 females). The impact of partition is revealed by the following table:

TABLE-4

Percent Population of Amritsar District Enumerated by Place of Birth

Place of Birth	1951			1961		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
Born within the district of enumeration	57.88	57.63	58.37	76.98	77.47	76.41
Born in other districts of the state of enumeration	5.15	5.70	4.50	6.58	5.58	7.76
TOTAL	63.03	63.34	62.87	83.57	83.06	84.18
Born in states other than the state of enumeration	1.89	2.15	1.58	2.45	2.89	1.94
Born outside India	27.97	26.76	29.52	13.85	13.94	13.74
*Birth place unclassified	7.08	7.72	6.33	0.11	0.09	0.11

Source: Census of India 1951 and 1961, Part II-C (ii)
* For 1951 includes burnt slips.

20. (Op. cit.) Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 69.

Table-4, shows that of the total of 63.03% born within the state of enumeration only 57.88% are district born. The corresponding figures for 1961 are 83.57% and 76.98% respectively. The partition also deterred inmigration from states within India, only 1.89% compared to 2.45% in 1961. With restoration of the normalcy. On the other hand the proportion of those born outside India was inflated by the refugees to 27.97%. Corresponding proportion for 1961. It's lesser amount would have definitely affected the above proportions.[21] Table-4 also reveals that the proportion of females born in other districts of the state in 1961 significantly out-number the males, unlike 1951. This seems more due to marriage migration.

Migration into the City:

Between 1881 to 1961 the data for this part of the study are not available for the years, 1891, 1911 and 1941. The available data are in very crude form and it's the feeling of the researcher that it should not be taken too seriously. Hence it is analysed at a broad level. Furthermore to cope with the territorial changes (1947) it is divided into two parts. One part dealing with 1881 to 1931 and others with 1951 and 1961 only. In the first part data for the decades 1881 and 1901 were available in a composite form unlike the detailed one for 1921 and 1931. To make it comparable the latter decades are grouped on the lines of the former decades (see table-5).

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21. Amritsar District Census Handbook, 1951, Punjab Government Press, Chandigarh fly leaf for table D-VI.

T A B L E - 5

PERCENT POPULATION OF AMRITSAR CITY ENUMERATED BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Place of Birth	1881			1901			1921			1931		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
Total Population	151,896	86,714	65182	162,429	93,199	69,230	160,218	95,106	65112	264,840	158,985	105,855
I. Born Within the Province	89.51	88.26	91.18	95.48	94.37	96.96	96.00	94.95	97.53	96.94	96.60	97.46
(i) Born in the city/ district of enumeration	86.78	84.34	90.03	...	...	...	(81.88	77.99	87.57)	94.25	93.41	95.25
(ii) Born in other districts of the state	2.73	3.92	1.15	...	...	...	(14.11	16.96	9.95)	2.68	3.19	1.93
II. Born Outside the Province	10.12	11.22	8.65	4.17	5.17	2.82	3.69	4.63	2.31	2.81	3.03	2.49
(i) Born in the adjacent states	...	...	...	89.89	90.20	89.15	92.32	95.34	83.50	92.84	92.79	92.94
(ii) Born in other states	...	...	...	10.10	9.79	10.84	7.67	4.65	16.49	7.15	7.20	7.05
(iii) Born outside the country	0.37	0.52	0.17	0.32	0.43	0.17	0.30	0.41	0.14	0.23	0.35	0.04

Source:- Census of India, 1881. Punjab and its Fendatories, Part II, Government of India Printing Press, Calcutta, 1883.

- Census of India, 1901. The Punjab and its fendatories, Part II, The Government Central Printing Office, Simla, 1902.

- Census of India, 1921 and 1931. Punjab and Delhi, Part II. The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore 1923 and 1933.

Table-5 shows that the decade 1881 stands out separately
from the rest due to the fact that it experienced maximum
immigration, as only 89.51% of the total population enumerated
in the city was born within the province. Remaining 10.12%
were born in other states and only 0.32% outside India. This
heavy inmigration as explained elsewhere is due to the attractive
influence of a great centre of commerce,[22] and great influx of
Kashmiris, contributing three quarters of surplus population.[23]
The Deputy Commissioner remarked, "the increase in Amritsar city
by 12% represents the natural growth of a flourishing centre".[24]

In the subsequent decades, the proportion of the population
born within the province revolved around 96.00% (precisely 95.48%
(1901), 96.00% (1921) and 96.94% (1931). The census Commissioner
of the 1901 census remarks", Amritsar district increased by 3.10%
in the decade ending 1901. Amritsar city alone increased by
25,663 persons, excluding which the district grew only by 0.50%.
The city has 2283 Kashmiri immigrants (probably the remains of
immigrants before 1881) and those from Bombay and Sind are
considerable (among 4.17% of those born outside the province;
(see table-5); The Deputy Commissioner notes that plague measures
in Bombay and elsewhere appear to have driven people to the city.
But only 298 immigrants from Bombay appear in returns. Probably
the returns are below the mark, people who came to Punjab from
Bombay not being over anxious to proclaim the fact. Bombay

22. (Op. cit.) 1883-84, Chapter III-A, p. 16. (Amritsar District
Gazetteer)
23. Ibid., p. 16.
24. Ibid., p. 17.

immigrants are very scatterred and are nearly all parsis and other traders".[25]

Now looking in absolute terms within each decade it becomes clear that the proportion born in other states is constantly declining, acquiring the lowest mark of 2.81% in 1931 from its highest of 10.12% in 1881. This decline is due to the occassional recurrence of the epidemics of plague, smallpox and malaria in 1891, 1903-1907, 19100-11, and 1913, and of cholera in 1914 and 1929.[26] The decrease in the foreign born from 0.37% in 1881 to 0.23% in 1931 is again to the above mentioned factors. The economic depression withdrew the representatives of the foreign firms from the city.[27]

Table-5, shows that the females have always followed their counterparts very closely, but their proportion of those born within the state had always been greater than them. The distance again proves to be an important factor. The intra-state migration involves higher and inter-state migration, lower, proportion of females to males (see table-6). The latter stream is predominantly from the adjacent states of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Kashmir, Balanchistan, Rajasthan, Delhi and North-west Frontier Provinces, amounting to around 90% in all decades.[28]

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25.   Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII. The Punjab and its
          Fendatories and The N W F P. The Government
          Central Printing Office, Simla, 1902, Part I,
          p.p. 49.80.

26.   V. N. Datta, Amritsar Past and Present, Mundcipal Committee,
          Amritsar, 1967, p. 54.

27.   ., A. Macfarquhar, Op.cit, p. 171.

TABLE - 6

SEX-WISE PERCENT POPULATION ENUMERATED AT BIRTH PLACE (1881-1931)

Place of Birth	1881		1901		1921		1931	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Born with in the Province	88.26	91.18	94.37	96.96	94.95	97.53	96.60	97.46
Born Outside the Province	11.22	8.65	5.17	2.82	4.63	2.31	3.03	2.49

The second part deals only with the decades of 1951 and 1961. The former experienced the largest ever population turnover in the history of the city, in 1947. The muslim exodus was substituted by 113,884 Hindu/Sikh refugees (males 62,746 and females 51,138).

TABLE - 7

PERCENT POPULATION OF THE CITY BY PLACE OF BIRTH FOR 1951 and 1961

Place of Birth	1951			1961		
	P	M	F	P	M	F
Total Population	325,747	184,923	140,824	376,295	208,838	162,457
Born in India	67.67	68.27	66.83	76.42	77.06	77.95
I. Born within the Province	62.77	62.17	63.55	69.95	69.21	73.05
(i) Born in the city of enumeration	55.50	52.54	59.37	50.66	49.19	54.11
Born in the district of enumeration	-	-	-	6.77	6.45	7.38
(ii) Born in other districts of the Province	7.27	9.62	4.18	12.51	13.55	11.55
II. Born outside the Province of enumeration	4.87	6.09	3.28	6.47	7.84	4.90
III. Born outside the country	32.34	31.72	33.16	23.57	22.93	25.11

Source: District Census Handbook of Amritsar, 1951.
Census of Punjab, 1961. India Government Press, Simla, 1965
Part II-C (ii) P. 270, Table-D-V.

Table-7, reveals that out of a total population of 325,747 in 1951 only 55.50% were born in the city/district. Corresponding to 1961, it is only 57.43% (50.66% in the city and 6.77% in the district of enumeration), amounting to a total increase of only about 2.0% which is the normal natural growth rate. The immigration from outside the province increased to 6.47% in 1961 from 4.87% in 1951.

The major difference can be noticed in two categories — — (i) for those born in other districts of the state and (ii) those born outside India. The former increased from 7.27% in 1951 to 12.51% in 1961; but the latter decreased from 32.34% to 23.57% respectively. The increase in (i) category is due to the restoration of normalcy in the town. The number of females increased by three times from 4.18% (1951) to 11.55% (1961). This seems mainly due to marriage migration. The decrease in (ii) category is due to the dispersal of refugees who migrated with their families. This is inferred from their decrease of 8% in 1961 (approx. less than 4% in males but more than 7% in females). It might be due to higher sex-ratio (Females/Males X 1000) in the dispersing refugees.

CHAPTER - FOUR

THE QUANTITATIVE CHANGES IN RELIGION AND
CIVIL CONDITION

This chapter intends to look into the religious composition of the population at both the district and the city levels depending upon the availability of the data which are not uniform. The importance of this variable lies in determining the population structure of the place in the sense that had there been no sikhs (district/town), it would not have contributed to the military and polise services and had there been scanty of muslim population, the handicraft might not have developed and hence might not have grown so much (muslims also have higher natural growth;details follow). The significane of the religio-political partition of 1947 and its impact on the town is self-explanatory.

The available data has made possible the study of the religious composition of city and the district, both,from 1891 to 1971. In the next place religionwise sex-ratio and growth of the population is carried out at the city level only. The relative growth of all the religions is also seen for the city from 1891 to 1971.

Another part of the study concerns with the religionwise civil condition of the population. These data are very limited. It is available for the district only from 1891 to 1931 and for the city only for three decades of 1911, 1921 and 1931. Though,

it is not possible to draw generalizations from this limited
data but some crude adumbrations have been outlined to know
                                                        not
something than to know nothing. The interpolations could be
made for reasons mentioned in introduction.

The researcher had not gone into the repetitive explanatory
analysis of the population as it has already been made in the
first chapter. Here emphasis has been laid on the reasons
pertaining to the quantitative changes in the religious
composition of the population.

Regarding the religious composition of the population at
both the city and the district levels two very prominent phases
can be marked out. The first phase, from 1891 to 1931 and the
other from 1951 to 1971 (Table-1 shows that muslims and hindus
dominated the city in the first phase). Of the two, muslim
proportion was higher and subsequently increased from 46.63%
(1891) to 49.98% (1931) whereas hindus decreased from 41.42%
(1891) to 36.94% (1931). The sikhs were the third known community
which fluctuated from 11.42% to 12.09% during these five decades.
The remaining two communities of Jains and Christians, though
registered an increase in this period was always less than 1%.

The second phase in the religious composition of the city's
population was entirely different. The hindus and sikhs
dominated the city and the remaining three communities were left
to contribute less than 1% each to the total population. The
hindus have dominated in absolute terms when their proportion of
56.41% in 1951 sprang to 64.21% in 1971. The sikhs on the other
hand with their ever highest level of 41.91% in 1951 lowered to

TABLE-1

DECADE-WISE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION(%) OF THE POPULATION FOR AMRITSAR CITY (1891-1971)

Name of the Religion	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931*	1951	1961	1971
Hindu	41.42	40.08	38.44	40.77	36.94	56.41	N.A.	64.21
Sikh	11.42	10.99	13.33	13.41	12.09	41.91	N.A.	34.18
Jain	0.10	0.34	0.43	0.46	0.23	0.32	N.A.	0.18
Muslim	46.63	47.89	47.04	44.41	49.98	0.50	N.A.	0.42
Christian	0.39	0.67	0.74	0.90	0.69	0.82	N.A.	0.98
Others	..	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.07	..	N.A.	..
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

* Data for 1941 are not available.

34.18% in 1971. The reasons would be made clear while discussing the growth of religions, later in this chapter.

Table-2 for the district shows a picture different from that of the city within the two phases mentioned above. In the first phase there were three main religions - muslims, hindus and sikhs. Though the domination of the muslims was absolute who increased from 45.55% (1891) to 46.96% (1931), the hindus and sikhs followed very close to 'each other in the first three decades (1891-1911) only to increase in-the-first-three-decades-(1891-1911) the divergence in the latter part of this phase when sikhs outnumbered hindus very significantly (see table-2). Of the remaining two communities, Jains and Christians, the latter crossed the 1% mark of its contribution to the total population in 1921 and 1931.

TABLE - 2

DECADE-WISE RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION (%) OF THE POPULATION OF THE DISTRICT (1891-1971)

Name of the religion	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931*	1951	1961	1971
Hindus	27.87	27.44	24.03	21.99	15.61	25.73	32.97	23.42
Sikh	26.33	25.82	28.83	30.88	35.80	65.64	64.52	74.21
Jain	0.07	0.14	0.15	0.14	0.11	0.15	0.12	0.12
Muslim	45.55	46.39	46.42	45.59	46.96	0.30	0.15	0.16
Christian	0.16	0.20	0.54	1.37	1.48	1.07	2.19	2.05
Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

* 1941 Data are not available.

The second phase, registered an absolute domination of the Sikhs from 65.64% (1951) to 74.21% (1971). The hindus rather decreased from 25.73% (1951) to 23.42% (1971) with an increase in 1961 (32.97%). Of the remaining three communities only christians could contribute more than 1% to the total population and that too with an increase from 1.07% (1951) to 2.05% (1971).

Tables 1 and 2 show that the muslims dominated this district as a whole and their proportional contribution to the total population had been almost similar at both the city and the district levels though throughout the first phase. The hindus dominated the sikhs very significantly in the city but were outnumbered substantially in the later part of this first phase.

In the second phase while the hindus absolutely dominated sikhs in the city, reverse was true for the district as a whole. These differences in proportional contribution of different religions to the total population becomes clear in the following discussion of the growth of each of the five religions from 1891 to 1971.

Having looked into the religionwise composition of the city and the district it would be useful to analyse the sex-composition of different religions in the city (c.f. introduction) to know the trends they have followed through 1891 to 1971. Table-3, shows two things - first, that the variations in the sex ratio by religions have followed exactly the similar pattern as that of the total population discussed under the head 'variations in the sex ratio' in chapter one. Therefore to repeat the whole analysis, would be a wastage. And secondly that among the three main religions sikhs have a higher sex ratio than the other two right from 1911 to 1971. These are followed by muslims (1901 to 1931) and hindus (1951 and 1971). Figure-3 expresses the above mentioned character istics of religionwise sex ratio in a graphical form to make it apparently comprehensive.

TABLE-3
RELIGION-WISE SEX-RATIO(*) OF THE POPULATION OF THE CITY (1891-1971)

Name of the Religion	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931*	1951*	1961*	1971
Hindus	737	740	694	647	643	735	..	808
Sikh	765	727	739	716	710	816	..	866
Jain	765	880	757	704	836	641	..	1035
Muslim	733	746	732	708	669	44	..	767
Christian	1882	897	819	844	933	765	..	972
Others	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(*)   Females per 1000 males
*   Data not available for 1941 and 1961.

AMRITSAR CITY
Variations in Sex Ratio
(1891–1971)
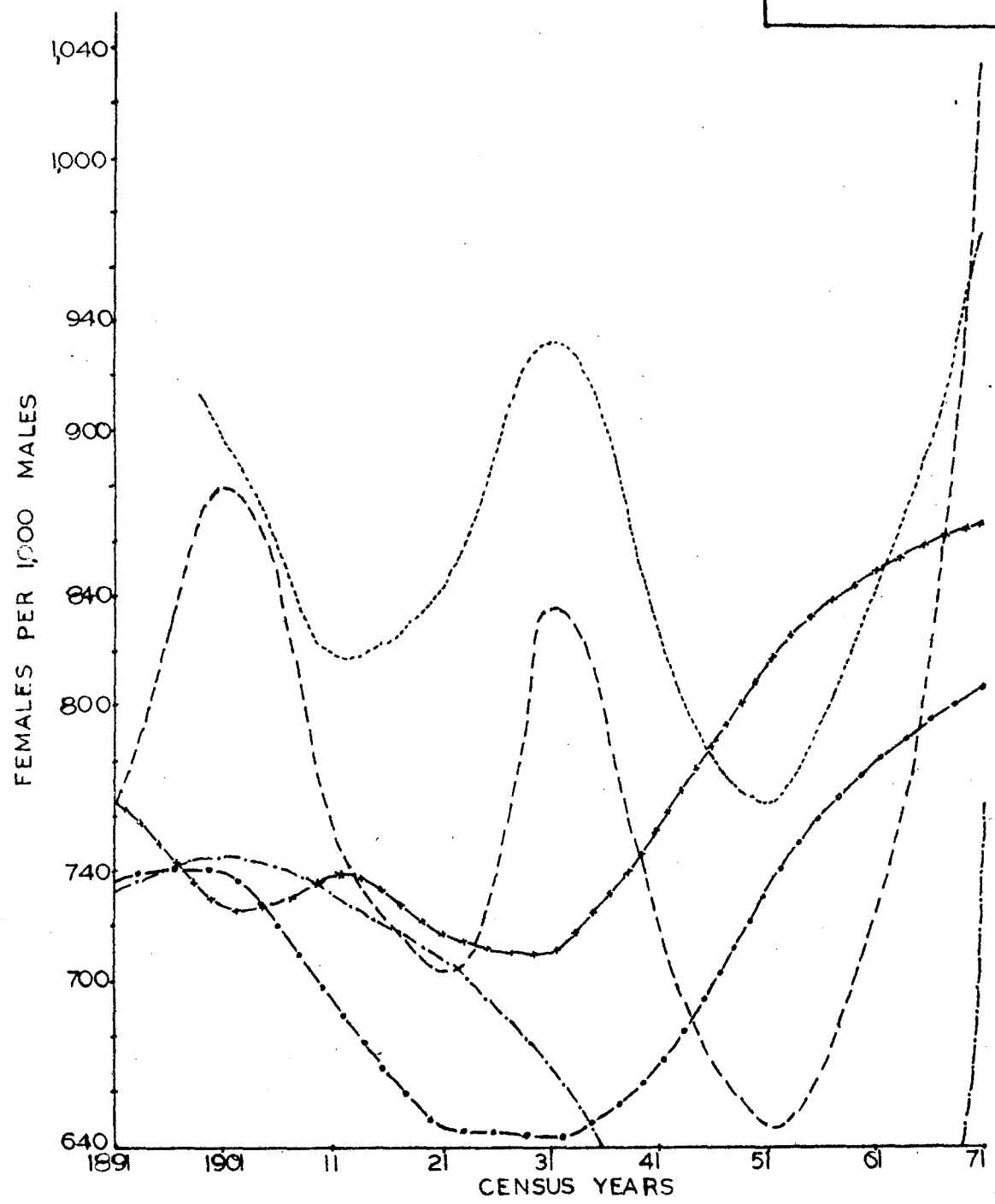
FIG.—1

Religionwise Growth of City's Population:

Figure-2 shows the city has depicted, trémendous fluctuations in the rate of growths $(P^1 - P_0/P_0 \times 100)$ of different religions. In the increasing order, the christians have occupied the lowest rung followèd by sikhs, hindus, jains and top of all the muslims. The latter are worst affect. Throughout this period (1891-1971), three of these, viz. - hindus, sikhs and muslims have dominated the city/district and the changes in them drastically shuffled the population structure.

Two of the dominant religions, hindus and muslims took off from a very low een level which is indicative of their substantial decrease from 1881 (see table-4). The former decreased by -7.54% and the latter by -16.50%. The remaining communities had a better take off. The sikhs started from +14.88 + 13.51%. The increase in sikhs in 1891 is indicative of their lower number till 1881 which becomes clear on noticing the remarks of the Deputy Commissioner, "there is a great decrease in the number of sikhs since the census of 1868. While the total population has increased, sikhs have fallen equally, but the orthodox hindus have almost doubled. A portion of this increase might have been gained at the expence of sikhs, as it does not necessarily follow that the son of a sikh is himself a sikh."[1] The sikhs increased by 13.51% in the following decade ending 1891. Contrarily hindus decreased by -7.54%. The census superintendent notès, "the statistical

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1. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, Calcutta Central Press Co., Ltd., Calcutta, 1884, Chapter III-B, p. 21.

TABLE - 4

RELIGIONWISE GROWTH OF POPULATION OF AMRITSAR CITY (1881-1971)

CENSUS YEAR	All Religions	HINDUS	SIKHS	JAINS	MUSLIMS	CHRISTIANS*
1881	..	..	..	..	..	N.A.
1891	- 9.96	- 7.54	+13.51	+1488.89	-16.50	..
1901	+18.76	+14.94	+13.39	+ 272.03	+22.77	+30.19
1911	- 5.56	- 9.82	+13.98	+ 22.56	- 7.64	+ 2.17
1921	+ 4.88	+11.13	+ 5.51	+ 13.19	- 0.93	+28.19
1931	+65.30	+49.80	+49.03	- 18.16	+85.95	+25.80
1951	+23.00	+87.84	+326.56	+ 75.33	-98.75	+48.05
1971	+33.52	+51.98	+ 8.89	- 24.07	+11.12	+59.37
1881-1971	+186.34	+355.95	+971.50	+8833.33	-97.57	+406.13

* Residual Category of others is excluded for no harm.

pendulum has now swung the other way. It does not seem that any thing has happened which made sikh religion very popular. Truth probably is that in 1868 sons of sikhs, who have taken the vow or not, were recorded as sikhs and that many hindu jats (sultanis and Niranjanis) went down as sikhs simply because they were jats and because more jats are sikhs. The careful classification has removed this error".[2]

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2. Amritsar District Gazetter,1892-93, Calcutta Central Press Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1893, Chapter III-B, P. 43.

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR
Growth of Religious Population
1891-1971

FIG-2
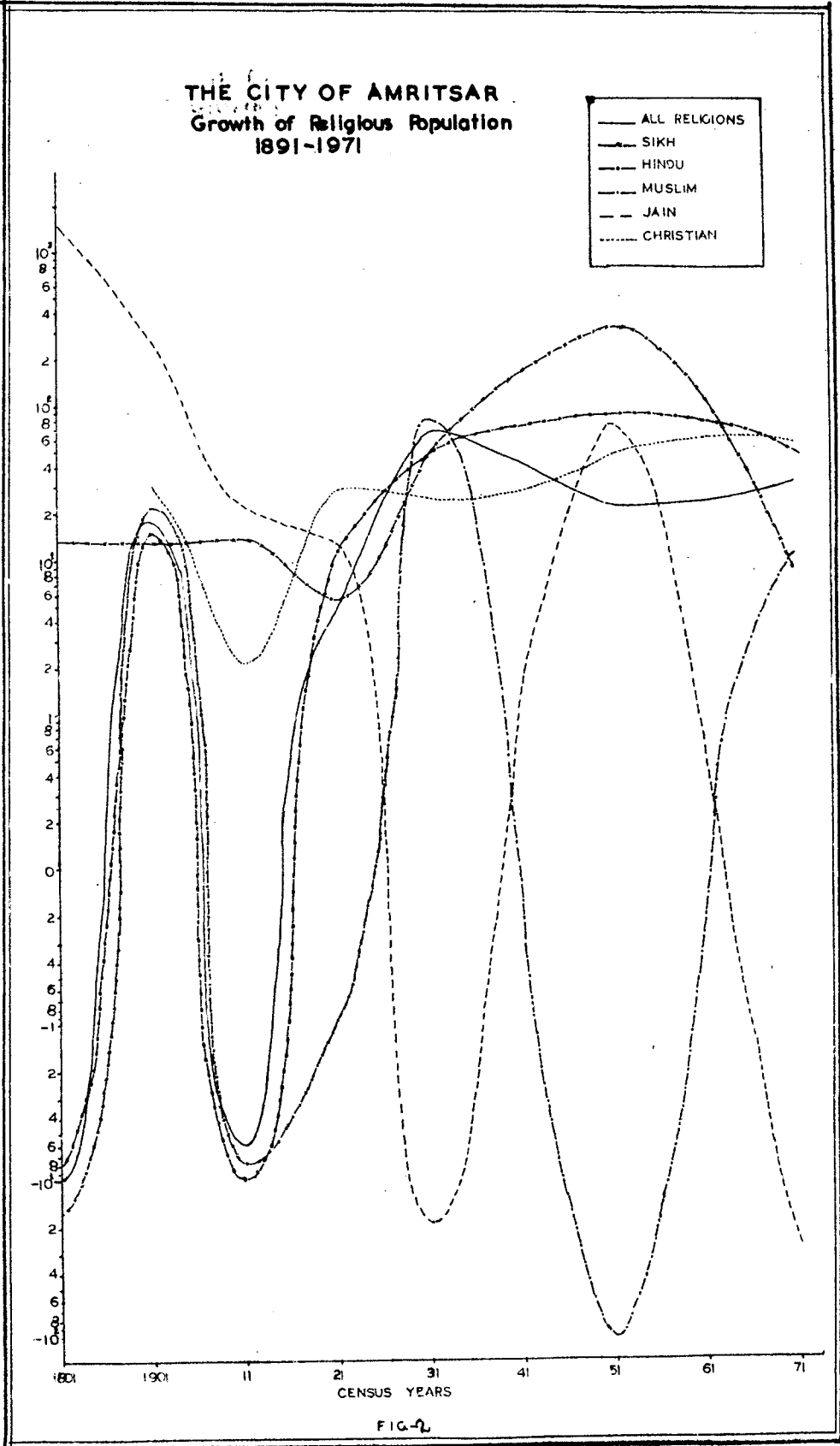
The decrease in muslim by -16.50% in 1891 is indicative of their larger population in the city upto 1881, which was the result of the influx of muslim population (mainly from Kashmir) due to the scarcity of 1878 and more so to the attractive pull by the flourishing shawl trade till 1881.[3] The above mentioned decrease of -16.50% is attributed to the epidemic of 1881 which cost them 8391 lives out of a total of 14,568 persons[4] supported by the decrease in shawl trade and restoration of normalcy back home.[5] Except sikhs, the decrease in other two dominant communities corresponds with the decrease in total population, discussed in detail in Chapter-one.

After this poor take off, both hindus and muslims followed each other to attain heights of +14.94% and 22.77% respectively in 1901. This abrupt rise ended in a fall in 1911 to lower level of -9.82% and -7.64%, respectively. These growth rates are very comparable to the fall in the total population of the town (c.f. Chapter-one) The sikhs are the only category which had maintained its growth rate from +13.51% in 1891 to +13.98% in 1911, against a much unstable and highly fluctuating rates of others (see table-4). At this juncture, besides the conversion of hindus into sikhs and the outmigration of muslims no other reasonable explanation could be given. Mainly, it remains obscure but slight

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3.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1883-84, Op. cit., Chapter III-A, p. 16.

4.   Amritsar District Gazetter, 1892-93, Op. cit., Chapter IV, p. 163.

5.   Amritsar District Gazetter, 1913, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1913, Chapter I-B, p. 28.

allusions to a logical explanation can be acquired by looking at the following table(No. 5) which shows the increase or decrease in the urban and rural areas of the district per 10,000 of the population for the dominant religious communities.

TABLE - 5

NET INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) PER 10,000 OF POPULATION IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF EACH RELIGION (1881-1911)

Name of the religion	1881-1911 URBAN	1881-1911 RURAL
Hindus	- 196	- 613
Sikhs	+ 402	+ 471
Muslims	- 286	+ 90

Source: Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914.

Table-5 shows that only sikhs had been the champions of increased growth in both urban and rural areas of the district from 1881 to 1911. While the population of the district in 1911 (880,723) is slightly lower to that of 1881 (893,266)[6] with sikhs having greater drain on themselves than upon any other class for service in army and police,[7] accentuated by their allurement to Hongkong and Burma,[8] and still an increase in their population by 402 per 10,000 persons in urban and 471 per 10,000 persons in rural areas calls for an inference that substantial conversion had taken place.[9] The loss of muslims in urban areas might be

6.   Amritsar District Gazetter, 1914, The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1914, Chapter I-C, p. 25.

7.   V.N. Datta (ed.), New Light on Punjab Disturbances in 1919, Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Simla, 1975, appendix VIII, p. 491.

8.   Census of India, 1901, Vol. XVII, The Punjab and its Fendatories and The N W F P, The Government Central Printing Office, Simla, 1902, Part I, p. 94.

9.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, Op. cit., Chapter I, P. 49.

due to their outmigration to other districts as well as to the
rural areas of the same district as the decrease in urban muslims
was of the order of -286 per 10,000 persons compared to an increase
of +90 per 10,000 persons in rural areas from 1881 to 1911.

The christians too came down to +2.17% by 1911 from +30.19%
in 1901 (data not available for 1891). Their decrease is attributed
to the dwindling of trade which called for the return of European
agents, corroborated by epidemics and unhealthy conditions prevelent
in the town.[10].

1911 is the turning point for all religious communities.
The decade began with a steep incline upto 1931. It is especially
true of hindus and muslims which attained the growth heights of
+49.80% and +85.95%, respectively, through milder rises in 1921.
Besides the fact that this period witnessed the dawn of industriali-
sation, drawing population from its surroundings, an important
reason of this extensive growth was the increased surplus of births
over deaths during 1921-1931. This surplus of 16,848 persons
was the highest of all the cities of the province including Lahore
(biggest town) which stood next to Amritsar with only 11,404 surplus
births.[11] The census further notes that Lahore, as well as
Rawalpindi cities have gained comparatively more by immigration
of persons born outside the district, Amritsar has not however
been indebted to any much immigration for its growth.[12] This

10.   Ibid., p. 27.

11.   Census of India, 1931, Vol. XVII, Punjab and Delhi, The
          Civil and Military Gazettee Press, Lahore, 1933,
          Part I, Chapter II, p. 93.

12.   Ibid., p. 94.

TABLE-7

RELIGIONWISE CIVEL CONDITION OF THE DISTRICTS' POPULATION (1881 - 1931)

Name of the Religion	Census Year	UNMARRIED			MARRIED			WIDOWED		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Religions	1881	42.97	50.69	33.56	46.97	42.45	52.47	10.05	6.85	13.95
Hindu		4423.	52.27	34.50	45.41	41.16	50.56	10.35	6.56	14.93
~~Sikh~~	~~41.92~~	~~50.68~~	~~30.29~~	~~47.48~~	~~41.54~~	~~55.38~~	~~10.~~			
Sikh		41.92	50.68	30.29	47.48	41.54	55.38	10.58	7.76	14.31
Jain		43.91	50.00	36.98	39.10	36.14	42.46	16.98	13.85	20.54
Muslim		42.67	49.62	34.52	47.73	43.84	52.30	9.59	6.53	13.17
Christian		69.39	75.04	61.23	25.31	21.05	31.46	5.29	3.89	7.30
Other		37.50	38.46	33.33	50.00	53.84	33.33	12.50	7.69	33.33
All Religions	1891	44.58	51.90	35.74	46.05	41.70	51.31	9.35	6.38	12.94
Hindu		45.43	52.51	36.75	45.17	41.33	49.88	9.39	6.15	13.36
Sikh		43.93	53.95	32.03	46.23	40.12	53.90	9.83	6.62	13.88
Jain		44.01	48.37	38.55	44.84	42.35	47.96	11.14	9.27	13.47
Muslim		44.37	50.66	37.06	46.55	42.94	50.74	9.07	6.39	12.18
Christian		62.52	66.16	58.24	32.38	29.22	36.08	5.09	4.60	5.67
Other		50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	..	..	..
All Religions	1901	45.35	53.14	35.96	45.19	40.61	50.72	9.45	6.25	13.32
Hindu		46.46	54.33	36.80	43.86	39.54	49.17	9.68	6.13	14.03
Sikh		43.36	53.47	30.49	46.51	40.02	54.77	10.13	6.51	14.73
Jain		50.31	58.25	40.03	37.25	32.02	44.02	12.44	9.73	15.95
Muslim		45.72	52.15	38.25	45.34	41.69	49.57	8.95	6.16	12.18
Christian		63.09	66.85	58.88	30.37	29.14	31.73	6.54	4.01	9.39
Other		42.86	53.33	16.67	52.38	40.00	83.33	4.76	6.67	..
All Religions	1911	46.69	53.53	37.85	41.52	36.86	47.55	11.78	9.60	14.60
Hindu		46.53	53.95	36.88	41.44	37.23	46.93	12.02	3.83	16.18
Sikh		47.10	54.56	36.88	40.15	34.69	47.53	12.74	10.67	15.59
Jain		49.13	55.45	41.23	37.51	33.90	42.05	13.34	10.65	16.72
Muslim		46.44	52.59	38.80	42.46	38.06	47.94	11.09	9.35	13.26
Christian		53.20	58.14	46.82	38.79	35.31	43.31	7.99	6.55	9.87
Other		54.17	57.69	50.00	45.83	42.31	50.00	..	..	..
All Religions	1921	48.17	54.30	40.40	40.49	36.26	45.96	11.27	9.42	13.62
Hindu		48.24	54.40	40.24	40.10	36.65	44.58	11.64	8.93	15.16
Sikh		46.99	54.71	36.86	40.83	35.18	48.25	12.16	10.10	14.88
Jain		51.20	56.38	44.64	37.89	33.98	43.83	10.90	9.63	12.52
Muslim		48.77	53.87	42.54	40.66	36.89	45.25	10.56	9.22	12.20
Christian		53.08	57.30	48.03	37.83	34.50	41.83	9.07	8.19	10.13
Others		52.38	55.55	48.14	36.50	36.11	37.03	11.11	11.11	11.11
All Religions	1931	50.18	55.48	43.54	40.42	36.76	45.00	9.39	7.74	11.45
Hindu		51.20	56.65	43.66	39.05	36.28	42.88	9.74	7.06	13.45
Sikh		4904	55.37	41.31	40.68	35.99	46.41	10.27	8.63	12.26
Jain		57.78	62.08	52.66	31.60	29.23	34.42	10.61	8.68	12.90
Muslim		50.57	55.06	45.01	40.78	37.61	44.70	8.64	7.32	10.27
Christian		54.21	58.54	49.27	37.58	34.01	41.67	8.19	7.44	9.04
Others		47.14	46.45	48.19	48.09					

in males and the married in females. Secondly, when all religions
are looked at together for both the sexes, the trends of civil
condition tend to follow the 'Principle of Convergence', as if toa
attain an optimum level most congenial to the social development
of the society. Only the unmarried females tend to diverge
with increasing rate. But if, to the exclusion of minority
communities only the muslims, hindus and sikhs are taken, the
trend of remaining close to one another is observed, with exchange
of percentages at times.

The rates of unmarried males of the main religions increased
from 1881 to 1931, only from about 50% to 55%. The muslims occupied
the lowest rung leaving the other two alternate with each other
(c.f. inter-conversions). The married and unmarried being mutually
exclusive, muslims with a high marriage rate, along with others
tend to decrease from 1891 to 1931. The range for three main
religions has decreased from 41% -44% to 36% - 37.5%.

The widowed males also registered a decrease. The otherwise
smooth decline registered a steep increase from 1901-1911 especially
for the main religions after which it declined gradually, but
still more than its level of 1881 /see figure-4(a)7 This rise
might be attributed to the excessing female mortality in the
epidemic of 1903-1907.[21] The decrease is due to widow remarriage.

Contrarily, in the case of females, the distinct categories
of married and unmarried tend to follow the 'Principle of

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21.   Amritsar District Gazetteer, 194, Op. cit., Chapter I-C,
          p. 28.

TABLE - 8

## RELIGION AND CIVIL CONDITION (%) OF AMRITSAR CITY'S POPULATION FOR EACH SEX (1911-1931)

Name of the Religion	Census Year	TOTAL POPULATION			UNMARRIED			MARRIED			WIDOWED		
		P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All Religions	1911	..	..	..	43.17	49.86	33.87	44.23	41.06	48.65	12.59	9.08	17.49
Hindu		38.44	39.00	37.66	42.58	50.28	31.48	43.46	40.92	47.12	13.96	8.80	21.40
Sikh		13.33	13.17	13.54	41.05	49.11	30.14	45.13	41.00	50.72	13.82	9.88	19.14
Jain		0.43	0.42	0.44	48.16	55.80	38.08	38.34	32.88	45.55	13.00	11.32	16.37
Muslims'		47.04	46.68	47.53	43.86	49.39	36.31	44.91	41.47	49.60	11.23	9.14	14.09
Christians'		0.74	0.70	0.80	65.07	68.23	61.22	28.81	27.90	30.12	6.03	3.87	8.66
Others		0.03	0.03	0.03	54.17	57.69	50.00	45.83	42.31	50.00	..	..	..
All Religions	1921	..	..	..	45.16	50.45	37.43	43.86	41.20	47.74	10.98	8.34	14.83
Hindu		40.77	41.71	39.39	45.14	51.23	35.73	42.73	40.45	46.25	12.13	8.07	18.02
Sikh		13.40	13.16	13.76	42.75	49.00	33.98	45.72	42.15	50.69	11.55	8.85	15.32
Jain		0.46	0.46	0.47	49.39	54.73	40.98	41.47	36.95	47.21	9.82	8.31	11.80
Muslim		44.40	43.82	45.32	45.61	49.88	39.50	44.60	41.83	48.44	9.87	8.30	12.06
Christian		0.90	0.82	1.02	59.20	61.73	56.19	34.23	34.06	34.44	6.57	4.21	9.37
Others		0.04	0.04	0.04	52.38	55.56	48.15	36.51	36.11	37.04	11.11	8.33	14.81
All Religions	1931	..	..	..	50.43	54.40	44.47	41.57	39.57	~~39.45~~ 44.76	~~44.76~~ 8.00	~~8.00~~ 6.15	10.77
Hindu		36.94	37.45	36.17	51.59	56.71	43.63	39.75	37.21	43.71	8.66	6.09	12.66
Sikh		12.09	11.78	12.55	47.70	53.33	39.76	42.59	39.50	46.95	9.71	7.17	13.29
Jain		0.23	.21	0.26	56.46	62.61	49.09	34.60	31.61	38.18	8.94	5.78	12.73
Muslim		49.98	49.89	50.10	50.09	52.85	45.96	42.82	41.19	45.25	8.09	5.96	8.79
Christian		0.69	0.59	0.83	59.98	59.51	60.48	32.05	33.90	30.07	7.97	6.59	9.45
Others		0.08	0.08	0.08	46.89	46.03	48.19	48.33	49.21	46.99	4.78	4.76	4.82

AMRITSAR CITY
Religionwise Civil Condition, 1911-1931

MALES

FEMALES

	SIKH
	MUSLIM
	HINDU
	JAIN
	CHRISTIAN
M	MARRIED

FIG.-5(a)

CENSUS YEARS

FIG.-5(b)

CENSUS YEARS
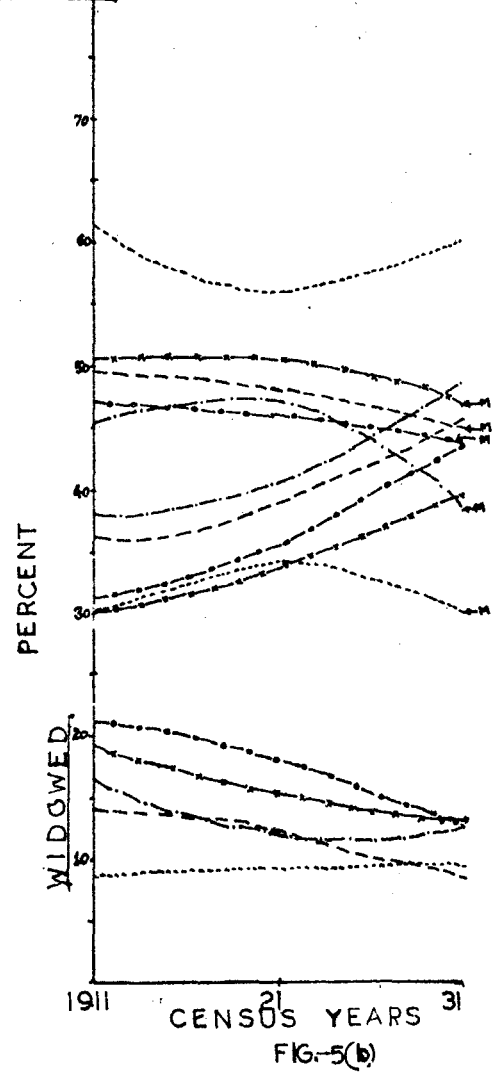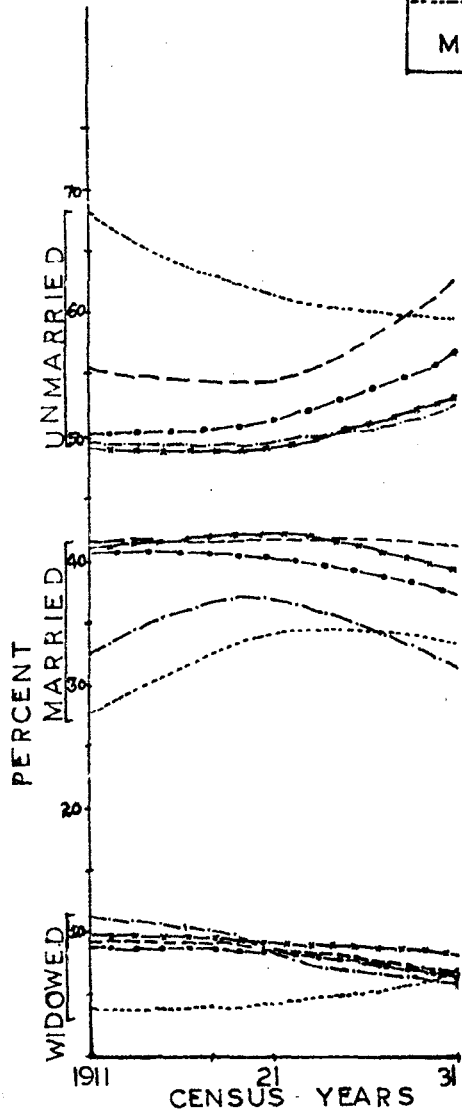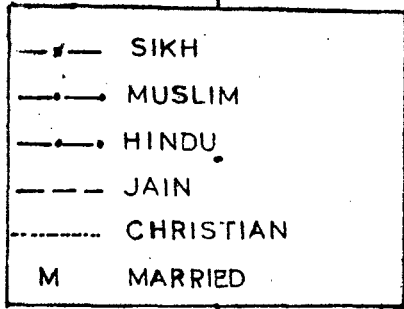
convergence' from 1881 to 1931, or if to evolve an optimum level of marital condition. The former is decreasing while the latter is increasing. The proportion of married females was highest in sikhs among the trio.

The proportion of widowed females was gradually decreasing due to the popularisation of widow remarriage, preached by Arya and Brahma Samajis.[22] But the proportion of females was higher than the males due to their being more conservative and more traditional. Besides this the higher age at marriage of men and their being active outside the house exposes them to accidents.

Now analysing the similar situation for the city for three decades (1911, 21 and 31). Very similar trends for both the sexes are obtained (see figures 5(a) and 5(b). In both the sexes the main trio has moved together. The slight difference observed is for the widowed and unmarried females who have followed steeper decrease and increase respectively. It's due to the greater influence of urban based institutions.

All these trends reveal progress on the path of industriali-sation, urbanisation, increasing literacy and medical facilities corroborated by the reform movements uplifting the socio-economic conditions of the town/district.

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22.   A. Macfarquhar op. cit., Chapter I, Section-C, p. 41.

clearly alludes to the increased birth rate during this decade.
Furthermore it becomes clear from the census that this over all
growth is predominantly due to muslims who enjoy a very high
natural increase. The increase in the total population would
not have been so high had the muslims not formed the proportion
of the population that they do.[13] Moreover the survival rate of
muslims was also fairly high (c.f. only next to the highest of
16.52% for Indian christians).[14] This highest survival rate of
christians was also responsible for their high growth rate of
+25.80% for the decade 1921-31. Their growth rate during the
previous decade (1911-21) was equally high (28.19%). This high
growth could also be due to the increasing fame of the carpet
industry which invited representatives from the foreign firms to
the city.[15] Besides these, many British Officials were putting up
in the city along with the troops due to the tension prevalent in
that period.[16]

Very surprisingly in the all increasing decade of 1911-21
sikhs registered a decline growth rate to +5.51% from +13.98%
after which they caught up with the hindu rate to register
+49.03% in 1931. It might be because of the two factors -
firstly the accentuation of cleavage between hindu -sikh classi-
fication making it stringent and clearer[17] and secondly their

13. Ibid., p. 69.

14. Ibid., p. 70.

15. A. Macfarquhar, Punjab District Gazetteers, Amritsar, 1947,
    Controller of Printing and Stationery, Punjab,
    Chandigarh, Chapter II, Section-5, p. 171.

16. V.N. Datta, Op. cit., p. 270.

17. Amritsar District Gazetteer, 1914, Op. cit., Chapter I,
    p. 49.

drain by the army.[18] This high growth rate of 49.03% is attributed to the increasing conciousness among sikhs of their separate existence which has doubtless, as in all communities been fostered by awareness of political previleges which the numbering of heads has begun to carry.[19]

The jains constituting the smallest minority of the town [0.10% (1891) to 0.23% (1931) see table-1] have fallen drastically in terms of growth rate from +1488.89% in 1891 to -18.16% in 1931). This is attributed to their small number in which a small addition or outmigration makes drastic changes. Their constant decline might be due to the epidemics and slumps in trade (these being mainly traders).

A tremendous reshuffling of the population took place with the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 giving entirely different growth rates of these religions communities unlike their tradition

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18.(a) V.N. Datta, Op. cit., appendix VIII, Memorundum on conscription or compulsory service for the Punjab. P. 491. Amritsar D.C. says - Amritsar is the house of the Manjha Sikh and one of the most uniformly successful recruiting districts. The full quota assigned to the district is not expected to be reached without some compulsory measures being passed into law, besides increased pay and other benefits etc.

(b) Appendix X, P. 496: Minutes of the Proceedings of a sub-Committee of Provisional Recuriting Board appointed to consider the Bill for conscription: S. Raghbir Singh, a member-board says - No further pressure be applied to those who have done their duty. It would not be possible to procure without compulsion. Amritsar had already given a great number of recruits, the balance required would be obtained with difficulty. The recruiting in Lahore and Sialkot is very bad.

19. A. Macfarquhar, Op. cit., Chapter I, Section-C, p. 62.

till 1931. This partition witnessed the exodus of muslims and immigration of hindu/sikh refugees. This lowered the growth rate of muslims to -98.75% (1931 to 1951) but boosted up the rates for hindus (+87.84%) and most significantly for sikh (+326.56%) from 1931 to 1951. The growth rates of jains and christians also grew significantly during this period (see table-4). But after 1951, when the total population has grown by 33.52%, individual religious communities have grown very meagrely except the christians (maximum +59.37%) followed by hindus (+51.98%), till the 1971 census was held. The sikhs grew only by +8.89%. Their slow growth remains obscure. Even the war of 1965, which shook the town and perpetual tension on the border, do not explain it.

Relative Growth of Religions (Sex-wise) from 1891-1971:

After analysing the decadal growth rate of different religions it becomes essential to know their 'relative growth' (base 1891) to acquaint oneself with the 'momentum' of their growth within the city. Figures 2(a) and (b) represent the relative growth for males and females separately (c.f. different social position and status of males vis-a-vis females). Apparently two of these reveal a distinct pattern of growth. The dominant religions in both the sexes have grown gradually being very close to one another from 1891 to 1931 after which they diverge very significantly from one another, but occupying similar positions in both the sexes. All these communities enjoyed a higher growth rate during 1901 after which a decline is registered only to follow steady growth till 1971. An analysis of table-6 reveals that of the three main religions sikh males are the only case who have registered maximum growth without any slump any where from

T A B L E - 6

SEXWISE RELATIVE GROWTH OF RELIGIONS IN AMRITSAR CITY (1891-1971)

| CENSUS YEARS	ALL RELIGIONS			HINDUS			SIKHS			JAINS			MUSLIMS			CHRISTIANS		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1891	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1901	120.0	83.4	120.1	116.1	115.8	116.4	115.4	118.0	112.1	372.0	349.4	401.6	123.1	122.3	124.3	204.8	331.3	148.3
1911	112.8	114.3	110.8	104.7	107.4	101.1	131.5	133.5	128.9	455.9	458.0	453.2	113.8	113.9	113.6	209.3	331.6	144.3
1921	118.3	122.3	112.9	116.4	122.8	107.7	138.7	142.9	133.5	512.5	534.5	491.9	112.6	114.3	110.4	268.2	419.2	188.0
1931	195.5	204.4	183.6	174.4	184.4	160.8	206.8	213.5	198.0	422.3	406.1	443.5	209.6	217.7	198.4	337.4	503.2	249.4
1951	240.5	237.8	244.2	327.6	328.1	326.9	882.3	857.8	914.3	740.5	793.8	670.9	2.6	4.3	0.02	499.6	816.0	331.5
1971	321.2	305.8	341.9	497.9	478.5	524.4	960.7	909.0	1028.4	562.2	487.6	659.6	2.9	2.8	2.9	796.2	1163.6	601.1

Others are excluded because of highly miscallaneous and variable composition

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR
Relative Growth of Religious Groups, 1891-1971

MALES
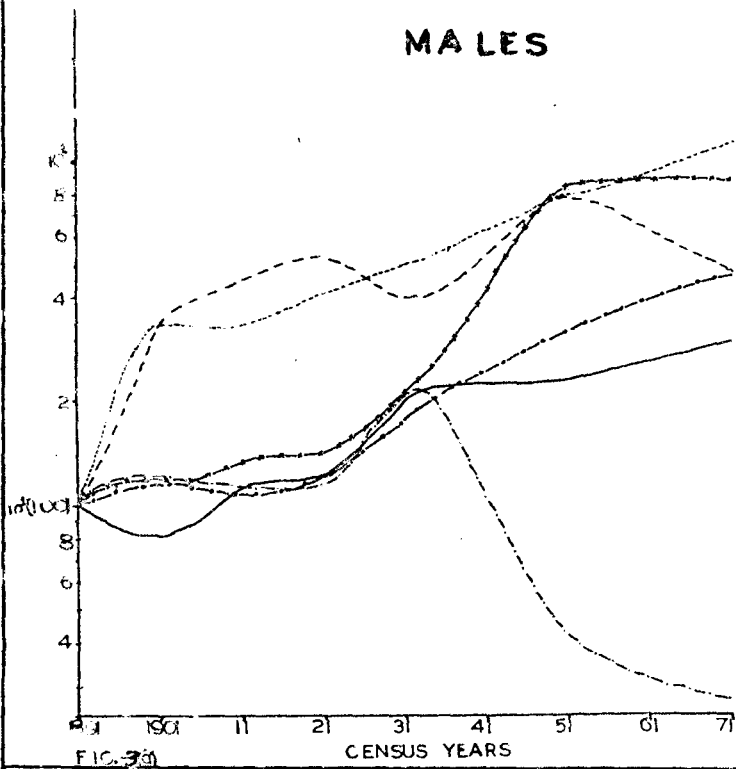
FEMALES
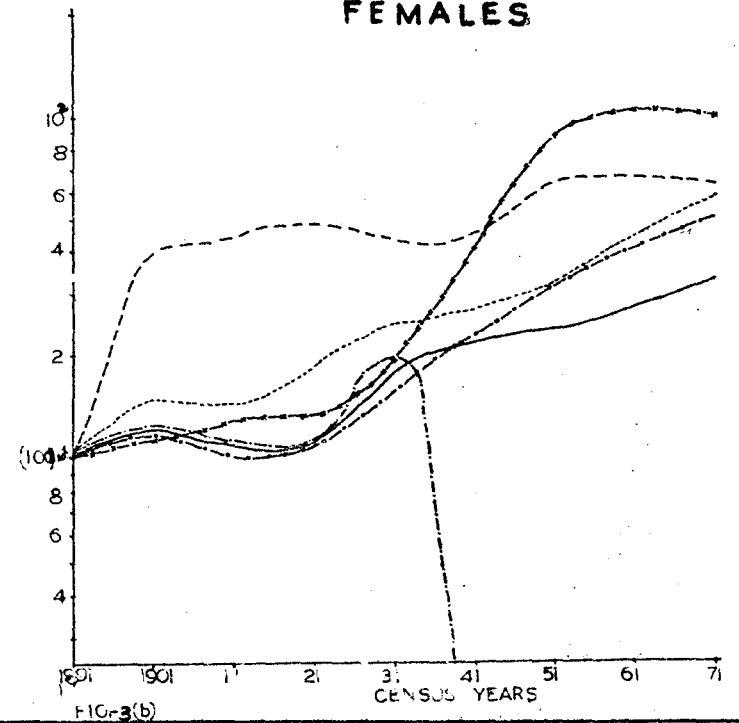
| | ALL RELIGION |
| SIKH |
| MUSLIM |
| HINDU |
| JAIN |
| CHRISTIAN |

CENSUS YEARS

FIG.3(a)

CENSUS YEARS

FIG 3(b)

68

the base of 100 persons in 1891 to 909.00 in 1971. While males in hindus grew steadily the muslims males declined steadily with an exception of 217.7 in 1931.[20] The males in jains and christians registered a voluminous growth.

Similarly table-6 reveals that females followed exactly the same pattern as their counterparts. Among the main religions females in sikhs represented a steady, slumpless growth, while gradually increasing in hindus after 1931 they decreased steadily in muslims except an exorbitant rate of 198.4 per 100 persons of 1891 in 1931. The partition checked the growth of both the sexes in muslims. Of the minorities, females in jains enjoyed a higher growth rate than christians.

Religion and Civil Condition:

The final part of this excercise includes the religion-wise civil condition of the population for each sex, primarily at the district level, as 'some' data (1881-1931) are available to trace out specific trends and then at the city level for which the data cover only three decades - 1911, 1921 and 1931. The trends alluded to would be corroborated by their larger whole, the district.

The graphs are obtained by plotting the proportion of unmarried, married and widowed to the total population of that sex for a given year for each religion between 1881 to 1931. (See table-7) On observing figure-4 it becomes clear that these three states of civil condition occupy three district zones. The third category always occupies the lowermost position in both the sexes. But among the first two, unmarried occupy the top position

CHAPTER - FIVE

SOCIAL AREAS OF THE CITY

An important aspect of the demographic profile of a city is its internal structure, that is, one would like to know how the people of various castes and classes pursuing different vocations and having different social standing are distributed in the city. This type of analysis which goes to evolve specific areas with similar social attributes has been termed as 'social area analysis' by Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell.[1]

The structure of a city which exists today is a consequence of the historical forces prevailing in the past. The present structure of Amritsar is being studied in this chapter on the basis of the 1971 census data. In the 1971 population census, Amritsar was divided into 580 enumerators blocks which are the smallest unit for which data are published in the Indian Census. Out of these 318 blocks were in the walled city (see figure-1) and the remaining 262 blocks were outside. One of the basic requirements for carrying out 'social area analysis' is the base maps for each enumerator's block, but these were available, only for the blocks in the core, hence social area analysis could not be carried out for all the blocks but only for 318 compact blocks lying in 12 of the 16 census divisions.

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1. Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, 'Social Area Analysis' from George Theodorson (ed.), 'Studies in Human Ecology', Row, Peterson and Co., Elmsford, New York, 1961, Part II, Section-B, p.p. 226-235.

Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell for their study, formulated
three main constructs - (i) Urbanisation, (ii) Social Rank and
(iii) Segregation. Each of these were constituted by grouping
of different variables like the participation of females in the
working force, single family dwelling, fertility ratio etc.
composing the first construct of 'urbanisation'. Each of such
indices were scored and ranked to give similarly scored areas.

In order to arrive at similar indices of social areas one
needs information at a detailed level (cf. Shevky and Bell)
which is not available from the Census of India enumerations at k
the block level (smallest unit for which information is published)
available from the District Census Handbooks. With this meagre
information, the cartographic method was preferred to the statistical
method to arrive at the social areas. The percentages of the
selected variables (detail follows) were calculated from their
larger whole and normally divided into six classes. The frequency
percentages are ranked and hexiled. The analysis could have
been taken to further depth with octilingbut smaller size of
enumerators' blocks suggested hexiling. The analysis is carried
out in two parts, first deals with the spatial distribution of
the selective five variables and the other concerns with the
superimposition of these maps to evolve social areas. Besides
this, three Pearson's coefficient of correlation are also
calculated to corroborate the study.

The data base is the district census handbook of Amritsar,
1971, publishing the following data for each sex, viz. - total
population, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe (nil for the city)

population, total number of households, literacy, industrial
classification of workers into nine categories and lastly the non-
workers. For the present exercise the workers were grouped into
three main categories - Primary (comprised of I, II, III and IV),
Secondary (V and VI) and Tertiary (VII, VIII and IX). Out of
the available variables only five were selected for mapping to
depict their spatial distribution within the city. They were
selected on basis of their importance and significance. For
instance, employment in primary sector was deleted due to the fact
that a city and especially the core has very few workers engaged
in primary activity. Similarly, female literacy was preferred to
male literacy as it is thought to be a better indicator of
urbanisation and enjoys more profound influence on the social
system in terms of the socialisation of new generation, adoptione
of new values and their implementation etc.

One of the most important limitations of this study is
the absence of requisite material. As mentioned elsewhere, the
non-availability of the maps of four outer divisions (13 to 16)
with block boundaries.   crucified an important aspect of
the study which would have given the growth pattern of the town
outside the wall in terms of its social significance. Moreover
the block boundaries for the remaining 12 divisions were
notional and without a regular scale. A compact map of the walled
city with block boundaries was prepared   photographically
reducing the map of each division to its one-sixth and making
them fit in one another. It was traced and reduced photographi-
cally to its present size.

Very interestingly, as presumed, all the variables represented specific dispersion to bring out distinct regions with varying intensity of social attributes. In the first place, scheduled castes present a very clear picture of their distribution which remains confined to the periphery, that is, along the inside of the wall. There are only a few blocks along the periphery which have no scheduled caste population. This is favourably in accordance with our tradition of keeping these people at a distance from higher castes.

A majority of the blocks with scheduled caste population have their proportion less than 40% (see figure-1). There are only seven blocks each, with 40 to 60 percent and 60 percent and more scheduled castes. None of these blocks fall near the core. These blocks of heavy concentration of scheduled caste population are never located in isolation but in the decreasing order of their population towards the core of the city. (see figure-1)

The distribution of percentage of literate females to the total females becomes apparent at a glance over the map, (see figure-2). It is in its ascending order of literate proportion towards the centre. The dispersal of literate females becomes clear when these are compared simultaneously with the distribution of scheduled castes. The female literacy is predominantly below 30% along the periphery. The proportion gradually increases towards the centre. There are only seven blocks which have female literacy of less than 10%. Out of these five are along the periphery. Furthermore there is only one block (270th) with female literacy of more than 50% which lies very near the core (see figure-2). And this has no scheduled caste population.

PERCENT SHEDULED CASTE
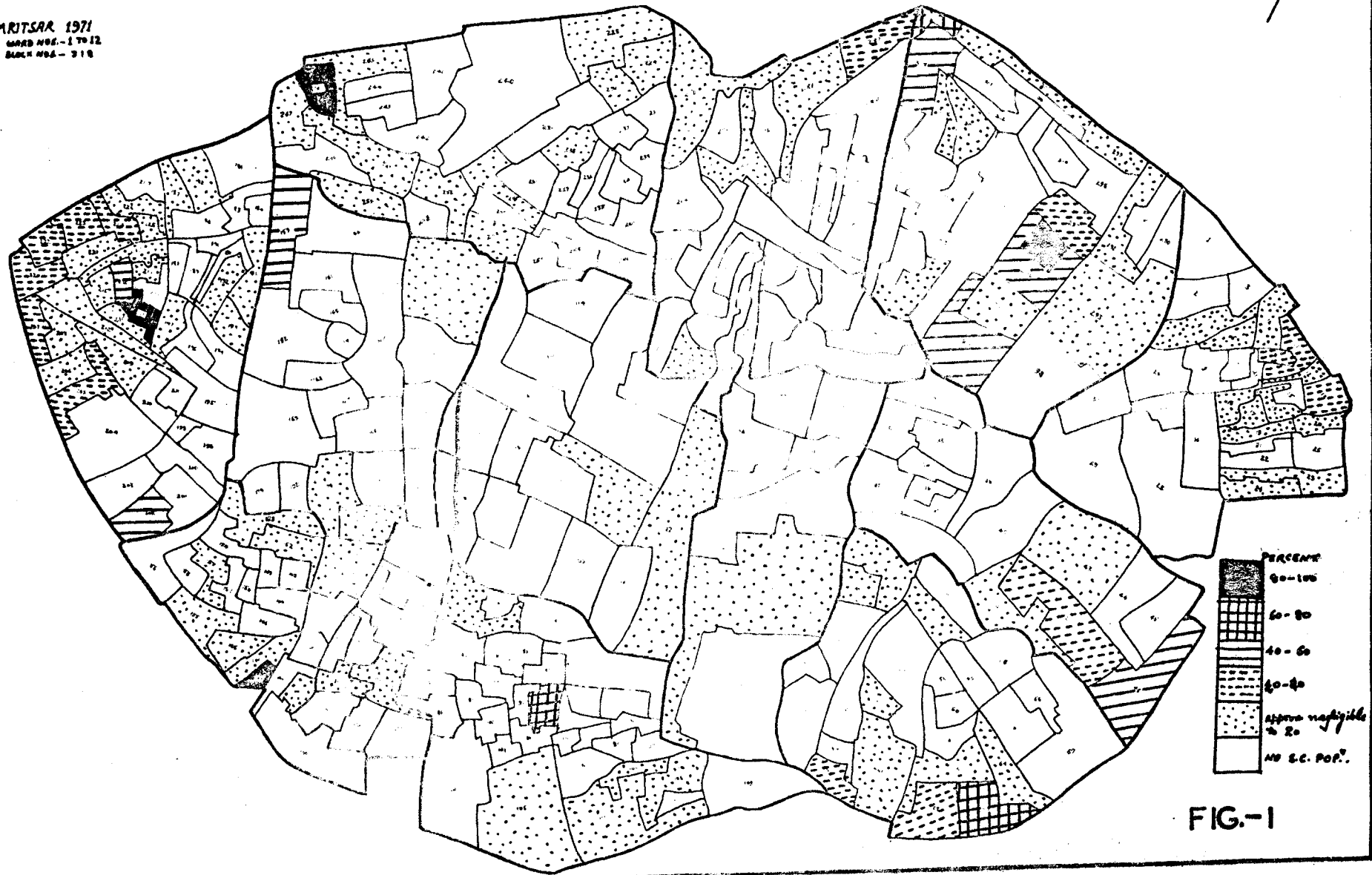
Amritsar 1971
WARD NOS.- 1 TO 12
BLOCK NOS.- 318

PERCENT
80-100
60-80
40-60
20-40
approx negligible
to 20
NO S.C. POP.

FIG.-1

FEMALE LITRACY

Amritsar 1971
WARD NOS.- 1 TO 12
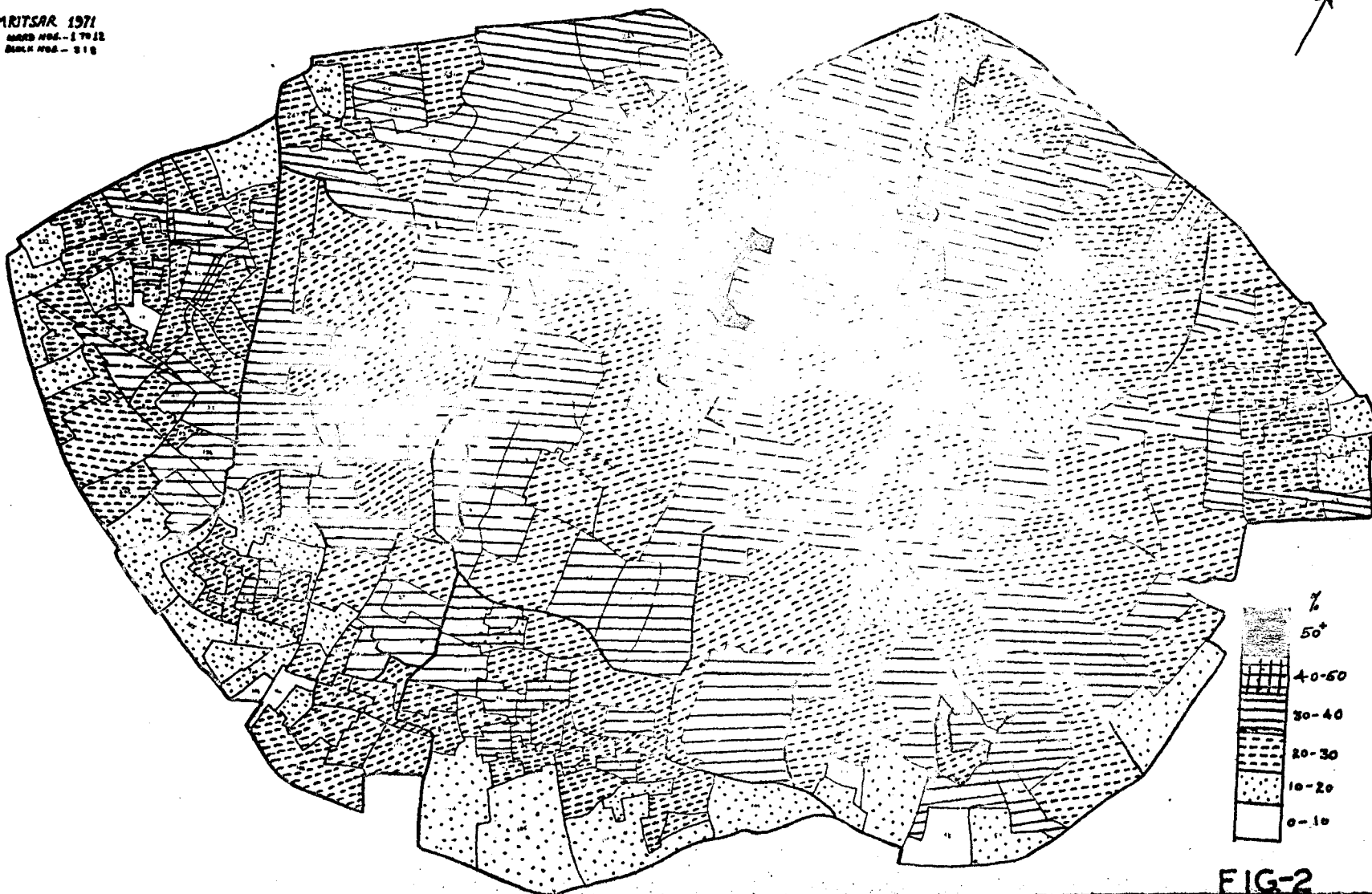BLOCK NOS.- 1 TO

%
50+
40-50
30-40
20-30
10-20
0-10

FIG-2

Besides this there are only four blocks - 143, 213, 246 and 316 with 80% and more scheduled castes, which have less than 10% literacy except the 246th with precisely 10% literacy (falls in the higher class internal). The rest of the non-scheduled caste blocks enjoy higher female literacy.

In the third place, sex-ratio (females per 100 males; to relate equally to other variables with percentages) seems to scatter throughout the city in a very irregular manner. Still it is seen that the higher sex-ratio (96 to 104 females per 100 per-vades the peripheral blocks. The majority of blocks with lowest sex-ratio of 51 to 68 females per 100 males are found near the centre of the city. (see figure-3) The sex ratio of the city is very high as larger proportion of blocks (also in terms of apparent area) depict a ratio of 87 to 104 females per 100 males.

Now looking into the employment structure it is found that secondary sector enjoys greater hold along the periphery which gradually thins towards the centre except at one place where it forms a continuous strip towards the core somewhere along the Hall Bazar (see figure-4). It may be said that this being the Central Business District, its adjoints indulge in ancillary production. The greater concentration (40 to 60 percent) is noticed along the periphery which may be due to the settlement of artisan refugees who could not find a place in the core. More over the areas with higher sex ratio have lower employment in secondary sector. This is proved by Pearson's Coefficient of Correlation of -0.327. It is significant at 5% level of significance.

Amritsar 1971
Ward Nos.- 1 to 12
Block Nos.- 218

Sex Ratio [...]
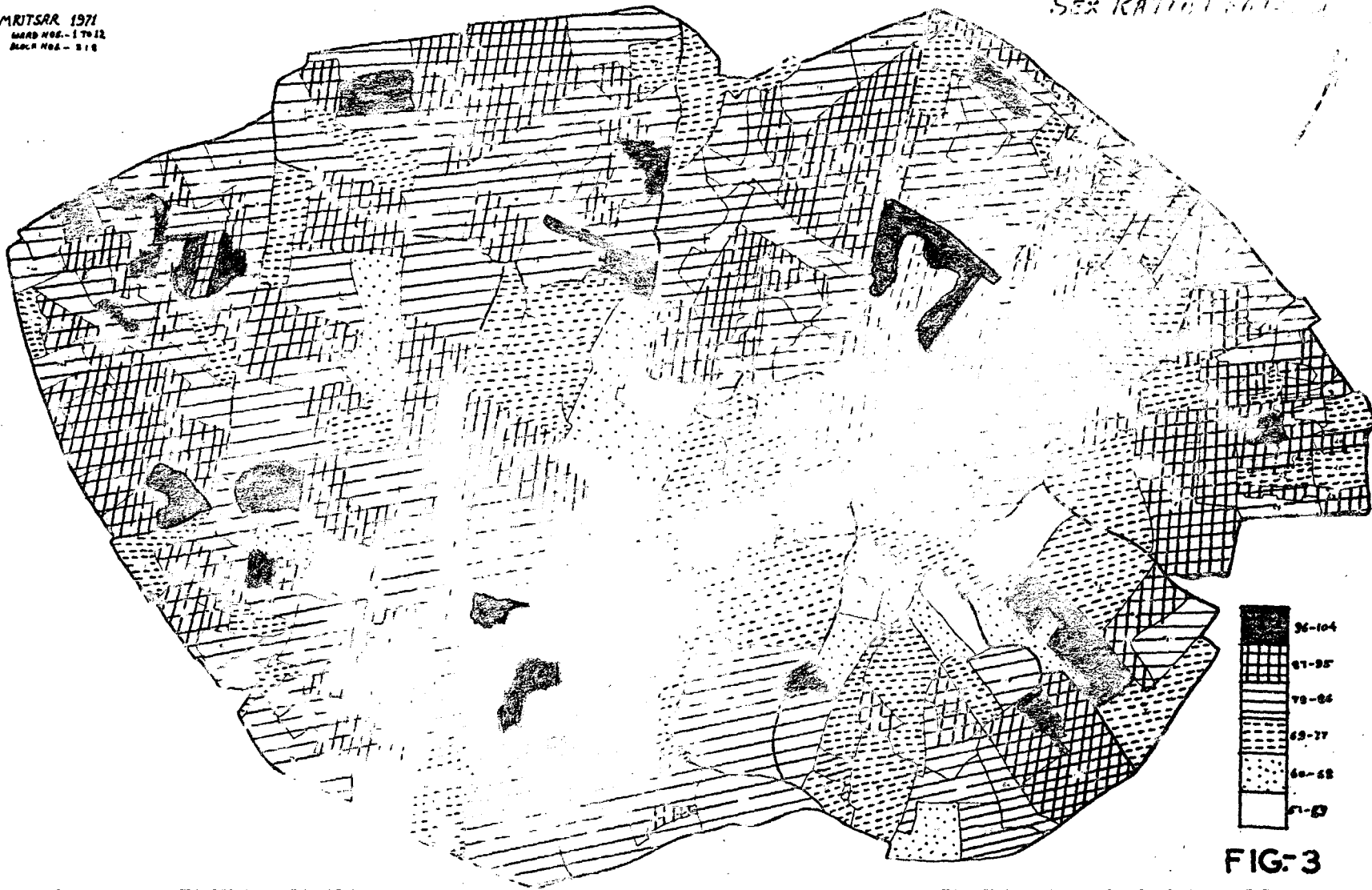
FIG-3

EMPLOYMENT IN SECONDARY SECTOR
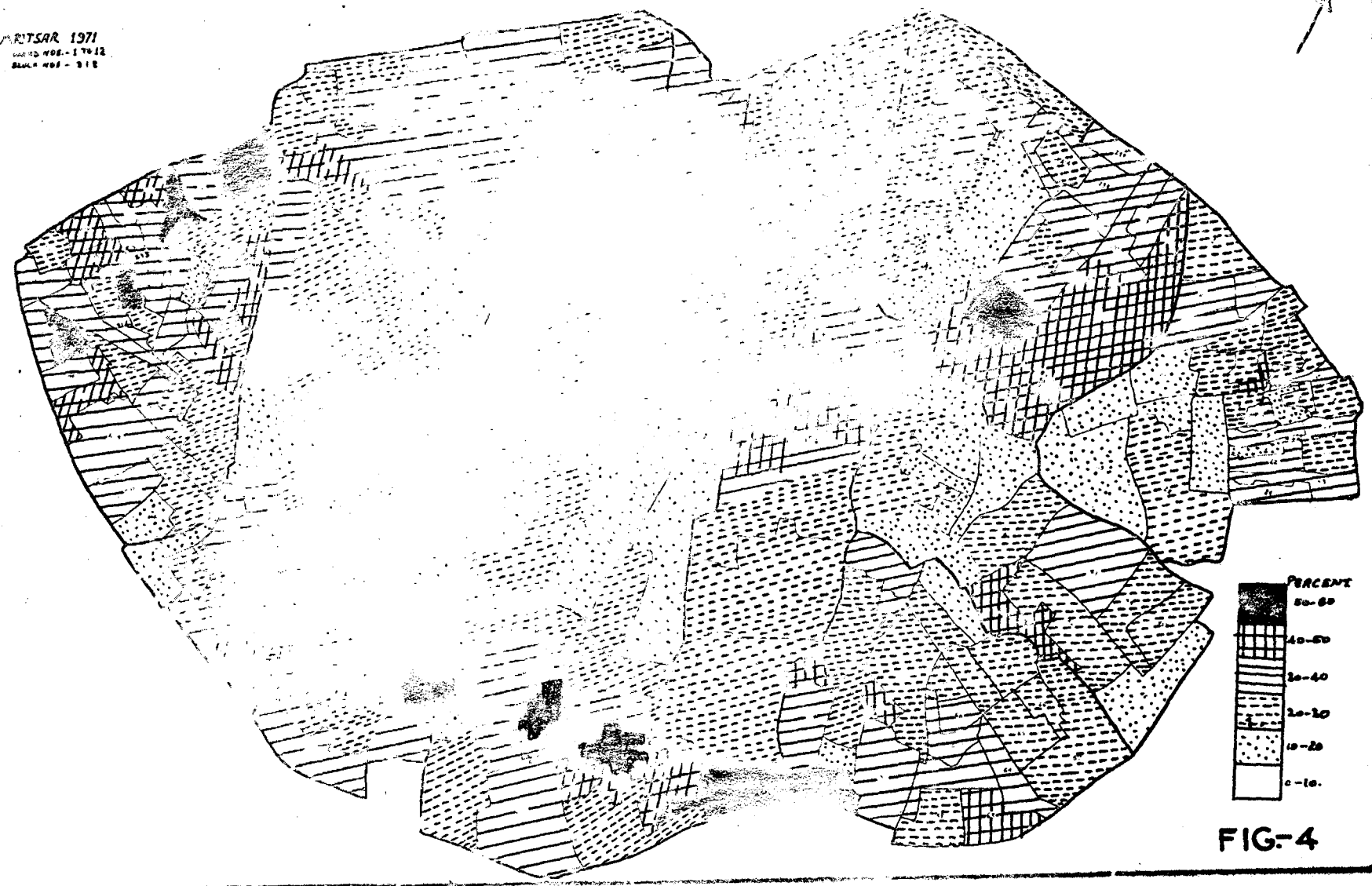

AMRITSAR 1971

PERCENT

FIG-4

Finally, another important indicator of the urban character of the town, the tertiary sector of employment is seen distributed in the city (see figure-5). A significantly dominant majority of all the blocks have the population in which more than 60% are engaged in the tertiary sector of employment. This sector too tends to find a greater proportion towards the centre. Of the 12 census divisions of the city, second, fourth and sixth have their population involved predominantly in this sector. This sector tends to prevail in the blocks with higher female literacy. These two variables are positively correlated. It is + 0.120 which is significant at 5% level of significance. Besides this it was presumed that the blocks with majority of scheduled castes would have greater proportion of workers (the majority being in the lower socio-economic stratum). But this presumption was flaouted by a correlation of -0.050. It shows that the two variables are not related to each other.

After the spatial distribution of these variables it becomes important to look into the areas, which share them. Such social areas are evolved by superimposing there maps. For this purpose the hexiles were grouped into three broad categories with high, medium and low concentration, as their superimposition was not possible at such a micro-level. These groups are marked as 1, 2 and 3. This superimposition of sex-ratio, female literacy and employment in secondary and tertiary sectors brought out 'social areas' of medium (category number 2nd) concentration (see figure-6). The medium range of different variables follows: sex ratio (69 to 86 females per 100 males); female literacy (20 to 40 percent);

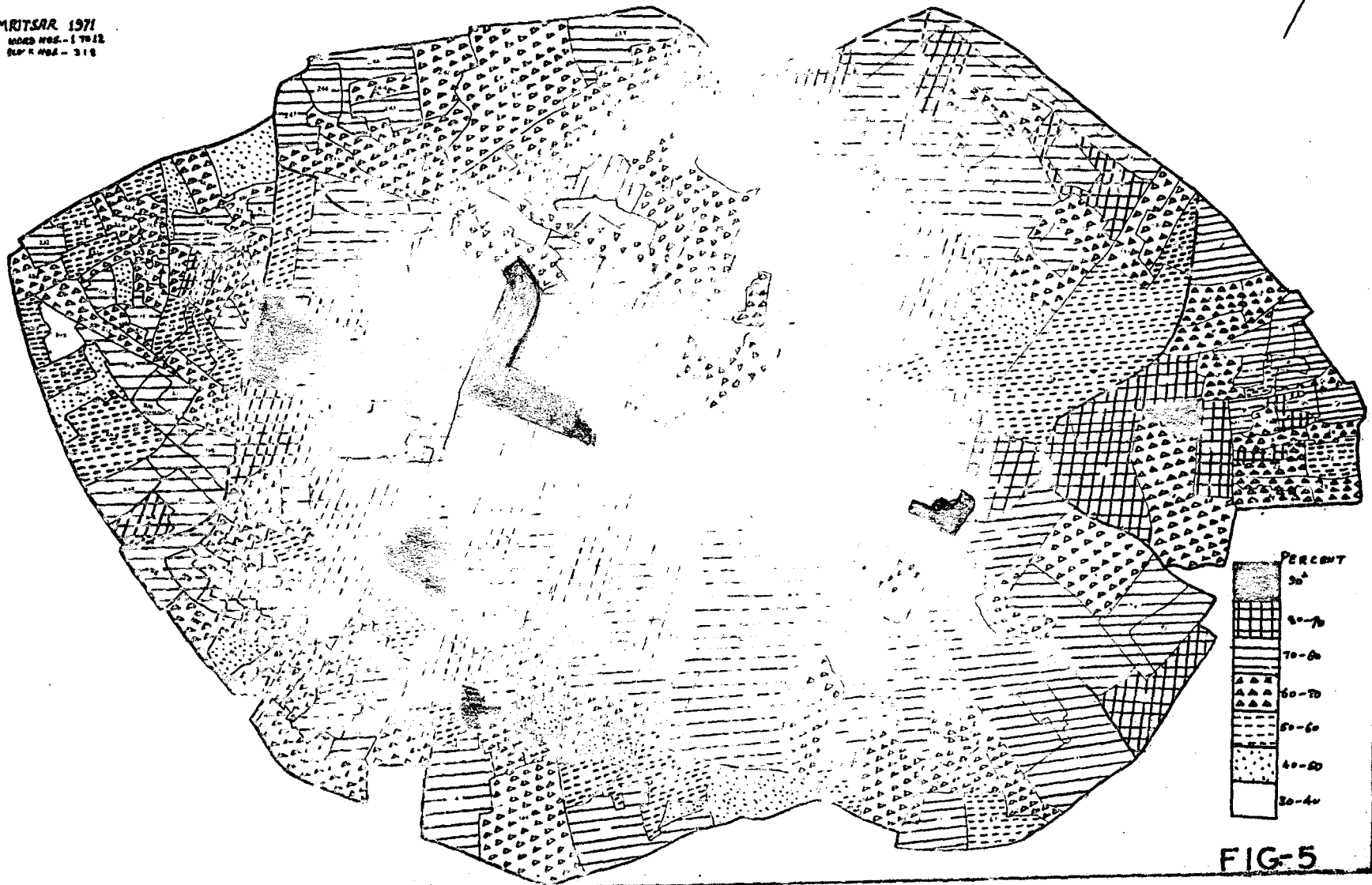# EMPLOYMENT IN TERTIARY SECTOR

N

AMRITSAR 1971
WARD NOS.- 1 TO 12
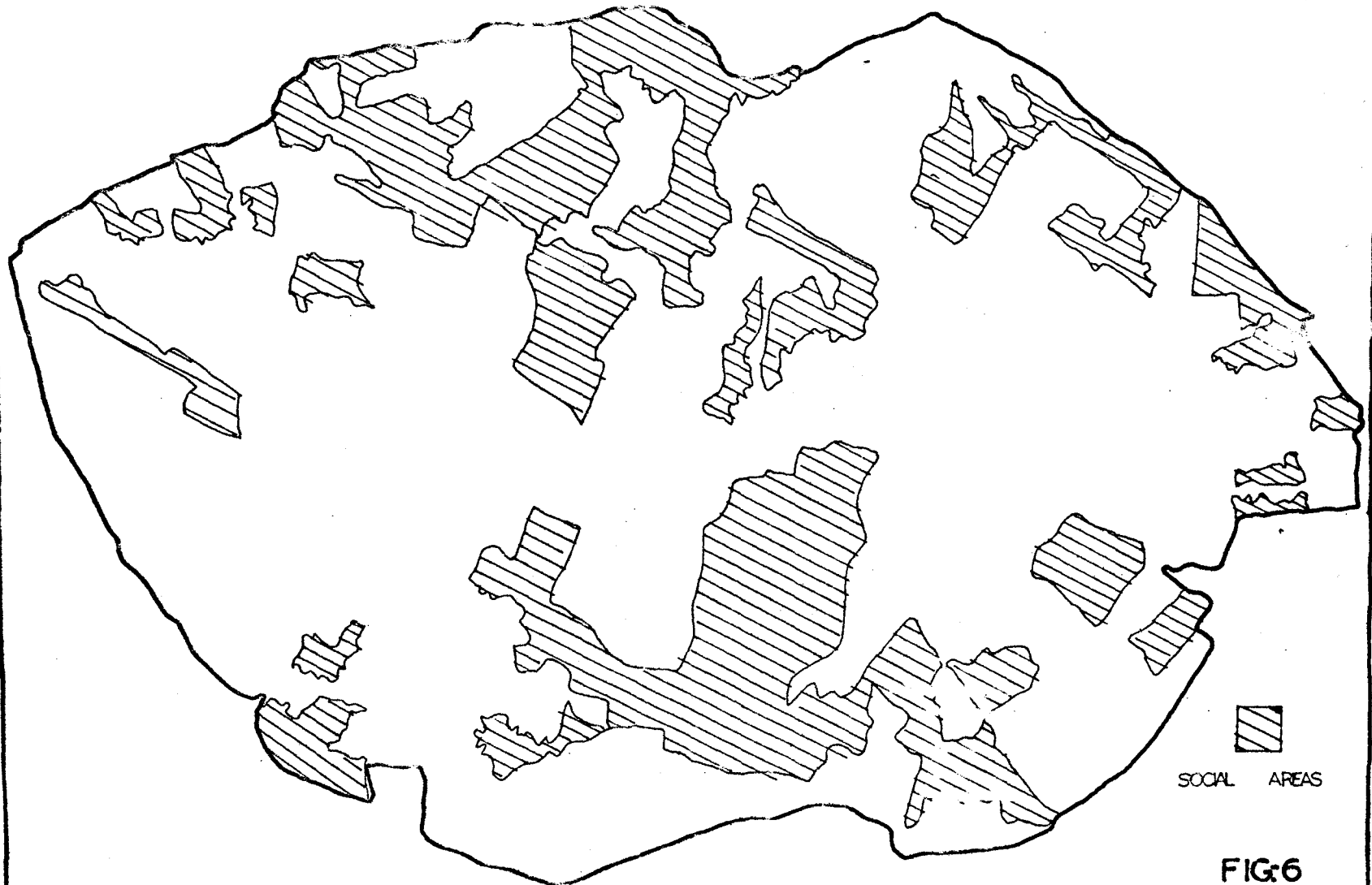BLOCK NOS.- 318

PERCENT
80
70-80
70-60
60-70
50-60
40-50
30-40

FIG-5

THE CITY OF AMRITSAR, 1971
Social Areas

N

SOCIAL AREAS

FIG:6

employment in secondary sector (20 to 40 percent) and in tertiary sector (60 to 80 percent). In this process the highest and lowest categories with smaller number of blocks were mutually cancelled out. It is due to this reason that the scheduled castes could not be included in this superimposition as there are very few blocks with medium concentration.

CHAPTER - SIX

CONCLUSION

This historical analysis has revealed that the town as well as the district have undergone two distinctly prominent phases during the past one century. The first phase ends in 1931 and the other in 1971 (cf. Census of India). The cruciality of this phase formation lies in the religio-political partition of India and Pakistan in 1947. It is this very factor which thoroughly reshuffled the population, involving the exodus of muslims and absorption of hindu and sikh refugees from West Pakistan. It was not only a physical dislocation and substitution of two populations [cf. growth of population (chapter one) and movements of the population (chapter three)]7 but also the exchange of different characteristics, peculiarities and attributes attached with the same. The fluctuations in population growth and variations in the growth of religions and their composition have been affected directly by this partition. Another direct effect is the blockade of migration streams to and from the districts in the other part (formerly West Punjab) of the country. This is a sort of a one sided paralysis of a living organism to which a city proximates. It is seen that before partition the population turnover between Amritsar and the districts on the other side was significantly quantitatively more frequent than between districts on this side of the country. It gained population from backward, densely populated districts but always provided significant streams of outmigrants to the sparsely populated districts with ample fresh economic oppurtunities.

The indirect influence can be observed on the sex-ratio
(Females / Males 1000) and the working population. The former
poses a curious problem by decreasing till 1931, when, though
female mortality was very high the males were constantly moving
out to lower the denominator. Moreover highly prolific muslims
dominated the city (as well as the district) till 1931. Very
surprisingly, the period after 1931 which experienced converse
conditions, sex-ratio took a 'U-turn' and followed the extremely
steep inclination till 1971. This however remains obscure.

Inspite of the partition which paralysed one complete side
of the town / district cutting the trade links and the migration
streams the industrialisation did not recede. Though the
proportion of the city's population engaged in manufacturing
(IV and V) decreased from 1901 to 1971, the trade and commerce
(VII) registered a substantial increase during that period.
This fact distinctly alludes to the location of industries in the
fastly growing industrial suburbs, in the vicinity of the town
on the main routes of transportation, due to the imposition of
taxes on local industries by the municipal committee of Amritsar.
As the trade and commerce were not taxed, it remained within
the city and flourished consequently. The otherwise decrease
in workers is also attributed to the extensive mechanisation of
industry which was becoming more and more capital intensive.

This study also revealed that the muslims dominated the
city and the district in the first phase. The second phase
experienced great increase in hindus and sikhs. The former were

more urban than the latter in significant proportion. The sikhs have very surprisingly decreased in 1971.

The specifically delineated social areas can be subject to further exploration for better urban planning.

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