Annexure I

Muslims in Delhi: A Timeline

1857 The ‘Mutiny’ against the British. Muslims evicted out of Delhi- Shahjahanabad walls. Labeled disloyal to the colonial state rule, their properties confiscated, included various mosques. Settle in Nabi Kareem, Bara Hindu Rao and other localities outside the walled city.

1858 Artisans and workers allowed back in the city. Their property still attached to the British rulers. Battered, a section of Muslims seek to amend relations with the British. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan’s Aligarh Movement is born.

On the other hand is equally (if not more) strong Nationalist and anti-colonial sentiment.

1910s Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and many others make Muslims a strong constituency of congress.

1920 On Gandhiji’s call anti-British Jamia Millia Islamia (or National Islamic University) is established by Muslim leaders and Educators.

1940s Pakistan Movement gains strength too. Jinnah and his Muslim League articulate minoritarian ‘fears’, make a strong for a separate Nation. Congress agrees to it.
Muslims in Delhi: A Timeline – Annexure

1947
Partition
Creation of Pakistan
Horrific killing across newly crafted border, also of Muslims in Delhi
Mass exodus of Muslims
All elite Muslims leave Delhi
Gandhi protests the frenzy. Satyagraha to stop the violence. Persuades many to stay in India. Almost all the elite and educated Muslims leave Delhi
Poor labourers and artisan left in the walled city and rest of Old Delhi
Insecure and without work

Violence and hostilities in town in western UP bring in Muslims to Delhi.

1948
Abolition of Zamindari
Most Big Zamindars leave for Pakistan, small ones are pauperised.

Those educated but patronless in Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Amroha, Saharanpur, Muradabad come to Delhi looking for jobs. Dilli College, Hamdard and Shama major institutions of Muslims that play an important role in anchoring Muslim population in Delhi.

Hindu and Sikh refugees from across the border settle down in houses left vacant by Muslims in Old Delhi. More affluent in Karol Bagh etcetera which were posh erstwhile Muslim areas. Working class refugees settled in lower class areas like Bara Hindu Rao making some lower middle class old Delhi areas mixed localities. Hostilities do not vanish but everyday lives inevitably touch.

Hamdard supports many educational societies in Delhi.

1960s
Muslims begin picking up threads of life and livelihoods again
Karkhandars and karigars work within limited ambits in an environment of hostility
Families or parts of families still moving to Pakistan hoping for a less constrained life.

1965
War with Pakistan

Early 1970’s
Some families begin moving to Jamia Nagar and Seelampur because of lack of space in Old city. Clear divisions between the businessmen and karkhana owners who move to Seelampur, Jafferbad followed/accompanied by karigars and labourers, and educated- mostly teachers who move to Okhla near Jamia Millia Islamia.

1971
War with Pakistan- creation of Bangladesh
Borders closed for anymore migratory movements. Muslim migration from old Delhi to Pakistan stops completely.
1975 Emergency imposed in the country by Indira Gandhi. Urban ‘beautification’ inspired demolition drive by Jagmohan (as Vice Chairman, Delhi Development Authority) under the Patronage of Sanjai Gandhi in Turkman Gate, Meena Bazaar and other areas of the city. Thousands are evicted and ‘resettled’ in Seelampur, Welcome.

Early 1980s As families enlarge Muslims from Old Delhi shift to Okhla and Seelampur, and Hindus to Shahdara and Geeta Colony, Uttam Nagar, Punjabi Bagh etcetera.

Operation Bluestar and Sikh Militancy for demanding creation of Khalistan renders Sikh identity closely identified with Terrorism.

1984 Indira Gandhi’s assassination by her Sikh bodyguards followed by horrific massacre of Sikhs especially in the old city. Houses and shops selectively targeted and looted, Gurudwaras gutted, Sikhs massacred and burned alive.

Out-migration from Old Delhi continues. Many areas where Muslims population was more in number Hindus sell their properties and move out faster. Many localities become largely Muslims.

1985 Shahbano Case provides fodder to anti-Muslim Hindu Nationalist Movement-rallies for Uniform Civil Code- confuses Feminist Movement in IndiaRajiv Gandhi overturns Supreme Court’s verdict on the case following protests from Muslim group on Personal Law‘Appeasement’ cry Hindutva groups and continue till date.

Imageries of Muslim as ‘anti-liberal’, ‘backward fanatics’ are strengthened in mainstream discourses.

1986 Babri Masjid locks opened on the orders of district. Understood as Rajiv Gandhi assuaging the Hindutva groups.

By Late 80s Segregation in Delhi on religion lines almost final and complete.

1989 Salman Rushdie’s The Satanic Verses is banned in India

1990 Implementation of Mandal Commission, Anti-mandal protests grip the nationVP Singh’s Government falls.

Rajiv Gandhi is assassinated in a suicide attack during the Lok Sabha election campaign. Congress wins a clear majority and chooses Narsimha Rao as the New Prime Minister. Manmohan Singh is his Finance Minister ‘Structural adjustment’ begins in full earnest, India enters the era of neo-liberal ‘reforms’.
1990s  Crafts engaging Muslim artisans devalued in the ‘liberalised’ regime

Killings and destruction of businesses targeting Muslims in Meerut, Muradabad, Aligarh, Bhagalpur etcetera  Muslims literally under siege.

1991  Lal Krishna Advani’s Rath Yatra  Spate of violence targeting Muslims along the route of the Yatra across North India.

1992  Babri Masjid demolished  More violence across country

1996 & Riding the Ayodhya wave RSS political front BJP tastes political success
1998  wins a simple majority but the mandate is fractured. BJP led United front rules only for thirteen days in 1996 and then BJP led NDA comes to power in 1998 but rules only for thirteen months this time. RSS pracharak Atal Bihari Vajpei is the Prime Minister on both occasions.

1998  Nuclear weapons tested by NDA government as a show of strength.

1999  NDA leads again in re-election. Vajpayee rules for full five year.

Kargil war accompanied as expected by anti-Pakistan rhetoric but mixed with BJP and Sangh Parivar’s anti-Muslim diatribe.


2002  In Gujarat, openly proclaimed in the mainstream discourses as the ‘Laboratory of Hindutva’, Muslims are target of a genocidal pogrom stunning the Muslims in the entire country.

India is also gripped by global Islamophobia. No more violent attacks but all Muslims are conclusively branded as terrorists or potential terrorists in public consciousness.

2000  In Delhi, Jamia Millia Islamia anchors not only a residential locality but also a generation of youth trained in professions for which there is pace in ‘globalised’ market.

Muslims in Jamia with education and training, have skills and proficiencies needed in liberalised and privatised markets ‘rediscovered’ as ‘human resources’ by outsourced technology enabled professions. Small manufacturers with their capital contained in segregated areas, semiskilled and unskilled labourers too are ‘benefited’ by manufacturing jobs brought to India by Globalisation  Paradoxically both are eminently suitable for being ‘integrated’
into globalised economy geared for profit maximization because they are in ‘segregated’ localities with limited capacity to bargain because of their inability to move to other spaces

Around the same time culture of the walled city- Jama Masjid became commodified. Tourists and visitors begin visiting old Delhi for its culinary culture and historical-architectural heritage. State (by setting up support for ‘conservation of heritage’), civil society (by propagating ‘walks’ and ‘talks’ staged around the area) and media (by popularising the most ‘delectable’ experiences) participate enthusiastically in cultural marketisation of the area.

Elite Indian Muslims buy into the argument of ‘Good Muslims- Bad Muslims’. Seek to distance themselves spatially and socially from ‘the Bad’ who are poor, and therefore, prone to violence.

Social science research continues to focuses on socio-economic backwardness of Muslims in Delhi, researching them only as slum dwellers. Largely unmindful of all the changes the localities and their residents are going through.

2006 Seelampur shootings. Two Muslim youth killed in police firings during protests related to sealing of businesses and manufacturing units in residential areas.

State sponsored Sachar committee report in Public domain confirming what Muslims already knew. They are marginalised in all spheres and social, economic life of the country. NGOs, civil society fail to take note or action. Government makes no move to implement the recommendations of its own committee. A minister tells Muslims that the report is not Quran which must be followed and that Muslims must learn to see beyond their own issues. Sachar findings regarding acute levels of deprivation used even in ‘sympathetic’ accounts to rationalise the representation of Muslims as potential terrorists.

2008 Bomb blasts in many sites in the city.

Batla House ‘encounter’. Jamia students among the boys suspected to be terrorists who planned and executed these blasts, shot dead in encounter.

2000-till date Spate of arrests of Muslim boys and men intensifies. Jamia teacher and student community lead the continued protests. Most are being found to be unsubstantiated cases that law enforcing agencies cannot defend in courts of law.
Late 2000s  Most Muslims arrested are educated professionals, giving credence to the global specter of techno savvy educated radical ‘islamic’ terrorist

2010s  Elite Muslims fight back. Media beginning to give some space to instances of discrimination but the reportage is mostly limited to Elite Muslims not being able to get their children admitted in elite schools, denied housing in Hindu areas, mistreated at airports even when they can afford all these things

Middle class Muslims continue their struggle to run businesses, keep their jobs in global recession- while trying to educate their children and keep the foothold they received in capitalism inspired recognition of their worth in terms of incarcerated resources- capital, human and cultural

Simultaneously studies and articles begin to appear investigating the upcoming Middle class among Muslims. Concluding that they are practicing self-segregation.

Lower class Muslims form a sizable chunk of the unorganised, daily wage workers doing the dirtiest and worst paying jobs in the city. Most homeless, waste pickers and street children in Delhi are Muslims.
Annexure II

Brief Profiles of Key Participants

**Azeem Akhtar** – Azeem sahib was a senior officer in Delhi police. He has also served as the secretary of the Delhi Waqf Board and President of Anglo-Arabic Old Boys’ Association. He is a writer who has published extensively on Delhi in Urdu. Azeem sahab walked with me in Daryaganj and Chandni Chowk. He took me to meet several of his friends and acquaintances including his publisher in Kucha Tarachand. He now lives in Zakir Nagar after his retirement.

**Dr Mohd Kamran** – Unani Doctor trained at Tibbiya College. Dr Kamran attends patients in a charitable OPD clinic attached to a Madarsa in Jaffrabad. In addition he also owns and runs a coaching centre for school children from his home in Jaffrabad at a not-for-profit basis. Conversations with him took place at the OPD clinic and his coaching centre. Sometimes his teachers would also be present and participate in the discussions. I was also invited for the centres function to felicitate its students after the board exam results were declared.

**Haji Umar** – Haji Umar ‘Lipstickwaley’ owns a business manufacturing cosmetics in Jaffrabad. He is an old resident of Seelampur areas having shifted here even before the emergency forced others to be relocated here. Intimately, familiar with the contemporary history of the area. I met him at his office in a group discussion with community leaders from Jaffrabad and Chauhan Bagar.

**Jamshed Khan** – Small manufacturer. Javed Khan’s father. He is not educated and has set up his workshop from the scratch.

**Javed Khan** – Has an MBA degree and just joined his father’s workshop in stitching denim garments. They employ about 6-8 workers. Javed has for years helped children in the neighbourhood with their studies. He is looked at as a role model by
many of them. Conversations with him took place at his home and while walking through J and K block New Seelampur.

**Khalid Javed and Asma Javed (names changed)** – Couple from Saharanpur. First generation migrants, they had to come to Delhi when Khalid lost his contract with MTNL Saharanpur for hardware and networking work. Asma is also pursuing studies in Jamia. They live in Zakir Nagar Khalid works in a reputed IT firm and Asma is teaching in a neighbourhood primary school.

**Khalid Zafar and Zafar Iqbal** – Khalid is a 23 year old Chartered Accountant. His father has a workshop manufacturing handicrafts catering to export markets. Khalid’s father Zafar Sahab stayed back in Delhi during partition while his entire extended family left. Residents of Chitli Qabar, Jama Masjid. Conversation with them took place at their home. Khalid’s mother was also present and participated in the conversations, her parents family had also left for Pakistan. Khalid also accompanied me in walking through Chitli Qabar, Bazar Sita Ram, Bawarchi Khana etcetera.

**Mohd Mohsin** – 21 year old resident of J-Block New Seelmapur. Pursuing Masters degree. His father buys insulated wire and subcontracts the work of wire stripping to middle men who distribute it to home-based labour stripping copper wire of its plastic/rubber insulation. Apart from his studies his major engagement is helping his father in this work. Mohsin is preparing for UGC-NET and aspires to become an academician. The conversation with him took place in a group discussion with youth from J and K block, New Seelampur. Most of these young men are involved in the scrap business.

**Mohd Sultan** – Small Manufacturer- manufacturing electronics goods. Originally from Amroha, as a young bachelor, Mohd Sultan worked in a workshop in Old Delhi where he learnt the trade. He shifted to Chauhan Bangar in Seelampur where he brought his family and now owns a small manufacturing workshop himself. Conversation with him took place at his home. His children and wife also contributed to the discussion occasionally.
Mohsin Siddiqui – Manufacturer- metal sheet cabinets from Chauhan Bangar. Conversation with him took place in his workshop’s office. Mr Sultan and two more manufacturers from garments industry also participated in this discussion.

Moin Ahmed and Ranam Ahmed – Moin is a software engineer originally from Ranchi, Jharkhand. His education and training is from Aligarh Muslim University. After coming to Delhi for work he has lived briefly in Malviya Nagar. He shifted to Zakir Nagar upon his marriage with Ranam to a rented flat. Ranam is from Patna and was a graduate when she came to Delhi. She enrolled in the Jamia for her Master’s degree. They now live in their own flat in Shahin Bagh in Jamia Nagar. Interview with them took place at their home.

Mr Jaffry – Eighty year old Mr Jaffry is a senior member of Taj Enclave society. At present he is the president of the society and actively looks after all its affairs. Conversation with him took place in a flat of another resident.

Mr Merajuddin and family – A worker on lathe machine in Bara Hindu Rao. Merajuddin has a very small workshop with a single lathe that he owns and operates himself fashioning metal parts for various machines. Conversation with him took place at his workshop. Later, I was invited to his home where I met his wife, daughters, daughter-in-law and grandchildren.

Naghma Begum – Thirty year old Naghma is a housewife and a mother of two. She is originally from a village in Bulandshehr. The interactions took place at her home.

Sumaiya – Sumaiya is an Urdu teacher at Rabia Girls’ School. She lives in Basti Hazrat Nizamuddin after Marriage. A doctorate in Urdu programming on All India Radio. Conversation with her took place at her home in Basti Hazrat Nizamuddin. Her mother-in-law is a Punjabi Muslim from Malerkotla. She was also present for part of the interaction.

Naim Ahmed – Thirty five year old Naim is a resident of Taj Enclave, having shifted there from Sarai Khalil. He has been living there with his family for last ten years.
The conversation took place at his flat. Naim’s wife Nisha was also present and participated in the conversation.

**Qamar Akhtar** – Sixty seven year old Qamar sahab Owns a bridal garments shop in Chandni Chowk. His father moved to Delhi after partition. Qamar Sahab’s family moved to Zakir Nagar only a few years ago. He is deeply familiar with the dynamics in Old Delhi, Nizamuddin as well as Jamia Nagar. He was used as the first “excellent” participant of the study from the point of view of theoretical exploration. Qamar Sahab also helped me meet his brother who has written extensively on Old Delhi

**Ovais Khan** – 22 year old resident of Chauhan Bangar. He was placed as a Social Work student trainee for fieldwork in Seelampur K-Block. A student activist, Rais is intimately familiar with many community based organisations and activists as well as organisations that engage with issues related to communalism. Conversations with him took place at his home while walking in Seelampur and the walled city.

**Rizwan Alam (Name changed)** – 45 year old researcher, content writer in a PR firm in Gurgaon. Trained as a journalist, Rizwan is originally from Aurangabad, Maharashtra. He lived in Huaz Rani before moving to Zakir Nagar right before his marriage. Conversations with him took place at my house.

**Sabiha Ahmed (Name changed)** – 40 year old Software engineer originally from Muradabad. Came to Delhi as a single woman with a Masters degree in chemistry but got further training in computers and software. Works with a small consultancy firm located near Jamia Nagar is now married and has two children.

**Saheena Begum** – 62 year old housewife. Shaheena is a widow and shifted from Muradabad only after all her children settled in Delhi after studying in Jamia and having gotten jobs and/or being married in Delhi. Conversations with her took place at her son’s house with other of her children and grandchildren being present.

**Shakeel Malik** – 37 years old. His family originally came from a village in Aligarh district and invested in land. He has dabbled in several businesses in Jamia Nagar.
Garments workshop, dealing in scrap dealer, mobile phones etcetera. Presently he is engaged as a builder and developer in Real estate. He is my neighbour in Jamia Nagar. Conversations with him took place at my house.

**Sibghat Ullah Siddiqui** – Principal of Shafiq Memorial School. He was valuable in helping me frame my inquiries into educational institutions in Delhi catering to Muslim localities.

**Focus Group Discussions**

Youth from J Block and K block of New Seelampur, mostly working in scrap recycling business (only men)

Community elders and local political activists in Seelampur (only men)

Employees of Call Centres and other IT professionals in Jamia (Men and women both)

XI class school children (boys and girls) in Jaffrabad at Dr Kamran’s Coaching centre