Objective 2 of the study is to identify the perceptual boundaries within communities, which live and interact. Spatial structure, as already discussed is the optimal location of human activities in relation to other activities. In other words, the definition includes how activities orient themselves in terms of other activities particularly, residential location of communities. In the preceding chapter, the absolute and relative residential location of communities has been elucidated. In this chapter, the discussion revolves around how communities orient themselves in relation to others on a perceptual and experiential plane. How they demarcate their own territories and restrict themselves within these territories.

The study analyses how communities orient themselves in relation to others at two geographical scales – (a) at the micro-level which includes one’s own ‘pol’ and immediate surroundings and (b) at the macro-level which includes the entire walled city.

V.A. Orientation of Communities with respect to One Another at the Micro-level

The demarcation of territorial boundaries at the micro-level that is, the ‘pol’ and its immediate surroundings is almost similar to the absolute location of the pol itself. All respondents have been able to locate their own pol exactly with respect to primary, secondary and tertiary roads on a map.

This definitely reveals the extent of familiarity of the respondents with respect to their own pols as they are not exposed and trained in the art of reading maps. Moreover, the spatial structure of the pol itself encourages such accuracy with regards to its location and territorial demarcation. As already discussed in the preceding chapter, a pol is a very definite geographical area, which is demarcated by the pol wall. Thus, it leaves no doubt in the minds of the respondents regarding the pol's
exact location, geographical extent and its boundaries. This is reaffirmed by the response of respondents (above 80 percent) for all the communities who considers their pol to be their neighbourhood (Table V.1 and Figure No.V.1).

Table No. V.1. **Neighbourhood as Defined by the Respondents**

(All figs in %)

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jains</td>
<td>83.8</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>91.6</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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*Source: Field Work Conducted by the author, 1999-2000.*

The limited action space of the respondents is also another factor for their familiarity with their own pol and immediate surroundings. Jains have an average action space of 12.9 minutes, Hindus - 12.3 minutes and Muslims - 11.5 minutes. Though the differences in action space of Jains, Hindus and Muslims appear marginal yet it indicates that the latter’s movement is most restricted over space compared to the former two. In fact, the action space has reduced compared to 13 minutes in 1981 (cf. Desai, 1981). This shows that the actual geographical area of movement has not only decreased but is restricted within one’s own poll but one’s own ward as well. For
all the three communities above 95 percent of their movement is limited within their own ward. This indirectly also reflects the greater segregation of communities over space in closed socio-cultural enclaves.

The perceptual orientation of communities is highly significant in discussing areas, which are apparently a random mix of different communities. Shahpur II is such an example, where very high and high concentration of Jains, Hindus and Muslims are found. Within the walled city where processes of segregation have set into motion processes of spatial segregation Shahpur II, appears to be an anomaly. Though Shahpur II appears not to be segregated but at the micro-level, that is, pol-wise it is highly segregated in terms of orientation of pols of different communities in relation to others. The pols are oriented in a back to front manner. For example, in a transitory area, pols are oriented in such a manner that they always face areas occupied by their own community or other communities which are desirable and their back region is inhabited by 'other' or undesirable community. (Figure No.V.2 and Figure No.V.3).

Figure No.V.2. Schematic Orientation of 'Pols'

![Schematic Orientation of 'Pols']

Source: Developed by the author
The schematic location of the pats of different communities in a small sample area of Shahpur II show the front to back orientation of the communities with respect to one another. Hindu pats are oriented in such a manner that they face the Jains, who are considered socially desirable and their back is towards the undesirable Muslims. Similarly, the Muslims have their back towards the Hindus and face or they front their own community.

Figure No.V.3. Orientation of Pols in Shahpur II

Source: Developed by the author
V.B. Orientation of Communities at the Macro-Level

How communities orient themselves, that is, adjust their position perceptually with reference to specific communities is clearly reflected in their mental images locales of different communities.

For all the three communities their own area of residence have been exaggerated in terms of geographical extent of the area. The respondents also think that their own area, where they reside is safest with regards to occurrence of communal riots and tensions. Almost all residents have demarcated the various residential locales of different communities on the basis of some important landmark rather than the transport and road network nor as per the administrative ward boundaries. In fact, all the respondents are unfamiliar and unaware of the different ward boundaries.

Respondents both Hindus and Jains, living in the wards of Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II have in general collapsed the four wards in three broad areas – that of Raipur-Astodia, the area adjacent to the Raipur Chakla, Raipur and Astodia Darwaza: Manekchowk, the area in and around Jumma Masjid and the main market of Manekchowk and Khadia towards the east, adjoining the Sarangpur Darwaza. Jamalpur I, commonly known to respondents as Jamalpur is labeled as a Muslim area extending from Gaikwad Haveli in the west to Khamasa Gate in the north, Jamalpur Darwaza and Chakla in the south and Astodia Darwaza in the east. Jamalpur I is demarcated as a large area and has transgressed into the administrative ward of Raikhad. Raikhad, on the other hand is mapped out as the area adjacent to Victoria Gardens and is generally perceived as a Hindu low caste area. The reason for such a perception is due to the geographical distribution of Hindus and Muslims in Raikhad, the area adjoining Victoria Gardens is occupied by Hindu low castes whereas further down south Muslims are a majority. The wards of Kalupur I, II and III, Shahpur I and II and Dariapur I and II all appear to be limited in geographical extent. The area around Kalupur Darwaza, Dariapur Darwaza and Delhi Darwaza and Shahpur Darwaza is perceived to be Kalupur, Daripapur and Shahpur respectively. All the respondents have clubbed the three wards of Kalupur as one. The same applies to the
wards of Shahpur and Dariapur as well. All these areas are considered to be mixed having both Muslim and Hindu population, with the former being the majority. (Figure No.V.4).

Muslim respondents living in the ward of Jamalpur I have exaggerated the entire ward over space. Their perception of Jamalpur is very similar to the Hindu and Jain respondents of the wards of Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II. The only difference is that Raikhad is perceived to be an area, which is within Jamalpur hence, a part of it. Jamalpur covers the area south west of Sardar Patel Marg with Raikhad as a small area adjoining Victoria Garden. Like the Hindu and Jain respondents in Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II the wards of Kalupur I, II and III; Dariapur I and II and Shahpur I and II has been clubbed together into single locales that of Kalupur, Dariapur and Shahpur respectively. All the three areas of Kalupur, Dariapur and Shahpur are of greater geographical extent compared to that of both Hindu and Jain respondents of Khadia I, II, III and Jamalpur II. The above three areas appear to be more widespread physically because the respondents in Jamalpur are more familiar with these areas and perceive them to be Muslim areas. The Kalupur area is bounded by the Darwazas of Kalupur and Panchkua, Gandhi Marg and Ambedkar Marg. Shahpur on the other hand extends from Shahpur Darwaza to Bahai Centre to Mirzapur circle. Dariapur is demarcated as the area between Dariapur Darwaza, Prem Darwaza and bounded by Jordan Marg in the south. The Hindu and Jain areas that exist in the wards of Kalupur I, II and III, Dariapur I and II and Shahpur I and II do not figure in the mental images of these areas (Figure No.V.5). The perception of the respondents with regards to Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II is similar in geographical location to the Hindu and Jain respondents of the area. The Muslim respondents do not distinguish the area into Raipur-Astodia, Khadia and Manekchowk, but simply generalize the area into one single locale - that of Raipur.
FIG NO.V.4. Mental Mapping of Hindu and Jain Residents of the Wards: Khadia I, II,III and Jamalpur II

Source: Field work done by the author, 2000-2001
FIG NO.V.5. Mental Mapping of Muslim Residents of the Ward: Jamalpur I

HINDU AREAS

MUSLIM AREAS

Source: Field work done by the author. 2000-2001
The Hindu respondents living in Raikhad conceive their own ward as the area in and around Bhadra fort and extending down south to areas adjoining Victoria Garden. The respondents think that they also fall under the Maneckchowk area. Their perception of all the other wards are similar to that of Hindu and Jain respondents located in Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II (Figure No.V.6). The Muslim respondents of Raikhad on the other hand have a mental image of the walled city similar to Muslim respondents of Jamalpur I. The only exception being that Raikhad is perceived as a separate locale of greater geographical extent and not within Jamalpur. Though the southern tip of Raikhad overlaps with Jamalpur. (Figure V.7).

The Hindu and Muslim respondents living in Dariapur II and I respectively has clubbed both the wards together. Thus, the mental image they have of Dariapur is large in geographical area extending from Delhi Darwaza to Prem Darawaza. It's southern boundary overlaps with Kalupur in case of Muslim respondents of the ward but not so in case of Hindu respondents.

The Hindu respondents of Dariapur have located Khadia-Raipur, which includes the wards of Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II as the area south of Relief Road extending to Astodia and Raipur Darwaza in the south and Sarangpur Darwaza in the east. Jamalpur (the ward of Jamalpur II) is relatively covers a smaller geographical area, extending in east-west direction from Astodia Darawaza to Jamalpur Darwaza. Similarly, Raikhad also is limited over geographical space and demarcated as the area adjoining Gaikwad Haveli. The wards of Shahpur I and II are clubbed as one but is distinguished into three broad areas – that of Shahpur, the Hindu-Jain area in and around Shahpur Darwaza; Khanpur, the Muslim area around Khanpur Chakla and Mirzapur, the Muslim area around Mirzapur Circle. Kalupur I, II and III is demarcated as an single locale extending in a east-west direction bounded by Dr. Ambedkar Marg in the west and Kalupur Darwaza in the east and Relief Road in the south (Figure No.V.8).
FIG NO.V.6. Mental Mapping of Hindu Residents of the Ward: Raikhad

Source: Field work done by the author: 2000-2001
FIG NO.V.7. Rental Mapping of Muslim Residents of the Ward: Raikhad

Source: Field work done by the author, 2000-2001
FIG NO.V.8. Central Mapping of Hindu and Jain Residents of the Wards: Dariapur I and II

Source: Field work done by the author. 2000-2001
The Muslim respondents of Dariapur in contrast to its Hindu respondents locate Raipur (which includes the wards of Khadia I, II and III and Jamalpur II) south of Gandhi road. This, the Hindu area of Raipur or Khadia is restricted over space whereas the Muslim areas of Jamalpur I, Raikhad, Kalupur I, II and III and Shahpur I and II are more widespread over space. Jamalpur that is the ward of Jamalpur I is located roughly adjacent to Gaikwad Haveli extending towards Sardar Patel Marg. Raikhad is located north of Jamalpur between Victoria Garden and Jamalpur Chakla Marg. Shahpur I and II are broadly divided into three zones – Shahpur, the Hindu and Jain area extending in a east-west direction from Shahpur Darwaza to Delhi Darwaza; Khanpur, a muslim area extending in a north-south direction from Shahpur Pagathia to Bahai Centre and Khanpur Chakla; Mirzapur, extending again in a north-south direction from Relief Road to almost Delhi Chakla. The wards of Kalupur I, II and III are again clubbed together to form the area of Kalupur stretching from Dr. Ambedkar Marg to Kalupur Darwaza in the east and Gandhi road in the south (Figure No. V.9).

The Jain-Hindu and Muslim respondents of Kalupur (which includes Kalupur I, II and III) divides the entire Kalupur region into two zones – that of a Jain-Hindu, Gheekantha and a Muslim Kalupur.

The Hindu and Jain respondents of Kalupur locate Gheekantha as the area extending from Relief Road, the area around Swaminarayan Temple to Delhi Chakla and Delhi Darwaza. Kalupur on the other hand extends from the Kalupur Tower to Dariapur Darwaza. Dariapur is reckoned as a part of Kalupur, located in the area between Dariapur Darwaza and Prem Darwaza bounded by Jordan Road. Khadia is located south of Gandhi Road, (which includes the wards of Khadia I, II, III and Jamalpur II), Jamalpur (that is Jamalpur I) is located around Jamalpur Darwaza, Raikhad adjoining Victoria Garden Shahpur I and II is clubbed to form three broad areas – Shahpur, a Hindu area extending from Shahpur Darwaza to Delhi Darwaza; Khanpur located around Khanpur Chakla and Mirzapur located in and around Mirzapur circle (Figure No. V.10).

The Muslim respondents of Kalupur demarcate Gheekantha as a narrow strip running north-south almost parallel to Dr. Ambedkar Marg. Kalupur (that is approximately Kalupur I and II) is located as a Muslim area extending from Prem
Source: Field work done by the author. 2000-2001
FIG NO.V.10. Mental Mapping of Hindu and Jain Residents of the Wards:
Kalupur I, II and III

Source: Field work done by the author. 2000-2001
Darwaza in the north to Relief Road in the South. Dariapur is located as a mixed area extending approximately from Delhi Darwaza to Dariapur Darwaza. With regards to the other wards of the walled city the images held are almost similar, the only exception is the Muslim areas of Jamalpur I, Raikhad, Khanpur and Mirzapur, which appear more widespread geographically (Figure No.V.11).

The Hindu and Jain respondents of Shahpur have again clubbed Shahpur I and II in three zones – Shahpur, stretching from Shahpur Darwaza to Delhi Darwaza in east-west direction; Khanpur located in and around Khanpur Chakla, Mirzapur around Mirzapur circle. Dariapur (both Dariapur I and II) located within Dariapur Darwaza and Prem Darwaza. Kalupur (Kalupur I, II, and III) a mixed area extending from Dr. Ambedkar Road to Kalupur Darwaza and Relief Road in the south. The wards of Raikhad and Jamalpur both recognized as Muslim areas is again limited over space the former adjoining Victoria Garden and latter around Jamalpur Darwaza. The four wards of Khadia I, II, III and Jamalpur II reckoned as a Hindu area stretches from Bhadra Fort to Sarangpur Darwaza and sounded in the south by Sardar Patel Marg, Raipur Darwaza. (Figure V.12).

The Muslim respondents of Shahpur locate Shahpur I and II three zones similar to the wards Hindu respondents. The only difference is that the geographical extent of Khanpur and Mirzapur is far greater. Khanpur extends from Shahpur Pagathia to Bahai Centre and Khanpur Chakla. Mirzapur stretches from Teen Darwaza to almost Delhi Chakla. Dariapur (Dariapur I and II) a Hindu area is located within Delhi and Dariapur Darwaza stretching to Delhi Chakla in the south. Kalupur (Kalupur I, II, III) a Muslim area extends from Dr. Ambedkar Road to Prem Darwaza and down to Relief Road in the south. Raikhad is regarded as the area adjoining Victoria Garden. The area south of it, stretching till Jamalpur Darwaza and Astodia Darwaza to the east is Khadia (Khadia I, II, III and Jamalpur II) reckoned as a Hindu area, south-east of Jumma Masjid. (Figure No. V.13).
FIG NO.V.11. Mental Mapping of Muslim Residents of the Wards:
Kalupur I, II and III

Source: Field work done by the author 2000-2001
Source: Field work done by the author; 2006-2007
FIG NO.V.13. Mental Mapping of Muslim Residents of the Wards:
Shahpur I and II

Source: Field work done by the author 2000-2001
In short, the above mental images or mapping of various locales belonging to different communities highlights two important aspects:
(a) The exaggeration of one's own area of residence and the exaggeration of locales belonging to one's own community and restricting locales belonging to other communities,
(b) Another aspect which must be brought out that both Hindus and Jains feel that they are part of the same religion and do not distinguish each other as different social groups on the basis of religion but rather Jains are viewed as belonging to a different cast group.

V.C. Religious Processions a Manifestation of Territoriality

The route of religious processions that of Muslims and Hindus bounds and delineates areas of respective concentration. In other words, the routes that are followed during Rath Yatra by Hindus and in Muharram by the Muslims demarcates their respective territories, that is, areas in which they are the majority population.

Figure No.V.14 and Figure No.V.15 depict the routes followed during Rath Yatra and Muharram. The route for Rath Yatra is a circular one starting and ending at the Jaganath Mandir just outside the Jamalpur Darwaza. The procession enters the walled city through the Raipur Darwaza and proceeds through Khadia (Hindu dominated area) towards Kalupur Darwaza. The procession then skirts around the wards of Kalupur I and II, which are Muslim areas moving towards Prem Darwaza. The procession also does not enter into the wards of Daiapur I and II and the former is a Muslim area. On reaching Shahpur Darwaza the procession again enters the walled city into the ward of Shahpur I, which has high concentration of Hindus. The procession then moves onto Delhi Chakla, which falls under the ward of Dariapur II, again a ward having very high concentration of Hindus. The procession moves through Dr. Ambedkar Marg the dividing boundary of Dariapur II and Shahpur II. The latter is also a ward having very high concentration of Hindus. The procession then moves onto the Swaminarayan Temple. Though this ward (which comes under the ward of Kalupur II) have moderate concentration of Hindus and high
FIG NO. V.14. Location of Hindu Community and Route of Hindu Religious Procession: Rath Yatra

Source: Field work done by the author. 2000-2001
FIG NO. V. 15. Location of Muslim Community and Route of Muslim Religious Procession: Muharram

Location of Muslim Community and Route of Muslim Religious Procession: Muharram

1. Lal Darwaja
2. Vani Darwaja
3. Ghatlux Darwaja
4. Narumpur Darwaja
5. Utaipur Darwaja
6. Vstdia Darwaja
7. Mirapur Darwaja
8. Kala Darwaja
9. Nala Darwaja
10. Kalampur Circle
11. Khanpur Darwaja
12. Fenn Darwaja
13. Khanpur Darwaja
14. Khasapur Chakda
15. Bhaiy Darwaja
16. Ghanpur Circle
17. Dalwa Chakda
18. Swaminarayan Temple
19. Kalupur Tower
20. Calico Dome
21. Fernandez Bridge
22. Jumma Masjid
23. Bhudra
24. Victoria Gardens
25. Gavilwall Haveli
26. Jamalpur Chakda
27. Khansu Gate
28. Mirzapur Marg
29. Dr. Ambedkar Marg
30. Tilak Marg
31. Gandhi Marg
32. Jamalpur Chakda Marg
33. Sardar Patel Marg
34. Shahpur Payatthia

Source: Field work done by the author. 2000-2001
concentration of Muslims but the area in and around Swaminarayan Temple is inhabited by Hindus. A pocket of Hindu pols at the micro-level is found here. The procession then again enters Khadia and exits through the Raipur Darwaza and ends at the Jaganath Temple.

The procession for Muharram, unlike the one of Rath Yatra does not follow a circular route. In fact, the procession of Muharram, proceeds right though the heartland of the Muslim area in the walled city. It starts at the Jamalpur Darwaza from Behat Khan Masjid and ends at Mirzapur circle at Mirzapur Quresh Chowk. The former is located in the ward of Jamalpur I and the latter in the ward of Shahpur II both having very high and high concentration of Muslims, respectively. The procession moves towards the Khamasa Gate and then Parsi Agiari both located at the border of Raikhad and Jamalpur I wards. The former, having high concentration of Muslims. The procession then reaches Karanj and Teen Darwaza, which are located in Kalupur II an area of moderate Muslim concentration. Then it proceeds through the Kalupur III ward towards Relief road and then ends in Shahpur II. (Figure No. V.15).

V.D. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter attempts to understand how people delineate their own boundaries of neighbourhood. The chapter thus, deals with the formation of territories and the orientation of the location of one community in reference to another. It discusses the nature of spatial structure at the perceptual and experiential plane.

The chapter highlights the fact that 'pol' is considered as one's own neighbourhood at the micro level. This demarcation of 'pol' is absolute in location due to the familiarity of the area by its residents as reflected in the very limited action space for all the three communities. Moreover, the structural aspect of the pol – the very definite and tangible presence of pol wall encourages great accuracy and absoluteness of its location and delineation as the neighbourhood. A very limited action space results in greater familiarity with the pol and its immediate surroundings. This encourages the demarcation of the resident’s pol as their neighbourhood.
At the macro-level communities appear to be distributed in a random manner but within the ward they are highly segregated. The relative location of communities, especially their back to front orientation in relation to other desirable/undesirable communities elucidates the anomalies like the apparent random mix or melting pot of communities in Shahpur II.

The chapter also brings into focus how communities orient themselves with respect to each other at the macro-level. Areas occupied by the respondents and those of their own community is exaggerated while those of others who are undesirable occupy areas which are limited over geographical space. The chapter also highlights that areas are demarcated with the help of important landmarks thus emphasizing the symbolic significance of built-environment and architecture.

The chapter also highlights the expressions of territoriality over space as seen in the form of the routes followed by religious processions, mainly Rath Yatra by Hindus and Muharram by Muslims, while the former circumnavigates its core area (that is, area of high concentration). The latter proceeds through the very center of its core area.