Coping with displacement

Within 72 hours of the outbreak of violence on 28th February 2002, the
government of Gujarat had declared the return of normalcy. However, the violence
which went on for about four months after that had rendered more than one and a half
lakh Muslims displaced in relief camps had left a humanitarian situation that required
urgent attention. From the events that followed the violence, this chapter traces the
various coping strategies that came up in response to the displacement while
identifying the principal actors that sought to manage the situation, as well as the
agency of the displaced themselves in dealing with their situation. It also
comparatively examines the condition before and after displacement from
ethnographic fieldwork conducted among relief colonies to highlight the plight of the
displaced and the major issue that continue to plague them long after the displacement
event.

The humanitarian crisis

Salimbhai who in 2002 was the sarpanch of Kidiad village in Sabarkantha
district is an exception among the displaced living in relief colonies in Gujarat. Now
as the owner of a cattle farm, he is a picture of confidence after having managed to
rebuild his life in the relief colony. However he recalls how 8 years ago during the
2002 violence when his wife, daughter and 18 others from his extended family were
among 74 other Muslims from his village who were killed by mobs there was a total
sense of confusion and nobody knew what to do then.1 Out of the 74 Muslims from
Kidiad village who were killed on the highway in Panchmahal district by mobs when
they were fleeing their village packed in two tempos, 62 bodies were not found and
were declared missing for up to 7 years until they were finally declared dead. In other
places of mass murder such as Odhe in Anand district where 23 people were burned
alive in one house, or in Pandharwada in Panchmahal where there were multiple cases
of stabbings, bodies had not been located and were declared missing. In some cases
like Gulbarg Society in Ahmedabad bodies were so charred beyond recognition that

1 Interview with Salimbhai Sindhi (displaced from Kidiad), Al Falaha Relief Colony, Modassa,
Sabarkantha, 22/03/2009.
even family members struggled to identify them before mass burials were conducted. According to official figures, which were conservative, there were 277 such missing people as of June 2002.²

Over the next few days and weeks the survivors found their way to a relief camp which was one among 121 relief camps which at one time, sheltered more than one and a half lakh people who had fled their homes, some of whom had also witnessed the murder, burning and rape of their family members and acquaintances. According to one social worker who had witnessed 14 deliveries in Shah Alam camp alone, one of the largest camps in Ahmedabad, women who had been raped were particularly destitute because even among members of their own community there was a feeling that these women had been defiled and had become *napak* (impure).³ The empty maidans, fields, graveyards, madrasas, schools and even a cinema hall where fleeing Muslims had gathered and that had overnight become relief camps were overcrowded with displaced which included those who had fled out of fear for their security in anticipation of an attack as well as those who had been actually attacked by mobs, and had been injured, burned, widowed, orphaned, sexually abused, belonging to all age groups including pregnant women with just about enough space for people to sit or lie down. The conditions in the camps were also squalid as it was a while before even the most basic facilities of sanitation and water were made available.

Despite the trying conditions of camps even in the peak of summer where they provided little shelter from the heat, a large number of displaced continued to stay in camps while those who could afford it sought rented accommodation in Muslim dominated areas. The rains brought respite from the heat but soon the empty maidans and fields that had served as relief camps for the past 3 months also started filling up with rain water. The state government’s solution to the problem was to close these camps. Since May 2002, the government of Gujarat had, in its efforts to restore ‘normalcy’, begun to take measures that moved towards a closure of relief camps and by June end all 40 camps in districts of North and Central Gujarat as well as several camps in Ahmedabad were declared closed.⁴ In August, by which time it had been 6 months since when the violence had begun; most of the camps were declared closed.

---
³ Interview with Neera and Rafi, Paldi, Ahmedabad, 16/2/2009.
⁴ *Times of India*, 31/7/2002.
However, even as the rain flooded camps that were in open maidans and fields even in the ‘closed’ relief camps that had a roof overhead, a number of displaced families refused to leave and there were, according to one estimate, 4996 displaced in Ahmedabad alone.\footnote{The Indian Express, 29/8/2002.} Sharifaben, a widow among the thousands of displaced from rural areas of Sabarkantha and neighboring districts who had taken shelter in the outskirts of Himmatnagar, in a large open ground off the highway described how she and other families took shelter from rain in an unfinished RTO building on the other side of the road even as their newly acquired belongings of relief material in the camp bobbed up and down in their water logged camp.\footnote{Interview with Sharifaben, Kifayatnagar Relief Colony, Himmatnagar, Sabarkantha, 30/3/2009.} In Ahmedabad, there were camps where even though the government had declared them closed and they didn’t even have NGOs’ support, they served as a shelter for daily wage earners who supported themselves by going out to find work but returned to the camp in the evening.\footnote{The Indian Express, 29/8/2002.} Even in rural Sabarkantha according to one report, of the 81 affected villages in Idar taluka Muslims had returned to stay in only 10 villages while in some villages they would go for farming in the day time and return at night.\footnote{Times of India, 27/7/2002.} An old primary teacher, who had been threatened during the violence by people who had once been his students continued to commute from the relief camp to his village where his school was daily.

One of main compulsions that kept people in camps, besides their perception of the threat to their security based not just on their own experience of attack during the violence but that of instances of Muslims being attacked on return, was that their houses had been burned and destroyed and the relief amounts doled out by the government were nowhere near what it would take to rebuild them. It was reported that according rough estimates prepared by the government an overwhelming number of those who had been displaced wanted an alternate site of settlement rather than to return to their hostile neighborhood.\footnote{Times of India, cited in The Uprooted Caught Between Existence and Denial: A Document on the State of the Internally Displaced in Gujarat, Centre for Social Justice and Anhad, February 2007. p 88.} The then Chairman of the NCM, Justice Mohammad Shamim had also suggested to the state government that land be given for displaced in camps “so that they can create a new settlement and get a sense of security.”\footnote{Times of India, 16/3/2002.} In response to the request of a delegation of Muslim leaders, the Chief Minister clearly ruled out the possibility of the government allotting land for the
thousands of Muslims who could not bring themselves to return to their earlier homes. The official reasoning being that even for carnage cases like Naroda Patiya this would lead to segregation of the two communities.\textsuperscript{11}

Despite the then Prime Minister Vajpayee’s appeal, the relief that came in for those affected by the 2002 violence, was far less than the outpouring of public sympathy and donations witnessed as a result of the 2001 earthquake in Gujarat. The atmosphere in Gujarat in 2002 was so surcharged by communal tensions and fear so palpable that even NGOs that were very active in relief and rehabilitation efforts during the time of the earthquake were reluctant to intervene for the victims of the post Godhra violence given the political implications when the State government was so openly partisan.\textsuperscript{12} After members of the Muslim community themselves started relief camps, NGOs did step in with to provide crucial interventions in relief such as collecting testimonials of the victims, documenting number of camp inmates, injured, sick etc., counseling traumatized survivors and creating livelihood options.

About 30 NGOs also came together under a collective called ‘Citizens Initiative’ in order to co-ordinate relief work amongst themselves. The Behavioural Science Centre (BSC) in Xavier’s College, Ahmedabad, became a headquarter of sorts for NGOs to collect relief material and for social activists as well as for young students from different parts and of the country who had volunteered in response to an international NGO, Action Aid’s online appeal for help.\textsuperscript{13} Young students from different part of India and Gujarat volunteered as Aman Pathiks (peace volunteers) to visit camps and help in relief work among the displaced. Calling themselves an ‘association of persons’, a group of retired judges and prominent citizens called ‘Citizens for Justice and Peace’ led by human rights activist and lawyer Teesta Setalvad even conducted a citizen’s called Concerned Citizens Tribunal from mid April in 2002 in three cities and recorded testimonies of victims of the burned coach in Sabarmati Express as well as of the various incidents of violence that followed it and came up with a three volume report called Concerned Citizens Tribunal report. Among other efforts by NGOs to create livelihood options for inmates in camps were

\textsuperscript{11} Times of India, 5/5/2002.
\textsuperscript{12} Interview with Prasad Chacko of Action Aid, Ahmedabad, 17/10/2008; also Surviving State Hostility and Denial: A Survey of Relief Colonies for People Affected by Mass Violence in Gujarat 2002- A Report, Nyayagraha, December 2006. p 29. Gagan Sethi, then member of NHRC Monitoring Committee for the 2001 relief and subsequent member of NHRC Monitoring Committee in 2004 had even requested police protection at that time.
\textsuperscript{13} Interview with Monica Wahi, Co-Founder, Himmat, Ahmedabad, 28/8/2008.
those of Self Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) that engaged those in camps in Ahmedabad with paper bag making etc. and Himmat, an NGO started by two volunteers¹⁴ along with the widows of Naroda Patiya to provide them livelihood options by sewing clothes. Efforts such as these were crucial although given the magnitude of the situation these were drops in the ocean. NGOs also helped in peace making efforts between the two communities,¹⁵ joined in the efforts to rebuild houses¹⁶ and even in the construction of six relief colonies in collaboration with Muslim organisations.¹⁷ However in the volatile situation where the state was openly partisan, the role of NGOs with limited resources that could not afford to entirely antagonize the state government was limited.¹⁸ Camps were run entirely by Muslim organisations and not a single NGO ran a camp.

When the violence that was targeted against the minority Muslim population began, Muslims immediately turned to their own to find ways to deal with the situation. One of the immediate responses, especially in the first few days of violence from 28 February to the first few weeks of March was that almost all Muslims regardless of class, status or position in society in northern and central districts of Gujarat that were most affected moved to areas of Muslim concentration.¹⁹ The events of those 3-4 weeks in 2003 where the worst carnages took place seem to have had a lasting impact on the sense of security of the Muslims. According to a medical practitioner and social activist, even today, especially close to major festivals the few Muslims who don’t live in areas of large Muslim concentration or those who live in ‘border’ areas in Ahmedabad keep their bags packed and are ready to move in case of any eventuality.²⁰

**Ghettoisation: safety among our own**

---

¹⁴ Interview with Monica Wahi and Zaid Shaikh who were instrumental in setting up Himmat, Himmat, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, 28/10/2008.
¹⁶ There was also an instance of an NGO rebuilding 168 houses in Boru village. *Times of India*, 31/7/2002.
¹⁸ According to one NGO practitioner, NGOs that actively participated in relief and rehabilitation of the victims of the violence were subjected to audit and questioning by the state government authorities subsequently. Interview with Neera and Rafi, Op. cit., Interview with Prasad Chacko, former Director, Behavioral Science Centre, Op. cit.
²⁰ Interview with Dr. Hanif Lakdawala, Founder of NGO Sanchetna, Thaltej Crossroad, Ahmedabad, 6/12/2008 and Interview with Zakia Jowher, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, 7/1/2009.
During the violence in 2002 upcoming areas of large Muslim concentration such as Juhapura in Ahmedabad, Tandalaja in Vadodara, Ismail Nagar in Anand city, Idar, Modasa and Himmatnagar in Sabarkantha and even villages of Muslim concentration such as Kesarpura in Sabrakantha or Sureli in Anand\textsuperscript{21} were islands of peace due to their location on the periphery as well as the concentration of large Muslim populations by which they were able to ward off mobs more successfully than in those pockets of Muslim concentration in the middle of the city or in the congested old city areas. For the poor these places became the sites of camps that sheltered the displaced and for those who had the means, these places became safe havens that Muslims of all sects and classes flocked to.

The population of Juhapura, an area of Muslim concentration on the outskirts of Ahmedabad was reported to have risen by almost 50,000 from March to May 2002, and the people who moved were not just the poor but those among middle class, upper middle class and elites including judges, IPS officers, businessmen, lawyers etc. Juhapur had due to the increasing segregation of Ahmedabad’s city space along communal lines, Juhapura has become home to a cross section of Muslims from those living below poverty line to the elite including judges, lawyers, Indian Police Service (IPS) officers, businessmen, etc. so that a relief colony like Javed Park built by a Muslim organization to house those displaced by the 2002 violence and bungalows that look like mansions stand side by side.

The situation is similar in Vadodara in an area called Tandalja located on the western periphery of Vadodara city. Even in the midst of the violence in 2002 the property in this area was selling like hot cakes and entire housing colonies and apartments seemed to have come up overnight. The area of Tandalja has also expanded rapidly ever since the violence when with the ever increasing demand for housing to accommodate Muslims not just from within Vadodara but also from the nearby villages in the district, land was sold and continues to be sold in unoccupied plots on installment basis by dealers who have not always obtained the non agricultural land use permit. It has become a thriving business for middlemen to sell plots to poor and lower middle class on the edge of Tandalja on an installment basis.

\textsuperscript{21} The size of the concentration of Muslim population also played an important role here. For instance on 1\textsuperscript{st} March 2002 a small village, Nava Station that was Muslim dominated but surrounded by Hindu villages, was surrounded and attacked a group of 200 people killing more than 6 Muslims while some were even dragged and killed in the nearby fields before the police arrived to disperse the mob. The Hindu 3/3/2002.
where a house or plot without legal papers is cheaper than a house or plot with them. Near the city limits of Anand city, Ismail Nagar is another fast growing area of Muslim concentration. Muslim shopkeepers, businessmen and elite in city have now moved to an area next to Ismail Nagar called 100 ft. Road. In rural areas also there was marked shift of population to areas of large Muslim concentration.\footnote{22}{How has the Gujarat Massacre Affected Minority Women: Survivors Speak, Fact Finding by a Women’s Panel, Citizens Initiative, Ahmedabad, April 16,2002 http://cac.ektaonline.org/resources/reports/womensreport.htm (accessed on 5/5/2010).}

Those who could not afford to move to such places of large Muslim concentration or stay with relatives and friends or even afford rent, and those in rural areas took shelter camps. Graveyards, dargahs, madrassas, jamaatkhanas (community centres), school buildings and even a partially constructed RTO office in Himmatnagar served as temporary shelters or ‘camps’ for displaced Muslims. As the numbers in the relief camps swelled, Muslims from areas where these camps were situated themselves took charge of the situation and collected from amongst themselves to provide for those who had taken shelter in their midst. In a number of instances, camps were run by local strongmen with some standing in the areas and were often people who had some experience of running camps in previous instances of violence. Local shops, flour mills, pharmacies and doctors in these areas of Muslim concentration were pressed into action for attending to the needs of camp member.\footnote{23}{Interview with Afroze and Altafhai, Op.cit. Also, Rubina Jasani, ‘Violence, Reconstruction and Islamic Reform- Stories from the Muslim, ‘Ghetto’, Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 42, March 2008. pp 431-456.}

It was only after a week that the state government began to provide food ration supplies and that too after an undertaking by camp organisers that they would take complete responsibility for people in the camp.\footnote{24}{Interview with Altafhai Sayyed, Sayyedwadi, Vatwa, Ahmedabad, 15/12/2008 and Times of India 10/6/2002. Government of Gujarat, GR No RHL 232002:513/3/S-4 dated 6/3/2002.} Conditions in overcrowded camps were squalid and unhegienic and only gradually did the camps in NGOs receive medical aid and sanitation facilities of mobile toilets. However by the end of May, the government as well as Muslim organizations were eager for displaced Muslims to leave the camps and return to their homes.

The transition from camps

“Tamam buraiyan, major sins had broken out in the camp”, says a leader of one of the faith based relief organizations, riled at the fact that social norms of propriety and boundaries were thrown to the wind in the urgency of meeting basic
needs for the survival of thousands of people dispossessed by the violence in camps. This is why, besides obvious humanitarian reasons, organizations like his were eager, like the state government for the displaced to leave the camps. What the government plan was that the displaced would leave the camps to return to their original homes as far as possible, with the help of district level administration in rural areas and the Collectorate in cities along with the police should any law and order situation arise. In several cases Muslims did return to their own villages to rebuild their burned and broken homes gradually by themselves after they worked out a compromise with the villagers to not press charges or in case specific names of Hindus had been mentioned as attackers in the FIR, to withdraw them.\textsuperscript{25}

However, even if the Collectorate or district administration was willing to intervene in negotiations to help Muslims return, there were instances such as Pavagad in Vadodara, Mogri, Sisva, Odhe, Karamsad and Vasad in Anand where the villagers made it clear in no uncertain terms to the displaced as well as to the district officials that they did not want Muslims to return.\textsuperscript{26} In the case of Odhe village some Muslim families did eventually return but only those who lived in the area where there was a \textit{mohalla} and even among the Muslims in the mohalla some of the farmers to date prefer to live in the fields rather than in the mohalla in the village. These Muslims who returned had to initially face instances of stone pelting before the situation calmed down after the intervention of the police. However, those Muslims who lived among the Patels in the centre of the village where a total of 23 Muslims were burned alive in two separate houses did not return with the exception of one family that was attacked when they returned to their home two years after the violence. About two days after they had moved into their house in the village and had begun to clean it and set it up, when most of the family members were away from home Karimbhai Rasoolbhai Vohra, a man in his 50s was pulled out of his house by a mob that poured petrol on him. Some in the mob were ready to set him on fire but others intervened and Karimbhai managed to get away with his life. Some villagers threatened the family with dire consequences if they did not withdraw the case against them but the family went on to file another court case on the attack on their father, the verdict of which is still awaited.\textsuperscript{27} Hostilities therefore continued long after the

\textsuperscript{25} Interview with Misuben Punjamiyan Sindhi, Hanmatiya village, Sabarkantha, 23/3/2009.
\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Times of India} 23/4/2002.
\textsuperscript{27} Interview with Karimbhai Rasoolbhai Vohra (returned to Odhe), Odhe, Anand12/3/2006.
violence had ebbed which made the displaced apprehensive to return. Besides, for a large number of displaced who had been rendered destitute, the compensation amounts were too paltry to help rebuild their completely burned and broken homes in any significant way.

Reconstruction and persisting displacement

Muslims organizations therefore stepped in to rebuild houses so as to enable Muslims to leave camps or other temporary accommodation to return to their homes. In Naroda Patiya where 95 people were killed on 28th February, as well as in Naroda Gaon where Muslim houses were burned and destroyed, Muslim organizations like the Islami Relief Committee stepped in to reconstruct houses. Where Muslims owned houses in Naroda Patiya they did choose to return, however most of those who had lived there on rent and had witnessed the carnage refused to return. It seems like the safety of numbers encouraged Muslims to return to Naroda Patiya as according to one lady whose husband was shot dead in the violence, the number of Muslims in Naroda Patiya has actually gone up. The scale of damage and destruction however was too high for these organizations working in their individual capacities to cover all areas adequately.

Besides this the feeling of insecurity ran so strong among those displaced that thousands of families who continued to live in camps were waiting not for their houses to be reconstructed but to find an alternative home in a ‘safe’ area. For a large number of Muslims from rural Gujarat who had seen violence for the first time in their lives, they simply could not bring themselves to go back to their original homes and set up house and expose themselves to the risk of a similar situation breaking out again. A common refrain seems to be “we managed to save our lives this time, but what if it happens again? We have a responsibility towards our children. Our lives are over now but for their sake we have to think.” This was especially the case in places where women had been raped, where on return they would have to face their attackers who continued to roam free.

“Saval hi nahn” absolutely out of question said Ayyubhai from Kidiad village from where 74 Muslims were killed while fleeing on the highway when asked about the possibility of return. When Ayyubhai agreed to visit Kidiad along with his

28 Interview with Noorjahan Abdul Kadir Sheikh, Faisal Park Relief Colony, 19/12/2008.
29 Interview with Professor Ansari, Paldi, Ahmedabad, 11/12/2008.
30 Interview with Kulsumbano Hasan (from Odhe), Relief Township, Anand 19/2/2009.
wife for the purpose of this study, there seems to be much warmth between him and his old Patel neighbours who seemed to be very happy to see him. About the apparent bonhomie on his meeting with them for the first time after the violence Ayyubhai remarked,

Ayyubhai: Yes we were very close. Every time I came back from driving, even if it was late in the evening I would first stop by at their place, since its on the way.
Q: so why didn’t you come to them then in 2002?
Ayyubhai: the time was only such. We didn’t know what to do.
Aishabibi: This road that you saw while coming in to the village, our tempo was pelted with stones all along that way on our way to the highway.31

Ayyubhai was driving one of two tempos from which 74 people were killed by a mob on the highway. There were also two other cases of stabbing in the village of Muslims who had not left in the tempo and who did not manage to flee. Despite the good relations he has with his old friends in the village, returning to live there even 7 years after the violence is simply out of the question for him.32 This sentiment was even stronger in 2002 for thousands of Muslims who had gone through harrowing experiences just getting out of their homes to escape to a safer place. They continued to live in camps which were closed or in a few instances shifted to buildings like school buildings or district administration building in July but refused to return home. In Modassa, Sabarkantha district, which turned out to be the district with the largest number of displaced Muslims and remains so to date, after camps were formally closed, around 1400 displaced continued to live in tents that were handed out to them in agricultural land on the periphery of the town or in the houses of relatives in Modassa which has a large Muslim population. Once again Muslim organizations stepped in again to construct houses in places of Muslim majority to at least provide a roof over the head for these displaced.33

---

31 Interview with Ayyubhai Sindhi, Kidiad, Sabarkantha, 22/3/2009. Arjoobibi is Ayyubhai’s wife who survived because the mob took her to be dead, and journalists from a TV channel later found her and took her to a hospital.
32 ibid.
33 Interview with Dr. Shakeel Ahmed, Trustee, Islami Relief Committee, Juhapura, 27/1/2009.
Relief colonies: Muslim organizations step in

Muslim organizations from places of large Muslim populations such as Hyderabad, Karnataka, Kerala, Bihar etc. as well as from other countries made significant contributions in various ways for relief and rehabilitation of the displaced Muslims. An organization called Bihar Sharief also constructed a relief colony Imarat-e-Shariyat in Juhapura for displaced Muslims. However, the construction of houses for displaced Muslims was taken up in a big way by mainly 3 Muslim organisations, namely Islami Relief Committee a relief wing of Jamaat-e-Islami one of the most active Islamic movement of South Asia; Gujarat Sarvajanik Relief Committee under the banner of which Tablighi Jamaat a reformist Islamic movement undertook relief work and; the Jamiat Ulema-e- Hind a pan India organization which claims nationalist leanings and has worked with mainstream political parties like the Congress and BJP in the past. These organizations constructed relief colonies for displaced Muslims regardless of their sect, doctrinal leanings or jammaat, while the All India Memon Federation constructed colonies for displaced Memon families.

During the violence in 2002, many camps saw local strongmen including businessmen in places of Muslim concentration take up leadership of running camps as illustrated earlier. Even for the setting up relief colonies, in Modassa, a town where Muslims are known for their hold over the transport business, Babubhai Tada a local businessman took a lead in efforts to construct houses for displaced on agricultural land. Under the Sahyog Seva Trust, Tada oversaw the construction of more than 500 houses close to where the tents were put up on agricultural land due to which he has become a household name for Muslims in Modassa and even today many among the displaced look to him for solutions and even hold him responsible for their problems. Other Muslims organizations also constructed additional houses for the displaced in the adjoining area. The most destitute among these continued to live in tents for up to three years before an Ahmedabad based NGO Jan Vikas and Centre for

---

35 Jamaats are composed of people who might share the same occupation, ethnicity or regional origin; or might comprise people who recognize the authority of a particular shrine, or follow a specific school of jurisprudence or doctrinal orientation. E. Simpson, “Migration and Islamic Reform in a Port town of Western India”, in Contributions to Indian Sociology, Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia, (n.s.) 37, 1&2, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2004.
Social Justice completed construction of houses in a row of houses called Millat Nagar in that same area.

Soon Muslim organizations were flooded with requests from displaced and affected persons for allotment of houses. In the chaotic urgency of dealing with a situation where the state refused to be drawn into the idea of resettlement land for the displaced and in the absence of any central leadership planning and guiding the rehabilitation efforts, every organization seems to have done what they thought best, however certain patterns can be discerned from the continued existence of relief colonies today. The criteria for allotment of houses in some colonies seemed to be to first attend to those most destitute such as widows and poorest of the poor, although as in most cases of post conflict scenarios/ humanitarian work allegations fly thick even today about unfair allotments based on who could pay more.37

Before allotting houses to the displaced some organizations undertook their own independent survey of houses in order to determine the extent of losses and even had to do so under police protection in some instances in the midst of continuing hostilities as the panchnamas and FIRs made by the police often understated losses and were made in the absence of the victims themselves who at the time were taking shelter in relief camps or elsewhere.38 In some colonies in Ahmedabad, specific categories of affected people were given houses together such as the widows of Naroda Patiya were given houses in a row in Faisal Park in Vatwa while those who were witnesses in court cases related to Naroda Patiya were allotted houses in Ekta Nagar in Vatwa.

Some houses in relief colonies, especially in the case of some widows of Naroda Patiya, the houses were given for free. For most houses however, some amount of money was taken from the occupants. The amounts taken from the displaced vary from colony to colony ranging from Rs 10,000 to 20,000. However, when the houses were allotted the occupants only received a stamp paper which states their occupancy under the relief colony built by the organization so that with the exception of one relief colony, the occupants in all other relief colonies do not have ownership rights. According to the organizers this was done to ensure that the houses would be used only for the purpose they were created i.e. for the displaced and that

37 Interview with Shafi Madni, Trustee, Islami Relief Commitee, Juhapura, Ahmedbad, 17/2/2009.
they would not be sold again for profit. In one relief colony, the occupants had only received a receipt for the payment they made and that too the receipt said the money was a donation and not some payment towards the house. The displaced however, who lived in such colonies have to pay municipal or panchayat taxes which came for water etc. in bills under their names. According to one of the leaders of the Islami Relief Committee, the houses will eventually be transferred to the name of the displaced, but no such move had been made 7 years after the violence.

According to government estimates prepared 5 years after the violence there are 86 such relief colonies in 10 districts in North, East and Central districts of Gujarat namely Kheda, Bharuch, Dahod, Anand Mehsana, Vadodara, Panchmahals, Sabarkantha, Gandhinagar and Ahmedabad. Sabarkantha district has the largest number of relief colonies followed by Anand district and Ahmedabad district. While Ahmedabad city is believed to have witnessed the worst violence and has the highest death toll, some of the gruesome carnages and systematic violence took place in Panchmahal, Mehsana and Dahod district.

According to the Concerned Citizens Tribunal that had sought to exhaustively chronicle the violence, 78% of people affected had fled their homes for at least three months during the violence and in “scenes of worst massacres” have resulted in “near permanent migrations and shifts of populations”. According to this study in these locations in Mehsana, Panchmahal, Anand, Dahod and Ahmedabad districts, it was estimated that only 20% of the population had returned to their original homes. Among the districts where some of the worst carnages took place, in Mehsana and Panchmahal there are 9 relief colonies each in small towns and villages of Muslim concentration, while Dahod and Ahmedabad which also saw the worst cases of violence have 1 relief colony and 11 relief colonies respectively. (See Table 4.1)

Although the large number of relief colonies in Ahmedabad could probably be attributed to the presence of pockets of Muslim concentration as well as the presence of a large number of jamaats. The district of Sabarkantha however turned out to be a haven for displaced Muslims. This is because relief colonies were made on the basis of the availability of land and its location in a place of Muslim concentration which is probably why towns like Wadali, Idar, Modassa and Himmatnagar in Sabarkantha

---

41 Ibid, p 246.
district which have large concentrations of Muslim population as well as centres of businesses controlled by Muslims that they became places of refuge for the displaced Muslims.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of District</th>
<th>No. of mass carnages/ number of deaths</th>
<th>Number of relief colonies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kheda</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bharuch</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dahod</td>
<td>Randhikpur: Bilkis Bano rape (14) 50 killed</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Anand</td>
<td>Ode (23)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mehsana</td>
<td>Sardarpur (32); Visnagar (11)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Vadodara</td>
<td>Best Bakery(14); sexual violence</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sabarkantha</td>
<td>Prantij (2) on highway</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Gandhinagar</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>Naroda Patiya (95) Gulbarg (69)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Kidiad village is in Sabarkantha but the killing of 74 people took place in Panchmahal.

For security:

Muslim organizations were looking to buy land to resettle the displaced in a safe place which inevitably meant a place of Muslim concentration even if it was not always regularized land. Work on these houses started on a war footing and by July
2002 itself, 1131 houses for the displaced in Sabarkantha district in Muslim dominated areas of Hasanpura, Savli and Vadali villages as also Himmatnagar, Meghraj, Vijaynagar and Idar towns were reportedly under construction to enable displaced Muslims to move into them.\textsuperscript{43}

In the city of Ahmedabad which was most affected by the violence, and which also has the largest number of relief colonies, such colonies were constructed in areas of Muslim concentration on the periphery of the city such as along the eastern periphery in Ramol, in the industrial suburbs of Vatwa, Bombay Hotel areas and on the western periphery in Juhapura. One of the colonies poignantly called ‘Citizen Nagar’ is located next to a huge garbage dump but it is just one among the settlements of the entire basti that has come up after the 2002 violence. In the city of Baroda, there are eight relief colonies on the eastern periphery, one of which consists of houses built by the displaced themselves by squatting on government land and also by paying for it in installments to a middle man.

In Anand city as well, just on the outskirts of the city limits 6 relief colonies were built for those Muslims who had fled from villages in Anand district and neighboring Kheda district. In one of the colonies called Mogri-Siswa township where displaced Muslims from the villages of Mogri and Siswa continue to live today there is only one approach road where few rickshaws are willing to ply. Even after one alights the transport vehicle one has to walk about ¾ of kilometer in an open maidan which fills up in the rains before one can reach the site of the relief colony.

In Panchmahal district relief colonies were set up in towns like Kallol, Hallol and one on the outskirts of Godhra town. Some relief colonies for displaced in Panchmahal district have been constructed just a few kilometers away from the original village of the displaced. For instance in Lunawada, a relief colony has been constructed just off the highway near a Deoband seminary a few kilometers away from the village of Anjanwa in Santrampur taluka where 12 people were killed on 5\textsuperscript{th} March 2002. Even more than 7 years later farmers go to the village in the day time to attend to their fields but return to the relief colony situated on the periphery of Lunawada. One farmer who lost 4 members of his family of which 3 were children while they were waiting for the police to come and pick them up explained that they

\textsuperscript{43} Interview Shafi Madni, Afzal Memon, \textit{Op.cit.}
go to work their fields during the day but they couldn’t think of staying back at night in the village where their burned houses still stand.

Mohammed: We go farming during the day. Our burned houses are still there but we return at night. 
Q: but even now why don’t you stay there? do you think there still is danger? 
Mohammed: *dar lagta hai na ben.* One feels afraid sister. 44

The location of these colonies in the periphery of cities, towns and villages caused serious problems for the displaced especially when they had just moved in. After 8 years a *basti* settlement has come up of other poor people or displaced families who have built houses at their own expense in most places around the relief camp. Residents of the Mogri Siswa Relief Township recall however, how in the initial days of their stay there they had to clear up the bushes around the area and keep watch to ward off thieves and even visitors from nature. For those living in Satnagar Navi Vasahat, a relief colony built by a US based organization called Al Fami for the survivors of what is now refered to as the Sardarpura carnage where 32 Muslims died of burns cause by fire and electric shock, in the first few days of the stay in the relief colony a child even died of snake bite. The danger of snakes etc could be for the entire village of majority Muslim population situated close to Himmatnagar and not peculiar to just the relief colony which was built on a plot purchased there, but for those displaced in Modassa who lived in temporary shelters such as tents for one and a half to four years these were very present dangers that they lived with.

As Muslim organizations were faced with the task of sizeable proportions of providing housing for such a large number of displaced on an urgent basis, land was purchased wherever it was easily available in areas of Muslim concentration. These relief colonies constructed with the intention of speedily providing a roof over the head of those displaced which continue to be used as residential areas for the displaced turned out to be difficult places to live in given that almost all of them constructed on the periphery of villages, towns and cities on land that is in a large number of cases low lying and not regularized and where colonies have been constructed hastily.

44 Interview with Mohammad, farmer of Anjanwa, Relief Colony in Lunawada, Panchmahal, 18/9/2008.
In Himmatnagar for instance, at the outbreak of the violence a relief camp was started on a clearing just off Himmatnagar bypass road for the thousands of people who had fled their homes from villages and towns across Sabarkantha and neighboring districts. Relief colonies were eventually built in neighboring villages such as Panpur, Lalpur and Satnagar but about 500 houses were constructed by various Muslim organizations in the same clearing about a kilometer of the Himmatnagar bypass road where the camp stood. Those displaced from this camp who had been living exposed to the elements even getting wet and drying off with in the rain, a roof over the head was so much a priority that many of the 10 by 10 sq. feet houses were occupied as soon as the concreting was finished without even the most basic arrangements like doors, windows, electricity, sanitation and water which they proceeded to set up gradually after 3-4 years.

For Water

"The water comes from the Masjid," said Aishabibi explaining the source for this most essential requirement of human existence in Faisal Park, Vatwa in Ahmedabad. This is the case in most relief colonies where bore wells were installed by Muslim organizations who built the relief colony and continue to be managed by them. In one relief colony the bore well had been dug by an NGO. In neighbouring Arsh Colony since water from the bore well is not reliable, the residents have to pay Rs.10 every half an hour for water from the private bore well of the owner of the land nearby.\(^45\) In Modassa, Sabarkantha for the many relief colonies that have come up in the same place where tents of the relief camps once stood, the bore well belonging to the owner of the surrounding fields is their source of water for all purposes. The government of Gujarat’s report on relief colonies to the NCM mentions the availability of water to all the colonies but what it does not mention is that this untreated ground water is not always potable. The residents of Citizen Nagar Ahmedabad located on the eastern periphery in the industrial suburbs have now got accustomed to tea that has a salty aftertaste due of the presence of effluents from surrounding industries in the ground water. While a majority of the displaced in relief colonies that were interviewed for this study had access to water from regular sources such as the Municipal Corporation or Panchayats of the respective cities, towns and

\(^{45}\) Interview with Shamsuddin Babubhai Ajmeri (previously lived in Talod, Sabarkantha), Arsh Colony on 16/12/2008.
villages that they came from, as residents of relief colonies they have to pay for privately organized sources of water as well, something that those from rural areas

![Source of water supply chart](image)

*Figure 4.1a: Sources of water supply before displacement*

![Where do you get water supply from? chart](image)

*Figure 4.1b: Sources of water supply after displacement*

took more time to get accustomed to given the fact that they didn’t have to pay for water among other essentials in their original homes. (See Figures 4.1a & 4.1b)
For sanitation

Even today a number of relief colonies do not have sanitation facilities because of which people have to go out into the open in the early hours of the day to relieve themselves. In majority of relief colonies there are private arrangements for sanitation where each house or two houses share a soak pit for sewage collection, which is small and needs to be evacuated at personal expense periodically failing which they overflow and create unhygienic conditions. In relief colonies in Ahmedabad, the soak pits that overflow on to the kuccha roads add to the squalor of the slums in which they are located. The situation worsens even more during the monsoons with the collection of rain water.

Majority of the displaced in relief colonies that were interview for this study had drainage facilities like gutter line and soak pit that were relatively far better than the conditions in relief camps. (See figures attached). Even in the case of those who lived in irregularised land before displacement, they had better access to sanitation facilities as the existence of settlements over a long time leads to increased provision services from the state, howsoever incremental, for which the displaced had to start from scratch in relief colonies. After displacement houses show majority houses with shallow shared soak pits leading to unhegienic conditions.

**Figure. 4.2a: Sanitation before displacement**
Due to the Gujarat government’s agreement with private providers as in most parts of Gujarat, majority of houses in relief colonies also have access to electricity. However, a large number of them had to spend as many as three years in darkness and at the mercy of the elements. Millat Nagar in Modass, where people lived in tents for 4 years before an NGO called Jan Vikas constructed houses, electricity was unavailable even after 7 years after the violence.

**For access to educational and health facilities**

The education of a large number of Muslim children was affected in 2002 as the violence took place around the time of final exams and some students who missed those exams, missed an academic year. In the uncertainty of those days students,
particularly girls even gave up on their education entirely.\textsuperscript{46} Once again it was Muslim organizations such as Anjuman Islami that came forward to offer assistance to Muslim students in Gujarat. There were many instances where given the vitiated atmosphere in the state, parents sent even very young children outside Gujarat to educational institutions in Bombay, Tamil Nadu, Kerala etc for education.\textsuperscript{47} In the case of relief colonies due to their location in the periphery access to educational institutions and particularly higher education has become a problem. Although as the Government of Gujarat report on relief colonies to the NCM shows, some form of primary level education or religious education is accessible within a distance of 3-5 kms for most relief colonies, these are either primarily schools or madrassas.\textsuperscript{48}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{chart.png}
\caption{Distance from educational facility before displacement}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{46} Interview with Abdul Majid Salaam’s daughter, Citizen Nagar, Ahmedabad, 26/1/2009 and Interview with Salim Suleimabhai Ghanchi on 3/2/2009. Also Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India: A Report, Justice Rajindar Sachar, Prime Minister’s High Level Committee, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, New Delhi, 2006. p 14.

\textsuperscript{47} The Indian Express 28/6/2007 and Interview with Sayeda Sirajbhai Meghraja on 23/3/2009.

In the case of health facilities it is the location of relief colonies again that affects access. (See Figures 4.1 and 4.2). In Ahmedabad Muslims who lived in working class areas like Chamanpura, Bapunagar and even Naroda Patiya had easy access to transport and even government hospitals. However their displacement to relief colonies now in the industrial eastern or western periphery of the city means that they don’t have access to government healthcare facilities. Although private health care facilities are available, they now have to pay much more. According to the Government of Gujarat Report on relief colonies, most relief colonies have some access to health care facilities or at best visitations by a mobile van. However, an important development during the violence and even after has been discrimination even in seeking health services. A doctors’ collective had issued an appeal for Hindu doctors to not go to Muslim areas after one doctor was stabbed in Juhapura.\textsuperscript{49} In Juhapura 3 general beds including a 260 bed facility was coming up along with other facilities like schools and restaurants with the purported aim to make it self sufficient so that its residents don’t have to venture out especially in the time of riots. An informal residents association has also identified professionals including 80 doctors and blood bank lad technicians whose services are to be retained in the area itself.

\textsuperscript{49} Times of India 11/4/2002.
Figure 4.4a: Distance to healthcare facility before displacement

4.4.b: Distance to healthcare facility after displacement
For roads:

One area, however, in which Muslim organizations have not been successful in creating facilities because of the high costs involved is that of connecting the relief colony with a pucca road. (See Figure below). Approachability is a major issue about the location of relief colonies that affects the lives of those in relief colonies in more ways than is immediately apparent.

At a cursory glance, the matchbox houses of the various relief colonies numbering less than 500 that come into view after walking a little less than a kilometer off the Himmatnagar bypass road where some houses even have extensions and structural improvements, belies the fact that during the monsoons the place becomes a veritable swamp which even the milkman refuses to venture into. The problem becomes particularly critical for pregnant women, children, sick and old people. There have been instances where pregnant women in labour pain have had to be hoisted above the water by making a makeshift stretcher of bedsheets and carried by four or more men and even school children have had to skip school due to the inapproachability. Sister Celine, a nun who ran a self help group for the women in the colony said that she was hurriedly finishing her work before the onset of the monsoon when the colonies would be practically marooned in water which would be a few feet deep. In another cluster of relief colonies built among fields of private people on the outskirts of Modassa town, so as to protect their field, the owners of the field sometimes stop big shuttles from going through dirt tracks in between the fields. During the monsoon these dirt tracks fill up with rain water making the area inapproachable and the stagnant water even causes diseases. In nearby Rashidabad relief colony, as the NCM had also noted, the collection of rain water in a pool a few feet deep that submerged the kuccha road leading to the colony even led to the drowning of two adolescents. It is the lack of connecting roads that compound the isolation and makeshift nature of the relief colonies.

50 Shuttles are larger rickshas that have a total of 3 rows of seats or even autorickshas that are shared by people going to different destinations along the same route.
Figure 4.5.a: Condition of roads after displacement

Fig. 4.5.b: Condition of roads after displacement
For Livelihood:

One aspect of life after displacement that has been the toughest to deal with is that of finding means to make a livelihood. In the six months of and camp life following the outbreak of the violence, majority of those displaced in camps had been jobless but after the violence had scaled down, the relief scaled down as well and camps were closed. For a large number of displaced many of whom were still in search of a roof over their head, earning one’s daily bread became the biggest question. Figure 4.2 illustrates the extent of displacement in relief colonies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of unemployment after the violence</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid less than a month</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 2 months</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 6 months</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 1 year</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>59.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 1 year</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>69.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuing inability to find livelihood</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>83.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2. Source: Fieldwork in colonies from 2008-2009

In rural areas as in the case of Muslims of Prantij who returned, the question of their agricultural land and their investments such as the wells they had dug seems to be a major reason for the return of Muslims who went back to their original villages and worked out a compromise with the villagers where they dropped charges against their attackers. According to Misuben Panjamiyan Sindhi an ex sarpanch of the village, they didn’t have any other skill to be able to hope to survive in the relief colonies and so they returned to continue farming as before but after their absence of 6 months when all their possessions including farming implements and ready crops of the previous season had been burned or looted during the violence, they had to invest in implements and means of livelihood and start all over again.  

Among relief colonies however, only in the relief colony in Lunawada which is situated close to Anjanwa village, have farmers been able to continue with their former occupation of farming by commuting from the relief colony to their village which is about 5 kms away. In some relief colonies landholding farmers have had to become absentee landlords and rent their farms out to Hindu farmers to till their land in their absence. For Mohammad Pikumiyan Shiekh a driver and farmer from Satarda village who now lives 20 kms away from there in Sahara Relief Colony in Modassa his earning from his 10 bigha land for a season has dropped from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 8-10,000 since he had to find a Hindu farmer in the village to till the land in his absence.

The self employed and casual labourers among those displaced such as painters who do colour kaam (painting) or vendors who go door to door have also had to suffer a serious cut in their earnings both due to the location of relief colonies which is usually on the periphery and in localities where people have less spending power as well as due to the concentration of so many casual labourers with similar trade in the relief colonies which increases competition. The same holds true for the self employed in urban areas as well. Sarfarazbhai Abdul Qadar Munshi an auto rickshaw driver in Ahmedabad who plied his rickshaw in other parts of Ahmedabad but not Juhapura despite living in Siddiquabad relief colony in nearby Sarkhej complained sarcastically that in Juhapura there were more autorickshas than people. Another hurdle for the self employed to begin to earn livelihood from a new place was that new customers and clientele had to be established all over again. For some displacement has meant a complete change of profession. Shamsuddin Babubhai Ajmeri for instance was a shopkeeper who dealt in eggs on a wholesale basis. His business did well in Talod, Sabarkantha where the village had a population of around 35,000 people and he could get a good price for his eggs among the Gujaratis. After resettling Vatwa’s Arsh Colony besides the fact that in a locality of Muslims where there were a dozen vendor’s of meaty snacks and eggs every few feet he had to opt for another dhandha also because he didn’t have capital to invest in anything more than an iron and so he had to start a stall for ironing clothes which also meant that his

---

54 Ibid.
55 Interview with Sarfarazbhai Abdul Qadar Munshi (previously resided in Chamanpura), Siddiquabad Relief Colony, Ahmedabad, 30/11/2008.
income dropped drastically. According to the petitioners of the Mahashwetadevi case there were a few cases of some Muslims whose employers refused to take them back after they returned to their jobs after the violence had scaled down.\(^{56}\) For salaried employees the location of relief colonies in the periphery created additional hardships for them. Before their house in Meghaninagar was attacked in the 2002 violence, Rukhsanabano Ayub Sama’s husband used to commute daily from there to a mill in Naroda where he worked the night shift. After living in various temporary accommodations as well as a camp when they finally got a house in Siddiqabad relief colony in Sarkhej near Juhapura, her husband who eventually died of health complications had to cycle daily for 4 hours from their house in the relief colony on the western periphery of the city to Naroda on the eastern periphery of Ahmedabad city to get to the mill where he worked.\(^{57}\)

The impoverishment that displacement had brought about due to the problems of finding livelihood was nowhere more evident than in the case of a family of Memons living in Kifayatnagar relief colony in Sabarkantha off the Himmatnagar bypass road among 500 or more such houses. The Memons and Bohras are known in Gujarat for being shopkeepers and moneylenders in remote adivasi villages. However, in 2002 when this family of Memons was attacked by adivasis they fled with only their lives and no possessions and eventually managed to find a place among the many other contenders in Kifayatnagar relief colony. The woman and her daughters recalled that although they didn’t have a large bank balance in their original village in the remote hinterland, they didn’t lack anything and led a comfortable existence as shopkeepers in the remote adivasi village. In the relief colony on the outskirts of Himmatnagar however, the lady and her daughters who had seen better days were forced to work as house maids in an effort to make ends meet while the husband struggled to get a steady source of income.\(^{58}\)

There are instances of those among the displaced who have struggled and rebuilt their lives successfully such as Salimbhai Sindhi the ex sarpanch of Kidiad village who now has an entire cattle farm and Mansoori Abbasbhai Dawoodbhai who took various loans from Sriram Finance, Nagrik Bank etc. and managed to start another business in the wholesale trade of grain in Modassa like the one he had in his

\(^{56}\) Mahasveta Devi and Ors. Vs. Union of India and Others, W. P. (C) No. 530 of 2002.

\(^{57}\) Interview with Rukhsanabano Ayyubbhai Sama (previously resided in Meghaninaga), 29/11/2008.

\(^{58}\) Interview in Kifayatnagar, Sabarkantha, 30/3/2009.
native village Shinol in Sabarkantha but such examples are few and far between. The assistance offered by the government and NGOs seem to have had little impact in creating livelihood options for displaced in relief colonies particularly those from rural areas who now live in relief colonies in Anand, Sabarkantha, Panchmahal and according to one community worker particularly in Kheda.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yearly income after displacement in and around relief colonies</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jobless</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much less than before</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than before before</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same as before before</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than before before</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>82.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing System</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table: 4.3: Source Field work in relief colonies from 2008-2009*

**Figure 4.5:** Availability of livelihood after displacement

**Distance to your place of work before displacement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or less than a km</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>64.2</td>
<td>64.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 3kms</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>71.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less than 5kms</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>75.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 5kms</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 10 kms</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>88.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table: 4.4: Source Field work in relief colonies from 2008-2009*
Socio economic effects of displacement

According to Achyut Yagnik economic relations between the two communities in the state have long been restored back to normal.60 However, besides those displaced who live in relief colonies, even for people who chose to return to their original homes after their stay in camps, with or without the assistance of the state, NGOs or Muslim organizations, their absence from their original place of stay and work for six months had an impact on their livelihood options. Already in the midst of the violence a VHP pamphlet had been circulating calling for a boycott of all Muslim businesses. In Deshotar village in Sabarkantha district, when Abdul Razzak Chandmohammad and his two brothers who each ran a row of shops in the village returned after 6 months, no customers came to their shops for a few months. Abdulbhai says that initially villagers put conditions “sell here and not there, sit here and not there but we said this is our place and we entered ghus gaye.” Eventually customers did start coming to their shops but their profits were greatly reduced because their earlier customers also had access to similar goods from shops that were opened after the 2002 violence by people from other communities.61

---

60 Interview with Achyut Yagnik, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad, 21/10/2008.
61 Interview with Abdul Razzak Chandmohammad, Deshotar village, Sabarkantha, 19/3/2009.
Human habitation in a place often leads to the building of much more beyond one’s home, through relationships and social networks with those in the neighborhood. For those who did not return and who continue to be displaced, the loss of their dwelling place accompanied the loss of other such relationships and vital aspects of their existence. For an elderly middle class couple in Vadodara for instance who had spent more than 17 years in Ellora Park, a locality where their children grew up and where they had several good relations not the least important of which were the ones with particular vendors, grocers, tailors, the doctor and dry cleaners, the shift to another place in the middle of the violence has not deterred them, since they have the means, from continuing to patronize the same vendors etc. even if it means at the additional cost and trouble of commuting. For the poor however, distance snapped the access to some vital aspects of their former existence. In Naroda Patiya a slum on the eastern industrial periphery of Ahmedabad for instance, as is the case with many cities in India where the settlements or slums bastis of the poor exist side by side with factories or working units, the basti was also home to such small working units which were the source of employment for its inhabitants, especially women who could earn some extra money by working in such small scale factories of lace, buttons etc. both within Naroda Patiya and in the factories nearby. The loss of their homes has also led to a loss of income for some in this way given that relief colonies on newly developed land lacked such opportunities.

For those displaced from rural to urban areas, their new existence in relief colonies on the periphery of towns and cities meant a much higher cost of living. Ameena Misumiyan Sindhi from Kididad village in Sabarkantha district who now lives in Al Falaha Relief Colony among other colonies in Modassa is not as sentimental about her village from where 71 Muslims lost their lives in the 2002 violence, as she is about the fact that in her village poor people like her somehow always had access to water, milk and even eggs. In the city however, she complains that one has to even pay for salt. Ayyubbhai Sindhi also from Kididad, points out that they never had to pay for things like firewood in the village, whereas now, during winters he has to buy firewood at the cost of Rs.20 to heat water. The absence of common property resources like water, firewood and things that are more easily available in Gujarat’s rural economy only added to the woes of Muslims from rural areas who found themselves in relief colonies in towns and cities after the violence.
Due to the location of relief colonies on the periphery of towns and cities and among places of Muslim concentration displaced Muslims now have little opportunity or reason to interact with Hindus. While as many as 22.3 percent of displaced Muslims interviewed for this study had good relations with Hindus in their locality before displacement, only 3.4 said they continued to have good relations with them after the violence and a significant proportion, 25 percent had no opportunity for interaction with Hindus in their routine lives. If as in the past in the case of Ahmedabad, these relief colonies go on to become areas of huge Muslim concentration, it will only result in a more divided Gujarat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghar jaisa</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just cordial</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indifferent</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good relations</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>89.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.6: For the displaced Relations with Hindus before displacement
Source Fieldwork in relief colonies from 2008-2009*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>business</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghar jaisa/ good relations</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just cordial</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indifferent</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no interaction</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>58.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blank</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good relations</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>98.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hostility/ hatred</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.7: For the displaced Relations with Hindus after displacement
Source Fieldwork in Relief Colonies from 2008-1009*
The growth of the influence of Muslim organizations

With the state’s looking the other way when faced with the problem of displacement, the stepping in of Muslim organizations to build relief colonies has greatly increased their influence among the displaced.62 Besides the fact that many relief colonies have a masjid and a resident maulvi who prescribes and subscribes to a particular practice of Islam, in some relief colonies even essentials like the supply of bore well water is under the masjid. The organizations that built these colonies continue to intervene in the affairs of the colony.63 In Ekta Nagar relief colony for instance, after some male members and elders of the colony had alleged that 4 widows were engaging in sex work, they were arbitrarily evicted from the relief colony. It was only after the concerned women along with the support of a few NGOs put up a fight that they were allowed to go back after 4 months.64

Increase in religiosity is not unexpected after an event of catastrophic proportions such as a natural disaster or in post conflict scenarios, and academics and activists were quick to note an increase in religiosity and fundamentalism among Muslims after the violence of 2002.65 Reformist organizations such as the Tablighi jamaat made inroads in relief colonies that they had built. Their popularity increased not just because they delivered in times of need but also because in coming to terms with what had happened to them during the violence, people were looking for explanations through their faith.

The influence of reformist organizations has increased not just in Ahmedabad but their influence has also increased in parts of rural Gujarat. Muslims from communities like Memons and Bohras who lived and worked in the villages of Gujarat where three or two or sometimes even a single Muslim family lived among other castes or adivasis for generations before the violence and who now find themselves in relief colonies see their displacement as judgment from Allah for not living in strict adherence to His tenets. One Memon businessman who along with his brothers ran a cement business that incurred huge losses during the violence when one of his clients refused to pay up for the delivery of a huge consignment of cement, and

---

63 Interview with Islami Relief Committee trustee, Dr. Shakeel Ahmed, Op.cit.
64 Interview with Afroze Sayyed, Sayyedwadi, Vatwa, 15/12/2008.
who now lives in a relief colony says he is thankful that the Almighty turned them away from wrong through this situation and brought them to a closer walk with the Him.

Having to live among co-religionists has affected changes in clothing as well. A Mansoori woman from Chiloda village in Ahmedabad district who now lives in Siddiqabad relief colony in Ahmedabad recalled how in the village she used to wear sarees, as Mansooris, are known to live “as Gujaratis” in that they practice Islam without asserting a different cultural identity. In fact, there were rumours of a VHP pamphlet that said only Mansooris could return to their homes. In the relief colony however, the woman changed her attire to salwar kameez in order to fit in better. These pressures are felt even by educated middle class Muslims who have had to move into areas of Muslim concentration or ghettos. A retired employee of Gujarat Tractor Company who had to leave his house of 30 years in Tarsali in a colony among people of different castes and religions to move to Mariam Park in Tandalja a Muslim ‘ghetto’ in Vadodara in 2002 admitted that he didn’t have a beard before but after moving into a Muslim locality, he felt the need to keep one.

However, the influence of reformist organisations has not been such a straightforward one. In Alliance Colony in Modassa for instance, the inhabitants of the relief colony were urged to worship in the madrassa built in the colony by the Tablighis and volunteers who would also go around the colony to impart teachings taleem to the children. While, residents of the relief colony welcomed the taleem for their children, in order to offer namaz the residents who were Sunni would go to a Sunni masjid in the village despite being called to worship in the Tablighi masjid on a number of occasions. The situation worsened when on the death of an old woman in the relief colony, the relatives who wanted to conduct her last rites according to their customs were reportedly not allowed to do so in the Tablighi masjid. This led to an altercation and the residents decided to change the masjid to a Sunni one. In some other colonies as well people are open about their disagreements and complaints against the organizers of the colonies.

---

66 Interview with Husseinbhai Gafoorbhai Mansoori (previously resident of Chiloda), Siddiqabad Relief Colony, Ahmedabad, 30/11/2008.
To be or not to be displaced

For those in relief colonies, this negotiation and wrestling seems to be not only with the organizers of the relief colonies for better conditions but also with the condition of being displaced. In Kifaytnagar relief colony in Sabarkantha, Muslims who probably had some bank balance and so were not rendered destitute when their homes were burned and destroyed have even invested in renovating and rebuilding the hastily constructed 10 by 10 houses of the relief colonies. The presence of laris in the evening and people congregating around tea stalls has given this cluster of relief colonies a semblance of a basti which is not the case of other relief colonies. However, for some of the displaced like Sayeda Meghraji from Itadi village, the feeling of having settled into the house in the Alliance Relief Colony, Modasa after 7 years is a fleeting one.

Q: Do you feel now that you have got set here?
Sister in law: Yes now we feel. Now our heart feels like being here (abhi dil lagta hai) earlier we used to not feel.
Q: For how long did you feel that way?
Sayedah: Like that to many years it went on, (laughs) even today, if something happens, we feel like we should not stay here.
Sister in law: when difficulties come, when monsoon comes, then water fills up, children fall sick, so then we feel that in such a place what is there for us, in the village only when we were there it was good.

In Kidia village that lost 74 of its Muslim villagers, no one wanted to return till 2007 when Shamim Sindhi’s father who lost his wife, four daughters and his son to the mob while trying to save his brother, returned to the village and built his house again but this time not in the mohalla in the village which had been raised the ground, but in his field itself. Probably emboldened by him another family was also testing the waters to return as late as 2009 when they put up a tent where their house once stood in the empty land that was once their mohalla. Their possessions seemed to be little more than a cot made of ropes, charpayee and a few vessels but the elderly woman said she wanted to wait and see how things worked out. With little success in creating a livelihood after 4 years in the relief colony, Shamim’s father had remarried and returned to till his land with his wife and surviving daughter Shamim who still carries the mark of a sword across her forehead. The sight of children from Shamim’s school
nearby and even women from the village coming to Sindhi’s field to use water from their borewell gives the impression of a return of normalcy in the relations among the two communities and one wonders what still keeps the Muslims away but Arjoobibi, Ayubhai’s wife who was severely injured and taken to be dead by the mob says you like it now, but you won’t be able to stay at night.

In this chapter that analysed coping strategies that were arrived at to deal with the humanitarian situation created by fleeing of Muslims to ‘safe’ areas in the wake of the violence in 2002, the principal actors that emerge more than the state that categorically refused to provide for resettlement of displaced Muslims or NGOs who made important interventions for the relief but whose response was limited, but Muslim organizations and the agency of the displaced themselves in dealing with their situation.

The murderous incidents of mass carnage, rape and police inaction especially from 28th February to March 2002 created so much insecurity among Muslims in the areas worst affected by the violence that during that time, Muslims of all classes, sects etc. from there moved to places of Muslim concentration, and thousands of people continued to stay in camps even after the violence had ceased. In this time of palpable fear and vulnerability jamaati organizations of Muslims stepped in to take up reconstruction work by rebuilding houses where Muslims were willing to return and to build relief colonies in places of Muslim concentration for those Muslims who were not willing to return to their original homes. The idea then was to just provide a roof over the head of displaced Muslims so they could get on with their lives after having lived from anywhere between 2-6 months and even over a year in camps and to enable them to start a home in the only place they considered safe i.e. in a place where there was already a concentration of Muslim population. However, availability of land in a place of concentration of Muslim population seems to be the main and the only criterion that was looked into in the construction of these relief colonies that were hastily made. For the displaced who continue to live in these makeshift structures, these relief colonies have proved to be difficult places to live in due to their location and the lack of basic amenities such as potable water, sanitation, electricity, access to educational and health facilities, roads and importantly livelihood opportunities. However, Muslim organizations that set up the colonies, some NGOs and the displaced themselves have come up with solutions to create some of the civic amenities but these developments have been temporary in nature as greater
investments of the kind only the state can afford are required to make these places more livable.

However, in the absence of the state’s intervention and the fact that relief organizations of different jamaats stepped in to deliver when dispossessed and homeless Muslims didn’t have a roof over their head has increased the influence of these jamaats among the displaced. Moreover the fact that more than 7 years after the violence the displaced continue to be occupants and not owners of these houses which continue to be in the name of these organisations has resulted in the continuing of their influence and intervention in relief colonies. However, instances have shown that the influence of these organizations is not always uncontested among the displaced who have asserted themselves on a number of occasions. The agency of the displaced is also evident in the stories of a few who have managed to rebuild their lives after the violence, although these are few and far between.

Despite the continuing presence of displaced in these relief colonies, problems of civic amenities, lack of livelihood opportunities in the new places that the displaced find themselves as well as attempts by a small minority to return even 7 years after the violence are indicative of the instability in which those displaced by the violence continue to live in.