DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION: THE CASE OF WALLED CITY OF SHAHJAHANABAD

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Any errors that remain are ours.
SETTING THE CONTEXT

‘Walled cities’ as the name suggests were cities built inside protective walls can be found around the world.

The cities which were once the site of imperial grandeur and political power are today a site of decay and neglect. It would be of utmost importance to urban planners and policy makers to learn and gain insights into the architecture and design techniques of this urban space as the quest for a sustainable and resilient urban space gathers pace.

It would be important to understand the unique cultural ethos, the changes in built environment and the living conditions of the residents. These places offer us an opportunity to turn neglect into concern for a shared culture and heritage and subsequent action to overturn the systemic neglect and apathy to which these unique urban forms have been subjected to.

The focus city for this study will be the walled city of Shahjahanabad.
SHAHJAHANABAD

Shahjahanabad was the historic capital city of Mughal India. It was a treasure trove of culture and heritage. Its plan and design reflect a unique balance of architectural grandeur at its best incorporating indigenous materials and cross-cultural knowledge of architecture and technology. The city was founded by Mughal emperor Shah Jahan in the year 1639 and its construction completed in 1648. The imperial city was described by Mirza Ghalib in the following words “If the world is the body, Delhi is the soul” (IHC report, 2014).

This walled city reflects Hindu and Islamic influences which were borrowed from Mansara, an ancient treatise on architecture. The design known as the Karmuka or ‘bow’ which is well suited for cities located near a seashore or riverfront. The focal points of its architecture are the Red Fort and Jama Masjid while the construction of buildings and housing were done keeping in mind the local climatic conditions and the materials used were sourced from surrounding areas. The city was a microcosm of the empire at large. It was divided into various mohallas and katras and the intricate network of lanes and bylanes gave a pedestrian culture to the city.

This encouraged trade and commerce, promoted socialisation and led to the evolution of the finely cultivated art of conversation, which gave the city its glorious sheen.

The city saw many invasions from which it would recover due to its resilience. However, the British attack in the year 1857, the subsequent demolition of walls, gates and introduction of railway lines changed the design and dynamics of the city. The British established cantonment towns and the elite of the old city gravitated towards these new settlements while Shahjahanabad decayed. The fear of post partition mayhem in 1947 led many Muslim residents of Shahjahanabad to migrate towards Pakistan while the refugees from Pakistan were housed in the walled city and elsewhere. It is during this time that we see the migration towards the city of Muslims from the surrounding areas of Aligarh, Meerut who were escaping the fires and mayhem of partition riots.

In the 21st century, Shahjahanabad is known as an urban space with increasing congestion and rising density of population. The present living conditions are non-conducive for the residents. It has turned into a site of chaos, dilapidated buildings, traffic jams, crumbling infrastructure, and unauthorised constructions. These problems are a result of institutional apathy and poor planning.

In our race towards ‘smart cities’ we should not forget our culture and heritage, most importantly, the systemic neglect and bureaucratic indifference towards the people living in the area. Mughal splendor and its syncretic culture which was once the hallmark of Shahjahanabad is now a distant memory. The present scenario depicts the friction between communities who once thrive in the ecosystem of interdependence.
METHODOLOGY

For our research, we conducted a primary survey in different parts of the walled city. Additionally, we relied on secondary data sources such as scholarly journal articles, newspaper clippings, and reports published by various organisations pertaining to heritage conservation and planning.

To ensure that our data was representative of the people residing in the region, we made our best efforts to collect evidence cutting across caste and community lines.

While we had aimed at covering 200 households during our research, the political and religious climate during our stay was not conducive to reach the target. Therefore, after several visits and requests to speak on record we were able to collect data from 67 households.

While we acknowledge that the reduced sampling size has exponentially increased the margin of error, it was purely due to logistical reasons, which would be further addressed in the limitations of the study.

LIMITATIONS

As researchers in the field, our study was subject to the following limitations:

1. Extreme weather conditions:
During our field work, the temperature in Delhi reached new highs. It was extremely hot which made it quite difficult for both the researchers and respondents to interact in the walled city.

2. Access to respondents:
The study required respondents to be residents of the Old Delhi area. Despite having a resource person who put us in contact with a few local residents, it was a little difficult to get access to respondents. Most of the people interviewed were working while interacting with us. Many potential respondents turned us down due to their busy schedules, prior commitments or were just skeptical of us.

3. Holy month of Ramadan:
We conducted this study during the holy month of Ramadan which made it very difficult for us to interact with the Muslim residents. Since most people were working while fasting, they were quick to turn us down and not interact with us freely. Also, later in the month they were too busy preparing for the festival of Eid-ul-Adha.

4. Political climate at the time:
The study was conducted right around the time of the elections and the election results, which made political climate unfavourable for conducting a study in the walled city area which is a communally volatile area. Our mentor, who helped us conduct the study, advised us to not go to the field around the time of the elections and results as things might get violent or unsafe.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1. Background

Walled Cities are the urban centers that were fortified or were surrounded by defensive walls. It is very important to study walled cities, especially in an Indian context, as they are an essential part of the Indian urban and socio-political heritage. Presently, these walled cities have reached a state of decadence and there is an urgent need for appropriate policy interventions to protect them.

Accordingly, Creighton (2007) writes: “Walled towns and cities feature prominently on the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. Many such places have violent histories and have changed political or national allegiance in the past. Moreover, city walls, while outwardly embracing populations, also inevitably serve to exclude or marginalize other social groups. The identities of walled heritage cities are multi-layered and far from static, being susceptible to re-invention.

Tensions and contradictions are also apparent in the fact that heritage agencies work in national contexts on the management of sites that are designated as an international resource, and the agendas of these organizations can mean that certain periods or interpretations of the past are prioritized above others. All these factors present considerable challenges to those responsible for conserving and researching heritage sites that are simultaneously living communities.”

To gauge a better understanding of walled cities, we believe it is necessary to delve into the concepts of tradition and heritage as they are very closely associated with the study of walled cities on a global level. ‘Authenticity’ and ‘integrity’ are key concepts in the World Heritage Convention and are critical to discussions of threats to World Heritage sites. The notion of integrity refers to the goal of maintaining all the critical elements of a site intact. Authenticity is a slightly more complex concept but it is defined by the Operational Guidelines in fairly broad terms and suggests that cultural values must be “truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes” in order to maintain authenticity. (Alberts & Hazen, 2010)

According to Naidu (1994), conditions of walled cities in the Indian context stand "in contrast to the experience in Europe, where built-up environment and antiquity have been carefully protected and kept viable." (Naidu, 1994). Blake (1987) writing about Shahjahanabad mentions that the self-employed local shop owners depended on the bustling market of the city for their sustenance. Within these markets, Hasan (1982) writes that each physical structure in the city had a specific name that corresponded to either the profession of the dwellers, ethnicity or other attributes.
However, commenting on the present state of walled cities around the world, Steinberg (1996) writes: “The general picture today is not encouraging. Destruction of historic city centers, of old housing stock and of monuments continues in most developing countries, either by active policies of clearance and replacement or by passive policies of doing nothing to halt the slow deterioration and decline of such areas. In some countries there have been small-scale efforts, but often these have focused only on the most "profitable" projects, such as historic areas with tourist potential. The lower-income residents have been ignored (at best) or pushed out by existing renewal policies. Rehabilitation strategies should, of course, aim to avoid the idea of static preservation, and not attempt to "fossilise" the past and convert it into a sort of open-air museum. There is an urgent need for rehabilitation approaches which maintain -- or better "sustain" -- the typical and essential qualities of the historic city areas, and of the life of the resident communities, but which can also adapt these physical structures and economic activities in accordance with the needs of the present.”

In terms of the revitalizing the walled region, Jain (2004) argues that with the present efforts, the past and present should blend while protecting the socio-cultural artifacts. "However, this need is usually conflicting with the accelerating demographic demands and socio-economic pressures. A sensitive approach to planning, with policy departures concretized on the lessons of the last four decades, can resolve this conflict.”(Jain, 2004)

It is also important to address the issues pertaining to marginalized communities like Muslims in the Shahjahanabad area. Menon (2015) conducted a study in Old Delhi that emphasizes discrimination against Muslims in the walled city area and illustrates her paper with multiple anecdotes and examples. Menon begins with a discussion of some of the inequalities and tensions that Muslims must negotiate in everyday life and make them insecure in contemporary India. She then goes on to discuss how the targeting of Muslims by the Indian security state has compounded these feelings of insecurity. She argues that these feelings are engendered by a powerful politics of belonging that seeks to exclude Muslims from the imagination of the nation, leading them to make a haven for themselves in Old Delhi. Ultimately, Menon suggests that even as Muslims contest their erasure from the national imaginary and assert their presence on the national landscape by making a place for Muslims in neighborhoods like Old Delhi, they simultaneously and often unknowingly contribute to national cartography that enables their continued marginalization in contemporary India. She views the Hindus as normative subjects with full cultural citizenship who have 'the right to self-preservation, often at the expense of others'. And in this situation, people perceive Old Delhi as a place where one can freely be 'Muslim'.

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2. Health

In a poor-resource setting, the most important predictor for healthcare-seeking was the perception regarding the severity and nature of ailments, while age, gender, caste, religion, familial education, residential area, sanitation, and hygiene influenced the morbidity pattern and relevant healthcare-seeking. Keeping the high burden of self-perceived morbidity in mind, interventions to improve physical health, awareness and care-seeking practices targeting children, elderly, females, backward castes, minority groups, illiterates, rural residents and those having lower social capital, poor sanitary practices and inadequate access to safe drinking water were required urgently. Simultaneously, efforts to improve the healthcare service delivery might consider the implementation of intervention targeting improvement of knowledge and practice among non-qualified traditional/alternative practitioners in poor-resource settings were seeking healthcare services from these practitioners seemed to be a common occurrence (Kanungo, et al., 2015).

Allopathic drugs are reportedly way beyond the reach of large sections of the population. Inadequate accessibility to modern medicines and drugs to treat and manage diseases in middle- and low-income countries may have contributed to the widespread use of traditional medicine in these regions especially in poor households. Therefore, the widespread use of traditional medicine in Africa can be attributed to its accessibility (Abdullahi, 2011).

Besides accessibility to traditional healers, traditional medicine provides an avenue through which cultural heritage is preserved and respected. These systems are preferred as they are consistent with the socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the people who use it in Africa. Okigbo and Mmeka (2006) attribute the use of traditional medicine to safety, acceptability, affordability, compatibility, and suitability for the treatment of various diseases particularly chronic ones.

In developed countries, on the other hand, factors responsible for the widespread use of traditional medicine are beyond accessibility, affordability and cultural compatibility. According to the World Health Organisation, anxiety about the adverse effects of chemical drugs, improved access to health information, changing values and reduced tolerance of paternalism are some of the factors responsible for the growing demand for traditional medicine in developed countries (Abdullahi, 2011).

More and more patients are now looking for simpler, gentler therapies for improving the quality of life and avoiding iatrogenic problems (Mishra et.al, 2018). To create a truly inclusive healthcare system, India has to move away from the idea that only allopathic doctors should deliver primary health services. Other cadres of health workers, such as allopathic clinicians with less than 3 years of training, nurse practitioners, and physicians trained in Ayurveda, Yoga and Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha, and Homoeopathy, can take this responsibility with appropriate training(Rao et.al, 2011).
3. Urban Planning

Urban planning in the Indian context starts during the British rule. It followed the course of rapid urbanization with the creation of large-scale settlements in important commercial cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The essential aspect while planning for cities and towns is to assist millions of restless people to achieve decent standards of living in India’s transition towards an industrial society. This trend seeps into the post-independent India. However, physical planning was largely neglected in the period of rapid national industrialization and urban growth and focus were spent on economic planning. The development of new cities, housing and industry plan did not factor in the consequences and the implication at that critical stage of initiation which created various kinds of social problems (Wood, 1958).

We see the neglect of the interior and older settlements by the administration. Social and spatial arrangement for a life of interaction was the driving force behind the British efforts to understand, inhabit and intervene in India’s rural and urban landscapes. The top-down approach led to the creation of new suburbs which were the site for such interactions and the inner city was left untouched for they were too crowded, too dense, too dirty and too inscrutable for the British to engage or intervene. Purchasing land was tedious and interventions could provoke resistance and political protest (Spodek, 2013).

Goodfriend (1982) reasons how the old city of Delhi has suffered from the absence of an overall planning strategy within the metropolitan and regional framework which should have focused on tri-level strategic conservative planning of the city, the zonal division recommended by the MasterPlan of 1962 and neighborhood-level micro-planning which went entirely missing from the perspective of the concerned authorities.

Mukharji (1962) in his article ‘Metropolitan Planning in India’ poses a fundamental difficulty of this situation being that planning takes place in a period of poverty while visualizing full use of the infrastructure like roads, open spaces, and community facilities on the basis of the ultimate needs covering a period of 3-4 decades, in a state of comparative economic stability.

Hassan Radoine (2016) places the culture of urban space at the prime center for sustainable planning to take off. He argues that the built environment must perform to its fullest potential in order to advance the quality of human habitation and in order to seek urban balance, it is important to explore efficient ways of generating newurban synergies with the built environment which is an important feature of the old city as it shares a long cultural history between the people and the built-up environment. Accordingly, historic pre-industrial urban settings provide planners with a myriad of planning tools on how cultural and communal spatial dispositions are established. Despite the complexity of synthesizing all historic built environments for the purposes of informing future planning processes, it is, nevertheless, imperative to draw some guiding frameworks.
3. Markets

Shahjahanabad is a historic city, while the commercialization of urban space is a post-independence development (Shafi, 1980), the marketplace has existed since the medieval period (Blake, 1980) but what is interesting is the transformation of the erstwhile marketplace (site of exchange of goods and services) with a predominance of economic being embedded in social to a market-based system where the social is embedded in economic.

(Mukherjee, 2016) describes the various daily activities of the traders, the informal workers, the various types of traders. (Vidal, 2000) gives us an insight into the intricacies of the wholesale trade at the grain market of Delhi where the focus is on the caste associations of the traders, linkages of social, regional and economic dynamics and the resultant creation of a social identity which gives a trader the necessary impetus while conducting activities related to business, here personal relations and reputation matter while engaging in business transactions. The important role played by the intermediaries are described.

Ahmed (2013) highlights the importance of the local businesses in the lives of the people and the disruption in socio-cultural and economic linkages a relocation may cause to the local community. In this case, the Qureshi community witnessed a crisis as their traditional occupation of butchering was shifted out without their consultation. Rehabilitation has also not been provided.

4. Urban Renewal

The case for urban renewal gains importance due to the problems of urban decay. According to (Nair et al, 2016), the guidelines for redevelopment of historic cities must take into account the economic, social and psychological needs of the people while stressing on local community participation, which though entails certain costs but in the end is beneficial and conducive for urban development.

The works of Gandhi (2016) and Muhammed et al (2018) have shown the importance of perceptions about projects of redevelopment and the motives of various members of the local community and how through the social mobilization of the local community by making them partners in development initiatives will lead to a fruitful partnership as it would entail direct participation of the community.
5. Waste Management

In waste management, the policies can only be effective if there is public participation at all levels. In the communities which place a high value on citizen involvement in the decision making of initiation and designing of a program (co-produced in nature), the participation rate of citizens in implementing the co-produced programme is high (Folz, 1991).

The perception of households about managing waste is making waste management more difficult for federal corporations for their ineffective implementation. This is leading to increased privatization of public services. In case of Delhi, Schindler (2012) writes that the privatization of certain aspects of waste management like giving authority to private companies for waste collection and incineration of waste has led to increased conflicts among the residents and the informal sector in Delhi. The involvement of private firms has opened the opportunities for a profitable business in Delhi in the sense that due to the building of waste to energy plants, the value of waste is increased. Because waste to energy plants works on higher cost which takes a significant amount of budget from the program, hence they are also ready to pay a profitable amount of fees to private firms who are transporting. So private firms might have helped in disposing waste but it has not contributed to the goal of sorting and minimizing waste which can be achieved with the integration of the informal sector into formal (Schindler, 2012).

6. Labor Markets

The emergence of a shadow economy and increasing informal employment opportunities have become a significant attribute of labor markets. This has both negative and positive effects on the economy.

Timofeyev (2013) argued that the informal sector is a factor of social stability in the post-socialist transition economy, which, however, cannot alleviate poverty. In spite of having negative consequences, such as less collected revenues, exploitation, the informal sector continues to play a significant role in stabilizing the livelihood of the poor as it provides an immediate source of income. However, the number of poor benefiting from the informal sector is in a very small proportion hence, it does not impact majorly on poverty alleviation. Among the dynamics of the informal sector, the labor market competition adversely affects the size or growth of an informal sector.

Hideaki Goto (2011) argues that when the degree of competition is high in the informal sector compared to the formal sector, the high entry cost or lower production technology reduces the size of the informal sector in the long run. The labor market competition makes the temporary shifts, which might affect the size of any sector in a short-run due to its underlying comparative advantage but in the long run, it reduces the size of the informal sector. This happens due to more responsivity in the informal sector for wage rates. The size of the informal sector has a connection with redistributive schemes of government as well, this provides work for those who solely depend on government subsidies.
Ozan Hatipoglu (2011) argues that distortion in democratic rule in favor of the rich also reduces the transfer while the size of the informal sector may remain at high levels.

The profitability in the informal sector has an indirect relation with the demand for redistribution among poorer. The author’s arguments imply that a non-effective role of a political system in providing government subsidies has also created an incentive for voluntary engagement in the informal sector. Government policies encourages workers to shift from formal to informal sector and vice versa. The author argues that public policies of taxation and enforcement significantly affect employment in the informal sector which in-turn impact real GDP (MOE*, 2000).

Governments have less knowledge of operation and income from the informal sector which affects their taxation policy and real GDP. The movement in size of the informal sector has a negative relation with the real GDP per worker as their income is not recorded and regulated. The question of formalisation of waste pickers in cooperatives has its pros and cons. In a comparative study of Belo horizontal (Brazil) and Saurabaya (Indonesia), the author argues that formalization of cooperative gives societal status, security benefits but the flexibility and substantial income is derived from the open market system (Freek Colombijn, 2017). However, with flexibility, the workers could choose not to after a certain threshold which affect the efficiency.
WALLED CITY SURVEY

The study was undertaken in 2019 within the limits of the walled city of Shahjahanabad.

The survey was conducted at multiple locations during mid-May. A total of 67 samples were drawn. The survey was conducted in the afternoons, especially when the respondents were taking some time off from their work. Some respondents were surveyed directly at their homes.

1. Respondents' profile

Table 1 shows the areas from where the respondents were. To represent various parts of the walled city, at least one respondent has been interviewed.

Of the 67 respondents, 56 respondents belonged to the Muslim community, while 11 were from the Hindu community (Table 2). Further, among the Muslim respondents, 31 belonged to the OBC (Other Backward Classes) category, whereas the rest, including the Hindus, belonged to the General category (Table 3).
2. Healthcare

Most of the respondents who participated in the study reported that they faced discrimination of some sort while accessing public health care facilities. They reported that the nursing staff would use derogatory language and make snide remarks about them and sometimes, even prevent them from visiting a family member. Some even choose to travel to far off places and have to resort to extreme measures like removing their hijab/burqa which is extremely important to them. They believe that to get access to decent healthcare facilities they have to erase all physical evidence of them being Muslim.

One of the respondents even admitted to resorting to bribery just so that she could visit her sick father in the hospital. Women respondents pointed out that they are targeted by the healthcare personnel even when they go into labour. Such instances of insensitive behaviour from the hospital staff is a major reason for the respondents to prefer private healthcare over the public healthcare systems. Other reasons include non-availability of beds, lack of infrastructure, difficulty in accessing ambulance services in congested areas of the old city, etc.

According to the residents of the walled city area, private hospitals and clinics only care about money and hence do not discriminate based on social identity. Some people prefer traditional medicine, that is, Ayurveda and Unani clinics (dawakhanas) because that is easily accessible and cheaper than private hospitals and clinics.

Also, most of the respondents self-finance their treatments and do not have insurance. This is observed because insurance mostly involves a system of premiums’ which is considered as a ‘haram’ in Islam. Another possible reason can be that insurance is inaccessible to the residents of the walled city.

3. Housing and Civic Amenities

Based on a primary survey in Old Delhi, the present study reveals that housing conditions are unequal in different localities but all localities continue to face similar problems and issues. Some respondents spoke of the early beginnings of residential segregation after the Partition, where a large number of Hindus moved out and Muslims migrated from different parts of country for safe shelter. This eventually resulted in ghettoization of communities.
Location of the household

![Graph showing location of the household](image-6)

Drinking water sources

![Graph showing drinking water sources](image-7)

Garbage disposal

![Graph showing garbage disposal](image-8)
The land use pattern has changed with time. Previously, what used to be parts of Havelis and houses are now being used as commercial godowns. In the survey findings, the number of people per dwelling unit was high which was not conducive for housing these many people. With the passage of time, the new generation residing in walled city have started moving to other places in Delhi. On the question of moving out of locality, the respondents prefer to stay in areas where their members from their own community lives.

Movement of households for residential purposes into Muslim or Hindu dominated areas is common depending on the respondent community. The major reason given for moving out is congestion (59%) on roads, many of them reported that due to commercial activities or business their children are left with no space for outdoor activities (Image 5). The carriage carts have congested the roads not only on main roads but in the interior lanes as well. Due to these carriage carts and vehicles, there is very little space for pedestrian and their increasing number also contributed in rising noise pollution.

Some respondents reported that the Delhi Metro has improved access to the old city significantly, so much so, that it has led to overcrowding in the area and there is an increase in the average footfall. Nine percent of the respondents want to move out of the walled city due to increase in their family size, they said when the house was built it was functional for less family members only but now as the decades passed new generation have been added to families which can’t survive with so many people under same roof.

Eight percent of the respondents mentioned that better education was a crucial reason for moving to other places where their kids can have better opportunities for higher education. Eight percent of the respondents reported hostile neighbours as a key factor in relocating their residential units. It is important to note that such responses were obtained from both Hindu and Muslim respondents. Many of respondents prefer to live in Shahjahanabad area due to comfort and safety but when they were asked about the location for moving out, it is towards Okhla, Jamia Nagar and Zakir Nagar which are predominantly Muslim populated.

A major concern in the area is the method of garbage disposal. Many residents have had to hire private contractors to take care of their household waste. These contractors often dump all this waste at a common place from where the municipality collects it sometimes. Areas with high Hindu populations seemed to be cleaner. On being asked about any discrimination by municipalities, one respondent believed that this happens due to institutional discrimination towards Muslim communities and hence, their localities are ignored by the municipalities. We also found that the municipalities are active in spaces close to the roads. Beyond that, there is a lack of basic civic amenities in the houses located in the bylanes of Shahjahanabad. Due to this lack of civic amenities, many residents are forced to either pay private contractors a high amount for their garbage disposal or if they cannot afford it, they choose to get rid of it themselves somewhere on the street. The frequency of garbage collection depends on the location of the house and how accessible it is to the collectors. Therefore, the interiors of the walled city are not accessible to the municipalities and end up becoming unhealthy living spaces.
4. Employment and Education

Focussing on understanding the patterns and trends of employment opportunities and education levels of the residents of the walled city of Delhi, we found that the respondents had school-level education and most had a source of income from their family inherited business.

While talking to the respondents we came to know that the general focus of the households within the walled city was towards education of the female members who continued with their studies well up to graduation or until they were married and usually dropped out after to attend to their domestic duties. Most of the male respondents were educated up till matriculation and intermediate and immediately took charge of their family run business (Image 10).

This pattern of educational opportunity can be considered unique as contrary to the general pattern of education in the country where men have had more opportunities for education and learning. However, there are still no employment opportunities for women and are restricted to their traditional roles as housewives, mothers and caretakers.

Access to quality education is not an issue for the residents of the old city. Parents usually enrol their children usually in privately run educational institutions which are usually located in other parts of Delhi. Some parents expressed their concern regarding the transportation of their children while commuting to and from their respective schools.

Owing to the massive congestion leading to traffic snarls means that a significant amount of their time is spent in moving at snail pace which is accompanied by exposure to air and noise pollution affecting their mental and physical wellbeing. Also, parents must make additional arrangements to send their children to the designated bus stops which are outside the old city as the streets are quite narrow to allow buses or even smaller vans. Other forms of educational institutions run by religious organizations, self-help groups and charitable trusts like “madarsa” schools and tuition and coaching centres are quite common which manage to provide need-based education such as English learning and speaking courses and other skill-based training.

The study also focused on the aspects of discrimination and segregation due to exclusionary practices based on caste, religion, social identity and location in this case i.e. the walled city of Old Delhi specifically. The respondents made it clear that they do not seek government or private jobs. A common reason was that they had been living in the locality for several decades with their families and even extended families so there was no push for them to move out of the walled city. Social identity and choice of religion however lead to facing discrimination outside as one respondent had to leave his job in a private bank due to conflict with the employers regarding his religious practice. Most of the traders and businessmen had contacts outside of the walled cities and maintained strong and cordial relations with them.
5. Social Interaction

This part of the report deals with questions pertaining to the individual's participation in society. It is observed from the responses that one has to go beyond the stated questions and engage with the respondent to get the qualitative aspect of the responses given. The types of interaction that the respondents had with members of other caste and communities ranged from business dealings, helping each other out with information, inviting and attending each other's religious festivals and other events.

The respondents did point out to an undercurrent of communal differences amongst the residents. They pointed out that despite the differences there were ongoing efforts to maintain communal harmony as their shared history and culture trumped over the growing divide. One of the Hindu respondents in Farashkhana locality reported that his erstwhile neighbours indulged in discriminatory behaviour towards him and used derogatory terms to address him which led him to move to Hyder Gali which is dominated by his co-religionists. A Muslim respondent pointed towards the discriminatory behaviour he faced while travelling on a metro and its impact is such that every time he now travels, he feels that all eyes are scrutinising his behaviour. These specific responses are presented here to point to the growing communal differences amongst people of different communities.

The only reported instance of communal tensions in the neighbourhood apart from the above-mentioned case is related to the dispute in a mix community neighbourhood over calls for Azaan and use of public space for holding a religious festival to which the members of other community objected.

While we have pointed out to the communal differences yet there are residents of Shahjahanabad who work to maintain communal harmony amongst people as they work to iron out differences amongst people through informal peace committees which function without any political interference.

The growing differences between people is a worrying trend in light of the hyper nationalistic discourse that has gained traction in recent times which draw cultural symbols of citizenship from majority religion while marginalizing the minority communities and their cultural symbols being portrayed as outsiders to the “Indian culture.” In light of these developments the growing ghettoization of Muslims in old city area points to restrictive mobility as they feel safer amongst their own community members while Hindus have started to move to localities that are Hindu dominated. Mix community neighbourhoods are slowly declining with the current political climate giving impetus to such a trend. Therefore, this does not augur well for the diverse social fabric of our country.

6. Access to credit

Most of the respondents living within the walled city region were not able to access credit facilities. Multiple respondents have claimed that credit agencies and other organisations have blacklisted their areas. Some pointed out at instances where organisations have faced issues with loan repayments and credit recovery, thus, leading to the present state (Image 9). Therefore, this leads a situation where due to lack of formal financial infrastructure, there is heavy reliance on familial and social networks for availing money for personal and business purposes.
Amongst the Muslim respondents who strictly adhere to the tenets for Islamic finance, loan and associated interest are considered as *haram*. Thus, they either take money without any interest from their social circles or avoid taking at all. On the other hand, there are no religious constraints on financial activities for the Hindu respondents; they practice interest-based lending and avail finance when needed. In the context of blacklisting, one of the respondents mentioned how he could secure loan while others could not, only because one of his relatives worked in a bank.
POLICY DIRECTIONS

1. There are lack of schools in their neighborhood which, as a remedy more schools must be opened.

2. To prevent ghettoization, a housing policy must be enunciated which facilitates mixed-community housing.

3. The area lacks recreational spaces for women and children; hence the city planning must keep in mind adequate parks, gymnasiums.

4. There must be a designated time window for entry of vehicles carrying goods for loading and unloading to reduce traffic congestion and pollution.

5. A comprehensive policy should be designed and implementation at a national level which would protect the historical locations and buildings from illegal encroachment and demolition.

6. Taking into consideration the intricate web of narrow lanes and densely located buildings, the area should be retrofitted with fire safety and prevention equipment.
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