Urban Polarization: Case of Riot Affected Ahmedabad

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Abstract: The research aims at studying the transformation in morphology of the spaces post communal conflicts. Conflicts divide the city into groups fighting for the common agenda of "Whose city?" It leaves devastated impression on urban morphology by creating roads and boundaries as borders, changed landscape, no man's land and continuous surveillance; which in turn results in changing the physical and social use of spaces in everyday life. The cities divided on ethnical backgrounds have become enclaves of homogenous neighborhoods; the settlements belonging to one's community and culture can be identified clearly through architecture, hoardings, symbols and the spaces generated. Violent morphologies are the byproduct of conflicts which produce sense of fear and feeling of "them" and "us" between the two communities.

The city of Ahmedabad is one such example which has always acted as a battle ground for Hindu Muslim riots, leading to the formation of ghettoes of homogenous community. Juhapura located in the south west of the City is one of the ghettos belonging to Muslim community, consisting of places of contestation and physical, mental borders. The research intends to study the spatial effect of communal conflicts on physical and social fabric of the city. It will also focus on interface issues of the Juhapura area, reducing the sense of fear by intervention of inclusive shared spaces and capacity building programs. The study aims to question the role of urban design in creating a dialogue between the communities through physical intervention.

Keywords: Communal polarization, morphology, gentrification, ghettoization, Sense of fear

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I.   INTRODUCTION

City in itself is a heterogeneous entity representing a mosaic of different communities, ethnics, social class and economic classes. In every city there are certain disputes regarding ethnicity, race or economic class differences; so in that way every city is divided, an undivided city is utopia. This division may be deep and visible in some places while some may not be that intense to be seen in the physical form of the city. In every divided city there are certain beneficiaries behind spurring the conflicts and civil war, one of those is politics and administrative power. Ethnic conflicts produce a city where the development scenarios are always intertwining with the political agendas. With every civil war or conflicts the most profound and intense question is of whose city? With every conflict, war and violence may it be on any ground i.e. ethnical, political or economic classes; the divide between the city gets more deepen resulting in gentrification of communities in their ethnic or economic societies, creating homogenous neighbourhoods.

The impact of conflict is reflected not only in the physical infrastructure but also on the social fabric of the city. In the wake of prevailing "sense of fear", feeling of "them" and "us" and the enormous physical, social and material loss, the question about the legitimacy of the conflict can be raised. Communal conflicts share few basic set of issues i.e. history, identity, security and equality.

I.1   Area of Concern

Ethnically divided and polarized city

Indian cities since Vedic period have always been planned considering caste and class segregation; the ethnic segregation came to picture after the country was invaded by Mughal. The condition became worst post independence and the Muslims were seen as others in Indian cities, which often create a contested atmosphere in which both the communities fight for their right to city. Cities in these conflicts act as a battleground in which the built forms, landscapes and religious spaces are altered; these spaces then represents the violent morphologies and scars of the conflict.

The issues attached with conflicts are gentrification, marginalization and social exclusion of minority group making city monoreligious. The gentrified community then moves to safer place on fringes or in some other part of city away from the dominant community forming a ghetto which is unable to provide quality of

life, there is always placelessness as the community is shifted from their place of belonging. Ghettoization leads to more inclusive enclaves, excluding the community from city.
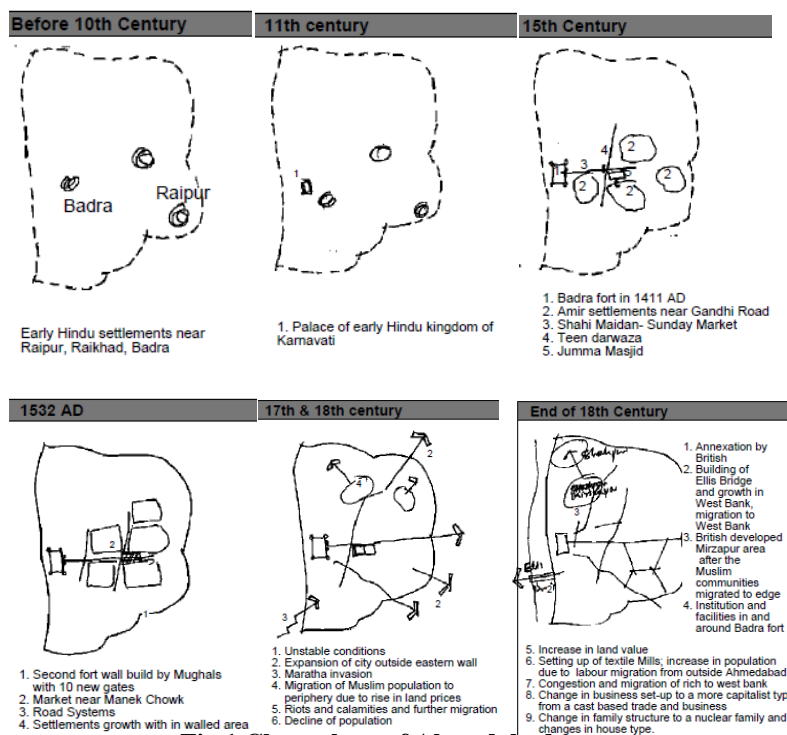
I.2 Ahmedabad

Fig 1 Chronology of Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad is a city in the west-central state of Gujarat in India. Its origin dates back to the 10th century. The walled city was constructed on the eastern bank of Sabarmati River by Ahmed Shah in 1411 AD. Since then, many rulers have ruled the city.

The British took control of the city in 1817. In the latter half of 19th century with the advent of Industrial Revolution many textile mills were developed making Ahmedabad "Manchester of the East".

Ahmedabad is a highly Polarized city, may it be on economic or ethnical grounds. The city is geographically physically divided by the River Sabarmati, to the east of which is the old city consisting more than 50% of population in slums and chawls

(Darshini Mahadevia: Inside the Transforming Urban Asia: Processes, Policies, and Public Actions). To the west is another Ahmedabad of elites served by all the development paradigms.
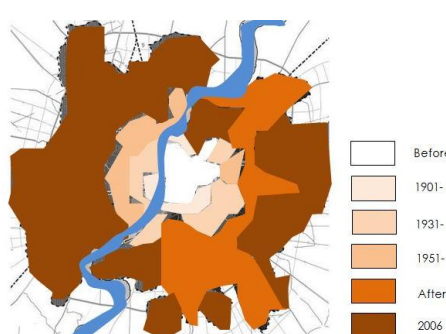

Fig 2 Ahmedabad settlements   **Fig 3 Ahmedabad Growth Pattern**

Post Independence from 1960's Ahmedabad has been experiencing spatial transformation based on communal riots. The city started dividing based on ethnic grounds. After 1980 riots a lot of Hindus and Muslims left and sold their houses and moved to the spaces they found safer.
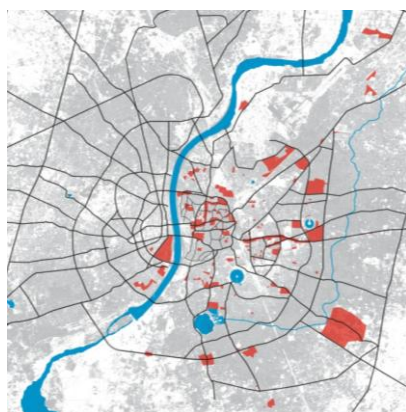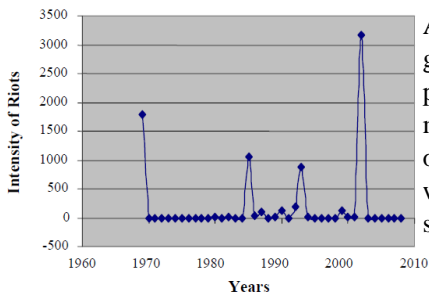

Fig 4 Disturbed area map

To control this gentrification AMC has passed a law "The Prohibition of Transfer of Immovable Property and Provision of Protection of Tenants from Eviction from the Premises in Disturbed Areas Act, 1986" However, despite the Act, the transfer of property between Hindus and Muslims continued to occur, particularly since there were further riots in the 1990s. Since the 2002 communal violence, during which organized Hindu groups targeted the Muslims, the city has become fully segregated by religion. This has led to further formation of religious enclaves and Muslim marginalization.

After every riot city has been divided and the communities got apart but the 2002 riot was worst among all which disturbed the city's growth and urban pattern tremendously. The city became completely homogenous and a sense of fear is always prevalent in the city.

I.3 Timeline of riots in Ahmedabad

Fig 5: Intensity of riots

Ahmedabad is a riot prone city; the city has always been a battle ground between the two communities. The first major riots which popped up in the city were in 1941, then in 1969, 1985, 1990 and the major among all was 2002 massacre. 2002 riots were different from all others as it was one sided and caused a huge destruction of life and wealth. The intensity of this mishap was so intense that its scars are still visible in the city.

Fig 6: Affected areas
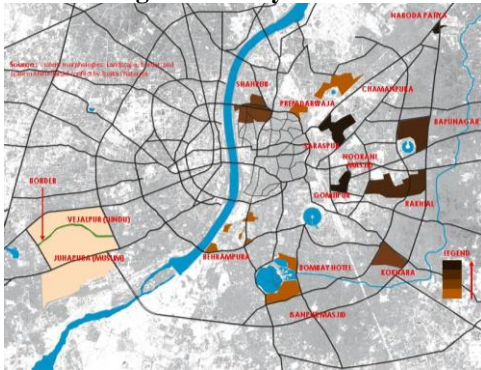
S.No.	Neighborhood	Houses Destroyed	Shops Destroyed
1	Naroda Patiya	67	-
2	Gomtipur	262	98
3	Bapunagar	250	8
4	Rakhyal	91	13
5	Bahrampura	21	-
6	Shahpur	97	-
7	Saraspur	250	21
8	Prem Darwaja	94	-
9	Chamanpura	66	24
10	Kokhara	62	68
	Total	1260	232

Table 7: Affected areas

Fig 8: Gulberg Society
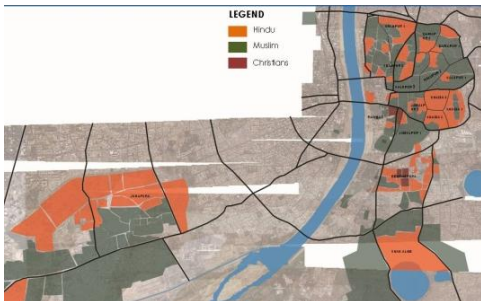
Fig 9: Social Fabric

S.No	Ward Name	Temples	Hindu Majority	Mosques	Muslim Majority
1	Khadia 1	High	Very high	Very Low	Very Low
2	Khadia 2	Moderate	High	Very Low	Very Low
3	Khadia 3	Moderate	Very high	Very Low	Very Low
4	Jamalpur 1	Very low	Very low	Very High	Very High
5	Jamalpur 2	Moderate	Low	Low	High
6	Raikhad	Moderate	Low	High	High
7	Kalupur 1	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
8	Kalupur 2	Very high	Moderate	Low	Very High
9	Kalupur 3	Moderate	Moderate	Low	Moderate
10	Dariapur 1	Low	Moderate	High	High
11	Dariapur 2	Very High	Low	Low	Low
12	Shahpur 1	Moderate	High	Moderate	Moderate
13	shahpur 2	Very high	Very high	High	High

Fig 10: Territoriality

S.NO.	WARD NAME	POPULATION OF MUSLIM AREAS		
		1991	2001	2011
1	Khadia	52730	54470	49408
2	Kalupur	41341	61100	53630
3	Dariapur	26893	62989	63664
4	Shahpur	46315	62657	68150
5	Jamalpur	43026	66521	66246
6	Raikhad	47075	64521	66855
7	Paldi	40633	74822	83109
8	Vasna	113793	103526	123116
9	Gandhigram	99001	56800	68911
10	Vadaj	139584	140011	153501
11	Navranpura	101465	83331	55647
12	Sabarmati	80957	73063	658566
13	Bapunagar	78442	90054	93835
14	Rakhial	57410	75016	76838
15	Gomtipur	41090	68408	70015
16	Dani limda	67639	110012	165731
17	Vatva	52816	121716	164730
18	Isanpur	105824	114028	159181
19	Sarkhej	9569	23412	72727
	Total	1245603	1506457	2313860

Fig 11: Gentrification

Post 2002 riots the city's fabric was completely divided into the homogenous neighborhoods of Hindu and Muslim; few neighbourhoods where coexistence of both the communities was found they also got gentrified. Today, the communal divides in urban space are clearly drawn out. Both Hindus and Muslims now prefer to stay in their own ghetto for the sense of security. Mahadevia (2007) estimated that about 50 per cent of the Muslim population of Ahmedabad lived in two large ghettos, Juhapura and Dani Limda. Juhapura, the largest ghetto, continues to experience in-migration of Muslims.

In migration and out migration of communities

Post riots the spatial transformation in the walled city have been analysed. The formation of ghettoes was now on its top, mixed neighbourhoods were now becoming homogenous neighbourhoods consisting of only one community either Hindu or Muslim. The spatiality of this movement of communities i.e., in-migration and the movement of communities from the walled city, that is, out migration has been registered based on interrogation by the people.
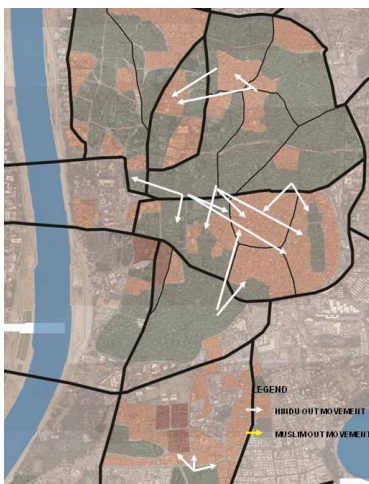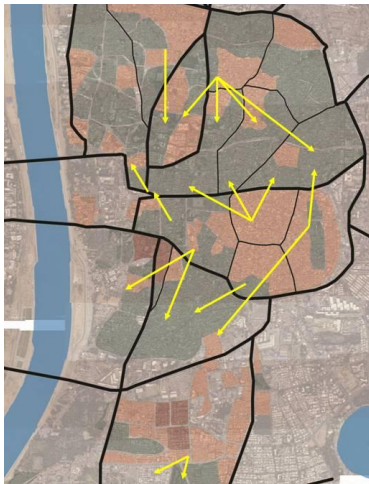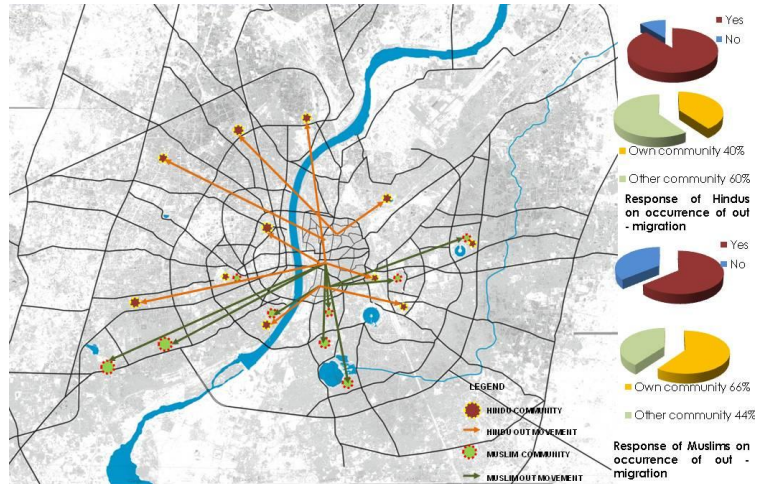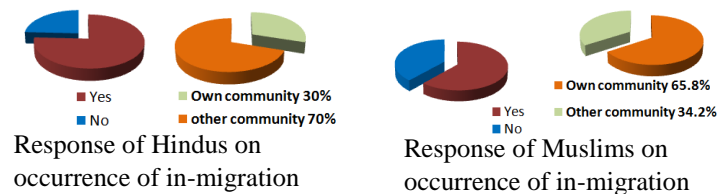

Fig 13: Out migration patterns

In migration

In-migration of communities has taken place extensively within the walled city, rarely have these communities originated from outside the walled city. In other words, immigrants are mainly, the residents of the walled city itself. Thus, in migration is basically an intra-ward movement of communities restricted within the walled city

Response of Hindus on occurrence of in-migration

Response of Muslims on occurrence of in-migration

Fig 12: In migration patterns

city. It implies that there has been an exchange of population within the walled city with communities moving out, mainly from low concentration areas to higher concentration areas. This results in greater segregation of communities over space and time. (refere fig 11)

Out migration

Communities from within the walled city have out-migrated to other wards within the walled city as well as towards the suburbs, especially in the last twenty years in the context of the frequent and violent incidents of communal clashes.

Out-migration of communities from within the walled city has been en-masse. This has resulted in the formation of ghettoes in the suburbs. Jains have mostly moved in western and north-western direction towards Ambawadi, Paldi, Navrangpura and Naranpura. Hindus on the other hand, have moved in different directions according to their respective castes. Hindu high castes have an out-migration pattern similar to Jains, moving to western side of the city towards Ambawadi and Navrangpura and to Sola, in the north-west. Hindu medium caste on the other hand has moved towards the north and the north west - Ranip, Wadaj, Nava Wadaj, Ghatlodia and Navamgpura. Hindu low castes have moved towards the eastern and western side of the city- to Asarwa, Saraspur, Bapunagar, Rakhial and Amraiwadi and to Vejalpur, Jodhapur Tekra in the east.

Muslims have moved roughly towards the eastern, western and southern parts of the city. The community has out-migrated towards Vejalpur, Juhapura, Sarkhej, Paldi, Fatehpura in the west; Behrampura, Dani Limda and Shah Alam Roja in the south and Gomtipur, Shaher Kolda, Bapunagar and Chamanpura in the east. (refere fig 12)
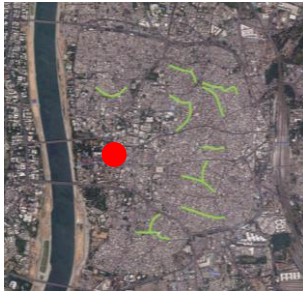
Formation of border

Fig 14: Roads as borders

Communal violence is having a very pronounced impact on the morphology of the city. One is the formation of mental '**borders'** between the two communities where road itself act as border. The sense of fear can be experienced through increased height of the compound walls and installation of gates over chawls and galis in the locality where two communities are juxtaposed. The typology of houses have been changed post riots, people are now designing houses by thinking about the way to escape at the time of communal clashes.
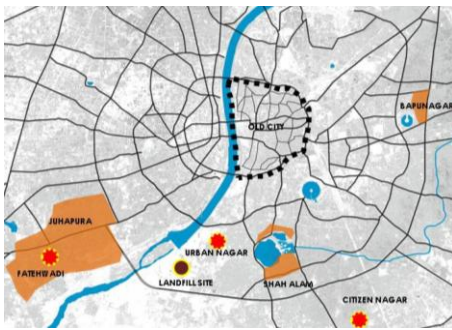
Ghettoization

Fig 15: Location of ghettoes

Muslims from all the Hindu dominated areas have moved to the peripheries like Juhapura and Bombay hotel, and those who are rehabilitated post riots are in a much poor condition as they are forced to stay on fringes forming an introvert society struggling on economic grounds.

The city consists of three major Muslim enclaves which has faced a real estate boom post riots; those are Juhapura, Shah – E – Alam roza and Bapunagar, all the three are located on the fringes of the city. Since these are formed haphazardly and through land mafia, these areas lacks in basic amenities and services.

Fig 15: Condition of Muslim ghettoes

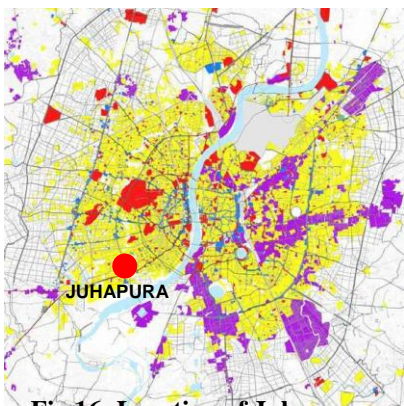## II.   JUHAPURA : STUDY AREA

Fig 16: Location of Juhapura

Juhapura is located on the western fringe of Ahmedabad, it is considered as Asia's largest Muslim enclave with a population of 400000. The area was first established in 1973 for rehabilitating Sabarmati flood affected people, but soon became a Muslim ghetto after every successive riot. Till 1989 the area had both Hindu and Muslim population but as the frequency of riot increased post 1989 till 2002, the Hindus of Juhapura being minority shifted to the Western part of the city. The 2002 riot was devastating, it made people to live in ghettoes of homogenous community; Muslims from old city shifted to Juhapura and other Muslim concentration areas on fringes. Juhapura witnessed a major construction boom in 2002.

Juhapura in Ahmedabad is one of the biggest Muslim ghettos

of India. Following each communal riot, Muslims from the Old City would shift here to make this as their place of living. Some of those who shifted here previously lived in Ahmedabad's industrial areas, too. After the 1992

and 2002 riots, the middle-class Muslims, retired IAS/IPS officers, advocates, professors, doctors, traders etc. came here in search of security. They migrated from places where they were living for generations. Juhapura being on the fringes, the land was available in lower prices; the land mafia took advantage of the sensitive conditions prevailing in the city, builders from same community purchased started buying and selling of plots. The construction started on these plots without taking an NOC from the local municipality, and hence the area suffers in basic services and amenities. The housing colonies lack in proper drainage, sewerage, roads and all the basic amenities. Juhapura study area is around more than 150 hectares and entire area was constructed haphazardly by giving no attention to open spaces, infrastructure and amenities; the builders filled the natural draining tributaries and hence the area gets water clogged even at the slightest amount of rainfall. Since the area was constructed illegally and lacks NOC, the government provided infrastructural facilities do not reach till here and so the residents pays to bootleggers to resolve the sewerage and drainage issues. Before 2012 even the electricity was provided illegally by the bootleggers. The water supply is done through private bore wells.

Kachcha roads   **Water Clogging**   **Streets as open spaces**

Wall as border   **24 hour surveillance**   **Locked Back door**

Fig 17: Location of Juhapura

Other than the intercommunity issues the area also faces intracommunity issues i.e. Juhapura is juxtaposed to Vejalpur which is a Hindu area. Both the communities are Separated by road acting as border; not only the road even the high compound wall around 6.5mts high created as feel of them and us. There is always a sense of fear among the community. There is absolutely no interaction between the communities and even the open spaces are administered and used by the people belonging to one community. The site consists of high walls at around three different locations, being erected for the same purpose. It also consists of dilapidated building and 24 hours surveillance at the point where the two communities are juxtaposed. The surveillance and presence of dilapidated building acts as mementoes of the bloody shades of the past.

II.1 Site Documentation
II.1.1 Chronology

Fig 18: Chronology of Juhapura

Juhapura was first established in 1976 for the Sabarmati flood affected people. Sankalit nagar was the first settlement of the area. Juhapura was a mixed community till 1989, due to successive riots the Hindus from this area moved towards the west and the Muslims from the old city and nearby villages settled in the area. Since 1989 to 2016 this area is facing tremendous construction pressure, the major real estate boom was post 2002.
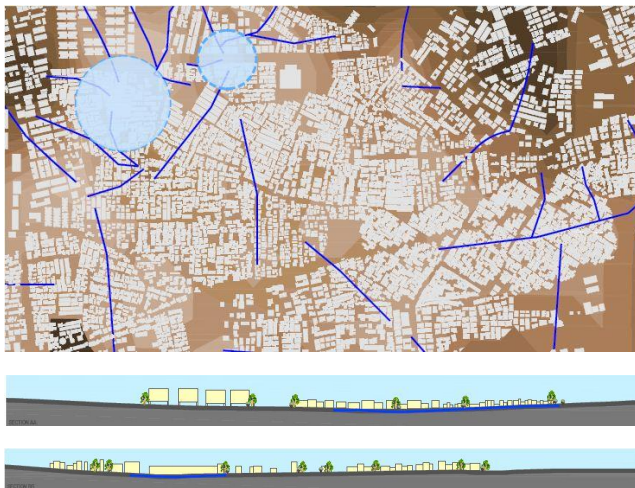
II.1.2 Topography Study

Juhapura had been built on the flood plain of Sabarmati River, all the natural drainage have been blocked by the haphazard development, also the wetlands have been encroached; as a result to that Juhapura gets flooded in even the slightest amount of rainfall. There is always clogging of water in the area.
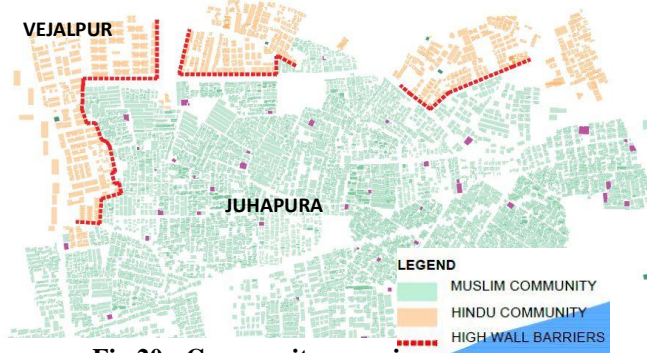
Fig 19: Drainage and water clogging

II.1.3 Community Mapping

Juhapura consisting majority of Muslim population is juxtaposed to Hindu majority area Vejalpur, the road between the two communities act a divide between the two. The 4mt high compound wall acts as a boundary. The wall has even blocked the visual connection between the communities.

Fig 20: Community mapping

II.1.4 Figure Ground Map

Fig 21: Figure Ground Map of Juhapura

By looking at figure xy it is evident that the area lacks in open spaces and is highly dense. The open spaces available in Juhapura are either incidental spaces, streets or any vacant plot where construction has to be done. The typology of houses in this area is either one room unit, chawls, rehabilitation houses and apartments.

II.1.5 Building Use

Fig 22: Building Use Map of Juhapura

The area is considered as residential in land use plan of Ahmedabad; the building use in the area is majorly residential, commercials are either designated commercial spaces such as Sankalit Nagar market or small commercials beneath the house (here considered as mixed use). The area also consists of religious buildings such as Masjid, jamat khana and madarsas, private hospitals and schools.

II.1.6 Socioeconomic Mapping

Fig 23: Socioeconomic Map of Juhapura

Juhapura consists of people belonging to Muslim community, the area suffers inter community segregation based on caste and economy. It consists of people who earn daily wages and those working in government sector or running a business firm. The difference in typology clearly indicates the varied economic background of the area.

II.1.7 Open Spaces and Road Width

Fig 24: Open Spaces and Road Width

Since the density is very high in Juhapura it lacks in designated open spaces; children use streets as their playground and functions are celebrated either on the street or on the incidental spaces left after the construction of buildings. Juhapura houses and colonies being constructed illegally it lacks provision of basic services provided by the government. The roads here are mostly kachcha roads, the pucca roads or paved path ways found in the colonies are either built by the builder at the time of construction of township or by the

contribution of residents. The streets in the area are so narrow that only 2 wheelers can pass through it, at the time of emergency if ambulance has to be called it will not be able to reach to individual house.

II.1.8 Typology

Juhapura faced a construction boom post 2002 riots, hence the typologies found here are the one which can be availed at cheaper rates. The area is occupied predominantly by Muslims with lower economic class. The building typologies identified in this area are one room units (row houses), rehabilitation homes, chawls and apartments. Since the area has been built illegally it lacks quality of life.
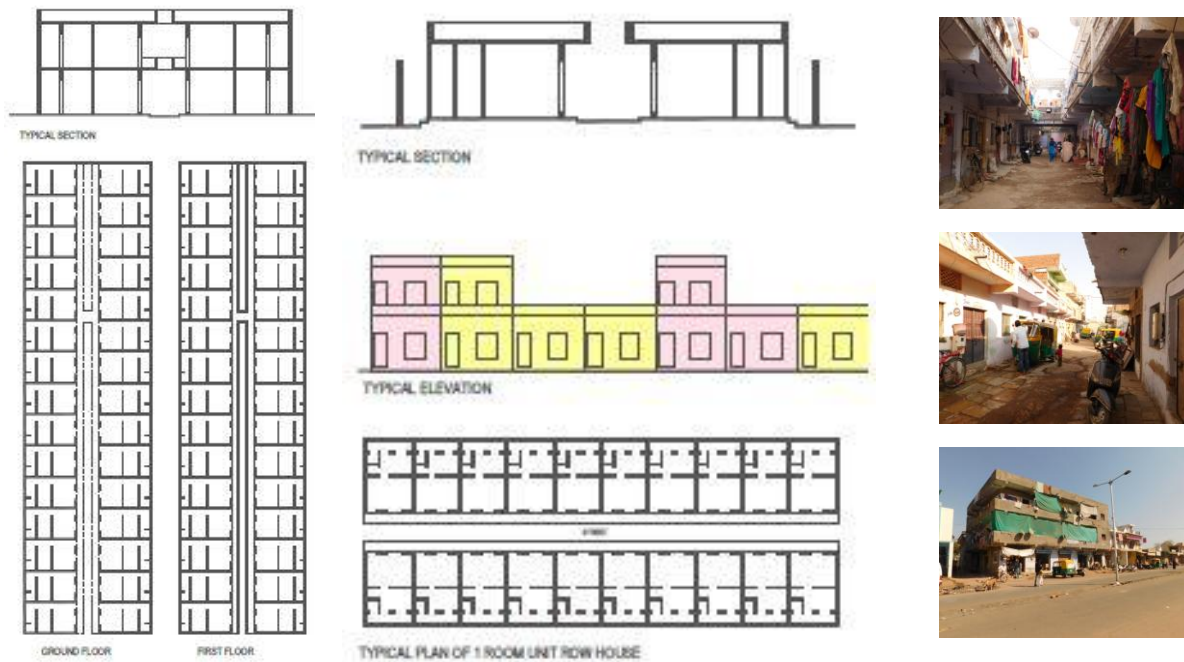

Fig 25: Typology of houses in Juhapura
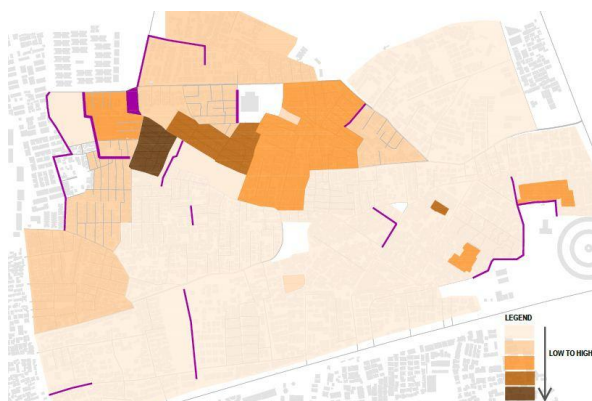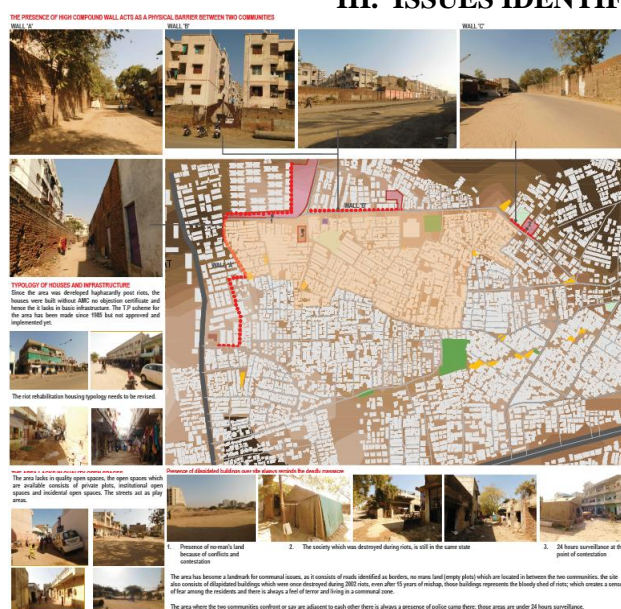
II.1.9 Crime and Density Mapping

Fig 26: Crime Mapping

Fig 27: Density Mapping

III. ISSUES IDENTIFIED IN THE AREA

1. **Interface (presence of dividing walls):** Post riots there is absolutely no communication between both the communities, to such an extent that around 4 mts. high wall divides the housing of two communities. The road act as border and compound wall as boundary. The presence of this wall creates a feel of "them" and "us".
2. **Contestation:** The presence of 24X7 police surveillance at the location where the two communities are juxtaposed creates a sense of contestation.
3. **Presence of buildings destroyed during riots:** The buildings which were destroyed during 2002 riots are still present on the site, which always bring back the devastating memory of past.

4. No Man's land: Due to the frequent disputes between the two communities, the land which is at the interface of two communities' lies vacant i.e. either no one has purchased the land or it has been purchased but construction is not happening because of the communal issues.

5. Infrastructure and basic services: Since the houses in Juhapura had been built illegally, the TP Scheme could not be implemented here and hence the area lacks in basic services and infrastructure.

6. Open spaces: Juhapura developed haphazardly and is highly dense, due to which the area lacks in quality of open spaces. The street and incidental open spaces act as play and celebration area.

7. Typology of riot rehabilitation houses: The rehabilitation houses have been provided by the Muslim trustees. 2002 riots were the most devastating ones, a number of lives were lost and property was harmed; to house the victims, Muslim trustees purchased land at lower price and constructed rehabilitation houses illegally in low cost. The houses lie on fringes, and lacks basic services, amenities and quality of life. The houses needs to be rebuild.

8. Criminal activities in the area: Most of the residents are school dropouts and are unemployed and hence are indulged in antisocial activities, also, Since houses in the area are available on cheap prices, there are a lot of people (Muslim community) from nearby villages and cities who stays on rent; these houses are given on rent by the land mafia and hence no identity is known to the residents of the area. Because of this gap between the residents and the tenants, crime has increased. Criminal activities like robbery, bootlegging, chain snatching, forced prostitution and domestic violence prevails in the area.

IV. DESIGN STRATEGIES
1. Restructuring the physical borders between the two communities.
2. Since the area is unauthorized, housing schemes and proposals need to be identified for improving the quality of life of residents.
3. Shared public spaces to be created at the borders.
4. Capacity building programs and vocational training institutions to be proposed for inclusive growth of both the communities.
5. Redevelopment of buildings which were destroyed during the riots.
6. Redevelopment of riot rehabilitation houses.

V CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper is to draw attention towards the issue of division and finding out the role of planning and design in it. In an inclusive urban form the division between the communities and the reflection of it on the development is a hindrance to city's growth. The question which this paper raises is the role of urban design intervention in reducing the mental gap between the two communities. The development schemes for such areas should be inclusive of all and must be more sensitive towards the communal issues, such areas become vulnerable during the time of riots or any communal mishap. The development should focus on the inclusive public realm where both the communities are benefitted; the aim should be to reduce the sense of fear.

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