

IV. A. G. C. march 1973

WHERE TO, BOMBAY?



TAKING UP POSITIONS: As fresh violence broke out, army jawans took up strategic positions in the troubled Bhandi Bazar area near the



An innocent person was done to death with this stone, in the foreground on Thursday near Nul Bazar. — Express photo



▲ **The burning aftermath:** A woman flees her home in Ghatkopar, Bombay, as passions spilled over after the demolition of the Ayodhya mosque, in cities and towns across a battered nation



**A REPORT OF THE RIOTS
IN BOMBAY**

BY THE

College of Social Work

FOREWORD

"Where To, Bombay? " is the cry that surged during the recent riots from the hearts of all who consider this large, welcoming metropolis as home.

Compelled by the suffering that followed in the aftermath of the demolition of the Babri Masjid, the College mobilised the staff and students to engage in a one-week intervention in December 1992, in the riot-affected areas of the city. This time-bound involvement opened us to an ocean of needs which demanded a much longer investment of time, resources and personnel than had been planned. In the measure of its possibilities, the College responded through the field work placements of students, the over-time work of staff and students, the collaboration of NGO's and the appointment of two full-time project staff.

The effective response to the basic needs of relief camps and the long-term needs of employment and shelter could be met because of substantial financial assistance received from the Chief Minister's Relief Fund, the Tata Relief Committee, the Catholic Relief Services, The Bombay Committee Trust, the Times of India Relief Fund and the C.C.V.C. van. Many other educational institutions, industrial concerns and generous individuals as well as socially concerned organisations also made their contribution in cash and in kind for the riot-affected people.

We thank the Government officials particularly the Collectors, Mr. J. Sahani and Mr. S. Salvi, and the Secretary Rehabilitation Mr. Satish Tripathi, for facilitating our participation in the assessment of needs, making suitable recommendations and facilitating the return of people to normal functioning in South Bombay.

Throughout the process of interaction with others, whether at Raj Bhavan or Mantralaya, we were struck by the concern of NGO's who frankly shared their hopes and fears. Many of them had found their own creative and efficient ways of utilising the available resources in the best possible way.

We wish to recognise the courage of our faculty who sustained the confidence and interest of students in the field despite the tension and unpredictability of the situation. We appreciate the long hours of involvement by students and faculty, both in the field as well as in the preparation of this report. We also thank our administrative staff who valiantly bore the brunt of increased phone-calls, answering queries and for typing this report. To all who have contributed to this report, we say thank you.

March 10, 1993.

Dr. (Ms.) Hazel D'Lima
Principal

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Chapter I

THE DECISION TO INTERVENE

Introduction

The people of India felt numbed into disbelief as the shocking news of the demolition of the Babri Masjid hit the conscience of the nation on the evening of December 6, 1992.

How was the society at large going to react? The immediate response as conveyed by the media was to condemn certain leaders and political parties believed to be responsible for the demolition. The question was whether one could trust the statements of politicians. Gradually incidents of violence erupted in various parts of Bombay and within a week, the whole city was astorm with rampant looting, arson and destruction of life. Transport grounded to a halt. Provisions were difficult to buy, business establishments had to down their shutters, schools and colleges could not function normally. The unabated violence could be controlled only by a long and strict curfew turning a bustling metropolis into a ghost city.

Bombayites who prided themselves on their cosmopolitan culture, suddenly fell aghast as newspapers and the T.V. daily flashed news of growing waves of violence expressed in forms of brutality that were unheard of in the city.

The news of the riots continued to be splashed abundantly in every newspaper and they gradually began to reflect the particular angles that each group was interested in portraying. Rumours spread like wild-fire adding strains of panic and violence to an already sur-charged atmosphere. Most saw the riots as a communal clash between Muslims and Hindus in the wake of the demolition of the Babri Masjid; some saw it as hostility expressed towards the police who failed in their duty of protecting the shrine; others saw it as a "gang war under the cover of communal violence".

Whatever be the analysis, the stark reality was that hundreds of people in the city lost their lives, hundreds of families had to abandon home, work and property, to be saved from death. The hospitals were overflowing with people seriously injured, morgues were full of bodies waiting to be recognised and claimed, while people ran helter-skelter in search of loved ones who were lost in the frenzied riots.

Could one stand and continue only to watch a situation that had deteriorated so rapidly? Who were the affected victims? What help did they need? Could we enter into the situation to understand its implications in terms of human out-reach and long-term goals for the people affected?

Should the College Intervene?

The College of Social Work which educates students in the field of professional social work has always striven to relate professional expertise to contemporary situations so that students learn to contribute meaningfully in the given social reality. The faculty of the College felt strongly that the riot-situation in the city called for our involvement. The students too had expressed their concern to do something about the situation by starting on their own, an organisation called Students' Unity for Communal Harmony.

Two levels of intervention were spelt out:

- 1) Identifying victims and helping them in appropriate ways.
- 2) Understanding the dynamics of the riots and functioning of service systems in such a crisis.

The faculty agreed that the whole student body had to be involved in these tasks to bring them closer to the socio-political realities of today, to develop sensitivity to such issues and to know the type of crisis intervention that is called for.

A Plan of Action

A plan of action was drawn up as follows:

- 1) The students would be in the field from December 15 - 22.
- 2) Since the intervention was only for a week, they would work through existing voluntary organisations which could continue the work begun.
- 3) Faculty members would accompany different groups of students in the areas of the city where intervention was planned.
- 4) A meeting of voluntary agencies already working with the College in field placements would be called to identify areas, tasks and responsibilities in the work to be undertaken.
- 5) A team of co-ordinators from among the faculty, a Resource Mobilisation Committee and a research group were formed.

At the meeting of voluntary organisations, a large number of agencies were present with an attendance of about 150 people. The list of organisations is appended to the report (Appendix B). There was great concern to do something about a situation which had stirred the conscience of citizens. The agencies grouped themselves according to geographical areas where they were present and area-level co-ordinating groups were formed. One or two faculty members together with a group of 20-30 students were allotted to each of the areas and a plan of action was jointly worked out such that intervention could start on December 15.

The College also planned to use this opportunity to conduct a survey which would enable us to effect a more comprehensive understanding of the people affected by the riots and the wider social implications of such a crisis.

The Survey

The Research group set itself to the task of clarifying objectives for the study, preparing the interview schedule and instructions for interviewers.

Objective of the Study

- 1) To ascertain the extent of damages and loss during the post Ayodhya riots in certain locations in Bombay.
- 2) To study the coping mechanism of victims.
- 3) To identify various precipitating factors for these riots as perceived by the respondents.
- 4) To find out what measures were taken by various governmental and non-governmental bodies in the riot-affected areas.
- 5) To ascertain the expectations of the people in the riot affected areas from government and non-government organisations.
- 6) To suggest the long term/short term intervention strategy required for the rehabilitation of affected people and prevention of such riots in the future.

The interview schedule explored facts related to death or physical injury as well as property damage. It also listed questions to explore the socio-economic status of people in the locality, community relationships, and to assess the help received through different service systems.

Methodology

The major areas reached out to by the College teams were Bhandup, Dharavi, Mahim, Govandi-Shivajinagar, Asalpha, Bandra (East), Byculla-Nagpada, Golibar-Santacruz and three general hospitals; J.J., K.E.M. and Cooper. Govandi-Shivajinagar area was surveyed by Tata Institute of Social Sciences. In order to avoid duplication of efforts, it was decided that the College team would participate in their survey.

At this juncture, we would like to recall that at the time of the survey, the situation in the field was very tense. The actual figures on casualties and injured persons or property were not available. One could not be sure about people's reactions. Our teams were entering into an unknown situation and they had to proceed cautiously. Under the circumstances, it was not possible to draw a preliminary sample design for testing. The interviewers were instructed to identify riot-affected persons and begin with those who would willingly respond.

Data-Collection in the Field

When our teams reached the spots, they initially found people rather closed and hesitant to talk to them. However, once they realised that the teams did not belong to any political party, they gathered around and flooded us with their immediate cries for help:

- 1) to receive compensation
- 2) to trace injured family members in the government hospitals
- 3) to recover the dead body of their near and dear one
- 4) to register their complaints with the police
- 5) to get their family members released from police custody.

Our teams did not have to interview all the affected victims to understand the local dynamics as almost everyone was sharing the same incidents and

experiences. Hence, some students interviewed individuals only to obtain factual data on damages and had small group discussions to obtain data on general happenings in the community. These discussions were revealing and provided deeper insights into the riot-situation.

Here, a special mention about Dharavi would be relevant. When our team went there, they saw mistrust in the eyes of people, grief on their faces and a sense of helplessness in their behaviour. They were too afraid to talk but quite hopeful of receiving some concrete help. The situation was somewhat volatile, hence the researchers were unable to go into some of the areas included in Appendix A. Also, the geographical area being very widespread and the time factor limited to only a week, the researchers had to limit the areas of exploration. The account of Dharavi will be found in Chapter III on Area Reports.

Barring Dharavi, a total of 680 families were interviewed and the data in Chapter II reflects their situation before, during and after the riots.

In some areas, our team through group discussions, led people to form peace committees. Thus, fact-finding was combined with continuous action in the field, with one's finger constantly on the pulse of the people concerned.

Content of the Report

The data comprised facts on quantifiable items like occupation, income, cause of death, injury as well as qualitative information like local dynamics and the impressions of people. The preliminary analysis of both brought out certain characteristic features and trends and it was felt imperative to corroborate the findings with media reports. Hence a quick analysis of news printed between the riot dates (6th December to 11th December, 1992) was undertaken and the findings are interwoven in the text of the report.

A note must be added here that the rate of "no response" was considerably high on sensitive questions like legality of the structure possessed, dominance of the political party in the area. In such instances, only the most commonly repeated trend is highlighted.

Chapter II

PROFILE OF RIOT VICTIMS AND THEIR OPINION ON RELATED EVENTS

The demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya on December 6, 1992, was followed by a flare-up of violence, arson and looting which was intensified in several parts of Bombay between December 6 & 11. Based on the data gathered through the interviews of students, this report presents a profile of those affected by the riots, the damage they suffered and their views on the happenings. The data collected through an interview schedule and informal group discussions is analysed highlighting both qualitative and quantitative aspects of the study.

Location of Areas

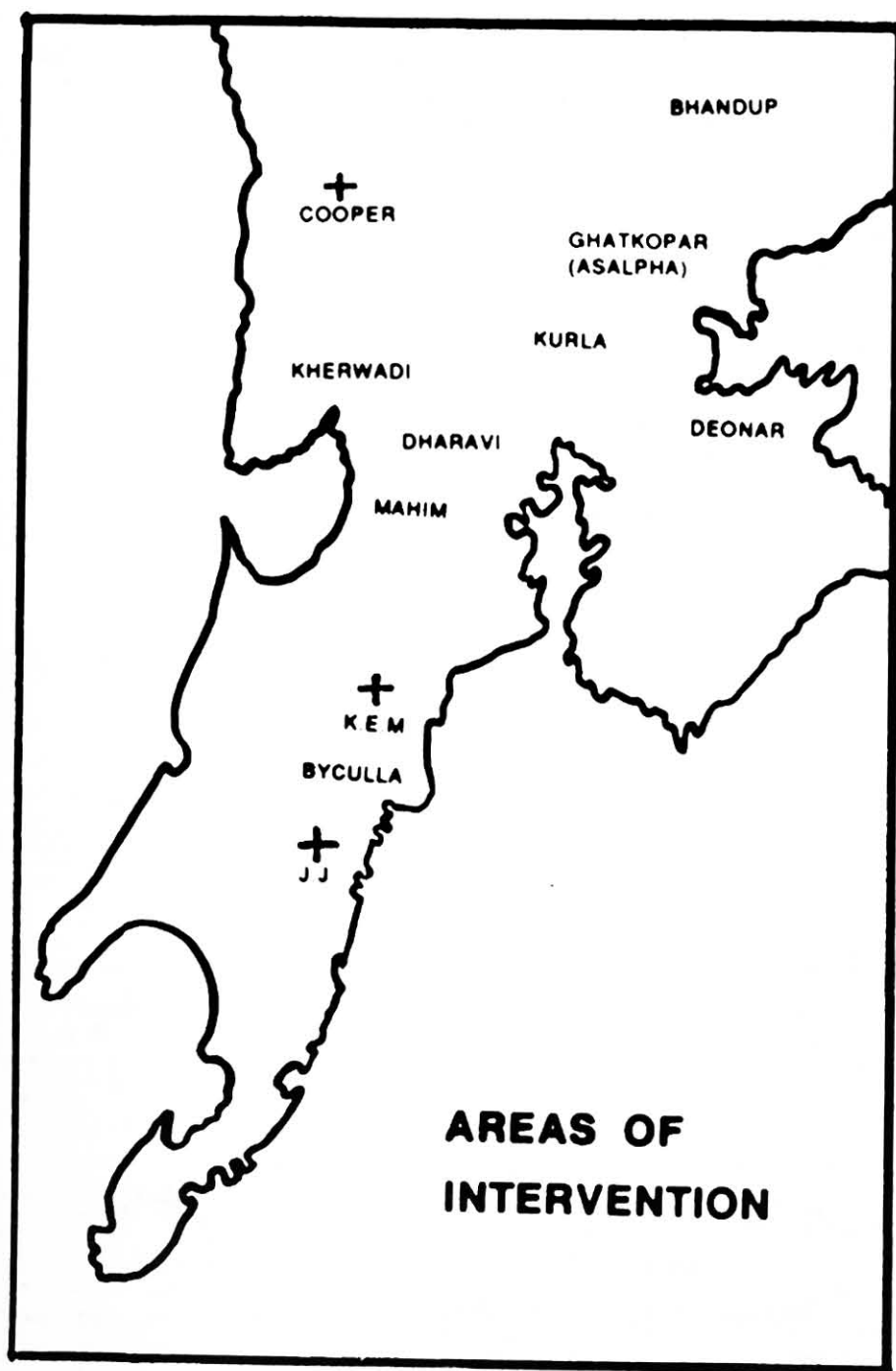
The following map indicates the areas from where information was collected. These were the locations in which the area co-ordinating bodies had decided to work. These are also the areas where local voluntary agencies are already working and where students are generally placed for field-work experience.

Sequence of Events

It is evident from a chronological analysis of the data gathered, that the riots started in some areas of the city dominated by Muslims. In a seemingly retaliatory or self-defensive move, the attacks then targeted individual houses or places where the Muslims were a minority, or had business units.

The data indicates that attacks on isolated Muslim pockets, houses or business places were recorded from December 9 onwards. In Bhandup, 217 out of 284 respondents (76%) said that the riots started on December 9. It was the same day on which the Muslim population was attacked in Asalpha (Andheri East). The Commissioner of Police also stated in the TOI (Dec. 8) that the epicentre of violence shifted from South Bombay (Pydhonie, Dongri, Nagpada, Byculla, which have large Muslim concentrations) to the Eastern Suburbs (Bhandup, Asalpha, Kurla, etc., which are more Hindu dominated areas).

Some Muslims expressed strong feelings that Hindus began the communal riots all over the country by their very attack on the Mosque in Ayodhya.



It is significant to note that in all the localities contacted, people had not found communal bias in their own areas. It was from outside their localities that communal elements had entered and disrupted the harmony. People attributed several other factors as responsible for the riots: in some areas the Muslims came in conflict with the police who arrested them in large numbers, in other places the riots were a culmination of a long standing conflict between political parties at the local level. The Police Commissioner also mentioned the large-scale eviction of hawkers in the city as a contributory factor to the subsequent riot, since these evictions were effected hardly a few days before the disturbance broke out.

While the riots were not attributed to local communal hostility, yet it was felt that the outside mob could not have identified the Muslim houses unless someone from the locality had pointed them out. This feeling of betrayal by unknown local informers has left a great sense of insecurity amongst people. They have realised that the wisdom of elderly members can no longer control the frenzy of youth, political leaders and other vested interests. Many people do not wish to stay in the same areas any more and want to shift to areas where their own community people are in the majority.

To confirm the fact that the attacks were by people from outside, many incidents of mutual help within the locality have been reported. In Kurla, a Muslim old man was shot by the police while trying to save a Hindu house. In Bhandup, Hindu neighbours tried to block outsiders from entering a Muslim house. It was also reported that Hindu neighbours sheltered Muslim children while the adults had to run away from their houses for safety.

Profile of Riot Victims

This section describes the affected people under the following heads:

- 1) Occupation
- 2) Family Income
- 3) Education
- 4) Religion
- 5) State of Origin
- 6) Duration of Stay in Bombay
- 7) Housing

- 8) Damage/Loss during riots
- 9) Relationship with Neighbours and Local Political Parties
- 10) The Trauma of the Riots
- 11) The Out-Reach

1) Occupation

The nature of work done by the affected families is as follows:

Table 1

Nature of Work

Work	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	85	12.40
Casual Workers	166	24.40
Factory Workers	23	3.40
Home Business	173	25.40
Business	62	9.10
Services	108	15.90
N.R.	63	9.10
Total	680	100.00

From the table it is evident, that 50% of the affected people are casual workers and those in home-business (eg. pan-beedi, grocery shop). These two groups depend on daily earnings. Even in normal times daily wage earners lead a hand to mouth existence. During the riot-torn days, they have not been able to take up work on a regular basis. They and their families lived through deprivation not because of non-availability of commodities but because of a lowering of their purchasing power. This was due on the one hand to their inability to work and earn and on the other to the sharp rise in prices of essential commodities.

2) Family Income

The family income from the above occupations shows the following:

Table 2

Family Income

Income	Frequency	Percentage
Rs.		
< 1000	192	28.00
1001 - 2000	250	36.76
2001 - 3000	105	15.40
3001 - 5000	63	9.26
5000 +	23	2.50
N.R.	48	7.00
Total	680	100.00

If we consider Rs. 2,000/- per month as bare necessity for a family unit in Bombay, then it is evident that the majority (nearly 65%) earn a low income.

These are people who are hardly likely to have savings, hence their present situation touches a high degree of vulnerability which if not responded to, can have disastrous consequences for the future as a whole.

3) Education

It was found that the educational level of the people affected by the riots was low, as low as illiteracy for (227) 33.38% of them. The total number that fall in the category of below Std. VII is 88%, which is a staggering number of people with a low educational level in Bombay.

The profile of the victims in the riot affected areas thus shows that they fall in the unorganised sector, they have a low educational level, they belong to a low income group. This observation throws light on the social status of families affected and their opportunities for the future which are now even more grim.

4) Religion

Table 3

Religious Background

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Hindu	80	11.76
Muslim	588	86.47
Buddhist	1	0.10
Christian	2	0.20
Sikh	2	0.20
Jain	1	0.10
No Response	6	0.80
Total	680	100.00

The figures in the table above confirm the facts as noted in the press and by voluntary organisations working in the city that the Muslims bore the main brunt of the attack during the riots. The students and staff went into riot-affected areas not knowing whom they would meet, whether of one community or the other. It was painful to meet members of the minority community who had suffered only because they happened to be Muslim. Some Hindu families who lived close to Muslim dominated areas became targets of attack in turn.

5) State of Origin

The vast majority of riot-victims are from the home-state (34%) and from Uttar Pradesh (37%). The largest single number of riot victims hails from U.P. During the second phase of the riots in January, we met a large number of Muslim migrants at the V.T. station fleeing the city to go to their native places in Lucknow, Allahabad, Gorakhpur.

6) Duration of Stay in Bombay

Table 4

Duration of Stay in Bombay

Length of time	Frequency	Percentage
Less than a year	18	2.64
1 - 10 years	136	20.00
11 - 20 years	192	28.20
21 - 30 years	171	25.20
31 - 40 years	67	9.80
41 - 50 years	24	3.50
50 years and above	17	2.50
No Response	55	8.00
Total	680	100.00

It was interesting to note that most of the riot victims have been migrants to the city. At the same time one observes that very few have migrated recently. The majority have settled in Bombay for a period of 11 to 30 years and some for much longer. Obviously the disturbance caused to such a population poses major questions of resettlement from all angles of human living.

7) Housing

Since it was well-known that the riots had caused much damage to houses and property, we tried to ascertain the property damage that people had suffered. In order to better understand their plight after the riots we explored their housing condition before the riots.

a) Type of House

Table 5

Type of House

Type of House	Frequency	Percentage
Kaccha (Hut)	133	19.50
Pucca (Cemented)	372	54.70
Semi Pucca (Stable)	94	13.80
N.R.	67	10.00
N.A.	14	2.20
Total	680	100.00

It is of interest to note that the majority of nearly 55% of the respondents had "pucca" houses. This finding fits in with the fact that most of the respondents were not recent migrants, having settled since several years in Bombay.

b) Size of the House

Table 6

Size of the House

Rooms	Frequency	Percentage
One Room	271	40.00
Two Rooms	165	24.20
Loft	24	3.50
Many Rooms	33	4.80
N.R.	152	22.30
N.A.	35	5.10
Total	680	100.00

Table No. 6 shows that the largest single number of respondents (40%) live with their families in just one room. If the one and only room is destroyed, it means that the family has lost almost everything. Most people said that they had to run away with just the clothes they were wearing. The rather large number of 'No Response' persons are those who live on pavements or in unauthorised places.

c) Ownership of House

Table 7

Ownership of House

Form of Ownership	Frequency	Percentage
Legal Ownership	328	48.25
Illegal Ownership	36	5.20
Rental Basis	111	16.30
Sub-Tenancy	5	0.70
Service-Tenancy	4	0.50
N.R.	180	26.40
N.A.	16	2.30
Total	680	100.00

The figures above show that almost 50% of the respondents owned their house legally. This further corroborates the fact that most of the respondents had a fairly settled life in the city. The large number of 180 (26.4%) are those who live on pavements and on land without a legal status.

8) Damage / Loss During Riots

This item will be seen under three heads:

- a) Loss of Life
- b) Physical Injury
- c) Property Damage

a) Loss of Life

The "*Times of India*" (Dec. 9) claims that in the city of Bombay, the death toll stood at 136. This number rose to 210 by December 13 (*Indian Express*). Our own survey identified only 28 cases of loss of life. It must be noted that this survey did not cover Govandi, Deonar, and most of South Bombay where the death toll was high.

Looking more closely at the 28 cases of death, it was found that 27 were male and belonged to the Muslim community. Fifty one percent of these come in the age group 19-30 years, which is the age of youth when the promise of life is at its best. Our data shows that about 86% of them were earning members of their families. What a loss of youthful workers for the country! How tragic must be the feelings of those who looked up to their presence in the family!

b) Physical Injury

The number of persons injured in the riots and covered by our sample was 148 (22%). Sixty two percent of those injured have sustained their injuries due to police action. 24 (16.2%) were stabbed and the same number have been injured by mob attacks. The general impression created by media and upheld by most people was that the police were responsible for most of the deaths and injuries. Our own findings corroborate this impression. The data shows that 82% (23 out of 28) of the deaths and 60% (90 out of 148) of the injuries suffered from police action.

The majority of those injured also fall in the employable age group from 19-50 years, the younger half having suffered in greater number. Among the injured too, 93% were males and 63% were earning members. Many of the injured had suffered injury in the head, upper and lower limbs, some in multiple parts. It would be important to see the extent of handicap that injuries have caused to ascertain how far the injured could continue to be bread-winners for their families and how far the family would now have to provide for them.

c) Damage

This area will be seen under damage to houses and business establishments.

Table 8

Damage to House

House Damage	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	439	64.50
No	175	25.70
N R.	50	7.40
N A.	14	2.10
Total	680	100.00

The table above shows that a high number of 439 respondents (64.50%) had their homes damaged. The greatest loss was suffered by people in semi-pucca houses. Probably they were more vulnerable both in terms of strength of the structure of the house as well as in what they owned. The "pucca" structures might have had some resistance to fire attacks and those in huts and on pavements had little to store in their transitory dwellings.

Out of 150 families who had business establishments like tailor or grocery shops, a very large number of 108 (94%) suffered damage. Such families would require considerable assistance to make good the losses inflicted.

9) Relationship with Neighbours and Local Political Parties

When asked to respond to the question of quality of relationships that existed with neighbours, the overwhelming number of 82.50% of families expressed that they were cordial and cooperative. Moreover, when asked whether they lived in a mixed or homogenous neighbourhood, 54% of the families lived in mixed neighbourhoods. This further reinforces the response that there was no communal bias in their immediate neighbourhood.

Asked about the dominant political party in the neighbourhood, 42% claimed it to be Shiv Sena. From group discussions as well, the opinion was clearly expressed that the Shiv Sena forces had been actively directing the course of operations during the riots.

The overwhelming majority of respondents from all the areas covered, expressed that the BJP - Shiv Sena combine has played a dominant role in the Bombay riots. In areas with a strong local Shiv Sena leadership, the leaders did not care to visit the affected Muslim families, nor did they co-operate with Muslim religious organisations in conducting relief work. Their readiness to help was conditional to extension of aid to the affected Hindu families. In Mahim, the Shiv Sainiks prevented the Fire Brigade from doing their work. In Subhash Nagar, near Asalpha, the establishment which had hoisted the Shiv Sena flag was completely saved while 32 establishments surrounding it were totally burnt.

In areas where other political parties wielded more influence, there was a sense of disappointment with the apathetic attitude of leaders who gave lip sympathy rather than taking vigorous steps to relieve the suffering of people.

In two general hospitals, it was observed that visiting politicians showed extra attention to some of the patients. In Cooper Hospital, political leaders were seen to visit patients handcuffed to the bed and not others. Had these patients been entrusted with special tasks during the riots to merit the special concern of political leaders?

10) The Trauma of the Riots

A part of the survey sought to explore people's feelings about the riots. This exploration was not possible in all cases of contact with the riot-affected population. Many were too worried about the immediate compensation promised by the government to spend time answering questions about their feelings. Those who had some hope that we could do something for them and who were in relief camps were more ready to share what they felt about the situation.

With the fear of looting, arson and unpredictable mob-attacks as well as prolonged curfew in the areas concerned, shops remained closed and essential commodities were hard to come by. Some mothers expressed that whether their children were thirsty or hungry they could only give them water, no milk was available! For daily wage earners there was neither work nor food!

Those who lived and worked in small establishments in the slums, eg. zari karkhana, lost everything when these units were completely burnt down. Since the karkhana could not be taken as their house, such people were not counted among the riot-affected victims. Hence they did not receive any compensation, though their loss was no less than others.

Besides the physical hardships, the shock of seeing people killed, frenzied attacks on shops and houses, the brazen looting and burning of property have left a terrible impress on the minds and hearts of those affected. Many women and children trembled each time they recalled the frightening happenings. Several of

them scream in fear at night and are unable to fall asleep. The men too are shocked, upset and angry. They speak as if trying to control themselves but the far-away look in their eyes spells sadness, inability to understand, doubt and anxiety about the future.

People by and large felt that the Mandir-Masjid episode was merely political and had nothing to do with their daily lives. What would it matter to them whether a temple or a mosque or even if both are built in Ayodhya? Nothing can bring back the loved ones whom they have lost nor will their up-hill task in life be less strenuous after the destruction they have suffered.

11) The Out-Reach

The immediate help to affected families came largely from friends, relatives and religious organisations in the locality. Others who gradually came forward were the government, voluntary organisations, political parties and individual volunteers. The religious organisations offered shelter and food to the dishoused people.

By December 17 only 8% of the surveyed riot-affected population had received the compensation offered by the government. Thus when the researchers started their interviews, the main demand of the majority of people affected was to enable them to obtain the due compensation.

Since the procedures were clear, it was fairly simple to help people to fill the necessary forms and submit them to the Collector's office. Some asked if they could get a higher compensation considering the losses they had sustained. (They were keen on getting the government to assess the extent of damage to their property). The most pressing demands at the time were for food-grains, clothes, books for school-going children and medicines. Quite a number of persons requested legal aid to release their relatives from police lock-ups.

The people constantly expressed their disappointment and anger at the unhelpful attitude of the police. Innocent persons were shot and the real culprits have escaped. They strongly voiced their demand that the guilty be brought to book so that fairness and justice be done to all concerned.

It is thus seen that the riots have affected the lower socio-economic groups much more than the upper classes. Large numbers of those who had settled in the city as a home suddenly found themselves uprooted and unwanted. While arrangements for financial compensations and material relief have been initiated quite efficiently, the deep pain is the loss of faith in those one had learnt to trust. When the bonds of fellowship and friendship are destroyed, it breeds insecurity of the worst kind. More ominous for the country than material destruction is the sense of frustration and helplessness that citizens experience in what was once "home" to them.

Chapter III

AREA REPORTS

The area reports reflect the larger picture of the communities visited from the point of view of geographical location, distribution of population, relationships among the people, the role of local officials and political leaders as well as resources of help available to the affected people.

ASALPHA

General Description

Asalpha village is situated north-east of Saki Naka between Andheri and Ghatkopar. The area is hilly with quarries and people live on the hills as well as on the plain surfaces. Different communities live in pockets on either side of the main road. The Maharashtrian community was not affected by the riots whereas Ansari Compound which has a large settlement of Muslims mostly from Uttar Pradesh, was much affected. The area consisting of godowns, scrap and furniture shops owned by Muslims is known as Subhash Nagar. It was also under attack during the riots.

With regard to the local leaders, the local Municipal Corporator and the MLA both belong to the Shiv Sena party whereas the MP belongs to the Congress.

Problem Situation

The people living in Ansari Compound and Subhash Nagar were pelted with stones from people on the hills during the night of December 8-9. By the morning, the police asked them to vacate their houses as they were going to open fire at the stone-throwing mob on the hill. The residents vacated their houses with only the clothes they were wearing, leaving their valuables behind. As soon as the area was vacated, the mob on the hills began throwing kerosene and petrol bombs, burning tyres on the homes of the residents setting fire to everything. The police watched.

The affected area is under the jurisdiction of the Saki Naka Police while the hills are under the Ghatkopar Police. The Saki Naka Police stationed below the hills could not intervene and according to the residents the Ghatkopar Police were indifferent to the situation. They refused to send police to protect the community despite receiving an application from the residents of Ansari Compound on December 7.

A resident of Subhash Nagar said that the entire operation had been pre-planned, there being around 2000 persons on the hill with flash-lights illuminating the area before the burning started.

An attempt was made to burn Subhash Nagar on the night of December 9, but since the community is at a distance from the hill and the structures were more solid, the damage was much less. However a sub-area, where houses and shops with plastic waste were situated, was set afire easily because of the combustible material it contained. The owners of shops on the main road had locked up and gone due to the previous day's stone-throwing. In the morning, the mob broke open their shops, looted them and then set them on fire, thus causing immense loss to the owners. While a few Hindu families were also affected, it was observed that in a sub-locality of Subhash Nagar, the houses with prominent Shiv Sena flags hoisted up, were spared.

People's Reactions

While people are saddened and depressed by the events that have occurred, they do not appear to bear rancour towards their Hindu neighbours since many of them too have suffered in the riots. People formed themselves into associations for obtaining relief, some have even taken loans for re-construction of their homes. Despite the threat to their lives and loss of property, despite the continuing challenge that faces them, their struggle gives evidence of a remarkably strong instinct for survival and a determination to make a living.

Resources Received / Available

By the time the team of students and faculty met the affected residents, the First Information Reports had been lodged, the 'panchanamas' done and both the Tehsildar's office as well as the Fire Brigade had done their survey. About 80 people from the 300 affected families had received the compensations of Rs. 250/- and Rs. 5,000/- but none in Subhash Nagar had been able to get compensation.

While a local politician was doing his best to obtain help for the people, hardly any politicians visited the area. The police seem to be caught in the jurisdiction question and with such continuing conflict very few miscreants have been apprehended. More striking to observe is that the miscreants are scot-free and are now becoming part of Peace Committees!

The people faced some major difficulties which needed that a solution be found:

- 1) The Fire Brigade (F.B.) was stoned by people on the hills and the authorities of the F.B. were asking people to pay the cost

involved. Actually even though the area was visited days after the event, the cinders were still simmering and the smoke was visible.

- 2) The BMC and Tehsildar's office were unwilling to extend relief assistance as the entire area is said to be encroached on and the residents are considered as illegal occupants. Few have received compensation as the majority have no ration cards or other documentary proof demanded of them. In many cases all these papers were burnt or lost in the looting. It was reported that only those who could bribe the officials, received compensation.

The majority of the people are illiterate or semi-literate and they were not able to articulate their plight effectively. Their situation was hardly given publicity in the press. No Relief Committees had come there. The Anand Margis gave them clothes for distribution. Two hundred people received the government package of household vessels, a bucket and a blanket. The mosque authorities as well as associations of businessmen had just made arrangements for temporarily supplying food to the affected people.

The people generally appeared to be dissatisfied with the help given; some of which had reached only certain families. What they really desired was that their loss be ascertained and that the BMC give them permission to rebuild their holdings which should not be demolished. They would like to dwell in the same place and be assured of a fair and just treatment, not making them run from pillar to post in the pursuit of their rights as citizens.

BHANDUP

Description of the area and Problem Situation

News of the demolition of the Babri Masjid hit everybody in the area late in the evening of December 6. Both Hindus and Muslims were in a state of shock, but no untoward incident took place and the area was normal till December 8. It was only on the 9th that trouble began. According to the affected people, trouble started on the day of the BJP-Shiv Sena Bandh, when the rumour was rampant that Bal Thackeray had been arrested. Sudden stone throwing started and mobs of people with covered faces entered the lanes and attacked the houses. Boys were armed with swords and stones. Since this is a hilly terrain interspersed with narrow lanes, it was difficult for people to escape immediately. Stones were thrown from the top of the hill and from roofs of houses. This resulted in creating panic and women and children started running away. There was a constant

shower of stones from one side and from the other, mobs entered the houses and started looting them. In some cases, the children were left in some neighbours' houses and women tried to resist the attackers. The electricity connection was broken first and then the rest of the house. Furniture, utensils, etc. were broken and damaged to the utmost. In some cases the house was set on fire, which resulted in one man being burnt alive and several others injured. The house cupboards and jewellery were looted. In some places expensive items such as television sets were specially whisked off at night in a tempo. The attack continued for 6 hours and the next day almost all (49) shops belonging to the Muslims were looted and damaged. In addition 190 houses were also looted and damaged. In one part, namely, Pathan Colony, all the houses were burnt and razed to the dust. Similarly at Jamil Nagar almost 64 houses were fully damaged with nothing left in the house, not even so much as a spoon. In localities like Pathan Tabela and Jamil Nagar, where there is a majority of Muslim families all the houses were looted and gutted. In the process, some Hindu houses were also affected. In certain areas the attackers instructed the Hindu families to leave their places, so that they could freely burn the Muslim households; in other cases they threw stones, and shifted the furniture from Muslim households outside to burn it, so that the neighbouring Hindu households would not be damaged. Women became specially panicky and left their homes to take refuge in the colony mosque. In areas like Pratap Nagar, Sarvodaya Nagar, where there are a majority of Hindu houses and very few Muslim houses, there was no large-scale burning, but furniture from Muslim houses was burnt outside and valuables looted. During these hours of such looting and destruction, the police watched as helpless onlookers. Being a hilly terrain it was easy to get lost in the by-ways and policemen were unable to nab the attackers nor were they permitted to shoot. In a few cases, neighbours helped one another.

At the time of writing this report, an uneasy calm prevailed. People wore a look of shock and distrust. The area was heavily guarded by police, and the College team was allowed to visit the areas only under police protection. In Jamil Nagar where the street divides Hindu and Muslim households, people sat silently, staring vacantly at passers-by.

People's Reactions

This area has never witnessed a communal riot in the last 30 years, hence the sudden attack of arson and looting stunned the residents. The general reaction of Muslims was "We actually didn't even get angry though we felt bad that the Babri Masjid was demolished. Why should the happenings at Ayodhya make our neighbours kill us? After all we have lived together in harmony, we have celebrated one another's festivals, we have shared our joys and sorrows and suddenly within 24 hours, everything has changed - why? "

The Hindu families, whose houses were damaged felt helpless at the whole occurrence. They did not identify with the action and could only repeat: "How does one continue to live in this place?"

Almost 300 families in Pathan Colony and 200 families in Sonapur had to flee from their own homes and start staying in relief camps, set up by the local committees. The men slept in the Masjids, while women slept in the school along with their children. Some families in Pathan Colony, kept about 10 people in their own homes and cooked for them. The children had stopped going to school as they had no books nor clothes to wear. Parents feared that they would be harmed.

The Muslims who were the main butt of the riotous attack said that it was the work of outside elements supported by the Shiv Sena party. The attack was deliberately planned to target Muslim houses and shops. This was specially visible in areas like Sonapur where the 60 Muslim houses among 1000 Hindu families, were destroyed. "In a row where 20 houses belonged to Hindu families and the 21st to a Muslim, the 21st house has been looted and burnt."

The Muslims felt that some insider had given information to the outside attackers of their whereabouts.

Even though both Hindus and Muslims admitted that mutual relations had been good for years together, a certain sense of doubt and mistrust was sown through the riots. The Muslims felt cheated, betrayed and insecure. As one of them expressed: "For thirty-four years we have been friendly. Today we have lost everything. Yet, property and material possessions we can get back - how can we ever get back our trust in our Hindu neighbours!" Moreover there were strong feelings of anger against the police who, people felt, had encouraged the violence by their inaction.

Help Received

While many riot-hit areas of Bombay figured in newspaper reports, Bhandup seemed to have been missed out completely. The only help they received was from their own local community. The jamat organised a place for people to stay, and set up relief camps. Local families who were not affected gave shelter to Muslim women and children while the local mosque was made available for men to sleep. For the first two days, the food grains were provided by the community around, but from December 9th onwards, food relief came in plenty from Bhiwandi, Nalasopara, Nagpada. The local youth and committee members set-up a community kitchen and common cooking was done for almost 1200 people. Little children, youth and elders were seen cutting onions, cooking and washing

utensils. Each affected family was given rice and dal besides blankets, medicines, and clothes. The local community came out in flying colours with regard to the efficient organisation of relief measures.

The major difficulty faced was that people were not aware of the procedures regarding first information reports, claims for compensation, etc. About 60 youth had been arrested and efforts were made by the committee to release them on bail. The bail of Rs. 2,000/- per youth was arranged by the local committee. The Agripada Relief Committee, several Muslim organisations and individuals were generous in offering help.

WADALA

This area comprises 9 slum pockets, namely Panchsheel Nagar, Ganesh Nagar, Chikalwadi, Himat Nagar, Sangam Nagar, Shanti Nagar, Agrawal Wadi, Transit Camp, Rajiv Gandhi Nagar

These slum pockets are situated within the large slum area which is commonly known as "Wadala Slums". It is interesting to note that these slum pockets have a Muslim majority. They are geographically not adjacent to each other but are interspersed with predominantly Hindu slum pockets.

The lay-out of these slum pockets is like that of any other slum in the city, having large clusters of huts which are unplanned, leaving narrow gaps between them. This kind of set up makes it difficult to trace miscreants and take a restraining action against them.

The dominant political party in these slum pockets has been Congress I.

Problem Situation

The rioting incidents amongst these pockets appeared to be sporadic and independent of each other.

At around midnight on the 7th December 1992, in Panchsheel Nagar one shop was burnt to ashes and at a little distance away a shop was looted of 50 bags of cement. Surprisingly both the shop owners were related to one another. According to eye witnesses an angry mob of about 25-30 youths did it, and they were outsiders. The Muslim shop owners had faith in the Hindu members of the area. They lodged a complaint with the police but were refused when they asked for a N.O.C. number. They could see the cement marks going towards a temple in the locality but the police took no notice.

On December 7, at 11:00 a.m. the police fired at an innocent young gang who were playing cricket. It so happened that the young cricketers, on seeing the police with guns started running. As the police fired, a Muslim, the sole breadwinner of his family, while chatting with his friend was shot down. Another person was shot in the leg during the same firing.

At another slum pocket, Rajiv Gandhi Nagar, a whole lane of houses belonging to Muslims was demolished by a mob of 50 - 60 persons the same day. Most of the people lost their valuables, furniture, utensils. Many were injured. A woman lost all the jewellery she had collected for her elder daughter's wedding. It was hard-earned saving because her husband is a construction worker.

People's Reactions

On the whole, people were afraid to speak out. When they saw our genuine desire to help them day after day for a week, they shared their feelings more readily.

Most people said that "In the community, Hindus and Muslims live in brotherhood. Outsiders are trying to create a rift between the two communities." Some Hindus and Muslims blamed one another for the situation. Several Muslims expressed themselves in anguish. "Why did the Hindus have to demolish the mosque and start the riots? Whatever be the decision about the issue, let it remain at the political level! Why affect the common man with these riots?" "What have we done to make our children suffer so much?" "Why has my daughter's husband, the only breadwinner of the family, been so mercilessly shot down?" What answer could one give? One could only listen in silent compassion.

SHIVAJI NAGAR (GOVANDI)

General Description of the Area

Shivaji Nagar and Baiganwadi are situated near Govandi Station and they cover a fairly large area. This space was originally planned as a transit camp for people evicted from other areas. The transit camp is made up of concrete houses divided into plots. Around these main plots the other slum pockets like Rafi Nagar, Baiganwadi, Sanjaynagar, Padmanagar, Chikalwadi are situated. These pockets are still expanding. The whole area is basically a dumping ground gradually encroached upon by the growth of slums.

The population affected was mainly from Baiganwadi, Padmanagar and Sanjaynagar. The whole area has a fairly equal population of Hindus and Muslims.

Precipitating Factors

The area has been divided into two parts for electorates. Baiganwadi has 58,000 voters and of this 36,000 are from the Muslim community. Shivajinagar has 38,000 voters of which about 7,000 are Marathi speaking. Both these areas have Congress-I Corporators. It is significant to note that before this only Shiv Sena Corporators were elected in these areas.

Politically speaking the Congress-I is a dominant political party, and the other rival political party is Shiv Sena. In a smaller way, people belong to Janata Dal, RPI and others.

Rafi Nagar is the only area having Bangladeshi migrants numbering around 100 to 200, but strangely enough, Rafinagar itself was least affected.

The Problem Situation

The major event was the Muslim youth and anti-social elements taking to the streets on December 7 and 8

They had a confrontation with the police and a bus was burnt near Rafi Nagar. As a result of the police opening fire on the mob, many were killed, the majority of them being Muslims. A temple was broken and a masjid was damaged while houses and shops were looted and burnt. During these days, the bodies of two policemen were found and this infuriated the police against the riotous mob. Tension was high as anger and retaliation kept up the frenzy until the Army moved in. Many were arrested and when the college team went in on December 16, families were still locating their missing members, who were found to be either arrested or dead. As a result of the general distrust that was sparked off in the whole community, the police were not willing to offer any help to alleviate the situation.

People's Reactions

Here again it was found that the local community of Hindus and Muslims hardly bore hostility towards one another. There was much greater anger against the police whom people distrusted and feared. The Muslim community felt that the Babri Masjid demolition was a non-issue as compared to their day to day survival. Several areas like Rafi Nagar had set up ad hoc peace committees of mixed groups to keep night vigils in the interest of the community.

GOLIBAR, SANTA CRUZ, KHAR (EAST)

Description of Area

The student team visited the Golibar area in Santa Cruz (E) and Khar (E). The pockets covered were Indira Nagar, Shastri Colony, Dauri Nagar, Nehru Nagar, Kaula Nagar, Patel Nagar, Martin Compound. The area comprises a large number of chawls and semi-pucca houses. The people most affected were in Indira Nagar, Nehru Nagar and Patel Nagar.

Barring the presence of Hindu families in a few pockets, Muslim families occupy the larger part of the area. While the Congress is the dominant political party, the Shiv Sena is a powerful second.

The Problem Situation

The trouble started on December 7th with attacks on Muslims not from the local community but from outsiders who broke two madrasas and many houses. Local families of one community did try to protect the other community. Complaints were made to the police station but many just resigned themselves to accepting what they could not help. Many left the area to be with their relatives elsewhere in the city.

People's Reactions

Both Hindus and Muslims were shocked and saddened by the outburst of the riots in an otherwise peaceful area. The Muslims expressed their feelings of intense fear and insecurity, sadness and depression, confusion and hurt. Several felt anger because of the terrible feeling of helplessness that overpowered them. Asked about who they thought was responsible for creating the disturbance, several replied that parties like the BJP and Shiv Sena were to be blamed.

MAHIM

Description of Area

The area consists of a number of slum pockets surrounded by police quarters and housing colonies. The riots took place in the following slum pockets: Madhumiya Nagar Society, Janata Sevak Society, Harizandi, Ramgad, Machimar Colony. Except for Ramgad and Machimar Colony which has a mixed population of

Hindus, Muslims and Christians, all the other affected slum pockets had a predominantly Muslim population.

The Problem Situation

These slums have always been sensitive areas of communal tension. Any communal upheaval in the city is sure to have repercussions in these slum pockets.

The slums became an eye-sore for the surrounding buildings with a dominant Hindu population. The dominant political party in the buildings is the Shiv Sena. The slums, having a homogenous population, do not have such violent disturbances.

According to most people, there was no provocation from within. The attacks were started by anti-social elements from outside with the help of the Shiv Sena. Bottles, stones and bricks were violently thrown on people who could hardly defend themselves. The police tear-gassed and lathi-charged the mob. They also fired, thus injuring about 20 people in the process. Houses were looted, broken and burnt. Having known the effects of the riot-situation on them in previous years, the women and children took refuge in the Dargah.

People's Reactions

The people's reactions were strongly expressed against the police for their deliberate inaction during the disturbances. Even the Fire Brigade did not arrive in time when called for. Fear and a sense of helplessness were expressed by nearly all of the riot-affected people in the area.

DHARAVI

Introduction

A sprawling 460 acre spread of land between Mahim on the west and Sion on the east, Dharavi prides itself as being the biggest slum of Asia. A population of one million, comprising a mosaic of castes, creeds and ethnic origins live and work in a beehive of entrepreneurial activities.

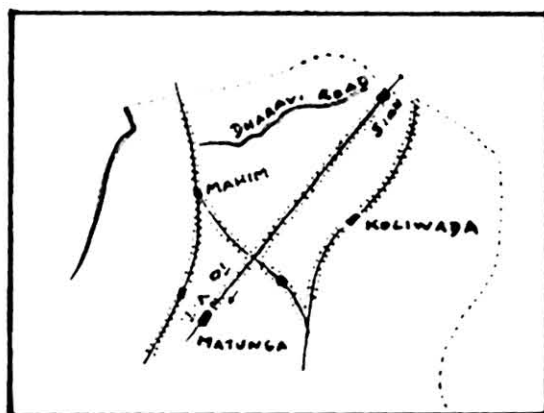
With the help of funds from the World Bank and the Prime Minister's Grant Project, various developmental works have been in progress increasing tremendously the cost of the land. While Dharavi consists of a number of small

pockets of hutments, the riot affected areas could be identified as Dharavi Cross Road, Kumbhar Wada, Jamma Masjid, Chamda Bazaar, Kamba Devi, Koliwada, Social Nagar, Laxmi Baug, Shiv Shakti Nagar, V.K.Wadi and M. L. Wadi.

A group of voluntary organisations under the banner of Rashtriya Ekta Samiti entered the area on the 14th December, 1992. The people in general appeared apprehensive, perplexed, distrustful and depressed. The situation was emotionally volatile and information as asked for in the College survey, could not be obtained directly from the people at the time. Other sources such as newspaper reports, informal interviews with individuals (leaders in the community, police, school teachers, etc.) were used in the analysis of the data. In some areas people had abandoned their homes and were not available for interviews.

The report on Dharavi is therefore being submitted separately from the statistical data analysed in Chapter II, as follows:

- 1) A general view of the damage suffered.
- 2) A descriptive account of the riot in each of the slum pockets in the following order
 - a) Social Nagar & Laxmi Baug
 - b) Chamda Bazaar & Abubakar Chawl
 - c) Dharavi Cross Road
 - d) Mukund Nagar & Kamba Devi
 - e) Dhorwadi, V.K. Wadi & Kalyan Wadi
- 3) Resources Available



1) A General View of the Damage Suffered

The chart below gives a broad idea of the kind of damage and losses people have suffered during the riots.

Table 9

Damage / Death / Injury to People

Area	Respondents	Injured	Death	House	Shop
Social Nagar	228	12	5	228	36
Mukund Nagar & Kamba Devi	128	16	4	106	18
Chamda Bazaar	58	4	3	53	9
Dhorwada, V.K. Wadi & Kalyan Wadi	93	6	1	80	13
Dharavi Cross Road	17	5	1	4	7
Ambedkar Nagar	20	2	-	16	4
Shiv Shakti Nagar	11	2	1	6	3
Transit Camp	23	-	-	23	-
Kumbhar Wada	4	4	-	-	-
Total	582	51	15	459	90

The table above shows that 459 out of 582 families, which is 79% of the people, suffered house damage. Some have also had their shops damaged which means that property loss has been very high. The number of people injured is numerically much smaller but the seriousness depends on the impact of the injury on the person's normal functioning.

2) A Descriptive Account of the Riots in Various Slum Pockets of Dharavi

a) Social Nagar and Laxmi Baug

Both these places are adjacent to each other and are situated near Sion station. The population comprises both Muslims and Hindus with a considerable number of residents from Tamil Nadu. People were mostly self-employed or daily wage earners while some worked in the municipal corporation.

According to the residents the problem started with the '*Vijay Yatra*' taken out by the Shiv Sena and BJP on the evening of 6th December to celebrate the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. The Indian Express of 13th December reports:

"The situation was very tense on Sunday (6th December) but the atmosphere reached fever-pitch when Dharavi police permitted a huge morcha led by the local Shiv Sena to be taken out that evening, allegedly to celebrate the demolition of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya."

Provocative slogans and abuses were hurled at Muslims such as "go to Pakistan or to the Kabrasthan" and there was visible gloating over the Ayodhya incident. In retaliation, it was reported that the Muslim community attacked the temples of Hindus in the area on December 7. The Imam of the mosque described the '*Vijay Yatra*' as having rubbed salt into the wounds.

"We have no quarrels with the Hindus, neither do we say that demolishing temples in the area was the right thing. But the demolition of the Babri Masjid was an insult to our faith." (Indian Express, 13th December, 1992.)

The retaliatory moves from both communities led to the complete destruction of property owned by Muslims and to the damage of temples in the area. The residents reported that even after 8th December, when total curfew was imposed, mobs continued to loot and burn Muslim houses as there was no police presence to curb such activity.

The Bombay Municipal Urdu School also came under attack. Blackboards, benches and desks were destroyed, doors and windows broken and reduced to a condition which made it impossible to continue school. Residents afraid of further harm to the children, refused to send them to school.

The Shiv Sena and BJP seemed to have played an active role in this disruptive situation.

While fires raged and people's anger blazed intensely during the December riots, many people expressed how both Hindus and Muslims had manifested concern and protective care towards one another (Indian Express, December 13, 1992). Later on, however, when tensions continued and even escalated, people were requested to leave since their presence became a danger to others.

b) Chamda Bazar and Abubakar Chawl

These are adjacent pockets in which the majority are Muslim families. They have lived harmoniously with their Hindu neighbours for over 25 years, as reported by the residents. The houses were quite stably built close to one another with very narrow lanes in between. The major occupation there was the sale of cured leather.

On the evening of December 7, the residents of the area saw stones, acid bulbs and cloth balls lit with fire hurled at their houses. Scared and terrified the people started running helter-skelter. At the same time, the people saw the Municipal Corporator along with others known to have anti-social records, entering into the area with swords in their hands. He terrorised the people with abuses and asked them to run away if they wanted to save their lives. Some of the people, while running away were physically abused and beaten. The Corporator was observed to be giving directions to the anti-social elements and instigating them to destroy the houses.

The women recounted that when they found themselves alone since the men had had to run away, they took their children in panic and ran for shelter to the hall attached to the mosque. In the confusion, they left their houses open. Some of them observed that the police who came to warn them of danger and therefore to run away and save their lives, were also helping the mobs to loot their houses. Another group of women said that they saw some men in khaki uniform (dressed like police) hurling stones and acid bulbs at them. When the research team enquired further, two women narrated an incident they had witnessed during the 1984 riots at Cheeta Camp, where several Shiv Sena party members dressed like policemen shot at people. While in the present disturbed situation the women could not affirm whether such masquerading had taken place or not, they felt resentful at the role played by the police in abetting the rioters so directly. They were most reluctant to go to the police to register their complaints.

When the women returned after the fury had subsided, they found their houses completely looted and burnt. They had lost their photo passes, ration cards and other important documents besides jewels, cash and other valuables. They said that the riots were not so much communal as the reign of anti-social elements abetted by the police and leaders like the Corporator against whom no action was taken despite their complaints.

c) Dharavi Cross Road

In this area, there was a pre-dominance of Hindu families. A few Muslim families were mostly engaged in zari work, rexine & leather work and bakery & mutton stall trades.

According to residents, things were quite peaceful till the evening of December 7. Efforts had even been made by leaders of both the communities not to allow anyone to disrupt the peace and cause disturbance as they had seen happening elsewhere. However, within a couple of hours, the situation changed drastically.

A mob, two to three hundred strong attacked the houses and business establishments of Muslims. They used stones, sticks and swords to break open the houses wherever they were locked. All the families ran to the mosque for protection as it was impossible for the neighbours to save them. In some places Hindu neighbours narrated that they had pleaded with the mob to spare the lives of the family members even if they wanted to loot their houses. They felt completely paralysed and helpless in the face of such an enraged mob. Many Hindu families had their roof tops damaged because of stone throwing or because the mob had run over their roof tops during the attack. One Hindu respondent had managed to save the property documents of his Muslim neighbour by keeping them inside his house. All the Muslim families suffered the loss of important documents such as photo passes, ration cards, school and medical certificates as well as cash and valuables. One family which was preparing for a wedding had lost an amount of nearly Rs. 50,000/- which they had been saving. Even though many neighbours reported that the mob consisted of individuals whom they had not known, the study group wondered how outsiders could target the scattered Muslim houses without local informers.

d) Mukund Nagar and Kamba Devi

Mukund Nagar is largely Muslim-dominated whereas the adjacent Kamba Devi is pre-dominantly Hindu. A small canal separates the two areas. It is full of garbage and sewer water which makes the place unhygienic. Mukund Nagar has very narrow lanes while in Kamba Devi the by-lanes are broader. It is extremely difficult even for one person to walk in Mukund Nagar. The houses are built quite firmly (mostly pucca).

The respondents in both areas alleged that they suddenly found petrol bombs and lighted cloth balls being thrown at their houses and in fact the students did find burnt houses on both sides of the nullah. In Mukund Nagar women who lost their houses reported that they were urged to run away by some policemen. The women saw these same policemen encouraging the mob to loot their houses. The mobsters belonged mostly to the Shiv Sena group.

On the night of December 8, the residents near Dabar Company in Mukund Nagar were standing in the lanes talking among themselves when the police fired at them without any warning. In the confusion that followed, a 16 year old boy who was trying to reach his home was shot and died instantly as reported by his parents and neighbours. There was a comparatively larger number of deaths and injuries by bullets in this area.

As the students were interviewing people in a part of Mukund Nagar where Muslims live somewhat scattered and where much looting had taken place, two young men with red powder on their foreheads came to find out the purpose of the visit by the team. They denied the fact that the houses of Muslims were looted. They kept a close watch along with some Maharashtrian women, as the team went on with data-collection.

e) Dhorwadi, V.K. Wadi and Kalyan Wadi

Dhorwadi has people of both communities: Hindu and Muslim. The houses are quite firm (pucca).

At the time of the survey, the students and staff found the area to be rather tense. The people were ready to talk to the team only when they were sure that they were not from any political party. The Muslims expressed anger because they had suffered the most. Their houses and establishments were looted and burnt. Many of them owned bakeries, general stores, garment factories. While their property and goods had been completely destroyed, the Hindus had suffered much less damage. The students observed that the temple in this area was partly damaged. The other areas visited like V.K. Wadi and Kalyan Wadi had not suffered much damage.

The research team found that some Hindu families had taken risks in protecting the members of the other community and their property even when they were not well known to one another.

3) Resources Available

In most of the places where people had taken refuge, the immediate relief was provided by the mosques in the form of shelter, grain, food and clothes. The Jumma Masjid was reported to be providing food even for some Hindus who came there for shelter. In a few places the police were instrumental in sending the people to the mosques for protection.

The Rashtriya Ekta Samiti (RES) is an umbrella organisation for CORO, SHED,

YUVA, Yuvasathi, Sarvodaya, Stree Mukti Sanghatana, Dharavi Literacy Cell and College of Social Work, which are organisations all working in various parts of Dharavi. The RES had begun a survey in order to provide relief work for the victims. The whole area of Dharavi was divided among the different organisations for the purpose of the survey and relief work. Wherever necessary the help of local volunteers was sought to identify the riot-affected people. Many of them were Hindus and their entry into Muslim areas was not welcomed. On such occasions the research team had to take the risk of entering these areas without the help of local volunteers.

The relief work consisted of a survey of the victims' families, procuring and distribution of relief materials (grain, vessels, stoves, clothes, bedding), dissemination of information regarding the compensation offered by the government, enabling the victims to obtain such compensations and helping them to register police cases.

The supply of relief materials was done by organisations such as CORO, CORP, Sarvodaya and YUVA. Individual volunteers also made their contribution.

With the help of the police a local counter was opened and an official from the Collector's Office was posted to see to the immediate grant of compensation; for loss of life Rs. 30,000/- each, for injuries Rs. 5,000/- each and for the loss of house Rs. 250/- each one.

Students working in the Sion Hospital were also able to identify riot-affected victims from Dharavi and follow-up their cases through the team placed there. Some received compensation in the hospital and some did not. The lists were prepared for those who did not obtain such help and necessary steps were initiated.

An open interview with the police personnel was held for the team during the survey. The DCP promised full co-operation to the volunteers working in the area. The team was able to play an intermediary role between the affected community and the police by enabling them to dialogue and thus restore a confidence which had been broken.

It was observed that political parties played a negative role in such peace efforts. The members of such parties would play one role at the peace meetings and give an entirely contradictory message to the people outside the meetings. It was realised that the rebuilding of trust and neighbourly relations was the most important task on hand yet, one cannot force the pace of such relations. Wounds have to be healed, frenzied passions calmed, false rumours dispelled, before people can find the peace and harmony needed for normal functioning.

Chapter IV

THE POLICE DURING THE RIOTS

The role of the police is to ensure that the rights and duties of persons and social institutions are conducted within the framework of our Constitution. Police personnel are therefore seen as persons who guide and protect the interests of citizens, empowered as they are to enforce lawful action for public interest where necessary. They are expected to be above party politics and maintain records in fairness to all.

The performance of the law and order machinery had come under fire during the demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6. Reports in the media during the Bombay riots were not at all favourable to the police. Was this a deliberate attempt to malign the police and break their morale? Is it that the police stand helplessly caught between the corruption of politicians and the anger of citizens?

Respondents' Perception of Police during the Riots

An attempt was made by students to elicit responses from the riot affected people on the role of the police at the time of the riots in December 1992. Broadly speaking, the responses were as follows:

- 1) The police entered homes, conducted arrests indiscriminately and at odd hours. For example, in Bhandup, the police entered the homes of Muslims, arrested the men and confined them to the lock-up, without assigning any reason for the same. "On 10th December 1992, I went to buy tobacco. I returned, spoke to some friends and went into my house. A little later, the police broke the door, entered the house and arrested me. Four other men were also arrested. I was hit on my head, the police used their hands and lathis".
- 2) The police showed brutality in their manner of dealing with people. Those arrested were badly beaten in lock-ups. Instances were reported where patients in hospitals were recuperating from police beating. A young man with tears reported how he was beaten in the police lock-up without any valid reason and how he can hardly walk again. In Bhandup a mentally retarded 12 year old boy was beaten. "The stone-throwing started at 3 p.m. on December 10. The police collected around 35 boys and lined them on the roadside. Then the police beat them up in front of us. They beat them till they bled and one of the women fainted."

- 3) The police fired indiscriminately causing injury to many without there being serious provocation. Many innocent people even lost their lives. An incident was reported from Wadala where some youth were playing cricket. On seeing the police, they all started running in fear and the police fired without ascertaining the situation.
- 4) The police showed apathy and indifference when asked to help while people's houses were being attacked and looted. They either looked the other side or told people to save themselves. "On 10th December the area was surrounded by goondas. They were throwing stones on us. The police were standing on the road. We asked them to protect us and complained about the goondas but they said: 'If you can throw stones back, do so or else save your life.'"
- 5) The complaint that pained respondents most was their feeling that the police did not bother to protect them because they were Muslims. They said that in several places, the police by their apathy, aided and abetted the anti-Muslim forces. They even joined in the looting of property.
- 6) There are instances where the police played a positive role as the students did witness at Mahim and Dharavi after the riotous situation had somewhat been calmed as between December 15 and 23, 1992.

In Mahim the police overcame their initial resistance and helped in the process of getting 27 youth (of whom 25 were Muslims) released on bail from the lock-up under the "charge" of murder.

In Dharavi, the team of voluntary workers in the area received the maximum collaboration from the DCP and the Inspector in charge of Public Relations. There was constant communication between the voluntary workers (including the students and staff of the College of Social Work) and the police almost every day. Thus if a situation required it, extra patrolling was arranged in the area or special protection was given when food grains and utensils had to be kept safe for distribution to the people. Constables also helped to discipline the crowds during the time of food-distribution.

The DCP took the initiative to set up a peace committee in Dharavi, trying to bring in persons who could play a positive role as well as some anti-social elements in the hope that the interactions would help to foster a greater sense of social responsibility. Several meetings were held in a rather chaotic atmosphere with

those who had been seen attacking people during the riots, shouting the loudest. The police were able to motivate the members of the committee to co-operate in order to re-build both the mosque and temple in their localities. This was done, yet peace seemed to be so far away! In sheer disgust, the police did not continue with these peace meetings.

In order to reduce the havoc caused by rumour-mongering, the police set up small blackboards in various places telling people not to heed nor spread rumours without verifying them at the police station.

Perception of Police regarding their Role

In order to have a balanced view of the role of the police, students also interviewed police officials at various police stations and obtained their comments about their role. This information is supplemented by newspaper reports concerning the police (e.g. TOI Dec. 13, 1992). The comments were as follows:

- 1) The police system is not adequately staffed, e.g. In Deonar Police Station there are only 170 policemen for a population of 5 1/2 lakhs.
- 2) The decision-making power is not vested at lower levels, hence to arrest a local politician who was carrying fire-arms one had to wait for the green signal from the State Home Minister! (TOI). In Dharavi, soon after the incidents of December 8 and 9, the police combed the area and arrested about 36 "goondas" from both the Hindu and Muslim communities. As a result there was a lull in anti-social activities. However, there were constant pressures from government authorities to release those belonging to their political parties, thus rendering ineffectual the stand of the police.
- 3) While the existing situation has its inherent problems, matters become still more difficult when politicians pay visits to the affected areas because a large number of the police-force has to be diverted from trouble-prone areas for the safety and protection of these political leaders.
- 4) When questioned about their own stand on the Mandir-Masjid issue, they preferred to be non-committal and were not able to say anything definite.
- 5) The working conditions of the police are to put it mildly, pathetic. In crises such as the riot-situation in Bombay they are called upon to be on duty for 24 hours for days together! No one cares about what or when they eat or if they can even get a glass of water from the public. Communication with their families becomes very difficult and both the police and their families live in a state of anxiety with no word reaching from either side.

Suggestions

The police were emphatic in suggesting that:

- 1) they be allowed to function with greater independence in their local areas without the interference of politicians;
- 2) the police force be better staffed and equipped;
- 3) the police be given better training to handle such crisis situations like the riots;

The above observations show that those who were victimised during the riots had lost confidence in the fairness of the law and order machinery as borne out by the attitudes and action of the police. Such lacuna on the part of the police was repeatedly affirmed by riot-victims at large and by those who actually witnessed the riot-operations. These observations were further borne out in press-reports at the time.

Thus it is not a question of merely maligning the police, the observations are true to a great extent. The non-committal response of the police to the Mandir-Masjid issue may be because they preferred not to bring their personal opinions into a professional situation or because it might have back-fired to express their real opinion. Whatever it may be, the stand of the police force must be dealt with, so that the functioning of the police adheres to constitutional norms and not to subjective parochial considerations.

The government and police authorities would do well to regard such vitiation of the police force seriously, and take effective educational as well as disciplinary measures to correct the unhealthy polarisation of attitudes. Failure to do this is a sure sign that the secular, democratic fibre of our country is being consciously destroyed. The destruction of democratic values is no less when the government pressurises the police system to turn a Nelson's eye to those who terrorise citizens for despicable ends and even accommodates them in formal seats of power.

Time and again it has been noted that serious attention must be given to the working conditions of the police force and the demands which are increasingly being made on them to the extent of stretching personnel to a point that is inhuman. When in addition the stresses and strains of the job are so trying, can one totally blame the police for their failure to lose control of situations?

The public too has a responsibility not only to expect services from the police but to extend a hand of co-operation in showing a citizen's concern for the promotion of peace and justice in local areas. It is the constant vigilance of citizens that can help the police system to be accountable not only during riots but at all times.

Chapter V

THE HOSPITAL SCENE

Some student social workers and faculty members visited three hospitals in Bombay where riot victims were admitted. Their observation and experience have been captured in the paragraphs that follow.

Introduction

The December riots in Bombay were so devastating, that a mere count of dead bodies and a quantitative record of destruction can hardly bring to light the deeper aspect of the suffering of people during and after the incidents. The hospitals in Bombay speak with facts and figures about the agonising situation that followed the riots. The morgues, normally filled to less than their capacity, were piled up with stacks of bodies in decomposition. No less pitiful was the condition of those admitted with injuries resulting from mob attack, burning and police firings. The victims were admitted in large numbers to the government or municipal hospitals nearest the site of violence which included J. J. Hospital (Byculla), Nair Hospital (Bombay Central), KEM Hospital (Parel), L.T.M.G. Hospital (Sion), Rajwade Hospital (Ghatkopar), Cooper Hospital (Andheri). The team of social work students and staff went round various hospitals to see how they could assist patients and the hospital staff in coping with the pressures of work due to the riots.

Gaining Access to the Wards

In general there was a hesitancy on the part of the hospital authorities to permit the social work team to enter the hospital despite the fact that some of our students were already working in these hospitals for regular field work. In the case of Cooper Hospital the team members were allowed to visit the victims only during the visiting hours. When the social work departments of Nair and Sion Hospitals were contacted, the teams were informed that relief tasks were already being carried on and that there was no need for outside intervention, not even the help of the students placed there for field-work. On obtaining a special permission from the Dean of Sion Hospital to gain access to the wards, the team was struck by the over-crowdedness of the wards and the casualty unit, with riot-affected patients needing all kinds of help.

The Survey

The students were able to enter the J.J., KEM and Cooper Hospitals where they could observe the nature of problems encountered, the conditions of the hospitals,

the situation of the families of the victims and the rehabilitation measures provided.

The patients in the hospitals were included as respondents of the survey but naturally they were unable to answer the full length of the schedule. However, the meetings with the patients as well as with their families enabled us to understand the kind of trauma they had undergone. The information they gave with regard to the kind of injuries suffered and loss of life, has already been reported in Chapter II under Damage/Loss during the riots.

Role of the Hospitals

The casualty unit of the J.J. Hospital was over strained with patients being rushed in by the minute. The number of staff was visibly inadequate, overworked to the point of exhaustion, wondering how long they could hold on. The wards were overcrowded with patients lying on the floors and corridors much to the inconvenience of regular patients, some of whom either got themselves discharged or were discharged by the hospital because of the situation.

Medical treatment was immediately provided as all the resources of the hospitals were geared for the purpose. Doctors and nurses had attended to patients round the clock during the crisis.

While some hospitals faced shortage of daily necessities including food, others had people pouring in donations of cash and kind. Some of the patients in J.J. Hospital said that they were given excellent treatment during those days.

Government hospitals were flooded with visitors such as MLAs, MPs, members of the press, members of charity organisations and individuals who wanted to help in any way possible. Some of these visits appeared to be merely publicity oriented.

The manner in which the dead bodies were kept in the morgue, in various stages of decomposition was to say the least, revolting. Relatives were provided with photographs to identify their missing ones but the photographs showed that many bodies were in a state of decomposition already. Some of the hospitals had to send bodies to other morgues for lack of space and facilities for preservation. Relatives had to run from hospital to hospital in search of their missing ones and when they were found, the bodies were hardly recognisable. Bureaucratic procedures and harassment of poorer families affected, rob people of the last

vestige of human concern that one could expect in such situations. That human beings be reduced to such a horrendous state should force us to examine the nature and adequacy of our services and the kind of facilities we need to provide with due respect for all citizens.

Relief Work by the Team

Well before the team of students began their relief work in the hospitals many of the victims had already received cash compensations up to Rs. 5,000/- by the Government of Maharashtra.

The student and staff team assisted in counselling which was the most perceived need of the victims. They also helped to contact lawyers who provided free legal guidance. They followed up some of the cases by visiting the communities from which they came, to assess the extent of damage and better understand the nature of their problems. A few cases had to be assisted for obtaining monetary compensation. Many other victims were afraid to return to their homes. They were insisting on police protection after being discharged until the situation would improve. Some of the victims were referred to the area relief committees for needs such as clothes, food grains, utensils, blankets.

While most victims accepted and wanted to be helped in various ways, two cases specially drew our attention. One was a young man of 25 years who was assaulted by a mob and he was lying in plaster with multiple fractures. He was angry and bitter. He refused to receive any compensation from "those who perpetrate riots and then come to offer money in compensation!" Another young man of 20 years was so severely wounded by mobs that his leg had to be amputated. For the surgery involved he received 14 bottles of blood. Not having relatives or friends, he could not replace the blood and so could not be discharged. The social work students set themselves to the task of organising a blood donation drive as there were others to be helped like the patient in question.

The hospital experience brought to the fore the need of a greater outreach service in terms of psycho-social and community rehabilitation of patients affected. While distribution of monetary compensation was attended to largely, the human touch necessary in the face of such traumatic experience could be better taken care of by the departments concerned. In the wake of the riots, there was fear, shock and insecurity among patients and their families. Any effort to rehabilitate would have to consider the psychological readiness of individual families and that of the community they had been part of. The bitterness engendered by such trauma, needs an outlet if it is not to fester into an abscess which then infects the larger society.

Chapter VI

INTERVENTION IN THE RIOT-AFFECTED AREAS

The College of Social Work has always sought to relate professional training with contemporary social issues by not only having a theoretical perception of them but also an experience of dealing with people affected by such situations.

In the case of the Bombay riots it was a situation fraught with manifest destruction and ridden with fears that created panic among people. One could not predict the reactions of those affected by the happenings. However, the cries of the victims could not be ignored and once having decided to enter into the situation, a plan of action gradually emerged:

- 1) Immediate Intervention
 - a) Gathering relevant information
 - b) Providing immediate relief
 - c) Release of youth arrested by police
- 2) Long-Term Intervention:
 - a) Working with riot-affected people
 - b) Working with Government officials and the police
 - c) Collaboration with NGO's and the larger community

1) Immediate Intervention

a) Gathering Relevant Information

The foregoing chapters of this report contain information that was gathered in the survey of the riot-affected areas (Appendix A). The formal results of Chapter II, together with the Area-Reports give an idea of the local situation before, during and after the riots. The information throws light on the complexity of factors underlying the disturbance which have to be borne in mind for any realistic planning for the future. Our interpretation of the happenings is as follows:

After the demolition of the mosque on December 6th 1992, some Muslims in a couple of areas in Bombay damaged some temples in the local area. Fearing a backlash, the police decided to curb any retaliatory moves by resorting to firing

and so containing the disturbance. The Hindus, spurred by fanatical elements, also decided to curb any back-lash by swooping on the minority in large numbers and engaging in violent destruction so as to terrorise them, dispossess them and force them to leave their residences.

The neighbourhoods in which Muslims resided together with Hindus were generally found to be amicable, hence the accusation of attack during the riots is directed against outside 'goondas' and the police who were seen to abet the rioters.

The vast majority of persons affected were Muslims who had settled in Bombay for over 11 and close to 30 years. They were by and large, illiterate, living on daily wages from casual labour or petty business. Most of them had fairly stable one-room houses, quite a number lived on encroached land. The looting and burning of their property left them with only the clothes they wore. Many even lost documents like ration cards, photopasses, property papers. By the time this report is being written, the second phase of riots has already erupted in January with its train of destruction largely for Muslims and also for a smaller number of Hindus. The second riot bears similar characteristics to the first outburst except that the range of destruction was larger, its intensity worse. A larger number of Hindu families were targetted, the paralysis of the city was total and the nexus of political and commercial interests became more visible. In both the first and second riot, people kept identifying the Shiv Sena as playing the "aggressor" role. The spectre of communalism was abundantly strengthened by political feuds, local rivalries and builders' interests.

b) Providing Immediate Relief

The riot-affected victims were lodged for the most part in relief camps. These were generally municipal schools or institutions which housed the large number of families seeking shelter.

In these camps, voluntary organisations did a wonderful job of providing food, clothes, bedding to the families staying there. For example, the arrangements at the Mahim relief camp were admirable in terms of sufficiency and individualised choice. Voluntary organisations specially educational institutions were generous in initiating collections for the purpose. The Chief Minister's Fund, industrial concerns and interested individuals also helped to meet the cost of meeting basic needs at the time.

The people in camps were helped to make their statements of complaint regarding damages and losses, to the police. These statements were then

submitted to the Collector and his team in order to receive the fixed financial compensation. In Bhandup, about forty-nine shops were looted and razed to the ground. The College team held meetings with the shopkeepers, surveyed their needs and presented their forms to the Collector's office, which facilitated a procedure of loans through a nationalised bank. Many families who lost their ration cards were helped to reapply for the same.

The health needs of people had suffered a set-back due to prolonged curfew hours and the fear of stirring out of their residences. Medical camps in the locality were organised with the help of voluntary organisations and necessary medical relief was made available to people.

It was observed that school-going children in the relief camps were unable to attend school because they had no uniforms, their books and bags had been destroyed and their parents were afraid to send them to school again. The listing of such children was done, books were obtained and efforts initiated to enable them to go to school. The government educational authorities were contacted in order that a policy be made to accommodate the plight of the riot-affected children such that they would be allowed to appear for the final examinations of the current academic year.

As the survey was being done, one could sense the pain and hurt that the people in relief camps suffered. The staff and students spent much time listening to each one's sad story, sometimes expressing intense anger, hatred and frustration, but also a recognition of the sparks of kindness in the darkness of their lives. They found courage in their abiding trust in God.

c) Release of Youth arrested by Police

During the riots, the police had conducted searches in people's houses and had rounded up male youth on charges of disturbing public order. In Mahim, the team of staff and students succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of the police and legal assistance to release on bail a number of youth (around 16 years) charged with "murder". This happened because the police knew the students who had been working in the police station through their field work placement. In other cases, it was not so easy to obtain the lists from the police.

2) Long-Term Intervention

a) Working with the Riot-Affected People:

After the December riots, the confidence of the people affected received a severe jolt and they were afraid to leave the shelter of relief camps to go back to their

houses in the city. They were torn between the fear and longing to return to their homes. Some people in Bhandup were persuaded to return to their homes which a voluntary organisation had offered to rebuild. Seventy houses were thus repaired and constructed in December 1992 but in the spate of the January 1993 riots these same houses were destroyed once again.

The violent onslaught of the second riot demoralised the minority community completely and thousands left the city for their native places specially in Uttar Pradesh. It was impossible to contain their fear of returning to live among neighbours they could no longer trust. During this time, the effort was to represent the terrible feeling of insecurity suffered by the minority community to government authorities so that measures could be taken to restore confidence and normalcy in the situation.

The long-term intervention covers the post-January riots since the two phases followed each other so rapidly.

The effort of providing food to relief camps had to be repeated in January and the extent of need was far greater because about a lakh of people were thus affected. Most of them lived in institutionalised relief camps but many families took refuge with other families in the vicinity, as neighbours and relatives rose to the occasion and offered whatever space they could spare, to more than one family in distress. The generosity of individuals, voluntary and international organisations was readily forthcoming and the College had to appoint personnel to see that such aid was properly utilised so as to reach the right people.

By the third week of January 1993, the relief camps began to close down as thousands fled from Bombay. Moreover, the institutions in which the people had been sheltered had to resume their normal functioning, hence they could not continue to shelter families indefinitely. The government in the vast majority of cases could not provide alternate accommodation in the city. Hence people had to be prepared to go back to their earlier areas of residence and the local community had to be prepared to receive them in their midst. Bombay could not be divided into Hindu and Muslim ghettos.

To facilitate the return of the riot-affected people and build the emotional security so necessary for both communities to live in harmony, the work of forming peace committees in local areas was started with the active involvement of the zonal police. The College teams worked in this regard at Tulsiwadi, Mahim, Dharavi, Wadala and Bhandup. The process has been extremely challenging with warring

interests of political parties striking discordant notes. There have been varied degrees of success but with a co-operative and reassuring police inspector and conciliatory moves by representatives of the minority and majority communities, the process has helped to create greater openness and receptivity among people.

Two areas of assistance at present are shelter and occupation. With the financial assistance received, the College has adopted three geographical areas: Tulsiwadi and M. P. Mill Compound at Tardeo and a part of Dharavi. A listing has been done of all those whose means of livelihood have been destroyed and a plan for such assistance is being implemented and monitored. Similarly a plan for repairing damaged houses is also being executed. Unless one has a house to operate from, and a source of income, people will not be able to regularise the course of their daily lives.

b) Working with the Government and the Police

It is obvious from a deeper analysis of the problem situation that the poorer people who suffered from the riots were at the receiving end. Forces beyond their control have broken into their homes and hearts and no normalcy can be restored unless these larger forces also recognise the responsibility they bear.

The College of Social Work was invited to be part of the group of NGO's collaborating with the State Government to assess the needs of the riot-affected population and recommend suitable measures of relief and rehabilitation.

Instances of representing the needs of the people and obtaining a response from the public systems concerned are:

- i) When people expressed their fear of going to the police station to register their complaints, a request made by the College team to the Police and Collectorate was conceded that the police would come and meet people at the relief camps to register their complaints. The presence of the students facilitated the process and in the case of damages or losses, immediate financial relief could be obtained.
- ii) The difficulties experienced by school-going children to pursue their studies, specially those at the S.S.C. level were represented to the Secretary Department of Education who took steps to declare that the performance of children who were absent due to the riot-situation could be assessed on earlier performance in the year for the final evaluation.

- iii) In cases where compensations promised by the government were difficult to obtain, the College teams contacted the concerned officials to get the required help.
- iv) The Police Inspectors stationed in the areas where peace committees were to be set up, worked in close dialogue with the College team to initiate and follow up the process and regularity of meetings with the local community.
- v) At meetings held both at Mantralaya as well as at Raj Bhavan, representatives of the College joined in making a forcible representation to the highest state-authorities even to the Prime Minister of the people's total loss of confidence in the law and order machinery which had failed to nab known culprits during the riots.

c) Collaboration with NGO's

In several of the riot-affected areas the College continues to collaborate with the local NGO's to follow up the work of occupational rehabilitation and housing as well as to promote the kind of community leadership that can promote a climate of peace and mutual understanding. Thus in Tulsiwadi, the College works closely with Seva Niketan, Sarvodaya and the Agripada Relief Committee; in Dharavi the collaboration is with the Rashtrya Ekta Samiti; in Bandra with the BECC (Bandra East Community Centre).

The organisation SUCH initiated by the students of the College arranged for an awareness programme for the students of two neighbouring colleges along with ours. The media campaign of the College consisted of printing a large number of posters, stickers and post-cards on the theme of communal harmony, which were distributed to educational institutions and put up in prominent public places.

As part of the awareness campaign, the College conducted workshops for para-professional workers in urban slum communities and for College lecturers. The subject of the riots and communal harmony was examined from different angles by competent speakers so as to stimulate a healthy reflection and build attitudes in the light of our Constitutional values.

Collaboration with NGO's and the wider community is seen as an important part of the drive to build people's power as the most effective way of combatting the corruption of political and administrative systems which hold the country to ransom at present.

Conclusion

The purpose that the College set out to achieve, which was an exposure of the staff and student community to the riot-affected people in order to understand their needs and plan appropriate action, was largely served by the experience of the survey and relief work. The limitations of time faced by students who have to fulfil the academic requirements of the University set limits to their involvement in long-term intervention. To obviate these practical difficulties, the College has worked collaboratively with local NGO's and has appointed personnel to ensure continuity to the effort begun.

While it may appear today that Bombay is swinging into activity once again, the scars of what happened in December 1992 and January 1993 are too fresh to be forgotten by those who experienced the lashes and burns of frenzied passion. When the basic urges of citizens to work and earn, to have bare minimum facilities for their families in this metropolis are disregarded, their hearts can only become a cauldron of frustration and destruction. When officials encourage and use anti-social elements to further their private gains, allowing them to even call the shots by rewarding them with positions of public responsibility then anarchy has already taken root and one needs only a spark to create a conflagration once again.

The polarisation that has become manifest after these riots in every sector of public life must be viewed with concern, especially when it was so blatantly expressed by the law and order machinery during the riots.

To uphold the democratic framework of the Constitution, every cultural group - majority or minority, must know to dialogue and adjust such that religious pluralism is not an obstacle but an enrichment of the great culture of India.

At the moment when this publication is under print, Bombay is once again recovering from the bomb blasts that rocked the city on March 12. The investigations point to the terrifying destructiveness that gradually seizes a society seething with frustration and the criminalisation of politics. Where To, Bombay? - a city of smoke and violence today but also a city that rallies to donate blood and assistance to fellow human beings against all odds.

Appendix A

LIST OF AREAS IN WHICH THE COLLEGE TEAM INTERVENED

Bhandup
Byculla
Deonar
Dharavi
Ghatkopar (Asalpha)
Kherwadi
Kurla
Mahim
Cooper Hospital
J J. Hospital
K E M. Hospital



Appendix B

LIST OF NGO'S WITH WHICH THE COLLEGE TEAM WORKED

Apnalaya
Bandra East Community Centre
Citizens for Peace
CORO
Jagruti Kendra Millat Nagar Relief Committee
Jeevan Nirvah Niketan
Mahatma Gandhi Relief Committee
Mahila Millan
Mahim Relief Committee
Majlis
Peoples' Empowerment for Progress
Pragati Kendra
Rashtriya Ekta Samiti
Rashtriya Seva Dal
Samaj Seva Niketan
Sarvodaya Mandal
Seva Niketan
Shramik Sangathana
Slum Rehabilitation Society
St. Anthony's Church, Saki Naka
Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Valmiki Dalit Vikas Samiti
YMCA
Yuva Shakti Prathisthan
YUVA

Appendix C

INTERVENTION IN JANUARY 1993

The College was involved in the following Relief Camps:

Madanpura
Mahim
Musaphirkhana
Bandra
Sewree
Andheri
Kurla
Jogeshwari
Malad

**LONG TERM CONTINUED INTERVENTION IN TERMS OF SHELTER,
OCCUPATIONAL REHABILITATION, EDUCATION, FORMATION OF PEACE
COMMITTEES AND COORDINATION OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES**

Tulsiwadi
M.P. Hill Compound
Dhobighat
Mahim
Dharavi
Oshiwara
Dongri
Andheri
Bandra
Wadala
Sewree
Worli

Appendix D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR VICTIMS OF RIOTS (FROM DECEMBER 6, 1992)

Schedule No: _____ Date: _____

Name of the Interviewer: _____

Personal and Socio-Economic Data

1. Name of the interviewer : _____
2. Locality : _____
3. Age of the respondent : _____
4. Sex of the respondent : _____
5. Education of the respondent : _____
6. Occupation of the respondent : _____
7. Religion : _____
8. Caste : _____
9. Native Place : _____
10. Language spoken : _____
11. Duration of stay in this area : _____
12. Number of family members

Adults

Children

Male : _____ Female : _____ Male : _____ Female : _____

13. Occupations pursued in the family : _____
14. Family income per month : _____
15. Nature and type of house : _____
kachha/pucca/semi-pucca
one room/two room/loft/many rooms
legally owned/owned/rented/sub-tenancy

16. If owned/rented any business place : _____

Area : _____

Legal/Illegal : _____

No. of Persons Employed : _____

Value of Assets : _____

Daily Income from this Place : _____

Neighbourhood

1. What constitutes the neighbourhood?

People of same religion/caste or otherwise : _____

Dominant political party of the area : _____

Other political parties : _____

2. What has been the relationship pattern in the neighbourhood prior to riots?

Smooth & cooperative : _____

Conflictual : _____

(The interviewer to record the response in detail.)

Damages Experienced

Physical

a) Loss of Life :

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____

Relationship : _____

Occupation : _____

How? _____

What was done : _____

By authorities : _____

By you / your family : _____

By others : _____

Do you want any help in terms of :

1. Certificates _____ 2. Compensation _____
3. Legal aid _____ Awareness about Govt.
offer to be explored:

Do you know the process : Yes / No

(b) Serious injuries :

Name _____ Age _____ Sex _____
Relationship : _____
Occupation : _____
How? _____
Nature of injuries : _____
What was done : _____
By authorities : _____
By you / your family : _____
By others _____

Do you want any help in addition to the medical aid?

(c) Minor injuries :

Who was affected ? _____
Nature of injuries ? _____
What did you do ? _____

(d) Physical abuse (describe):

whom?

(2) Property/Material :

What is damaged ? _____
house/business place/assets/valuables/savings
Stolen (looted) ? _____
How was it damaged ? _____

What efforts were made to save the damage? and what were the difficulties faced in the process?

By authority : _____
By you : _____
By others : _____

IV (a) Problems faced in day-to-day living:

Food Supply Prices: _____

(b) Work: In your family, there are:

Permanent workers: _____

Casual Workers: _____

Small business persons: _____

Daily wage earners: _____

What difficulties each of them faced in terms of:

Travel to work place: _____

Loss of wages: _____

(c) Education: Travel:

Closure of institution: _____

(d) Communications:

Were you able to contact relatives/friends outside the community or receive messages/help from them

Do you need any help in these areas? _____

V Mental well-being

How did children react to the exposure to these riots?

How did women react to the situation?

How did old persons react to the situation?

VI What happened in your area from 6th December till to-date:

Record in detail (probes to be used)

VII What did you do during these days in relation to riots?

At personal level : _____

Community level : _____

VIII What are your expectations vis-a-vis damages from the

Police : _____

Local Govt : _____

State Govt : _____

Local Voluntary Bodies : _____