NATURE OF LEADERSHIP AND PATTERN OF MOBILIZATION IN SHAHJAHANABAD : 1977-1997

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

NAVED JAMAL

Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067
1997

जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067

CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

July 19, 1997

CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled **Nature of Leadership and Pattern of Mobilization in Shahjahanabad, 1977-97,** submitted by **Naved Jamal** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy** has not been previously submitted for the any other degree of this or of any other University. To the best of our knowledge this is a bonafide work.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

S. N. Jha
(Prof.) S.N. Jha
Supervisor

Balveer Arora
(Prof.) Balveer Arora
Chairperson

GRAM : JAYENU TEL.: 667676, 667557 TELEX : 031-73167 JNU IN FAX : 91-011-6865886

DEDICATED

TO THE PEOPLE OF

SHAHJAHANABAD

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all those who helped me in various ways during the course of this work. Special thanks are due to my Supervisor, **Prof. S.N. JHA** for his comments, corrections and untiring patience to go through the first draft of this work; inspiring guidance and valuable suggestions have been helpful and without his encouragement and support, this work would not have been possible.

I am also thankful to the faculty member of the Centre for Political Studies (CPS) and Prof. Manoranjan Mohanty, Delhi University for their encouragement and help at various levels. I am equally grateful to Dr. M.K. Saini of Dyal Singh College for his guidance, Dr. Ajay K. Mehra of the Centre for Policy Research and also to Dr. Salman Hashmi, Principal, Zakir Hussain College for his suggestions and advice to meet Prof. Imtiaz Ahmed.

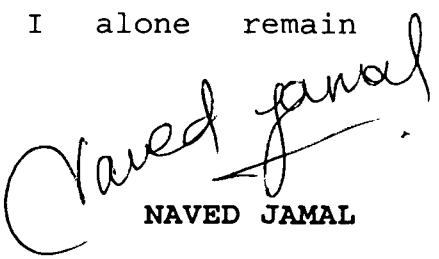
I express my gratitude to the library staff of Delhi Public Library, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Delhi University, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Indian Institute of Public Administration, Election Commission, Zakir Hussain College, School of Planning and Architecture and Sapru House.

I am also deeply grateful to **Dr. M.N. Thakur**, my teacher and inspirer, Zakir Hussain College; my friends

Jyoti, Hilal, Abbas and many others who have helped me by sparing time from their precious hours for the preparation of this work.

Last but no way the least, my father and mother, deserve special mention for being integral to me and my entire self. No words can ever describe their contribution to my intellectual pursuit.

For any fault or discrepancy, I alone remain responsible.



NAVED JAMAL

CONTENTS

CHAPTERS	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i-ii
LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS	iii
I INTRODUCTION	**1- 30**
1.1. Leadership and Mobilization - A Theoretical Framework	2- 22
1.2. Shahjahanabad	22- 28
1.3. Objectives	28
1.4. Methodology	29
1.5. Chapterisation	29
II POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FORMATION IN SHAHJAHANABAD	**31- 62**
2.1. Urban Muslim at National Level	36- 42
2.2. Social Formation in Shahjahanabad	42- 52
2.3. The Karkhana System	52- 58
2.4. Political Set-Up	59- 62
III PATTERN OF LEADERSHIP AND URBAN POLITICS IN SHAHJAHANABAD	**63- 88**
3.1. Biradari Leadership	66- 68
3.2. Mohalla Leadership	69- 71
3.3. Religious Leadership	71- 77
3.4. Leadership and Urban Politics	78- 79
3.5. Urban Growth and Problems of Urban Decay in Delhi	79- 86
3.6. Conclusion	86- 88

IV ELECTORAL POLITICS AND STRATEGIES OF MOBILIZATION **89-123**

4.1. Lok Sabha Elections 90- 94

4.2. Legislative Assembly - 1993 Elections 94- 97

4.3. Delhi Municipal Corporation - 1997 Elections 97-113

4.3.1. Nomination Process 99-101
4.3.2. Independents 101-105
4.3.3. Style of Campaign 105-109
4.3.4. Party Manifesto 109-111
4.3.5. Polling and Election Results 111-112
4.3.6. Election Commission Initiatives 112-113

4.4. Strategies of Mobilization 114-122

4.4.1. Electoral Mobilization 114-115
4.4.2. Political Mobilization 115-117
4.4.3. Ideological Mobilization 118-122

4.5. Concluding Observations 122-123

V CONCLUSION **124-131**

BIBLIOGRAPHY 132-142

LIST OF TABLES AND MAPS

Tables

1.	Therborn's Four Ideological Interpellation for Present Study	18
2.	Muslim Population in Delhi, 1901-1981	22
3.	Pattern of Employment by Religion in India 1987-1988	37
4.	Distribution of Person by Household Type (Occupation) and Religion : Urban India 1987-1988)	37
5.	Distribution of Person by General Education, Sex and Religion : Urban India 1977-1988	40
6.	Distribution of Persons Currently Attending Educational Institutions According to Age Group, Sex and Religion : Urban India 1977-88	40
7.	Social Ecology in Shahjahanabad of Some Biradaris	48
8.	Rate of Failure in Urdu-medium Schools	56
9.	Lok Sabha Elections in Delhi : Size of Electorate, Percentage of Valid Votes Polled and Percentage of Votes	93

Maps

1.	Map of Shahjahanabad	23

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

Mobilization plays an important and specific role in which leaders emerge in the socio-political arena. On the other hand it can be said that there are leaders who help in mobilizing people by influencing and framing their orientation. The problematic is of course that there is an dialectical relationship between leadership and the process of mobilization and it is interesting to understand the relationship. There are hereditary, biradari (caste), mohalla, religious and political leaders who help in the processes of mobilization. Mobilization, on the other hand, can be ideological[1], political[2], electoral[3] in which the leaders emerge in the loci of power. One can see the relationship by uncovering the various socio-politico movements in the national arena i.e. Babri Masjid - Ramjanambhoomi controversy, Shah Bano case, uniform civil code issue, and the grass-root politics of urbanization, education, women's rights and trade cooperatives.

---

1. Therborn, Goran, *Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology*, London, Verso, 1980.

2. Nettl, J.P., *Political Mobilization : A Sociological Analysis of Methods and Concepts*, London, Faber & Faber, 1967.

3. Rokkan, Stein, *Electoral Mobilisation, Party Competition and National Integration in Political Parties and Political Development*, La Palombara, Joseph and Weiner, Myron, (Eds.), New Jersey, Princeton, 1969.

It is often argued that the problems and issues at grass-root level are sidetracked and is laden with communalism. The leaders through a collective effort mobilized on the national issues which are shown in the massive 1987 Boat Club rally[4] organized by Imam Abdullah Bukhari after the *Shilaniyas Grabha Gariha* in Ramjanambhoomi -Babri Masjid Complex.

Since 1992 onwards, the flames of communalism have shrunk as there were no riots, violence. It is therefore, important to analyze and evaluate the nature of leadership and the pattern of mobilization which had a decisive role during the period 1980-92.

1.1 LEADERSHIP AND MOBILIZATION - A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Leader's nature, attitude, skill are important elements in conflict management. The elitist school advocates that masses can't control the organizations and the conflicting bodies cannot resolve conflicts themselves[5]. As such leadership is a function of acceptance by followers. In other words, a leader is a leader by virtue of his acceptance or recognition by his followers.

But why is the leader accepted? What kinds of persons are acceptable as leaders? These questions are related to

---

4. Hasan, Mushirul, "Legacy of a Divided Nation : India's Muslim since Independence", *Towards Secular India*, Vol.1, no.4, October-December, 1995, pp.22-23.

5. Mosca Gaetano, *The Ruling Class*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1939 and Pareto, Vilfredo, *The Mind and Society : A Treatise on General Sociology*, New York, 1963.

tensions, patterns and values of a particular environment. Leadership is the capacity to influence the groups through such means as organizational skill, superior knowledge and expertise, the power of personality and in general, the ability to evoke the cooperation and commitment of others[6].

Leadership signifies the role of providing guidance, direction and coordination to a group, organization or a country. It also refers to the capacity to inspire confidence in the rightness of one's purpose, courage in their execution. It is the question of degree determined by the extent to which a single person can build control on the basis of influence. Thus, leaders are defined as the influentials - those who exercise great causal impact on social events.[7] It is the leader who makes things happen that would not happen otherwise.

Dahl set before himself the task of explaining leadership and influence in his book *Who Governs?* exclusively in terms of observable political behavior. Dahl's assertion that much of the influence of leaders derives from the fact that "most citizens use their political resources scarcely at all"[8] has gone on to become

---

6. Goldenson, Robert, M., *Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry*, New York, Longman, 1984, p.417.

7. Mcfarland, Andrew S., *Power and Leadership in Pluralist System*, California, 1969, pp.174-75.

8. Dahl, Robert, *Who Governs? : Democracy and Power in an American City*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972, p.276.

a hallmark of behavioral theory. But this theory is suited only to the liberal societies and those regimes espousing a democratic creed. Historically, the concept of leadership highlights the shifting focus in theoretical orientation.

Early leadership studies and research, focused on the leader himself[9] to the virtual exclusion of other variables. It was assumed that leadership effectiveness would be explained by isolating, psychological and physical, characteristics or traits, which were presumed to differentiate the leader from other members of his group. Studies generally guided by this assumption proved not so fruitful. Almost without universal traits it proved elusive and there was little agreement as to the most useful traits. This approach soon proved rather sterile. Leaders do not emerge or function in isolation; they deal with followers within a cultural, social and psychical context.

After the trait approach, the emphasis swung away from the leader as an entity to the situationist approach. The situationist do not necessarily abandon the search for significant leadership characteristics but they attempt to look for them in situations containing common elements. Stogdill, after examining a large number of leadership studies aimed at isolating the traits of effective leaders, came to the conclusion that "the qualities, characteristics

---

9. Borgatta, E.F., Bales, R.F. and Couch, "Some Findings Relevant to the Greatman Theory of Leadership", *American Sociological Review*, Vol.XIX, 1954, pp.755-59.

and skills required in a leader are determined to a large extent by the demands of the situation in which he is to function as leader".[10] Stogdill analyses leadership in various segments of population (student, military personnel and businessman) which have been heavily researched, while others (politicians, labour leaders and criminal leaders) have been relatively neglected.[11] It covers the entire range of elements that can be associated with a person and, in particular objective, social and demographic elements as well as pure psychological traits. The power of leadership is direction[12] in which it ultimately strives for action. Tucker analytically puts three elements in successive order for the evaluation of leadership.

(a) Diagnosis:- A leader grasps situations intellectually i.e. surveying the environment and assessing what is wrong in his opinion and therefore what is to be addressed.

(b) Prescription:- It helps a leader to devise a course of action to meet these grievances and redressals. Instruments at leaders disposal are essential in implementation of decisions.

(c) Mobilization:- Conceived broadly, the leader tries to ensures that in specific context an action takes place which

---

10. Stogdill, Carral L., *Methods in the Study of Leadership Performance*, Columbia, 1957, p.63.

11. Stogdill, R.M., *Handbook of Leadership : A Survey of Theory and Research*, New York, 1974, p.5.

12. Tucker, R.C., *Politics as Leadership*, University of Missouri Press, 1981, p.15.

can be: (i) Mobilization of subordinates; (ii) Immediate or distant mobilization (within bureaucracy); (iii) Mobilization of population as a whole.

Tucker described leadership in terms of action and not in power terms.[13] Ideally, leadership implies combination of diagnosis, prescription and mobilization, though the form of this combination varies from one situation to another.

Burns's book on leadership analyses two types of leadership: (i) Transforming and (ii) Transactional leadership. It is not clear whether there is a further residual category (`mere' power hólders). The transforming group of leaders having a vision of society, sets about doing something to implement that vision. On the contrary, the transactional leaders merely operate trade or exchange one advantage for another. They act in here-and-now and focus on details, without any perspective as to how society should be ultimately.

The analysis by Burns examines the characteristics and consequences as he looks at various groups in society in which one or the other type of leader emerges. Accordingly, leadership arising out of party political activity, in normal circumstances at least, will be transactional;[14] and the leadership arising out of revolutions, on the other hand

---

13. ibid., p.26.

14. Burns, J. McGregor, *Leadership*, New York, Harper & Row, 1978, pp.308-42.

will have a transforming character.[15] It can be said that Burn's transforming leadership bears many similarities with the characteristics of leaders in a Charismatic context (Weber). The case of traditional leaders remain uncovered in Burn's leadership analysis.

Paige lists several elements while defining political leadership as consisting "in the intersection of personality, role, organization, task, values and setting".[16] If one examines these aspects one finds that they come under two broad categories: Personal Attributes and Regimes Attributes and the environment constituting the third element.

Personality is significant and meaningful because personality appears to have an impact on the goals and policy initiatives of the leader. It also applies to other aspects of leadership. Paige, for instance refers to `role' and `organization' as an important component in a broad definition of leadership. Indeed both have traditionally been regarded as essential. Nevertheless, personality and institutional arrangements affect the character of the leadership itself, but the environment is the substance, the raw material and also the framework for the goals and policy initiatives; it is, to use another image, the chessboard on which leaders have to play.

---

15. Ibid., pp.201-40.

16. Paige, G.D., *Political Leadership*, New York, Free Press, 1972, p.69.

One point of certainty about charismatic authority is that, it is based on the direct relationship between followers and leaders. Charismatic authority is lodged neither in office nor in status but derives from the capacity of a particular person to arouse and maintain belief in himself or herself as the source of legitimacy.[17] Weber explicitly states that charisma is "certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is considered extraordinary and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or exceptional forces or qualities".[18] Charismatic authority rests on "devotion to the specific sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person and of normative patterns or orders revealed or ordained by him".[19] Charisma before Weber referred exclusively to a "gift of grace" in strictly religious context.

The approaches and theories to the study of leadership based on the experiences of Western societies are not in congruence with the character of Indian society. The approaches gave a picture of leadership ignoring its bases and effects to social change. These theories often fail to

---

17. Willner, A.R., *The Spill Binder : Charismatic Political Leadership*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1984, p.4.

18. Weber, Max, *Economy and Society*, New York, Bedminister Press, Vol.3, 1968, p.214.

19. Ibid., p.215.

predict leadership roles in accordance with the perception of their community, social, structure (class, caste, biradaris) traditions and, above all, perceptions of the community to the prevailing problems and the challenges that decide the character, role and stability of leadership.

Marx and Engels while analyzing leadership in capitalist societies maintain that leaders are the creatures of the material conditions and social system within which they function. It is circumstances that help in the nurturing of the great men. For example, a nation of "36 million can be surprised and delivered unresisting into captivity by 3 swindlers".[20]

According to Marx, history makes leaders. He quotes Helvetius, "Every social epoch needs its great men and when it does not find them it invents them".[21] Plekhanov's work on the place of great men within the Marxist perspective written in 1898 was a classic defence of leadership.

Character of an individual is a `factor' in social development only where, when and to the extent, that social relations permits it to be such. The individual can display his "talent only when he occupies the position in society necessary for this. It is the form or organization that in any given period determines the role and consequently, the

---

20. Marx, Karl, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Selected Works, Vol.I, Moscow, Foreign Language Publishing House, 1955, p.189.

21. Avineri Shlomo, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge, 1968, p.189.

social significance that may fall to the lot of talented or incomplete individuals".[22] A great man is great not because of his personal qualities, to give individual features to great historical events, but because he "possesses qualities which make him most capable of serving the great social needs of his time, needs which arose as a result of general and particular causes. A strong man sees further than other, he solves the scientific problem brought up by the preceding process of intellectual development of society; he points the new social needs created by the preceding development of social relationships; he takes the initiative in satisfying these needs. He is a hero in the sense that his activities are the conscious and free expression of this inevitable and unconscious course. Here in lies all his significance; here in lies his whole power. But this significance is colossal and the power is terrible".[23]

Plekhanov's praise of the hero fitted well with Lenin's ideas of correct leadership, which is discharged only by those who have attained consciousness - which means scientific understanding of the contemporary world. Thus, leadership task is "repository of conciousness, educate the proletariat, propaganda and agitation, which will mobilize

---

22. Plekhanov, George, V., *The Role of the Individual in History*, J. Fineberg, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962, pp.34-35.

23. *Ibid.*, pp.59-60.

the masses for action, map their strategy and lead them to victory".[24]

To maintain the new type of political position a leader has "to be a `gap closer' between the common man and the structures of authority".[25] Bailey also points out that the middle class leader can become a "broker", commanding vote bank - votes offered for small service or promise of future protection.[26]

Theoretically, mobilization is a process by which members of society are made to participate in various activities involving the defence or promotion of particular ideas, values, position, situation, person, groups.[27] It refers to an activity of forming crowds, groups, associations and organizations for the pursuit of collective goals.[28] Precisely, political mobilization involves the collective goals in which there is an influence, control or gain an access to the Government.[29]

---

24. Meyer, Alfred, G., *Leninism*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957, p.53.

25. Jha, Shashi Shekhar, *Political Elite in Bihar*, Bombay, Vora & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1972, p.273.

26. Bailey, F.G., *Politics and Social Change: Orissa: 1959*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1963, p.146.

27. Rush, Michael, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, London, MacMillan, 1984, p.224.

28. Gamson, William, *Power and Discontent*, Homewood III, Dorsey Press, 1968, pp.74-81.

29. Wrong, Dennis, H., *Power : Its Form, Bases and Uses*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1988, pp.148-149.

There are three methods of systematic long-term social mobilization of military, religious and political groups. It tries to relate people in a distinct and novel form. By evolving particular structures and by giving people common goals and reference group, political mobilization differ from social mobilization in following terms:

(a) Problem in terms of sub-system - politics, normative integration,economic activity and kinship relation are the others.

(b) To introduce politics at an upper stage of the progression of value addition in forms of collective behavior, e.g. panic, hostile outbursts, etc.

(c) To define the political context narrowly or broadly (change of policy, change of policy making personnel or structure, change of the value components of the structure) and to take part in any given social action, or of any social situation. It is a different definition of politics - in terms of authority roles or actions concerned with the exercise of power in which the "political process becomes a component of social action all the way through the hierarchy from values down to individual roles".[30] The scale and the level of societal impact of mobilization varies in different societies - the elitist societies with an institutional structure which is porous, flexible and expandable; in constitutional

---

30. Nettl, J.P., *Op. cit.*, pp.115-20.

societies, it incorporates formal structures into their prescriptive ideology; and in composite case like India - there is a norm-oriented mobilization and counter-mobilization.

The nature of mobilization can be seen in terms of four components - Rules, Collectivities, Norms and Values. It is the political action which refers to mobilizing people with "norms", and on the other hand, it is revolution by mobilizing people with "values". The task of values and goals in structures and processes has instrumental utility.

Mobilization has "integrative aspects and functions".[31] Political mobilization can be viewed as a continuing process by comparing its manner, the means used to achieve, its scale, intensity and and its level of impact. As a process, it is attitudinal- a commitment to actions and further as a means to translating this commitment into actions or observed behavior. Nettl puts a functional approach in terms of goal attainment in social system and attempted to analyze only the internally - induced mobilization and neglects completely the outside mobilization which is seen as hostile to the social system.

Religious groups are particularly promising targets for political mobilization because of often large and geographical concentration of their members. Even when unorganized and unaware of any collective political

---

31. *Ibid.*, p.385.

interests, they "already share some norms and values in common, which indeed is what constitutes their religious identity".[32] The clout of religious leaders "over his followers will codify in the way he orders them to vote, in the way he orders them to stamp society in their distinct religious image,and when the demand comes for freedom of expression and the freedom to cast a vote coercion follows".[33]

The voting blocks are the least solitary and organized politically mobilized units in constitutional democracy like India. Electoral support registered by the total vote recieved by a party or a candidate is a collective resource based on aggregation of the individual votes of many citizens. The condition favouring high turnout and class voting can be seen as more demanding and intensive political mobilization.[34]

Political mobilization ranges from fully mobilized power-seeking groups to the larger, relatively unorganized constituencies, including voting blocks, which the leaders claim to represent. The relationship between the fully mobilized and diffusely solitary larger groups, whether

---

32. Daniel, Bell, `Ethnicity and Social Change', in Glazer Nathan and Moynihan, D. Patrick, (Ed)., *Ethnicity : Theory and Experience*, Cambridge, 1975, p.169.

33. Chandhoke, Neera, "Of States and Civil Society" in *Understanding the post-colonial world*, (Ed.), New Delhi, Sterling, 1994, p.216.

34. Wrong, Dennis, *Op. cit.*, pp.156-157.

phrased as the problem of party-class relation, or more broadly as the problem of representation in general, is a crucial focus of political analysis.[35]

Parties are autonomous in so far as they succeed over a time in mobilizing the unmobilized, organizing the unorganized, giving a voice to the voiceless. Leaders' demands may create issues and mount appeals which do not just reflect the established outlook and sentiments of their constituencies but which succeed in mobilizing previously potential groups, creating solidarity and consensus on collective action. They are sufficiently motivated to do so with incentives as the personal power, prestige, that are to be gained by assuming leadership role in organizing and directing group effort.

`False consciousness' connotes no more than that people are ignorant and misinformed about the society in which they live and that their incorrect view of it is the result of control over their information supply and indoctrination in favour of the *status quo* practised by the dominant groups or classes who are its chief beneficiaries. Karl Marx's famous statement that the ideas of an epoch are the ideas of its ruling class and serve as ideological legitimations of its rule.

---

35. Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party System : A Framework for Analysis*, Vol.I, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976, pp.20-27.

Althusser's theory of ideology, as Paul Hirst, explains, has transformed "virtually a moribund region of Marxist theory".[36] Althusser has challenged certain central aspects of classical Marxist theory of ideology and has attempted to introduce a new set of issues. Althusser rejects two propositions central in Marxist theories - that ideology is false representation of the real, and that ideology is a distorted reflection in consciousness of real social relations. Althusser challenges the notion that `ideology is false consciousness' of reality because "it entails the conception of knowledge as the experience of a subject, false consciousness in blinkers".[37]

Althusser points out two basic aspects of ideology : particular ideology (represented in specific regions, political and legal forms) which always expressed in class positions. Opposed to the view that ideologies do not have any theory, he explains that since ideologies express class positions they do not have theories, meaning thereby that there must be some theory of relation between ideology on the one hand and economic base, and classes, and class struggle on the other.

Althusser's theory has been further developed by Goran Therborn to show that there are several types of ideologies in the ideological structure of a social formation and they

---

36. Hirst Paul, "Althusser's Theory of Ideology", *Economy and Society*, Vol.5, 1976, p.385.

37. *Ibid.*, p.366.

exist in distinct articulation. The process and mode of articulation is provided by the class ideologies and class struggle in the social formation.

Therborn's thesis is that four dimensions make up the fundamental forms of human subjectivity, and that the universe of ideologies is exhaustively structured by the four main types of interpellation that constitute these four forms of subjectivity and four sets of ideologies".[38]

1) Inclusive - Existential Ideologies: They provide meanings related to being a member of the world.

2) Inclusive - Historical Ideologies: Human being are constituted as conscious members of historical social world which are indefinite in number and varieties.

3) Positional - Existential ideologies: a particular position in the world of which one is a member. The most important aspects of structure of the givens in human existence are those delineated by the `self - others', and gender distinctions and by the life-style of childhood, youth, maturity and old-age.

4) Historical - Positional Ideologies: It forms the members of a family in a structure of families and lineages the inhabitants of a particular locality in a wider pattern of social geography, the occupants of a particular educational status, the practitioners of particular occupations and of

---

38. Therborn, Goran, *Op. cit.*, p.23.

particular life styles, the incumbents of position of political power the member of different classes.[39]

These ideologies for analytical purpose in the context of the present study can be divided now into four groups:

Table : 1 Therborn's Four Ideological Interpellation for present study

Positional-Historical Ideologies	Inclusive-Existential Ideologies	Positional-Existential Ideologies	Inclusive-Historical Ideologies
Bourgois class/ feudal	Hinduism	Male(ness) Female(ness)	Language Dilli(Urdu) Religion, Nation,etc.
Karkhane-dar class	Islam		
Middle workers	Sikhism		
Peasants	Christianity		

Source: Goran Therborn, *Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology*, London, Verso, 1980.

The complicated character of the class configuration of Delhi social formation has been a matter of debate since long. But, instead of going into any details of the debate, we can make some general obesrvations. The most dominant ideology among the other `positional historical ideoloies' was feudal ideology and the Karkhanedar class ideology as a constituent of the dominant ideology. On the contrary, though peasants ideology in the medieval India existed, it was not in a consolidated form and could not be forceful because of this reason.

---

39. *Ibid.*, p.25.

Coming to the notion of `Inclusive - existential ideologies' one can mark different religions as having emerged in social and geographical context.

Leaving the two other ideologies. `Positional - Existential' and `Inclusive - Historical', aside we shall try to see how the doctrine of articulation and that of interpellation explain the context of `dominant class ideology', Islam was a feudal ideology during the medieval period of Indian history. In the Colonial period and later due to several reasons, even now the dominant stream of Islamic religion ideology continued being feudal. The articulation with the bourgoise class ideology could take place only in a very fragmentary way. The issue of communalism, we must note, is a very complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. The phenomenon of communalism in India seems to be the articulation of different religious ideologies with the dominant class ideologies. This articulation gives momentum to the issues which are not in the interest of the oppressed classes within the religious communities.

The interpellation of such religious ideologies hamper the consciousness of the oppressed classes. The institutions of Madarasas and Urdu School like Anglo - Arabic, Fatehpuri and Jama Masjid Senior Secondary Urdu School,[40] act towards

---

40. Ahmed, Firoz Bakht, *Educational Survey Report*, Unpublished Report, 1996, p.1.

their own interest. The fear psychosis of the majority hampers the revolutionary consciousness of the oppressed classes. The mechanism and the mode of interpellation are such that it is not an easy task to raise consciousness among them. It is therefore important to study and evaluate the pattern of mobilization and nature of leadership.

The process of interpellation becomes much more complete in case of religious ideologies because of three reasons :

a) The material matrix, that is the relative backwardness of one community;

b) The fear psychosis among the members of both the communities that emerged due to communal riots and many other factors;

c) The interpellation of religious ideology begins from childhood. Thus, any movement against communalism has to be carried out at different levels.

The process of ideological mobilization involves setting up of common agenda for the masses. It is important to identify the crucial target, dominant aspects of the crisis, the essence of evil, and define what is possible and how it should be achieved. Such mobilization develops "through a breach in the regime's matrix of affirmation and sanctions, which in normal times ensures compromise or acquiescence and the successful sanctioning of oppositional

forces".[41] A successful ideological mobilization according to Therborn is always translated into or manifested in practices of political mobilization.

The politico ideological mobilizations are not fixed in class or popular democratic interpellations alone. Their success hinges largely upon "their capacity to tap and harness the existential dimension (religion, gender, etc.) of human subjectivity".[42]

On the composition of new ideological system, there are three logical possibilities :

a) Mobilization on the basis of past: It is on the ground what has existed, of past experiences, values, symbols. It is also an important component of nationalist mobilization;

b) Mobilization by example: It is like "the October Revolution sent shock waves over almost all the globe ; and the chinese and Cuban revolutions inspired attempts at imitation in other countries".[43] evertheless this type of mobilization failed in their immediate thrust because the constellation of forces is hardly ever the same in other societies, and because the victorious revolutions is also an educative experience for the ruling class;

c) Mobilization by Anticipatory fear: To mobilize the future against the present e.g., good for a just society, as

---

41. Therborn, Goran, *Op. cit.*, p.116.
42. *Ibid.*, p.117.
43. *Ibid.*, p.122.

TH-6446
Diss
Y,48(W).4441N8
N7
DISS
303.34
N229 Na
TH6446

a guarantee of ultimate victory in present struggles or of salvation from present suffering, or as an imminent mythological paradise.

1.2. **SHAHJAHANABAD**

Until 1857, Muslims ruled in Delhi, but the Revolt brought about a noteworthy change[44] in the distribution of population.

Table 1.2 Muslim population in Delhi, 1901-1981

YEAR	MUSLIMS	PERCENTAGE(%)
1901	98,533	24.28
1931	2,06,960	32.58
1951	99,501	5.71
1961	1,55,453	5.85
1971	2,63,019	6.47
1981	4,81,802	7.75

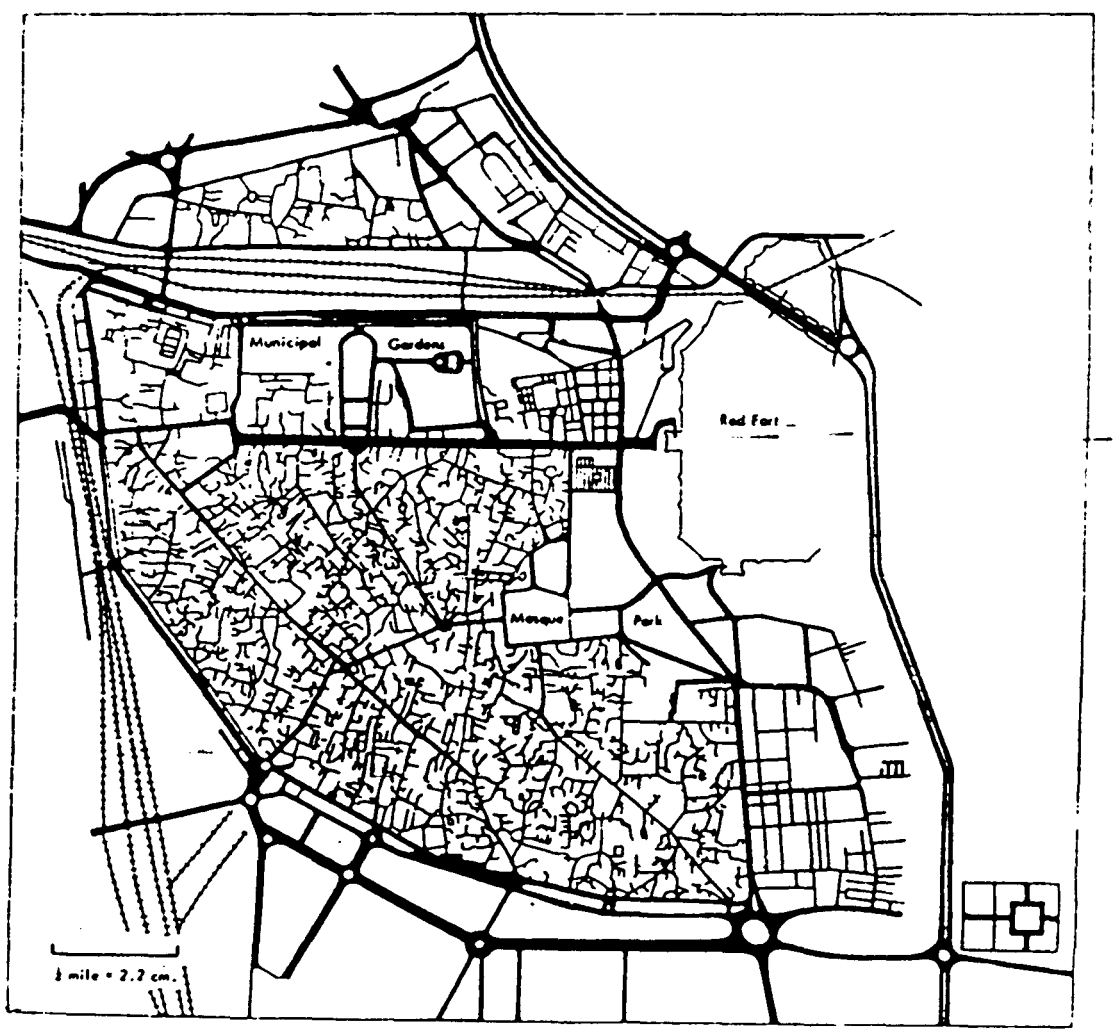
Source: *Encyclopedia of India*, vol 1, Delhi. (Ed.), Chopra, P.N., Rima Publishing House, 1992, p. 70.)

Most of the Muslims of Delhi live in Shahjahanabad where Jama Masjid occupies a central position. The walled city of Shahjahanabad was built by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan in 1648.[45] The beauty of Shahjahanabad and its charm "lies not in the perfection or soundness of its design

---

44. Oldenburg, Philip, *Big City Government in India : Councillor, Administrator and Citizen of Delhi*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1978, pp.147-151.

45. For historical account, see Gupta, Narayani, *Delhi between the Two Empires 1803-1931 : Society, Government and Urban Growth*, New Delhi, OUP, 1981; Frykenberg, R.E. (Ed.), *The Study of Delhi : An Analytical and Historiographic Introduction in Delhi through the Ages : Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, New Delhi, OUP, 1986.



Shahjahanabad

or town planning or principles, but in the strangeness of its proposition".[46] There is an occupational division of the work-man, artisan, craftsman in the names of Galis and Mohallas.

In Shahjahanabad, the Chandni Chowk and Jama Masjid are some of the important "gifts of Shahjahan to Delhi"[47] which are taken as core areas due to their centrality. Matia Mahal is predominantly a Muslim majority segment. This area is historically very important for Muslim political leadership (Mehmood Paracha, Shoib Iqbal, Hafiz Saleemuddin, Azhar Shayufa are some of the important leaders of the area). Whenever a group tries to legitimise its power, it has to take recognition from leaders like Imam Bukhari, Mufti Mukarram, Shahid Siddiqui and Mohammed Afzal.

The socio-economic policy followed by the government is supported and justified by the elites in their own interest which has little to do with the majority of the Muslims, who have no capital to venture into any business activity. It also reflects the specific mode of production which is artisan-based. The Karkhana system existing since the Mughals has its own peculiarities, where the workman is not at the liberty to work, the working environment is

---

46. Jagmohan, *Rebuilding of Shahjahanabad : The Walled City of Delhi*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1975, p.41.

47. Chandra, Jag Pravesh, *Delhi : A Political Study*, New Delhi, Metropolitan, 1969, pp.22-23. Also see Ajay K. Mehra, *The Politics of Urban Redevelopment : A Study of Old Delhi*, New Delhi, Sage, 1991, pp.32-33.

unsuitable, uncongenial, exploitative with no organised workers' trade union or cooperatives.

Contrary to the all-India picture, in Matia Mahal, Jama Masjid (Shahjahanabad), the Muslims are in majority. The question arises that how the people are being mobilized by these leaders in this area and the impact of this mobilization on the national mobilization of the Muslims.

The outlook of the Muslim political leaders' is characterised by religious orthodoxy. They cannot think of formidable economic problems facing the Muslims and are greatly preoccupied with issues like "Muslim Personal Law, Religious Identity of Muslims".[48] These leaders find it very easy to climb up the leadership position by over-emphasizing highly emotive issues. The Muslim leaders have hardly ever bother to organize the striving artisans into the communes or cooperatives. There is a need for *Escape from Freedom*. Erich Fromm postulates an inherent `desire for freedom' which he roots in a more generalised "striving to live, to expand and to express the potentialities that have developed in him in the process of historical evolution".[49]

---

48. Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Islam and Muslims : A Critical Reassessment*, New Delhi, Printwell Publishing House, 1985, p.169-175.

49. Fromm, Erich, *Escape from Freedom*, New York, Rinehart, 1941, pp.288-289.

The Muslim community since the sixties has thrown up a new elite[50] drawn from the new entrepreneurial class. It fills the space of the erstwhile elite dominant in Paharganj and Karol Bagh area which had migrated in 1947 to Pakistan. The new elite in terms of caste and social origin is considered low and the emergence of this new elite is creating a remarkable trauma for the erstwhile Muslim elite, of which a segment stayed back during partition and in early seventies it looked down upon the emerging elite.

In Shahjahanabad, there is a specific nature and pattern of mobilization. The mosque is used as a focal point where congregation is addressed by the Imam on Friday Khutba (address) at Jama Masjid and religion acquires a relation of power and sometimes appeals are made to mould the mindset of the people. In one study, Mehra concludes that the "communal politics is responsible for the inability of the government to implement the redevelopment plans properly".[51] It leads to examination of the nature of leadership and the pattern of mobilization. There is a fear psyche of the majority of the masses that has created a demarcated realm of activities within Shahjahanabad.

---

50. Ahmed, Imtiaz, "Nature of Muslim Elite" in Ansari Khadija Gupta, (Ed.), *Power Elite in India*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1989, pp.96-98.

51. Mehra, Ajay. K., *Op. cit.*, p.96.

The direct contact between the voters and the political elites exists only "at the time of elections"[52] and a few of the elected representatives remain active after the elections, as most of the Councillors are not full time politicians. The electorate also tends to "ignore the performance on local issues and is carried away by the propaganda about the national issues".[53] Due to the lack of will amongst local representatives, Metropolitan Councillors have not attempted to mobilize public opinion for resolution of genuine civic and local problems. Ajay Mehra's findings that urban renewal of this city has not been made into an election issue by the local units of the major political parties[54] show how in tandem the grassroot issues are being sidetracked. With the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi Act, 1992, which provided 70 assembly constituencies, it is said that the "new experiment will depend to a large extent on the political acumen, efficiency, foresightedness, practical equation and rapport which the future Chief Minister is able to maintain with the Central leadership".[55] The local representatives in the Delhi Municipal Corporation and the Delhi Metropolitan

---

52. Goyel, Purushottam, *Delhi's March Towards Statehood*, Delhi, UDSPD, 1993, p.28, 34.

53. Pandit, Vijay Laxmi, *Elite and Urban Politics*, New Delhi, Inter-India Publications, 1984, pp.160-179.

54. Mehra, Ajay K., *Op. cit.*, pp.141-159.

55. Goyel, Purushottam, op.cit., pp.137-142.

Council should be "held responsible for not visiting their areas and bringing the situation obtaining there to the notice of Mayor and the Chief Executive Councillor."[56]

Rowat on the governing city argues that "Delhi city is so big and has so many commercial, business and other interests, that the federal government's interest do not predominate and hence the Union Territory ought to be a State".[57] The Central Government would no doubt retain control over its seat of government which is a large enclave within the Territory National Capital. The government in Union Territory is rather complex.[58]

1.3. **OBJECTIVES**

This study is concerned primarily with an investigation of the nature of Muslim leadership and its impact on Indian Muslims from the vantage point of

a) the dialectical relationship between the leadership and mobilization;

b) the process of mobilization, the nature of leadership and the means adopted by them;

c) electoral politics and participation of Muslims in local municipal election;

---

56. Gupta, Shiv Charan, *Focus on Delhi : Problems and Solutions*, New Delhi, Jan Jagriti Samaj, 1991, p.97.

57. Rowat, Donald, C., *Governing Federal Capital Nagarlok*, Vol. 24, No. 2, April-June, 1992, p.22.

58. Pendse, R.G., "A Review of the Planning Process in the Union Territory of Delhi : City Development Plans and their Implementation", *Papers and Proceedings of the Seminar*, New Delhi, 1977, pp.157-162.

d) the impact of the Muslim mobilization on national politics;

e) the changing social, economic and political formation.

To examine the above mentioned factors, the following date have been used:

i) the last six Lok Sabha election in the Chandni Chowk constituency;

ii) 1993 Matia Mahal Legislative Assembly;

iii) 1997 Municipal Corporation election; and

iv) NSS data on social indicators.

1.4. METHODOLOGY

The approaches taken for the study are historical, analytical and comparative for analysing electoral politics. It will also be useful to educate the study with the understanding of Structuralist-Marxist tradition. The study would be based on some relevant books and published articles, newspapers, local journals and research works done on relevant topics.

1.5. CHAPTERISATION

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The theoretical-conceptual framework and the unit of analysis (Shahjahanabad) are dealt with in Chapter-I. It reviews the various approaches to the study of leadership and mobilization, and the major works done on these topics. Chapter-II attempts to trace the historical roots of Muslims in Shahjahanabad, their social, economic and political formation. While Chapter-III studies the nature of

leadership and urban politics in Shahjahanabad, Chapter IV outlines the electoral politics in Chandni Chowk Lok Sabha constituency, Matia Mahal Assembly constituency, Jama Masjid, Darya Ganj Municipal wards and the strategies of mobilization are examined. In Chapter-V, summarises the earlier discussion and attempts to examine the wider implication of leadership and mobilization.

CHAPTER-II

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FORMATION IN SHAHJAHANABAD

The city zone of Shahjahanabad represents the best of "architectural and engineering skills, designed...with an eye to aesthetic appeal as well as to provide for a limited population, military security, efficient tax collection, an adequate supply of water and a functional drainage system."[1] The provision of land to nobles, merchants and craftsmen was done carefully to provide the city with a functional character. The central place in Shahjahanabad is Chandni Chowk extending from the main gate of the Palace to the Fatehpuri Masjid. It is the "main trading centre, with shops and houses of the merchants on either side. Two main streets extended from Delhi Gate; one to the City Gate and the other to the Jama Masjid."[2] Shahjahanabad with an area of about 1,240 acres, and expected to accommodate about 60,000 people today is an old city. The medieval city had few buildings which are relatively new (50 to 100 years old) are on the point of collapse. Most of the gracious *havelis*

---

1. Gupta, Narayani, *Op. cit.*, p.1.
2. Ibid., p.2.

have either "crumbled under pressure or have been converted into multi-tenant workshops and warehouses."[3] The grand *haveli* of Mirza Ghalib, noted Urdu poet in Ballimaran area of Old Delhi has been converted into Miraj Guest House. To safeguard the heritage of Ghalib's *haveli* Friends for Education Society moved a petition in the Delhi High Court. In interim direction by Justice C.M. Nayar, directed the Archaeological Survey of India and the Delhi Government to ensure that the "present set up of the *haveli* be preserved and no one takes any action to disturb the structure"[4] for commercial purposes.

The change in the power structure from the Mughals to the British, seemed to have given greater order and peace to the city, which was reflected in the doubled land value, increased building activity and swelling population. A census in 1833 indicated that excluding the Palace, the City had 1,19,860 people. The census of 1843 and 1845 showed that the population rose from 1,31,000 to 1,37,000 and then to 1,51,000. In a census of houses in 1843 over 23,000 were counted, of which over 17,000 were listed as being made of brick and stone. By 1850, the pressure of population was

---

3. Noe, Samuel, V., *What happened to Mughal Delhi: A Morphological Survey*, p. 248.

4. *The Hindu*, 3 April 1997.

such that "houses were built not only on the two main streets, Chandni Chowk and Faiz Bazaar, but pockets of settlement cropped up outside the City wall as well."[5]

Shahjahanabad has an "atmosphere more of the old than of the decrepit, because the house styles and the street patterns have tended to be preserved."[6] The major *bazaars* - Lal Kuan, Chitli Qabar, Chandni Chowk, Faiz Bazaar, etc. retain their alignments, if not their original character of traditional trading centres. Part of Lal Kuan is now the wholesale hardware market; Chandni Chowk, originally a square with a pool in the centre in front of the site of the present Town Hall, has come to be a popular retail outlet, showrooms shorn of its arcades, its canal and its trees, stretching from the Fatehpuri Mosque to the Red Fort. Some buildings of Shahjahanabad also became victims of the British anger. Emotions ran very high and some people would have liked the whole city razed to the ground. The Government proposed to raze the wall, and demolished the

---

5. Gupta, Narayani, Op. cit., pp. 4-5.

6. Bernier, Francis, (ed.), *Travels in the Moghul Empire 1656-1668*, Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1968, p. 239.

Akbarabadi Masjid[7] situated in present Netaji Subhash Park or the erstwhile Edward Park. There was also a proposal to sell the Jama Masjid, and then to use it as a barrack for the main guard of European troops. Some Britishers would have liked a Christian Cathedral built in its place. The Fatehpuri Masjid was also suggested as a possible barrack. Later on, it was "sold to Lala Chunna Mal, a banker and the Minat-ul-Masjid was used as a bakery"[8] and later the Fatehpuri Masjid was handed over to the Muslims.

Chandni Chowk as a main bazaar is linked by secondary bazaars which are devoted to one or other trade like Dariba Kalan for the jewellers, Bhagirath Palace for electrical fittings and appliances market, the Nai Sarak for book shops, Jogiwara and Maliwara for cloth merchants and Chawri Bazaar for paper and paper products. There is a maze of Kuchas and Katras, converted into a commercial trading centres. A "city of the Emperor and economically it was bound to the court".[9] Delhi has now been converted into lucrative business and economic location.

---

7. Blake, Stephen P, "City Scape of an Imperial City : Shahjahanabad in 1739", in Frykenberg, R.E. (Ed.), *Delhi through the ages*, New Delhi, OUP, 1986, pp. 180-184.

8. Oldenburg, Philip, *Op. cit.*, p.152.

9. Gupta, Narayani, *Op. cit.*, pp.26-27.

The central Masjid of Jama Masjid is situated on a "hill about one thousand yards west of the palace fortress".[10] Known as Pahari Bhojla, it is the centre piece of the city and is noted by Oldenburg as an "Islamic city".[11] The area south of the Mosque, which remains largely a Muslim area right upto the site of the city walls, is constituted of a hierarchy of the trades and occupational groups in which the booksellers of Urdu Bazaar next to the (oil-Masjid, the bookbinders and envelopes makers of Chitla Gate, the shoe-makers in Jootewalan and behind the Kasturba Gandhi Maternity Hospital; the traders, embroiders and the jewellers of Pahari Bhojla and the Bulbuli Khana; and Bazaar Chitli Qabar, cloth market and the semi-urban Suiwalan.

In context of social ecology, it can be said that the "residential segregation" which de Planhol discusses in terms of "Jewish and Christian quarters"[12] applies in the case of Shahjahanabad. It also has a close resemblance with the caste system among the Hindus. The explicit pattern of residential and occupational segregation of castes found

---

10. Blake, Stephen P, *Op. cit.*, p.179.

11. Oldenburg, Philip, *Op. cit.*, p.153.

12. Planhol, Xavier de, *The World of Islam*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1969, p.7.

among the Hindu caste system is found among the pattern of Muslim settlement in Shahjahanabad originally planned during the Mughals. For example, the *teli* (oil-pressers) had the location from emperor palace outside (outskirts) the city; similar is the case of *Nalbandan* (people who fit iron nail in horse foot) are settled outside the city in Chotta Bazaar, Gali Nalbandan, Kashmere Gate.

The Muslims of Shahjahanabad are mainly in two areas - one extending "southward from the Jama Masjid, Matia Mahal into Suiwalan and upto Turkman Gate, and the other extending from Chandni Chowk and the Ballimaran westwards through the area south of Fatehpuri Mosque to Farashkhana and Kucha Pandit".[13] These segments have continued in the same physical form despite the precipitous decline in the Muslim population of Delhi as a whole after the Partition.

2.1. **URBAN MUSLIM AT NATIONAL LEVEL**:

The socio-economic data according to religion available from the National Samples Survey can be assessed by studying such indicators as pattern of employment, literacy and school continuation rates. Such data, for the first time, have been available by the National Samples Survey

---

13. Oldenburg, Philip, *Op. cit.*, pp. 159-60.

Organization (NSSO) through its 43rd round survey conducted during 1987-88.

TABLE 3 : PATTERN OF EMPLOYMENT BY RELIGION IN INDIA

(1987-88) (%)

Residence/ sex and religion	Self-Employed	Regular workers	Casual workers	All	Work Participation rate
URBAN MALE					
Hindus	39.1	46.4	14.5	100.00	52.0
Muslims	53.3	29.9	16.7	100.00	49.1
Christians	29.7	53.4	17.0	100.00	48.9
URBAN FEMALE					
Hindus	45.0	27.7	26.4	100.00	15.9
Muslims	60.0	15.7	24.3	100.00	11.4
Christians	34.3	51.5	14.2	100.00	23.6

Source: NSS 43 Round, 1987-88 (Schedule - 10).

TABLE 4 : DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE (OCCUPATION) AND RELIGION : URBAN INDIA 1987-88 (%)

S.No	Occupation	Hindus	Muslims	Christians	Others
1.	Self-employed	35.9	53.4	21.4	44.6
2.	Regular wage/ salaried	46.7	28.9	56.1	38.3
3.	Casual labour	12.1	13.4	12.3	10.5
4.	Others	5.4	4.3	10.2	6.6

Source: NSS 43 Round, 1987-88 (Schedule - 10).

The above tables present structure of employment and work participation rates and occupational types. In urban area where 47 per cent of Hindus (includes the Scheduled

Castes & Scheduled Tribes) are employed in regular wage/salaried occupations in organized sector (Table 4), only 29 per cent of Muslims are thus employed. Majority of Muslims are self-employed. Fifty-three per cent of them as opposed to 36 per cent of Hindus are self-employed in urban areas. However, 12-13 per cent of all the religious categories work as casual labourers. In terms of the three broad categories of employment, `self-employed' are those who earn their livelihood by working on their traditional occupations and enterprises (Karkhanas), whereas `regular Workers' (Karigars) are identified as those who work on long-term salaried job or wages like `Karigar'. `Casual workers' are those who work for wages on a day to day basis.

Table 3 presents structure of employment and `Work Participation Rates' (WPR) for various religious groups, by sex and residence. WPR for males for all religions are fairly high and the differential is also marginal. The female WPR is substantially lower. Besides, the disparities in WPRs between religious groups are substantial. For example, WPR among Muslim females is as low as 11 per cent while this rate is 16 per cent for Hindus and 24 per cent for Christians. Apart from the lack of opportunities for

females, the "cultural factors"[14] such as the practice of the *purdah* and restriction to traditional education from the Ustanji (female religious teacher) have affected the female WPR among the Muslims.

When we look at the distribution of employed persons by category of work it is interesting to note that over 53 and 60 per cent of male and female Muslims respectively are `self-employed'. This percentage is substantially lower for both Hindu and Christian males and females in urban areas. On the contrary, Hindu and Christian share in `regular workers' category is substantially higher for both males and females. Muslim employment in `regular wage/salaried jobs' especially for Muslim females since their WPRs are very low to start with and of them only an insignificant proportion is in regularly paid jobs. One possible reason for this may be the lack of secular education, early marriage among Muslim females as shown in Tables 3 and 4. (In the `casual workers' category, Muslims share of employment is comparable to other religious categories.

---

14. Ahmed, Imtiaz, "The Problem of Muslim Educational Backwardness in Contemporary India: An Inferential Analysis", *Journal of Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Winter, Vol. II, No.2, 1980, p. 56.

TABLE 5 : DISTRIBUTION OF PERSON BY GENERAL EDUCATION, SEX AND RELIGION : URBAN INDIA, 1977-88 (%)

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	HINDU		MUSLIM		CHRISTIAN		OTHERS	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not Literate	25.3	42.2	42.4	59.5	18.8	22.7	18.0	31.2
<Primary	18.8	17.2	20.9	18.5	16.0	17.5	15.6	14.7
Pre-Middle	30.5	25.3	26.3	16.8	36.7	33.4	30.0	8.5
Secondary	17.2	10.7	8.0	4.3	20.1	20.8	23.6	17.5
Graduate	7.9	4.2	2.3	0.8	8.1	5.5	11.7	7.9

(Source: NSS 43rd round, 1987-88, Table 31.4 (pp. 585-86)

TABLE 6 : DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS CURRENTLY ATTENDING EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUP, SEX AND RELIGION : URBAN INDIA, 1977-88 (%)

ATTENDING SCHOOL/AGE GROUP	HINDU		MUSLIM		CHRISTIAN		OTHERS	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5 - 9	76.3	70.7	56.0	52.1	89.2	86.1	88.0	85.6
10 - 14	83.2	74.6	63.6	53.6	93.3	90.0	89.8	82.7
15 - 19	56.1	42.4	34.8	19.3	60.6	57.1	63.7	60.2
20 +	21.8	10.2	12.1	4.7	18.2	17.0	35.8	17.2
N R	31.3	29.4	6.4	-	67.4	13.6	3.0	40.7

(Source: NSS 43rd round, 1987-88, Table 31.4 (pp. 585-86)

In the above tables the levels of literacy and the percentage of younger population continuing in educational institutions are considered good indicators of social

development among the Muslims in particular. The literate constitute a fair proportion among the religious categories. The male illiterates are 19 per cent, 25 per cent and 42 per cent (Table 5) for Christians, Hindus and Muslims respectively and female illiterates are 23 per cent, 42 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. Literacy rates at the level of secondary education in the same order are as follows: 20 per cent, 17 per cent and 8 per cent for males and for females 21 per cent, 11 per cent and 4 per cent. Higher educated proportion are relatively better among Christian and Hindu males, 8 per cent each, but only 2.3 per cent of Muslim males are reported to be graduates and above. This figure among females is 5.5 per cent among Christians, 4.2 per cent for Hindus and only 0.8 per cent for Muslims.

Table 6, presents data on continuing education. Education continuation rates are better among Christian males as well as females. It can be said that Christian missionaries zeal played a role in the growth of literacy. The Muslim education continuation rates are substantially lower than Hindus. For example, in age group 15-19 in urban areas, 56 per cent, Hindu boys are continuing education as opposed to only 35 per cent among Muslims. These percentages are 42 and 19 for females. For age groups 20

years and above, the respective percentages are 21.8 and 10.2 for Hindus and 12.1 and 4.7 for Muslims.

2.2 **SOCIAL FORMATION IN SHAHJAHANABAD**

The social formation in Shahjahanabad can be put into two categories - the `Ashraf' (upper biradaris) and the `Ajlafs' (lower biradaris) in social hierarchy. During the Mughal days members of Ashraf were linked to the Emperor by generations of service, and lived in their family mahals or havelis. The political realities have changed but the "old customs and etiquette of `sharif' culture persisted."[15] It is equally significant at this point to see that the philosophy of Islam centres round two principles - "Oneness of God; and brotherhood among men".[16] Islam as a religion considers Allah as the one and personal God and all the Muslims are equal in the eyes of Allah.

Quran explicitly declares:-

> "O ye men! Verily, we have created ye, of male and female....verily the most honourable of ye in the sight of God is one who fearth him most".
>
> (Quran Sura XLI:13)

---

15. Minault Gail, "Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi and the Delhi Renaissance," in Frykenberg, R.E. (Ed.) *Delhi Through the Ages*, New Delhi, OUP, 1986, p. 289.

16. Khan, Mohammad Shabbir, *Islam : Social and Economic Structure*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1989, pp. 1-11.

But in actual practice, caste categories among the Muslims existed even from the days of Caliphs. Since the 12th century when Islam came to stay in India, its social organization has changed. Although the conception of equality and brotherhood remained as an ideal, there have been social grades, caste idioms, occupational roles within the Muslim society. The 12th century Muslim society was distinctly divided into priests, nobility and others such as the soldiers, merchants, artisans, etc. The Muslim "came to India and made it their home. They lived surrounded by the Hindu people and a state of perennial hostility with them was impossible.... Thus, after the first stock of conquest was over, the Hindus and the Muslims preferred to find a via media whereby to live as neighbours".[17] The effect to seek a new life led to the development of a new culture which was neither exclusively Hindu nor purely Muslim. It was indeed a Muslim-Hindu culture.

The so-called low-caste Hindus under the Varna system lived under the social disabilities. As a knife goes into a melon without much effort, so did Islam penetrated into these castes with little persuasion. Many came forward to

---

17. Chand, Tara, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, Indian Press (Publications), 1963, p. 137.

free themselves from degrading oppressions and raise themselves and their descendants in the social scale. Islamic equality with the powerful influence of Muslim merchants made "conversions a daily occurrence".[18] It was an "ambition to save their skin or to get riddance from Hindu caste hegemony, had embraced Islam"[19] and the great majority of the Muslims in this country are the descendants of the Hindu converts. The estimates in 1911 puts that "85% of the Punjab Muslims were of native stock. In the rest of India the proportion must have been greater."[20] It is further persuasively put that Indian converts to a "new faith...made for reasons varying from conviction to convenience, and continuing from the earliest period of contact with Islam down to the present."[21]

The process of Islamization among the Muslim in north India was a movement toward orthodoxy in cultural and religious matters among the converts to Islam which failed

---

18. Gopal, Ram, *Indian Muslims*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964, p.2.

19. Harman, S., *Plight of Muslims in India*, London, D.L. Publication, 1977, pp. 76-77.

20. Census of India, 1921, Part I, p. 227.

21. Weekes, Richard, V., *Muslim Peoples: A World Ethnographic Survey*, London, Greenwood Press, 1978, p. 455.

to be complete. It can be aptly said that "Islam...has been influenced by the cultures of natives of the countries it has conquered militarily and culturally in process led to the development of Ajlafs and Ashrafs, the little tradition of Islam retained many institutions, symbolism and myths of Hindus."[22] Ashraf resulted from a "long tradition of military and administrative services and generally claimed immigrant origin like Sayyids, Sheikhs, Moghuls, Pathans, Khan." Ajlaf, was a convert group "retaining their caste or occupational names like Julahas, Qassab, Darzi, Sakka, etc."[23] According to Oldenburg, there are five main *biradaris* among Muslims (which are endogamous units) in Delhi; "Attar, Hakim, Punjabi, Jootewala (Siddiqui) and Kasai".[24]

Thus, socially, in Shahjahanabad, there are castes among the Muslims. The names of streets, *galis* and neighbourhood as well as the oral histories, makes it clear that certain trades were settled in specific areas as they

---

22. Sharma, A.K., "Growth of Muslim Population in India: Some Policy Issues", *Eastern Anthropologist*, Vol.42, 1989, p. 358.

23. Ahmed, Ausaf, *Indian Muslim: Issues in Social and Economic Development*, New Delhi, Khanna Publishers, 1993, p. 46.

24. Oldenberg, Philip, *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

migrated to the new walled city. The social ecology of Shahjahanabad's occupational division based on caste among the Muslims can be contextualized in the areas such as Gali Nalbandan, Qasabpura, Gali Sakkewale, Gali Dhobiyan, Mohalla Churiwalan, Naiwara, Jatwara, Gali Manihari, were thus noted for the occupations of their inhabitants (butchers, washermen, bangle makers, barber respectively). The lower occupation were relegated to the edges of the city. This ecology still exist today for example, in Phatak Teliyan in Turkman Gate which has been the neighbourhood of the oilpressers since the seventeenth century.

Sociologically, Shahjahanabad Muslims conceptualize the *biradari* as an extended related kin group descending usually from a person of religious significance, sharing, a traditional occupation and maintaining endogamous relations.

The washermen in Shahjahanabad are divided internally into three strata which is based on the intensity and level of occupation. (a) The top level washermen were the persons who use to fill bath tanks, tubs in the Emperor's Palace and they had a *biradari* of Abbasis. The Abbasis over a period of two to three generations earned enough resources to enter into the *kabari* (junk dealer) business. These *kabariwallahs* became quite successful in the used auto and car parts business in the vicinity of Jama Masjid and Inderlok. (b)

The second level of washermen were the persons who carried huge leaking leather bags filled with water on their backs and sold cups of water to passersby in the *bazaar* and also filled tubs of water in Masjid for *wuzu* (water for devotees in Mosque). The second strata of washermen had a *biradari* of Bishti and were also economically mobile in *kabari* business. (c) The bottom level of washermen were the persons carrying and supplying water to the households without municipal water connection, and also help in the drainage of the city and are known as *Sakka*.

These *kabariwallahs* (junk dealers) in the vicinity of Jama Masjid and also in Inderlok gained mobility and status through wealth and power. The lowly caste (acquiring) gained an upper class position in social hierarchy. Nevertheless, groups of Abbasi, Bishti and Sakka enjoy the other backward caste (OBC) status under the welfare of SC/ST/OBC, Department of Government of National Territory of Delhi. Some *kabariwallahs* became quite wealthy and prosperous and built hotels, guest houses in the Jama Masjid area, e.g. Haji Yamin (Taj Hotel), Haji Vakila (Vakil Hotel).

The Abbasi of Sakka community *biradari* derive their genealogical linkage from Hazrat Abbas, a close relation of the Prophet Mohammad, who founded a *biradari* association named *Anjuman Abbasi*, Delhi. In 1980, the Abbasi Anjuman

took the final step in raising their status and named their association as the All India Sheikh Jamiat, thus claiming for themselves a social status second only to the Syeds, direct descendants of the Prophet and his family.

Biradari trying to raise their status in the local hierarchy invariably attempt and try over time to claim Sheikh status through a claim of descent to one of the Caliphs or contemporary companions of the Prophet. In Jama Masjid, caste ranking is explicit in the following table which tries to show the social ecology and contiguity among Muslim.

TABLE 7 : SOCIAL ECOLOGY IN SHAHJAHANABAD OF SOME BIRADARIS

	OTHER BACKWARD CASTE/ BIRADARI NAME	TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION	DESCENT CLAIM	GALI NAME
A	Abbasi, Bhishti, Sakka	Water Carrier/ Junkmen	Sahaba Hazrat Abbas descendents, wealthy claim Sheikh status	Sakkewale Gali
B	Kasai, Qassab, Quraishi	Butchers	Tribe of Mecca, provides meat on Jehad, Prophet own tribe	Qasabpura
C	Julaha, Ansari	Weavers	Host Tribe of Medina - Descent of Shaba Abu Ayoob Ansari	Mohalla Julahan
D	Teli	Oil presser	Imam Malik	Phatak Teliyan

Source: Based on field survey by the researcher.

The caste ranking among the Muslims of Shahjahanabad is a result of both religion and modernization of occupation "lowly assigned to the labouring communities".[25] The Ajlafs (lower biradaris) tried to raise collective caste status and prestige. While the legitimation and acceptance of the status of most caste positions is religiously-informed, it is not the only means of achieving higher status. The conservative socio-religious veil practices such as strict maintenance of *purdah* (*hijab*), support for traditional *Koranic* and Arabic education (*Madrasas*) for the biradari children, mosque-building and consistent observance of Muslim personal laws are still highly regarded.

Politically, the formal biradari association tries to formulate rules to maintain or raise their collective status. It is an indication of change in the concept of caste and its functions. The emerging pattern for raising status is often supported by modern education and employment. It has become a practice among many biradaris in Shahjahanabad to seek admission for their children in prestigious English medium schools. The Qureshis are in the

---

25. Gupta, Charu, S. and Channa, Subhadra Mitra, "Caste among the Muslim Zardoz of Delhi : A Study of Occupational Culture and Sub-Group Identity", *Man in India*, 76 (2), June, 1996, p.105.

control and management of educational institutions like Herra School, Crescent Public School and Quresh Rahimia Public School.

The occupational modernization is the second major avenue for status mobility - the adaptation of traditional skills to modern industry and commerce. Barbers now have sophisticated saloons like Habibs, Shehnaz Hussain. The Sunar (goldsmith) use the casting machines, imported tools and equipment, Lohar (blacksmith) biradari have taken to machinist, tool and die caster, *katib* (calligraphers) of Urdu Bazaar are publicly sign painters; small time butchers, chicken, fish and vegetable sellers have now formed a powerful and strong wholesale associations. There is a demand from the meat, poultry and fish associations for better facilities, amenities and for more trade and export. These are some biradaris adapted to modern needs and have expanded their market conditions.

The notion of caste among the Muslims of Shahjahanabad appear to be changing. Class distinction, based on the newly acquired wealth are expressed in the caste idiom but they are also changing the cultural meaning of caste on the one hand and constitute "security systems which give

economic security to enable them to survive oppression"[26] on the other. The biradaris in Shahjahanabad are in a transitional state of status legitimization and this gives increased ambiguity to the contemporary social structure.

There is a faith among people in Shahjahanabad that equality of all before *Allah* (*Koran*), which can be drawn to the *namaaz* lines for prayer in the local mosque where no distinctions are to be observed. Thus, hierarchical and equalitarian principles both continue to coexist and operate simultaneously.

Socially the biradari association tries to settle marital disputes because they are the community's witness to the marriage (*nikahnama*). They also maintain social welfare and improvement functions, e.g., the maintenance of funds for aiding widows and orphans. They help families in the admission of their ward in schools as a part of raising the educational attainment of the community's youth. It is seen that some biradaris like Qureshis have a broader communitarian sentiment. The generous help and the control over the management of schools like Crescent, Quresh Rahimia Public and Herra Public Schools is a task of educational upliftment within the Muslim community. The educational

---

26. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

upliftment initiated and achieved by Hakim Hamiduddin (Attar Biradari) in opening up of Hamdard day-boarding Public School, caters to the needs of upper class among the Muslims. Some biradaris still maintain the traditional educational attainments of the community's youth, e.g., Madrasa Hussain Baksh in Matia Mahal and Madrasa Talemul Quran in Churiwalan.

2.3. **THE KARKHANA SYSTEM**

In Shahjahanabad traditionally, the biradaris in economic connotation maintain occupational specialization similar to caste-based occupation which function as guilds, regulating access to training, transmission of trade secrets and skills. Karkhanedar class is the dominant class.

The Karkhana is generally a "business of manufacturing"[27] of which Karkhanedar is the owner. Precisely, it can be defined as a workshop for manufacturing machinery or spare parts of the machinery. The unit has not less than two and not more than thirty five persons employed. It is the mode of production which can be categorized as `Artisan Ethic'. The relationship in this

---

27. Jagmohan, *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

specific "mode of production"[28] is of the dominant, haves and owners on the one hand and the dependent, have-nots, non-owners on the other. In Shahjahanabad, the Karkhanedar and the Karigar (artisan) relationship is similarly organised. As the dominant means of production are under the control of Karkhanedar, the ideology and the norms are also dictated in the social milieu.

Thus, industry and society are highly interrelated and interdependent, and this interdependence is not simple, direct and uniform. The Karkhana system (Artisan Ethic) can be divided into two main types according to the level and scale of production:

(a) household based Karkhanas;

(b) Shop-based Karkhanas.

The first type of Karkhana is installed in the house where Karkhanedar lives. The second type of karkhana is installed in a shop outside the Karkhanedar's residence.

The capital is generated through the appropriation of capital from wages, the earlier savings, borrowed money (qarz) from near relations or friends, loans (qarza) from a bank or a government agency (e.g. Delhi Financial

---

28. Althusser, Louis, *Reading Capital*, translated by Brewster, Ben, New Left Books, London, 1975, pp. 209-24.

Corporation). The legacy of craftmenship helped them to exploit the new avenues, economic opportunities and gain ownership of means of production. For example, in the study of Muslim zardoz of Delhi by Gupta and Channa, it was pointed out that "Karkhanedar who took bulk order and assigned them to the individual `zardoz' on a per piece rate basis and then marketed the product, ensuring a profit for himself".[29] The Karkhanedar reaped dividends and also became a tool to gain prestige in the eyes of community, whereas being the employee is looked down upon. The Ashraf (Sheikhs and Pathans) with larger resource base, took to the zardoz craft on a larger scale and became karkhanedar and the Ajlaf (Ansari) group "reverted to its domestic economy of small scale enterprise, sheltered within the umbrella of security provided by biradari relation. The Sheikhs, Saiyads and Pathans carried on commercial enterprise on a large scale employing Ansari `zardoz' as workers (karigar)".[30] The prestige that a karkhanedar attaches to the ownership of a karkhana parallels the ownership of land in villages.

---

29. Gupta, Charu,S. and Channa, Subhadra Mitra, *Op. cit.*, p.108.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

In terms of the socio-economic parameters, the Muslims are relatively worse-off than the majority Hindus which includes the Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes and also the Christian population. Muslims are mostly self-employed, kharkhanedars, their share in regular paid job is low. Muslim women are the least educated of all the categories. The inferior status of women is the "end-product of patriarchal society and unless these basic societal values change, women will continue to suffer from a situation where religion and patriarchal society are in alliance".[31]

On the whole, the Muslims are the economically worse off in almost all parts of the country, their traditional attachment to the Madarsas, and the negative attitude towards manual labour and its extension into industrial and technical vocation. Muslims remain largely a "non-competitive group on account of educational backwardness".[32] It is strengthened by school records of the seven Urdu medium schools in Shahjahanabad.

---

31. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Status of Muslim Women", *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 5, 1994, p.297.

32. Gupta, Raghuraj, "Changing Role and Status of the Muslim Minority in India : A Point of View", *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol.V, No.1, 1983-84, p.196.

TABLE 8: RATE OF FAILURE IN URDU-MEDIUM SCHOOLS

	1986	1996
Primary	4.9%	8.0%
Middle	8.8%	12.0%
Secondary	17.0%	26.6%
Senior Secondary	19.0%	28.6%

Source: *Educational Survey Report*, Friends for Education, 1996, p.6.

A decline in academic standards and a continuous deterioration of educational interest is apparent from the table. The rate of failure is on the increase at all the levels. The grievance of the students in these schools was the non-availability of texts in Urdu. The most unmanageable problem of the Urdu medium students is that "if a student has studied Geography or History in Urdu medium, he has to follow the same subject in the University in English or Hindi medium and finds himself totally crippled".[33]

The commercial role of the biradari association has expanded to meet the emergent needs of the biradari. For example, the Quresh biradari in Qassabpura is fighting cohesively for the modernization and allotment of space of abattoir house (Idgah), a polluting occupation within the

---

33. Ahmed, Firoz Bakht, *Op. cit.* p.7.

city zone. The biradari also functions as credit unions, housing pockets, retail and wholesale merchants associations. They also try to establish networks to eliminate non-biradaris middlemen (brokers), who in the past have realised much of the profits from the biradari's products.

Biradaris in Shahjahanabad is playing a cohesive, unified bonds to maintain integration. Nevertheless, biradaris also act as a divisive element in terms of the unity of larger Muslim community. In Shahjahanabad, it can be seen that the Muslim community as such is internally divided:

a) **School of Religious Thought** like Sunnis and Shias: There are Sunnis in majority over Shias, and in a dominant position in religious affair, the Bareillive's and Deobandi's, the Tablighi Jamaati's and non-Tablighi Jamaati's, Ashraf and Ajlaf.

b) **Politically** biradaris have their different affiliations where the Teli biradaris, the Machhera (fish and poultry traders) support the Congress.

c) **Economic Status**: Karkhanedar have a dominant position and status above the Karigar (artisan).

d) **Socially** it can be seen that some biradaris, within the modern context, gain different market situation, position and status.

The nature of class and politics is important in which the real behaviour of self assumes greater significance when sometimes the issues of the community of local nature are sidetracked like the women's rights, education-technical and non-technical, professional development and "revival of Shahjahanabad",[34] sanitation, over-population, etc.

The biradaris date back to the original settling of Shahjahanabad. In contemporary period, the Mohalla became important in maintaining common identity and solidarity. The formal Mohalla organizations have emerged in a distinct manner having their origins in the late nineteenth century-early twentieth century. With the dislocation of population in 1947, partition culminated in the destruction of cohesiveness of many neighbourhoods. The Mohallas are beginning to reconstitute the neighbourhood group which is known as the Mohalla Sudhar Committees, with an objective to bring into light the civic problems concerning the municipal authorities.

---

34. Sayed, S. Shafi, "How to Revive Shahjahanabad? Or should it be?" *Nagarlok*, Vol.27, No.2, April-June, 1995, pp.1-7.

2.4. POLITICAL SET UP

The set up for governing Delhi has its roots historically "from the early epic days of Mahabharata"[35] and with the Mughals emerging as nobility class rendering administrative services. The Britishers initiated a few tehsils in Delhi District which made into Chief Commissioner Province in 1912 to govern as a form of provincial administration under the control of the Governor-General, a "loss of representation in the central legislature."[36] After Independence, Delhi continued to be governed directly by the Government of India. On 31 July 1947, Pattabhi Sitaramayya Committee submitted recommendation for an elected legislature, central assistance with special responsibility for good governance and to function under a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by the President. Thus, Delhi became a self-governing Part C State, with a provision for a Council of Ministers and delegation of powers to Legislative Assembly in 1952. For making Delhi governance more functional, in 1956 an initiative was taken to set up States Reorganization Commission, to streamline socio-

---

35. Jha, S.N., "The Congress Debacle in a Metropolitan Centre: Sixth Lok Sabha Elections in Delhi", *Political Science Review*, Vol.18, No.2, April-June 1979, p. 60.

36. Oldenburg, Philip, *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

economic progress. A Union Territory was created under the direct administration of the President. It opened a way for the devolution of power at the local level and the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act, 1957 was enacted.

In 1966 Act, with establishment of a Metropolitan Council, a deliberative body and an executive council which together with the administrator had been given specific functions in relation to Delhi. Prior to the enactment of Delhi Administration Act 1966, the administrator was known as the Chief Commissioner. The post of Lt. Governor from 7 September 1966 was created. In 1975, Prabhu Committee further strengthened decentralization with a specific recommendation for the delegation of enhanced financial and administrative powers to the Delhi Administration.

The committee headed by Justice R.S. Sarkaria set up in 1989, concluded that "most of the difficulties encountered by the common man, as well as by the Delhi Administration were due to certain functional and structural deficiencies and drawbacks in the existing system."[37] Its two-volume report covers "Delhi Administration, local

---

37. Goyel, Purushottam, *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

bodies, statutory undertakings/boards,"[38] recommended statehood for Delhi with a legislative assembly and a council of ministers to provide a democratic and responsible government at the local level with devolution of power.

On 31 May 1990, a Bill in Parliament called the Constitution (Seventy-Second Amendment) Bill 1990 was introduced to accord Delhi, the status of a full-fledged state of the Union. The Union Territory of Delhi was to be known as the Capital State of Delhi.

The lack of law-making power, a need for a proximate government, minimal role in the planning and development, limited financial powers, lack of coordination between various authorities hinders the successful governance and administration. On December 16, 1991, two legislative proposals, the Seventy-Fourth Constitutional Amendment Bill, 1991, and the Government of National Capital Territory Bill, 1991 were formally passed and assented by the President on 2 January 1992. Delhi with a 70-member legislative assembly and a seven member Council of Ministers with restricted power was elected after the 1993 Delhi Assembly elections.

---

38. Gupta, Shiv Charan, *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

The recent elections to the Delhi Municipal Corporation conducted by the State Election Commission on 23 February 1997 led to the "people's participation"[39] at the grass root level after a gap of fourteen years.

---

39. Chandra, Jag Parvesh, *Democracy and Devolution: Through Panchayats and Nagarpalikas*, n.d., pp. 54-55.

CHAPTER-III

PATTERN OF LEADERSHIP AND URBAN POLITICS IN SHAHJAHANABAD

Social formation and the bias in the operation of state in favour of the "privileged classes"[1] determining the existing mode of production among the Muslims in Shahjahanabad have been undergoing vast changes. The nature of leadership in Shahjahanabad, for the last four/five decades has shown a broad typology of emerging leaders. Such observations have been made with reference to the functioning of political parties, process of elections, "distribution of party tickets",[2] formation of ministries, launching of agitations and movements with an increasing role of biradaris (caste), religion, communal, regional and money factors in the politics.

The typology of emerging leaders rests on two bases: the source of their origin and influence and the channel of their advancement.

The influential leaders have their origin in the family or hereditary background. Once a family produces an

---

1. Lal, Sheo Kumar, *The Urban Elite*, Delhi, Thomson Press, 1974, p.73. Also Rosenthal, Donald B., *The Limited Elite*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1970, pp. 27-29. See also Ashraf, Ali, *The Muslim Elite*, New Delhi, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1982.

2. Arora, Satish K., "Social Background of the Fifth Lok Sabha", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Number, August 1973, p. 1438.

influential, popular and dominant leader, the effect remains on political scene for a sizeable period of time and it is passed to the next generation. The inheritors have no difficulty in picking up the thread and stepping into the shoes of their immediate ancestors. The instances of such leaders are Mohsina Kidwai, Khurshida Kidwai, Mir Mushtaq, Hafiz Syed, Fazlur Rehman.

Caste (biradari) has been a dominant factor in politics. Many political leaders get their sustenance from biradari (caste) they belong to or adhere and it feeds the sentiments for political gains. The leaders get recognition from parties which are out to appease and accommodate. Party tickets are given to candidates having "ability to win"[3] in the election. For example, in the recent Municipal Corporation elections held on 23rd February 1997, leaders of Ashraf and Ajlaf stood in the electoral fray, viz. Razia Insallah (Ajlaf), Syed Hafiz Fazlur Rehman (Ashraf), Syed Irfan Mir (Ashraf), Syed H. Hussain Khazar (Ashraf), Azhar Shayufa (Ajlaf).

Religion `by ideology'[4] has brought up many political leaders. In spite of the secular character of the state, the source of many leaders is religion. The religious

---

3. Kochanek, Stanley, A., "Political Recruitment in the Indian National Congress", *Asian Survey*, Vol. VII, No.5, May 1967, p. 298.

4. Althusser, Louis, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Tr. from the French by Ben Brewster, London, New Left Books, 1971, p.138.

leaders with political overtones are the Mufti Mukarram (Fatehpuri Masjid) and the Imam Abdullah Bukhari and his son Ahmed Bukhari (Jama Masjid). In order to gain political mileage, the religious leaders raise communal slogans and promote separate identity and differentiation. Political leaders like Mohammad Afzal, Shoaib Iqbal, Syed Shahabuddin often take recognition from these religious leaders.

The social ecology in Shahjahanabad outlines some Mohallas, Kuchas and Katras in which the leaders emerge as the Mohalla leaders. For the segmental, localized and grass root leaders, means of rise is the Mohalla.

Student unions operating both in the universities and colleges also serve as nurseries "a stage in the educational ladder must be chosen where education should be more directed towards equipping youth with proper leadership qualities."[5] From student unions, the leaders go to the youth wing of different political parties for their training, through which they enter into active politics. Mehmood Paracha, Ex-President, Law Faculty, Delhi University, belongs to this category. A practising Supreme Court lawyer, he was encouraged by the Congress Party to fight the 1993 Delhi Legislative Assembly, Matia Mahal seat.

The pattern of leadership among the inhabitant of Kuchas, Katras or Mohallas is important to recognize the varied context in which the leaders operate and mobilize.

---

5. Rasool, G., *Youth Leadership in India*, New Delhi, Seema Publications, 1982, p. 24.

The social, economic and political formations among the people in Shahjahanabad discussed earlier have a stable core whose participants change but slowly, and when they do, they are replaced by others with similar characteristics. For example, older religious leaders like Abdullah Bukhari accommodated his son Naib Imam Ahmed Bukhari, the Kharkhanedar gave more space to the traders and the merchants and the traditional political leaders like Syed Hafiz Fazlur Rehman adjusted to the new leaders like Mehmood Paracha. These groups form the social base of the leadership structure. The leaders who emerge at various levels in the typology are tied to a particular problem as well as condition of that group and the amount of support they can muster from the local populace in tackling the varied and complex problems of the area. The authority of the leaders and the way they exercise their influence are also confined within the specific context of groups at different levels.

3.1. **BIRADARI LEADERSHIP**

In Shahjahanabad, the contemporary form of biradari associations is also indicative of changes in the notion of caste and its functions. Among the biradaris there exists varying degrees of formal and informal organization and leadership. Partition had a detrimental impact on many biradaris. Some, such as Paracha (cloth merchants in traditional occupational hierarchy) with a majority now in Pakistan, have only the remnants of any organization today.

Nevertheless, in contemporary period there is a different status as of lawyer, etc. which tries to gain legitimacy through the electoral politics. For example, Mehmood Paracha in 1993 Matia Mahal constituency contested on Congress-I ticket, whereas his father Siraj Paracha fought on Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) ticket in Okhla Assembly election and got defeated due to the erosion of roots of nativism in the community and failed to get ideological legitimacy (farman or dictat) from Imam Bukhari (Jama Masjid). Other biradaris, such as Quresh (Qasabpura) and Quam-e-Punjabian have strong formal associations with social, cultural, political and commercial functions. For example, the Quresh control and hold the management of many English-medium schools like Crescent School, Herra Public School and Quresh Rahimia Public School.

The leadership in biradari has traditionally been centred in the office of the Chaudhary (headman) which is an hereditary office handed from father to son. The determining condition for a son to take charge of the office depended in part on who exhibited the qualities deemed necessary for leadership. The examples are Siddiqui biradari,[6] Sakke biradari, Teli biradari, Quresh biradari, etc. In recent past, the traditional Chaudhryship has undergone a process of democratization in many biradaris. Chaudhryship has become an elected office. Thus, in some

---

6. Sabri, Imdad, *Delhi Siddiqi Beradari ki Shaksiyaten* (Leaders of the Delhi Siddiqui Beradari), N.D., p. 432.

biradaris social-mindedness, religiosity and modern education are considered important traits for Chaudhury's office.

Like caste associations, biradari associations in Shahjahanabad tend to perform the traditional functions of maintaining social norms and regulating social behaviour. The rules of biradari association has the sanctions and authority to punish the offending party with varying degrees of social boycott, etc. Nevertheless, it happens sometimes that the biradari association's legitimacy is jeopardized due to the changing class nature and the new status, role in modern context. Such changes often lead some to adopt the laws of the state, leading ultimately to litigation. For example, in disputes between husband and wife courts are playing a dominant role. The Shah Bano judgement is the best example, where the conflict led to the questioning of women's rights. Sometimes biradari leaders of associations fail due to the different context in which they have to function. However, in matters of religious significance, such as divorce, the biradari association always seeks the help of a *mufti* or a *maulana* (the religious teacher of Islamic law and jurisprudence).

Politically, biradari associations are more organized groups and try to provide political direction to their community. The biradari leaders in Shahjahanabad tend to support in unison a party's candidate.

3.2. **MOHALLA LEADERSHIP**

The biradari associations and leadership have not been cohesive among the Muslims after the partition. This gave rise to Mohalla Sudhar Committees in which the democratically elected officers and the executive committee emerged. There was a traditional leadership of a Mohalla resting with a Chaudhury or `Mir Mohalla' and a panchayat in case of biradari leadership. The old leadership has the elders and members of the old respected families of the Mohalla. In recent times, civic-mindedness and fairness are the basic attributes required of anyone seeking mohalla office. The mohalla executive committee generally consists of the mohalla elders. It deals with the governmental organs for the sanitation, water supply and electricity officials. They act as a buffer between the local populace and the police officials by acting as their own court to settle disputes between mohalladars before they reach the organs of government.

During the times of communal tension and disturbance, the mohalla committee also takes steps to protect its local populace and their property by rotating the guard duty and locking the gates of the locality. It can be said that now the role of Mohalla Sudhar Committee is limited to Peace Committees significantly at the time of communal frenzy or riots.

At grassroot level, the small thefts, fighting amongst the mohalla children, inappropriate public behaviour or

encroachments on commonly shared chowraha (square where four lanes meet) or chowk and gali (lane) space are typical of the kinds of disputes which the mohalla committees address themselves to.

During Ramzan (holy month of fast among the Muslims), the mohalla committee leader promote social identification with neighbourhood and promote solidarity amongst the residents. It also sponsors the religious feasts, such as the daily breaking of fast. Sometimes it maintains and support mosques and madrasas in the mohalla. It is a commonly held belief that the namaaz (prayer) in the mohalla mosque will bring merit not only to the namaazi (devout Muslim) but to all the mohalladars as well as it will help to protect mohalla from harm.

Politically, mohalla committee persuades mohalladars to vote *en masse* for one party. Likewise, politicians use the committees as forums to air their views and also to make themselves visible to their constituencies, especially on festive occasions. It is common for a mohalla committee to invite local dignitaries to join the mohalla celebrations.

The old feudal Chaudhuryship of traditional orders was transformed during 1947 to Mir Mohalla System to a more democratic institution of Mohalla Sudhar Committee. It tries to maintain the norms and reputation of the mohalla and helps in the representation of mohalladars in virtually all dealings with the local government. Since mohalla residents are incapable of dealing with the bureaucratic forms and

other official paper work, the leaders in the committee help individuals to deal with officialdom. Since individuals have little power to effect improvements in the neighbourhood, these leaders pressurise municipal officials for civic amenities. In both the need to preserve social traditions and the need to adopt to modern urban conditions the Mohalla Sudhar Committee leaders represents the interests of the residents.

3.3. **RELIGIOUS LEADERS**

In Shahjahanabad, Jama Masjid provides a focal opportunity (implicit) for the Muslim leadership in bargaining as a "secret weapon"[7] with the political parties. Syed Abdullah Bukhari, the Shahi Imam of Jama Masjid drawing an ancestral lineage from Bokhara (biggest madrasa in Central Asia) rose into political prominence in 1974 when the "Congress dominated Delhi Wakf Board had attempted to prevent him from succeeding"[8] his aged father. He was solemnised to the position in presence of Mir Mushtaq. The gains by the Congress for issuing a considerate fatwa in favour of family planning opened a way for an official mission of Imam Bukhari to the Middle East. The reality of "charges and counter charges, misappropriation of endowment funds and properties which were now made are difficult for

---

7. Theodore, P. Wright Jr. "Muslims in the 1977 Lok Sabha Elections", *Political Science Review*, Vol.17, Nos. 1-2, 1978, p. 78.

8. Jama Masjid Riot: Politics of Wakf Board, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 22 February 1975, p. 75.

an outsider to evaluate."[9] But it can be said that neglecting the real problems facing the Muslim masses (education, women's right, industrial policy, etc.) they strike bargain on the emotive issues (the Babri Masjid, Muslim Personal Law, Urdu language, reservations, etc.). The older leaders speak only in the language of safeguards and reservations, of special treatment and concessions, of pacts and guarantees, a legacy of self-centredness and defeatism. The outlook of the leaders is of the last century with its discouragements, its failures and its despair. The narrow outlook of old leaders has only "weakened us, blinded us and made us diffident and hesitating before the play of world forces."[10]

The religious leaders and close aides are vying with each other for getting quick monetary gains and help from the oil rich Gulf countries "for building mosques or running traditional types of centres of Islamic learning."[11] Religion in villages is practised as superstition and rituals. It can be said that "communalism is an urban phenomenon."[12] Religion begins to play a role of political Islam and acquires connotation of ideological mobilization.

---

9. Chakraborty, A.K., "Imam versus Masjid", *Secular Democracy*, February 1975, pp. 12-14.

10. Kabir, Humayun, *Muslim Politics*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1964, pp. 80-82.

11. Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

12. Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Indian Muslims: A Study of the Minority Problem in India*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1985, p. 328.

Urdu, as a language of Shahjahanabad tries to entangle other regions whose mother tongue is not Urdu (South Indian Muslims) also view this demand sympathetically. The real issues of *karigars* (artisans) working on starvation wages are exploited either by middlemen or the kharkhanedar. The leaders have hardly bothered to organize these *karigars* into cooperatives, instead these leaders represent the upper class and caste, raising cultural and religious issues which provide emotional satisfaction to a tiny minority of middle class urban Muslims who are mostly vocal. Thus, the religious leaders like Mufti Mukkaram, Imam Abdullah Bukhari (Shahi Imam) and Ahmed Bukhari (Naib Imam) of Jama Masjid are demagogues rather than sincere leaders with a clear vision of the future. There is an argument for the "establishment of *Shariat* courts to save Muslim Personal Law from interference by civil courts."[13] The religious leadership is thoroughly conservative on all social questions.

The minority politics which the leaders like Jawed Habeeb, Convenor, Quami Mushawarat Committee is central mainly on four issues:

(a) the Babri Masjid should be reconstructed including the reconstruction of the demolished structure;

(b) members of the Muslim community should be declared backward and provided representation in jobs and

---

13. Malhotra, Inder, "New Delhi's Dismal Scene", *The Hindu*, 16 March 1996.

educational and training institutions according to their percentage;

(c) degrees from traditional madrasas should be recognized in all universities for purposes of admission;

(d) No uniform Civil Code; and

(e) all the detainees under the lapsed TADA should be tried under normal laws.[14]

The self-appointed religious leaders issue *farman/ dictat* or *hukumnama* which challenges the very bases of India's secular democracy. The *farman* that "in the surroundings of Jama Masjid, no shop trading in eatables including the *pan* and cigarette-bidi shops should open during day time all through the fasting month of Ramzan"[15] has affected economically petty shopkeepers, restaurant owners. After the Babri Masjid boat club rally in 1987 and the *Shilaniyas* controversy over the Babri Masjid -Ramjanambhoomi at Ayodhya, the communal forces on both sides have stepped up their activities.

The leaders have never made any sincere attempt to stop retrograde practices among the Muslims. The example of Triple *Talaq* (divorce) is misused by the patriarchy to harass women. The leaders believe that the women should stay behind *purdah* (veil) which prevents them from becoming

---

14. "Muslim Leadership Left Confused", *The Hindu*, 6 December 1995.

15. "Delhi riots creation of both communalists", *New Age*, Vol.35, Dec.-Jan. 1987, p. 4.

a "hell on this earth and storm-centres of that Satanic activity."[16] The leaders are busy with the issue of rebuilding of Babri Masjid, which has highly emotional and could make them "great leaders overnight".[17] They have launched no concerted movement for the women's rights, development and rebuilding of Shahjahanabad, educational backwardness, plight of karigars (starving artisans). Rather, it is observed that the religio-emotive issues are taken to "exploit them for their political ends and that for such opportunist games it is the poor Muslims who pay dearly, not the leaders."[18] Kamath analyzed that "attacking BJP does not help or reap dividend...the Muslims to have an awareness towards Hindu cultural and religious sensibilities"[19] as the majority had consideration and respect for the Muslim minority's cultural and religious sensibilities. The process is to be two-way and reciprocal relation among the two communities.

The location and roots of religious, political, biradaris, mohalla, youth leaders is within the boundaries of Shahajahanabad. The demand of the situation in which a

---

16. Shakir, Moin, *Islam in Indian Politics*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1983, p. 9.

17. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Indian Muslims beware", *The Hindu*, 14 December 1995.

18. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Wither Muslim Vote", *The Hindu*, 23 January 1996.

19. Kamath, M.V., "Understanding Muslim Mind", *The Hindustan Times*, 23 September 1995.

leader usually functions depend from the old legacy of biradaris, religio-communal, social to the new emerging political leaders. The political leadership and the faith of citizens in them is the essential pre-requisite of the democratic set up. Powerful, efficient and independent leadership at local level goes a long way to enhance the performance of local institution and processes.

It is often said that urban leaders yield considerable political power and dominate the local scene. But their power to a great extent depend on their socio-economic and personal background, through which they come to occupy positions of power. Political parties in India are ridden with factions based upon religious and caste attachments, locality based loyalties, pulls and pressures of different kind and degrees. These factors to a great extent have their impact on the urban leaders who strive for local power and make every effort to hold on to it against rival groups and factions.

In political sphere, the elected councillors or members represent the powerful pressure groups with extra local party loyalties which cut across small group interests. Larger the Mohalla or Kucha more active are the upper class interest groups and consequently, the elected representatives have a tendency to lean towards wider party or parochial interests much more than the small group interests. The elected representatives thus have a tendency to cater more for extra-local interest due to class bias

than the emergent local interests. Smaller the Mohalla or Gali more is the tendency of the elected representatives to submit to ascriptive loyalties of biradaris (caste), religion, ethnic (Urdu) and lesser to the extra-local party loyalties.

The leader of a small group at the Katra or Mohalla level relate to the maintenance of the internal unity of the group and the continuity of on-going inter-relationship between the members of the groups in the Mohalla Sudhar Committee. The effectiveness and the acceptance of the leadership role depends upon the ability to solve the problem that the Mohalladar faces. These involves helping the members to get ration card, alms, money to the widows, clean drinking water. The sewage and water pipelines in the Matia Mahal Assembly area were laid down to provide safe drinking water and proper sanitation and other benefits from the Municipal Corporation Delhi (MCD), Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking (DESU) officials.

The biradari leaders serve as a mechanism for mobilizing support and collective action to secure maximum benefits and allocation of resources and social power within the biradari's Gali or the Mohalla. Ch. Najmuddin, a Chaudhury (leader) of Teli biradari, was such a leader who contested the Lok Sabha in 1996 election from Chandni Chowk constituency and secured 1,264 votes.

II

3.4. LEADERSHIP AND URBAN POLITICS

Urban development largely depends upon the leadership provided by the dominant group who in turn derive their strength from the society. Thus, a great deal depends on the style of functioning. During the independence struggle many of the national leaders took a great deal of interest in civic affairs and thereby obtained their political and administrative training. For example, Subhash Chandra Bose in Calcutta, Sir Feroze Shah Mehta in Bombay, Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel in Ahmedabad, Satyamurthi in Madras were some of the illustrious city fathers. Municipal government have produced many leaders of "national eminence and status, who were shining examples of sober and healthy municipal politics and restored to these institutions, the authority and dignity they deserved".[20] The leaders in second Municipal Council at Chandni Chowk emerged were like Mir Mushtaq Ahmed and Mirza Siddiq Ali and in the third Council, Viresh Pratap Chaudhary were helped mainly "by their active political participation in local affairs"[21] and rose to pre-eminence in the national arena. In recent Municipal Corporation (MCD) election of February, 1997, candidates like Azhar Shayufa, Hafiz Saleemuddin

---

20. Dubashi, P.R., in his `Foreword' to S.L. Kaushik *Leadership in Urban Government in India*, Allahabad, Kitab Mahal, 1986.

21. Pandit, Vijay Laxmi, *Op. cit.*, p.110.

emerged as leaders due to the local MLA Shoaib Iqbal's close affinity with Imam Bukhari and Janata Dal since 1989 V.P. Singh Government at Centre harnessed the Babri-Masjid issue.

Urban politics with urbanization and metropolitanization as a phenomenon exhibits many facets.

3.5. URBAN GROWTH AND PROBLEMS OF URBAN DECAY IN DELHI

The judiciary, while activating High Court on functioning of industrial units in residential (non-conforming) areas to shift to safer areas and more allocation of industrial land has highlighted problems of urban growth and urban decay. Figures of money spent on different schemes don't mean that infrastructural facilities and amenities are satisfactory in Delhi. The lack of initiative on part of leadership to help the administration in the implementation of Delhi Master Plan and also the alarming outburst of population has upset the projections.

The increase in the population in Delhi as a "result of mass immigration has been neither arithmetical or geometrical but simply phenomenal".[22] The Delhi Master Plan projection for the year 1981 was originally placed at 45.85 lakhs plus another 8.42 lakhs for the six ring towns like Gaziabad, Faridabad, Ballabgarh, Gurgaon, Bahadurgarh, Loni and Narela. In December 1976, projection had to be revised upward to 52.62 lakhs for Delhi. The latest figures put

---

22. Bhandari, Arvind, "Population Growth Upsets Planning", *Commerce*, Annual, 1980, p.322.

Delhi's population at 62.20 lakhs in 1981, to 94.20 lakhs in 1991, to estimated 112.24 lakhs in 1996.[23]

In Delhi, the prospects of housing, employment, water supply, transport, sanitation, electricity and other urban goods and services in the presently living urban environment triggers the alarm of crisis. This has brought to the fore the problem of allocation of resources on equity and fair basis. The Interim Report of National Commission on Urbanization in India indicates that in Bombay about 55% of the vacant urban land is owned by only ninety one individuals. The supply of land in the market is largely in the hands of the private developers, the thekedars who cater to the needs of the urban upper class while the majority of the population have to look upto the policies and efficiencies of the public authority like the Delhi Development Authority to get a piece of land. Urban development is being systematically hijacked by the self-help strategies of so-called upper classes. For example, the havelis, kuchas, galis have had to face a common onslaught of skyrocketed multi-storey buildings, apartments in Kucha Chellan, Pataudi house, Jama Masjid etc. built in violation of Delhi Master Plan and being sold to lower middle classes. The slogan that Shahjahanabad is a

---

23. *Delhi : At a Glance, 1996*, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi.

protected city with a predominant Muslim segment is exploited by the builders and the leaders of the community.

The population pressure and `scarcity of available resources'[24] aggravated the conflicts generated in various forms, reaching the crisis situation, as it happened when the "demolition in Turkman Gate was going on"[25] and the resentment erupted violently due to the "linkage perspective"[26] of urban politics. The basic bond between the political leaders and constituents and between the individual and group manifested in the form of faction which ultimately developed into urban crisis related to development.

Studies on the urban politics in India are mainly concerned with the description of the problematic, rather than the prescription and in this respect, the leaders are seeking the help of the social scientists, planners to get the answer to the most important question of `who rules the urban communities'. The political leaders "the influential few" in reality control the political parties and guide the

---

24. Sharma, R.C., "Metropolitanization and Urban Crisis and Conflicts", *Employment News*, 30 March - 5 April, 1991, p.2.

25. Dayal, John and Bose Ajoy, *For Reasons of State : Delhi under Emergency*, Delhi, ESS ESS Publications, 1977, p.38.

26. Jones, W. Rodney, "Linkage Analysis of Indian Urban Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 17, 1972, p.1195.

political activities. They also control and guide the biradaris, ethnic and religious considerations.

Jagmohan's city development lies in the "social ethos".[27] There is no structure which function in vacuum, the whole has a relation with a part, the "problem is not in the body but in the soul".[28] The problems lie in the cultural environment around Shahjahanabad rather than in the structure. Leadership is playing a marginal role in urban politics of development and growth. The Urbanization process was initiated with the "notion of technological and economic progress lay in socio-politico environment due to disorganization and unsatisfactory urban development".[29]

Fundamentally, we can conceptualize function of political mobilization which is related to the configuration of major socio-economic forces, the political leadership and the nature of local political system in most part of the country have suffered "a skewed power structure, traditional social hierarchy and a lack of public spirit".[30] The studies on urban politics and leadership suggest that the upper echelons (e.g. kharkhanedar) enjoys the privileges at

---

27. Jagmohan, "Malady in the Soul", *Mainstream*, September 17, 1988, p.10.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Ashraf, Ali, "Politics and Performance in Municipal Government", *Political Science Review*, Vol.16, No.2, April-June, 1997, pp.71-73.

30. Ashraf, Ali, *Government and Politics of Big Cities*, Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, p.9.

the cost of majority. According to Ashraf, the "fault did not lie so much with the institution of local autonomy as with the failure on part of government to help bring about social and economic transformation in the countryside and create the infrastructural conditions required for the healthy maintenance and growth of autonomous local institutions".[31] In another study by Mishra, it was suggested that "it is customary to put the blame for civic performance on the politics of local bodies".[32] The main responsibility is that of the leaders. The social forces that dominate the fabric of Shahjahanabad are also important in this context. The cultural values and political interests of the leaders determine the performance at the grass-root level.

The Chief Planner, B.G. Fernandes, tries to locate the local issues and lacunae in the process of "functional urban planning" and not in the "spatial"[33] paradigm. According to Fernandes, inspite of the Delhi's Master Plan prepared nearly thirty years ago, where the population of Delhi was less than two million and the subsequent review of the Plan in mid-eighties led to a state of affair in which the pertinent question is, "Is it the failure of planning or the

---

31. *Ibid.*

32. Mishra, S.N., *Politics and Leadership in Municipal Government*, Delhi, Inter India Publications, 1979.

33. Fernandes, B.G., "Toward Humane Development", *Civic Affairs*, July 1992, p.36.

implementation or both".[34] The needs of segmentary and transitional societies is to be determined in a unique type of urban planning. In the Pataudi House rebuilding project in Shahjahanabad segment after the failure of Turkman Gate rebuilding project in 1976, where the population was forced to shift to different localities in Delhi, led to a "mass protest by the local populace".[35]

The urban planning goal implies on one hand greatest concern for organic, collective life and on the other hand, the need for concentrating population and urban functions on limited and strictly defined land areas. It fails to impose restraints on size, shape and the form of Delhi city. We are bound to experience a grown chaotically, amorphous mass of structures. Thus, it is only functional and spatial application with the involvement of masses by the leaders in the implementation of planning and massive civic efforts, to transform Shahjahanabad gradually from an amorphous imperial city sprawled over an immense area, into an urban agglomerate made up of clusters of compact, planned communities of say four to five lakhs population each, with relatively self-contained arrangement. The devolution of authority to the local leaders with the proper grievances redressal and needed participation would help the urban renewal schemes of agencies like the DDA.

---

34. *Ibid*, p.37.

35. Dayal, John and Bose, Ajoy, *Op. cit.*, p.200.

According to Donald C. Rowat, "federal districts are appropriate in a decentralised federation".[36] The creation of second tier of Metropolitan Council and the Municipal Corporation (MCD) which covers the same segment leads to duplication. Rowat concludes that "Delhi city is so big and has so many commercial, business and other interests, that the federal government's interests do not predominate and hence, the Union Territory ought to be State"[37] to realise its democratic set up.

Mohan's essay on planning new cities on walled city pattern explains that the city within walls is like "a poem, a rhythm which is felt and cannot be explained in words."[38] For example in Shahjahanabad, the poets like Mirza Ghalib and artists of immense merits led a very simple life. The imperial city has complete surroundings like ridge, river, greenery, the population features. During the period of "riots, bandhs or any other such movement everyone shared the unpredictable environment."[39]

The vacant plot on the northern side of Jama Masjid as suggested by Shafi should be "developed as a multi-functional community centre...if properly planned and designed such a community centre facility would be a

---

36. Rowat, Donald C., *Op. cit.*, p.153.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Mohan, I., "New Cities on Walled Cities Pattern", *Civic Affairs*, December 1989, p.45.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

positive asset for the walled city and help to fulfil a long standing need for the entire community."[40]

Dojana housing scheme, Matia Mahal, 1955 also didn't get the public favour. The enactment of Slums Improvement Act of 1956 declared Shahjahanabad as a slum area (wing). In 1962 started the final culmination of the Delhi Master Plan which awaits implementation. The process of rehabilitation could not materialize; "had it been succeesful, it is felt there would have been no Shahjahanabad."[41]

The need in Shahjahanabad is of a "new Master Plan"[42] for the entire imperial city, to streamline traffic which will help in restoring its history, culture and the tourist population. The city planners should pay attention to the traditional, functional and economical aspects. The lawns of Jama Masjid and the Red Fort lawns too could be joined with the river.

3.6. **CONCLUSION**

The new plan can be successful if the needed local participation is integrated in proposals for development. In the absence of acceptance on the part of the masses, proposals for development will only be politicised by

---

40. Shafi, Sayed, S., "How to Revive Shahjahanabad", *Nagarlok*, Vol.27, April-June 1995, No.2, p.6.

41. Mohan, I., "A New Master Plan Required for the Walled City of Shahjahanabad", *Civic Affairs*, March 1990, pp. 27-29.

42. *Ibid.*, p.29.

leaders. The issues of "traffic congestion, chaotic land use and sub-human existence"[43] is due to the "dualistic nature of authorities"[44] with lack of coordination that aggravates the development of Shahjahanabad. Successful administration needs to involve the people in social development. The dispersal of authority at the local level will help in the "policy determined public goods"[45] tailored to the requirement of the local populace.

The observation is unfortunately true that the ordinary citizens are the worst hit in the process of politicking by the leaders. The multiplicity of authority also sometimes work at cross purposes. The growth of problems in "the process of development of the city are unmanageable, uncontrolled and wayward."[46] The Master Plan should concentrate on: (a) "the comprehensiveness, (b) its general character, (c) its schedule (time sequence), and (d) its directive role"[47] in the matter of public policy

---

43. Sharma, Nutan, "Multiplicity of Authority in Delhi: Dualistic Functioning", *Civic Affairs*, October 1986, pp.9-10.

44. *Ibid.*, p.11.

45. Christopher, D. and Plowden, Francis, J., *The State under stress : Can the hallow state be good government*, Philadelphia, Open University Press, 1996, p. 128.

46. Gill, Raj, "Suffering by Consent: THe Human Problems in the Growth of a Society", *Social Welfare*, August-September, 1979, p.28.

47. Rai, Bhagwan Das, P. and Shafi, Sayed, S., *The planned development of Delhi: Innovation and Action, City Development Plans and their Implementation*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1977, p. 153.

determination. The leaders have to act positively in channeling the public opinion on emergent grassroots developmental issues.

CHAPTER-IV

ELECTORAL POLITICS AND STRATEGIES OF MOBILIZATION

Psephology has emerged as a sub-field of study and research in Political Science. Electoral processes and institutions reflect the factors that are inherent in electoral mobilization. Election is an educative opportunity, a process of legitimation of power and a therapeutic exercise. Nevertheless, it is a mandate, a verdict and a selection of leaders. The issues, candidates and parties are presented to electors in a bid to get their endorsement. The past performances are thus subjected to review and new (alternative) choices are made or selected.

In electoral mobilization, masses understand and realise the value of the right to franchise and the nature of the democratic responsibility which is reflected in election process which also tries to socialise people into political participation.

In Delhi, the Chandni Chowk Lok Sabha, Matia Mahal Assembly and Jama Masjid Municipal Ward Constituencies are selected for discussion of electoral politics in general and minority politics in particular. The dialectics of mobilization and leadership are discussed wherein the politico-religious leaders of national significance emerge in the processes of mobilization in Shahjahanabad. The Municipal wards of Darya Ganj and Jama Masjid in the city

zone areas, has more "concentration of Muslims".[1] It is the hub of Muslim political activities. Agencies of political socialization help the voters to exercise their franchise on ideological and other grounds. It is assumed that the voting behaviour of Muslims in Shahjahanabad would be different from the common masses especially those residing in the remote areas of the country.

4.1. LOK SABHA ELECTIONS

Chandni Chowk Lok Sabha is the most "potential constituency with Muslim concentration".[2] The minority population is predominant to the extent that either a really secular Hindu or a sober Muslim contestant can easily win the election. Various political parties come forward with the list of issues, programmes and promises to garner Muslim votes. It gives an impression of a "herd mentality" amongst the Muslims. According to Engineer, the nature of vote bank is "more a creation of political parties rather than religious or communal behaviour".[3] The political parties harp on the emotive issues like Muslim Personal Law, which are exploited successfully. In 1977 elections, Muslims in Chandni Chowk constituency were highly agitated over the `sterilization campaign' and the resettlement "programmes in

---

1. Oldenburg, Philip, *Op. cit.*, p.150
2. Lok Sabha, "Muslim Concentration Seats, 1952-1991", *Muslim India*, No.160, April 1996, p.149.
3. Engineer, Irfan, "Politics of Muslim Vote Banks", *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 28, 1995, p.199.

Turkman Gate"[4] which become "synonymous with the excesses of emergency".[5] Mr. Sikander Bakht, a Janata candidate with the support of the Shahi Imam Syed Abdullah Bukhari added a new dimension to the election campaign. He secured an easy landslide victory by a margin of 72,620 votes. The voting turnout was 71.02 per cent. There were only two independent candidates in the fray.

In 1980, in Chandni Chowk Lok Sabha constituency, Mr. Bhiku Ram Jain of Congress(I) won the elction by securing 1,00,624 votes. The voting turnout was 71.74 per cent. Mr. Jain, a "leading businessman had been involved in the local politics"[6] since 1958 election to the Municipal Committee. He had strong backing among the trading community in Chandni Chowk.

In the Eighth Lok Sabha election in Chandni Chowk constituency, participation among the electorate increased. The people exercising right to franchise was 71.83 per cent. Mr. Jai Prakash Aggarwal won the election by securing 1,22,069 votes by defeating his nearest rival Mr. Sikander Bakht of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) who got 74,993 votes. Shri Aggarwal won by a landslide margin of 44,076

---

4. Jha, S.N., *Op. cit.*, p.72.

5. Bhushan, Sarla, "Lok Sabha Elections in Delhi - 1977", *Indian Political Science Review*, vol.XI, no.2, July 1977, p.150.

6. Grover, Verinder, "The Seventh Lok Sabha Election in Delhi", *Political Science Review*, vol.XIV, no.2, 1980, p.213.

votes from "all the metropolitan wards except Ajmeri Gate which he lost only by four votes".[7] There was also a sympathy wave in favour of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi after the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi.

In the ninth Lok Sabha, Jai Prakash Aggarwal retained the hold over the constituency by securing 89,891 votes. The Janata Dal candidate Mirza Sadiq Ali benefitted from the shift of the Congress vote due to the Shah Bano Judgement and the opening of the disputed Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid structure. The loss of Congress vote was around 47,076. Mr. Ali got 74,006 votes. The voters turn out was around 57.15 per cent.

The 1991 election had a "fluctuating social base".[8] Most of the Muslims shifted their loyalties toward Janata Dal. The BJP also gained the majority's votes. The voting turnout was 57.15 per cent. BJP with 35.70 per cent won the Chandni Chowk seat. Mr. Tara Chand Khandelwal won getting 80,898 votes with a margin of 2,774 votes.

In the Eleventh Lok Sabha elections, Jai Prakash Aggarwal was once again elected by securing 92,634 votes (44.92 per cent of votes). Imam Bukhari lost his appeal "in

---

7. Nangia, Bimla, "Eighth Lok Sabha Election in Delhi - An Analysis", *Indian Political Science Review*, Vol.XIX, no.1&2, January-December, 1985, p.162.

8. Kohli, Atul, *Democracy and Discontent : India's Growing Crisis of Governability*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.23.

whatever limited way it was exploited at the 1991 polls".[9] The number of independent candidates in the electoral fray increased to fifty-seven in Chandni Chowk constituency.

While analysing Lok Sabha election in the Chandni Chowk constituency, it seems that in 1977 election, the percentage of votes polled was 71.02 per cent which came down to 66.47 per cent in the 1989 election and was further reduced to 50.54 per cent in the 1996 election.

TABLE 9: LOK SABHA ELECTIONS IN DELHI : SIZE OF ELECTORATE, PERCENTAGE OF VALID VOTES POLLED AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTES

Year	Total Electorate	Valid Votes Polled	Percentage of Votes (%)
1977	3,09,550	2,17,730	71.02
1980	2,99,479	2,12,520	71.74
1984	2,83,849	2,01,701	71.83
1989	3,81,491	2,50,313	66.47
1991	3,99,737	2,26,607	57.15
1996	4,21,193	2,05,410	50.54

Source: Compiled from the Reports of the Election Commission of India, New Delhi.

The Table 9 indicates that the participation in national election is constantly declining. The Chandni Chowk constituency being a Muslim dominated segment with 1,25,000 voters play a decisive role in electoral politics. The Congress, derives "more support from the minorities than it

---

9. "Ahtesham Qureshi on the Muslim Voters", *Muslim India*, no.160, April 1996.

did from the majority Hindu vote".[10] The Muslim popular vote for the Congress was invariably higher than that of the Hindu majority. The observers of the 1977 election reported that the "Muslims had broken from their traditional partisan support for the Congress party"[11] after the emergency excesses in Turkman Gate and the Nasbandi (Sterilization) policy.

In 1980, with the submission of 15-Point Programme by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, one can argue that "all ruling parties in India at the Centre or in the States have ruled with minority votes".[12]

4.2. **LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY - 1993 ELECTION**

The Delhi Assembly that came into being on March 17, 1952, consisted of 48 members. The powers given to the State were `inadequate to meet the challenges".[13] The set up suffered from various `political anomalies, constitutional incongruities, democratic inconsistencies, diarchic absurdities and administrative incapacities'. There was demand by the citizen's convention of a "legislative assembly for Delhi with a Council of Ministers

---

10. "The Structure of the Muslim Votes 1951-1984", *Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Condition*, Vol.25, No.289-300, 1983-84, p.55.

11. "Myron Weiner on How Muslim Constituencies voted in 1980", *Muslim India*, March, 1985, p.107.

12. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "How Muslim Voted", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 25, 1996, p.1239.

13. Chandra, Jag Parvesh, *Op. cit.*, p.46.

to do away with multiplicity of authorities and to bring under its control all the corporations, statutory and autonomous boards and authorities and bodies related to different functions and activities".[14] The Jan Sangh in the 1967 election alleged that the "Congress government at the Centre had scuttled the prosperity of Delhi .... the Jan Sangh was earlier opposed to Delhi being given the status of State"[15] The Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) supports the cause of statehood status to Delhi.

The Assembly election in Delhi in November, 1993 was a surprise to the poll watchers and the contestants alike. Matia Mahal is a constituency characterised by a high degree of illiteracy. There is a general tendency among the people of the locality to engage their children in one work or the other rather than sending them to schools. The total electorate in Matia Mahal constituency is about 60,989 out of which 32,940 are male voters and 28,049 are female voters. The voters turnout in Delhi Assembly polls 1993 was 61.6 per cent. The Janata Dal polled the highest percentage of votes which was 24.1 to 25 per cent. The "Muslim residents of walled city around Jama Masjid preferred the Janata Dal to both Congress and the BJP as was clear from

---

14. Gupta, Shiv Charan, *Delhi : The City of Future*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1987, p.13.

15. Lal, Shiv, *Indian Elections since Independence*, The Election Archives, 1972, pp.43-45.

the overwhelming support , the Janata Dal's newcomer Shoiab Iqbal got in the Matia Mahal constituency".[16]

The political fatwa (dictat) of Imam Bukhari of Jama Masjid to support Janata Dal (1993) led a new entrant in the elctoral politics, Shoiab Iqbal (of mirde biradari), to register a comfortable victory by an impressive margin of 19,944 votes. In total, Mr. Iqbal secured 68.58 per cent of the votes polled. His nearest rival was Mrs. Khurshida Kidwai, a veteran who represented the constituency earlier in the Metropolitan Council twice from same area as a Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) representative. One of the two Muslim candidates could secure only 7,672 votes, while the Congress (I) candidate Mehmood Paracha, a new entrant in electoral politics, secured only 4,221 votes. Saeed Khan, a Janata Dal rebel, who was in the elctoral fray as a candidate of the Samajwadi party of Mulayam Singh Yadav, following a denial of the Janata Dal nomination, too failed to make any impact and secured 2,068 votes. It seems that in Matia Mahal Assembly segment, the Muslims voted en bloc.[17] There were 13 independent candidates. In Matia Mahal, the Muslims are probably making the best of their opportunities, and more Muslims are getting elected. It is

---

16. Lal, Shiv, *Election Activity in India - 1993*, New Delhi, Election Achives, 1994, p.51.

17. ibid, pp.52-53.

an evidence of `Muslim solidarity'[18] based on ideological mobilization on the one hand and pattern of political mobilization of socio-economic group as `power resources in intra-elite struggles"[19] on the other.

4.3. DELHI MUNICIPAL CORPORATION - 1997 ELECTION

DMC was constituted under the Delhi Municipal Corporation Act, 1957 in pursuance of the recommendations of the States Reorganization Commission. It was to reconcile the broader requirement of "the national government as well as the plea for popular government. It recommended the setting up of a Municipal Corporation".[20] The Corporation was set up with the object of providing an efficient local government for Delhi. The functions of the Corporation are strictly municipal in nature but also pertain to generation and distribution of electricity, water supply and drainage, fire prevention, hospitals, schools, etc. The framework of Corporation provides for a delicate balance between somewhat independent executive authority, i.e. the Commissioner appointed by the Central Government and the elected representatives having considerable powers. The Central Government has the powers to give directions to the Corporation or to supercede the Corporation. The

---

18. Blair, Harry, W., *Voting, Caste, Community and Society*, New Delhi, Young Asia Publications, 1979, p.xiii.

19. Kohli, Atul, *op. cit.*, pp.390-391.

20. Malhotra, G.C., "Democratic Governance of Delhi", *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, Vol.24(1-2), January-December, 1990, p.109.

Corporation has so far been superceded thrice, in 1975, 1980 and in 1990. The Corporation with a "non-implementation of important resolutions moved by members was the rule rather than the exception...from choked drains to unauthorized construction, from insanitary conditions in Municipal hospitals to excessive billings of house tax".[21] There is an inability on the part of administration to "cope up with the demand of housing which has led to the twin problem of `squatting ' on public land and also to unauthorized construction"[22] by the illegal thekedars (constructors).

The 1997 Delhi Municipal Corporation election was an anticipated step in building more direct relationship between the elector and the elected. The leaders at the municipal or at the grassroot level normally represent a few hundred voters whereas an MLA represents nearly one lakh voters and an MP represents about three to four lakh voters.

The Municipal Councillors are easily accessible to their voters. These popular representatives at the local level function under the full glaze of local publicity and criticism. They cannot either distance from or be anonymous to the local electorate. The importance of a functioning democracy lies in streamlining the civic affairs which have been (mis) governed. Most of the MLAs in Delhi do not want

---

21. Rao, Amiya, "Truth about Delhi Corporation and its Supersession", *Organizer*, June 15, 1980, p.6.

22. Bakshi, N.S. and Jagannadham, V., *Citizen and the Municipal Bureaucracy*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1971, p.5.

the Municipal Corporation elections, to take place as they feel that "once Municipal Councillors are elected their wings will be clipped".[23] The people will get the channel of Councillors Darbars to get their grievances redressed. It will reduce the political importance of the MLAs, as per the rules of the Delhi Assembly, legislators have limited powers.

4.3.1. **Nomination Process**

Nomination process heralds the starting point of election process. In 1997 elections, the section of Congress candidates was initiated by a 15-member team of AICC leaders which held parleys with the legislators and the heads of the frontal organizations to seek their opinion on the choice of the candidates. The local leaders, proposals regarding the candidates from their respective areas were also discussed by the election committee of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee (DPCC), an authority to scrutinize the names of the candidates received from various quarters. While the distribution of tickets was "arbitrary and the valets or personal attendants of Central leaders were granted party nomination in preference to genuine activists with chances of victory".[24] For example, in Jama Masjid ward, Razia Insallah, a candidate from the lower

---

23. Vohra, Pankaj, "The Municipal Polls", *The Hindustan Times*, December 1, 1996.

24. Vohra, Pankaj, "Rebel Factor holds the key", *Hindustan Times*, February 23, 1997.

biradari of Teli (oil pressers) in the electoral fray having no "family tradition"[25] and local influence. In Darya Ganj ward, Mr. Zia ul haq Soz, from Sakke biradari (water carrier) was given a ticket superceded by active Congressmen like Syed Fazlur Rehman and V.P. Dhingra. The logic of selection and consideration of the candidates with "an ability to win"[26] was underestimated and it led to the official Congress candidates to suffer defeat. In Jama Masjid ward, Razia Insallah (Congress(I)) secured 2,087 votes, a 13.77 per cent votes share and in the Darya Ganj ward, Mr. Zia ul haq Soz (Congress (I)) could garner 2,781 votes, a 13.26 per cent votes share. Both the candidates lost their security deposits.

Selection of candidates in Janata Dal was in the hands of Mr. Shoaib Iqbal, President, Delhi Pradesh Janata Dal. Azhar Shayufa (Mirde biradari) and Hafiz Saleemuddin (Sakke biradari) were selected from Jama Masjid and Darya Ganj wards for 1997 Municipal elections. It was the clear image of Janata Dal candidates that Mr. Iqbal projected in the Jama Masjid ward.

In the nomination process in Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), it seems that RSS played a dominating role, in selection of names of the candidates. The former Chief Minister, Madan Lal Khurana played a role in the

---

25. Arora, Satish, K., *op. cit.*, p.1437.

26. Kochanek, Stanley, A., *op. cit.*, p.296.

distribution of party ticket was angry over the constant intervention of the RSS in the process of selection. Mr. Khurana staged a "walkout of sheer disgust".[27] Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra pointed out that the names recommended by the mandal (of the candidates belonging to RSS) should be considered for the 1997 elections. Mr. Malhotra staged a walkout saying that there is "no necessity for RSS to recommend others".[28] There were heated arguments between Mr. O.P. Kohli, Ramesh Prakash, Coordinator of RSS and Mr. Malhotra on the nomination of candidates. In Darya Ganj ward, Mohd. Mian Nawab and in Jama Masjid ward, Usha Devi with no political background were selected in the 1997 Municipal elections.

4.3.2. **Independents**

The independent candidates are those who do not formally belong to any political party but nevertheless seek election. The political parties do not represent the people at large, committed as they are to some ideology or personality. An independent candidate is a corrective to the party system and its ills. The independent candidates may be broadly classified into five categories -

---

27. *The Hindustan Times*, February 1, 1997.

28. ibid.

a) Some persons who have a desire for social service but who do not formally belong to any political party and therefore, seek election on their own, e.g. Zahida Khatoon in Jama Masjid ward.

b) Those who sought the ticket from a political party and having been refused, decided to stand and seek election as an Independent.

i) Congress Rebel - There was a revolt against the local Congress leadership for wrong selection of candidates. It accentuated and intensified with a number of partymen filing their nominations as Independent candidates. Mr. Kuldip Singh Gujral, ex-General Secretary of the South district Committee, Ms. Shanta Nayyar, President, South district Mahila Congress, Mr. Sarvjit Singh Duggal, Vice-President, Delhi Pradesh Youth Congress criticized the "party leadership for not giving enough representation to youth, minorities .... (and) some sections of the society".[29]

Mr. V.P. Dhingra and Hafiz Syed Fazlur Rehman, filed their nomination as independent candidates in Darya Ganj ward. Mr. Anil Mittar who won the Delhi Cantonment election as an independent candidate with other rebel candidates

---

29. *The Hindustan Times*, February 1, 1997.

declared the formation of a new political party named Delhi Vikas Congress. The Chief Election Commissioner was informed about the formation of the party. Party manifesto was released. About 80 rebel candidates had the backing of the Delhi Vikas Congress, with a `rising Sun' as its election symbol. It was an attempt at show of strength to the Congress High Command, by the genuine grassroot party workers and leaders.

It was aptly put that the Congress party "mandate was sold out at a price and that is why the people were rejecting the Congress nominees in most of the wards as they have been foisted on them".[30] The DPCC President, Deep Chand Bandhu expelled 15 rebel candidates from the party membership for six years on ground of indiscipline, e.g. Hafiz Syed Fazlur Rehman and Mr. V.P. Dhingra from the Darya Ganj segment. The rebel candidates had the backing and support of different sections of the society including social and religious organizations and even a large number of party workers were working silently for these candidates.

ii) Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) Rebel - In 1997 Municipal elections, the RSS had increased its

---

30. *The Hindustan Times*, February 20, 1997.

interference in the party affairs and "many undeserving candidates were granted the party ticket"[31] which compelled some grassroot, mandal, party supporters to file their nominations as independents. A majority of rebels vowed to work against the official candidate. Several district office bearers resigned in protest against party decisions. Mr. Lalit Bawa shouted slogans against the Delhi Social Welfare Minister S.P. Ratawal. Ms. Anita Gehlot, district secretary, Mr. Anil Mittal, Mr. Ramphal Gupta, Ex-Mandal President and also some office bearers resigned from the party. It created squabbles in the BJP camp, which was once described as the most disciplined party in the country. The differences came out in the open with supporters of the present Chief Minister, Sahib Singh Verma and his predecessor Madan lal Khurana taking their differences to the streets. The BJP rebel candidates were forced "to retire from the contest using family and community pressures again through the channel of RSS".[32] Kidarnath Sahani, Chief, Delhi Pradesh BJP claimed that "six other rebel candidates, who had filed nomination from different wards without the

---

31. Vohra, Pankaj, "Rebel factor hold the key?", *op. cit.*,

32. *Ibid.*

party's consent, had withdrawn from the contest".[33]

c) The political peddlers who seek election not to fight it out to the last but to withdraw before the polling day, of course on `considerations'. The inducement offered to make such candidates retire from contest may be of various kinds; down right cash payment, or some other reward depending upon the candidates' worth.

d) Some groups deliberately plant independents as dummy candidates to split the votes. They act as a `spoilers'.

e) It consists of those candidates who utilized the election opportunity to advertise and to project themselves. They sought publicity in the locality to influence local police officials.

4.3.3. **Style of Campaign**

The grassroot Councillors are basically concerned with the civic services and the development of their wards. Issues raised by the candidates and prominent party leaders during campaigning range from local to national and even international affairs. For example, the issues and matters such as national political scene, corruption, Kashmir, Babri Masjid, national security, Muslim Personal Law, etc. and other topical issues of beautification of Shahjahanabad were sharpened, while explaining their party stand on these

---

33. *The Hindustan Times*, February 14, 1997.

issues. The parties carried out their poll campaign with elaborate paraphernalia like hoardings, posters, pamphlets, procession of car, autorickshaw and cycle-rickshaw with hand loudspeakers and large bands of supporters following them around. The Delhi Municipal Corporation election rules were amended by the Delhi government to reduce the period of campaigning from 20 days to two weeks for the 1997 Municipal polls.

Mr. Zia ul haq Soz and Razia Insallah, Congress candidates in Darya Ganj and Jama Masjid ward put an effort on padyatras and personal contacts. The large number of Congress rebels, contesting as independent candidates, gave a setback to the official party candidates. In Darya Ganj ward, Mr. V.P. Dhingra and Syed Hafiz Fazlur Rehman cut into vote bank of Congress. It led to a straight win for the Janata Dal candidate, Hafiz Saleemuddin. It was `fragmented approach of the local Congress leaders during the campaign that has certainly harmed the organizational interest".[34] In the final results, Mr. Zia ul haq Soz in Darya Ganj ward secured 2,781 votes and Razia Insallah, placed fourth in the final result, secured 2,087 votes.

BJP's election campaign in-charge, Mr. Vijay Kumar Malhotra, launched its electoral mobilization campaign with a meeting of its candidates, legislators and office bearers. The top leaders made an impassioned plea to the party

---

34. *The Hindustan Times*, February 6, 1996.

workers to sink their differences and work toward achieving a thumping victory. The national General Secretary and MP from South Delhi, Ms. Sushma Swaraj, stressed that "we cannot be content with only the status of the single largest party or a simple majority in the Municipal Corporation elections. We have to fight with killer instinct to get two-third majority".[35] The entire Sangh parivar, it was asserted, would jointly contest the poll and they were also joined by the Akalis. In the campaigning process, as many as 750 meetings were held. The Mohalla meetings were organized by the office bearers, door to door campaign and padyatras were put on a round-the-clock basis. The leaders appealed to the masses to vote in majority to ensure effective and better development of Delhi.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) had an intense campaigning. The candidate Rehana Begum in Jama Masjid ward addressed two big meetings in Dujana House and Kamra Bangash. Comrade Devender Sharma, a Central Committee member highlighted the clean image of his party in the Jain Hawala imbroglio. In a public meeting at Bazar Chitli Qabar, beautification of Shahjahanabad was stressed and to eliminate the `consideration' money[36] given to the Corporation for the repair of houses.

---

35. Anand, Anil, "MCD Poll results may tilt in BJP's favour", *Hindustan Times*, February, 1997.

36. `Consideration' money is a down right cash payment, or some form of kickback.

The Matia Mahal, MLA, Shoaib Iqbal, Janata Dal made intensive campaigning in the areas of walled city. In Turkman Gate public meeting, Hafiz Saleemuddin (Sakke biradari) started his speech with chanting few verses from the Quran. The MLA, Shoaib Iqbal praising Janata Dal says that it was BJP which demolished Babri Masjid and it was Congress which perpetuated in the process of demolition as accepted by the former Home Minister, S.B. Chavan. But it was Janata Dal which sacrificed its government by arresting Mr. L.K. Advani in Bihar. Mr. Iqbal made the masses emotionally charged and requested the people for enmasse support to Janata Dal as was given to him during the 1993 Assembly election. The padyatras, door to door campaigning, and corner meetings were organized. Azhar Shayufa (Mirdey biradari) also campaigned in the Jama Masjid ward with Mr. Shoaib Iqbal. The campaign intensified by moving from Gali to Gali, Kucha to Kucha, Mohalla to Mohalla, Chowk to Chowk, door to door.

The independent candidate, Syed Hafiz Fazlur Rehman in Darya Ganj ward intensified his campaign by door to door campaign and padyatras. Appeals to vote enmasse were put at the entrance of the many mohalla mosques and temples. Mr. V.P. Dhingra also started his campaign intensively from Kucha Rohilla Khan and went door to door, corner meeting were also organized. He fought on the symbol of Delhi Vikas Congress, a `rising Sun'. In the campaign, independent candidates were more down to earth and concentrated on local

grassroot issues that affected the daily lives of the people living in their wards. Water supply, naked wires in galis, electricity, sanitation, condition of roads, encroachments on parks and public lands as well as community facilities were the important issues for them as they went to the electorate for support.

4.3.4. **Party Manifesto**

The Congress in Municipal elections made eighteen promises to the people in its Manifesto released by the DPCC President, Deep Chand Bandhu. It was pointed out that the promise of the BJP Government to restore normal power and water supply was not fulfilled. Mr. Bandhu lamented that "BJP made 30 promises during the 1993 Assembly elections. But the promises have been confined to the papers due to the sheer incompetence of the BJP".[37] The Congress' aim was to encash the anti-establishment votes in its favour. The Congress promised to convert Delhi into one of the most attractive cities of the world and to improve the quality of life. The manifesto promised to root out corruption and ensure efficient and responsive administration by initiating an administrative code in which an objective criteria rather than personal discretion would be the sole basis for official decision-making. The manifesto promised to provide changes in the structure of House tax, to ensure that House tax will not be charged from Janta flats, urbanised villages

---

37. *The Hindustan Times*, February 11, 1997.

and houses built on fifty square metres, an effort to review the present building bye-laws, rules and regulations, the expansion of medical facilities and programmes to ensure good health, disease-preventing and curative services to the people.

The BJP manifesto put down four basic points as a goal "Swachh Dilli, pradooshan rahit Dilli, Sakshar Dilli, Swasth Dilli"[38] (clean Delhi, pollution-free Delhi, literate Delhi and healthy Delhi). BJP harped on the women issues by promising to reserve 20 per cent jobs in Corporation for the women and to construct hostels for working girls, students and destitute women in every ward.

It also promised decentralization in Corporation by setting up smaller civic bodies for greater, functional efficiency and also for easier accessibility. It was felt that under the umbrella of parent Municipal Corporation of Delhi, there should be smaller civic bodies, one each in the nine districts of Delhi. Victory in the civic election would politically strengthen their position to insist on full fledged Statehood for Delhi. A commitment was made to provide parks, sishu vatikas, community centres, libraries and sports club in every Municipal ward. The BJP slogan in the Municipal poll was - Bhajapa Ka Thos Prayas; Dilli Ka Purn Vikas (BJP's endeavour would be development of Delhi); and Aap Ka Samarthan Banega Aadhar, Nagrik Suvidhayen Aap Ke

---

38. Bhargava, Arati, "BJP for decentralized MCD", *Hindustan Times*, February 1, 1997.

Dwar (your support would be the base for providing civic facilities at your doorstep).

4.3.5. **Polling and Election Results**

There was a demand for the elction to the local bodies which was pending ever since the former Prime Minister Vishwanath Pratap Singh government brought its extended tenure to an end on January 6, 1990. The postponement of the elections have cost the public exchequer dearly. For example, when the first schedule was prepared by the Election Office for holding the polls on February 9, 1994, the estimated cost was around Rupees six crores. The revised cost turned out to be about Rupees fifteen crores. The Election Office then proposed to hold the polls in October 1994. Later, it was deferred several times, to February 1995, May 1995, January 1996 and May 1996. Finally, a public interest litigation was filed in the Delhi High Court, demanding immediate Municipal elections. The PIL pleaded that "the people of Delhi are being cheated and they should have representation in the Municipal Corporation".[39] The Court asked the Delhi government to conduct Municipal election as soon as possible. In the affidavit filed in the Court, the Delhi government promised to hold Municipal election by the end of November.

Elections were held on February 23, 1997 after a gap of fourteen years; last elections were held in 1983. The

---

39. Joshi, Poornima; "More delay likely in MCD Polls", *The Hindustan Times*, October 28, 1996.

number of voters and the wards increased more than double in the past fourteen years. The number of voters was 83,37,000 and the number of wards was 134 of which 46 seats were reserved for women; 16 wards were reserved for the Scheduled Caste; 21 wards were for general category. Jama Masjid ward was within the reserved category for women.

The polling percentage in the 1993 Legislative Assembly, Matia Mahal was around 65.8 per cent and in the 1996 Lok Sabha, Chandni Chowk was around 50.54 per cent and in the 1997 Municipal Corporation election, it was around 40 per cent. The Delhi Pradesh BJP President, Mr. Kidar Nath Sahani was surprised by the low turnout of voters. He blamed Election Commission for inadequate efforts to generate public interest. Mr. Sahani mentioned "two reasons for the lack of interest among the masses - a) Every year we are having some election or the other; and b) the voters seem to have become tired of them".[40]

4.3.6. **Election Commission Initiatives**

In the 1997 Delhi Municipal Corporation elections, the Commission took steps to restrict the number of candidates, by increasing the security deposit from Rs.500 to Rs.3000. The "only way independents can be eliminated from the electoral arena"[41] is through an increase of number of

---

40. *The Hindustan Times*, February 24, 1997.

41. Pylee, M.V., "Independent Candidates in Indian Elections", Jain, C.K. (Ed.), *Triumph of Democracy*, New Delhi, CBS Publishers & Distributors, 1993, p.616.

proposers to be submitted by the independent candidates in the electoral fray. In previous elections, it was only one proposer independent candidate had to submit which was increased to ten.

The imposition of model code of conduct made the election campaign more personalised. Candidate's effort concentrated on door to door campaigning. There were no traffic jams, no public rallies or meetings, no posters or banners. It was noticed that during the process of canvassing for the elections twenty-five persons were booked on charges of defacement of property which was a direct violation of the code of conduct. One person was also arrested in this connection. The central police control room monitored the going-on in Election Commission office.

35,000 security personnel, 300 companies, home guards and central paramilitary forces were deployed on duty. The police officers were provided with wireless sets and other necessary equipments for effective policing. The arrangement for a free and fair election was made by the Election Commission. The poll expense ceiling of Rs.50,000 fixed by the Election Commission was enforced but there were reports of blatant violation of poll expenses by the candidates. Election has become a matter of honour and prestige in which the contestant made all the efforts to mobilize resources, keeping in view the opponents in the electoral fray.

II

4.4. STRATEGIES OF MOBILIZATION

4.4.1. Electoral Mobilization

With the extension of universal adult franchise, the right to political participation etc. has led to the growth of political parties based on mass membership. The right to vote nurtured among the masses a sense of privilege and activation to mobilize for electoral participation. The erstwhile ruling class among the Muslim in Shahjahanabad was presecuted during the 1857 revolt by the Britishers. The leftover of the ruling class was nationalist and had actively participated in Congress rank and file. The arrival of Punjabi migrants from Pakistan and migration of Muslim segment from Old Subzi Mandi, Karol Bagh, Pahar Ganj, Sheesh Mahal, etc. to Pakistan led to a drastic change in the composition of population in Delhi. During the 60's and early 70's there emerged a new elite. The new elite had affinity with religious education. The Madarsas or the religious-type education by the lower-middle class was able to "satisfy their needs for education as the social context within which they are seeking prestige and status enhancement is dominated by a predominance of religious values".[42] The rise of economic prosperity and aspirations for social prestige and social mobility encouraged the lower middle echelons to keep their children at school longer but

---

42. Ahmed, Imtiaz, *Op. cit.*, p.66.

also to send them to non-religious schools, like New Horizon School, Herra Public School, Hamdard Public School and Quresh Rahimia Public School, etc.

The mobilization, participation and emergence of the masses in the lower echelons in Matia Mahal and Jama Masjid constituency can be seen in which the leaders among the Sakke (water carrier) and Mirde biradaries entered the electoral contest. Electoral politics resulted in the emergence of Azhar Shayufa (Mirde biradari) in Jama Masjid ward, and Hafiz Saleemuddin (Sakke biradari) in Darya Ganj ward, without any substantial political work in the area. There was a consistent effort to recruit the underprivileged strata (Ajlafs) into the organizational work of the political parties. In Shahjahanabad, "if caste, religious, community feeling is already strong, if their structures already exist and are socially effective, then these are likely to be reinforced by the way in which electoral competition operates".[43]

4.4.2. **Political Mobilization**

It was during the struggle for Independence that the Congress Party tried to "form ward and mohalla committees, which would take up the day-to-day struggle of the

---

43. Vanaik, Achin, "Reflections on Communalism and Nationalism in India", *New Left Review*, no.196, November-December, 1992, p.59.

masses".[44] It opened an avenue for the Muslims to enter into the Congress fold. Attempt was made to reach over the Muslim politicians and Muslim voters. There was an inherent desire among the so called Muslim leaders to bargain on political demands of Muslim masses. This was the beginning of the trend in the Congress negotiating with a handful of Muslim politicians for short-term political gains.

The politicization of issues of social nature (like triple talaq, education, etc.) has been one of the reasons of staggered social change among the Muslims in Shahjahanabad. The growing Muslim women opinion in favour of the Shah Bano judgement was "ignored and snubbed by the Congress High Command"[45]. The level of education among the Muslims seems to be "pathetic and dismal - out of total 3,604 Degree colleges in the country, only 54 are managed by the Muslims. The Muslims account for just 3.5 per cent of all seats available in the technical institutions".[46] The politicization of Urdu has led to an "anti-Urdu conspiracies of the fascist Hindu and Chauvinist Hindi forces ... no

---

44. Hasan, Mushirul, "The Muslim Mass Contact Campaign : An Attempt at Political Mobilization", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, no.1, January 7, 1986, pp.44-50.

45. Hasan, Zoya, "Minority Identity : Muslim Women's Bill Campaign and the Political Process", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XXIV, no.1, January 7, 1989, pp.44-50.

46. Khan, Rasheeduddin, "Minority Segment in Indian Polity - Muslim situation and plight of Urdu", *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 2, 1978, p.1514.

arrangement of Urdu teaching at any level in northern Indian States and Muslims in India are devoid of knowledge of Urdu".[47] The real issues of development, women's rights, education, unauthorised buildings, scrapping of DTC bus service, congestion etc. are put aside by the leaders. The politicization of non-secular issues of Babri Masjid, Shah Bano Judgement, Personal Law, Urdu, make the defeatist leaders to mobilize on highly emotive issues and problems.

Students mobilization faces two problems - on the one hand, "satisfaction of self-interest of a few individuals through communal organizations and on the other, endeavour of students to realize or reconstruct society in the interest of the masses who have till now in history been always deluded and oppressed".[48] In Shahjahanabad, pathetic condition of the Urdu medium schools lead to dropouts and consequently to unemployment among the youths in the vicinity of Jama Masjid. They get involved in the religious mobilization perpetuated by religio-political leaders. The student associations' task is to set out a "secular mobilization of a cross section of Indians for articulating their demands for greater administrative and political participation".[49]

---

47. Bhambhri, C.P., "Urdu Language: A Victim of Indian History", *Muslim India*, No.170, February 1996, p. 81.

48. Kabir, Humayun, *Op. cit.*, p.84.

49. Singh, M.P., "Political Mobilization and Integration in British India", *Political Science Review*, Vol.XX, no.1, January-March, 1981, p.25.

4.4.3. **Ideological Mobilization**

The aggressive ideology of worldly living is attained under the "forged sanction" of religion. The ruling class (Kharkhanedars) exercises its "ruling power over other classes and strata through the State - through holding State power".[50] The process of control is achieved by the ideological State apparatus. The "false conciousness" emerges owing to the misconceived cognition of the objective reality reflected through numerous ideas, symbols and ideologies. These identities are the products of an old order and anachronistic social milieu which obviously is unsuitable for the understanding of the social situation in post- independence India. There is little attempt by the State to organize and politically educate lower middle classes among the Muslims or to socialize them into the ethos of nationalism, democracy and welfare.

The phenomenon of communalism survives, it is suggested due to the "ruling politicians dialemma - on the one hand to lead various communities towards the goal of nation-building and on the other, treat them seperately on the basis of their religion (and other considerations) after equipping them with many seperatist weapons".[51] The need is to

---

50. Therborn, Goran, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?*, London, New Left Books, 1978, p.181.

51. Verma, S.L., "Dimensions of Rising Communialism in India during Eighties', *Political Science Review*, vol.25, no.1-2, January-June, 1986, p.21.

"de-communalize"[52] the political terrain preserving the credentials of secular State. The agenda of secularizing the civil society is still incomplete.

There was a mass mobilization of over 3,00,000 Muslims in 1987 at Boat Club, New Delhi, by Imam Bukhari demanding justice and an end to discrimination against Muslim community. The Shahi Imam also stood up against the demolition of the Muslim dominated areas in Turkman Gate and the "Nasbandi (sterilization) programme".[53] The Imam reacted strongly and announced "the denial of last rites to all the Muslims who got sterilized had boosted the Islamic view that sterilization was a sin against God".[54] The lifting of emergency ushered in an era of democratic polity. Mr. Vajpayee, Mr. Sikander Bakht and Imam Bukhari addressed several gatherings, appealed and mobilized the masses to vote en masse for the Janata Party. The impression was formed that Imam Bukhari is the leader of all the Muslims.

In 1977 Lok Sabha elections, the Muslims voted against the Congress because Imam Bukhari was accepted by all Muslims as their leader. His opposition to the excesses during emergency, made him the "messiah of the Muslim

---

52. Vanaik, Achin, *Op. cit.*, p.62.

53. Meier, Richard, L., *Urban futures observed in the Asian Third World*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1980, pp.143-144.

54. Tarlo, Emma, "From Victim to Agents : Memories of Emergency from a Resettlement Colony in Delhi", *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 18, 1995, p.2926.

backlash...and an organizer of a Muslim militia - Adam Sena".[55] Indira Gandhi tried to woo back the Muslim voters in 1980 elections, by hobnobbing with religious leaders. Imam Bukhari's directive in 1980 helped the Congress to get massive Muslim votes and in the Chandni Chowk constituency Bhiku Ram Jain won by getting 1,00,624 votes (47.35 per cent) polled.

During the 1989 Lok Sabha elections, a section of the Muslim voters seemed to have drifted away from the Congress fold. The Muslim voters tried alternative when "V.P. Singh with his, what is perceived as an exemplary act, enters the scene. It is not that he so much `pandered' to the Muslim predilection. He could provide inspite of his best intention...simply identified himself with what the Muslim community took to be their honour. He made them feel that they can with him stand with dignity as a part of the nation".[56] The life, security and protection among the Muslims became an overriding concern in political orientation.

The progressive Muslim leaders have always failed to get a mass base, due to the orthodoxy, defeatist nature and laden communalism at grassroot. The leaders have been forced either to withdraw their progressive programmes or to

---

55. Hasan, Mushirul, *Op. cit.*, p.24.

56. Alam, Javeed, "Towards Understanding Muslim Presence in Electoral Politics", *Teaching Politics*, vol.XVII, no.1 and 2, 1991, p.98.

compromise with the traditional elements. For example, Arshad Fehmi, editor, Shahjahanabad Times, explains that "there is no requirement to build *Wuzu Khana* outside the Jama Masjid, directly defames the beauty of Shahjahanabad". A sense of resentment was there against the Naib Imam's involvement in political Islam.

The politico-ideological mileage of the pulpit in Friday *Khutba* (congregation) is not openly contested by the masses. Nevertheless, the "secular" parties also bow before the so called religious leaders to get political *fatwa* (dictat) issued to the Muslims to vote en bloc. The leaders during electoral bickering take upon themselves "to market Muslim votes to the right customers".[57] Political leaders like Shoiab Iqbal, try to project communal rhetorics as the ideological legitimation. For example, the following extract of a pamphlet issued by Muslim organizations reveals "that he is Shoaib Iqbal who gave a befitting reply to the communalists the very first day of the Delhi Assembly. It is when the BJP's communalists raised the slogan of `Jai Shri Ram' in the Delhi Assembly to give a blow to the secular character of the country and when the Muslim MLAs of the Congress were mute spectators to the activities of the communalists, this very `Lion of the *millat*' (Muslim

---

TH- 6446

57. Hafeez, Parwez, "The Dilemma before the Muslim Voters" in Engineer, Asghar Ali and Nayak Pradeep (eds.) in *Communalisation of Politics and Tenth Lok Sabha Elections*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1993, p.304.

community) gave a befitting reply by raising the slogan of *Nara-i-Takbir* (Allah is great)".[58]

The political and religious leaders in tandem mobilizing masses on the emotive issues, sidelining the genuine grievances of emergent social, economic and development related goals of the masses and the area in general.

4.5. CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The pattern of electoral politics in Chandni Chowk Lok Sabha constituency, the Matia Mahal Assembly constituency, Darya Ganj and Jama Masjid Municipal wards were analysed for their minority character. The participation of people ushers in a new kind of urban politics. Agencies of political socialization help the voters to exercise their vote mainly on religio-ideological.

The participation of masses in the Chandni Chowk constituency is sharply declining. In 1977 Lok Sabha elections, the votes polled was 71.02 per cent which came down to 50.54 per cent in 1996 Lok Sabha election. There is an increase in the number of independent candidates in the electoral fray. There were two independent candidates in 1977 election which increased to fifty seven candidates in 1996 election. It has resulted in raising the cost of elections.

---

58. A pamphlet issued in Urdu on 22nd February, 1997 by a voluntary organization in favour of Janata Dal candidates in Municipal election, Assadullah Khan, President, All India Farzandane Tehwil; Abdul Hameed, President, Muslim Youth Federation and Mohd. Sabir, President, Anjuman Rehbar-e-Insan (translation mine).

In 1997 Municipal elections, Janata Dal candidates, Azhar Shayufa (Mirde biradari) in Jama Masjid ward and Hafiz Saleemuddin (Sakke biradari) in Darya Ganj ward easily won the election. This was the result of the dominant influence of Imam Bukhari's political *fatwa* in 1993. Local MLA Shoaib Iqbal's election campaign directly helped the new entrants in politics to sweep the poll.

The strategies of electoral mobilization by the political leaders in the 1997 Municipal elections were Mohalla meetings, padyatras, door-to-door campaign. In some instances, Mohalla mosques and temple walls highlighted the appeal to vote en masse.

The Jama Masjid as a central place in Shahjahanabad helps religious leaders to climb the ladder in the process of ideological mobilization on emotive issues (e.g. Babri Masjid, Shah Bano,etc.). It directly impinges on the electoral politics and voting behaviour of Muslim masses. The `secular' parties try to bend before the religious leaders to get political *fatwa* issued in their favour during the time of elections. The mobilization helps in the electoral process to create new leaders of the Muslim community. The ideological and political mobilization of Muslims on the Babri Masjid - Ram Janambhoomi issue at Boat Club rally in 1987 helped catapult some Muslim leaders overnight.

CHAPTER-V

CONCLUSION

The social formation of Shahjahanabad has biradaris (caste) as important constituents among the Muslims, in which the names of the Gali, mohalla and phatak (gate) as well as the oral histories become important. It is clear that certain traders got settled in specific areas as they migrated at different points of time to the new walled city. From the location of the main city a social distance was maintained from the Emperor's palace. The areas such as Gali Nalbandan, Qasabpura, Gali Sakke wale, Gali Dhobiyan, Mohalla Churiwalan, Naiwara were thus noted for the occupation of their biradaris (nalband, butcher, washermen, banglemakers, barbers respectively). The lower biradaris were relegated to the edges of the city. The remnants of this social ecology have persisted since the seventeenth century. The notion of biradaris among the Muslims in Shahjahanabad appears to be changing. Class distinction based on the newly acquired wealth, is changing the cultural meaning of biradari. Some biradaris in Shahjahanabad are in a transitional state of status legitimation.

In Shahjahanabad, the karkhana system (business of manufacturing) is an economic unit of production. The unit has not less than two and not more than thirty five person employed. The specific mode of production is `Artisan Ethic', having `karkhanedar' as the dominant, the owners and

the `karigar' as the dependent, the non-owners. Karkhanedar has a dominant role in economic formation. It seems that there were no trade unions or cooperatives among the karigar (artisan). The karkhanedars also dictate social norms to the karigar in the social milieu.

The emergent nature of leadership in Shahjahanabad presents a typology of leaders. The leaders in Shahjahanabad emerge at various levels - biradari leaders, mohalla leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders and political leaders. The biradari leadership has traditionally been located in the office of the Chaudhury (headman) which is an hereditary office handed down from father to son. Which son let the office depends in part on who exhibits the qualities deemed necessary for leadership. It seems that the traditional chaudhuryship has undergone a process of democratization in many biradaris. In some cases it has become an elected office. Biradari leaders try to strengthen the social norms and regulate social behaviour. Biradari association perform many traditional functions.

The mohalla leaders, emerged in Shahjahanabad after the 1947 partition. Traditional leadership of a mohalla rested with a chaudhury and a panchayat in case of biradari leadership. The `Mir Mohalla' (Mohalla leader) emerged as the leader in democratically elected office of Mohalla Sudhar Committee. During the times of communal tensions and disturbances, the mohalla committee also takes steps to protect the mohalla people and their property by rotating

the guard duty and locking the gates of the locality. At the time of elections, mohalla leaders persuade mohalladars to vote *enmasse* for one party or the other.

Shahjahanabad has some prominent religious leaders like Imam Bukhari, Ahmed Bukhari (Jama Masjid) and Imam Mufti Mukarram (Fatehpuri Masjid) who mobilize masses on ideological-religious issues.

It seems that old politico-religious leaders speak only in language of safeguards and reservations, of special treatments and concessions, of pacts and guarantees, a legacy of self-centredness and defeatism. The outlook of religious leaders is of the last century with narrow outlook and ideology of separatism. The religious leadership is thoroughly conservative on all social questions.

Urban development, largely depends upon the leadership provided by the dominant groups who in turn drive their strength from the society. A great deal depends upon the functioning and style of leadership. In Shahjahanabad, the socio-economic and personal background of the leaders impinges in the implementation of the urban development programmes. The political leaders are expected to represent, at least apparently the interests of the people, the perception of the masses.

A leader is expected to look at the problems with an eye on the common man. It seems that Muslims were reticent about shifting out of Shahjahanabad because they do need a graveyard, a madarsa and a mosque nearby which were not

available outside Shahjahanabad. The concentration of Muslims has led to an phenomenal increase in population. The mohallas, galis and kuchas are over-crowded.

The function of political socialization of Muslims in the new and unfamiliar ways of democracy, fell on the shoulders of biradari (caste) associations, which emerged as ascriptive-cum-voluntary bodies. The politicians within the biradari associations added a voluntary dimension to its ascriptive dimension and then mobilized various biradaris into electoral politics. The biradari leaders in the electoral process protect their interests vis-a-vis other biradaris interests, by means of cohesive participation in democratic politics. Rudolphs also envisaged the "eventual possibility of dissension among the leaders of caste association they got involved in democratic politics as such".[1] Thus situational variation and factors do play a vital role in shaping the voting behaviour of the masses.

The need of Muslim community is to politicize the relationship with other communities. The gradual transformation of the polity to the degree of functional differentiation and the dissolution of cleavages in cross-cutting secular identities. Communalism a deeply

---

1. Rudolph Lloyd and Susane, Rudolph, *Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India*, New Delhi, Orient, 1967, pp. 24-28.

embedded phenomenon "act as a venon".[2] The common causes of communalism is "the weak political development in the country...the social forces of caste, religion, language and region, are still stronger than the bonds of nationalism."[3]

Politicization of issues of social nature (like triple *talaq*, education, etc.), has been one of the reasons of absence of social change among the Muslims in Shahjahanabad. The mobilization of masses is on non-secular issues by the religious leader, Imam Bukhari:

(a) 14 April 1987 - Thousand of Muslims forced their way into several of the protected national monuments in Delhi under the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), to offer *namaaz* (prayer) on the occasion of *Shahi Baraat* (Muslim festival).

(b) 28 May 1987 - Imam Bukhari closed the doors of Jama Masjid by way of protest and opened only after "an assurance that his demands will be met."[4] There was a sense of resentment by the theological seminary of

---

2. Terror in Walled City : PUCL Report on Delhi Firing: 14 February 1986', *Muslim India*, May 1986, pp. 205-207; also see "Delhi Riots: An Appeal for Truth" (Document), *Mainstream*, June 20, 1987, pp. 23-24, and also "Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder among Victims of Seelampur Riots" (Document), *Mainstream*, June 5, 1993, pp. 21-22.

3. Ashraf, Ali, "Communal Tensions", *Denouement*, August-September 1991, p. 42.

4. Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Old Delhi in Grip of Communal Frenzy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 27, 1987, pp.1020-1021.

Deoband on the issue of conversion of a place of worship into a political arena.

(c) December 1993 - Ahmed Bukhari, Naib Imam, Jama Masjid appealed to the masses to hoist black flags on root top and boycott of the Republic day function in order to "protest against the demolition of Babri Masjid."[5] It was an attack on the secular credentials of the State.

In Shahjahanabad, the religious leaders play a decisive role due to the central position of Jama Masjid. The Friday *kutba* (address) by Imam Bukhari makes the congregation emotive on non-secular issues. There is little initiative on the part of social and political leaders to mobilize masses on secular issues related to development and growth in Shahjahanabad. The emergent local issues are urban development, education, women's rights, industrial policy, Delhi Transport Corporation's bus services, Industrial Training Institute (ITI) and traffic congestion.

The political issues involved in the manner in which local administration fails to implement developmental programmes. The volatile activities of middle class youths, uneducated, drop outs, unskilled and culturally conservative. These youth become victims of opportunistic and parochial politicians. The reshuffling of political alliances by the politicians creates still greater confusion

---

5. Engineer, Irfan, *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

and leads the community adrift to unspecified goods, unfulfilled promises and neglected aspirations.

During the elections in the city zone municipal wards, the electorate generally tends to ignore the performance of the political leaders[6] in resolving problems and providing them civic amenities. The leaders mix up the national issues (Babri Masjid, Shah Bano case, etc.) with the local issues. The factor and forces which shape the voting behaviour is not same everywhere in the country. The fact is that it varies and differs from ward to ward, state to state, city to city. In the recent past, the mohalla leaders act as intermediaries (middle men), patching up the widening gap among the councillors and the masses. Mohalla leaders act as a mechanism or safety valve to meet the group or individual grievances. Delhi has been "very fortunate in not having the resource constraints as severe as those of other metropolitan cities."[7] Nevertheless, there remains a lull in the development of projects. It can be tackled by bridging the gap between the leaders and the masses. The need of the hour is people's participation in the developmental goals.

---

6. For instance in Darya Ganj ward Hafiz Fazlur Rehman and V.P. Dhingra, active politicians were ignored and the new entrant Hafiz Saleemuddin won in the 1997 Municipal election on Janata Dal ticket. (This has been discussed in detail in Chapters IV and V.)

7. *Population Growth and Policies in Mega Cities: Delhi*, Population Policy Papers No.7, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, New York, United Nations, 1986, p. 34.

The difficulties involved in the understanding of minority politics are challenging. It calls for sophistication in methods of study and research in this field. The present study draws attention to two aspects of leadership and mobilization among the Muslims in Shahjahanabad. The changing socio-economic forces and processes are the main factors determining the course of urban politics. The dialectical relationship between the leadership and mobilization help in the analytical evaluation of the processes of mobilization in which the leaders emerge and hold power position in Shahjahanabad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Delhi: At a Glance, Directorate of Economics and Statistics, New Delhi, Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, 1996.

Report on the Sixth General Elections to the House of the People in India, Vol. II (Statistical), New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1977.

Report on the Sixth General Elections to the Metropolitan Council of Delhi, Statistical, New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1977.

Report on the Seventh General Elections to the House of the People in India, Vol. II (Statistical), New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1980.

Report on the Eighth General Elections to the House of the People in India, Vol. II (Statistical), New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1984.

Report on the Ninth General Elections to the House of the People in India, (Statistical), New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1989

Report on the Tenth General Elections to the House of the People in India, (Statistical), New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1991.

Election Commission of India, *Report on the General Elections to the Legislative Assembly of Delhi in 1993*, (Statistical), New Delhi, Nirvachan Sadan, 1993-94.

Statistical Report on General Elections to the Eleventh Lok Sabha, Vol.1 (National and State Abstracts), Vol. II (Constituency data summary), Vol. III (Detailed Results), New Delhi, Election Commission of India, 1996.

National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), *Sarvekshan Results of the Fourth Quinquennial Survey on Employment and Unemployment*, New Delhi, Ministry of Planning, Government of India, 1990.

Books

Althusser, Louis, *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays* translated from the French by Ben Brewster, London, NLB, 1971.

Althusser, Louis, *Reading Capital*, translated by Brewster, Ben, London, NLB, 1975.

Ahmed, Akbar S., *Post-Modernism and Islam : Predicament and Promise*, London, Routledge, 1992.

Ahmed, Imtiaz, *"Nature of Muslim Elite" in Power Elite in India* (ed.), Ansari Khadija Gupta, New Delhi, Vikas, 1989.

Ahmed, Ausaf, *Indian Muslim : Issues in Social and Economic Development*, New Delhi, Khanna Publishers, 1993.

Ashraf Ali, *Government and Politics of Big Cities*, Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1975.

Ashraf, Ali, *The Muslim Elite*, New Delhi, Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1982.

Avineri Shlomo, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, Cambridge, 1968.

Bailey, F.G., *Politics and Social Change, Orissa in 1959*, OUP, Bombay, 1963.

Bakshi, N.S. and Jagannadham, V., *Citizen and the Municipal Bureaucracy*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1971.

Bernier, Francis (ed.), *Travels in the Moghul Empire 1656-1668*, Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1968.

Blair, Harry, W., *Voting, Caste, Community and Society*, New Delhi, Young Asia Publications, 1979.

Blake, Stephen, P., "City Scape of an Imperial City : Shahjahanabad in 1739" (ed.) in Frykenberg, R.E., *Delhi through the ages*, New Delhi, OUP, 1986.

Bottomore, Tom and William Outhwaite (ed.), *The Blackwell Dictionary of Twentieth Century Social Thought*, London, Blackwell, 1993.

Burns, J. McGregor, *Leadership*, New York, Harper & Row, 1978.

Butler, David; Lahiri, Ashok and Roy, Prannay (eds.), *India Decides, 1952-1995*, New Delhi, Books and Things, 1995.

Chand, Tara, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, Allahabad, Indian Press (Publications), 1963.

Chandhoke, Neera, *"Of States and Civil Society" in understanding the post-colonial world* (ed.), New Delhi, Sterling, 1994.

Chandra, Jag Parvesh, *Democracy and Devolution : Through Panchayats and Nagarpalikas*, N.D.

Chandra, Jag Pravesh, *Delhi : A Political Study*, New Delhi, Metropolitan, 1969.

Christopher, D. and Plowden, Francis, J., *The State under Stress : Can the hallow state be good government*, Philadelphia, Open University Press, 1996.

Dahl, Robert, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972.

Daniel, Bell, `*Ethnicity and Social Change*', in Glazer Nathan and Moynihan, D. Patrick, (ed.), *Ethnicity : Theory and Experience*, Cambridge, 1975.

Dayal, John and Bose, Ajoy, *For Reason of State : Delhi Under Emergency*, Delhi, ESS ESS Publications, 1977.

Dayal, Maheshwar, *Rediscovering Delhi : The Story of Shahjahanabad*, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1975.

Dubashi, P.R. in his `Foreword' to S.L. Kaushik *Urban Government in India*, Allahabad, Kitab Mahal, 1986.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Indian Muslims : A Study of the Minority Problem in India*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1985.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, *Islam and Muslims: A Critical Reassessment*, New Delhi, Printwell Publishing House, 1985.

Fromm, Erich, *Escape from Freedom*, New York, Rinehart, 1941.

Frykenberg, R.E. (ed.), "The Study of Delhi : An Analytical and Historiographic Introduction" in "Delhi through the ages : Essays in Urban History", *Culture and Society*, OUP, New Delhi, 1986.

Gamson, William, *Power and Discontent*, Dorsey Press, Homewood III, 1968.

Goldenson, Robert, M., *Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry*, New York, Longman, 1984.

Gopal, Ram, *Indian Muslims*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964.

Goyel, Purushottam, *Delhi's March towards Statehood*, Delhi, UDSPD, 1993.

Gupta Narayani, *Delhi between the two Empires 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*, OUP, New Delhi, 1981.

Gupta, Shiv Charan, *Focus on Delhi : Problems and Solutions*, New Delhi, Jan Jagriti Samaj, 1991.

Gupta, Shiv Charan, *Delhi : The City of Future*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1987.

Hafeez Parwez, "The Dilemma before the Muslim voters", Engineer, Asghar Ali and Nayak, Pradeep (eds.) *Communalisation of Politics and Tenth Lok Sabha Elections*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1993.

Harman, S., *Plight of Muslims in India*, London, D.L. Publication, 1977.

Jagmohan, *Rebuilding of Shahjahanabad : The Walled City of Delhi*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1975.

Jha, S.N., "Integration of Elites and the Issue of Public Interest" in R.B. Jain's (ed.) *Public Services in a Democratic Context*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1983.

Jha, S.N., *Leadership in Local Politics : A Study of Meerut District in U.P.*, 1923-1973, Popular, 1979.

Jha, S.N., *Social Mobilization and Development : Local Politics in the Punjab and Maharashtra*, Criterion, 1991.

Jha, Shashi, Shekhar, *Political Elite in Bihar*, Bombay, Vora & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1972.

Kabir, Humayun, *Muslim Politics*, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1964.

Khan, Mohammad Shabbir, *Islam : Social and Economic Structure*, New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1989.

Khan, Rasheeduddin, *Bewildered India : Identity Pluralism and Discord*, New Delhi, Har-Anand, 1995.

Kohli, Atul, *Democracy and Discontent : India's growing crisis of governability*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Lal, Sheo Kumar, *The Urban Elite*, Delhi, Thomson Press, 1974.

Lal, Shiv, *Election Activity in India-1993*, New Delhi, Election Archives, 1994.

Lal, Shiv, *Indian Elections since Independence*, The Election Archives, 1972.

Marx, Karl, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Selected Works, Vol.1, Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1955.

Mcfarland, Andrew S., *Power and Leadership in Pluralist System*, California, 1969.

Mehra, Ajay, K., *The Politics of Urban Redevelopment : A study of old Delhi*, New Delhi, Sage, 1991.

Meier, Richard, L., *Urban futures observed in the Asian Third World*, Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1980.

Mittal, Sudhir Kumar, *Political Administrative Set Up of Union Territories*, New Delhi, Mittal Publishers, 1991.

Meyer, Alfred, G., *Leninism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1957.

Minault Gail, `Sayyid Ahmad Dehlavi and the Delhi Renaissance' in Frykenberg, R.E. (ed.), *Delhi through the ages*, New Delhi, OUP, 1986.

Mishra, S.N., *Politics and Leadership in Municipal Government*, Delhi, Inter-India Publications, 1979.

Mosca, Gaetano, *The Ruling Class*, McGraw Hill, New York, 1939.

Nettl, J.P., *Political Mobilization : A Sociological Analysis of Methods and Concepts*, London, Faber & Faber, 1967.

Noe, Samuel, V., *What happened to Mughal Delhi?*, A morphological survey.

Oldenburg, Philip, *Big City Government in India : Councillor, Administrator and Citizen of Delhi*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1978.

Paige, G.D., *Political Leadership*, New York, Free Press, 1972.

Pandit, Vijay Laxmi, *Elite and Urban Politics*, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1984.

Pareto, Vilfredo, *The Mind and Society : A Treatise on General Sociology*, New York, 1963.

Pendse, R.G., "A Review of the Planning Process in the Union Territory of Delhi : City Development Plans and their Implementation", *Papers and Proceedings of the Seminar*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1977.

Planhol, Xavier de, *The World of Islam*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1969.

Plekhanov, George V., *The Role of the Individual in History*, Fineberg J., Moscow Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1962.

Pylee, M.V., "Independent Candidates in Indian Election", Jain, C.K. (ed.) *Triumph of Democracy*, New Delhi, CBS Publishers & Distributors, 1993.

Rai, Bhagwan Das, P. and Shafi, Sayed, S., *The planned development of Delhi : Innovation and Action, City development plans and their implementation*, New Delhi, IIPA, 1977.

Rasool, G., *Youth Leadership in India*, New Delhi, Seema Publications, 1982.

Rokkan Stein, "Electoral Mobilization, Party Competition and National Integration" in *Political Parties and Political Development* (eds) La Palombara, Joseph and Weiners, Myron, New Jersey, Princeton, 1969.

Rosenthal, Donald B, *The Limited Elite*, Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1970.

Rudolf, Llyod & Susane, Rudolf, *Modernity of Tradition : Political Development in India*, New Delhi, Orient, 1967.

Rush, Michael, *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, London, MacMillan, 1984.

Sabri, Imdad, *Delhi Siddiqi Beradari Ki Shaksiyaten* (Leaders of the Delhi Siddiqui Beradari), New Delhi.

Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party System : A Framework for Analysis*, Vol.1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Shakir, Moin, *Islam in Indian Politics*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1983.

Singh, Randhir, *Of Marxism and Indian Politics*, Delhi, Ajanta, 1990.

Stogdill, Carral L., *Methods in the study of leadership performance*, Columbia, 1957.

Stogdill, R.M., *Handbook of Leadership : A Survey of Theory and Research*, New York, 1974.

Therborn, Goran, *What Does the Ruling Class Do When It Rules?*, London, (NLB), 1978.

Therborn, Goran, *Ideology of Power and the Power of Ideology*, London, Verso, 1980.

Tucker, R.C., *Politics as Leadership*, University of Missouri Press, 1981.

Weber, Max, *Economy and Society*, vol.3, New York, Bedminister Press, 1968.

Weekes, Richard, V., *Muslim People : A World Ethnographic Survey*, London, Greenwood Press, 1978.

Willner, A.R., *The Spill Binder : Charismatic Political Leadership*, Yale University Press, 1984.

Wrong, Dennis, H., *Power : Its Form, Bases and Uses*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988.

Journals

Alam, Javeed, "Toward Understanding Muslim Presence in Electoral Politics", *Teaching Politics*, Vol.XVII, no.1 and 2, 1991.

Ahmed Imtiaz, "The Problem of Muslim Educational Backwardness in Contemporary India : An Inferential Analysis", *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol.II, no.2, Winter, 1980.

"Ahtesham Qureshi on the Muslim Voters", *Muslim India*, no.160, April, 1996.

Arora, Satish K., "Social Background of the Fifth Lok Sabha", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Number, August, 1973.

Ashraf, Ali, "Politics and Performance in Municipal Government", *Political Science Review*, vol.16, no.2, April-June, 1997.

Ashraf, Ali, "Communal Tensions", *Denouement*, August-September, 1991.

Banerjee, Biswajit, "Shahjahanabad and the Master Plan for Delhi : A Critical Appraisal", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.10, no.40, 15 November 1985.

Bhandari, Arvind, "Population growth upsets planning", *Commerce (Annual)*, 1980.

Bhushan, Sarla, "Lok Sabha Elections in Delhi-1977", *Indian Political Science Review*, vol.xi, no.2, July, 1977.

Borgatta, E.F., Bales R.F. & Couch, "Some findings relevant to the Greatman Theory of Leadership", *American Sociological Review*, vol.XIX, 1954.

"C.P. Bhambri or Urdu Language : A victim of Indian History", *Muslim India*, no.170, February, 1996.

Chakraborty, A.K., "Imam vs. Masjid", *Secular Democracy*, February, 1975.

Chakravarty, Subhash, "Imperial Delhi : A review article", *India Past and Present*, vol.2, no.1, 1985.

Chandidas, Raj, "Elections to Delhi Metropolitan Council", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 28, 1975.

"Delhi Riots : An Appeal for Truth" (Document), *Mainstream*, June 20, 1987.

"Delhi riots - creation of both communalists", *New Age*, vol.35, December-January, 1987.

Dixit, S.B., "Emerging pattern of leadership in urban India : A case study", *Indian Journal of Political Studies*, vol.6-7, July, 1983.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Old Delhi in grip of communal frenzy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June, 27, 1987.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, "How Muslim Voted", *Economic and Political Weekly*, May 25, 1996.

Engineer, Asghar Ali, "Status of Muslim Women", *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 5, 1994.

Engineer, Irfan, "Politics of Muslim Vote Banks", *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 28, 1995.

Fernandes, B.G., "Toward Humane Development", *Civic Affairs*, July, 1992.

Gill, Raj, "Suffering by consent : The human problems in the growth of a society", *Social Welfare*, August-September, 1979.

Grover, Verinder, "The Seventh Lok Sabha Election in Delhi", *Political Science Review*, vol.XIV, no.2, 1980.

Gupta, Charu, S. and Channa, Subhadra Mitra, "Caste among the Muslim Zardoz of Delhi : A study of occupational culture and sub-group identity",*Man in India*, 76(2), June, 1996.

Gupta, Raghuraj, "Changing role and status of the Muslim minority in India : A point of view", *Journal Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol.V, no.1, 1983-84.

Hasan, Mushirul, "The Muslim Mass Contact Campaign : An attempt at Political Mobilization", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.XXIV, no.1, January 7, 1989.

Hasan, Mushirul, "Legacy of a Divided Nation : India's Muslim since Independence", *Towards Secular India*, vol.1, no.4, October-November, 1995.

Hasan, Zoya, "Minority Identity : Muslim Women's Bill Campaign and the Political Process", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.XXIV, no.1, January 7, 1989.

Hirst, Paul, "Althusser's Theory of Ideology", *Economy and Society*, vol.5, 1976.

"Jama Masjid Riot : Politics of Wakf Board", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 22 February, 1975.

Jamil, Mohammad Iqbal, "What future for Shahjahanabad?", *Link*, vol.22, no.30, March 2, 1980.

Jagmohan, "Malady in the Soul", *Mainstream*, September 17, 1988.

Jha, S.N. "The Congress Debacle in a Metropolitan Centre : Sixth Lok Sabha Elections in Delhi", *Political Science Review*, vol.18, no.2, April-June, 1979.

Jones, W. Rodney, "Linkage Analysis of Indian Urban Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 17, 1972.

Khan, Rasheeduddin, "Minority Segment in Indian Polity - Muslim Situation and Plight of Urdu", *Economic and Political Weekly*, September 2, 1978.

Kochanek, Stanley, A., "Political Recruitment in the Indian National Congress", *Asian Survey*, vol.VII, no.5, May, 1967.

Lok Sabha "Muslim Concentration Seats, 1952-1991", *Muslim India*, no.160, April, 1996.

Malhotra, G.C., "Democratic Governance of Delhi", *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies*, vol.24, no.1-2, January-December, 1990.

Mohan, I., "A new Master Plan required for the walled city of Shahjahanabad", *Civic Affairs*, March, 1990.

Mohan, I., "New cities on walled cities pattern", *Civic Affairs*, December, 1989.

"Myron Weiner on How Muslim Constituencies voted in 1980", *Muslim India*, March, 1985.

Nangia, Bimla, "Eighth Lok Sabha Election in Delhi - An Analysis", *Indian Political Science Review*, vol.XIX, no.1&2, January-December, 1985.

Nazir, Perwaiz, "Social Structure, Ideology and Language : Caste among Muslims", *Economic and Political Weekly*, December 25, 1993.

Noorani, A.G., "Mishra Commission Report", Popular Jurist, vol.5, no.2, March-April, 1988.

"Post-traumatic Stress Disorder among victims of Seelampur riots" (Document), *Mainstream*, June 5, 1993.

Rao, Amiya, "Truth about Delhi Corporation and its Supersession", *Organizer*, June 15, 1980.

Rowat, Donald, C., "Governing Federal Capital", *Nagarlok*, vol.24, no.2, April-June, 1992.

Saini, M.K. & Anderson, Walter, "The Basti Julahan Bye-Election", *Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.XXX, no.3, July-September, 1969.

Saini, M.K.& Anderson, Walter, "The Congress split in Delhi : The effect of factionalism on organizational performance and system-level interactions", *Asian Survey*, vol.XI, no.11, November, 1971.

Shafi, Sayed, S., "How to revive Shahjahanabad? Or should it be?", *Nagarlok*, vol.27, no.2, April-June, 1995.

Sharma, A.K., "Growth of Muslim population in India : Some policy issues", *Eastern Anthropologist*, vol.42, 1989.

Sharma, Nutan, "Multiplicity of Authority in Delhi : Dualistic Functioning", *Civic Affairs*, October, 1986.

Singh, M.P., "Political Mobilization and Integration in British India", *Political Science Review*, vol.XX, no.1, January-March, 1981.

Singh, Randhir, "Communalism in contemporary India", *Mainstream*, Annual, 1991.

"The Structure of the Muslim Votes 1951-1984", *Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Condition*, vol.25, no.289-300, 1983-84.

Tarlo, Emma, "From Victim to Agents : Memories of Emergency from a Resettlement Colony in Delhi", *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 18, 1995.

"Terror in Walled City : PUCL Report on Delhi Firing : 14 February 1986", *Muslim India*, May, 1986.

Theodore, P. Wright Jr., "Muslims in the 1977 Lok Sabha Elections", *Political Science Review*, vol.17, no.1-2, 1978.

Vanaik, Achin, "Reflections on Communalism and Nationalism in India", *New Left Review*, no.196, November-December, 1992.

Verma, S.L., "Dimensions of Rising Communalism in India during Eighties", *Political Science Review*, vol.25, no.1-2, January-June, 1986.

"Population Growth and Policies in Mega Cities : Delhi", *Population Policy Papers No.7*, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, New York, United Nations, 1986.

Zainuddin, S., "Classes among Muslims in India", *Islam and Modern Administration*, vol.25, no.4, November, 1994.

Ahmed, Firoz Bakht, *Educational Survey Report*, Unpublished Report,1996.

Newspapers

-The Hindu

-The Hindustan Times

-The Times of India

-Employment News