Tight-ropes and Bootstraps: Enabling Violence-Affected Young Adults Deal With Trauma

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Research Team:
Dr. K. Lalita
Diia Rajan
Vijay Burgula
Abdul Raoof Mir
Karl Karim Zakhour
Syed Nayeem
Mohsin Wali

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1. Synthesis

Focusing on the impact of prolonged direct and structural violence on young Muslim adults living in Hyderabad, this project looks at issues of access to a) institutions, networks, programs and b) social, economic, and cultural spaces. Recognizing the need to understand and address the psychological impacts of communal violence, this project aims to produce knowledge on the psychological and socio-economic dimensions of trauma, inform processes of social recovery, and create linkages between young Muslim adults and various social and institutional networks.

The total project period was scheduled for twenty-eight months starting in February 2010. However, owing to unforeseen circumstances, the project had to be extended for an additional six months to December 2012. This final report covers the activities of the entire project from 1st February 2010 to 1st December 2012. The project was implemented in **three phases**:

Phase I: This phase covered the period from the inception and initiation of the project to the administration and analysis of the survey questionnaire towards the objective of building knowledge on the socio-economic and psycho-social dimensions of trauma.

Phase II: The process of needs assessment was undertaken in this phase which involved the youth researchers and target communities.

Phase III: An objective of the project is to build and strengthen capacities and skill acquisition amongst the youth by involving their inputs in the implementation and assessment of the needs process directed towards the process of social recovery. This was a simultaneous activity all through the project.

2. The Research Problem

'Tightropes and Bootstraps: Enabling violence affected young adults deal with trauma' draws on the following learnings from a previous study done by Yugantar on the long-term impact of communal violence on Muslim women in Gujarat, Mumbai and Hyderabad. That study, titled 'Minority Women Negotiating Citizenship' found that in post-conflict or post-violence situations:

- Social recovery is mostly achieved in some measure through the support of social capital networks
- Impoverishment, loss of dignity, displacement and family structures in disarray are all experienced as violences, and are often articulated as being as traumatic as the actual incident of violent conflict
- Most rehabilitation efforts are focused on material rehabilitation, providing legal aid and vocational or life-skills training for victims of violence. There have been minimal efforts towards social reintegration.

Premised on these learnings, the current project focuses on the impact of prolonged violences on young Muslim adults living in conflict-prone and disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Hyderabad, India. This project looks at issues of access to various institutions, networks, programs and socio-cultural and political spaces, in order to map the socio-economic and psycho-social dimensions of trauma. The research addresses both young men and women and therefore attempts to contribute towards a gendered analysis of these issues.

This study was designed to address the following **research question**:

What are the elements of human, social and cultural capital building that are required to better facilitate the social recovery of Muslim youth in Hyderabad and how will they be built?

The **specific objectives** of this project are:
- To build knowledge on the socio-economic and psycho-social dimensions of trauma

- To conduct a needs assessment towards informing social reintegration processes
- Strengthening capacity of a cohort of young adults in building sustainable linkages with state and civil-society institutions
- Record the research process for documenting the methodological innovations and communicating findings to wider audiences

The rationale for the research problem:

One of the overarching learnings we came away with during the previous study is that Muslim communities affected by communal violence continue to be affected, on an everyday basis, by both political and structural violences. Displacement, impoverishment, the lack of voice/ representation, and the experience of these direct violence cause insecurities in every sphere of life – economic, social, physical and political. These insecurities, coupled with the new spotlight on terrorism/Islamic fundamentalism, seem to have restricted young Muslim adults' mobility and access to socio-economic, political and cultural spheres of life.

It is an established fact that in the aftermath of ethnic/ communal conflict 'partitions' of various kinds occur, the most tangible of which are the physical/ geographic partitioning of families, localities, cities, and nations. In all the research locations of the previous study, near-complete ghettoisation has occurred, with pre-conflict mixed neighborhoods forcibly becoming single community areas often delineated by 'borders'. Changed spatial and socio-economic geographies, the fracturing of families and traditional support structures, and the ongoing presence of violence increases a sense of insecurity, inhibits mobility, disables access to public spaces/ institutions and ruptures civic trust. These displacements also shatter dignity, notions of belonging and security and in the long run may leave an impact that affects the person psychologically causing what is understood as trauma.

Even though the previous study was not directly probing questions on trauma, most of the narratives collected for the project speak at length on what we can identify as symptoms of trauma[1].

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[1] In the medical context trauma refers to any physical injury caused by heat, energy, electricity, chemicals or other agents. However, we refer mainly to what can be termed psycho-social trauma, i.e. an event that overwhelms an individual's coping resources. Traumatic situations are those in which the person is rendered

Many of the women we interviewed suffer from high-blood pressure, insomnia, and unidentified aches and pains. Pain and suffering, shame and helplessness are very palpable in all the interviews. They also speak about their children suffering from issues like insomnia, spurts of uncontrolled anger, passivity/detachment and loss of interest in most activities, hopelessness and in some cases suicidal behavior. Interestingly, we found that most of the young women we interacted with were more vocal, forthcoming and sometimes aggressive compared to the young men, who we found were mostly withdrawn and anxious.

The insecurities of post conflict life, coupled with the new spotlight on terrorism/Islamic fundamentalism, have adversely impacted young Muslim adults' mobility and access to socio-economic, political and cultural spheres of life. The global and national rhetoric on 'terror', the portrayal of all young Muslim men as potential terrorists, and recent 'acts of terror' in various Indian cities have resulted in indiscriminate police harassment, illegal detentions and torture of many young Muslim men, especially in Hyderabad.

Why focus on Youth

Globally, issues of exclusion and participation amongst youth have been intently researched especially in the contexts of: post-conflict scenarios, issues of access to livelihood (in Europe and Africa), First Nations and youth (in Australia and North America), and urbanization, crime and narcotic trafficking (in Latin America). In India, research on social exclusion has mostly focused on historically disadvantaged regions (Kashmir, the North-east), and groups (caste, religion, sexual minorities, and the disabled).

Youth from these regions, communities, or groups, and the complex web of issues arising out of these multiple marginalization have hardly been studied. Alongside continuous structural violence, these youth face numerous challenges of varying levels of distrust, non-acceptance, and non-recognition of rights, skewed state policies and collective misperceptions. Youth from historically

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powerless and great danger is involved. Trauma generally includes events involving death and injury, or the possibility of death or injury. These experiences are unusual and out of the ordinary, and do not constitute part of the normal course of life. The word trauma is generally used to include both natural catastrophes (such as hurricanes, floods or fires), and man-made violence (such as war, concentration camp experiences and other forms of victimisation).

disadvantaged regions and groups, are alienated from processes of growth, development, democracy and socio-cultural spaces and relationships. The continuing exclusion of these youth will create a further disabled and skewed national landscape. It is imperative that this issue be addressed in a comprehensive manner by policy makers, researchers, civil society and communities.

The Sachar Committee report, 2006, reveals the disparity and huge under-representation of the Muslims in almost all areas of economic activity. The Muslim youth clearly lags behind in terms of education while most of those employed work in unorganized sectors or are self employed. In addressing this huge disparity of representation in almost all walks of life, we believe that the youth, as the most active though highly volatile section of society in marginalized communities, has a central role to play. As the prime movers of change, the youth of our researched communities are central to this project by involving them in participation and initiation of the process of social recovery.

This study is predicated on the understanding that social recovery can be addressed through the rebuilding of social and institutional networks and linkages, dialogue between community and state actors, and recognizing and overcoming trauma related psycho-social concerns. There must be an effort towards the articulation of the individual and collective narrative where the voices of young adults are not just representations of 'victims' but of individuals who have the capacity to reflect and comment on their life situations.

It is with this understanding that this project was designed, with a central objective of involving youth from the researched communities in the process of research. In this sense, this project attempts a unique methodology where the research problem, issues and solutions are all decided in consultation and consensus of the participating youth members along with the core research team. Such a methodological approach is adopted in the spirit of a cooperative mode of enquiry where the attempt is to break the hierarchy of the researcher and the researched and at the same time be action oriented where the activity of research rather than entirely aiming at producing new knowledge is instead grounded in praxis with the aim of generating changes and positively affecting the lives of the researched community.

The Socio-Economic and Psycho-Social Frameworks

It is well understood and documented that communities in post-conflict situations often continue to face political and structural violences on an everyday basis. There is the deep psychological impact that is characterized by trauma; the loss of livelihoods to individuals and to whole communities; displacement and the consequent loss of social-support networks, and finally in many cases a disjuncture from the past and the loss of cultural heritage. Over the last decade experts working in this field have gradually recognized the inadequacy of any single domain to address these issues and are attempting to develop a unified framework now being referred to as the psycho-social framework. The Psycho-social Working Group has defined the psycho-social well-being of an individual "with respect to three core domains: human capacity, social ecology and culture & values. These domains map in turn the human, social and cultural capital available to people responding to the challenges of prevailing events and conditions."[2] In her 2008 paper, Shobna Sonpar argues that in contexts such as in South Asia, where "traumas of mass violence in the past are readily evoked to create hostile emotional climates in the present… the application of a psycho-social framework to issues of development, social transformation and conflict is promising."(pg 49).

Working on this premise we found that the psycho-social framework is a relevant starting point towards a comprehensive understanding and analysis of the multidimensional impact of violence discussed above. Such a framework also enabled us to move beyond narrow medico-legal definitions of trauma, and recognize the traumatic impact of indirect/ structural violence on both individuals and communities. We started the study with a basic understanding of trauma as resulting from the experience of direct or indirect violence, manifesting in varied levels of disability in social, economic and political functioning. Somasundaram's definition of collective trauma as representing "the negative impact at the collective level, that is in the social processes, networks, relationships, institutions, functions, dynamics, practices, capital and resources; to the wounding and injury to the social fabric" (as quoted in Sonpar, 2008) is apt for the context of this project.

While many studies have been conducted on the socio-economic status of Muslims in India, and on communal conflict and politics, we believe that there is a strong need to study the possible psycho-

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[2] Psycho-social Working Group, "Psycho-social Interventions in Complex Emergencies: A Framework for Practice", October 2003

social impact of the various direct and structural violences affecting Muslim lives in India today. The research team felt strongly that one of indicators that could help us study the psycho-social impact of social, economic and political violence is the concept of alienation. Several studies, including media reportage of late, have been highlighting the issue of alienation in Kashmir (especially the Muslim community), North-east India and most Tribal regions of the country. Mainstream discourse has a tendency to address this alienation as a geographical issue. Our objective is to interrogate alienation in the citizenship/nation framework, focusing on the role of various institutions in redressing the impact of violence on affected communities both in its psycho-social dimension as well as socio-economic factors.

Research Method: Shift of Emphasis to the Socio-economic framework

In the initial phase of this study we encountered tremendous reluctance from youth, community members, as well as civil society organizations working in the old city, to talk about anything connected with communal riots, police harassment and discrimination. The research team reported extreme reluctance by the respondents and key informants to speak about anything related to violence while refusing to discus psychological issues that could provide clues to the experience of trauma. The impression we were left with is that we first need to build a strong relation of trust with the community in order to talk about issues which are obviously painful and seen as regressive. We therefore re-ordered the project activities to foreground research on socio-economic issues in the first phase of the project while retaining a few questions pertinent to the experience of trauma, insecurity and perceived discrimination.

This project was conceived as a participative and consultative study where the researched community took active part in the identification of needs and issues of young Muslim adults. The response from the field was overwhelmingly focused on issues of livelihoods, education, welfare etc, and where some discussion on discrimination took place it was in these contexts. The young researchers stressed upon these as primary issues that needed to be addressed while emphasizing lack of information with regards to career options and existing provisions and policies drafted for the minority communities. They felt that an improvement in the living conditions of the young adults through better facilities for education, training in livelihood skills and employment opportunities in the private as well as public sector would automatically address the issue of psycho-

social trauma in the backdrop of violence affected communities. Henceforth, alienation, as a concept that could describe the community's perceived insecurity and exclusion from the country's process of progress and development, was recognized as a key component for addressing the psycho-social issues within the community while shifting the focus to a more socio-economic paradigm in informing the process of social re-integration and recovery through education, employment and employability of the marginalized Muslim young adults.

However, the psycho-social aspect in terms of trauma was not completely abandoned as few indicative questions in the survey were included that addressed the issue of trauma. During the administration of the survey a few individuals were identified who had been through traumatic experiences and were willing to talk in length about it. We identified a few youth, mostly young men, who were willing to talk with us and have carried out detailed case studies with them.

3. Learnings from the Research

Doing this research has been a rewarding experience primarily because it was implemented as an action research project with the hands-on participation of community-based youth researchers, who have continued their engagement with issues raised here beyond the project time-frames. The twin premises of the study were that youth in the Muslim community were alienated from mainstream society and opportunities for a number of reasons, and that one possible way to address this is through the rebuilding of social and institutional networks and linkages. It has been a journey of over two years during which the core researchers have engaged with a group of Muslim youth men and women from different parts of the city – and through a process of handholding and mentoring explored various issues that they have felt to be important in their lives.

The learnings are presented in three sections; the first two relate to the research study and speak to the stated objectives of the project, and the third relates to the learnings from the *research process* are drawn from the process documentation.

A. Findings from the Research

Before presenting the specific findings of the research we would like to underline some of the general learnings of the project in order to provide a configuration within which the specific findings should be viewed:

- The community is primarily interested in socio-economic development. There is a disinclination to engage with issues of alienation, trauma, and impact of violence even though these exist in a significant manner.

- The future of the youth is of paramount importance to the community and issues such as access to quality education, scholarships, employment & livelihoods and financial support feature prominently in our findings.

- Young Muslim women's access to education and employment is hindered by a lack of physical security in the context of the increasing polarisation and ghettoisation in Hyderabad.

- Information about opportunities for education, employment, access to development programmes, scholarships etc. do not reach a majority of Muslim youth.

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- Muslim youth, men and women, are open to engaging with Civil Society Organisations, and apprehensions about community indifference and hostility are largely unfounded.
- The level of "linking social capital" is low and there are hardly any pathways available to access institutions. Equally most institutions do not have a strategy or the capacity to reach out to the Muslim community, and therefore *de facto* responses range from indifference to hostility. This is especially true of financial institutions.
- Perception that people residing in Muslim areas in Hyderabad - whether old city or new city, think that they belong to the old city.

Baseline Survey

The first stated objective of this study was to develop a baseline socio-economic and psycho-social understanding of young Muslim adults living in Hyderabad's old city. For the socio-economic baseline this was done by administering a questionnaire to 231 young men and 64 women. The psycho-social baseline was developed through interviews with traumatized young people and their family members totaling about 40 persons.

While the detailed reports are in Annexure 1, the following is a brief summary of the findings:

Socio-Economic Survey

The focus groups and survey were conducted in the five research locations in Hyderabad. Snowball sampling was used as a method – the initial respondents were known to our contacts in the location and the further respondents were chosen from amongst their social networks. There is a bias towards the more disadvantaged parts of the community and therefore the survey cannot claim to be truly representative of the totality of young Muslims in Hyderabad. In the absence of a rigorous sampling frame the findings should be read with the *caveat* that, if anything, it is a representation of the underprivileged parts of the community.

The questionnaire was administered in 5 localities of the Old city and there were 231 men and 64 women respondents. The following are the **highlights of the findings from the survey:**

1) Most of these families are classified as living below the poverty line (BPL or white ration cards). The data on average monthly household income shows that there is no significant difference between male and female respondents, which is around Rs.10,000/-.

2) The residency profile of the people who were interviewed shows that 2 areas – Kishan Bagh and Shaheen Nagar - are quite new, while the other areas are old and established areas. Among the men, Shaheen Nagar has the most number of people who shifted to this locality due to disturbances, but there are also many who have migrated recently to the city. Amongst the women, a majority of the respondents were residing for more than 10 years in the current locality of residence. Among the women, 10 respondents reported that they had shifted residences due to insecurity caused by disturbances.

3) A significant number of people have family members or relatives working in the Gulf. Amongst the women respondents, 10 reported family members working in the Gulf (8) and the West (2).

4) The data shows that in older areas like Sultan Shahi, more people stay in rented houses and in new areas, more people stay in own houses. The trend is similar in both the men's and women's responses.3

5) Education:

- *A majority of the men interviewed are intermediate educated while among the women, high school educated girls are the highest with the numbers dropping sharply for higher education.*

- *A major reason for dropping out of education is their inability to pay for their higher education. Many want to continue but cannot afford. Among the women, lack of family support was also cited along with*

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3 Sultan Shahi Sultan Shahi is an old residential colony to the east of, and very close to, Charminar (the 'centre', business and tourist hub, of the Old City). Sultan Shahi itself is a very large area, constituting a huge chunk of the Moghulpura Ward. Home to merchant families during the Nizams' rule, Sultan Shahi is now one of the poorest localities in the Old City. While many of the richer Muslim families moved out of the area in the late 1940s early 1950s, a largest out-migration of Muslim families took place over 1980s and 1990s when the area became the focal point of recurrent communal conflict. This area continues to be one of the tension points in the old city, with high security presence during 'sensitive' times like the Ganesh festival, Ramzan, and the 6th of December. Today, Sultan Shahi is a mixed locality of very poor Muslim families, a considerable Mehtar community, as well as lower-middle class Telugu-speaking Hindu families. The area in Sultan Shahi we chose to work in is around the Kali Kaman polling station, and has a mixed population of around 3000 people. The main occupations for men in this area are auto-driving and petty business, while most of the women are domestic help. A large number of youth here are uneducated and unemployed, and several have been directly affected by communal and police violence. Our contact person in this area is the son of one of the MWNC interviewees.

lack of affordability for higher education. Distances to travel to educational institutions (especially for higher education) were also cited as an inhibiting factor by the female respondents.

- *A large number worked while studying among the male respondents while this trend is not visible among women.*

- *The myth that Muslim youth get Madrasa education stands exposed with this survey. Only a very small minority went to madrasas. (Arabic education is available in masjids and private schools nowadays, so madarsa education is low. There is also a feeling that Madrasa education is inadequate. Mostly migrants who attend Madrasas especially on the outskirts of the city.)*

6) Employment:

- *A majority of the men interviewed are employed. Most of them acquired their skills while apprenticing. Among the women, only 14 are employed.*

- *A majority of the men reported that youth from old city don't get equal employment opportunities when compared to youth from new city. Among the women too, there was a majority consensus on the same lines. Both expressed their opinion that there were fewer opportunities in the Old City when compared to the new city.*

- *Most of the men and women interviewed prefer to be self employed. However among the women, there was also a preference for professional careers in medicine, engineering and the media and entertainment industry. Both men and women reported that there is discrimination in employment against youth from the Old City and that was one of the reasons for preferring to be self employed.*

- *There is a feeling among both groups that reservations can help.*

7) Training: Training or vocational education is not sufficient and it did not provide them with jobs or better job opportunities. But a large number of youth do undergo such training which is not beneficial to them. This trend is visible among both male and female respondents.

8) Current events: A majority of the people interviewed follow news related to their community and general current events.

9) Political Activity: Among both the male and female respondents, a majority are not interested in the political process. However they are very politically aware. They strongly feel that good political leaders are lacking to represent the community.

10) Media: There is a strong opinion among the men that the media misrepresents Muslims while among the female respondents, a majority felt that there was "partial" misrepresentation by the media.

11) Health and Psychological wellness: A majority of the interviewees are unable to access government medical services and instead rely on neighbourhood clinics. A significant number of men reported that either they or their family members were "feeling low" or suffering frequently from minor ailments like headaches, inability to sleep etc. Most respondents' parents suffer from sort of ailment or the other. Among the female respondents, it was mostly the mothers who were reported to be afflicted by similar ailments.

12) On "Being Muslim" in Hyderabad: The Mecca Masjid blasts and the subsequent 'scape goating' of Muslim youth has left an indelible scar on the psyche of the Muslim community in Hyderabad.

Survey findings from Female Youth Respondents:

In keeping with the focus the research has on young women and their gender concerns it would not be out of place to offer the following comments based on their responses to the questionnaire.

Most of the female youth interviewed had been forced to drop out of secondary school without completing their school finals. The main reason was lack of money. This was the case even with the migrant families who had been able to afford buying a plot of land or house. Clearly girl education was not a priority with most families. Curiously, the few who had succeeded in going to college were all computer literate. Though their families were not significantly better off, perhaps the very fact that they had been encouraged to learn computer use signified a more 'modern' approach towards girl education. However, none of the married young women were studying, implying that their society could not conceive of daughters-in-law as students, which was very much the accepted notion in almost all Indian communities a few generations ago.

Many young women also complained of harassment from men when they traveled by bus, and this was cited as another reason for dropping out. The problems that this created was compounded by the conservative 'protective' attitude of their brothers who were more domineering then even their fathers or elders. Such macho tendencies have surfaced among male youth of all communities. Several sociological factors could be the cause, including political polarization, islamophobia, lack of age-old social values, and decline of liberal education. The formation of urban gangs comprising mainly of male youth is another feature of many societies worldwide, and few civil society

organizations , much less governments, have even discussed corrective measures for youth/social groups who seem to have lost a sense of social value.

While vocational training in crafts did little to help young women, most respondents were eager to be taught spoken English and other soft skills which would help them secure jobs in businesses. Many had relatives working in the Gulf or in the USA. Some expressed a desire to migrate to the Gulf as beauty technicians, especially those who were skilled in 'mehendi'; and some were willing to go to the USA for a better life. Despite coming from conservative families, many young women wished to go into the world and make a life for themselves if only opportunity offered.

Most of the women preferred to be self-employed and almost all wished to work in their own localities in the Old City. They did not seek job satisfaction, but satisfaction in their family life, and to support other earning members of their families. This was in accordance with the views expressed by young men as well, as noted above, and in accordance with the conservative nature of society as such. In one locality the parents did not wish that their daughters should be interviewed!

Most of the women had friends only from their own community. Only just in one location were there young women who had been able to befriend women of other communities. Again only in one location there were young Muslim women who could speak Telugu as well as Urdu. Some young women who went to Madrasas did not listen to music or watch television. Only some who were married, or the very few who went to college had the use of mobile phones. A clear picture emerges of most of these young women belonging to poor, very conservative communities which felt discriminated against, isolated and alienated from mainstream society.

B. Learnings from Qualitative Psycho-social case-studies

The Survey findings yielded a number of health and psychological wellness-related responses which did not point to further psychological issues. However, informal discussions during the course of administering the questionnaires to the respondents revealed a number of behavioural issues that seemed similar to various dimensions of depression and trauma. In order to develop greater clarity on these issues discussions were held with Dr. Poornima Nagaraj, a well known psychiatrist in Hyderabad, to determine the means to explore this subject further. The method finalized was semi-

structured interviews with the youth and members of their families using a few predetermined indicators. Initially the interviews were to be conducted by the youth researchers, but given the sensitivities involved they were done by senior members of Yugantar.

One must admit that these interviews have been done with a small cohort but what we have encountered is a widespread sense of personal and *collective* fear, anxiety, and feelings of humiliation as *a people*. The humiliations and repression felt by this small number should not be viewed as isolated instances for "Repeated punishment, while it crushes the hatred of a few, stirs the hatred of all …… just as trees that have been trimmed throw out countless branches." The ripple effect of these experiences extends through the larger community, and we found expressions of this at unguarded moments during many interactions.

Added to all this is the sure knowledge of their hopeless living conditions and meager means of livelihoods, accentuated by the lack of support and apathy they perceive on the part of the administration and institutions of government. These issues, as we understand them, cannot be clinically diagnosed by psychiatrists, but perhaps society needs to develop a method of sensitive listening and engaging with the traumatized people of such a community.

As already stated we encountered tremendous reluctance from youth, community members, as well as civil society organizations working in the old city, to talk about anything connected with communal riots, police harassment and discrimination. The research team reported extreme reluctance on the part of the respondents and key informants to discuss personal experiences related to violence. They refused to discuss psychological issues that could provide clues to the experience of trauma. We first needed to build trust with the community in order to create a conducive atmosphere to talk about issues which are obviously painful and even seen as regressive.

In the later part of the research a number of interviews were done and the narratives allow us an opportunity to understand the mediation between social reality and the inner life of a person; in other words, the conscious and sub-conscious processes. All the interviewees either had been victims themselves or are from families who went through crisis situations like deaths or loss of limbs, and property during clashes and police firings; or bystanders to incidents when others were

being attacked; and those who were traumatized as children. The following are some of the themes emerging:

- *Sense of meaningless existence and social estrangement.*

- *Sense of loss of childhood and carefreeness combined with the burden of shouldering responsibility.*

- *Feeling of not being valued.*

- *Anger, sadness, despair and the lack of a future*

- *Being fatalistic, finding comfort in God*

- *Insomnia*

- *Self harm and substance abuse*

The following paragraphs provide an illustration of how these issues manifested themselves.

Sense of meaningless existence and social estrangement

Siddique talks about his father's killing and how his life changed after that. "During my youthful age I shouldered responsibilities." He was emphatic, "only because father was a Muslim, they killed him. That was the only reason……my father used to sport a beard ! Why else they have killed him tell me! Only because he was a muslim ! Had father been alive we would have definitely not lived this kind of life. Our life would have been good. We have lived this kind of crap life and that's how we are going to die!"

Junaid's mother talks about the change in the relatives' attitude after her son was picked by the police and detained illegally. "The behavior of all my relatives has changed a lot since the incident. Except two of the sisters, all the other relatives, my brothers, their wives, my husband's sisters, my other sisters and their husbands have showed a cold shoulder towards us……... Because of the case or I don't know from where they got this false information that a CID person is in our house all the time. So they are scared. They also have young boys and if they come to our house, their boys also might also get arrested. This kind of fear, they are not coming. I also got to know who is who. You can only judge people when you are in difficulty. Those who really care and love, don't leave you in the worse times. Those who are selfish, turn away."

Akbar expresses a desire for support from the relatives. "I am leading a respectable life but still there is the need for support. I was expecting support and help from the relatives. But they did not help so I was heartbroken…."

Sense of loss of childhood and carefreeness combined with the burden of shouldering responsibility

When his brother was shot Akbar dropped out of school (7th class) and started working. He says, "I was very upset when Azam was shot …… ever since I have been working very hard here in India, in Charminar and that has paid off by the grace of god." Akbar says that in his younger days he was carefree …. "In childhood it was not exactly anger but I used to be… kind of mischievous. I have become meek though and never quarrel with anybody. Sometimes I get a little impatient but I hide it successfully…". He is a counselor to the family, a father to his brothers, and burdened with responsibilities though he doesn't say so.

Bearing the burden of the family had affected the young men's lives in other ways as well. A major impact has been in putting off marriage. One of the reasons is the extra attention and effort required to take care of both the emotional and material needs of a family struck by tragedy. Performing marriages of sisters and educating younger male siblings are also cited.

Feeling of not being valued

Lack of any kind of support, while experiencing disrespect and negligence from institutions people needed to connect with, is another important indicator for the despair and collective trauma in people. Their norm has been that it is always their responsibility to go back again and again to visit the government officials or political party representatives for seeking any help. Their experiences in times of crisis has ranged from the harrowing to facing apathy and often negligence, resulting in their losing their sense of self-worth.

It is significant that one of the interviewees says "You are the first people who are kind enough to sit with me and patiently ask in depth about the tragedy we went though. Akram Bhai called up and asked me "do you have time?" Whenever he calls, the first thing he would ask was whether I have time. You know, I would always wonder, the other day also I got somebody's phone call. Nayeem

Bhai's. Asking me, "Brother, when are you free". I used to feel so happy and even wonder as to what's so important in me that people are asking if I have time. I would feel so good, so happy".

Anger, sadness, despair and the lack of a future

In our initial survey we found that male youth took little initiative to try for jobs or for financial help from banking institutions for their trades or small businesses etc. We put it down to their complete lack of confidence on the one hand and the total despair of attempting and not succeeding on the other. Siddique, whose father had been murdered during communal strife, was encouraged to believe that financial help was available for families like his. He talked about desperately trying to raise a loan to buy and run a taxi. He went to government bodies, minority's commission, and even some Muslim foundations. He did not get any help from anywhere and was left feeling completely defeated and hopeless. He had to finally borrow from a private lender at an exorbitant rate of interest.

The three mothers in their interview talk about lack of any space for their kids even to spend time together once they leave their tiny homes in the slum. Their sons were picked up by the police from the *kabaristan* where they spent their evenings and charged with hatching a conspiracy while sitting there. Now the mothers are scared to let the youth out of their sight and that in turn is creating a problem of no space being allowed for these young men. One of the three boys picked up by the police admits of his fear that is constant with him. "……. I don't like the way policemen look at me, stare at me whenever I go out of the house or am with friends."

One of the young men interviewed talks about the losses that are tangible and intangible. "How the Mecca Masjid blast has affected the muslim youth, how they had to give up studies and sit idle for so many years! It had affected the engineering students, electronic students. If they had completed their studies and taken up jobs, they would have earned a lot of money. Those students today are driving autos. The engineering students of Macca Masjid bomb blast who were in II & III year of their studies then, if they would have completed their studies, they would be earning 50 to 60 thousand by now in India and if they went to Saudi they would be earning in lakhs. But now those very boys are driving autos for a living. If they are to get some decent jobs they should get a clearance certificate first and nobody will give them that. Once you are termed as a terrorist you will be a terrorist

forever. You cannot always hang a clearance certificate around your neck to prove that you are not a terrorist. Even if you get that certificate it will be there at home safely locked up in the locker. But where ever you go in Hyderabad you will be suspected as belonging to the either to the "Lashkar" or to the "Indian Mujahedeen"

Nothing can indicate the mothers' despair and anger more than this: "Earlier in our childhood, people will sleep on the footpath or on benches in the parks. But now the police will come and thrash one who is sleeping on the footpath or park. The rules have changed now, the country is making progress, and there is no place for the common man. He is absolutely harassed. Actually the government should poison all the poor people and finish off with them. Only those residing in posh buildings and travelling in sleek cars should be allowed to live. All the poor folk, auto drivers, rickshaw pullers should be killed".

Being fatalistic, finding comfort in God
"When Azam was taken for his second operation doctors were very doubtful of him surviving…. I went to the masjid on the left side of the hospital and as I stood for namaz and looked down ….. I could see only one thing i.e. Azam and me playing together and this image stayed with me throughout the prayer …….. when the doctor came out of the operation theater with the good news I already knew that Azam is going to be alive, nothing is going to happen to him……. Whatever I want I ask of him who is sitting high up there and I do that with all my heart and soul."

Junaid's mother: He would sometimes say that it was better to die than giving trouble to everybody else in the family. I used feel so much pain whenever he will talk like this. I would never express myself in front of him. I used to console him by saying that God always tests his true followers in this life. If you have read the Quran, you will see that God always tests his loved ones the most. You should not lose heart. You should be brave and face everything bravely. You should never think of suicide. It is unislamic.

When there are no other sources of support it is the faith in God it seems, that helps people in distress. If modernity destroys that sense of faith and removes all sense of values, people have

nothing to turn to. The result could be the kind of violence we witness in society today be it against women or dalits or the indigenous populations or minorities of all kinds.

The discourse of Muslims being overly religious needs to be understood in this context as well.

Insomnia

It is nothing new to say, all types of stress in life leads to health problems, particularly insomnia, hypertension and so on. The women with the children in police custody say, "We are spending restless days, sleepless nights. The other night Noor Jahan woke up at 2:00 am and could not sleep till morning. The moment we remember our boys we feel as though our head is going to break open... Noor Jahan woke up and felt so restless that she came and sat outside the house. The tenants asked, "Aunty, why are you sitting like this, it's so late in the night". I said "just like that, not getting sleep".

Junaid's mother's words, "The days would pass somehow but the nights used to be very difficult. I would never get sleep. I prayed always and pleaded God for the well being of my son. I would always tell him that "God is there to punish the people who have done this, never think of revenge and all that"

She continues to talk about how her memory is affected, "taking so much of tension for such a long time has affected my memory. I have developed this habit forgetting everything. I keep things somewhere but soon forget it next moment. I have also become so weak that if I perform even a small activity I start sweating. Otherwise I was a very strong and hard person. I am always scared that anytime, anyone may come and arrest my boy. That fear is always there. That's why I can't sleep. But ultimately I leave everything to God and pray for our safety and well being."

Akbar talks about how he tries to relieve his tension by chewing gutkha. "This gutka helps me. Since two years out of tension. If things don't go as I planned, if I don't get anything on time I become tense. Tension comes out as anger which I cannot afford to vent on anybody. So I chew it in the form of gutka. That's how my psychology works. I spend time very rarely at home. Earlier I used to

spend time with others. I used to be very childish. I sleep very little! I wake up at 11 am. Five or six hours I sleep. In that also, sometimes when there is tension I don't get proper sleep."

Self harm and substance abuse

All of them are addicted to either chewing gutkha, smoking or drinking. The extreme case is that of Nabi who over the last few years repeatedly cut his wrists and had be taken to the hospital by his mother. She is vexed and said despairingly, "it would be better if he killed himself once for all. When he is not drunk he remains absolutely quiet in a corner without uttering a word."

C. Learnings from the Research Process

The broad learnings from the research process are as follows:

An unforeseen question - Why only Muslims

One of the questions that we came across frequently during our field study was why we chose to study only Muslims. This in our view indicated their concern and unwillingness at being singled out as the only community facing socio-economic and civic discrimination in the Old City in Hyderabad. We could discern two factors behind this resistance. One, that by choosing only Muslim youth as the subjects of the research we could be inadvertently contributing to a further polarization of an already fragmented society. The second was that there could be a genuine suspicion of 'our hidden agendas' behind the seemingly innocuous task of data collection. Such a feeling though unexpected, is not surprising and in fact conforms to the remark by Justice Sachar where speaking on research with regards to the Muslim community, he points out how there were suggestions that there was "some hidden agenda in focusing research efforts on the status of Muslims in India. In fact, even collection of data on Muslims is seen by many as politically motivated". [footnote: In the foreword to the 'Handbook of Muslims in India. 2010]

We found any exercise involving the Muslim population becomes a challenge in a backdrop where a certain degree a feeling of hostility and mistrust persists towards the researchers who visit the Muslim locales to gather data and record their perceptions. This particular aspect was expressed by both the researchers and the researched, though from different perspectives. For the community it was an issue of distrust and misconception and even hostility towards the researchers which mostly

arose from their previous experiences of surveys. This distrust is reflected in questions as to what their benefits from such an exercise would be.

One of the team members, who worked as an intern while pursuing his studies in the University of Hyderabad reported how he was questioned several times with respect to the purpose of the study and his involvement in it. "In the old city, people will often asked, why we are working only on Muslims , or when we tell them that we are from Yugantar, people would often ask 'what is Yugantar? It doesn't sound like an Urdu name". It sounds more like Sanskrit, and also the fact that it is in a Hindu area, meant that it was owned by the Hindus, given their knowledge of the city and the division of its space along religious lines. This bears evidence to the deep divide in the minds of people while pointing out the underlying insecurity reflected in their questions.

Co-operation from Local Organizations

The research team had anticipated the process of building contacts a challenging task and accordingly a strategy was employed to identify key informants from the research locations and networking with other non-profit organizations active in these areas or working on Muslim related issues. Here Yugantar's earlier experience in working with the Muslim community in the Old City of Hyderabad came in handy while the field coordinators own personal contacts and experience with other organizations also helped. However, despite this we still faced problems in getting the expected cooperation from other NGOs in these areas. We became aware of terrain possessiveness in the sense that the organizations that had been working in these localities from before bore a patronizing and protective attitude to the representatives of the community. However, once the objectives of the research and the importance of the study were explained most of these organizations rose above their reluctance to cooperate but there remained exceptions who continued to show resistance. As the field workers reported, they found that some of these organizations had instructed the respective members of the communities from the research locations to not to talk to us. Consequently, in one locality in particular, the team reported how members who had shown interest in the project initially never came back to talk again. However, with persistent efforts the team was finally able to convince the local leaders in that locality about the importance of the study who then helped the research team in getting contacts and identifying the key informants.

However, the overall experience in this context proved the importance of approaching through the local political representatives of the research locality. In the proposal to this study, we had identified intervention and objection of the local political representatives, particularly the political party representing the community as a potential problem in carrying out the survey. Our experience proved contrary. The field coordinators and researchers reported that contacting MIM (Majlis-Ittehadul-Muslimeen) and explaining the objectives and importance of the project, helped them in gaining access to the researched community and further cooperation as well.

Muslims and the Development Agenda

As governance is the key to success, concerted efforts are needed to sensitise the bureaucracy at various levels. This needs to be a sustained endeavour. While there is no doubt that a quantum increase in resources is required, the percentage share of Muslims in all other schemes and programmes needs to be ensured and closely monitored. A sharp urban focus needs to be brought in as in AP for instance 80% of the Muslim community is in urban areas.

Poor governance is at the root of even assigned benefits not reaching the Muslim community and is of relevance in the context of the current study as well. For instance in government programmes where there is 30-40% Muslim eligibility, entitlements do not reach. Participation and representation of Muslims at all levels is very low. For instance in community based committees there is almost no representation, and the participation of Muslim women is nonexistent. Some of the ways in which this problem of implementation and governance could be improved is building a sustained dialogue and connection between Government and civil society organizations that is currently tenuous; and ensuring representation in various policy making and implementation bodies. For this to happen changes are required at various levels and among various players—Government, funding organizations and among the Muslim Community as well to become proactive in such engagements.

There is further a need to activate and make accountable bodies such as the Minority's Commission that do not fulfill the minimum functions they are supposed to do. It is not just a question of availability of funds but also the lack of commitment. For instance the Commission has dedicated funds for research and yet nothing has happened and there is no way to make it accountable.

Deconstructing the Muslim Identity

There is a need to go beyond the use of the term "Muslim", to identify the groups within the Muslim community that are marginalized and to assess whether benefits and entitlements are indeed reaching them. There is a need to recognize and focus on dalit Muslims and the marginalized tribal Muslims. In AP for instance, the reservations for Muslims (for example, scholarships) have sometimes benefited the rich Muslims but not the poor. The discourse on issues related to Muslims is mostly dominated by elite Muslims and this trend has marginalized 'other voices' coming from the Muslim community.

Another crucial issue is the discomfort in working with the Muslim community, as this is perceived as working on religious lines. There is an urgent need to create a discourse and framework that working with Muslims is not either a religious or communal agenda. One way of creating such a discourse is starting with the experiential contexts of the lives of Muslims as this would enable the framing of the discourse. Yugantar's pilot project with Muslim youth has thrown light on the concerns of the youth. Despite educational opportunities being available, their inability to enter institutions of their choice is a major problem.

The ways in which we frame and address developmental issues will perhaps provide insights on how to overcome the problems of being labeled communal or religious. There is a need for secular organizations that did not focus on issues of identity but on ensuring sustainable livelihoods through access to financial services. This will enable a more proactive developmental agenda being nurtured to help the Muslim poor.

Integrating Gender:

The finding that the problems and issues faced by Muslim women do not seem to be very different to those from other deprived communities are corroborated by our project (Zoya hasan,2004). The tendency to stereotype Muslim Women must be avoided and their position must be understood within the framework of economic factors, political influences and class background.

In the initial phase of the project we had some difficulty in recruiting educated, young Muslim women from the community. One of the organizations, namely, the Mahila Sanatkar, was

instrumental in providing access to Muslim girl researchers who helped in completing the survey - with questions modified to address issues specific to women; administered amongst the Muslim girls. The girls were active and highly motivated in pursuing the project activities. They later continued through the second phase of needs assessment developing linkages with the civil and state society institutions, organizing workshops. They participated with equal zeal in all the activities taken by the group till the completion of the project. The stereotype image of a 'veiled' Muslim woman did not seem to correspond with these young girl researchers of the community who, while wearing their 'Hijabs' showed enthusiasm in taking initiatives and played active part in decision making and feedback sessions often being more vocal than the boys.

An important objective for the group was to introduce the youth researchers to other organizations working on issues identified in the Needs Assessment period through an inter-state exposure trip. This included visits to organizations in Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Mewat and Delhi over a two week period. For the girls to participate it meant that they had to travel with a group of young men for a considerable period of time. We expected that it would not be possible given the presumed restrictions on mobility imposed by family and community on single young women. However the girls came up with a solution by persuading some older women from their families to join the group to act as chaperones and so the exposure trip took place successfully. This experience also indicated that the older generation of women was willing to encourage young women from their families to engage in out of the ordinary activities provided they were convinced of the value of the experience.

However, despite this picture of participating young Muslim women adapting and showing a social concern remains limited to those who have a better access to education. The pilot Helpline run by the youth seemed to be particularly helpful to young women from poorer areas or areas to which migration has taken place due to communal violence. Their queries reveal that amongst other things they are particularly handicapped by their lack of access to information education, scholarships and employment opportunities. This indicates an important need for institutional spaces dedicated to the cause of women from the minority sections of the society.

The need for Muslim women and girls to be included in interventions that focus on empowerment cannot be over emphasized. Issues of demand for education, mobility, security in public places,

measures against violence, health, etc need to be urgently addressed. Poor Muslim women in the old city of Hyderabad need to have access to services such as those provided by institutions like the Mahila Samakhya.

4. Project Implementation and Management

This section details the implementation of this project along with a reflection on problems and challenges emerging from the research process with a view to document the way these difficulties and new challenges were dealt with. The openness of the research design and the anticipated and unanticipated challenges that emerged resulted in specific solutions and insights which are discussed below. This section purports to elucidate the methodological innovations that were introduced to overcome the difficulties that surfaced during the implementation of the research process and to highlight the learnings and specific approach adopted with a mix of research tools corresponding to the objectives of the project.

For this purpose, the process can be seen to consist of three phases in accordance to the objectives of the project. The first comprises the conceptual delineations and preparatory stage for field work and then the field work itself while the period consisting of the evaluation of data and following needs assessment with focus group discussions and workshops comprises the second phase. Finally the third phase, which is a parallel activity undertaken right from the period the survey began is the capacity building period when the process chose a team of youth researchers to enable and guide them in forming linkages with the state and civil society institutions and creating livelihood opportunities. However, the following account does not follow a strict chronological order as it is intended to highlight the findings from the project and delineate the learnings and challenges on account of the uniqueness of the project while documenting the achievements and innovations in terms of methodology that emerged from this process of research. It is hoped that this exercise will help to better facilitate and prepare future research studies in this direction while contributing to knowledge through insights gained in the process of this research project.

This process was designed for a time period of 28 months which proved insufficient in the end owing to several issues discussed below as it became clear that this was a unique research process in many senses, not least for it deals with a minority community in the backdrop of the sensitive issue of communal violence or that it involves that volatile section of the society, the youth; but, also for the methodologies adopted and the way the researchers, respondents and youth research team members participated at different stages of the research process and the way the overall process of

this research a significant experience. It is with this understanding that the research listed recording the research process for documenting the innovations implemented as one of its objectives in order to communicate findings and learning from the process, to wider audiences.

The specific objective to be met during the first 12 months of the project was the preliminary drafting of socio-economic and psycho-social dimensions of trauma. Towards this specific objective, the research team collected secondary data on socio-economic issues pertinent to the Muslim population in Hyderabad, and a review of literature and development projects related to psycho-social theory and practice was conducted. The team put together secondary data on socio-economic issues pertinent to the Muslim population in Hyderabad (attached in Appendix 2); identified research locations and youth researchers; held group discussions and key informant interviews; and designed and administered a comprehensive socio-economic questionnaire (attached in Appendix 1). An inception meeting was held in July, 2010, where the research tools to be used were developed while the issue of developing indicators for Psycho social trauma was discussed. Subsequently the parameters for Psycho-social trauma were also developed. However, it was decided to postpone working on psycho-social issues to the second phase of the project as we wanted to find non-intrusive methods to do so under the guidance of the advisory board.

The specific objective to be met during the second phase of the project was to undertake a needs assessment of Muslim youth in the Old City, first by identifying the needs that emerged from the data analysis of the survey that was completed in the first phase of the project. Youth researchers were identified and trained on research methodology and data entry and analysis. Once the survey findings were generated, these were shared with a new group of youth researchers identified from the research locations. These youth researchers also trained in methodology shared and discussed these findings with their respective communities. The Needs assessment phase generated the identification of key issues that saw a shift from the psycho-social framework of the project to the issues of education and employment. The main issue identified was however, the lack of information and awareness in the Muslim youth in relation to institutional networking and government schemes and policies to address the welfare of these communities. This indicated a need for a Muslim based information hub dedicated to the dissemination of relevant issues and existing policies. Towards this

end a helpline was launched which was run for a period of three months. A comprehensive database was developed for this purpose.

In the final phase several workshops were held along with group discussions. The youth researchers also participated in other sub-projects of Yugantar. A seminar was also organized where the core team presented papers based on the findings of the survey. Yugantar also organized placement workshops where about 60 young adults from the Muslim community were able to get jobs on the spot. This process of placement became an ongoing activity through the linkages developed with the corporate sector. The youth researchers were taken on institutional visits within the city while they also worked on compiling a database of all the voluntary organizations working with the Muslim community in the state of Andhra Pradesh. Towards the objective of developing linkages with social and civil society organizations the youth researchers went on exposure trips within the city to key organizations while an inter-state exposure trip was organized. The team including men and women travelled across three states and the capital city of India meeting and sharing their experiences and learning with the personnel of these organizations.

Following is a detailed account of activities starting with those that comprised the first phase of the project directed towards the objectives of mapping the socio-economic and psycho-social dimensions of trauma including the survey administration and analysis followed by the period of Needs Assessment. However the objective of capacity building and skill development is dealt with in detail in a separate chapter as it was an exercise that went simultaneously with the project activities.

Putting together a team

The core research team, who were to participate in the design, implementation and analysis of the research, while ensuring the ethical protocol adopted during the first phase of this study, was to consist of trained social science researchers. We felt, apart from the researchers for the project we needed counselors who could help and advise us on the aspect of Psycho-social trauma as it was felt that the organization did not have enough experience and expertise on this subject. Yugantar contacted a renowned psychologist from Hyderabad who was willing to help in sorting the analytical issues for the psycho-social dimension of the study's analysis and agreed to her participation in the counseling sessions and workshops conducted.

The core team was to be assisted by a Project Advisory Committee, consisting of experts who were to meet periodically to guide the project. A list of key resource persons were shortlisted based on their experience and knowledge of the issues of this study and their consent taken. These included from the city, as well as colleagues not directly involved in the project.

As we intended to deal with issues of violence and loss and experiences that could indicate alienated subjects while also probing psychological aspects that could provide clue to traumatized subjectivity, it was necessary to find qualified personnel for the core research team who could be sensitive to these issues. This sensitivity, however, was not to come at the cost of objectivity as our experiences in the first phase on the violence affected minority women had shown how the narratives could get distorted or only certain points highlighted because of the sympathies or biases of the researchers and also because of the relationship between the researcher and the respondent that developed which would sometimes result in the respondent providing a tailored narrative.

The actual finalization of the research team proved more difficult than expected. The field work required personnel who were familiar with the local areas to finalize the research locations and, given the expectation of the difficulty of finding respondents, generating contacts. The extensive nature of field work and the difficult process of building contacts meant that the field coordinators had to be male researchers. This meant that the access to women respondents of the community got limited if not completely excluded. This handicap was overcome in the needs assessment period as young women researchers were identified to assist as youth researchers and take part in this action research thereon. It also became clear that the field coordinators who would be interacting with the Muslim representatives of the five selected research localities should also be Muslims, for one, to eliminate the possibility of any hostile reaction, but mainly so to break barriers and help facilitate a more frank and honest dialogue between the researchers and the researched community.

Understandably it took a while to find such people who could fulfill these requirements. This difficulty was further accentuated by the psycho-social aspect of the project, a framework that remains relatively under developed. While the field coordinator with local knowledge and network was resourced in April, suitable candidates as researchers and core member of the research team

joined over time with the first junior researcher joining in June and the last core team member in December of 2010.

Although this rather arduous and unexpected problem of assembling the right team particularly for the core group for this project did take considerable time, it did not, however, account for the delay in the project as the first few months, once the field coordinator had joined the team, were spent in identifying and mapping the research locations. However, the core team did remain an issue in the longer run even after its composition as certain team members left the project midway while others had to take leave for personal reasons. This affected the continuity of the project in the long run and can be accounted for as one of the reasons that ultimately necessitated an extension in the expected time duration of the project.

The core research team, who were to participate in the design, implementation and analysis of the research, while ensuring the ethical protocol adopted during the first phase of this study, was to consist of trained social science researchers and field coordinator. The lead researcher Dr. K. Lalita and the project coordinator Diia Rajan were assisted by colleagues involved with other ongoing projects in Yugantar, as well as short-term interns. In the recruitment process for the research associate and field coordinator posts, the effort was to find not only suitably qualified candidates but also individuals who were both aware of and had a continued interest in the issues being addressed by the project. Understandably, it took Yugantar a while to find such people, but it was worth the wait.

Counselor: Apart from the researchers for the project we felt the need for the presence of a professional who could help and advise us on the aspect of Psycho-social trauma as it was felt that the organization did not have enough experience and expertise on this subject. Yugantar contacted a renowned psychologist Dr. Poornima Nagaraj from Hyderabad to help guide the psycho-social dimension of the study.

A list of key resource persons were shortlisted based on their experience and knowledge of the issues of this study and their consent taken. These included from the city, as well as colleagues not directly involved in the project. The key resource persons who participated in the inception

workshop held in July 2010 included Dr. Sarath Davala, Mohamed Turab, Noorjehan Siddiqui, Dr. Rama Melkote, Dr. Vithal Rajan, Deepa Dhanraj and Dr. Navsharan Singh.

Advisory Board: In the course of the project the research team identified resource persons who had relevant knowledge and experience of the issues related to this project to seek advice. The members of the advisory board helped sharpen the focus of the research with their inputs and are listed below:

Mr. Azam Khan is an entrepreneur and activist and is presently an active member of the Working Group on Empowerment of Minorities, Planning Commission of India. He was particularly helpful in discussions and work on the issue of scholarship for the Muslim students.

Syed Amin Jafri is a Senior journalist, and an MLC (Member of the Legislative Council) from the AIMIM(All India Majlis-e-Ittehadul Muslimeen).

Prof. Rama Melkote is a retired professor of Osmania University and is currently the State Advisor to Supreme Court Commissioner on the Right to Food. She is also the Founder Member of Hyderabad Ekta and Anveshi Women's Resource Centre.

Sashi Kumar is the Executive Director of Yugantar. He provided constant advice to the team. Having worked on several projects of similar nature, Sashi's guidance to the project was much needed. The helpline idea and the support to establish it,came from him.

Several meetings both individually and collectively were held with the advisors to seek their inputs in designing the second phase. They were also helpful during this phase when the team held workshops on selected issues. The youth researchers and the core team worked with Mr. Azam Khan in helping him on the data work with regards to the issue of scholarships on which he had been working as a member of the working group on Empowerment of Minorities, Planning Commission of India. The MLC of MIM kept helping the core team as well as the youth researcher with his inputs and advice.

Identifying Research Locations

Once the research team was formed the first task for the process to begin was to finalize the research locations from a preliminary list of localities identified in the pre-process planning. Hyderabad as the city of research had already been decided upon based on the incidence of communal violence and political history of the city with its considerably large yet underdeveloped Muslim population. A majority of this population are living in slum like conditions in highly concentrated these ghettoized localities with hardly any civic and economic development. Most of these localities were once prosperous but the incidence of violence had provided occasion for the communities to get geographically polarized as people either get displaced or chose to move to places that had their own community members mostly for security reasons. As a result, as is common in most Muslim dominated districts of India and as is noted in the Sachar Committee report, the Muslims of Hyderabad, which till independence had been ruled by Muslim dynasties over a period of four hundred years, witnessed a socio-economic regression accentuated by the partition divide which saw most affluent Muslim families move to the then newly formed Pakistan and at the same time an influx of the poorer Muslims from other parts of the country into the city. These conditions exacerbated by several decades of social, economic and political marginalization of Muslim communities, alongside a geographic relegation to the older parts of the city, called the Old City, also the most disturbed area of the district with its history of communal violence and a large reservoir of unemployed Muslim youth, proved to be in keeping with the context of this project.

The city is highly segregated with the concentration of Muslims in the old city which over time owing to the inflow of violence affected Muslims from other parts of the city has become highly ghettoized and remains backward in most economic markers. The new city mostly developed post independence and the Information technology inspired boom post the nineties liberalization program, more or less neglected the old city with the convenient geographical divide provided by the once prosperous *Musi* river, between the two regions and, importantly for us, therefore the two communities. In other words, here was a case and almost a perfect analogy of the Justice Sachar report, where the geographic division of the communities corresponds with the economic divide between the two communities and acts as a visual marker of the disparity between them.

This disparity is further accentuated by the trauma of violence and persecution as experienced by the Muslim youth particularly as a result of police backlash in the aftermath of terrorist activities in the

city. This only reinforces the mistrust of the police and administration in the context of a history of neglect and perceived biased action by the authorities starting with the police action taken during the integration of Hyderabad into India. All these factors along with a deep underlying feeling of loss and injustice and the consequent nostalgia for the lost glory of the past in the collective psyche of the Muslim populace particularly in the old city of Hyderabad coupled with economic insecurity and an ever present threat of violence indicated potentially traumatized subjectivities in these violence prone localities of Hyderabad. Our work which included case studies of some women in the context of post conflict living in the phase one stage of this study further corroborated the perceived undercurrents of traumatized and economically marginalized existence of the community in the ghettoized parts found in the old city in Hyderabad.

It was for these reasons that we chose the old city of Hyderabad as our city of research but the problem was how to choose the localities in the city. Further, it was decided that at least one Muslim concentrated locality should be chosen from the new city to give us an idea of comparative differences arising if any. As our objective was to research violence affected subjectivities where traumatic experience also includes dislocation, we also wanted to include localities that were relatively newly formed as a result of relocation from non-Muslim dominated areas owing to either direct violence or fear of expected violence, as well as localities with a mix of communities.

Accordingly, the research team drafted the following preliminary guidelines for selection of research locations:

- Varied experience, history and impact of violence: we wanted to find locations which had been through communal conflict periodically over a few decades, had been the focus of police violence in the aftermath of the 2007 bomb blasts, and one location which had not been affected by violence of any kind.
- Varied socio-economic backgrounds: very poor to middle-class localities, with differing access to spaces and institutions
- Single and mixed community localities: here we tried not only to look for only Muslim and Hindu and Muslim localities, but also those which had inter-community mix (such as Shia, Sunni) as well as those which have Hindu, Sikh and Dalit communities.

The research team spent the first six months into the project, mostly in visiting various localities of the Old City, and meeting with residents, leaders and youth in the localities, in order to identify the locations for the research. Along with the basic guideline, the team spent considerable time in consulting other known organizations that had been working in the old city and certain key informants and local advisories that were known to have worked on Muslim issues and had fair knowledge of the local community specific conditions. After visiting and meeting with people in several locations, the team finally chose five localities to undertake the research. Of them, Sultan Shahi, a particularly disturbed area in terms of communal conflict, was chosen for it represented the economic decline of the Muslim community in Hyderabad, for being in the hub of the old city and home to once merchant families, it was now bracketed as one of the poorest areas of the city. Kala Patther, a residential area about 40 years old and relatively more peaceful, was subjected to severe police backlash post the Mecca Masjid blast. Kishenbagh, an older settlement with a more mixed population, was chosen for the contrast evident in access and provision of institutional spaces in the Sikh section compared to the Muslim section of the locality. The fourth location chosen, Shaheen Nagar, is amongst the newer settlements that spruced up in the aftermath of communal violence from the 1980s onward and houses the more affluent families along with the deprived and the fifth location, Syed Nagar, the only one chosen from the new city, and adjacent to the most posh area of the city has no history of violence and is relatively better off economically (see Annexure 2 for a list of the locations in detail).

Mapping of the research locations

After these five areas were finalized as the research locations for the project, a basic mapping of each of these areas was conducted. The information gathered during the mapping process is listed below.

- Demographic profile: population, religious and gender composition
- Presence of Educational institutions – private schools, government schools, *madrasas*
- Employment – localised, within city, Middle-east; private/ public sector; traditional livelihoods, changing patterns; daily-waged, daily business, self-employed, salaried
- Presence of/ access to financial services – banks, credit, savings (private agencies, Micro-finance, public sector agencies)

- Presence of/ access to health-care – Allopathic private clinics, government hospitals/ Urban health Posts; Unani doctors, hospitals; Health insurance
- Experience of Violence – communal and state
- Presence of/ access to public spaces – playgrounds, parks, mosques, temples, gymnasiums , other cultural spaces
- Police station and posts
- Public Distribution Outlets
- NGOs, religious organizations, voluntary organizations, *Jamaats*, religious training programs and other community resources
- Information on local Corporator/ Councilor, MLA/ MP/ political affiliation of the locality
- Access to public transportation

Developing Research Tools and Analytical Concepts

This study is predicated on the understanding that social recovery can be addressed through the rebuilding of social and institutional networks and linkages, dialogue between community and state actors, and recognizing and overcoming trauma/ psycho-social concerns. There must be an effort towards the articulation of the individual and collective narratives where the voices of young adults are not just representations of 'victims' but of individuals who have the capacity to reflect and comment on their life situations. Keeping this in mind we decided to evolve a methodology using different research tools corresponding to the requirement of the respective objectives within a participatory framework where the participation of the youth from the representative community was included as a basic requirement of the research. However, we extended the scope of participation to that of a consultation and consensus based cooperative method of enquiry where the youth researchers identified during the course of the project took an integral part in assessing the need of the community and suggest recourse to address those issues.

All the research tools used during this phase were developed in the inception/design workshop by the research team. Secondary sources and key informants also informed the design of the research tools. Unstructured interviews and other tools developed in collaboration with the counselor were to be used to collect data on the psycho-social issues of young adults. In the Needs Assessment phase, after the survey findings were discussed, the youth researchers who participated in identifying the needs shared these findings and conducted Focus group discussions in their respective communities. The conclusion that emerged from this phase emphasized the importance of redressing issues of education and scholarship along with livelihood opportunities through skills training and placement services while identifying lack of awareness as the most important obstacle in the developmental programs for the community and consequently chose to ignore the psycho-social aspects of the research problem. To address this aspect of the project we decided to do case studies which however could not be carried out as intensively as the team had planned owing mostly to the difficulties in utilizing the parameters developed in consultation with the counselor, partly owing to the reluctance on part of the youth researchers. However, we were able to complete 6 case studies that dealt with the communal violence induced traumatic experience of male youth from families affected by communal violence and/or illegally detained by the police and suffered humiliation and torture. One of our youth researchers is the subject of one of the case studies.

Inception Workshop

An inception workshop was held to discuss the scope of the project and specific research questions/ issues – especially in the light of the preliminary groundwork and discussions held in the field during the first few months of the project – with key resource persons from the city, as well as colleagues not directly involved in the project as listed above. A conscious decision was taken to keep the participant list to those who have been involved in developing the research thus far, since the research team felt it would be more productive at that stage to have focused discussions towards concretizing core research questions, research tools and frameworks for analysis.

In the first session, the research team made brief presentations on the genesis of the idea, the main objectives and scope of the project. An overview of the core issues emerging from discussions in the field was also presented for discussion, mainly, (lack of) access to livelihood and education opportunities for Muslim youth, the role of community spaces and *jamaats*, and the difficulty in articulating concepts such as trauma, alienation, etc. Some of the key issues and questions flagged during the discussions following the presentations were:

Institutions: How do we understand/ interrogate institutions? How are they experienced/ perceived? How do they configure Muslim youth? How can they be enabling? Looking at family and community as institutional sites which need to be explored from a youth and gender perspective.

Alienation: drafting a working definition of alienation; developing indicators which integrally address socio-economic, psycho-social and political experiences; interrogating the heterogeneity of the Muslim 'community' and situating difference in the experience of alienation, while simultaneously acknowledging the homogeneity of the experience of quotidian violence; what are the methodological challenges in defining alienation?

Accessing the religious domain: how will the research articulate religious activities/ participation etc? Finding a framework for research and analysis; is the research engaging with religion as an institution?

Social reintegration: would social 'recovery' better represent the focus and intention of the project?

Trauma: looking at trauma against the backdrop of citizenship/ nation; what are the internal resources available to the community to deal with trauma, and is there continuity between these resources and other 'public' resources? The issue of developing indicators and parameters for this section proved to be a complex task and though with the help of the counselor a framework was developed and indicators of trauma specially on a collective level were listed, this aspect of the project got limited in its scope mainly owing to the unwillingness of the youth research team who chose to concentrate rather on education and employment related issues as more relevant for the social recovery of these marginalized Muslim youth. This led to a shift in the focus on the process of social recovery in context to the research problem of this study. This issue is discussed in detail in the next section where the analytical tools are elaborated.

These discussions fed directly in to the drafting of our initial research tools. The research team benefited a great deal from the discussions and suggestions, and were able to gain some much needed clarity on how to develop a comprehensive framework, and plan of action, which could address the various issues and objectives of the research.

In the first phase of the project, the following research tools have been developed:
Template for socio-economic profile of Muslims in Hyderabad
Questionnaire for socio-economic and educational data on Muslim youth (Annexure 3)
Methodology for building area profiles using participatory techniques like key informant interviews, mapping, and focus groups

All these research tools were developed based on secondary sources, detailed discussions within the core research team, as well as with key informants, community leaders (corporators, MLAs, educators, religious leaders and parents) and youth. The secondary sources that we referred to develop our research tools were data available on Muslims in India, Sachar Committee report, Media representation of Hyderabad Muslim youth, overall review of articles related to Muslim youth in Hyderabad, material written on history of communal violence in Hyderabad and direct and indirect

impact of violence on Muslim youth. The tools were constantly reviewed and modified in consultation with youth researchers.

The Survey Questionnaire

During the initiation process of mapping the location and identifying key informants, we found tremendous interest among the youth from these research locations to participate in the study. The core team had planned on identifying about 10 young adults from these locations to participate in the Needs Assessment period which was to follow the survey analysis. However, seeing the response from the youth of these localities, the team decided to enlist these youth and accordingly trained them on research tools and methodology. They received training in basic research methods, participated in designing the research tools for needs assessment while also participating in the drafting of the questionnaire which attempted to address both socio-economic and psycho-social issues. The team was also trained on computer skills for the entry of data collected from the survey and participated in the analysis of the data.

The issues addressed in the questionnaire were informed to a large extent by the open-ended discussions held in the field, as well as the feedback of participants at the inception workshop. This questionnaire was shared with resource persons, our key youth contacts from each location, as well as being coded before it was field tested in the first week of October. The draft questionnaire at this stage primarily addressed young Muslim men. The team modified and added to the questions to address some specific concerns of young Muslim women after the field-testing, during which they administered the questionnaire with a few articulate young women.

The questionnaire, which is fairly intensive, was drafted with the aim of mapping the core socio-economic relationships, institutions and engagements at work in the everyday lives of our youth respondents. After the field-testing all the researchers at Yugantar (from across focus areas) were trained on how to administer the questionnaire, so that the basic target of 30 youth respondents (both men and women) from each location could be met easily. The draft questionnaire is attached in the appendix.

The data collected from the survey, as well as the group discussions and interviews went into informing the research strategies adopted in the next phase of the project. As stated in the proposal, a needs assessment of young Muslim adults in the old city was to be conducted in the second phase.

Survey Administration

While the questionnaire was developed by September 2010, it went through a rigorous field-testing phase, and was tested in every area, before being administered in November 2011. The core research team reviewed the tool with the youth researchers after each field-test. The research team (including youth researchers) went through three rounds of training on administering the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered to 250 youth across the five research locations using a mix of snowball and purposive sampling methods. An effort was made to have a cross-section of respondents from educated, uneducated, employed and unemployed backgrounds. The administering of the questionnaire was completed by end December 2010. The investigating team went through reviews with the core research team on a weekly basis.

The questionnaire was, however, administered to the male representatives of the Muslim community. This gender imbalance was addressed during the second phase when a few well articulated young women were identified. The survey questionnaire modified and with a few questions added, was administered to the women respondents. About 64 girls were interviewed and a separate analysis of this data was carried out.

The Yugantar team shared and discussed the survey findings with the youth researchers who in turn shared the findings with members of their respective localities. The Report helped them to consider the issues that had emerged in the survey and how some of these issues could be addressed collectively with the facilitating role of Yugantar.

In order to use the findings of the survey for the Needs Assessment Phase, the youth researchers were trained in qualitative methods. Towards this end, the Yugantar team identified research tools for the needs assessment phase of the project, and conducted training sessions for the youth researchers on the same. The research tools included observation techniques, conducting interviews

and groups discussions. These tools added to the skills that youth researchers had already been trained in, such as administering questionnaires, data entry and data analysis.

Psycho-Social Trauma

In the month of July in 2010, an inception meeting was held that included the core research team and key resource persons. In this meeting discussions were held to develop the research tools and analytical concepts while addressing the problematic of the research framework which mainly concerned the complexities in the issue of psycho-social trauma.

However, trauma in its psycho-social aspect itself is hard to define and the lack of a unified framework to address the issues involved in trauma makes it difficult to provide a detailed analysis of trauma especially as a result of communal violence. Nevertheless, medical symptoms that could be identified as trauma, like persistent headaches, irritation, depression etc. can still be identified but do not alone constitute the conditions of trauma. In addition to these symptomatic psychological traits, the loss of livelihood, displacement, and consequent loss of social networks along with the feelings of disjuncture from the past and a loss of cultural heritage are other important facets of trauma experienced in the aftermath of conflict, by the affected post-violence subjectivities. The question then was how to account for the factors other than psychological symptoms.

While addressing socio-economic parameters was easy and could be fairly captured through some direct questions, it was not easy to come to a consensus regarding what parameters and indeed what measure itself could be applied that would indicate the presence of psycho-social trauma, when understood on the basis of our work in the previous phase of the study that demonstrated how violence was perpetuated in a far more subtle and persistent manner in everyday life through indirect mechanisms as after effects of communal violence. The survey questionnaire did not address the psycho-social issues directly and only some optional questions on perceptions of discrimination and 'mainstream' assumptions regarding the Muslim community as a whole were included. It was decided after deliberations and consultation with the counselor to address the Psycho-social issues in individual interviews and focus group discussions after the completion of the questionnaire survey. The team thought that the subtlety of this aspect could only be captured through a one to one correspondence preferably face to face supplemented by some open ended questions in writing. This

got aided as was hoped by the development of a more comfortable relationship with many youth in each location, which enabled the team to broach this issue without antagonizing the respondents or their families.

The Survey findings yielded a number of health and psychological wellness-related responses which do not point further to psychological issues. However, informal discussions during the course of administering the questionnaires to the respondents revealed a number of behavioural issues that seemed similar to various dimensions of depression and trauma. In order to develop greater clarity on this issue, preliminary discussions were conducted with Dr. Poornima Nagaraj, a well known psychologist in Hyderabad.

The research team worked under the guidance of Dr. Poornima Nagaraj during the next few months towards achieving the project objective of building knowledge on the psycho-social dimensions of trauma. Given the difficulty of addressing psycho-social issues through a questionnaire and considering the comfort factor of the respondent, the Yugantar team decided to conduct case studies. Several cases were identified and about six case studies were completed including a member from the youth researchers. These cases were shortlisted from the survey based on the preliminary identification done by the Yugantar team.

After several rounds of discussion it was decided that the concept of 'alienation' could best serve the requirement for the project as it could reflect the standpoint of the minority youth of the city in terms of how they perceived themselves to be incapacitated and disadvantaged in pursuing their career and life-goals and how they perceived themselves to be lagging behind in terms of progress so visible in the new city with hardly any minority representation.

Our initial work, particularly in the first few months, mostly spent in establishing and building contacts in the field, strengthened our understanding that alienation is an important analytic concept in understanding the impact of direct and social, economic and political violence. Thus we began to interrogate alienation as it emerged in the articulations/ experiences of the Muslim youth we engaged with. In keeping with the objectives of the study, this also allowed us to directly address these issues in what we termed as the 'social re-integration' of these traumatized minority youth. The

term was used to highlight the losses that the Muslim populations of Hyderabad seem to have experienced over the last 60 years. However, objections over its usage and unhappiness with the word by some members in the team as well as respondents and participants in the study led us to re-conceptualize the term as 'social recovery'. We thought that the term should reflect the process of overcoming the psycho-social concerns of the community and as a dialogue between the state and community.

Psycho-Social Trauma – Case Studies

Psycho-social issues were not directly addressed in the questionnaire, only some optional questions on perceptions of discrimination and 'mainstream' assumptions regarding the Muslim community as a whole were included. Thus the team decided to take up case studies to address this aspect of the study. Psycho-social issues were addressed in individual interviews and focus group discussions after the completion of the questionnaire survey. The research team had hoped that by that time a more comfortable relationship would have been established with the youth in each location, which would enable the team to broach this issue without antagonizing the respondents or their families. This strategy proved successful as over time people became more familiar with the project and the team members and this helped in facilitating these in depth interviews.

In the inception meeting and subsequent discussions and the reluctance of youth researchers based on their experience in the field, the research team decided to limit this component of the research framework mostly due to the impossibility of discussing violence related issues and the surface denial of the respondents with respect to trauma. In a context where psycho-social trauma was not restricted to mere medical symptoms but existed as a collective malady, it was not unusual to come across respondents who would deny facing any kind of trauma and yet reveal indications of its presence over the course of the interview. One such example is the case of one of the youth researchers who could only speak of his traumatic experiences at a much later stage of the project despite being a member of the team. His narrative has been recorded and included in the case study out of a total of five such cases studied for this project (Case studies are given as Annexure 4).

Identifying and Assessing the Needs

The second phase was launched in mid 2011. The specific objective to be met during this phase of the project was to undertake a needs assessment of Muslim youth in the Old City by identifying the needs that emerged from the data analysis of the survey.

The sharing of the survey findings with the youth researchers and the discussions on the findings resulted in establishing broad areas that can be categorized as follows:

The geographical context of the Old City and the specificity of each of the Project areas: In this context, there was consensus that there were problems with issues pertaining to civic amenities, housing and tenurial rights, identity proof and financial inclusion. However, these issues were not identified as a priority area of focus by the group.

There was consensus on the demographic profile of the project area populations. It was pointed out that a majority of the people in these areas were lower and middle income sections of society coming from either first or second generation literate families. Consequently their knowledge and guidance to provide support for the children's education is inadequate when compared to the importance they give to their children's education and the aspirations they have for them. There was consensus in the group that this was a priority issue for focused discussions to evolve a strategy to contribute to the advancement of Muslim youth in the old city. There was also consensus in the group to focus on the issue of employability of youth. The group also acknowledged the potential for allied activities to grow around the areas of priority focus once a space was created for them.

The needs assessment studied issues of a) livelihoods/ employability/ access to capital, b) education and training, c) psycho-social support, d) recreation and e) health. This phase used participatory research methods; we identified 10 young Muslim adults in the first phase to work with us as researchers during this phase. They received training in basic research methods, participated in designing the research tools for this phase, collect data, and participate in the analysis of the data.

The data and findings collected during the first phase survey also set the parameters for the needs assessment. The community based researchers elicited responses to the first phase findings and generated the communities' assessment of their own needs. The research process in this phase was

both consultative and consensual, drawing on the well validated 'Protagonist Theory' developed by Paulo Freire. In Freire's words, it is 'a pedagogy which must be forged with, not for, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity. This pedagogy makes oppression and its causes, objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from that reflection will come their necessary engagement in the struggle for change. And in this engagement, the pedagogy will be made and remade.

We felt this methodology is useful because it provides us an organic way of empowering, healing, and bringing disarticulated, disenfranchised young adults into the public domain. Through most of the second and third phase of the project, Yugantar team were facilitators and encouraged the young adults to take ownership of the research questions, process and results.

Group Discussions with the Youth Researchers

After several internal discussions, the Yugantar team shared and discussed the survey findings with the youth researchers who in turn shared the findings with members of their respective localities. The Report helped them to consider the issues that had emerged in the survey and how some of these issues could be addressed collectively with the facilitating role of Yugantar. The issues that emerged during the discussions are listed below.

1. Disconnect between educational levels and employment opportunities:
o   Those who are educated and those who are not educated – both face problems
o   Those who have received technical/vocational training also face problems in finding employment
o   Lack of education and the inability to aspire for better employment
o   Being educated but not finding appropriate employment for various reasons
o   Access to Resources Required for Employment
o   Credit(Because most people prefer to be self-employed)
o   Social Capital/Influence/Money
o   Career/Education Counseling (Inability /Lack of Skills to handle interviews etc., self-confidence)
o   Identity and Employment (Prejudice, Locality, Negligence of govt. and corporate sector)

2. Education

o   Inability to access educational institutions and continue studies (Infrastructure and quality education issues, child labor, funding, family problems)

o   Counseling for higher studies (lack of information on Muslims in higher studies in A.P)

o   The issue of Scholarships especially with regards to the complexity of application process

o   Most people do not know who to read and write Urdu

After this a discussion was followed where the participants arrived at a consensus to enlist some important categories to be focused on which include- Education, Career guidance, financial inclusion, skill development, police and civic amenities.

Group Discussions with the Community

Main issue emerging from Group Discussions:

Scholarships: There are so many problems students face in applying for Scholarships. It is very difficult to meet all the requirements/rules/procedures. Some people in discussions complained that the expenses are more while the scholarship amount is less. There are so many requirements- Bank account, income certificate, Bonafide certificate.

Education: The current disheartened situation of schools and education system is because of the politics of the local party in the old city. There was land available in old city for establishing good schools with better infrastructure. But 90% of this land was owned by Wakfs. This land was in control of the local party, which sold this land to private individuals.

Most important finding here was lack of information for people – opportunities, courses, and financial support; Overall the Muslim community lacks education and there is no encouragement within; older generation is not well educated and cannot support the younger generation; First generation of literates is absent and this contributes to a lack of supportive atmosphere (In Sultan Shahi and Kalapathar); Internal criticism of community is seen everywhere; Just as the outside world has stereotypes of Muslim community and this is reflected even internally with the stereotypes;

Lack of awareness: Some people consider lack of information available in Muslim community is because of ignorant behavior of Muslim Community. The majority blames that such condition has only been created by the Governments' approach through structured exclusion of the members of the pore sections of the Muslim community. Private institutions- People are graduates.

Communication skills: The youth lack English speaking skills. There is no proper education system which can help Muslim youth in the old city to acquire better English speaking skills.

Skill Development: Inter-personal Communication skills are generally lacking and are considered as an impediment by very few people, especially those who are educated youth and are looking for jobs; it is not an issue for those who are working in trades; English language is a felt need; Also need for direction by mentors in the neighborhood which points to a lack of appropriate role models in the neighborhood;

Employment / Self-employment: There is a feeling that Muslims do not want to work under other people among some who are critical of the community; While Muslims are employed in the IT sector, their positions are not very senior or are in some auxiliary position; Lack of confidence, education and skills also hinders the opportunity for getting jobs; Self-employment therefore becomes the choice by default; Explanation by people is one of denial of lack of capacities (denial and delusion); A sense of self respect/worth and dignity is what hinders them from accepting their lack of capacities; This is unlike the Dalit community which readily accepts their legacy and present situation; Community based recourse to religiosity and religious behavior as a result of perceived insecurity; Lack of institutions in the Old City neighborhoods – banks, training centers, bad govt schools etc.

Establishing a Minority Youth Helpline as a Tool of Needs Assessment
Our participatory study with urban Muslim youth (men and women) in Hyderabad established that while they have access to education (usually of a poor quality), they lack guidance, access to public utilities and community institutions, and absence or breaking down of social networks that hinder their growth prospects as a community and bar access to economic opportunities. They are thus unable to participate in the growth story of India and one of the unacceptable consequences has

been that there is a growing degree of alienation from both the mainstream society and the state. We have to also contend with the fact that the negative material, emotional and developmental effects of this alienation is being exacerbated by larger contextual issues.

It was evident therefore that there is an urgent need for an intervention that helps these marginalized youth in their 'social recovery' by building their human, cultural and social capital. This can best be done by leveraging technology for the rebuilding of social and institutional networks and linkages, dialogue between community and state actors, and recognizing and overcoming trauma/psycho-social concerns. The new information technology here could be used more effectively in bridging these gaps that keep the Muslim youth alienated and withdrawn into their own safety cocoons.

Our initiative of establishing a help-line for this purpose with the help of other organizations was based on a 'hub and spoke' hybrid technology model with a Muslim Youth Help-line call centre as the hub, supported by community outreach nodes that served as spokes. The MYH was a 4-seater call centre working from 10 AM to 6 PM. It was operated entirely by Muslim youth who were part of the localities in cities where the project will be implemented. It had the initial capability of handling 50 calls a day and was scaled up over time.

The following services were provided by the proposed MYH:
o   Career Guidance: education, vocational training,
o   Access to Government Schemes/Programmes
o   Placement Services
o   Facilitation for Certification
o   Institutional Linkages (education, employment, finance etc)
o   Faith Sensitive Counseling (women's issues, health issues, legal issues, identity, security)

The needs assessment phase with the inputs from the youth researchers and following dissemination and sharing of the survey findings emphasized the need to redress this immense gap existing between the provisions by the state for the minority communities and their awareness and access to these benefits. A similar conclusion was drawn in the 12th plan draft report on the development of

the minority communities with special focus on the Muslims. The working committee recommended setting up of these information hubs operating as call centers in the identified Muslim concentrated districts of India. However, no such centre has been operational to the best of the knowledge of Yugantar. Towards addressing this need Yugantar launched a four seated call centre with the help of Satyam for a period of three months on an experimental basis. Looking at the success of this initiative, interest and appreciation by the representatives of the community and feedback from the researchers as well as callers, we felt the importance of continuing this service for information dissemination, career guidance and counseling purposes. Yugantar set up help line successfully on a pilot basis for a period of 4 months (March 2012-June 2012). The helpline and resource centre that Yugantar has developed has already been taken up as a model by the National Advisory Council to the Planning Commission, and is part of its 12th plan, "Towards Inclusive Development to Empower Minorities". The NAC has recommended the government to set up 100 such centers in minority concentration towns.

Workshops

Workshops were held which helped the youth researchers in developing their organizational abilities. Modules were developed by the team to be followed for organizing the workshops. These consisted of the steps to be taken from mobilization of the community, preparing and distributing pamphlets on the chosen topic, contacting local political representatives, government officials and other experts, contacting the media, working out the logistics of the workshops were some of the issues the module contained. Youth researchers got the opportunity to debate issues of visibility, legitimacy, access, and employability with the stakeholders, who have otherwise been inaccessible. Through the workshops, strategies to bridge the gaps identified in the needs assessment were developed. This process was collaborative involving the research team, young adults and an advisory group consisting of representatives of stakeholder institutions and other resource persons.

There were two workshops held at a central place Urdu Ghar where the participants came from several research locations. The first was on the issue of Education and scholarships where several government officials and the advisory board member Mr. Azam khan were present. The second workshop was solely organized by the women members of the team. The rest of the workshops were conducted in the research locations and the community participation there was excellent to the

surprise of the team. These workshops attracted the attention of the community and often they turned out to be the venues for registering the candidates looking for employment where their CVs were collected by the team. Apart from the career guidance centres and the invitees from the government often the local corporators participated with interest. The team was invited by the corporators to the other areas and to hold similar workshops which in their view are much needed. (List of workshops are in Annexure 5)

The intention of these workshops was to create a dialogue between various experts and the Muslim youth from Sultan Shahi facing problems in accessing employment due to a deficiency of life skills. Representatives of the concerned government departments, civil society organizations, youth and their family members participated and shared their opinions. The workshops were effective in raising several issues confronting Muslim youth in accessing scholarships and finding gainful employment.

Placements

The team invited organizations and multinational companies to the workshops to shortlist candidates and even offer on the spot jobs. More than 60 boys and girls from the community got placed while many others were shortlisted for interviews. This increased the credibility and sense of achievement in the youth researchers. This process was a continuing exercise with the partner organizations forwarding their openings to Yugantar to provide job opportunity to the marginalized sections of the society.

Institutional Visits

The following institutions were identified for planning institutional visits and organize a national level exposure trip with the purpose of interacting and learning with other organizations working on the issues identified in the Needs Process period. The organizations we visited were shortlisted based on their core area of work in accordance to our topics of focus. A preliminary profiling of the organizations to be visited was done.

The organizations recognized with respect to each core area of concern are as follows:
o   On Education - Babu Khan Foundation, Siasat, Naandi Foundation

o   Career Guidance - Dialogue session with Iqra career Guidance centre

o   Financial Inclusion - Banking Institutions , Government officials, SETWIN

o   Employment -Mahindra Foundation, Employment Exchange, State Minority Commission

o   Others - National Academy of Construction

Organizations visited in the process of Exposure Visits:

o   On Scholarship - Siasat

o   On education - Nandi Foundation and MESCO

o   Employment - GMR and Taj group

o   For Women and employment - Mahila Sanatkar

o   For shelter - APMWS

o   For issues of Muslim Community - MIM Office

Interactive Dialogue sessions were held with:

o   Employment Exchange (Employment); CGC Munawar (Career Counseling); CWS (Advocacy)

o   CLMC (Discrimination)

Exposure visit: Members of the core team made a preliminary visit to Mumbai and Rajasthan to identify organisations and NGOs doing significant work with the Muslim communities in their respective areas. They visited and interacted with Doosra Dashak in Rajasthan and Majlis in Bombay. The youth researchers planned to go on an exposure visit before starting the second phase and after the completion of the data analysis. However, this kept getting delayed due to several factors such as approaching examinations and short periods of communal disturbances or even during Ramzan and the Id celebrations for a month in the middle of 2011. Finally the trip happened in the end of 2011. (Please see Annexure 6 for the report on the exposure visit)

Most importantly the core team anticipated problems as far as the issue of girls going on the outstation inter-state exposure trip was concerned. To the surprise of the core team, after initial hesitation the girls did manage to go on the trip once the family members of the team agreed to accompany the group.

Video Documentation

During the initiation of this project there was a discussion in the research team about the potential of using video testimonies of the MWNC project as a means of engaging with youth in the present project. The MWNC research project had already made a video documentation of some of the interviews with Muslim women in different cities. Many of those interviewed had not been sure if they would like their testimonies to be filmed. It was decided that they would be approached again for a formal permission and the resulting footage would be cut into a film in order to make the conceptual findings of the MWNC research project accessible to a wider audience. For instance, there is a very strong typecasting of the 'Muslim woman' as backward, illiterate, and oppressed by Muslim patriarchy that has been created in the dominant media and in the public mind. The voices in the interviews not only challenge these stereotypes, but they also re-frame the "Muslim question", whether it is identity, citizenship or new political articulations. (The video is provided as Annexure 11)

The filming was done according to plan and the resultant documentary touched upon the following themes:

o   Experiences of women who have taken on leadership roles

o   Changes in the traditional roles of women

o   Seeking accountability and responsiveness of state machinery

o   Living with fear, its toll on women

o   Changes in economic dependencies between the communities

o   New economic roles played by women

o   Family relations

o   Perceptions of religious leaders and other male leaders towards women in the changing situation

Collaborating with other activities of Yugantar

The Core Team was also involved in a national study under the auspices of the Sadbhavna Trust, New Delhi, on organizations working towards the development and empowerment of the Muslim community. Since this project has had similar objectives the team decided to participate in order to

help the youth researchers in establishing linkages with other institutions. These activities also helped the Yugantar team to identify potential organisations and individuals who could contribute to the last phase of the project.

As part of the study, a meeting was held at Yugantar office Hyderabad for an interaction between Ms.Farah Naqvi, National Coordinator of the study and representatives of various organisations concerned and working on similar issues.

Data analysis work on the Issue of Scholarship

Yugantar was approached to aid and assist in the larger efforts to increase the number of Muslim students who apply annually for the Pre-Matriculation and Post- Matriculation Scholarships offered by the Ministry of Minority Affairs of the Government of India. The youth researchers aided the local efforts in Hyderabad, to analyze the data on pre- and post- Matriculation scholarships.

The data was provided by Mr. Azam Khan, Member of the Working Group on Empowerment of Muslims in India that was constituted by the Planning Commission of India as part of its approach to the design of the 12th Five Year Plan. The data provided by Mr. Azam Khan was from the states of West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Since some of the youth researchers were also beneficiaries of the Post- Matriculation Scholarship Scheme, they were enthused about taking up the work and completing the work within the stipulated time frame. The discussions that followed after the assignment was completed allowed them to develop a perspective of their own state, A.P, when compared with the other states.

5. Outputs and Dissemination

It is well known that projects don't follow straight lines and unforeseen obstacles and barriers come in the way – in our case we faced issues relating to selection of partners, differences on research perspective and selection of locations, issues of logistics and continuity amongst others. More often than not, as researchers we tended to view these as issues to overcome as quickly as possible and not as opportunities for gaining fresh insights. We had undertaken the process documentation as an important activity in this project to keep track of and discuss issues pertaining to the methodology. All activities in the project period such as workshops, institutional visits and visits to various organizations were documented.

The outputs of the process documentation are meant primarily for young researchers and for development practitioners undertaking similar projects. The documentation has included the experiences of the youth, their families and communities and the researchers themselves. The information is generated through interviews, group discussions, observation of meetings, stories/anecdotes, photography and video, and through diaries maintained by the researchers. As videography could be intrusive, it had been used selectively and under the supervision of a skilled person. Research Assistant Raoof Mir had also been photo documenting the field work, and our workshops/ talks have been video documented as well. (Photos are provided as Annexure 12)

The outputs are in the form of both visual and written material such as: case studies, videos, photo-albums. The list of outputs is as follows:

- Questionnaires for Survey
- Survey Analysis Reports for both girls and boys
- Final Technical Report
- Policy briefs - On Education, Resource Center and Scholarship
- Social Exclusion Conference - A paper was presented in a session organized by Yugantar. – unique in terms of being only panel on youth as excluded category;
- Media articles – Counter Currents: generating popular debate; trans in Urdu for Etimaad; Siaisat
- Video Documentation

- Piloting the helpline for youth – concept note submitted to the NAC

- Psycho-social Case Studies

- Formation of a collective by the youth researchers called MY Collective for Change-Concept note prepared

Dissemination of the project material

- Pamphlet in Urdu and English:

  A pamphlet has been drafted both in Urdu and English giving an overview of the intention of the research. We have focussed on the importance of the Sachar Committee Report and the need to closely examine its ramifications and relevance to Hyderabad. It has been distributed selectively in the identified communities as well as to other people with whom the research team is coming into contact. The English and Urdu versions of the pamphlet have been attached as Annexure 7.

- Survey reports to the community

  The survey reports have been shared by the youth researchers with others in their locations through group discussions and were well received.

- Survey Findings to a Larger Audience:

  The Yugantar team was successful in disseminating the findings of the survey to a larger audience by participating and sponsoring a part of the International Seminar on "Social Exclusion: Meanings and Perspectives" which was organised by the University of Hyderabad in April 2011. In this three day seminar with more than a dozen sessions every day, Yugantar organized a session focussing on Youth where four papers were presented. Yugantar team mapped out the perceived notions and articulations of Muslim youth on alienation and ghettoization.

  The other speakers in this session focused on alienation among youth in Kashmir and in Assam. After the presentations, Yugantar received enthusiastic responses from the audiences and some even later termed it as the best session of the seminar. Our own paper on Muslim

Youth of Hyderabad was taken with great interest by the erudite audiences. (Find the report on the seminar in Annexure 8).

Yugantar team member, Raoof Mir, wrote an article in the "Etemaad" Urdu daily newspaper which is reproduced below in the Annexure 9. The article explains the Yugantar intervention in the Old City. There were reports on workshops organized that appeared in local Urdu dailies such as Siasat, Munsif etc.

6. Capacity building - Youth Researchers

One of the main objectives of the project was to strengthen the capacity in terms of institutional linkages with state and civil-society institutions of the marginalized Muslim youth from the ghettoized communities of Old City while helping them acquire livelihood skills and to create direct earning opportunity from the project. This was implemented as a simultaneous activity corresponding to each phase of the study. Our original plan in the proposal to this project was to use professionals for survey and data entry but the response and enthusiasm of the youth of the community in the initial phase of the project encouraged us to have the youth from the research locations who had shown enthusiasm and willingness to participate in the project for administering survey and conducting interviews followed by the process of entry of the data collected from the survey. Ten young male adults, all from the lower end of socio-economic profile of the backward and ghettoized localities of Hyderabad, were identified and trained in both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. The core research team felt that their participation in the collection and data entry would not only equip them with requisite research skills that would benefit them in terms of livelihood skills but also sensitize the youth, all from the lower socio-economic group from the research localities besides facilitating a more empathetic approach in understanding and noting down the observations and responses of the survey respondents. Employing them could also break the researcher/researched hierarchy as belonging to the same socio-economic and religious category the respondents would feel more at ease in discussing sensitive issues.

However, this was a young college going all male student group, and despite our rationale the group reported their difficulties in interacting with uneducated Muslims, particularly in the case of one such research location. The research team also felt that the youth researchers should do the data entry rather than the professionals as they were in a better position to do it having conducted the survey themselves while the exercise would also equip them with research and computer skills serving the objective of generating direct income and developing livelihood skills.

Later, after the administration of the survey, young Muslim women were identified who were already socially active along with young male adults with a similar profile during the participative phase of the project when a cooperative method of enquiry was adopted. This group was also trained in

research methodology and was involved in the process of Needs Assessment. Once the data analysis was completed these youth researchers went back to their respective communities to discuss the findings and to identify main issues. The youth researchers also took part in other sub-projects of Yugantar where they helped in working on the issue of scholarship issue on the request of the designated planning commission member for this issue. They also worked towards a comprehensive profiling of organizations working on the Muslim issue in Andhra Pradesh. An integral process was that of perspective building and awareness on minority issues and providing exposure through meetings organized with other organizations working on youth, Muslims and other developmental activities both within the city as well as an inter-state exposure trip organized for this purpose. The aim of this participative consensual method based project was to help build leadership abilities by helping in forming linkages with other state and civil society institutions so they could continue to work on these issues independent of Yugantar after the completion of the project. To this end the youth researchers decided to form a collective and are working towards it as of now.

Skills Building: The team took part in developing research tools, testing the survey, administering the survey and entering the data collected from the survey. For each of these research activities corresponding training were provided by experts in the field on the methodological tools and instruments. Later the second group was also trained in both qualitative and quantitative methodology with special training sessions held for participant observation, Focus Group discussions and in depth interviews. They took an active part in disseminating information to the community to identify key issues and develop strategy to address them.

Developing Research Tools: In order to take up the second phase of activities, the Yugantar team first selected a set of research tools that would be used in the second phase of the project. These include individual interviews, Key Informant Interviews, group discussions, participant observation and institutional analysis.

Group Discussions: Group discussions with the youth researchers have been conducted on a continuous basis in order to strengthen their research capacities in both qualitative and quantitative techniques.

Observation Techniques: An interactive workshop was conducted on structured observation in order to launch the needs assessment phase. Both men and women youth researchers attended the workshop. This was followed by a visit the next day to a local Career Guidance and Counselling Centre in the Urdu Ghar building which works on Sundays. The youth researchers selected the 3 places that they visited for a structured observation and interaction with the people in those places. Sharing of experiences through the notes that were taken by the researchers followed the 1-2 hours of observation and interaction.

The youth researchers were trained on participatory observation. Various Guidelines for participatory observation were shared with youth, which include: a)spend 1-2 hours, b)observe who all come; c)how many people come; d)what do they do; e)who are the organizers; f)description of the place; g)Interviews with main people. The module for observation technique is in Annexure 10.

Following are the findings in relation to the experience of the youth researchers who participated in the project.

1) Working with the youth is itself a challenge given the volatility of their age and young impressionable minds which makes it difficult to study as well as employ them for a social community based project. The Youth researchers who worked with Yugantar as participants in the study were all found to be highly motivated throughout and reported how their involvement had made them more aware of 'real' issues and challenges on the ground for their communities and had resulted in their growth as active and responsible community members. All of them spoke of gaining confidence to be able to meet various institutions and individuals.

2) The youth researchers from the first group expressed great satisfaction in being involved in community based issues and spoke of how they had grown as individuals in the process which proved to be a great learning experience for them while also being the first time they were able to makes some earning.

3) Most of the young researchers, identified in the second phase of the project had already been active in their individual capacity and showed their strengthened commitment to continue to work on community issues;

4) These researchers were also able to create some sustainable networks with educational institutions, politicians, government officials, media, corporates and NGOs which would help them in continuing their work on community issues

5) Youth researchers' research capacities were built through several training sessions on both quantitative and qualitative methodology including participatory methodology. During the data entry phase, the researchers got trained on computer skills.

6) The researchers' focus on employment and education as the main issues in the Needs Assessment period was reported as being most productive. The workshops held for this purpose was beneficial to them. Their involvement and the initiative of launching a call centre gave them a sense of achievement as it proved to be most productive phase of the project for them and many people, as they reported - continued to approach them for help on those issues. But with the experimental phase of the call centre and eventually the project coming to end, they expressed their helplessness and inability.

7) The youth researchers echoed the community's sentiments in stressing on not wanting to talk about issues of security and violence. They instead wanted to focus on education/ livelihoods/ employment/ financial security as the basic avenues through which the community's backwardness could be checked implying an improvement in economic needs would automatically address the psycho-social trauma perceived in the ghettoized violence ridden communities of the Old City.

8) Perspectives on girls – the first group didn't include any girls. This was addressed through the identification of women researchers who took up in depth interviews and administered survey questionnaires that was slightly improvised for this purpose. The Muslim girls expressed similar feelings as their male counterparts in terms of the benefits from the research process

and their commitment to continue community based work. The helpline was perceived to be even more beneficial for women given their restricted mobility.

9) The researchers took active part in organizing the workshops in their respective localities which itself turned out to be a learning experience for them. One workshop was held exclusively for the girls, but here we found a lack of corresponding support by their male counterparts.

10) When conducting field studies and employing participant observation method, the researchers reported how the real field experience was different from what they had learned in training sessions conducted by Yugantar. The youth researchers learnt to deal with real life situations while maintaining objectivity in conducting field studies which could and were different from training based simulated situations.

11) Exposure visits: the youth researchers were to be taken for exposure visits sometime after the completion of the data analysis. However, this kept getting delayed due to several factors such as approaching examinations and short periods of communal disturbances or even during Ramzan and the Id celebrations for a month in the middle of 2011. Most importantly the core team anticipated problems as far as the issue of girls going on the outstation inter-state exposure trip was concerned. To the surprise of the core team, after initial hesitation the girls did manage to go on the exposure trip once the family members of some of researchers agreed to accompany the group.

12) Workshops and Group Discussions were held which helped the youth researchers, including helping them in organizational abilities. In one workshop where we focused on the provision of jobs by inviting organizations and multinational companies to shortlist candidates and even offer on spot jobs, more than 60 boys and girls from the community got placed increasing the credibility and sense of achievement in the youth researchers.

13) The youth researchers also got involved in other sub-projects of Yugantar. In one such sub-project where the researchers helped the member of working group for the Planning

Commission for the 12th plan, on his request, on data work with regards to educational scholarship for Muslims. This issue had been identified by the researchers as a crucial one as they felt that the Muslim community from the lower income group could benefit from these schemes but were unable to given the rigorous requirements listed to merit the scholarship. Their working on scholarship data and interaction with the member in charge led to recommendations to change the process of scholarship to make it easier to apply and process and was duly forwarded by him to the authorities. The authorities acted swiftly changing the process of application for scholarship. However, it seemed to the researchers that the application process had only been made more difficult, thus inverting the purpose of the recommendations.

7. Impact

The youth who took part in the research process were from parts of the Old City of Hyderabad, which have suffered prolonged neglect with minimal amenities, resulting in a deep sense of isolation in the communities living there, and frustration among youth. Participating in the research process has deeply impacted the youth researchers – we have detailed the capacity building dimensions of this interaction in an earlier section. They established numerous sustainable social linkages, not only within their own communities but also with individuals and institutions in other parts of the city and the country. These linkages provide support towards access to educations, employment, civic and civil rights and so on. This cohort of community-based youth researchers also achieved a better understanding of the multi-dimensional processes of social development. This experience has resulted in them forming themselves into a voluntary collective committed to working towards change for the youth of their communities. This collective for change and action is called MY Collective for Change.

During the research process, an experimental helpline was established for a short time, which received enthusiastic response from the community. It became a focal point for interlinking the community, for exchange of information and news, for asking for help and people coming forward to help. Had funds existed, the Helpline would have become established within the community and grown as a key organization for the service of local youth. It is still very much part of the agenda of the youth activists to revive it on a sound and permanent footing.

The experience of this project also served as basis for engaging with the National Advisory Council's sub-committee on minorities. Our effort contributed in part to the inclusion of a Chapter entitled "Basket of Schemes to build social capital among minorities and to enhance outreach of the ongoing programmes" in their recommendations for the 12th Five year Plan (entitled "Towards Inclusive Development to Empower Minorities"). The recommendation has been accepted and our idea of the Urban Youth Helpline has been included in the draft 12th Plan Document.

Several business firms, institutions and government agencies and their officers have participated in the workshops organized over the course of the project with a view to bringing 'enablers' in the

areas of education and employment to Old City neighbourhoods, so that direct linkages could be formed between the community and these providers. As mentioned above, these linkages have grown and strengthened, and possibilities now exist for new schemes for welfare, development and social change can be undertaken in previously neglected neighbourhoods.

The research process and the surveys that were conducted had a very positive impact on the lives of several young residents of the old city who lacked access to educational opportunities, scholarships and employment. As a result of the neighbourhood workshops and the resulting linkages, several Old City youth have found educational possibilities and secure employment.

Wider awareness of the issues has also been achieved. Leading Urdu newspapers, such as Siasat and Etemaad carried several articles on the youth involved and their efforts for social change. An academic paper on the theme of social exclusion entitled: "Caught in the Space Between : Hyderabad's Muslim Youth and Experiences of alienation", was presented at the international seminar, held by the Centre for Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP), from 23-25, March, 2011.

8. Administration and Human Resources

The lead researcher, Dr. K. Lalita, well known activist and researcher and a member of the board of director for the organization is recognized as a prominent voice for the women's movement in India and particularly in Andhra Pradesh. With several books on women issues to her credit, and her known activism in standing for the underprivileged and marginalized or excluded communities brought her expertise and experience in heading the project while her work with the Hyderabad Forum for Justice which played a key role in the release of illegally detained Muslim youth by the police in Andhra helped the team in networking with other organizations and key personalities working in the Old City while lending us credibility that ensured relatively easier access to the community.

Diia Rajan, the project coordinator, with research experience and organizational and managerial experience. Along with the lead researcher, was involved in the preceding project "Minority Women Negotiating Citizenship".

Vijay Burgula joined the core research team in December 2010. Vijay studied towards a PhD in political science at The New School, New York, before returning to India to work as a consultant with NGOs on issues of food security, governance, and child rights.

Abdul Raoof Mir, has recently completed an M.Phil from the University of Hyderabad, Political Historiography of Islam in South Asia, joined us as research associate in the beginning of the project. Raoof writes regularly for print and e-journals regularly on current affairs, Kashmir, and issues relating to Islam and Muslim communities in South Asia.

Syed Nayeem joined as field coordinator. Nayeem has a two-decade long experience of working with reputed NGOs. His extensive local knowledge and network came in quite handy particularly in establishing and building contacts and his work in the initiation period when the research location had to be decided was of invaluable contribution.

Karl Karim Zakhour worked with us as a research intern. Karl is a student of political science at Uppsala University in Sweden.

Mohsin Wali: An M.Phil student from the Center for Economic and Social Studies, helped us to put together the final report.