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## Residential Discrimination of Muslims in Multicultural Mumbai, India

Jaiffer Ali Arackal

Ph.D. Scholar, MMAJAIS, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, India

### Abstract:

The Paper discusses role of 'identities' in a city. In the classical literature of Social Sciences, City is considered as place of identities with less/no relevance. Mumbai Is one of the largest city in terms of its demography and diversities. The city has different communities and the city is also known as city of contradictions, with the existence of rich and poor and other various diversities. Identity of people are reflected in the space of a city. Spatial reflection of identities are visible from housing practices of various identity groups in a city. Mumbai, a city with diversities are known to its co-existence and communal harmony. At the same time, the city has witnessed communal riots, bomb blast and skirmishes between Hindus and Muslims. The paper tries to place Muslim identity in Mumbai city. Muslim cannot be perceived as homogenous identity considering internal variation among Muslims. Above internal contradiction, Muslims show housing behaviour of being together with other co-believers (Muslims). Parsees and Brahmins are having concentrated housing in Mumbai like Matunga and Dadar Parse colony. Malabar hill and Dhravi is also another example two extreme end of housing behaviour in the city. Muslim identity of the city is spatially arranged, and most of those places can be located at the poor end of city's hierarchical order. The city's multicultural values are largely questioned by its 'housing realities'. Each riots and bomb blasts have reconfigured identities of the cities as it seen today. The paper largely depended upon primary and secondary data of census, reports and literature review. However, the analysis is made based upon the field experiences of Muslims from Shivaji Nagar, East Jogeswari, Deonar and Dharavi.

### 1. Introduction

Housing is one of the basic human needs which provides security to human beings. Urbanisation results in diversifying of people, culture and language of the cities. City was accounted with anonymity and cosmopolitanism where a primary/ascribed identity (like religious/ethnic) has less/no relevance. City encounters with diversities and process of urbanization is not an equal experience to every dweller.<sup>1</sup> Multiplication of diversities provides cultural and ethnic pluralism in the city. Appearance of diversities (ethnic and cultural) in a space brings different kind of possible situation like mono-cultural domination, pluri-cultural interstices, Trans-cultural interstices and Multicultural interstices.<sup>2</sup> Cities are becoming endless expanses, with high degrees of fragmentation of the urban fabric that result in vast interstitial open spaces. At the periphery, residential neighbourhoods are characterized by low density developments which, along with under-used spaces and fragmented built-up areas in the intermediate city-rings, are contributing to dramatic reductions in residential densities.<sup>3</sup>

Multiculturalism is an idea that proposes social justice and equal participation of 'diverse people' in a nation-state.<sup>4</sup> In day to day experience of a city, cultural identity may act as a source of discrimination. Classical studies in urban sociology (like ecological theory and Chicago schools) has analysed city a place of discrimination based on one's religion, race and gender. In a multicultural city, various cultural identities meet and interact with the perceived equal access to resources. Survival of diverse cultures requires a system of differentiated rights, like Indian constitution offers to it minorities by Article 15,17and 49.<sup>5</sup> Support of special group rights of vulnerable minorities enable them to develop confidence in the system thus inclusion in the terms and definition of democratic citizenship. In a multi-ethnic and multinational societies like India, minority cultures and communities are disadvantaged in the public arena. India has different categories of minorities, like religious (Muslims, Sikhs, Christians etc.), Linguistic (mainly Non-Hindi speakers) and various ethnicities and castes. Minorities in India are disadvantaged (with the exception of Parsees and Christians) and their different cultural orientation and practices are questioned in reference to Indian 'nation state'. Existence of manifold diversities makes it significant to analyse multiculturalism in urban context with its effectiveness and limitation especially when 'diversities' accompany with 'differences'.

<sup>1</sup> UN -HABITAT (2013), *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013: Prosperity of Cities*, New York: Routledge, p.5

<sup>2</sup> Muriel Kahane (2009), "The Plural Self & The Social: Some Considerations for Political Theory" in Tina Rahimy (ed) *Representation, Expression and Identity: Interdisciplinary Insights on Multiculturalism, Conflict and Belonging*, Oxford: Inter Disciplinary press, p.8.

<sup>3</sup> UN -HABITAT (2013), *State of the World's Cities 2012/2013: Prosperity of Cities*, p.7

<sup>4</sup> Abu Laban Yasmeeen and D. Stasiulus (December, 1992), "Ethnic Pluralism Under Siege: Popular and Partisan Opposition to Multiculturalism", *Canadian Public Policy Politique*, 18 (4), P.370.

<sup>5</sup> Iris M. Young (1989), "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship", *Ethics*, 99 (2), p. 257.

This paper is an attempt to analyse Multiculturalism in Mumbai with a special reference to residential condition of the city's 'religious minorities'. Multiculturalism as a symbolic measure is insufficient, if they do not address real issues and resource allocation for minorities. Government appointment commissions like, Sachar, Ranganatha Mishra and Faslul Haque has univocally mentioned that Muslims are the most disadvantaged group in India. Housing attainment is very difficult for Muslims in diverse city like a Mumbai. This Paper is concentrating on Muslim identity issues and its expression in housing sector. I critically examine role of Multiculturalism in Indian cities with reference housing patterns of Muslims in Mumbai. The important argument raised by this paper is that housing conditions of Muslims are compulsion of socio economic condition, but without denying their preference to retain separated identity. Paper will substantiate its arguments based on Muslim area (Mohall as by numerical majority) from Mumbai, mainly from Shivaji Nagar and Dharavi. In this qualitative study, both quantitative and qualitative data has been used to assess how (transparency)/openness and inclusiveness of residential discrimination against Muslims. Available literature and earlier studies on Mumbai's residential pattern have been used to understand socio-historical structure of Mumbai. A field work was done in Shivaji Nagar and Dharavi in order to have semi structured interview with residents and Residents Welfare Association (RWA) of the area.

## 2. Identities and Urban Areas

Before we go to Experience of Muslims in Mumbai, a detailed discussion on minorities in urban contexts are done. Urbanisation is a complex process of socio-economic and cultural changes. However, this paper looks thorough ethnic-cultural lenses of urbanisation and how it is reflected on housing pattern of Mumbai. Multiplicities of Mumbai raises questions regarding cooperation and conflict of ethnicities.

Debates on urban changes are dated back to American cities of 1920s, where Louis Wirth and Robert Park discussed sociocultural urban pattern of Chicago. Park's race relation cycle analyse socio and ethnic contact through five stages: which are "initial contact, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation".<sup>6</sup> Assimilation was referred as a "process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and group acquire the memories sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated to with them in common cultural life".<sup>7</sup> Isajiw singles out three patterns of ethnic identity maintenance when diverse identities meet. They are pattern of transplantation of the old culture, the rebellion pattern and the returning or rediscovery pattern.<sup>8</sup>

Urbanization and migration were not universalized experiences and it also reinforced identities. However, hybridity is also not ignorable. Robert Park observes segregation of a city as "mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate".<sup>9</sup> Spatial organization of society plays a role in shaping a group's social mobility and opportunities and their identity in a city.<sup>10</sup> Geography of opportunity<sup>11</sup> talks about spatial variations lack access of city services to various areas. The relationship between ethnicity and urban space is a two-way process. To begin with, space has an impact on how people from different ethnic groups (besides being of a certain class, age and gender) lead their lives. Conversely, since the members of the ethnic groups have, by definition, a different cultural background and develop dissimilar economic activities, they tend to utilize the urban environment in diverse ways, having a different impact on the transformation of urban space. Ethnic groups tended to live in certain quarters and economic functions were clustered in certain areas.<sup>12</sup> Expansion of ethnic groups or booming economic functions may bother territory of 'other groups or functions'.

A city is not identity neutral and it has reflection of various identities. People who belong to a particular section prefer to settle in a certain area to protect their socio-cultural backgrounds, practices and rituals, which are different from others. Sometimes, the others do not permit a community to practice them publicly. Community does not want to lose their socio-cultural identity by mingling with others, as it is afraid of the areas of assimilation and acculturation. Physical assaults, discrimination and stereotypes are factors leading to the formation of ghettos. It may form consciousness of identity preservation. Selection of a residential area

Socio-economic and cultural differences may reflect in the residential pattern of a city that makes identity based residential areas. Religious, linguistic, racial, regional and cultural identities form such residential pattern, in which some identities are numerically dominant and identity consciousness is vibrant among its dwellers. Despite the technological and communication revolution physical proximity has importance, and identity consciousness of the people is reformulated through spatial (identity) fragmentation in cities. Residential pattern of ethnic identities is considered with spatial representation of the identities. Housing in the urban areas is not based on inclusive policies. It has reflection of economic and socio cultural identities. People of various identities have different kind of access to housing sector. The spatial reflection is frequently correlated with the social relations that the spatial may be taken as an index of social pattern.<sup>13</sup> Hawley opinions that, redistribution of a minority group in the same territorial patterns as that of majority groups results in a dissipation of subordinate status and an assimilation of the subjected group into the social structure.<sup>14</sup> A high level

<sup>6</sup> Stanford M Lyman (1968), "The Race Relation Cycle of Robert E. Park", *The Pacific Sociological Review*, 11(1), p.17.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Hirsch (1942), "Assimilation as a Concept and as Process", *Social Forces*, 21(1), p.36.

<sup>8</sup> Wsevoid W. Isajiw, (1974), "The process of Maintenance of Ethnic Identity: The Canadian Context", in Paul MMigus (ed.), *Sounds Canadian, Languages and Cultures in Multi-ethnic Society*, Peter Martin Associates, p.133,

<sup>9</sup> Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess (1925) *The City*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.4.

<sup>10</sup> Jian Guan (2003), "Ethnic COnciosnees arises on Facing Spatial Threats to Philadelphia in China Town", in F Colombijn and Erdentug, A. (eds.). (2003). *Urban ethnic encounters: the spatial consequences*, New York: Routledge, p.36.

<sup>11</sup> JERosenbaum (1995), "Geography of Opportunity by Expanding Residential Choice: lessons from the Gautreaux program", *Housing Policy Debate*(6/1), p.233.

<sup>12</sup> Nancy Foner (2005), *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration*, New York: NYU Press, p.170.

<sup>13</sup> Douglas S. Massey, Andrew B. Gross, and Kumiko Shibuya. (1994), "Migration, Segregation, and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty" *American Sociological Review*, 59 (June), p.440.

<sup>14</sup> Amos Hawley and Otis Dudley Duncan (November 1957), "Social & a Analysis : A Critical Appraisal", *Land Economics*, 33 (4), p.359.

of residential segregation implies that more members of that ethnic group live in neighbourhoods, predominantly by members of that group only. In a concentrated pattern, large ethnic group makes possible the establishment of institution, services and stores that cater primarily to the group. This is a kind of institutional completeness which may be essential for sustaining the boundaries of ethnic racial communities.<sup>15</sup> The policies adopted by the state— contain majoritarian cultural biases which place the minority communities at a disadvantage end.<sup>16</sup> Fischer referred residential patterning as result of increasing size and diversity leading to emerge five variables: they are urban size, critical mass ethnic group, ethnic institutional completeness, ethnic pluralism and emergent ethnic political community.<sup>17</sup> At any situation, residential patterning can be considered as spatial reflection of identity. The spatial reflection is frequently correlated with social relations that the spatial may be taken as an index of social pattern.<sup>18</sup> Hawley opinions that, redistribution of a minority group in the same territorial pattern as that of the majority group results in a dissipation of subordinate status and an assimilation of the subjected group into the social structure.<sup>19</sup> A high level of residential segregation implies that more members of that ethnic group live in neighbourhoods, predominantly by members of that group only.

Residential pattern is explained through different lenses. Sometimes, it is described as port of entry of migrants. Cultural proximity theory argued that persons of the same ethnic ancestry may choose to live in proximity which maximize social interaction, and help them to maintain norms, values and identity of the group.<sup>20</sup> Social distance theory explains that residential segregation is due to social distance between ethnic groups.<sup>21</sup> Social distance is strengthened through social standing<sup>22</sup> and social class differences<sup>23</sup>. Neighbourhood attainments of minority groups signify the advancement of their life chances and their gradual assimilation with the majority group.<sup>24</sup>

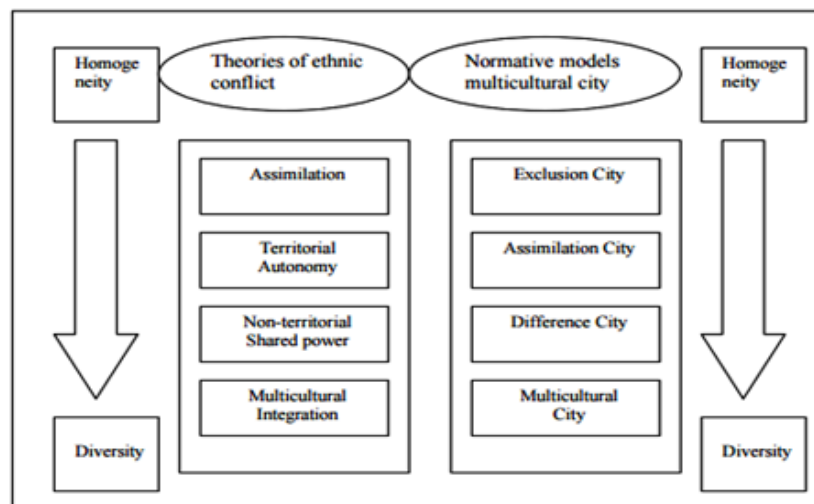


Figure 1: Diversity in a City, Possible social Process (Courtesy: Laura Capel Tatjer<sup>25</sup>)

Ghettos are expression and practice of segregation both in physical (geographical) and socio-cultural level. Particular groups live separated from others based on their identity and it is reformulated through proximity of physical and cultural level. Dwellers of a ghetto are segregated from others, and their culture is isolated from the other societies. Discrimination compels them to live separately from the others. Identity of a group acts as a restricting factor for getting housing facilities and pulls them to ghettos. It becomes a forced experience to them. Identity markers like physical and cultural features, act as identifying and segregating criteria from others. In this situation, subordinated group is compelled to live in segregated area, which results from their less accessibility of power and economic structure.

<sup>15</sup> L. Driedger (1976), "Ethnic self-identity: A comparison of ingroup Evaluation" *Sociometry*, 30(2), p.134.

<sup>16</sup> Gurpeet Mahajan (2000), *The Multicultural Path: Issues of Diversity and Discrimination in a Democracy*, Sage, Delhi, p. 16

<sup>17</sup> Fischer Claude S, Stockmayer Gretchen, Stiles Jon, Hout Michael (February, 2004), "Distinguishing the geographic levels and social dimensions of US metropolitan segregation, 1960–2000", *Demography*, 41(1), p.38.

<sup>18</sup> Douglas S. Massey (October, 1981), "Social Class and Ethnic Segregation: A Reconsideration of Methods and Conclusion", *American Sociological Review*, 46(5), p.642.

<sup>19</sup> Otis Dudley Duncan, and Lieberson (January, 1959), "Ethnic segregation and Assimilation", *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (4), p.370.

<sup>20</sup> T.R Balakrishnan and John Kralt (1984), "Segregation of Visible minorities in Montreal, Toronto and Vancour", in Leo Driedger (ed.), *Ethnic Canada Identities and Inequalities*, Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, p.139.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid, p.139.

<sup>22</sup> ibid. p.140.

<sup>23</sup> Eric Fong and Rima Wilkes (September, 1997), "The Spatial Assimilation Model Re-examined: An Assessment by Canadian Data", *International Migration Review*, 33(3), p.598.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid p. 601.

<sup>25</sup> Laura Capel Tatjer, (2003), Multiculturalism in the city: managing diversity, ERSA 2003 CONGRESS, <https://www.jyu.fi/ersa2003/cdrom/papers/488.pdf> (accessed on:20/3/16)

There are different types of coming together of people of same identity based on different process. Ghettos are formed based on segregation process and choice is involuntary. Enclaves are formed out of clustering and choice is voluntary. In both of these processes ethnic identities are determinant of residential patterning. Slums are formed based on class identity, but sometimes, it may accompany ghettos. Barrio was the terms used to denote residential areas of Spanish Americans. Ethnoburbs are used to signify residential pattern of ethnic economy, and concentration of people to preserve their culture.

The idea of multicultural city encourages and “normalises” communities from different backgrounds and allocates resources to them. Urban multiculturalism is expressed by music, art, gastronomy and that is extended into institutional development, for instance helping religious minorities establish meeting places, but it is not limited to culture and focus on material developments by extending to the stimulation of small business.<sup>26</sup> An urban space’s hierarchical residential areas is a first sign of unequal social distribution material and cultural resources. It reinforces the social division of the city. The creation of ethnic neighbourhoods with ethnic shops selling native foods and other products led to the development of community structures: ethnic communities in integration neighbourhoods. This, Simon notes, is not the result of a political decision but a powerful combination of socio-economic segregation and ethnic-racial discrimination.

Cities struggle between trends of cultural homogenisation and heterogenization. The homogenisation process imposes certain fixed identity on the right to city. Many cities in the world are socially, economically and ethnically fragmented. Some of them are even becoming socially, ethnically and racially ghettoised. In one hand, Intergroup encounters happens in increased number in a city, and they develop can develop and cultural production take place. In the other hand, cities are space of contestation for cultural and material domination between various ethnic and identity groups.

### 3. Mumbai and Diverse Identities

Mumbai is capital city of Maharashtra. Marathi is the major spoken language in the city. Mumbai has many spoken languages like Urdu, Hindi, Tamil, Kannada, Malyalam, Bengali, Orissa and Teluge than Maratha. Schools and newspapers published in the city are testimonial of diversity of the languages in the city. Mumbai Shows various colonies based on languages and there is tendency of people to live together based on the language which are their own/ or they feel comfortable.

Mumbai, the island city was originally inhabited by *Kolis* (fishing indigenous groups). Mumbai’s diversity is contributed out of its colonial rule and entrepreneurship constituted by them. Flow of people were speeded up because option and opportunities offered by the city. Cotton mills were major hub of labours and around two Lakhs people were directly depending upon it.<sup>27</sup> Post-world war period also witnessed for emergence of non-traditional industrial sectors like banking and finance and that enabled local business group to start sustainable and profitable enterprises. It connected Mumbai with world cities and set the base for national industry.

Mumbai is known as a city of migrants where everybody moved in and becomes part of the city.<sup>28</sup> In 1961 migrants constituted 36 percent of Mumbai’s total inhabitants and 75% of them were from Maharashtra.<sup>29</sup> Major migrant sending states to Mumbai are Uttar Pradesh, Gujrat and Karnataka. Majority of the migrants are unskilled peasants labours and villagers who somehow eke out their miserable living in Mumbai by performing lower grade works.<sup>30</sup> Ethnicities found in Mumbai are mainly by product of migration. Migration diversifies ethnicities and it leads to appearance of varieties in its population composition.

Mumbai has got various religious groups, though Hindus are majority constituting 67.39 percentage of the Total Population, as per socio-religious census of 2011. Muslims constitute 18.56 percentage and Buddhists are 5.22 percentage of Total Population. 4.2 percentage of religious believers are Christians. Sikhs are numerical minority in the city with 0.58 percentage of population. The city has also presence of Parses and Jews. Maharashtrians constitute 46 percentage of linguistic-ethnic composition of the city. 19.6 percent of the city Gujratis. Mumbai is a miniature of India with presence of people from all over the country. 16 major languages of India are spoken in Mumbai, while Marathi, Hindi, English, Gujarati and Urdu are prominent language of communication.<sup>31</sup>

Migration diversify the city especially in linguistic terms. Religious diversity of the city last to its historical phases ruling by Guptas, Sulatante and British era. However, Migration to the city multiplied its diversities During the 1991–2001, migrants were estimated as 1.12 million. Religious and regional identity is relevance in day to day life of Mumbai. Social and economic status in the Mumbai is linked to the linguistic and religious identity of the people. Anti-migration policies and riots have been reported in Mumbai as it occurred against non-Marathi people through attacks against south Indians and North Indians, proposed by Shiv Sena and later Maharashtra Nava Nirman Sena. Religion becomes a major cause for identity marker it reflects in the geographical distribution population. Cow protection movements from pre-independent India, and communal riots in interval durations keep religious identity alive and volatile.

Muslims experience housing discrimination and they are denied properties and housings in urban India. Muslims concentrated in the certain areas (*mohallas*) of many cities in India.<sup>32</sup> Muslim area can be explained from part of compulsion and preference. Ghettos, enclaves, slums, neighbourhood can express housing structure of urban area and its relationship with Muslims. denial houses to

<sup>26</sup> Alisdair Rogers, (1998), *The spaces of multiculturalism and citizenship*, Oxford: Blackwell, p.19

<sup>27</sup> Sujata Patel (1995), “Bombay’s Urban Predicament”, in Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner (eds.) *Bombay Metaphor of Modern India*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, p. vi.

<sup>28</sup> Shekar Mukherjee (2006), *Migration and Urbanization Decay: Asian Experience*, Jaipur: Rawat Publication P. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai (2010), *Mumbai Human Development Report, 2009*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p.69.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, p.29.

<sup>31</sup> Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner (2011), *Data Highlights – Table D1, D2 & D3 Census of India 2001*.

<sup>32</sup> Abdul Shaban, (ed.) (2012), “Introduction” in Abdul Shaban, *Lives of Muslims in India: Politics, Exclusion and Violence*, New Delhi: Routledge, p.5.

Muslims in India are due to stereotypes, discrimination, and suspected patriotism. It is also reported that Muslims themselves prefer to live with 'their own' people to maintain their religious and cultural identity. Muslim areas are backward in terms of infrastructure and resources.

Neo-liberal development strategies intensify ethnic and religious polarisations both at global and local levels. Marginalisation of poor deprive economic development, social and civic rights of minorities. Muslims, as a religious minority, are also faced with these challenges in India, and suffer from acute development deficits, ethno-centric discriminatory practices, and physical and social violence, off late conspicuously emerging from mimicry of the global drifts at local level.<sup>33</sup>In urban India, 46 per cent of Muslims depend on self-employment for livelihood.<sup>34</sup>In terms of education, Muslims are the most backward community in India. Backwardness of Muslims can be read from, that "Only 30 per cent Muslim male workers were in the category of 'secondary & above' in urban areas, compared with 58 per cent for both Christians and Sikhs and 56 per cent for Hindus".<sup>35</sup>

#### 4. Housing Access of Muslims in Mumbai

Mumbai is city of contraction of haves and have notes. The city's few areas, almost six per cent of the land is accommodates 80 percent of the population. Natural growth of the population and migration have led to a phenomenal increase in housing demand. Housing market of the city is consisted of "owner occupied, private rental, rent free, squatter areas, and slums. Physically, housing extends from makeshift arrangements to temporary, semi-permanent, and permanent houses".<sup>36</sup> Housing conditions vary according to income gap. Market based on affordability is accepted as rational. At the same time, alarming level of housing shortfall of 50-60percent of Mumbai's population, pull them to live in slums.<sup>37</sup> More than affordability, socio-ethnic identity of people also reflects in the housing behaviour of people and housing market.

Housing is major issues of Mumbai, against its principles of equality and democratic values, since the city excludes a larger number of people from having housing facilities. Location of houses, its design and built up, are weaved into the socio-cultural and economic fabric of the communities. Social and ecological environment of dwelling influence the daily lives of people, their health, security and wellbeing. Dwellings as a physical structure shows effects on the present and future generations.<sup>38</sup>Housing is not always shortage of the land but it is moreover about concentration of scarce resources (especially land) towards few hands. It also does not suit to the argument of migration generated troubles as migration and finding residence is not the same experience to all and it depends upon skill and jobs they possess. Spatial fragmentation of city concentrates high quality formal developments and informal into certain pockets, marked by insecurity and acute deficiencies.<sup>39</sup>Government has to provide housing a rather than relying on and facilitating the "market" which is increasing the gap and deny housing to many.

People and activities who occupy it gives meaning to urban spaces. Urban spaces are social creation that influence social and psychological milieu of people and society. Although, every space is defined by creative activity, spatial relation is given seminal fixity, once it is formed.<sup>40</sup> In other words, urban areas get fluid but somewhat permanent meaning which is being perpetuated over generations. It is visible from racial and ethnic ghettos; its exclusionary interactions make it more and more exclusive space.

In Mumbai, some people or group have more accessibility to resource and power in an urban area. Identity of a group reflects in housing areas of the city. This can be either through the community's preference to reside with the people of same identity for preserving socio cultural identities. People of various communities have different kind of access to housing market according to their socio-economic status. Housing sector is not worked always based on inclusive policies. Class identities reflected on the housing sector, beyond any doubt. Besides this, religious identity has also an influence on the housing in India. Shivaji Nagar and Govandi, Bhindi bazar are example of Muslim specific localities in the city.

Mumbai has areas where a particular religious group are found (like Muslims and Hindus), linguistic groups are found (Tamils, Malayalis, etc.) and Dalit areas. Mumbai reflects socio-spatial and socio-cultural outcomes of polarization, segregation and exclusionary process.<sup>41</sup> Abdul Shaban observes some recent developments on intensification of housing differentiation in the city of Mumbai:

<sup>33</sup>Abdul Shaban (eds.)(2013), Muslim in Urban India: Exclusion and Inclusion" in Shaban Abdul and khan, saqib (ed) (2013) Muslims in Urban India: Development and Exclusion, New Delhi: Concept Publishers, p.4

<sup>34</sup>Prime Ministers High Level Committee (2006), *Social Economic and Educational Status of Muslim Community in India Sachar Committee Report.* Government of India, New Delhi: Cabinet Secretariat. P.14.

<sup>35</sup>Aditi Nigam (August 9, 2013) "46 % of Muslims in India are Self-employed" The Hindu, Business Line, URL: <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/economy/46-muslims-in-urban-india-selfemployed/article5007269.ece>(accessed on:20/03/16)

<sup>36</sup>Asian Development Bank (2001), Urban Indicators for Managing Citites, p.14, URL: <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/30020/urban-indicators-managing-cities.pdf>, (accessed on:1/05/15)

<sup>37</sup>Strategy for Civic Infrastructure Development, Mumbai City Development Plan 2005-2025, Municipal Corporation of Greater Mumbai., [http://www.mcgm.gov.in/irj/go/km/docs/documents/MCGM%20Department%20List/City%20Engineer/Deputy%20City%20Engineer%20\(Planning%20and%20Design\)/City%20Development%20Plan/Strategy%20for%20Civic%20Infrastructure%20Develoment.pdf](http://www.mcgm.gov.in/irj/go/km/docs/documents/MCGM%20Department%20List/City%20Engineer/Deputy%20City%20Engineer%20(Planning%20and%20Design)/City%20Development%20Plan/Strategy%20for%20Civic%20Infrastructure%20Develoment.pdf)

<sup>38</sup> UN Habitate (2015), A Practical Guide to Designing, Planning, and Executing Citywide Slum Upgrading Programmes, Nairobi: UN Habitate, p.14.

<sup>39</sup>YUVA (September, 2013), People's Vision Document for Mumbai's Development Plan (2014 - 2034), p.45, URL: [http://www.yuvaurbanindia.org/data/People's%20Vision%20Document\\_Final.pdf](http://www.yuvaurbanindia.org/data/People's%20Vision%20Document_Final.pdf), (accessed on 10/02/2014).

<sup>40</sup>Susan Fainstein, (2005), "Planning Theory and the City", *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 25(2), p.127.

<sup>41</sup> Ravindra S. Sandu, and Jasmeet sandhu (2007), "The Dynamics of Urban Poverty Across Time and Space" in S. Sandu, Ravindra and Jasmeet sandhu (ed.) *Globalizing Cities inequality and Segregation in Developing Countries*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, pp.365.

- The city spaces are being reorganised on religious, caste and regional lines. The city spaces are Reorganisation of spaces on communal lines inhibits some communities from moving into the areas dominated by other communities. The reconfiguration of city is replacement of lower class in the greyfield or be lighted areas of the city is by relatively middle income groups from the same community. In many areas, the movement of middle income class to dilapidated and grimy area is not based on business or economic calculus but fear of the riots. Choice of an area for moving is based on their social background and often driven by social distress.<sup>42</sup>

The capitalist mode of production necessitates conflicts by its uneven development and imbalanced growth. The gap between social classes are the root of urban tensions. More than economic gaps in Mumbai, its cultural assertion leads to direct physical violence, where state and majority assault minorities. In one side, religious identity is active for a long time of memorable time. At the other hand, socio-economic gap is higher and majority of Muslims live in marginal areas of the city. And above all, cultural and political assertion of Shiv Sena and MNS ensures further deprivation of Muslims in the city.

Mumbai cityscapes are divided along with religious lines and that results excluded spaces of religious communities in the city. Muslims are the major religious groups whose residential patterns are sometimes called as alienated and ghettoised from other groups.<sup>43</sup> Parsees in the city also reside isolated from others preserving their religious identity. Hindu localities and Christian localities are seen in the city. Religion is an accidental factor in the emergence many localities in the city. Religion acts as determining factor of housing location of person especially in demarcating Muslim areas. At the same time, Hindu and Christian areas are not always based on religion as a sole factor.

Religious identity is very significant in Mumbai, as it has also reported communal riots and overt and covert discriminations against Muslims. Indian constitution puts forward multicultural ethos and abolishes discrimination based on religion. Son of soil movements and Shiv Sena challenges such ethos and draws away Muslims out of national definition and they are targeted.

The city is fragmented on religion, caste, language, region and class lines. Housing discrimination forces emergence of excluded area and with little or no basic amenities in the case of disadvantaged groups. Muslim localities of the city go back to colonial Mumbai, who showed close links to the trade and social economy of the city. Muslims in Mumbai are diverse as Indian society is and no homogenous Islamic identity is found in the city. Social formation of Muslims in Mumbai is diverse that varies from traders to cotton mill workers. Qudsiya Contractor argues that “areas with significant number of Muslims during eighteenth century are still considered as Muslim area”.<sup>44</sup> Independence movements, partition and communal movements strengthened division between religious areas in the city. Mehta argues that Mumbai is “strange city in terms of social make up. The ‘otherness’, ‘foreignness’ and nativeness categories are manufactured and circulated throughout the city and shape fate of millions entitling or depriving their rights in the city”.<sup>45</sup> Shaban also claims that in Mumbai, people from different social ecology shares same social vulnerability feeling among Mumbai Muslims, thus they share spaces as well.<sup>46</sup>

Post 1990s experienced increasing deregulation, neo-capitalism and re-commodification, which resulted in acute reconfiguration of spaces and institutions. Neo-liberalism and its development strategy is equated with reinforcing of marginalisation. Capitalism and globalization creates hierarchies of people and spaces. The debate of core-periphery is prevalent in the city. Economic differentiation of society was structured to modernity and later it was super imposed on the society, fragmenting and deeply dividing by amplification of the contradictory structure of space.<sup>47</sup>

Radical nationalist politics and communal mobilisation of Mumbai dates back to *Shudhi* movement and subsequent cow protection campaign. later religious festivals and procession like *Maha Artis* became occasion of contestation between communities. Rather than violence and open confrontation, all these coded the “city spaces based on politicisation of communal identities”.<sup>48</sup> Post Babri riots, (forget Thane riots of 1984) made many areas demarcated on religious consciousness, as Muslim dominated. Inner city areas like Dongri, Nagpada or Mohammad Ali Road are example of formation of Muslim identity conscious areas. However, there were long established preferred areas of Muslim (cultural spaces). Identity of such areas were originated from sects/ sub-identities than a holistic Muslim identity. Residential colonies or mohallas of Khojas, Bohras and Memons were chosen by members of those sects who could afford it, to live in their own.<sup>49</sup> The city was not completely sealed by religious identities till it is communally reconfigured through the instance of communal riots and pogroms. Many Muslims preferably chose and lived in more mixed areas or wherever they could afford it.<sup>50</sup> The city’s slums accommodated lower and under classes regardless of their religious affiliation.

Muslim areas stereotyped in every day conversation of people and in media. The stereotyping make them vulnerable to horrible and quasi-humanized jokes. Muslims are a suspicious community in the city especially of terror activities. Muslim Mohalls have to prove their innocence in every criminal activity in the city, otherwise they are criminals.<sup>51</sup> Number of Muslim jail mates testifies their

<sup>42</sup> Abdul Shaban (2006), *City, Crime and Space: A Case of Mumbai Megapolis*, Mumbai: Tata Institute of Social Science p.79.

<sup>43</sup> Qudsiya Contractor (2010), “Unwanted in my city in “Muslims in Indian Cities” in Laurent Guyer and Christophe Jafferlot, *Muslims In Indian Cities*, New Delhi: Harper Collins, p.24.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.27

<sup>45</sup> Suketu Mehta (2004), *Maximum City: Bombay Lost and Found*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, p.36.

<sup>46</sup> Abdul Shaban (16 August 2008), “Ghettoisation, Crime and Punishment in Mumbai, *Economic and Political Weekly*”, 43(33), p. 69.

<sup>47</sup> Abdul Shaban (2006) *City, Crime and Space: A case Study of Mumbai Mega polis*, p.70

<sup>48</sup> TB Hansen (2001), “Governance and Myths of State in Mumbai” in TB Hasnen (2001) *Everyday State Society in India*, London: C. HURST & CO. PUBLISHERS, p.49.

<sup>49</sup> Qudsiya Contractor (2010), p.35.

<sup>50</sup> Rowena Robinson (2005), *Tremors of violence, Muslim Survivors of Ethnic Strife in Western India*, New Delhi: Sage Publication. pp 40-41

<sup>51</sup> Mohd. Ishtiaque, (carpet Businessman) Personal conversation, 10/06/2014.

vulnerabilities.<sup>52</sup> Thus, Muslim areas are pictured as threat to national security and the city. All these blaming on the Mohallas keep them away from contact with 'others'. Stigmatised identities of Muslims, deep of hate and distrust can be read as mentioned by Rowena Robinson:

- In the north Indian plains, it is common to hear a man going to the toilet that impure sands often outside or behind the home refer to his visit as going to Pakistan. In the brutal communal discourses, we have been made to countenance, more so over the last decades, the Indian Muslim is a Pakistani, a scorned being who should go to Pakistan. Indeed, as the social geography of Indian cities manifests, the Muslim in fact lives in Pakistan, many Pakistans, mini Pakistans.<sup>53</sup>

Study conducted by YUVA in Jogeshwari (East) (1996), shows systematic shrinking and concentration of Muslims into a smaller settlement over the last two decades. The peak of a hill, a residential of Muslims, and Hindu settlements surrounded the area specifying as walled and gated by Hindus, since the residents have no access to routes out of their pocket.<sup>54</sup> Prem Nagar is known East Jogeshwari's Pakistan, which also geographically located by a road that secludes the religious areas. Many public spaces in Mumbai are excluded places, where Muslims have limited/no access. Many Muslims perceive themselves that they are denied of public spaces. In the other hand, Hindus hegemonize the public space using their domination.<sup>55</sup>

Riots and communal tensions configured the city in communal lines. 1960s witnessed son of soil movements and communal forces of Shiv Sena Hindutwa, which shifted Mumbai's cosmopolitan ethos towards ethno-religious unity.<sup>56</sup> Arjun Appadurai argues that it was "scarcity of housing in Mumbai that was translated to explosive violence and imaginary of cleansed spaces without Muslim bodies".<sup>57</sup> From that view, spatial density and housing shortage is responsible for the issues in the city. Spatial exclusion of Muslims is reflector of their alienation from economics, politics and socio-cultural sphere of the city.

Mehta and Chatterji's studied Dharavi, a slum in Mumbai, where many riot victims between live. It took long, at least five/six years to feel normalcy after the riots and the spatial armaments of the city was based on religion.<sup>58</sup> Scholars have examined role of Shiv Sena and other Hindu rightist movement's role in accelerating communal polarisation of the city. 1930s and 40s, the city witnessed Muslims getting isolated from the working class, that influenced their economic and spatial position in the city. T B Hansen observes that "post-independence Hindu nationalist agenda, discourse and institutions gradually penetrated everyday life and acquired growing though not uncontested. It brought differences in the demographic composition of various areas in the city."<sup>59</sup> Soon after riots as consequences of violence, the city underwent through the stages of formation of new boundaries around communal identities. Some of those areas were already religiously divided areas, but their population was infiltrated on religious identity and the identity consciousness was indoctrinated.<sup>60</sup>

New area, 'religiously defined' space is built for the credit of a religious community in interaction with a geographical locality from the view of the residents and wider society. Filtering of population is result of in and out migration. For a dominant community, it is known as purification, where disturbing elements of an areas is moved out or they move away from them. Hindus moved out of Muslim areas during riots which making Muslim areas excluded from Hindus. In other side a 'Hindu' area also got generated. Central Mumbai area's like Byculla, Kidwai Nagar, Mumbra, Millat Nagar, Lokhundwala, Jogeswari, Kurla, Govandi, Nagapada, Amdanpura, Bhendi Bazar/Muhammaed Ali Road, and Mira Road are notable 'Muslim' areas of the city, created out of in and out migration.<sup>61</sup> City's multicultural ethos were challenged at a large level. At the same time, Multiculturalism is blamed for encouraged in the creation of culturally and religiously excluded areas.

1992 anti-Muslim riots and subsequent geographical reconfiguration led to the development of Shivaji Nagar- the Muslim ghetto. Riots brought Muslims together into the area, feeling insecure in the city. The locality is bordered by largest slum of the city, popularly known as India-Pakistan. Mental mapping is of real and imagined borders are clear among people that keep religious identity active. We and others are demarcated in day today life and that is reflected in mentally constructed walls of 'two nations' or different religious identity. Insecurity feeling of Muslims and Hindus creates respective excluded areas. Experience of communal riots reinforces religious identity and tries to shrink Muslim localities.<sup>62</sup> Influx of Muslims from their areas and Hindus from their area is part of long process. Physical violence and security speed the process and make people understood of necessity of their own area in order to survive in the city.

The difference between Hindu localities and Muslim localities are resembled to India Pakistan border. So, any skirmish at the real border annoy the residents and they come under surveillance. Muslims areas in Bandhra plot (another Pakistan in the city) is viewed as

<sup>52</sup> Abdul Shaban (2006), *City, Crime and Space: A Case of Mumbai Mega polis*, p.56.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid p.1

<sup>54</sup> Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action. 1996. Planned Segregation: Riots, evictions and dispossession in Jogeshwari East. Mumbai: YUVA, p.59.

<sup>55</sup> Rowena Robinson (2005), *Tremors of Violence, Muslim Survivors of Ethnic Strife in Western India*, p.65.

<sup>56</sup> Arjun Appadurai (2000), "Spectral Housing and Urban Cleansing: Notes on Millennial Mumbai", *Public culture*, 12(3),p. 640.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p.642.

<sup>58</sup> Deepak Mehta and Roma Chatterji. (2001) "Boundaries, Names, Alterities: A case study of a communal riot in Dharavi, Bombay", In Veena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele and Pamela Reynolds(eds.) *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery*, Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 29.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Blom Hansen (1999), *The Saffron Wave Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, p. 59.

<sup>60</sup> Deepak Mehta and Roma Chatterji. (2001) "Boundaries, Names, Alterities: A case study of a communal riot in Dharavi, Bombay", p.69

<sup>61</sup> Rowena Robinson (2005), *Tremors of Violence, Muslim Survivors of Ethnic Strife in Western India*, p.43

<sup>62</sup> Hugo Gorringer, (2016), "Placing Minorities in South Asia" in Hugo Gorringer, et al.(ed.) (2016) *From the Margins to the Mainstream: Institutionalising Minorities in South Asia*, New Delhi: Sage Publication .p. 12

potential attackers (by others of city), so they are narrowed down their social space to themselves. These Muslim ghettos recalls Goffman's analysis of the "flaunting of their traits by the militant stigmatized".<sup>63</sup>

Religion forms collectivity of similar faiths, but it does not mean that it is an egalitarian society of homogenous identity. Muslims claim social equality but they divided as Sunnis and Shias beside their caste differences. Caste is also determinant of housing location in the city. Shivaji Nagar and Dharavi are dominated by Sunnis. Dharavi once dominated by mill workers of Mumbai and presence of Muslim working class in the areas were started to disappear since 1990s. A ward or an area of religious group mentioned here is not an area fully composed of a religious group. It has also presence of others Hindus and Christians. What makes it exclusive is its mental mapping of area as mentioned earlier. For example, as Shivaji Nagar has presence of Dalits and Christians in the area even after moving of Hindus from the area.<sup>64</sup> Within residents there is tendency of being together of caste based clusters ignoring/considering their wider identity of a religious group. In case of Shivaji Nagar, whole area has vibrant diversity based on language, caste and class. Large proportion of them is from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Considering the sub identities, Shivaji Nagar can be called as 'Urdu Muslim Sunni area' of the city, without noticing its class and caste identities.

Qudsiya Contractor views that Shivaji Nagar is undesired area of the city because of "poverty, garbage dump, butchering related activities among the religiously segregated areas of the city".<sup>65</sup> Slaughter house stereo types the locality as 'Muslim's own' colony, where beef and mutton are easily available. The locality still has many Temples, Budh Vihars (some of them abandoned) and mosques. Green flags and streamers marks the Muslim localities in the city. It is applicable to blue flags in case of Dalit *bastis*. Contractor argues that "Shivaji Nagar represents of Muslim area ignoring its demographic composition".<sup>66</sup> Socio-ethnic spatialisation is product of a cultural discourses derived from mythical and imagined condition deprived communities, and sometimes, they imposed by majorities on 'others'.

## 5. Conclusion

Mumbai's Ethnic diversity is reflected in its residential pattern. There are socially imagined demarcations of religious specific housing areas where Muslims and Dalits are declined houses. Class seems less significant in attainment of housing in various areas for Muslims. In one sense, Muslim areas are emerged out of preference to live with people of same identity. It can be called Muslim Enclaves. Which also helps to develop institutions like Restaurants, Meat shops, masjid, madrassa etc. sometimes presence of such institutions are turned to development of religious specific areas. Caste, region and language are also significant in such diversion and at least sub-identity solidarity is made.

In other side, Muslims are forced to live with other Muslims since they denied houses in other areas. Their presence in an area is conceived as potential threat to others. Sometimes their lifestyle and food habit is matter of concern for other to deny homes. Beside these, Muslims themselves are afraid of living with others as they feel safe in their 'own areas'. Riots and larger discrimination against Muslims make them thought of living together. Insecurity feeling of both sides is also not class specific phenomena and every classes of Muslim have faced the same.

Socio-economic status of Muslims in urban India is not better and they are lagging behind others. Poverty and dependence on informal economic sector compel larger section of Muslims to stay in slums and lower class area. However, such areas are also not free from discrimination based on religious identities. Dharavi also shows religious based areas. Asghar Ali engineer mentioned that, in Dharavi Tamil Hindus and Muslims were living together despite of their religious differences.<sup>67</sup> However riots of 1992 changed their fate and religious demarcation started to appear there. Abdul Shaban has spoken about Pakistan, Dalitistan and Hindustan in Mumbai where Muslims are spatially separated and marginalised from Dalits.<sup>68</sup> Spatial identities are visible from colours of flags, structures buildings and dresses worn by people.

Constitution of India through its right to equality and right to freedom has ensured equal access of space to all citizens. Housing societies are encouraged to accommodate people with diverse identities and they are also supposed to extend quotas in order to ensure it. State government has made it clear that the cooperative housing societies would have to follow the reservation in the working committee of the society. The new amendment to the Maharashtra Co-Operative Societies Act, has the provision of reservation to women, members from OBC, SC/ST and VJNT.<sup>69</sup> The reservation always has been there in the Act, thought we have raised it to five posts. It has been observed that the housing cooperative societies have not been keenly following the clause of reservation. Reality of city is far away from it, and Muslims are compelled to live in gated communities with less/no basic amenities.

Multiculturalism supports co-existence and inclusive development of every group. However, it is also blamed for emergence ghettos-secluded housing area and ethnic enclaves in urban areas. Ghettos and enclaves are in reciprocal relationship with identity. The city is crucial to the interculturality of communities and individuals, cultures and civilizations. Celebrating diversity in itself does not provide automatic answers to the many problems related to the exclusion and marginalisation. Recognition of difference must not be used as a mask for social and economic discrimination. Justice requires intervention at all levels, from the state to the city.

<sup>63</sup> Rowena Robinson (2005), *Tremors of Violence, Muslim Survivors of Ethnic Strife in Western India*, 24

<sup>64</sup> Qudsiya Contractor (2010), *Unwanted in My city*, p.33

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p.36

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*, p.44

<sup>67</sup> Asghar Ali Engineer (1993), "Bombay Shames India," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 28(3/4), p.83.

<sup>68</sup> Abdul Shaban (2008), "Ghettoisation, Crime and Punishment in Mumbai," p.59.

<sup>69</sup> Author Unknown (24, April, 2013), *Reservation is compulsory in housing society committees*, URL: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/mumbai/reservation-is-compulsory-in-housing-society-committees/story-k19ZKqa6HvnDEpzUh2MVDN.html> (Accessed on: 20/3/2016)



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