CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

I. A. Conceptual Background

Place description has been the earliest form of geographical enquiry. Concepts of an interplay among region, landscape, space and place are central to the discipline of geography and has been used extensively to assert order in the geographer's world. Geography thus is a spatial science that uses these concepts as a mode of ordering to better understand the processes that shape the human world around us. The two pillars on which geography rests are man and environment. The focus of the study is to highlight the relation and the way in which a geographical area is structured and how society interacts to produce socio-spatial phenomena and processes in relation to urban areas, particularly with reference to India.

The urban processes in this thesis is viewed from socio-cultural perspective. The distinctive role of culture in the urban environment is given importance as it is largely a product of man himself and the society he helps create around. An urban area is a micro unit, geographically with very little physical variations. Thus, it can be said that an urban area is a physically homogeneous area. The distinctive sub-systems and variations within the urban mosaic are socially created by man. The urban environment is thus a man made environment and the variations within it is not a result of its homogeneous physical environment but of heterogeneous human environment.

The importance of culture emerges here when one considers that man is not just a rational, economic man but capable of being equally irrational, emotional and subjective. Man in this thesis is recognized as a eco-cultural man who is not simply ruled by objective, rational thought processes. His decision and choice making
processes are culturally conditioned and influenced by the society that is built around. To understand the meaning and intention of human action or inaction. This enmeshing of the objective, rational and subjective emotional facets within man must be given due weightage. Subjective man is very much influenced by his culture, that is, his belief and value systems, attitude and life-style. The thesis thus takes into account the social interaction between and within social groups which brings into light the differences in decision making arising due to distinct culture and cultural practices.

I. A. I. Spatial Structure: Its Meaning and Definition

The focus of this study is the spatial structure that can be observed in the core area of Indian cities. What is the meaning of spatial structure? Is it simply the built-up area along with road and transport network, that is, the internal physical layout of an urban area? Or, the zonation of urban area into various land-uses in response to economising factors for example, commercial, residential and industrial land-uses etc? It is clear that spatial structure is concerned with the organisation of space but what are the bases for this structuring of space? Is the content of spatial structure entirely dehumanized? Spatial structure is the organisation of space in terms of optimising the location of human activities within a specific cultural, social, political and economic framework of a singular group of people in relation to other groups, at a particular point in time. This definition lays emphasis on the humanized content of a geographical area. At the same time it elucidates the web of relationship between man and the structural constraints imposed on him as well as the interplay between man and man. Spatial structure is at the interface and represents the syntax of cultural, social, political and economic organisations of space. Thus, spatial structure can be said to be the manifestation of society over space. Hence, different spatial structures evolve due to certain cultural and social preferences, specific economic and political factors of particular groups of people.
The study concentrates only on the spatial structure in terms of location of residential activity as it consumes the greatest quantity of land (nearly 50 percent) in any given urban area. Moreover, the broad objective of the study is to analyse the dynamic social forces that operate in the land market. Land market in the study is not assumed to be free and unorganised but relatively restricted and organised and dominated by a number of interacting organisations - one of them being the city residents. According to Form (1954), four organisational complexes are said to exist in the land market — (a) real estate, (b) big business, (c) residents and (d) government. The study does not assume that individuals or collectives compete impersonally to locate, allocate and organise their activities over space but their feelings, attachments, cultural values, belief and attitude are also involved. In order to understand how location of residential activity is organised, the central research question that needs to be asked is: where do different and specific groups of people prefer and choose to reside?

Spatial structure as already defined is the configuration, allocation and the organisation of activity location. This definition brings to light two different aspects of spatial structure --- the absolute and relative. Spatial structure in the absolute sense refers to the location of activities in terms of a definite 'x' and 'y' co-ordinates. For example, the residential location of specific groups along an exact 'x' and 'y' axis, whereas the relative nature of spatial structure pertains to the location of a specific activity in comparison to other allied and interconnected activities. It primarily is concerned with the linkages and the inter-relations of a particular location of an activity in relation with other activity locations. This in the context of thesis may be interpreted as the relative residential location of a particular social group with respect to other social groups. Thus where would the residential location of the black community be with respect to the residential location of the white community in U.S cities? In the Indian context, how far or close would be the residential location of Hindus, Muslims and Christians with respect to one another? In other words, the proximity or distance between the residential location of different groups reflects the relative nature of spatial structure. Thus, proximity and distance between the
residential location of social groups should not be merely analyzed in terms of physical distance and time but also social and perceptual distance and time. Clearly, spatial structure also reflects how specific social groups orient themselves in relation to other particular groups on a perceptual and experiential plane. The absolute residential location of two social groups may be next to one another but there exists no social communication and interaction between the two. Hence, on the experiential plane, the social distance between the two social groups is great inspite of their close geographical locations. Similarly, two social groups with frequent and intense social communication which are not physically close to one another may perceive to be closer due to daily or frequent social interactions.

The above definition of spatial structure takes into account the optimal residential location of social groups but how does a social group optimise it's residential location? Optimal location is functionally related to accessibility to and relative opportunity of the housing or land market. Earlier studies have only taken into consideration accessibility in terms of transport network (Hoyt, 1964) and economic access to the housing and land market (Burgess, 1925; Wingo, 1961; Alonso, 1960) emphasising the economic capability and affordability of any activity to locate itself at a given site. Social accessibility has rarely been taken any notice of, only economic exclusion and inclusion has been considered. Social exclusion and inclusion play a very important role in the residential location of different social groups. Social exclusion alludes to the inaccessibility of a buyer in the housing and land market due to his social identity. For example, a Hindu may not prefer to sell or let his house to a Muslim and vice-versa. He may also preferentially treat another fellow Hindu by lowering the rent or value of the house or land or giving him certain privileges like allowing him to buy the house or land in instalments. Accessibility should also be thought of in relation to the information one acquires and when he acquires it. The information of sale or rent of a house may not reach or may reach at a later date or time to a prospective buyer due to his social identity. Thus, even if the prospective buyer can economically afford to buy a certain house or land at a particular location he cannot do so simply because he did not have the requisite...
information or he receives it later. This indicates that housing and land market are not
free markets but may be highly preferential and organised ones.

Spatial structure (in terms of residential location) reflects the
geographical polarisation of social groups on one hand and social distancing in the
other. Thus, it leads to the synthesis of geographical space and social space whereby
social groups identify with a geographical area and vice-versa. It thus integrates
'spatial consciousness' and 'social consciousness'. Spatial structure in this respect not
only ascribes to the location of human activities in response to economic factors but
also socio-cultural and political factors. It hence becomes symbolic of socio-cultural
traits reflecting existent social relations and social order.

I. A. 2. Social Interaction, Continuity and Change in Spatial Structure

Social interaction is nothing but the social contact amongst and between
individuals and groups as an integral part of the society. Who, individuals and
groups, choose to interact with or not to interact with gives rise to the nature of social
relations and social order. Social interaction is the means of communication, the nature
of which determines the extent and content of information exchanged between
individuals and groups.

To comprehend how society works, it is essential to look closely at the
pattern of social interaction and the resultant process. According to the classical
theories of both 'structural functionalism' and 'social darwinism', society is perceived
to be a system of interrelated parts. It is social interaction that links and interconnects
these constituent parts (the multifarious social groups which act as distinct
subcultures) which structure the whole framework, maintaining it at the same time.
The fundamental postulate of sociological explanation is that stable patterning of social interaction influences human behaviour and conduct. The broad objective of the thesis is to understand how social interaction structures not only the social framework but also the spatial framework of urban India. How social interaction plays a role in social fragmentation and integration of the society which in turn manifests over space as indicated by the formation of socio-cultural enclaves? How social interaction maintains and proliferates these processes and patterns of centralisation and fragmentation? This thesis attempts to address these questions as well.

The importance of social interaction, particularly every-day social interaction lies in the fact that it makes one aware of reality (Figure No.1.1). Through social interaction individuals or groups acquire information (though incomplete) about the complex milieu in which they live. In other words, it creates our reality and shape our experiences. Hence, social interaction plays a critical role in an individual’s or a group’s learning process about their surrounding world. A set of multidimensional verbal and non-verbal communicative exchanges help an individual or a group to gain knowledge and understanding of oneself and one’s group but also of others and their respective groups. In-group interaction helps in acquiring working knowledge about one’s own group, internalising their own customs, traditions, language, legends, myths, realities, belief and values. Out-group interaction teaches about the other groups and individuals. Thus, social interaction prepares an individual and a group as to how to act and what to expect from others not only with respect to members within their own community or social group but also from other social groups. Social interaction leads to the attaining of operational, responsive and inferential knowledge about one’s own group as well as other groups. Operational knowledge refers to the norms, values, belief and attitudes that govern the working of a group; Responsive knowledge refers to the behaviour and response expected in accordance with the norms, values and belief; Inferential knowledge refers to both operational and responsive knowledge which is accrued through indirect social interaction. The individual or group may not have gained the knowledge directly but indirectly through the direct social interaction of others and their experiences.
The information that is acquired through social interaction is mediated or interpreted in congruence with the individual’s and group’s set of values and belief. Culture provides a frame of reference which makes it easier for the individual and the group to understand and cope with the reality. Knowledge acquired also helps in ascribing meaning to one’s experiences thus shaping one’s conception of reality. Reality per se does not exist but it is a construct of one’s experiences (lebenswelt) and knowledge: the subjective reality.

The subjective reality results in specific spatial and social order which in turn influences each other. Both, the spatial order and social order individually and mutually influence and may change the concept of reality. The changes that may occur is known through the processes of social interaction and culturally conditioned interpretations are made. This may or may not bring changes in spatial-social order. Thus, in this manner an ongoing cyclical process of reality and changing reality is constructed, perceived and acted upon.

**FIG. NO. I. 1 Construction and Perception of Reality through Social Interaction.**

![Diagram showing the relationship between reality, subjective reality, social interaction, and spatial and social order, with arrows indicating mutual influences.](Image)

*Source: Developed by the author*
The focus of the thesis is on the internal development of individual urban places, namely the core area in the Indian urban scenario. The study is concerned with the socio-spatial dynamics of a single sub-system that of a core area within the metropolitan system. The meaning of core implies it being a central point, a centre, heart or nucleus. But what is it the centre, heart or nucleus of? In what context is a place assumed to be a core? A place when it is the geographical centre of the city, becomes the geographical core of the city. When a place is the origin of the city from which it has outgrown then it becomes the historical core. The heart or centre of the city’s commercial district is the business or commercial core of the city, commonly known as the CBD. Similarly, the heart or nucleus of the residential area of a social group becomes the core of that social group. Thus, a core may be any one of the above or all of the above simultaneously. This also implies that a city may have a single core as in the Burgess Model or may have multiple cores as in the Multiple Nuclei Model. In pre-colonial cities like Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Lucknow, Delhi, the core or the inner city is commonly the historical core, CBD as well as core residential areas for a large number of social groups. In colonial cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras multiple cores have been observed. For example, in Bombay, Nariman Point is the CBD, Borivalli and Ghatkopar is the core residential area for the Gujarati community, Dadar for the Tamil community and Santa Cruz for the Goan community, Bandra for the Christian community, Jogeshwari and Mahim for the Muslim community.

The core area (the inner city or the central city) is in most cases in pre-colonial cities the historical and perhaps the geographical core of the city as well. It is the origin of the city from which it has outgrown in all directions and in all manners. The core area’s omnipotent presence is resonated in it being the focus of the city’s commercial, social and civic life and it’s longevity as the nerve centre of the metropolitan system. It is perhaps what the city is for the surrounding region. The core
In glaring contrast, the Indian core is not distinguished into two separate zones the CBD and zone in transition. Neither does it exhibit apparently a similar intense segregation of functional activities. In most cases, mixed land-uses are found, that is, residential and other land-uses like commercial and industrial are located side by side. In most cases, the shop or retail outlet or small-scale workshop is on the lower floor and the residential quarter is on the upper floor. Thus, one can say that land-use is vertically segregated than horizontally as seen in the western core. Commercial and industrial land-uses based on service functions are highly segregated in the core area of Indian cities. Generally, specific locations and streets are known for specialised services and function. One may find localities and streets specializing in clothes, jewellery, crockery and utensils, eatables to government offices, financial houses etc. Intensity of land-uses is not lower but far higher than its western counterpart. The core area is also a residential district with very high densities of population which have not gradually depopulated in many cities over the years unlike its western counterpart.

The original core persists with its traditional structural form and other traditional elements. Newer cores resembling the western cores may have developed but with no decline in the importance of the original or historical core. The historical or original cores still retain considerable social, political and economic importance in the daily rhythm of life. Unlike its western counterpart Indian cores are more socially organised accompanied with social cohesion and traditional values. Indian cores are also not areas of high moral and social deviance, criminality and delinquency in comparison to western cores. Another interesting feature of the Indian core is the dominance of social factors rather than economic factors in determining its pattern. This explains the relatively lower land values of the Indian core. In most cases the newer competitive, satellite cores have higher land values than the original or historical core inspite of high centrality and accessibility.

Similarly, unlike the situation in the zone in transition of the western cores, the social status of residents living in the Indian core is higher. The Indian core area is not synonymous with the least privileged classes or social groups of the society like
its western counterpart. Some exceptions in western core have also been observed like the Beacon Hill in Boston, U.S.A. (Firey, 1947). Zone in transition in western core is an area occupied by in-migrants, chiefly of different ethnic and racial origin living in a highly segregated manner. The Indian core display a similar residential segregation of social groups based on their social identity — that of religion, language, caste and sub-caste.


What do we mean by social identity? The dictionary defines identity as “who or what a person is”. Social identity is thus a notion or image that an individual has of himself; an awareness of self. This implies that in order to develop an idea about ‘oneself’ the individual must also be conscious of ‘others’ who are different from him. It is these unique dissimilarities that form our social persona. Social identity is thus a differentiating mechanism by which individuals ascertain their own identity based on a perception of ‘self’ and ‘others’; it delineates ‘self’ from ‘others’. According to Calhoun (1978) one knows of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinction between self and other, we and they are not made. Social identity is thus embedded in the dualistic constructs of ‘self’ and ‘others’, ‘us’ and ‘them’. On the basis of shared social identity, individuals bond together giving rise to collectives or the bounded community. On what criteria do individuals and groups base their differences on?
In the Indian context, an individual or a group may be Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian, Sikh on the basis of one’s religion; Tamil, Bengali, Assamese, Gujarati, Marathi ... etc on the basis of the language one speaks; Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Sudra on the basis of one’s sect or varna or caste in case of Hindus, Shia or Sunni in case of Muslims, Protestants and Catholics in case of Christians; ‘Kulin’ or ‘Non-kulin’ brahmin on the basis of one’s sub-sect or sub-caste in case of Hindus, Vohra or Khoja among Muslims, Roman and Non-Roman Catholics among Christians.

The above bases of identity especially, sect or sub-sect, that is, caste and sub-caste not only among Hindus but also among Muslims and Christians are acquired ascriptively amongst second generation Muslims and Christians. It is to be noted that Hindu religion is also acquired ascriptively which is not so with regards to Islam or Christianity where conversion from other religions is allowed. In India as well as elsewhere identity is not solely acquired ascriptively. An individual’s or a group’s source of identity may also arise from one’s economic status, whether one is from high, middle or low income groups; from one’s occupation as well as from the different levels of education, whether one is a professional like a computer engineer, medical physician, a lawyer, an accountant, a businessman, a blue-collar or white-collar worker, a farmer or a labourer; from one’s hobbies; from one’s place of residence.

In other words, there is no end to dissimilarities or differences between individuals and social groups. This implies that multiple criteria exist on which differences can be based on giving rise to multiple sources of identities. We as
individuals and social groups derive our sense of self, of who we are from these differences that distinguish ‘us’ from ‘others’. Dissimilarities in other words give meaning and define our unique self-identity. It is crystal clear that in the absence of these differences our conception of self will also disappear. So when one form of differences is done away with, another emerges, whether real or fabricated, as it is essential in maintaining our self-identity. This effectively explains the ‘narcissism of minor differences’ as observed by Sigmund Freud (1923).

In a pluralistic society, as already discussed above, there exists varied and diverse sources of social identity. What does possessing multiple sources of social identity allude to? That individuals or groups may have multiple identities. But more often than not an individual or a group displays or claims a single identity. For example, an individual may be concurrently a Hindu, Bengali, Kulin Brahmin, a doctor of high income group but he identifies himself as a doctor. The individual expresses and is made known as a doctor. His/Her identity of a doctor is thus made apparent and conspicuous compared to his other identities which remain or are dormant and inert. His/Her identity of a doctor becomes the manifest social identity and the others, the latent social identities. This does not mean that the individual is entirely unaware or is not acknowledging his other latent social identities. It just implies that he/she demonstrates only the manifest social identity.

Clearly, it can be understood from the above illustration that when sources of social identity are multiple, there exists levels of social identities. Individuals or groups in a pluralistic society stratify their social identity. In India, stratification of social identity shows that ascriptive identities are vertically arranged --- with sub-caste, caste, language and religion. The non-ascriptive identities like economic status, occupation, educational status are arranged horizontally (Figure No. 1.2). To fully comprehend the greater importance of ascriptive identities in India one has to discuss the historical evolution of the caste system over time. To start with, caste system was never primordial nor rigid. In fact the principles on which it was based is very similar to modern-day class-based society. The four main varnas or castes were based on specialisation of occupation --- the Brahmins were the erudite and knowledgeable who
imparted education and carried out the rituals practiced in Hindu religion; the Kshatriyas were the warriors responsible for protection of the masses and their security; the Vanias were the traders in charge of commerce and business and the Sudras who did all the menial work or the labourers who did odd end jobs which no one did. Initially, with change of occupation one’s caste would also change. This society was characterised by reciprocity of social status and political and economic power each easily being translated to the other. It meant that high order occupational specialisation commanded greater status and respect as well as yielded great economic and political power. Hence, it should be of no surprise that in the later Vedic period caste system became rigid and ascriptive in nature. The privileged groups, especially the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, who enjoyed an unquestioned status and power to maintain and franchise their elitist position started endorsing a caste system which was ascriptive or primordial in nature. Objective cultural dispositions were superimposed on class lines resulting in cultural division of labour. It implied that a Brahmin’s son was only entitled to education and would be allowed to teach and carry out the rituals while a Sudra’s son would only be entitled to what his father had been doing and nothing else. Occupational specialisation in this manner continued for generations, father passing his knowledge and occupation to his son, him in turn to his son. Thus, economic and political relations were often embedded within the social structure (cf. Godelier, 1977).

It was not just occupation which was limited to or restricted within the caste but also all other primary social interactions, especially marriages. Though it was done in the name of maintaining social purity and preventing social pollution, it achieved the ulterior motive of containing the privileges to the upper castes. This was further consolidated through ritualistic domination (Hindu religion was mired in rituals which were only performed by the Brahmins and disobedience would lead to incurring the wrath of the gods) and the concepts of karma and life after death. The lower castes were made to accept their deplorable condition unquestionably as it was the result of the sins committed in their earlier life. Low caste rebellion was also greatly avoided by this very philosophy as they accepted their situation and hoped to achieve a higher caste and status in the next life by leading a good life in the present.
The lower castes were the victims of hegemony of the upper castes and suffered immense social, economic and political oppression and injustice. Social reform movements like Jainism and Buddhism did take place but was later absorbed into the Hindu mainstream. Consequently, upper caste hegemony led to greater prosperity of their own groups as innovations were limited to them with the lower caste remaining not only uneducated and backward but also totally dependent on the upper castes. The fruits of the initial momentum provided by education, innovation and control over resources, opportunities and information are still being enjoyed by them and not being transmitted to the lower castes to a great extent.

According to Hegel (1967), religious ideologies arose out of the particular historical needs of the people who believed in them. Islamic and Christian religious ideologies were adapted to suit the cultural and situational needs of the people. Thus, in India both Islam and Christianity are deep-rooted in Indian culture and are very different from its place of origin. Moreover, it was the Hindu lower castes who were converted to Islam and later to Christianity. Thus we find a curious blending of Hindu culture and Islamic and Christian ideologies. One finds parallels between the sects and sub-sects of Islam and Christianity and that of caste and sub-caste systems in Hindu religion as illustrated earlier. For example, the Shia and Sunni divide among Muslims and the differences between the Protestant and Catholic sects among the Christians are very much ascriptive in nature. Parallels of these divides can be drawn with the the four varnas --- Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vanias and the Sudras in Hindu religion. Similarly, within the Shia or Sunni sect, sub-sects prevail like Saiyyad Shiekh, Mughal, Pathan, Sipahi. Among the Christians within Roman Catholics sects one notices sub sects like Roman Catholics and Non-Roman Catholics.

As seen among the Hindus, similarly, the elite among the Muslims and Christians dominated the masses or the non-elite. Religious heads and the elite joined forces to give rise to hegemony of the elite. There was complete bifurcation of the society into elite and non-elite masses with no social buffer to absorb, diffuse and deliver social, technological changes to the non-elite masses. This is especially applicable in case of the Muslim society in India.
The greater importance of ascriptive social identities does not necessarily imply that Indian society is not pluralistic but fragmented into customary, exclusive communal groups which have developed involuntarily or has been imposed upon and not chosen. Sartori (1997), ascertains three important indicators of pluralism namely, voluntary (rather than ascriptive) associations, non-exclusive (open to multiple affiliations) associations, and presence of cross-cutting cleavages. Though ascriptive social identities are exclusive in nature, it does not necessarily mean that it cannot be chosen. Given an incentive primordial social identities can be chosen as exemplified below. Similarly, economic, occupational and educational status provide the society with cross-cutting cleavages. Ethnicity, racial and gender characteristics provides class-based western pluralistic societies with cross-cutting cleavages as opposed to that found in the Indian society.

FIG. NO.1. 2 Stratification of Social Identity In India

Source: Developed by the author
The question that now arises is whether an individual’s or a group’s manifest social identity can change over a period of time? Whether latent social identity can at some point of time be activated in a manner so as to assume or become the manifest social identity? It is essential to realise that manifest social identities are not permanent but are subject to change. Latent social identities are potential manifest identities which under certain circumstances may come to the fore front. In different contexts or situations the source of our manifest social identity alters. This leads us to conclude rightly, that social identity is contextual in nature. In other words, social identity is characterised by situational fluidity. For example, the manifest social identity of a Hindu Gujarati in Gujarat may be his/her sub-caste or caste identity but when the same person is in another state like Uttar Pradesh his/her manifest identity changes. His/Her latent social identity of a Gujarati emerges and becomes the manifest social identity. Similarly, when in another nation like the U.S. of America his national identity (that of an Indian) expresses itself as the manifest social identity. An individual’s or a group’s manifest social identity is contingent on the choices made by them whether or not the source of identity is primordial, that is, inherited by birth or newly created within a specific social-political-economic and historical framework keeping in mind the needs of the situation.

I. A. 4.b. The Need for Social Identity and Bounded Community

Let us now consider why, as individuals or groups, do we need social identity? The world around us is fundamentally heterogeneous and individuals seek homogeneity creating some kind of order to easily apprehend and grapple the meaning of every-day experiences and things around them which may be beyond their scope of comprehension. Social identity thus helps to simplify and demystify our lives by increasing our understanding of ourselves and the world that surrounds us, particularly
in relation to each other. It helps us perceive and find meaning in our experiences. It orders and classifies these experiences and the world at large with ourselves in the midst of it, otherwise we would have been lost. Social identity is an organising principle which demarcates and bounds the known, that is, ourselves from the unknown world. The known and the familiar instils a sense of relative predictability as an individual or a group knows what to expect and what is expected of them which is conducive to security and stability. Social identity thus serves the basic human need of security and stability both social and economic.

According to Hegel (1967), human beings are fundamentally different from animals in the respect that they want to be recognised possessing a certain worth and dignity. This desire for recognition is also mentioned by Plato in Republic. Every human being has this basic need to be valued not just by oneself but others as well. He/She assigns certain worth or value to himself/herself and the principles that he/she believes in and tries to make others reckon these values. It implies that the distinctive differences from which he/she derives the sense of unique social persona is assigned with these values. It is an innate human need to feel respected by one and all. Social identity is the mode which expresses his/her self-worth and the values he/she believes in. It is the vehicle through which he/she asserts, declares and projects his/her self-worth on the outside world. In the quest for authenticating man's self-worth and self-esteem social identity legitimizes this claim.

Is social identity then entirely self-produced? Can it be proposed by others? It has been earlier referred to that social identity is essentially a mechanism which separates two entities namely, 'self' and 'others' by highlighting idiosyncratic or peculiar characteristics that distinguish 'self' from 'others'. But who decides these distinguishing characteristics? Is it selected and decided upon by 'self' or by 'others'? In other words, is social identity 'self-directed' or 'other-directed' or both? It is both 'self-directed' and 'other-directed'. When investing 'oneself' with specific differentiating qualities, simultaneously one invests the 'other' with certain peculiar features. This is reciprocated by the 'other' as well. These distinctive attributes reinforces their self-identity. Consciousness of self is not only a 'inner-directed'
process but it could also be a form of covert ‘other-directedness’. It indicates the possibility that individuals or groups may not be initially self-aware but are apprised of their self or made self-conscious by ‘others’. It means that the framework for defining self may be provided by ‘others’. This is applicable in the Indian context in case of low caste Hindus - the idea of not being something (that is not being Hindu high caste) was how they were defined by others and themselves. The Muslims similarly in India define itself. Little encouragement is offered to the Hindu low castes and the Muslim minority to claim a social identity that falls outside the prescribed framework. Defying these rigid categories and cultural limitations is daunting. Parallels can be drawn with the Blacks with respect to the Whites in the U.S. of America.

Social identity is also a political invention and can be politically inspired and manipulated. This is reflected in the case of Muslim minority, Dalit (low caste Hindus) consciousness in the north and the Dravidian Movement in the south, particularly in Tamil Nadu. These movements have organised and mobilised people to reassert their primordial or ascriptive social identities with pride. Government policies like the reservation policy which ensures employment, scholarship, opportunities for admission into educational institutes for schedule castes and tribes have further provided them with an incentive to reassert their primordial social identities. It is clear that such movements, having mobilised and organised people on the basis of common social identity, have achieved political and social empowerment for the downtrodden.

One of the main reasons resulting in the rise of the Hindu nationalism in the late 80s was due to the over emphatic consciousness and declaration of the identity of Muslim minority and the general perception among the Hindus (approximately 80 percent of India’s population) that most of the political parties and the government at the centre had been pursuing a policy of appeasement towards the Muslims to achieve political gains. The Hindu majority perceived that pseudo-secularism had been practised in India at the expense of the Hindus.
As mentioned above, some of the most universal human need for social identity has been highlighted which is cross-cultural and cross-temporal. Recent world events indicate the resurgence of social (ethnic) identity which have manifested itself in the form of ethnic uprisings and communal clashes and wars.

I. A. 4.c. Resurgence and Revival of Ascriptive Social Identities

All over the world there have been ethnic uprisings, tensions, clashes, wars and separatist-nationalist movements based on ascriptive social identities like religion, language, ethnicity and race. Racial conflicts and tensions have recently occurred between Asians and White Britishers in Bradford, Oldham (2001) in England; between Blacks and Hispanics and Whites in U.S.A, France, Germany. Till recently (1993) apartheid was very much prevalent in South Africa. Ethnic conflicts have also arisen between French speaking Canadians and English speaking Canadians on the basis of language. The ongoing clashes between the Palestinians and the Israelis is based on religion the former being Muslims and the latter being Jews. Conflicts of a similar nature have occurred in France between the French and Algerian Muslims; in Ireland between the Catholics and the Protestants; in Sri Lanka between the Hindu Tamils and the Buddhist Sri Lankans; in India between the Muslim Kashmiris and the Hindus. Ethnic conflicts are almost rampant in all the countries of Africa between various tribal groups. For example, the Hutus and the Tutsis in Central Africa. Ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo, the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, Basque nationalists in Spain, Kurdish nationalists in the Middle East are some examples of ethnic conflicts that have occurred world over.

Modern technology has resulted in time-space convergence leading to globalisation and liberalisation. Together it was thought that there would be a world without borders instead of localized societies. With the removal of these borders, easy
exchange of information and thought would be facilitated generating greater understanding between people which was earlier not possible. Thus all former misunderstandings and pre-concieved notions would be confined to the past. A unique feeling of Brotherhood would encompass all and sundry uniting mankind to form a global society. But it is seen that the world is increasingly getting divided along even narrower lines with resultant formation of smaller and smaller islands inspite of greater interdependencies --- economic, social, political among nations and people. Awareness of social ( ethnic ) identities has reared its head with a vengeance. Ethnic vindication and xenophobia have become common place all over the world. Why, at this juncture, is there this sudden reappearance and revival of social ( ethnic ) identities?

Is its revival really that surprising and unexpected? Definitely not according to the earlier explanations stated. One of the basic human needs is security and stability satisfied by creating a surrounding with which one is accustomed to: a familiar world. It is easy to comprehend why humans make a consorted effort to routinize their lives. Modern technology has disrupted this familiar world. It has exposed, rather over exposed, humans to complete unknowns: unexplored and foreign elements. The socio-psychological concept of overload further exemplifies the consequences of information explosion whereby people are unable to cope nor process this excessive information ( Milgram, 1970 ). Herein lies the importance of primordial historical identities and relations as it helps to devise a social order in the presence of new excessive information about which one possess little knowledge. Moreover, greater amount of information may lead to feelings of losing control (Rappoport,1977). Modern technology has fostered complete mutability that is everything is subject to change at all times giving birth to uncertainty and inconsistency. This has generated feelings of new and great insecurities, anxiety and frustrations. It induces individuals and groups to seek refuge behind a wall where one can find their bearings and face the overwhelming confusion and uncertainty. Social identity - crystallised and articulated by common knowledge, values, belief, collective memory, lived experience and possibly memory of a past nationhood and sovereignty
in some cases facilitates the formation of this ‘wall’. It mobilizes people to come together forging lies between them.

Man seeks continuity more so under these harrowing circumstances. The mortal fear of the unknown impels man to cling onto the familiar. This is the reason for the non-dissappearance and resurgence of social (ethnic) identities, especially those with deep historical roots and ties. Individuals and groups look into their past to resurrect latent sources of identity with the sole purpose of capturing and withholding the familiar. It creates and strengthens the sense of belonging and oneness as it provides cultural, historical, traditional, generational continuity.

The revival of social (ethnic) identities apparently seem to be a self-defensive reaction to modernity. Where ever modernity has caused an erosion of values and belief system or a threat to these systems, social (ethnic) identities have emerged more strongly. Impersonalisation of social relations; of administrative, legislative and judiciary systems; an inability to relate to people and system; unaccountability - all lead to the strengthening of social (ethnic) identities. It thus becomes a mode of establishing social control as it takes into regard the indigenous values with which people can easily associate.

It has already been referred to that maintaining of differences is essential to creation of self-identity. Thus when one form of differences is removed, another takes its place. In the post Cold-War period identities are being redefined due to the changes in the world order, particularly after the breakdown of former U.S.S.R. No longer there exists an unsurmountable gap between the capitalist countries, especially the U.S of America and the socialist/communist countries, like former U.S.S.R. The end of Cold War and the collapse of the former U.S.S.R. have obscured the Cold-war divide thus eliminating another source of identity. Predictably, latent identities of ethnic origin have come to the fore. Sartori (1997) points out that even if a international/national community withers away, we still need a community. Thus, as soon as a superstructure (in this case the Cold War divide) breaks down one
inevitably reverts to the primordial infrastructure that the Greeks called koinonia, and the need again arises for an organising principle of togetherness, of Gemeinshaft.

The emergence of a specific social identity is also closely associated with the survival strategy. The nature of social identity as already stated is ‘situationally fluid’ implying that it is subject to modifications and tends to vacillate. Social identity alters when there is a need for so. Hence, it oscillates to meet particular needs in accordance with the situation. The predicament of modern circumstances may be such that one might require a protective cocoon where one can take shelter and feel safe. As discussed earlier, unfamiliarity breeds fear because it is alien. Since very little is known it is beyond one’s understanding making it unpredictable, risky and dangerous. Individuals and groups based on their social identity may form a ‘bounded community’ with similar values, faith, life-style and a common world view which provides them with a refuge.

Thus far the discussion has revolved around the socio-psychological needs of human beings. Does social identity serve any economic function? Behind the ‘narcissism of minor differences’ could there be any economic motivations? Individuals and groups create a ‘bounded community’ by including those with whom they share a common social identity and excluding those with whom they do not share this social identity. How can this kind of social closure serve any economic function or be of economic advantage? Social identity becomes the criteria by which individuals and groups practice exclusionary measures: denying access to resources, opportunities and information to those who do not share their social identity. It implies that resources, opportunities and information are restricted to those sharing the same social identity. Thus, maximising and confining economic rewards and benefits to an eligible few. Inclusion of few leads to the social creation of capital through exclusionary measures, accumulating and restricting the use of scarce resources, opportunities and information. It results in a complementary rather than competitive modus operandi whereby the resources of individuals and groups (sharing similar social identity) are pooled for mutual benefit. This means that within the bounded community there is easy and collective sharing of resources, opportunities and information the outcome of
which is reciprocal economic behaviour giving birth to a kind of egalitarian society internally. Exclusion of the rest (those not sharing a similar social identity) from access to resources, opportunities, and information, individuals and groups reduce competition as the number of users are curtailed and limited. Differential access of this kind leads to socially determined scarcity of resources, opportunities and information. Socially created capital on one hand gives rise to wealth accumulation and economic expansion and the other paradoxically to socially determined scarcity leading to social deprivation and poverty.

Cannot a similar tactic be employed by the socially deprived individuals and groups to get access to resources, opportunities and information? Deprived individuals and groups can not only create social capital but also reallocate socially scarce resources. In other words, individuals and groups sharing similar identities could also redistribute resources, opportunities and information through collective consumption of goods and services. This implies that the bounded community by controlling and centralising a large number of decentralised decisions can create a market or a niche for itself.

The above discussion has grave implications for the third world countries where savings, investments and capital formation are low with low levels of skill and technology. In such an economic climate economic expansion can be thought of with particular reference to the informal sector. Social creation of capital facilitates collectivisation of small savings of individuals and groups possessing similar identity, use of indigenous resources relying on simple technologies which do not require high levels of skill and training. Thus the modes of production are small-scale, being more labour-intensive than capital-intensive and producing inexpensive goods and services.

Social identity in essence is being aware and made aware of one’s self, self-worth and self-esteem and pronouncing it to the outside world. In other words it is a struggle for prestige which at the same time leads to political consciousness. Social identity therefore lays the foundation for a political entity as it becomes a viable instrument for organisation and mobilisation of individuals and groups. This is of
grave significance particularly with respect to the formation of the bounded community sharing a single social identity: a singular life-style, values, faith and a common world view. Social identity when fused with cultural markers can cut across class distinctions. A new communitarian feeling is established based on cultural identification where human solidarity replaces class barriers and class interests. Hence, not only group solidarity of the bounded community but also its ability to mobilise people: from the masses to the elite corroding all social strata far greater. No wonder the responsiveness and the participation is so very great. Such internal voluntaristic participation, responsiveness and equality is very much in keeping with democratic and egalitarian values. Thus we have a culturally produced civil society which becomes the vanguard of political freedom not only for the elites but all citizens as it builds up people's power.

The emergence of identity politics can now be understood as it is one of the most effective forces for political, social and economic empowerment. According to Robert Bierstedt (1967), power has three sources: (a) the control of material resources; (b) the use of organisation; (c) mobilizable masses of people; The bounded community (based on shared social identity) has the capability to pool material resources, mobilize, organise and co-ordinate people. Thus, it possesses means to change for the better by correcting the shortcomings of the social-political-economic system as they can make their voices heard and fight for their rights. Bounded community hence can realise the tenets of liberty.

Bounded community is also an important instrument through which social justice can be achieved. Not only can it create opportuninities which it might have been denied from but also oppose injustice and discrimination committed against it. It can be interpreted as an effort to establish putative just societies within broader unjust societies (c.f. Esposito, 1998). Thus, particular group interests are provided with protection especially with regards to economic, social and political emancipation. Economic protectionism is practised at the community level. Productive resources, expertise and skills of the community are pooled together to support business ventures as well as provide a market in the critical initial stages (c.f. Tangri, 1982).
Community assets thus act as a strategic contingency resources at times of crisis. Spillover benefits is also accrued as successful business ventures of community members simultaneously becomes a potential source of employment. A large number of informal and formal institutions develop to furnish support for the community members. Mobilization and organisation of masses ensures that there is proper representation of the bounded community leading to political empowerment. Open repression against the community becomes difficult. Allocation of public funds and access to public resources can be ensured, no matter how scarce, through political lobbying. On the whole, fragmentation leads to decentralisation of power. This abets horizontality, dispersion of power and encourages dissent as opposed to concentration of power which leads to verticality, encourages orthodoxy, conformity and hegemony of the upper echelons of the society. As already highlighted the bounded community is characterised by economic, social and political reciprocity which brings about internal equality where collective consensus leads to collective action as opposed to elite dictates. The bounded community does give rise to self-reliance borne out of the attitude of unity for self-help. This is of great significance to third world countries as social welfare expenditure could be reduced but it could also be an alternative for development in a low investment-saving climate. Social welfare and collective well-being could well be looked after by the community. Functionally the bounded community is the most effective organisational adaptation in third world countries (c.f. Leeds and Leeds, 1976).

Collective control over resources and masses by the bounded community provides a sense of possession of the future, though it might be a distant one. It makes individuals and groups feel secure arising from the fact that they can control or change events and situations if they are in any way adverse to their self-interests. This helps in reducing the perceived risks by colonising the future which is intrinsically unknowable and is increasingly being severed from the past (c.f. Giddens, 1991).

The discussion on social identity exemplifies that it is the founding structure of social recognition, social differentiation as well as social discrimination. The reach of social identity is immense but in this thesis its influence will be explored
with particular reference to (a) spatial structure and (b) social interaction (discussed later in details in chapter 4, 5 and 6).

I.B. Territoriality, Territorial Identities and Territorial Groups.

Human beings often spend their entire lives searching for an identity, to seek and create a place of one's own. There lies a definite geographical connotation to one's sense of identity. In the quest for one's identity one also seeks his place of origin: the very roots of his existence. Humans from time immemorial have a very positive and sentimental attachment to land per se. In almost all the religions of the world respect for land is commonly seen and practised through various rituals and customs.

In other words, land or territory is a source of meaning giving rise to one's identity. It thus arouses a sense of pride and achievement in belonging to a definite area or geographical location. This sense of pride and identity that is spurred by a specific geographical area awakens a feeling of territoriality.

The dictionary defines 'Territoriality' as a specific area used by or assigned to a person, group etc; domain over which one exercises authority or jurisdiction; a special sphere or province of activity and knowledge. It highlights three aspects of territoriality: firstly, it implies that the particular area is solely used by the person or group which alludes to ownership or feelings of proprietorship. Secondly, it refers to complete domination or control over the territory. Thirdly, the territory is the person's or group's sphere of action where the person or the group is supreme. Territoriality is thus closely associated with the personalisation of geographical area or space. It is easy to see why one seeks one's own place or territory even after migration.
Ownership, complete control and the freedom to act as one wishes instils a feeling of security. Domination over land and territory implies command of all resources including the physical and human resources which induces a feeling of power. Thus one not only feels safe but removes all feelings of vulnerability. Moreover, the area being the person’s or group’s sphere of action suggests that they/him has intimate and direct experiential knowledge of the territory through use. Thus it becomes very real and familiar for them/him. This precise knowledge and familiarity introduces an element of predictability which further enhances the experience of safety and security. Land or territory is the tangible, definitive reality which cannot be destroyed. It has endured the test of time generating a sense of continuity. Its permanence is reassuring to man who sees infirmity in himself and chance and flux all around him. Territory is analogous with the experience of stability.

Territory also brings a certain recognition and prestige due to one’s authority and ownership of the territory. Since the person or group has the freedom to act as he/they want the territory becomes an expression of what they stand for, their values and belief, attitude and their respective life-style. Territory becomes a value endowed place. In other words, it is the centre of felt values (Tuan, 1977). Other than representing the established values of the respective group or individual it is like a timepiece where one leaves behind one’s mark. Its residual nature has enabled it to possess a distinct past, present and future. Clearly, it helps in evolving a distinguished identity as well as a profound sentiment and attachment to it. It is the point of reference which provides us with an identity based on which it establishes order. Territory can also be regarded as a principle of organisation which differentiates between ‘I’ or ‘Us’ and ‘Him’or ‘Them’; between the sacred and the profane; the known and the unknown. The mythical-conceptual spaces of the American Indians (Pueblo), the Chinese and Mayans all exhibit an anthropocentric view of the world (Tuan, 1977). All of them are common in the respect that the centre where one inhabits, that is the known world is considered sacred enclosed by the unknown, the profane. Similarly, almost all ancient maps like the world map by Hecateus (520 B.C.); T-O map, after Isodore of Seville (570 – 636 A.D); Yurok (California Indians) idea of the world; religious cosmography in East Asia (Figure No. 1.3) show
the known world or the land that they occupied at the centre surrounded by the
unknown world. Territory aids in classifying things along the polarized ethnocentric
and egocentric categories of ‘I’/ ‘Us’ and ‘Him’/ ‘Them’. Geographical area or space
in this manner is personalised as it represents ‘I’/ ‘Us’, his basic identity. Impinging
on one’s territory is equivalent to threatening his identity, his self-worth his very
existence. Hence, territory reinforced by social identity attains a symbolic value. The
geographical boundaries and spatial domains translates into conceptual and social
boundaries and domains (cf. Rappoport, 1977). Physical conspicuousness of a territory
magnifies symbolic value. The terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre, New York
and the Pentagon, Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001 provides evidence of the

![Anthropocentric View of the World as seen in Ancient Maps](image)

(a) World Map by Hecateus (520 B.C.)

(b) T-O Map by Isodore (570-636 A.D.)
the symbolic value of territory. World Trade Centre was the symbol of America’s economic power and Pentagon its military power. Thus attacking the two signifies an attempt at undermining and destroying America as an economic and military superpower. In India, the demolition of the Babri Masjid in 1992 was considered by a section of the Hindu majority as a triumph over the Muslim minority as the former perceived the latter as a threat to its majority status, identity and culture.

Furthermore, we see that territory is a source of nurture, that is, it satisfies the biological needs such as food, water, rest and procreation (Tuan, 1977). Territory thus satiates the baser instincts of man and supports his very existence. It might have been true when man had low levels of technology at his disposal and was completely dominated by nature. But does it hold true now, at higher levels of technology? What is the functional necessity of possessing territory in the present situation? It enhances social mobilization and can achieve three sets of goals: demands on living conditions and collective consumption; the affirmation of local cultural identity; and achieves local political autonomy and citizen participation (Castells, 1997).

Agglomerating over a geographical space can be described as an adaptational mechanism where social groups are concerned. The real issues of
economic exploitation, political suppression and cultural imperialism can be addressed. It helps to achieve a supposed just society in a larger unjust society. Moreover, justice delayed is justice denied. At the local level gratification that is resolution of various issues can be faster and quicker. Concurrently, the affected local people resolves the situation than those who are uninvolved and have nothing at stake. The affected local people will also be more informed and may come up with more practical, feasible solutions appropriate for them. The emerging paradox of increasingly local politics in a world structured by increasingly global processes now becomes easier to understand (Castells, 1997).

A territory indicates a geographically contiguous area facilitating socio-spatial connectedness. It facilitates greater bases for association (but does not determine it) within the social group in a given area. Simultaneously, it controls unwanted interaction dealing with the problem of information overload. The functional implications on the socio-cultural front are that it safeguards culture and socio-cultural identity; preserves social networks and exercises social control. It also discloses information to in-group members and withholds it from out-group members. Other than social, it is of economic importance: it provides access to economic resources and opportunities. Territory attains a functional value.

I. C. Social Distancing, Spatial Segregation and Socio-cultural Enclaves

The central theme of the thesis is to understand the link between social processes and spatial processes, with special reference to India. Man is a social animal and cannot live by himself. The choices he makes in terms of whom to interact with and with whom not to sets into motion both social and spatial processes namely, social distancing and spatial distancing and ultimately segregation. The social interaction pattern is both culture oriented --- related to values, belief and life-style;
and social prestige oriented — related to the position, that is, the social and economic status in the society. This manifests over space and is reflected in the spatial organisation of social groups. Social and spatial organisations of society is both cultural identity and class identity oriented, which identity is more prevalent varies with different societies.

The interaction pattern is mainly determined by opportunities for interaction and the willingness to interact. The latter is considered more important as it expresses the preferences or choices made by the interacting parties governed by cultural and social norms rather than chance occurrences as in the case of the former. In other words, the rationale behind the decisions made reflects the societal processes. Willingness to interact may be regarded as a function of chiefly two factors - tolerance and one's sense of identity (here identity refers to socio-cultural identity). Tolerance here pertains to the ability to forbear different and perhaps strange ways of life, attitudes, belief and values. It suggests an open-mindedness towards the ‘other’ and an acceptance of things which may be beyond the scope of one’s comprehension. It implicitly implies the recognition of the ‘other’ but may not approve or embrace the ‘other’. Herein lies the basic difference between assimilation and tolerance as in the former, acceptance leads to the absorption in the mainstream. Ultimately resulting in the integration of diverse groups and loss of identity of one of the groups (in most cases the non-dominant group loses its identity) and emergence of a new identity. Intolerance as opposed to tolerance indicates the inability to accept the ‘other’, a narrow-minded approach towards diverse ways of thinking, values and life-style. It implies that recognition is not given to the ‘other’. Where tolerance exists, intercommunity interaction is more likely than intolerance. The latter resists such intermingling of diverse social groups. On the other hand, identity refers to the cognisance of self, of self as a distinct entity. Hence, even if the social group was recognised by ‘others’ there would be a resistance to assimilate and integrate with the society at large. A weak sense of identity implies a fragile self-awareness. Thus, it can be easily moulded and integrated. When social groups have a strong sense of identity, there will be a tendency to limit interaction within the group with the sole intention of safeguarding their identity. Moreover, extreme self-pride originating
from their strong sense of identity may instil a superiority complex which stands in the way of their intermixing with other social groups. Whereas, in the case of the latter such unawareness would not in anyway interfere or prohibit inter-group interaction and integration with other diverse social groups. Clearly, tolerance is an external factor and sense of identity an internal factor in the process of inter-group interaction (Figure No.1.4).

The model is classified into four sectors on the basis of tolerance and strength of one’s identity. In sector I, the sense of identity (internal force) is extremely strong among the social groups and simultaneously they are tolerated (external force) and accepted by rest of the society. The social groups that fall in this particular category are those belonging to the upper echelons of the society. In India, they are the Hindu majority among the many religious groups. Within the religious groups, the upper echelons are: Brahmins and Kshatriyas (the hierarchy differs from region to region. In Gujarat the Brahmins and Vanias falls in this segment) in general among the Hindus, the Catholics among the Christians and Shias among the Muslims. The internal force of self awareness leads to self-alienation. Social purity and identity is preserved by restricting social interaction with other groups. This results in social distancing and sequentially physical distancing, social and physical segregation and socio-cultural enclaves. In the modern era, to maintain one’s hegemony and control over social and economic resources, social groups further alienate themselves and ‘become alien’ from others.
FIG. NO. 1.4  
A Schematic Model of Social and Spatial Segregation by Levels of Tolerance and Sense of Social Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector IV</th>
<th>Sector I</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOTH INTERNAL FORCE AND EXTERNAL FORCE WEAK</td>
<td>INTERNAL FORCE STRONGER EXTERNAL FORCE WEAKER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITTLE SOCIAL DISTANCING.</td>
<td>SOCIAL DISTANCING.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITTLE PHYSICAL DISTANCING.</td>
<td>PHYSICAL DISTANCING.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITTLE SPATIAL &amp; SOCIAL SEGREGATION.</td>
<td>SPATIAL &amp; SOCIAL SEGREGATION DUE TO SELF-ALIENATION.</td>
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<tr>
<td>INTEGRATION &amp; ASSIMILATION</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sector II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOTH INTERNAL FORCE STRONGER EXTERNAL FORCE STRONGER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL DISTANCING.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHYSICAL DISTANCING.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPATIAL &amp; SOCIAL SEGREGATION.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DISINTEGRATION &amp; SOCIAL CONFLICT</td>
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**Source:** Developed by the author.

In sector II, not only the internal force of sense of identity is strong but so is the external force of intolerance. On one hand, the social group has a very high degree of self awareness and on the other they are not given recognition. Ethnic minorities obviously fall in this category. The ethnic minorities are rejected by the majority and are ‘made alien’ or alienated by others. Concurrently their strong sense of identity initiates the process of self-alienation and ultimately ‘becoming alien’. Clearly, the gap between the majority keeps on increasing and has the possibility of
becoming insurmountable. Similar to sector I, this results in social distancing and sequentially physical distancing, social and physical segregation and formation of socio-cultural enclaves. The only difference between the two is that the latter situation has greater potentiality to be very explosive socially. Strong notion of identity instils in themselves a sense of pride which when renounced by others may lead to social unrest and tension, violence and riots. Final consequence will be the disintegration of the society. In India, the religious minorities especially the Muslims and Christians can identify themselves with this sector.

In sector III, weak internal force of sense of identity and stronger external force of intolerance are seen. Similar to sector I and II, the consequences are social and physical distancing, social and physical segregation and formation of socio-cultural enclaves. Some ethnic minorities fall under this category especially those which have to a certain extent been assimilated with the mainstream yet are rejected by them. In India, the lower echelons of the society fall in this segment especially the lower and middle castes who think themselves to be part of the Hindu majority and yet are not accepted by the upper castes. Even to this day in India certain lower castes among the Hindus are not allowed to enter temples though they follow the very same religion.

In sector IV, both the internal force of identity and external force of tolerance are weak. This means that low self awareness and tolerance by others facilitates greater intermixing and intermingling. A situation of melting pot has occurred theoretically. Hence unlike all the other three sectors there is little social and physical distancing, little social and physical segregation. The social groups interact freely with one another and assimilate finally leading to integration of the society. This situation is merely theoretical and there is no possibility of it occurring in reality. In fact, occurrence of violence is frequent in this sector.

The above model highlights the fact that polarization of social groups may be self-imposed as well as imposed by others implying that they may not necessarily be socially deprived, unprivileged nor minorities or non-dominant groups. Though
they also can be. Geographical agglomeration of such socially polarized groups are indicators of impoverishment but also of prosperity, of justice and injustice, of protest and acceptance as well.

If this model was to occur over space and time, what would be the stages of spatial segregation over space and time, theoretically and in reality? Let us assume to start with that social groups are randomly or more or less randomly distributed over space (Figure No.1.5). According to the above model, this is only possible when either strong notion of identity has not formed or self awareness is weak and interaction pattern is also random with both intra and extra community links and interaction. The other possibilities being social groups are tolerant of each other and the differences that give each its distinguishing characteristics and or the social groups are assimilated or well integrated (similar to sector II of the previous model). At this stage, diverse social groups will appear like a conglomeration. In other words no definite pattern of segregation or clustering can be discerned over space in stage A.

The subsequent stage B, arises with the strengthening of sense of identity. Similitude’s with respect to culture, life-style, attitudes, values and belief further reinforces the sense of identity. It enhances fellowship and binds individuals together. This strong internal force of self awareness is translated over space as a centripetal force with individuals having similar identity concentrating over space. Strong sense of social identity may be independent of whether the social groups are tolerated by others or not. Clustering of social groups over space can now be observed. Processes

FIG.NO.1.5. Stages of Spatial Segregation and Formation of Socio-Cultural Enclaves

STAGE A: MIXED COMMUNITY WITH MICRO-LEVEL SEGREGATION

CONGLOMERATION OR RANDOM MIX OF COMMUNITIES WITH MICRO-LEVEL SEGREGATION
of segregation are initiated. Simultaneously, interaction is less randomised with a higher preference for intra-community interaction.

Once preferences and restrictions are imposed on the interaction pattern, processes of ‘making alien’ and ‘becoming alien’ also begins concurrently. This is translated over space as a centrifugal force, an external force operating between the social groups. Centripetal forces are also operational at the same time. Thus increasing the zone of barrier between the diverse and multiple social groups. In other words, the
social groups repel one another. Clustering over space is now more apparent in stage C.

In stage D, the diverse and multiple social groups are strongly clustered forming isolated socio-cultural enclaves. The zone of barrier is maximum at this stage with highly restricted intra-community interaction and extremely strong sense of identity. Both centripetal and centrifugal forces are highly effective and powerful. In this situation the diverse groups are intolerant towards one another and refuse to acknowledge or recognise each other. The consequences can only be social tension, unrest and violence. If social unrest has already occurred, the social groups will further agglomerate over space with absolute segregation due to fear, suspicion and insecurity.

Earlier, centripetal forces caused by processes of self-alienation were stronger and mostly seen amongst people of higher social, economic and political status. Stronger centripetal force imply greater internal cohesion leading to well organised coherent groups. This enabled the higher status groups to maintain their hegemony over others. The dominance of the upper castes mainly the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, can easily be understood in this light. Moreover, low castes were as such ignored as they were caged by the upper castes through rigid lines of separation over space. A strategic balance of separation and inequality were maintained as a result the lower castes were suppressed and were unable to keep pace with the times. Consequently, upper castes were indifferent to the existence of the lower castes as they were confident about their own unchallenged power and authority. Tolerance towards them was rather ambiguous in the sense that the moment their hegemony was threatened they started to create social distance and suppress the latter. It is later that the lower status groups, mainly the low caste groups like the Dalits, came together due to processes of self-alienation but initially they were alienated by the others, that is, chiefly the upper castes.

The ‘functional necessity’ of agglomeration is different for the two groups -- for the upper echelons it was to dominate and maintain their hegemony and for the
lower status groups it was to raise their voices and protest against this very hegemony of the upper classes. Thus, segregation of the latter can be interpreted as a mechanism of self empowerment.

I. D. Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

(1) To study the social, economic and political factors that has given rise to the spatial structure of the communities in the study area.

(2) To identify the perceptual boundaries of neighbourhoods within which communities live and interact.

(3) To analyse the social interaction pattern at the intra and inter community levels.

(4) To identify the changes in spatial structure within which communities live.

(5) To identify the changes in social interaction pattern within and among communities.

(6) To know the impact of emerging new social order and resulting forms of spatial organisation.