

**‘RACIAL’ CLUSTERS AND URBAN SPACE:
A STUDY OF KHIRKI EXTENSION OF DELHI**

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DECLARATION

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CERTIFICATE

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GLOSSARY

MEA - Ministry of External Affairs MEA
CII - Confederation of Indian Industry
EXIM bank – Export Import bank of India
IMF - International Monetary Fund
WB - World Bank
LOCs - Lines of Credit
PPP - Public-Private Partnerships
SAP - Structural Adjustment Programme
PTA - Preferential Trade Areas
MoU - Memorandum of Understanding
SADC - Southern African Development Community
TEAM 9 - Techno- Economic Approach for Africa-India Movement
TCIL - Telecommunications Consultants India Limited.
NEPAD - New Partnership for Africa’s Development
ICT - Information and Communication Technology
ASSOCHAM - The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry
FICCI - Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
OVL - Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited
IAFS - India Africa Forum Summit
AU - Africa United
REC’s - Regional Economic Communities
ICAR - Indian Council of Agricultural Research
LDCs- Least Developed Countries
WHO - World Health Organization
MCC - Medicine Control Council” in South Africa
UN - United Nations
ANC - African National Congress
DPA - Development Partnership Administration
CRT – Critical Race Theory

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction:

This dissertation is a study of the migrants from different countries of Africa living in Khirki Extension of south Delhi. The urban space of Khirki Extension was chosen as it has witnessed urban change, transformation and urban restructuring recently. Khirki Extension has seen a lot of changes as the processes of globalization have brought visible changes in this urban landscape since 2007 such as a large complex of glitzy shopping Malls called Saket ‘Select Citywalk’, a super speciality private hospital called Max hospital and the Delhi Metro line. Ever since these restructuring processes, the economy of this place has boomed and the urbanization processes have reshaped the urban landscape. As a result of this process, the nature of Khirki Extension has transformed significantly. The history of the urban space of Khirki Extension shows that this part of the city was a vast forestland where the malls, hospital and metro line are built today. This area was a jungle and a large part of this land was grazing ground for livestock.

The economy of Khirki Extension transformed drastically since India’s liberalization, that is, post 1991, from being primarily agrarian in nature to ‘urban housing’ for migrants coming to the city for employment and other opportunities. Migrants from different regions of India migrated here to access low-priced housing. This area offered housing facilities that were cheaper than other areas of Delhi. What made this urban space special and stand out was that migrants not only came from different regions of India but also from different countries of Africa. Since India adopted New Economic policy in 1991, along with changes in the urban land use patterns, changes in migration patterns also came about. The migration from Africa to India increased as a result of India’s New Economic policy. Migrants from different countries of Africa came to India, and particularly to Khirki Extension of Delhi. It was observed that they lived in Khirki Extension in the form of a cluster. This cluster of migrants from Africa residing in this particular urban space of Khirki Extension is the particular study for this thesis. This thesis seeks to analyse the rationale behind the formation of the ‘African cluster’ in Khirki Extension. This study seeks to understand the nature of this cluster and the factors that facilitated the formation of this cluster? Do the processes of globalization and urbanization in this particular area play any role in this formation? What are the other major factors that contribute to the formation of African clusters?

Statement of Problem:

As mentioned above, Khirki Extension witnessed drastic changes. The changes in the land use patterns ushered a migrant population for rental housing in Khirki Extension. The migrants coming from different countries of Africa are clustered here. The changes in the land use patterns after India's liberalisation since 1991 have contributed to the migration from Africa to India. India-Africa economic ties have given impetus to migration from Africa to India. But, this migration is much more complex as with the migration of the African migrants to India and to particularly Khirki Extension, there was a rapid increase in racial attacks, racial violence and racial discrimination against the African migrants. These cases of violence drew attention towards cultural conflicts and cultural differences emerging in Khirki Extension. Therefore this study takes the case of the African migrants to study the rational for the formation of racial clusters. Do instances of racial violence contribute to the formation of a racial cluster?

Further, this study also seeks to understand why there is an African cluster particularly in Khirki Extension? What are the processes along with economic liberalization and globalization that are leading to African clusters in Khirki Extension? One could observe a certain kind of ghettoization taking place in Khirki Extension. Khirki Extension was chosen as the urban space for this study as it was here that the African migrants were particularly concentrated. Interestingly, Khirki Extension was also popularly known as little Africa¹. It was observed that the African migrants lived in a close network group within this neighbourhood. This thesis attempts to analyse questions such as the rational for this pattern of living in this form of a cluster, i.e., what does this pattern of clustering in housing imply? Why did African clustering take place in Khirki Extension? The clustering of population is not a new phenomenon in Delhi. The DDA² through its housing schemes has been clustering population on the basis of income. Industrial belts in Delhi such as Khanpur Extension, Okhla, Tuglakabad, Sunder Nagri etc. facilitate clustering of people into lower- income groups. Even areas like Lajpat Nagar, Patel Nagar, Rajendra Nagar, Malviya Nagar and C.R. Park in Delhi comprise of

¹ India TV News, April 1 2014, updated 7:32 A.M., "Khirki Extension is a little Africa in Delhi".

² DDA- 'Delhi Development Authority' is a government body, which was established in 1957. The purpose of this body was development of housing and infrastructure. Ever since the partition of India in 1947, the population of Delhi increased due to influx of migration. By 1951 it had grown to almost double, therefore, a decision was made to constitute a government body that could take care of infrastructure. DDA was established to plan Delhi through several projects, one of the major being housing projects. Under the housing scheme of DDA housing was planned for HIG (High income groups), MIG (Middle income groups) and LIG (Lower income groups).

ethnic clusters, which were initially established as refugee camps. From these examples one could argue that it is either a housing scheme of DDA or the proximity to the industrial area or the government established refugee camps that were generally the conditions, which facilitated the establishment of clusters. But in Khirki Extension the above- mentioned conditions of clustering did not exist. But still one sees racial clusters comprising of the migrants from different countries of Africa in this area. Hence one tends to ask questions such as; are these clusters a consequence of economic conditions (like cheap rent, etc.) or are there other social, political conditions and factors facilitating the establishment of these racial clusters? In this context this dissertation will try to explore the reasons for this formation of spatial clustering of the African community in Khirki Extension respectively. In other words, why does this community reside in clusters or what are the conditions that facilitate the clustering of the community? And further, what does this clustering of population imply about the larger socio-political-economic nature of the urban space?

Theoretical Framework:

In order to understand the concept of racial cluster, the idea of race has been explored through definitions ranging from biological perspective to sociocultural perspective. For this study, the meaning of race is outlined through anthropological and sociological perspective on race used since the early sixteenth century to its present usage. The meaning of Race is outlined through two broad parameters, *first*, through the Biological determinist perspective and *second*, through the socio-cultural perspective. This thesis takes the socio-cultural perspective of race and explores how it is a social construct. It refers to the works of Oliver Cox (1959), W.E.B Dubois (1903), Franz Fanon (1952) CLR James (1963) and Stuart Hall. (1997). This thesis refers to Stuart Hall (1992, 1997) to analyse how race is a floating signifier. Further, in order to understand race in social contexts, an exploration is made to analyse how social systems are viewed as racialized by scholars such as Oliver Cox (1959), W.E.B Dubois (1903) and Silva (1994).

Berghe (1967) was referred to define race as “a group that is *socially* defined but on the basis of physical criteria”, Berghe (1967: 11). He demonstrates how race is different from “ethnic groups” or “ethnicities”. The framework of his analysis was referred to analyse race and Ethnic groups. He shows how the distinction between racial and ethnic groups. Berghe (1967) argues that when cultural traits are defined through genetic and

hereditary systems such as, for instance, body odour, which can be due to diets, cosmetics or other cultural ideas, it can be misleading. He also mentions that physical appearances can be altered through plastic surgery and cosmetics. Therefore, to fix the criteria of physical appearance and fixing cultural traits as the marker for identity of race and ethnicity can be misleading. Therefore, in order to define race and ethnicity, one must keep in mind the context in which it is produced, hence, race has been defined through a range of perspectives to understand its social construction.

Further, to analyse the concept of racial cluster, the concept of 'cluster' is explored through analysis of urban forms and processes. Savage, Warde and Ward (2003) Marcuse (2005) David P. Varady (2005) Kostoff (1992) define 'cluster' as a generic term that symbolise urban processes such as segregation, exclusion and ghettoization. These theories have been explored to examine if these can be applied in the Indian context to analyse racial clusters. Further, globalization and its urban impact such as urban change, transformation and urban restructuring processes through changes in land use patterns have been explored through the works of Swapna Guha Banerjee (2010), Saskia Sassen (1994) and David Harvey (1985, 2007). These theories led to the question of how exclusionary practices in urban space take place through formation of gated communities and formation of associations. Taeuber and Taeubar (1965) Stonequist (1937) Du Bois (1989, 1903) show the Chicago school perspective on racial division of urban space. Myrdal (1944) describes the American Dilemma. This helped to understand processes used in the local community context to exercise exclusionary practices and "Othering" processes, Wacquant (1997, 1999) Srivastava (2009).

Further, in order to study globalization and Migration the framework that was specifically referred to was the context of Economic Globalization. Economic reforms in India took the form of bilateral exchanges between India and Africa. These bilateral ties and partnerships provided the road map to understand India-Africa relationship. Kundu (2009) Dubey (2016) Biswas (2016) were referred for this analysis. These economic exchanges and bilateral ties gave impetus to migration from Africa to India. To understand the context of Migration Rao (1974) was referred. The major push and pull factors for migrations from Africa to India were taken into account as the theoretical background.

This thesis argues that migration not only signifies migration of people but also implies migration of cultures. Different aspects of culture were studied to understand the

link between Culture and Identity. Stuart Hall (1997) was used for observing the African identity. Further, the ways by which Cultural Differences get created, cause gaps, conflicts and contestations were important to study during fieldwork. How does the local community view 'African identity'? This question was analysed using theories on Culture and Representation. The aspects of language and Othering processes were also analysed through the works of Stuart Hall (1992, 1997) and Franz Fanon (1952). Further, analysis, which required the understanding of the African identity, was studied through a reference to diaspora studies and Pan-Africanism. How is an African identity emerging in the Indian context? What are the conditions under which it is formed? An important question that was analysed was how the difference in culture created differences leading to violence in the Indian context? For this study, studies on diaspora were incorporated with regard to Pan-Africanism, Oka and Kusimba (2008), Williams and Thompson (2002).

To further study African identity in the Indian context and analyse it in the context of racial discrimination, a further analysis was made of the concept of Intersectionality. The works of Kimberle Crenshaw (1991, 1998) and Patricia Hill Collins (1990) Egwuom (2014) were referred in detail. The reference to intersectionality provided a vantage point for analysis of racial discrimination. Crenshaw (1993) shows how intersectionality, as a method is necessary for an in-depth analysis of race. The use of this approach helped in analysing race along with class, gender and also religion. It helped to understand the lived experiences of the migrants facing multiple levels of discrimination. Winker and Degele (2011) argue that intersectionality frameworks are based on the idea that social categories and divisions such as race, class and gender are interrelated on the levels of experience and representation as well as on the level of social structure. This approach has been used further to study citizenship, religion, sexuality and other dimensions, which perpetuate subordination. Scholars have applied this intellectual method across the world, whether they live as part of national diaspora or in their home countries. It has helped in study of policy matters whether in the regional or national settings.

Critical Race Theory was used as a counter narrative to hegemonic discourse, giving a critique to policy planning which had failed in addressing discrimination and racism in the United States. This approach was used to study African migrants who faced racial discrimination but did not have any legal mechanisms for addressing the racial violence. This approach was used to interrogate whether it could be applied to the Indian society or not. In recent times, globalization processes have contributed to many questions and

categories in contemporary Indian society. For instance, the migration of the African nationals to India and specifically to Khirki Extension of Delhi is an important phenomenon, which is of recent origin in the specific context of liberalisation, globalization and migration. Therefore, the above framework has been used to analyse African clusters in the Indian context.

Research Questions

1. What are the principles that govern the formation of racial clusters of migrants from different countries of Africa residing in Khirki Extension?
2. What are the major push and pull factors for migration from Africa to India? Further why is Khirki Extension of south Delhi chosen particularly for residing purposes?
3. Do these racial clusters imply voluntary choice of the migrants or does it imply segregation, exclusion or marginalization?
4. What does this clustering of the migrants imply about the nature of the urban space? Or Does race act as a factor for segregation of a particular community?

Objectives:

1. To map the general demographic profiles, i.e., socio-political-economic aspects of the African migrants living in Khirki Extension.
2. To outline the reasons for their migration from Africa to India and particularly to Khirki Extension.
3. To outline the conditions that, are facilitating the clustering of the African migrants residing in Khirki Extension.
4. To outline the lived experiences of the African migrants in Khirki Extension.
5. To examine whether ‘race’ acts as a way of ‘Othering’ and a signifier in the urban space of Khirki Extension.

Research Methodology:

An Introduction to the field

This research is a study of the African migrants residing in Khirki Extension of Delhi (India). The word ‘Khirki’ means window. It is prefixed to the ancient Masjid located in this area, i.e., Khirki Masjid “The Masjid of Windows”. Khirki gets its name from the Khirki Masjid, which was built in Feroz Shah Tuglaq’s reign. Khirki village was a vast

forestland. It comes in the *lal dora*³ area of Delhi. It has a dominant caste population of Kaushiks, Sainis and Chauhans who own most of the land in this area. They have owned this land since their ancestors and forefathers. As mentioned above, this area was a forestland where agriculture was the main source of livelihood and occupation. However, changes in this urban space came about with processes of globalization such as coming of the shopping malls, a super speciality hospital called Max hospital and the Delhi metro line. Today, those who own land in Khirki Extension control the social and cultural norms of the area. They are the landlords of Khirki and the owners of property. The Property owners who have bought land in this area recently also control the economic, social and political relations based on ownership rights. The tenants of Khirki Extension are the migrant population who do not have control over the land and social relations. They have to approach the landlords, property owners for renting purposes.

The migrants come from different regions of India and from different countries of Africa. The African migrants particularly are found living in the form of racial clusters in Khirki Extension. This particular urban space of Khirki Extension is visibly divided into specific zones where the migrants from Africa are clustered. The local community that comprises of the migrant population that comes from different regions of India also lives here. But this urban space is clearly divided into specific lanes where the African migrants are living. The particular area where the migrant population is concentrated is called Hauzrani. The African migrants occupy particular lanes and a clear division of space is visible. The African migrants live in clusters and come from different countries of Africa such as Somalia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Congo, Congo DR, Cameroon, Nigeria, South Africa. The cluster of African migrants is located within the same urban space but the cluster shows internal patterns of differences in terms of culture, religious beliefs, food eating habits and lifestyles. The African migrants with similar lifestyle patterns tend to group together generally in the form of occupancy of particular buildings. They live with their friends and in some cases with family members. It was observed that the African migrants generally lived on a sharing basis. The African migrants preferred to live in the same neighbourhood, streets and locality. Even though the African community is vast and migrants come from different countries in Africa, but they still live in the same area and locality.

³ *Lal Dora* is known as village land and also refers to the concept of *Abadi*, which means 'habitation' for the village. Lal dora area was designated by the government, to the people of the village for ancillary purposes, for grazing or keeping livestock.

Methods and Techniques of Data Collection:

This research is an Explorative study. Qualitative methods of data collection were employed to understand the issues, perceptions and concerns of various groups to explore above-mentioned research questions. The qualitative research methods include ethnographic methods such as in-depth interviews and narratives to understand the perceptions, opinions and everyday lived experiences of the African migrants in India and particularly in Khirki Extension. An attempt was made to understand the attitudes of the local people towards the African migrant community. Focus Group discussions were conducted to have conversation with the local residents to understand their perceptions regarding the African community living in Khirki Extension. The method of Intersectionality was applied for data analysis as it helped to analyse the categorizations more clearly and the intersection of categories such as Race, Class, Gender and Religion. In order to understand race it was important to employ this method to get a more detailed perspective about other forms/systems of stratification and hierarchy. The concept of reflexivity was also employed to understand questions of positionality and production of knowledge in this context. Such questioning led to the reflection of epistemological inquiry to analyse larger questions about knowledge production.

For the purpose of data collection, Narratives, Oral History and In- depth Interviews have been used as the primary tools and techniques for data collection. The use of oral History and narratives were used to do an in-depth cross-cultural understanding embedded in experience. Fang He and Phillion (2001) identified how the study of face- to- face encounters of people in their every day lives could be an important aspect of a study. The narrative method used in this study allowed a deeper understanding of the complexity of race, class, and gender. Further, Observation was also used to study the field closely. Narratives were collected from 50 Respondents, which included 25 narratives of the migrants from different countries of Africa living in Khirki Extension and 25 local residents of Khirki Extension. The sample of population of migrants from Africa included Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria, Congo, Uganda, Burundi Rwanda, Tanzania, Cameroon, Ghana, South Africa. A detailed ethnography was made on respondents from Somalia, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and Cameroon from which a general perspective about the socio-political and economic life of the migrants in India was studied and the socio-political contexts/environments of their native countries. The sample of the Local

population included *firstly*, interviews with the landlords giving their apartments on rent to the migrants from different countries of Africa, *secondly* local migrants from different regions of India, *thirdly*, the police officials handling the zone of Khirki Village and Khirki Extension area. Interviews with the police inspectors were recorded to get their perspective on crime and law and order in the area. Moreover, interviews with the local police officials were undertaken to understand their impressions about the African migrant community, *fourth*, the domestic workers working in the respective area, *Fifth*, the shopkeepers who have small shops in Khirki Extension and Khirki village. They were interviewed to get their opinions about the activities on the streets and in the market area.

Oral history, narratives and in-depth interviews were used as important tools for fieldwork. In the case of the African migrants these tools and techniques were even more important and necessary for understanding the family backgrounds in detail, political environments of the countries of origin, the economic and social aspects of their own personal histories. An attempt was made to trace the various push and pull factors of migration from different countries of Africa to India. Further, an attempt was made to study the main factors of migration, such as Employment, Education, and medical treatment etc. to understand the nature of migration, such as long-term planned migration or short term/ temporary migration. An important aspect of my study was to understand why Delhi was chosen as a preferred destination for migration? What were the factors that pulled the migrants to Delhi? Further, attempt was made to understand why the migrants chose Khirki Extension in particular as an urban space for housing and living? What did this choice of urban space imply? What were the various factors that determined this choice?

Secondly, 'observation' was used as a key tool to understand the local power dynamics. For instance, to understand how the local landlords behaved with the migrants from Africa? How did the state actors such as police behave? What is the role of the state in this context? How can local politics be understood? How do social relations get formed? What is the body language of the local residents when they approach the African migrants? Do they stare, comment at the African migrants? What are the different forms of communication at play such as gestures, hand movements, eyes and body language? Further, how do the African migrants react and respond to different situations. Observation of the field gave an important vantage point for analysing local attitudes and responses. An attempt was made to understand whether the local residents were accepting

and accommodating the African nationals or not? Or whether the local community was uncomfortable and awkward around their presence? An analysis was made of the attitudes, body language, behaviour, gestures and other forms of verbal and non-verbal interaction to understand how communication takes place between the African migrants and the local people such as the interactions at the local grocery store, tea stalls and *dhabas* (eating joints), local vendors etc. Observation was used in order to analyse the local people and their attitudes towards the African migrants and vice-versa.

Samples and Units of Analysis:

A detailed study was undertaken to identify the Socio-economic profiles of the migrants living in the racial cluster. This profile gave a comprehensive understanding regarding the demographic characteristics of the migrant population such as their country, nationality, and reasons for migrating into India. The units of analysis included *first*, the migrants from different countries of Africa. *Second*, the local people residing in the same neighbourhood as the African community of Khirki Extension. *Third*, the landlords and the property brokers who give the property on rent. *Fourth*, the domestic workers/helpers who are working in the houses of the people living in Khirki Extension, which includes, the landlords and local community. *Fifth*, the Police officials at the local police station of Khirki Extension. The total sample formally collected was 50 from the field site, that is, Khirki Extension. This sample was divided into 25 respondents from the migrant community of Africa and 25 respondents from the Indian community.

The sampling method was random, purposive and snowball sampling. Many of the respondents from Africa remained constant over the period of 3 years especially from Somalia, Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and Cameroon. The average age group of the migrants from Africa was between 18-40 years of age. From the 25 respondents from Africa 7 respondents were Females and 18 respondents were Males. Further, data was collected from landlords residing in Khirki Extension. 10 landlords were interviewed from the Chauhan and Saini family which is the dominant caste of Khirki village and control a large part of Khirki Extension, 2 Police inspectors were interviewed, 2 domestic workers, 1 *dhoban* (woman who does laundry and ironing in the area), and 10 migrants from different regions of India settled in Khirki as migrants.

Phases of Fieldwork:

The fieldwork for this study is divided into three broad phases. *The first phase* began with an event in which the ex Law Minister of Delhi from the political party of Aam Admi Party (AAP) conducted a midnight raid on the African migrants living in Khirki Extension on January 16th, 2014 without a valid search warrant. This incident had gained a lot of media coverage and there was criticism from all corners for this act. However, many of the local residents living in Khirki Extension were very happy and supportive of this raid. In this midnight raid, the women from the African migrant community were forced to come out of their homes at midnight for allegedly carrying out illegal activities such as prostitution⁴. They were forced to give their blood samples and urinate in public. This event was symbolic of the public opinion and perception of the local community about the African migrants living in Khirki Extension. The raid was the result of the complaints filed by the local residents to the ex- Law Minister of Delhi, Mr. Somnath Bharti about the migrants from Africa, particularly the women living in the area. In this phase, data was collected from the local residents to gather public opinion and observe emerging stereotypes about the migrants from Africa living in Khirki Extension. In this phase of the fieldwork, the local residents of Khirki Extension were very vocal about their opinions and perceptions.

The raid was symbolic of the kind of negative perceptions about the African migrants. It brought out a clear dislike for the community by some of the local residents who formed a dominant view about them, in other words a sort of conflict and cultural difference in the urban space. The raid had opened up questions about drugs, prostitution, cannibalism, and the status of the African migrants as illegal and other activities, which the local community believed were being carried out late at night by the African migrants. In this phase, narratives were collected from the members of the local community to analyse the local opinions. Narratives were also collected from the African community to analyse their response to the raid. Many of African migrants felt targeted while the local community felt that they were all involved in illegal activities. A clear conflict and cultural clash could be observed in this phase. During this phase of fieldwork a demographic profile was mapped to understand a general migration pattern of the African migrants. A close and detailed observation was made of the Midnight raid in order to

⁴ Zee News, Zee Media Bureau, January 18, 2014, published 9:22 am “Somnath Bharti’s Midnight raid: African woman forced to urinate in public”.

engage with the question of why a midnight raid was conducted by the ex- Law Minister of Delhi? What did this midnight raid imply? This raid was conducted without valid search warrants. An attempt was made to analyse the impact of this midnight raid on the everyday lives of the migrants from Africa. This research began since July 2013 and the midnight raid, which took place in 2014 January, became a necessary event to analyse during fieldwork.

The second phase of the fieldwork was post the Midnight raid. This was an important phase in the fieldwork as it was during this phase that the migrants from Africa started sharing narratives about their everyday lived experiences. They revealed the instances of racial discrimination, which they experienced in the city and particularly in Khirki. Another important event that took place during this phase of fieldwork was the India-Africa Forum Summit in October 2015 in New Delhi. This period marked an important phase in the research as it celebrated economic cooperation between India and Africa. An observation was made of the Indian state and its economic ties and partnerships with Africa. There were a host of discussions, seminars, and cultural programmes, open forums that took place to mark this event. This phase was crucial as on the one hand there were narratives of African migrants explaining racial violence and on the other, a formal celebration of economic tie-up between India and Africa.

The Third Phase of the study was followed by the death of an African National, Masonda Ketada Olivier on May 21, 2016 on the eve of his birthday. Olivier was from Democratic Republic of Congo⁵. He was beaten to death at 11:40 PM and left to die on the streets after a conflict between an auto rickshaw driver, some locals and Olivier who was with his friend. He was severely beaten to death. At 12:00 AM he was about to turn 24 years. This event brought a shock to the African community and as a result of this there was a resistance and a call for a protest by the members of the African community living in Delhi. This incident brought to light many underlying hidden questions about racial violence and discrimination. In this phase the African migrants revealed their narratives of racial violence and abuse. Detailed conversations were made with migrants from different countries of Africa living in Khirki Extension about their experiences in the city of Delhi and the streets of Khirki. In this phase, in-depth Interviews were conducted and narratives were gathered about the lived experiences of the respondents in

⁵ The Indian Express, May 22, 2016, published 2:03 AM, "Congo man beaten to death: He came to Delhi looking for a better life".

their everyday lives especially the African women who faced more harassment. Prior to this incident a Tanzinian girl had been stripped⁶ in public in February 2016 on the streets of Bangalore. Such incidents had come to light and had started impacting migrants living in Khirki Extension, where they started telling their own personal experiences through references of these incidents. Women especially felt the need to talk about their own personal incidents of sexual harassment and violence. They talked about how the police is always late in acting and sometimes does not support them. These narratives are outlined in detail in the fieldwork. This was the how the fieldwork was conducted over a period of three years.

Relevance of this Study:

This research is a study on the African migrants living in Khirki Extension. This study outlines cultural exchanges and contributes to the larger understanding of culture and migration in the Indian context and experience of globalization and urbanization. The local and global processes and intermixing of African migrants and local Indian community have been studied in detail. This study shows the process of the construction of the stereotypes for the migrants from Africa living in Khirki Extension. To name a few, stereotypes were formed regarding eating habits, dressing style, living style/lifestyle and profession. These stereotypes were traced through interviews with the local residents of Khirki Extension. Even a review of the newspaper articles and various online news agency reports were evaluated to understand aspects of representation of the African community living in Delhi and particularly Khirki Extension to analyse what kind of images were represented in the public sphere by the media about the migrants from Africa. This study shows how culture and identity are interlinked within a global context.

Limitations of the Study:

This study seeks to analyse race in the Indian context. There were no specific studies available on this contemporary African migration. In the Indian context the availability of sociological work in this field of study was limited for this time period. Historical studies on African diaspora were available however; its contemporary nature had not been studied since this is a recent phenomenon in the context of liberalization and

⁶ India Today, Feb 3, 2016 Updated: 16:49, “Tanzanian student stripped, assaulted by locals in Bengaluru”.

globalization. Historically, race as a category has been studied in the Indian context, with reference to the origins of caste and Varna system. In this regard Ghurye's work on 'Race and Caste in India', (1932) is important as it analyses the traditional Varna system, linked with the theory of Aryan invasion⁷. However, in the recent context of globalization, analysis of 'race' as a category with reference to the African identity or Africanism has not been studied. In the context of urban space of Delhi particularly there was no study on race with regard to the contemporary usage of 'race' in the India context. Therefore, this research relies heavily on studies made in the US and other parts of the world. Race in this context has been studied through intersectionality and critical race theory. The application of the methods and theoretical frameworks on race were formed using colonial literature available on Africa and theories that originated in the western context. Studies made on race in the west have been a point of reference, which can be seen as a limitation. A specific study in the Indian context was lacking, therefore, this research relies on works and contributions of scholars in the western contexts. This can be seen as a gap or a limitation of this study.

Chapterization:

Chapter 1: Understanding Race

This chapter outlines the meaning of Race. It outlines the anthropological and sociological trajectory of the term 'Race' used since the early sixteenth century to its present usage. The meaning of Race has been outlined through two broad parameters, *first*, through the Biological determinist perspective and the *second*, through the socio-cultural constructionist perspective. This thesis takes the socio-cultural perspective of race and explores how it is a social construct. It uses the works of Oliver Cox (1959), W.E.B Dubois (1903), CLR James (1985) and Stuart Hall (1997) to analyse the aspects of social construction of race. Race is defined as a floating signifier using Hall (1992b, 1997, 2004). Further, an exploration is made to understand social systems. It was illustrated how social systems are racialized through the works of Oliver Cox and W.E.B Dubois (1903) Eduardo Silva (1994). An important aspect of this analysis was to examine

⁷ Carol Upadhyay (2000), 'Knowledge, Institutions, Practices: The Formations of Indian Anthropology and Sociology', A Paper Presented to workshop, Institute of Economic Growth, Delhi. In this paper, Ghurye theory of the origin of Varna system is outlined, through tracing of Indo-Aryans. Indo-Aryans belonged to the Indo-European stock that later developed into the 'Brahmanic- variety' of Indo-Aryan civilization, took the form of caste system in the Gangetic plains. But, race as a category in the Indian context was studied in reference with the origins of caste system.

the social systems, social institutions and power relations vis-a-vis race and understand how social institutions and systems advocated white supremacy in the western context. This view is further analyzed using the Critical Race Theory Perspective and applied in the Indian context. The above themes are explored in order to conceptualize the meaning of 'Racial' clusters for this thesis. Racial cluster is a generic term used for understanding urban processes such as urban exclusion and spatial segregation, which have been discussed in chapter two.

Chapter 2: Racial Clusters And Urban Space: An Outline

This chapter uses the element of Race in order to understand the category of 'racial' clusters in urban space. Since this study is using the category of 'racial' clusters it is important to define clusters that are formed on the basis of 'race' in the urban space. 'Cluster' is a generic term used by Savage and Warde (2004) to analyse urban formations such as ghettos, gated communities, and enclaves. Further, this study uses Lefebvre (1970) Castells (1977) Harvey (1985) Sassen (1994) to understand urban space. An in-depth analysis is made of the processes of urbanization, globalization and urban transformation. The introduction of the field of Khirki Extension is made. An analysis of urban transformation is made here. An analysis is made of how changes in the land use patterns due to urbanization and globalization brought major transformations in the urban space of Khirki Extension. The land use pattern of Khirki Extension changed drastically due to globalization. Khirki Extension became a major hub for migrants seeking housing. 'Urban housing' and rental economy boomed in Khirki due to the migrants coming from not only different states of India but also different countries of Africa. This led to the formation of a 'Racial' cluster in Khirki Extension.

Chapter 3: Globalization and Migration and the African Clusters in India

This chapter is based on fieldwork. An analysis is made on how within the backdrop of globalization; migration of the African community started taking place. It explores the main factors of migration such as the push and pull factors through narratives of the migrants coming from different countries of Africa to India. It outlines how African migration took place in India and particularly Delhi and specifically Khirki Extension. It outlines the major factors that brought the migrants specifically to Khirki Extension and the formation of an African cluster.

Chapter 4: Racial Profiling, Cultural Differences & Othering: The Lived Experiences of the migrants from Africa

This chapter analyses racial profiling and Othering that started to take place in Khirki Extension when the African clusters formed. It analyses how cultural intermixing of migrant communities with the local population created cultural differences and stereotypes. It analyses the African cluster vis-à-vis the local community. It analyses how within Khirki Extension two broad cultural formations took place. One was the local community and the other was the African community. It analyses the local community and the formation of stereotypes and negative images. It shows how the African identity became a signifier for illegal activities such as drugs, prostitution and cannibalism. This created an Othering of the African community in Khirki Extension. This process of Othering of the African community simultaneously also created a unity amongst the African community. There was an emergence of an African identity to counter these stereotypes. This identity was created on the basis of the similarity of experiences faced by all the migrants from different countries of Africa. Racial Violence and Racial discrimination in the public sphere was rampant and experienced by the African community in Khirki irrespective of country or nationality. Public lynching, mob attacks and abuse started occurring. These clashes and conflicts took place based on cultural differences, which widened. There was an oversimplification and generalization of the 'African' identity in the local sphere, which started to take place. This was the cause for a midnight Raid on the African community in January 2014 by the ex- Law Minister of Delhi. This midnight raid was an outcome of local community pressure on the police and the Law Minister. These incidents of violence, cultural clashes are described in detail through narratives in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Understanding Discrimination: The Intersectionality between race, class and Gender matters

This chapter analyses racial discrimination by taking into account the narratives of the African migrants living in Delhi, it emerged that discrimination that was taking place in the field was not being regarded as racial by the state. The local community made some severe attacks that had caused death of African nationals. The cases of violence, attack and racial discrimination are discussed in detail through fieldwork in this chapter. This

racial discrimination faced by the African migrants is understood through intersectionality. Crenshaw (1989, 1991) has been referred to, in order to understand how the neo-classical triad of 'Race, Class and Gender' can be used to understand racial discrimination. Racial Discrimination is understood using this approach. A detailed discussion is made on how this approach has been used for sociological analysis by scholars around the world. The questions related to reflexivity and positionality have been discussed. A detailed analysis is made about the idea of Lived experiences and how it contributes to empirical research.

Chapter 6: Racial Discrimination, State And Bilateral Agreements: when critical race theory matters in India

This chapter outlines the role of the state in facilitating the migration process of the migrants from different countries of Africa to India. It theoretically shows how adopting new economic policies in 1991, such as Globalization, Liberalization and privatization gave impetus to new partnerships with Africa and bi-lateral ties. This chapter shows how due to these economic ties the African migration into India increased since 1991. Critical Race Theory has been used to analyse the role of the state and the legal system of justice.

Chapter 7: Racial Cluster As a Pan African Identify: Race As A Signifier

This chapter analyses the emergence of a diasporic African Identity or Pan-Africanism. When the legal system failed to bring justice to the African migrants living in India while they were facing structural and cultural humiliation, attack and abuse there was an emergence of an identity which can be understood through Pan-Africanism, James (1963). The concept of culture, Language and representation is also analysed (Hall 2004). It was observed that language was used as a way of Othering. *Habshi* was used as a common floating signifier for the African identity in the local sphere. This had a further connotation and meaning with an association to illegal activities such as drug selling and dealing. This chapter shows how Pan-Africanism emerged as an identity at the level of diaspora that symbolized unity of experience, James (1985).

CHAPTER 1

UNDERSTANDING RACE

Introduction:

This chapter outlines the meaning of race. Since, this is a study on racial clusters and urban space, therefore, it becomes necessary to understand the meaning of race in order to define it in the present context. This chapter will trace the meaning of race. An attempt is made to highlight different perspectives on race in varied contexts in sociological and anthropological scholarship. An attempt is made to trace the literature through ideas of biological determinism by which race was initially defined, to socio-cultural contexts to examine and define the meaning in its historical context and to the present usage of the term. In this thesis race has been analysed to focus on the construction of Identity. Franz Fanon (1952), W.E.B. Du Bois (1903), Oliver Cox (1959), Stuart Hall (1994, 2004) have been referred to as key thinkers to outline the debate on race and its construction over different contexts. Further, an attempt is made to understand race through the context of racism at the institutional level and in the public sphere such as its presence in political, economic and social institutions. Race in this chapter has been addressed from the standpoint of the 'black subject' who is structurally placed in a position where differentiation is experienced through exclusion and violence at a structural level and personal/experiential level in the lived experience of the subject and scholar. In this chapter debates have been outlined from a multi-disciplinary perspective and particularly sociological perspective is brought out to understand race as a social and cultural construct.

Conceptualizing Race:

In order to outline the meaning of 'race' Berghe (1967) gives four connotations. He argues that *first* Physical anthropologists have referred to the phenotypical and genotypical traits of the human species. They have referred to race through categorizations of Homo sapiens into sub species, for example, Negroid race and Mongoloid race. *Second*, the laymen have referred to race as human groups that share common cultural traits and cultural characteristics such as religion or language, for example, the Jewish race. *Third*, Race has been used as a general term to refer to human species, or the human race. *Fourth*, it has been used to define one group different from another group based on physical characteristics. The physical characteristics are in turn

associated with moral and intellectual characteristics, which are non-physical. Berghe (1967) further argues that between the second and the fourth connotation there are differences and overlaps. The second connotation refers to ethnic groups, which are defined through cultural characteristics and the fourth refers to race, which is defined by physical criteria. But he argues that fixing the criteria for definition of either ethnicity and race through cultural or physical characteristics can be misleading. This is because cultural characteristics which function through cultural traits, which are further regarded as genetic and inherited such as body odours can change through change in diets or cosmetics. Further, if the criteria of race are fixed with physical traits then those also can be changed through cosmetic surgeries and plastic surgeries. He gives the analogy of “money bleaches”. He suggests that even distinctions between race and ethnicity can be blurred based on changes in physical and cultural environments. Therefore, in understanding race, it is important to take into considerations the contexts in which they are beings analysed.

Further, in order to understand race, it is important to consider the various definitions and an overview of race. A review of definitions to analyse the origins of “race” indicated that it was used to define a “breeding population”. Linton (1954) traced the origins of the word “race” through history and concluded that, “it denoted the idea of a transmissible biological type”. It also carried the idea of descent or common ancestry by which common hereditary material or common characteristics are passed on from one generation to another. Boas (1949) “in common parlance” defined it as “a group of people that have certain body and mental characteristics in common” or “an assembly of genetic lines represented in a population”. Fortney (1977) also reviewed definitions of race and illustrated it as “a collection (basically a group) of individuals of both sexes, definitely associated with a place or region, habitually interbreeding and possessing an historical continuity in the reproduction of a general type; these individuals tend not only to look alike but also to behave alike”. A race can be defined genotypically (genetics) and phenotypically (observable physical characteristics). Montagu (1964) however protested that within the biological concept there could be different types of populations within the same species, which can also be distinguished from one another due to the same hereditary factor.

Due to the above variations in perspectives among physical anthropologists, social scientists, biologists, evolutionists and naturalists UNESCO organized a conference in

1951 and invited expertise to draft a statement. The statement was reviewed and another version was provided in 1966 called “The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry”. This statement was significant as it carried along with it a statement related to existence of racial prejudice. It defined race as “a group or population characterized by some concentrations, relative as to frequency and distribution, of hereditary particles (genes) or physical characters which appear, fluctuate, and often disappear in the course of time by reason of geographic and/ or cultural isolation”. Fortney (1977) illustrates that it was agreed by scientists to use race as scientific term and to be used properly, it would denote and describe a population different from another population based on hereditary characteristics. However all scientists and social scientists did not apply “race” in the same way. The physical anthropologists and sociologists used it as a category to classify varieties of human species and applied it to analyse descent and common ancestry. In the context of US it triggered scientific racism when the Supreme Court ruling was applied to school desegregation. It was used to signify biological inferiority of the African-American population. The response to this statement was another symposium by “American Association for the Advancement of Science” on December 30, 1966 to clarify and challenge the stated knowledge on the problem of race and “call into question the existing anthropological position on the comparable capacities of all large-sized human populations”. However, the studies conducted had no relevance to any group’s innate abilities to perform successfully Mead et al., (1968). In fact, in the 1950s, it was argued that the term race should be replaced with “ethnic groups” by the statement on “The Race Question”, issued to UNESCO by Ashley Montagu, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Gunnar Myrdal, Julian Huxley, (1950).

In the following discussion a conceptualization of Race has been made using two parameters broadly based on early works which defined race *firstly* through biological perspective and *secondly* through the socio-cultural construction which includes historical analysis and the colonial experience of the black subject using Fanon’s work (1952), to the use of Marxist Approaches to understanding migration and labour model, social systems approach to understand stratification systems using Silva (1994) who analyses social systems as racialized, to racial capitalism to understand how capitalism appropriated race as a category to further perpetuate racial differentiation.

Biological Determinism Perspective

This perspective analyses Race through the debate between biologists, biblical adherents, natural scientists, evolutionists, environmentalists and social scientists who considered Race to be a biological phenomenon based on the idea of genetics and environment. The concept of Race has been traced to the earlier usage from sixteenth century onwards through the seventeenth century and Eighteenth Century. Race was used in the context of ‘family’ or ‘breed’ derived from the French expression “especies-ou-races d’homme”. The German derivation of the word “Rasse” refers to “generation”. It became a usage in common parlance since 1700 when Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz used it. However, it was not until Kant used the word ‘Race’ in 1775 that it was employed in its contemporary usage and meaning to designate peoples into “races of mankind” which distinguished people based on physical characteristics and genetics. Fortney (1977) argues that the works of early anthropologists made classifications but did not employ the word ‘race’ in their classification. For instance, Johanne Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) contributed theories for developing systematization and categorization of mankind and human species into different varieties. But, his theories did not use the concept of race, race classification or race formation; however, it did bring out differences in human species in terms of “varieties”. Further, in the seventeenth century, Francois Bernier (1684) a naturalist also classified mankind into “stocks” and “varieties”. He also did not advance the theory of systematization or classification using the term ‘race’ but outlined differences based on facial characteristics and body forms. This was further, followed by Carol Von Linneaus (1735) in his classic work “Systematic Naturae”. He grouped human species into four “varieties”, White, Red, Yellow, and Black. He used skin colour along with physiognomy to correlate temperament and personality types.

George Buffon (1701-1788) introduced the word “race” in the natural science and language to designate people. He used skin colour, body shapes and stature to designate six categories of people. He also used the criteria of varieties and stocks and judged the variations from “white people”. He used the criteria of scientific facts to judge the people into different types or varieties. However, to judge the physical differences he gave emphasis to variables of climate and culture rather than simply analysing hereditary and fixed genetic traits. In this regard, he pioneered the later works of Boas (1911). He is known to have pioneered the attempt to go beyond the mere categorization and give explanation for biological differences. It was the Biblical accounts of the origin of man’s

creation that was the most controversial to the idea of race and explanation of race, Sills (1968). It was believed that all humanity originated from the Adam and Eve. This doctrine came to be known as monogenesis, which is the origin of ancestry from Adam and Eve. The advocates of this belief propagated that evolutionary processes were the reason for racial differences and it was environmental factors that played a role in this process. The theory of monogenesis advocated by evolutionists and environmentalists, assumed that lesser races were still in the process of evolution and it was due the evolutionary process that they were inferior to the European type. This was the rationale for the failure and incapability of the lesser races. The logic for the justification of this inferiority was that the process of evolution was still not complete and it would take a few centuries to catch up to the European type and to come nearer to the civilized races. The polygenists who rejected the theory of “single origin of mankind” rejected this. They argued that Adam belonged to the ancestry of the Jews and other polygenists believed that racial differences were the result of divine creation. There were also others who completely rejected the Biblical logic. However, the differences between the stands of monogenists and polygenists are not clear in terms of who tended to be racial determinists. Many have argued that polygenists were racial determinists while monogenists were egalitarian about their idea of races.

However, it is important to mention that the earlier literature on Race did not have much of an impact as the works of Kant (1724-1804). In his work called “On the Various Races of Man” he did not simply categorize the differences in species based on scientific facts but also added a new dimension of the incapability of the lesser races to catch up through an insight into ‘geological time’. His position differed fundamentally on the question of race. He differed from natural scientists and a significant ideological factor came to the fore with his interpretation. By the eighteenth century, there was a challenge thrown to the perfectability of the human races to become fully evolved, and if even if it was possible, then the idea of the prolonged and unimaginable time sequence gave a new dimension to the idea of transformation of species. This thought also ushered a conflict between egalitarianism of evolutionists and monogenists who were inspired by Biblical accounts. It was earlier believed that the lesser races or savages could be transformed such that biological and social adaptations would happen at a very slow pace. However, in the new chronology, it was argued that *firstly*, since man could have originated at different points, there could be a difference between their cultural completions; *Secondly*,

it was now believed that the Caucasoid man was ahead of the savage races by thousands of years and therefore, they remained “perfectible”, Sills (1968).

In the nineteenth century, the Darwin-Wallace theory with the publication of “origin of Species” (1859) began to break the typological thinking in terms of ideal types or archetype structures in nature. The collection had comparison of populations. The understanding of the problem was made through analysing the blending in reproduction of parent “genes” and “blood”. The differences in population were made on account of the genetic blending. Darwin’s argument was limited to evolution. Further, Gregor Mendel (1865) introduced the idea of “genes” as an important aspect of the hereditary system and it was regarded as an important aspect for human groupings into races until 1900s. Scientists concerned themselves with examining anatomy, embryology and palenotology in order to endorse Darwin’s analysis. The scientists adhered to the monogenist view and drew non-egalitarian inferences. It has been argued that the interpretations of polygenists on evolution that the belief in “white supremacy” began to take shape and ideologies such as “Social Darwinism”, Spencer’s “Survival of the Fittest” and “manifest destiny” became popular among natural scientists and social scientists. These ideas about race and scientific racism had been reigning but it was in the twentieth century that scientific explanations on race were separated from cultural forms between racial groupings. This was to the credit of Franz Boas (1949) and his students who argued that there was no scientific rationality and causal relationship between culture, language and race. Linguistic studies further challenged racist explanations of a causal connection between syntax, grammar and cultural development.

In the twentieth century, a crucial turn of thought happened in physical anthropology with a Symposium at Cold Spring Harbour, on Qualitative Biology in the 1950 with the meeting of physical anthropologists and geneticists. Studies on race started to differ from the past centuries when evolutionary biology was analysed through the mechanism of race and race formations. Attention was given to the process of evolution more carefully and critically. Although the early naturalists paid some attention to evolution with regard to race such as Blumenbach, Buffon and Kant but post-Darwinians had now recognized the importance of the analysis of race rather than scientific origins that perpetuated scientific racism. In 1954 the ruling given by the Supreme Court on school desegregation triggered scientific racism again and it was reflected in the works of Henry Garrett (1960), Wesley G. George (1962), Audrey Shuey (1958). The biological

perspective or the naturalist perspective of evolution of races on a scale of civilization perpetuated scientific racism. It linked human intelligence and morality to genetic differences. The lesser races or savages, i.e., the Negroid race were considered to be the lowest on the evolutionary scale by the adherents of biological determinism. They believed that it would take the lesser races a few centuries to catch up with the civilized race. Those who believed in the social constructionist perspective of race rejected such a view. Cultural anthropologists such as Edward Tylor (1871) rejected the biological perspective arguing that cultural traits are learnt. He showed that if a baby were situated in another culture irrespective of skin colour and racial features, it would learn the culture of where it is situated. For example, African-American children are more similar to American culture compared to children from Senegal in West Africa. Therefore arguing that cultural traits are learnt irrespective of skin colour. Further, the anatomical differences that imply variations in skin colour like dark skin is a protective shield due to the harsh sunlight in tropical regions. It cannot account for mental abilities.

The socio-cultural construction of race

The socio-cultural perspective on race identifies how race is constructed within the economic, social, cultural and institutional context. The social construction of race highlights various aspects of construction of identity within the context of colonization, psychoanalysis, racialized social systems, institutions and everyday experiences of the people who are racially discriminated. It analyses the historical dimension of experience and identity. The social constructionist perspective analyses race with respect to class, gender, economic structures, social relations and ideology within capitalist social structure and relations. It analyses neo-Marxist approaches to race in order to understand whether race is independent of class and other social relations or is it relatively dependent or autonomous or whether race is an important factor to analyse within the capitalist social structure. It gives a structural interpretation of race and racism. This view also analyses how whiteness is regarded as a valued property.

Colonial Experience and the Construction of self

“O my body, make of me always a man who questions!” ... (Quoted from Fanon 1952 “Black Skin, White Masks”)

Understanding the meaning and concept of race implies an in-depth analysis of

the psychology and experience of differentiation, i.e., the psychology of colonialism. In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1952) defines Race in the light of the colonial experience and how colonialism is internalized by the colonized. Fanon explains the concept of the 'psychoanalytic deconstruction', in which he analyses race through his own direct experience of racism and colonial subjectivity. Fanon's interpretation of the world incorporates Marxism, psychoanalysis, literary criticism and medical dissection. He speaks of psychoanalysis through works of Sigmund Freud, Carl Gustav Jung and Alfred Adler. He gives a psychoanalytic interpretation of the black problem. An important contribution made by Fanon is his interpretation of the 'internalization of inferiority' and the consciousness of the 'self'. He demonstrates how "your history", "your culture" and "your very self" is represented as "ugly" and "wicked" and "you do not see yourself in a kindly manner". This image of the 'self' that is created by western representation is not the 'self' but the 'other-ness' of the self. An alteration in the process of identification takes place such that you end up hating the image of yourself. Fanon (1952) examines colonialism and shows how colonization inculcates inferiority complex through the mechanism of racism, such that, black people end up emulating their oppressors. He shows how the "Colonized subject" not only internalizes the colonialism but also accepts it as superior and wishes to emulate it. Since, Fanon writes from the perspective of a "colonized subject", he expresses his hatred for racism.

Fanon argues that the history of the civilization as written by western scholars is false. He argues that history is represented in such a manner by the west that its own representation is transformed into a mighty river and all others are its mere minor irrelevant tributaries. Western history has written the foundation of cannibalism and engraved it as an innate part of the personality of every black man. The representation of the history of the non-West is extremely negative according to Fanon. It highlights black as dark, dangerous and shows black magic, witchcraft, devil worship, and primitivism as its very cultural base. The representation of savage is made through portraits and an image of "uncivilized" and barbaric race is created. While on the other hand, the western civilization is portrayed as civilized and virtuous. A western universalism is celebrated through scientific facts. This form of universalism is what Fanon is raising as problematic. The question he asks is "can the non-West develop their own self-definition by using the same tools and instruments of western civilization that misrepresented it?" This is how Fanon raises his critique and concern for "anti-Western universalism".

Although he himself endorses a certain universalism but he is anti the particular kind of universalism that celebrates western superiority and advocates it as a scientific truth and makes it universal.

He shows how the black man is made to accept western civilization as superior and has to emulate its manners and discourse. The black man speaks with the European language, uses it and develops a 'self' based on its reference points and language construction. He becomes proportionately whiter in direct ratio to his mastery of the French Language or English or any western language.

The black man is presented with a problem: how to posit a "black self" in a discourse and language in which blackness is absent or when there is a total reversion for it. Fanon says, "all this whiteness that burns me. I sit down at the fire and became aware of my uniform. I had not seen it. It is indeed ugly. I stop there, for who can tell me what beauty is?" It is this internalization, or rather as Fanon defines it "epidermalization" that concerns him. He argues that when the white man colonizes a black man he goes through sensitization in his experience. He is transformed, his ego goes through a breakdown, and it collapses. And then, his behaviour is given a purpose, which is to imitate the white man, to become him and then he hopes to be accepted as a dignified man. This is what concerns him. He shows how inferiority becomes skin deep and affects the psychology. He shows with examples and illustrations of how whiteness becomes a symbol of Purity, Justice and Truth. 'Whiteness' defines what is civilized, modern and human. Fanon shows how Blackness represents the diametrical opposite of whiteness. He says, "I begin to recognize that the Negro is the symbol of sin; I catch myself hating the Negro."

Fanon argues that blackness literally represents a "collective unconscious". It stands for sin, ugliness, immorality and darkness. He even illustrates from Roget's Thesaurus, which has 134 synonyms for whiteness that represent positive meanings and 120 synonyms for black, which has words like prohibited, dirty, funeral for blackness. He further analysed 'black' and 'white' with the analogy of the famous expression of 'white lie' and 'black lie' wherein, 'white' lie becomes forgivable but 'black' lie is wicked, evil and unforgivable. He shows how language itself is constructed through the interpretation of the world into black and white. This is why white lie is forgivable and black lie is sinful and unforgivable. He even gives the example of how God who forgives the sins too is white with pink cheeks. White therefore, is connoted by beautiful, rich, intelligent and

black, the binary opposite of white, is, Negro and immoral. To become moral one has to cease being black.

Race and Racism

An important aspect of race also lies in its articulation and representation within social sciences and institutions viewed by the dominant race and dominant class. To analyse the concept of race and racism and how it operates in society various diverse views must be taken into account such as the Marxist, internal colonialism, institutionalist perspective and racialized formations. Though, the concept of racism is not directly employed in the works of W.I. Thomas (1918), Robert E. Park (1950) or E.F. Frazier (1968), however, in the works of the anthropologist Ruth Benedict, race and racism has been outlined quite clearly and directly. In her work 'Race and Racism' (1942), she has defined racism as, "the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority. It is, like a religion, a belief, which can be studied only historically" Benedict (1959: 87). Berghe (1967) argues that racism is, "...any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races" (Berghe 1967: 11). Richard Schaefer (1990) defines racism as "...a doctrine of racial supremacy, that one race is superior" (Schaefer 1990: 16).

William Julius Wilson (1972) defines racism through concepts of 'Power, Privilege, Racism'. He defines it as "an ideology of racial domination or exploitation that 1) incorporates beliefs about a particular race's cultural and/or inherent biological inferiority and 2) uses those beliefs to justify and prescribe inferior or unequal treatment for that group". In his work 'The Declining Significance of Race', Wilson defined it as a 'racial belief system'. Further he defines racism as, "the norms or ideologies of racial domination that reinforce or regulate patterns of racial inequality", (Wilson 1978: 9). He further argues that, "...as American racial history so clearly reveals, racial norms tend to change as the structural relations between racial groups change. And the main sources of this variation have been the alteration of the system of production and changing policies of the state" Wilson (1978:12). Even though he incorporates the concept of racism in his work, but his work does not provide a structural interpretation of racial domination, racial

exploitation, race relations and conflict. Instead he shows how race relations are also dependent on larger phenomenon of industrialization, revolution, urbanization, immigration or civil war. He argues that “racial ideologies” change because of structural changes.

Further race and racism, has been analysed through how it operate in society. Schaefer (1990) argues that racism is “a set of ideas or beliefs” Secondly, according to him, “the ideas and beliefs” have the potential to lead people towards prejudice, which is a negative attitude for the entire group. These are the attitudes or prejudices by which discrimination takes place. Since the nineteenth century, race has been an important sociological theme, from the beginning of the conceptualization and formulation to the present. Sociological perspectives have been developed, changed and always reflected on political processes for analysing race as a category. In the early periods it was seen as “biologistic racism” and then focus was given to colonialism and racism.

In the twentieth century, to the concept of race and racism, sociological perspective was given by US figures such as Du Bois and Chicago school which challenged racist assumptions. Sociology of race came to the central point for analysis after the World War II and with the destruction of European powers and colonialism there was a rise of civil rights movement in America and an upsurge of migration at a world scale. This is when sociology of race became a central point. Through the works of W.E.B. Du Bois the discipline became more critical and egalitarian, and particularly awareness was drawn towards racial prejudice and discrimination. Even though awareness was made which was followed by political and legal reforms for combating racial discrimination but racial inequality and injustice still persisted in institutions. Du Bois argued that we must resort to socio-cultural concept of race. He emphasized on history and tradition, not the biological aspect of race. He said that race, “is a vast family of human beings, generally common blood and language, always common of history, tradition and impulses, who are both voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life”. To tackle race and racism, in the new period of global politics, sociology attempted to develop problematic of racial theory more precisely. The approaches of racial formations were seen as the starting point for scholars. The main concern was to analyse a comparative method for historical analysis of sociology of race and an understanding of linkages

between the macro and micro processes that give rise to racial issues and understanding the face of contemporary racial politics in society.

To this Hall (1981) contributed to analysis of race and racism through a modernist perspective giving an anti structural-functional interpretation for race and how it has been constructed to demonstrate the operations of racism socially. He shows how it is important to analyse the historical roots, which are responsible for racism, that is colonialism and imperialism, and the mechanisms by which racism became legitimate. Racist laws and policies, which gave rise to certain practices and privileges in which there was no space and position for blacks. Further, the representation and images that were constructed which made black people look incapable of holding important positions were also to be seen through careful attention to study racism. These were the institutional mechanisms by which racism operated. He also shows the underlying operations of economic, social, political and cultural processes contributing to racism. Hall (199b) argues that along with race, it was also important how identities were constructed. It was necessary to understand how oppressions intersected such as 'race and class', 'race and gender', 'race, class, gender', 'race and ethnicity', 'race, gender and sexuality'. Further it was important to "deessentialise the black subject" and deconstruct the image and representation. One has to take into account the experiences of black people and understand how black people construct their own identity. This would open up spaces for them so that they could articulate and give expression to their experiences and identity, as they understand it rather than a subsumed identity and universalised antiracist policy and rationality. He argues that structuralist perspectives and constructions of race should not be accepted. "I am suggesting that it is not enough. I am contending that it needs to go further by incorporating an ontology of 'difference'", (Hall 1992). He argues that this must be done so that black people are not essentialised and homogenised. In addressing the social construction of race, 'the ontology of difference' he argues is an important starting point and has to be interpreted meaningfully. Hall (1992) gives meaning to race by defining it as a concept that "signifies socio-political conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies". Race as a concept takes differences in bodies and biological appeals based on human characteristics but this was exploited in the context of world political economy. It can be traced to world economic integration, drawn by conquests of seaborne empires of Americas and the Atlantic slave trade are elements of race and racism.

Berghe (1967) with reference to race and racism argues that it is a “virulent brand of disease that is so intense, overt, violent hatred for racial out-groups”. He argues that racism is “any set of beliefs that organic, genetically transmitted differences (whether real or imagined) between human groups are intrinsically associated with the presence or the absence of certain socially relevant abilities or characteristics, hence, that such differences are a legitimate basis of invidious distinctions between groups socially defined as races”.

According to these definitions of race and racism, it is clear that the two concepts are closely related. He argues that it is not simply the physical differences between groups of people that have given rise to races but the social recognition of these differences as relevant and significant. The next approach helps to understand race and racism from a neo-Marxist perspective and throws light on how to understand racism within the capitalist society.

Neo-Marxist Approaches to Racism

Solomos (1986) identified three neo-Marxist approaches to study race by taking into account race, class and the state. The three approaches that are outlined below have different positions on the relationship between race ideology and class-consciousness. The three approaches are based on whether race as a category is independent or autonomous to other systems, or whether it is relatively autonomous, or whether race plays any role in class-consciousness and gender relations.

Relative autonomy model:

Stuart Hall analyses racism through the relative autonomy model. Hall shows how racism functions in the capitalistic social structure and produces and reproduces social relations. He shows how within capitalistic relations politics, gender and class operate. Hall shows in this model how racism is different and operates differently from other social relations, but also, on the other hand how it is affected. He argues that racism and class have to be analysed within the capitalist structure. He further argues that appearances of people act as a medium to be misinterpreted as an essential difference. And in this context this misinterpretation act to express and reproduce dominant power relations. Hall identified three principles for racial analysis. *First*, he stated that racism is not a universal phenomenon. Racism arises in certain historical specific juncture. Though there may be

some common characteristics that can be similar to some racially structured societies. But the point is to identify the conditions that facilitate these situations. These conditions are required for doing a comparative study. *Secondly*, he argues that racism cannot be understood in abstraction, although it cannot be reduced, but also it must be understood within social relations, in this regard racism is analysed through a relative autonomy model. *Third*, he argues against the division between class and race. He shows that in a society that is racially structured, class-consciousness is also shaped by race. Race plays a significant role in having an impact on class-consciousness. Even class-consciousness influences race. A relationship between race and class in this regard is crucial. Class and race have a reciprocal relationship.

The Autonomy model:

This model emphasises on how racism cannot be reduced to class and economic structures. It is seen as independent of class and other social relations. The adherents of this view believe that it is necessary to go beyond class to understand racism, as it is not reducible. It has a historical context and political struggles, which are independent from class. This model does not agree with the relative autonomy model, as it believes that the struggles are different from class conflict. Racism is a product of ideologies that have come from a different set of historical roots. They believe that relative autonomy model is not allowing room for anti-racist policies to be effective and endorse a determinist perspective to political struggles so rather than being effective in approach the relative autonomy model gives space to other social relations to affect the struggle against racism. In this model racism is seen as that which arises independently of class and social relationship and it cannot be traced back to any other economic and social relations. Racism is an outcome of particular ideological and political practices.

Migrant Labour Model:

Migrant Labour model is drastically different from relative autonomy model. It is based on critical reinterpretations of neo-Marxist theories and classical theories on state, class and ideology. The migrant labour model is different from relative autonomy and autonomy model as it takes into consideration the role of class in production and reproduction of racism. It takes a stand on the differences between race and racism. It differentiates race and defines it as an ideological category while racism can be seen as a

feature of capitalism. As an ideological category race requires an explanation. It is used for explanatory or analytical purposes. It would be a mistake to reject the analytical importance of race and racism to understand discriminatory practices, which are produced in the racialized fraction of the working class. It analyses the racialization of a migrant population within specific contexts.

The next point takes into account the nature of social systems and racism, which takes place through social institutions and how reproduction of racialized social systems affect identity. This perspective shows how racism is a part of social institutions and therefore it is necessary for understanding race.

Racialized Social Structure and System

This perspective shows how racism exists at the institutional level and at the level of social systems. It shows how racism is deeply embedded within social systems such that racism becomes a part of the systems. Silva (1994) in his book 'Rethinking Racism: Towards a Structural Interpretation' argues that, "racism operates within the boundaries of social relations of subordination and superordination among racialized social actors (races)". According to him, racism is a set of beliefs, attitudes, ideas, motives or stereotypes, which affect racial minorities in terms of their life chances. In other words, he argues that racism indicates the racial social structure existing in society. The racialized social system requires an analysis through a comparative stand across time. It requires an analysis of social formation to understand the dynamics of race and racism existing in social systems. This is how a structural analysis must be made. He further argues that race as a category must be understood in terms of how it became independent as a category after the societies became racialized and experienced racialized social systems, it is in this context of the social creation of racial category that it must be analysed as an independent category. Analysts of racism must take the variable of race in the theoretical postulate of race and racism as it has gone through a decline since the 1970.

Further since race, class and gender are important elements of the complex matrix of the social systems that help to put perspective the interests of the dominant class and dominant race and gender interests. Hall (1980) shows how articulating race along with gender and class form a "complex unity". Silva (1994) argues that positioning centrality to the category of race and its analysis, as an important category does not mean that other

categories are not important in the matrix of social systems. Cox (1948), Silva (1994) through their work have shown that race plays a fundamental role in formation of racialized systems but the other systemic components and categories such as patriarchy and capitalism and therefore (gender and class) are equally important to analyse the social systems. In fact, racialization and racialized social systems emerged out of labour needs in the 15th century by the European powers. Silva shows that in order to analyse racism it is important to analyse the dynamics of social systems, which portray the nature and interests of the system.

In order to understand race vis-à-vis other social systems of stratification such as race, caste, class and ethnicity, the next discussion gives a comparative perspective to understand similarities and differences between the following stratification systems.

Race and other Stratification Systems: A Comparative Perspective

An attempt is made to analyse the interrelatedness of race with other forms of social stratification system. An attempt is made to outline the overlaps between social stratification systems of 'race and caste', 'race, caste and gender', 'race and ethnicity' and 'race and class'. To begin with, 'Race and Caste' is studied through the works of scholars like Cox (1959), Warner (1936), Beteille (1990), Omvedt (2004), Thorat (2004) who have outlined the differences between race and caste. As mentioned above, this comparative model takes into account the similarities and differences in race and caste as systems of stratification. 'Race and ethnicity' have been compared as categories along the lines of interrelatedness to understand whether race and ethnicity are subsumed or seen as different. In these comparative models while differences have been marked out, the overlapping similarities have also been outlined.

Race and Caste

On the question of 'Race and Caste', Cox (1959), Warner (1936), Beteille (1990), Omvedt (2004) and Thorat (2004) have outlined the differences and overlaps between the two categories. While making in-depth analysis of the two categories the scholars have argued that race and caste cannot be seen as same as their origins, historical roots, forms in which they have functioned are different in contexts, periodization and so on, however, there are similarities based on experiences of exploitation and inequalities. Warner (1936) used the word caste to show how race relations operate like caste. He adopts Kroeber's minimum definition of caste as an endogamous and hierarchized group in which one is

born and out of which one cannot move, he speaks of whites and Negroes in the United States as castes separated by “caste line”. Each of the two races is internally subdivided into permeable classes (upper, middle and lower). This approach shared by ‘Allison Davis, B.B. Gardner, and M.R. Gardner’ in their work ‘Deep South’ (1941), and Gunnar Myrdal⁸ (1944) has been criticized by Cox (1959). ‘Deep South’ provides one of the only anthropological illustrations of caste studies seen in the context of ‘racial caste’ in America. They argue that this work provides Indianists an opportunity to study caste in the American context. It illustrates relations in an extraordinary unequal society and shows how the southern states were segregated on racial lines. This division ended only recently about fifty years ago and this work on ‘Deep South’ provides an example of the study that took race and caste as its basis in the American context.

Warner (1936) studied caste in the context of American racial ‘caste’ and studied the ‘Yankee city’. He was inspired by Radcliffe-Brown and propagated functionalist social anthropology. While there has been consensus on the fact that caste and race are separate in terms of their historical origins and practice in respective societies where they originated, but the scholars have analyzed the concepts in order to understand the similarities in the operationalization of the concepts. However, the debate on American racial ‘caste’ began to disappear and was taken up by Indian anthropologists. Warner and Davis (1939) had focussed their work towards India using the caste concept but did not go through the literature in India. Cox who was an early Marxist worked on his treatise ‘Caste, Class, Race’ which came in 1948. He also criticised Myrdal’s work and was a critical of “modern caste school of race relations” in 1942. Cox (1948) in his treatise argued that the Hindu caste system originated in India and could not be found anywhere else in the world and hence, it would be misleading to use ‘caste’ in the American context. He argued that racial caste was not equivalent to Indian caste. The psychologist John Dollard (1957) used Warner’s conceptual scheme in his outstanding monograph, “Caste and class in a southern town”. Gunnar Myrdal in his book ‘An American dilemma’ also used the conceptual framework of Warner to analyse race and caste and made black and white as the characterization. Kingsley Davis in 1941 also used the basis of caste system to analyse the America race relations.

Beteille (1990) argues that in the Indian context, cultural anthropologists compared the two systems of caste and race on the basis of the idea of body substance.

⁸ Gunnar Myrdal (1944), “The American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy”.

Both the systems have beliefs regarding body substances, which influence human conduct and character. The Hindu caste system is divided on the lines of body substances, and therefore, it can be contrasted with race on ideas of natural substance and based on that, the constraint it imposes on social behaviour and conduct. However, he argues that caste has nothing to do with race and it would be erroneous to include it in studies of race. However, it may be useful to use the two categories for comparative method, but that has not been attempted with ease in the Indian context. Beteille argues that in terms of methods in social sciences, a comparative method can be very useful and while there may be questions raised on validity, nonetheless, attempts should be made to take on comparative methods. He further argues that racism is based on false science and that there are no biologically and genetically different races among human beings. Omvedt (2004) argues building on the arguments outlined by Beteille (1990) that differences between race and caste are there, but racism, as a concept can be useful to analyse discrimination. Caste and Race can be compared on the basis of discrimination, inequality and marginality at the level of institutions and systems. Racism emerges out of white supremacy or natural characteristics of group members who hold on to biological superiority. Racism, which is based on natural superiority, can be used to compare with caste system, which also bequeaths assertion of superiority of natural bodily substances.

Race, Caste and Gender

In both race and caste, Beteille (1990) argues that there is a similarity in the way women are oppressed in both the systems. Race and caste can be seen as highly oppressive and rigid systems of stratification. Both the stratification systems perpetuate inequality. In both these systems, gender can be analysed from the perspective of inequality. In both caste and race, there is a similarity in the way women are treated by men of the higher ranks with privileges. Beteille (1990) argues that there are two aspects, *first* is the problem of sexual abuse and exploitation of women of the lowest rank, which can be viewed from the angle of power and inequality, *secondly*, it is the treatment of women of the lowest rank by the men of the highest ranks, this aspect is what has received attention. Further, there is a similarity in the idea of bodily substance and unrelenting concern for the purity of women at the top. It is seen in both the American context and the Indian context that the kinship and caste structures are concerned about the purity of the women and their body substance.

The position assigned to women is of crucial significance to the understanding of both caste and race. The position of women in society, particularly in modern or contemporary society, received very little scholarly attention from sociologists and social anthropologists in the decades when comparisons of race and caste were made extensively. Dollard (1957) wrote about the 'sexual gain of caste' in the U.S. South and later Berreman (1960) wrote about the sexual exploitation of both black and untouchable women. But these observations were either lost or ignored in the absence of an adequate conceptual framework for the comparative study of gender. However, it may be argued that such a framework of study still does not exist. However, there is no doubt that this has altered vastly so that the plea for a serious consideration of these issues can no longer be as easily ignored. Women studies have directed their attention to the inequalities faced by women in both the systems of race and caste. In contemporary scholarship, interestingly new ways of looking have emerged that had been taken for granted in the past. The need for the control of sexuality of the women from the higher ranks is seen in both the systems. This has to be seen in conjunction with the attitude towards and strict control over the sexual and reproductive capacities of upper-caste women. Most scholars of race and stratification have also noted the concern of white men, for the purity of their own women. The purity of women has been long recognized as the cornerstone of the Hindu theory of caste and kinship.

Race and Ethnicity

While some scholars believe that Race and Ethnicity are different from each other, others believe that there are similarities and convergences in the two concepts. More commonly, however, Yinger (1994) shows that "race is seen as one of the defining characteristics of ethnicity". Use of racial criterion in defining ethnicity also varies widely in time and place. He shows how racial differences play a part in the designation of ethnic groups. Many overlaps between race and ethnicity exist as "race is used as a characteristic to define ethnicity". However, in studies of ethnicity race as a strictly biological concept is not seen to be of any value. It may be a mistake to assume that there are distinct races and are immutable. There are intermixtures and changes are continuous. In order to understand race and ethnicity race as a symbol and to have social and cultural characteristics in this regard cannot be disregarded. In examining the racial aspect of

ethnicity, the social scientist works from four premises 1) Racial differences are minor biological variations in an essentially homogeneous species. 2) New races are continually being formed and old ones modified slowly by evolutionary processes and more rapidly by intermixtures. In many societies, persons of mixed racial ancestry- even if not so regarded- make up a significant proportion of the population. 3) For social analysis it is critical to study “racial lines”, which may be socially visible but not necessarily defined through genetic differences, this may be crucial for ethnic studies; these lines vary from society to society and from time to time. For example, one person with one quarter Native American ancestry may clearly be an Indian (an enrolled and participating member of a tribe), while another with the same ancestry may be seen and responded to as white 4) In social interaction, race can be seen as important for correlation of past with racial differences and cultural or status differences. If the above four parameters are kept in mind, race and ethnicity significantly overlap.

In some cases, language, race, religion and ancestral homeland help to mark the boundaries of ethnic groups. Racial homogeneity can also vary from complete to slight and still the significance of ethnic studies in those contexts may be crucial. To mark and correlate ancestral culture or religious or lingual differences or mark ethnic boundaries, race factor can help to define and understand ethnicity. Such is the case for example, among Asian Americans, Native Americans, and African Americans. In many other parts of the world the racial factor adds symbolically important line of distinction among ethnic groups, as in the Soviet Union, Britain, Australia, Latin America and several African states; this is increasingly true in some western European societies. In what might be considered the “classic” case, race is fully blended into Afrikaner conceptions of ethnicity, as shown by Thompson’s analysis of “The Political Mythology of Apartheid” (1985) in South Africa. He argues that Boer as, “races are the basic divisions of humanity, but they are not defined simply in biological terms. Races, they believe, also differ in culture- not just as result of different histories, but intrinsically, as part of their very nature. The traditional Afrikaner linkage of race and culture, however, remains strong”.

In what might be considered an important contribution in the studies of race and ethnicity, Du Bois (1897) emphasized not on biological aspects of race but on history and tradition. He argues that race, “is a vast family of human beings, generally common blood and language, always common of history, tradition and impulses, who are both

voluntarily and involuntarily striving together for the accomplishment of certain more or less vividly conceived ideals of life". The political experiences of African Americans and European Americans, found little support for what they call "ethno-racial umbrella thesis" that race, religion and nationality are part of the same theoretical and Policy Universe. Ethnic groups that are seen as "races" are often those that have been brought into a society and integrated into its labour force at the bottom levels of coercion and violence. Racial terms on the other hand also reflected political power on the basis of which populations were turned into surplus labour through coercion. Scholars of race and ethnicity argue that while, on the one hand, there are overlaps in the two categories, but on the other hand, it is also important to not assume that they are the same. To subsume race and ethnicity into one category would not bring out the instances of particular forms of violence such as ethnic or racial violence, which are very different from each other. This conflation would be misleading as identities that are emerging within particular contexts of each category have difference and they cannot be homogenised. Yinger (1994) also argues that the greatest injustices have occurred when all these lines of distinction have come together.

Race and Class:

An attempt is made to understand race as class to analyse the overlaps and differences between the two. Hall shows how an interrelation exists between the two categories within the capitalist system. He argues that there is a production and reproduction of social relation of class, race and also gender. In order to understand racism it is important to understand its connection with class, gender and also sexuality within the context of capitalist system, which is producing social relations of class and gender. He argues that a black subject must be "deessentialised". He argues that racism is not produced in abstraction, although it cannot be reduced. He also argues in favour of the case, that racism has to be analysed independently. In order to understand racism it is equally important to see it as an independent and autonomous system. Its history, its origin, its context, ideology have to be analysed in the contexts of their production of the black identity. It has a significant role to play in the analysis of class- consciousness but on the other hand, it may be produced in contexts where racial oppression is extremely severe. This leads to the model of thinking in which race and class are seen independent of each other and autonomous. The adherents of this view argue that to believe that there is

relative autonomous relationship between race and class would lead to a determinist perspective that would lead to ineffective anti-racist policies. The adherents of this view believe that racism arises independent of class and other social relations. Racism arises out of an ideology and political practice that is separate from class. Another view to race and class is through the perspective of how race and racism can also be understood within the model of a working class to understand reproduction of social relations which feature within the capitalistic system.

In the twentieth century there was a call for the united worldwide struggle for emancipation of the black people from colonialism and racial discrimination and prejudice. In this struggle the question that came to the forefront was how to understand race and class. The question was whether the struggle should be articulated as a struggle against racial conflict or should it be articulated as a struggle of the oppressed classes but of a special nature? Some of the black Marxists aware of the distinctions in the classes of the black people gave primacy to race and emphasized on the Black Nationalist aspect. But on the other hand, Trotskyites such as C.L.R. James had reached a political maturity within the movement in the 1920s and 1930s and advocated class struggle as the means for black liberation. The black Marxist felt that class struggle would bring justice to black people while they were aware of the racial injustices meted out by the black people, however, they saw Black Nationalism as “petit-bourgeois nationalism”. Although in 1928 the ‘Communist Party of the United States’ had come to a conclusion that the oppression faced by Afro-Americans in the US had characteristics of an oppressed nation. This was also the position of the Trotskyites. C.L.R James advocated Pan-Africanism as the call for the united struggle of all the black people living across the world to unite against the oppression of racial injustice. Race and class as categories overlap and yet have different characteristics from class.

In the above discussion, it was argued that while there are overlaps and differences in the respective categories that have been taken up such as ‘race and caste’, ‘race, caste and gender’, ‘race and ethnicity’, ‘race and class’. An important aspect of taking the respective categories is to have a comparative view and comparative study. A Comparative view can be formed on the basis of history, between characteristics of respective categories, and the present context in which it takes shape. Many critics of this view would argue that such comparisons may not be valid, however, a comparative method should be seen as a valuable method for analysis. The next point highlights how

race is a floating signifier. In this thesis, race has been defined as a floating signifier and therefore, it forms as an important part of this thesis.

Mapping the Limitations of the Studies Conducted on Race:

Berghe (1967) has outlined the major limitations in sociological analysis of race. He outlines five major gaps and limitations.

Firstly, he argues that in the nineteenth century it was studied with pseudo scientific notions using the orthodox principles of social Darwinists. It was studied using the parameters of phenotypical and genotypical differences. Further, the aspect of intelligence was brought up when the Supreme Court gave the direction of school desegregation. IQ tests were applied and statistical analysis was made to make a relation between race and intelligence. The pseudo-scientific. *Secondly*, he argues that in the studies on race, there has been an inhibition on using comparative analysis. There is a lack of comparative experience and scholars who did not have much comparative experience wrote the literature on race emerging in the US. Although he gives exceptions of Oliver Cox, Frankline Frazier, Melville Herkovitz, Frank Tannenbaum, Gilberto Freyre, Gonzalo Aguirre Beltran, Charles Wagley. This has led to overgeneralization in American findings. The F-scale has been applied as an instrument of culture studies, but it lacks sophistication of comparative methods and this has grossly affected the quality of cross-cultural studies and research.

Thirdly, there is also a limitation in time and space. He argues that it is not only limitation in space but also time wherein sociologists have only concentrated on industrial societies and not shown any concern for the past knowledge. Physical Anthropologists and cultural anthropologists have not meaningfully interpreted ethnic minorities to the total societies by which they were engulfed. He argues that past historiography also exhibits ethnocentrism and racism. They distorted many issues and understated them with regard to processes and institutions related to race. He argues that sociologists who studied race relations in America lacked historical facts with exceptions of Robert E. Park and Gunnar Myrdal. According to him they did not understand the evolutionary processes and dynamics of race relations in America. A Latin American scholar Gilberto Freyre showed similarities between slavery system in Brazil, South United States and West Indies and dissimilarities within the countries.

Fourth, Berghe (1967) argues that race studies have had little theoretical contribution in sociology and much of it has put emphasis on policy issues. There is a high level analytical isolation from the social context. A few sociologists like R.E. Park, Gunnar Myrdal, Robin Williams and Oliver Cox have given perspective on elements of social cultural structure, ideology, stratification, distribution of power and system of production, but others have not given a wholistic approach and rather a piecemeal approach. *Fifth*, much of the work on race relations is based on changing attitudes of prejudice rather than discriminatory behaviour. Using Myrdals work much of the theory is seen in the light of American dilemma rather than focus on the dynamics of group conflicts which have resulted in differential power distribution and distribution of wealth. He argues that a lot of American race have leaned on liberalism. Race relation studies have been heavily influenced by functionalist view and race is seen in the light of problems of integration, or problems of order. Berghe argues that it has been only a matter of recent studies where ideology, conflict and group identity have emerged.

Berghe (1967) further argues that the field of race studies has been dominated by the scholarship emerging from North America. Therefore, there is a lack of knowledge of foreign languages, relative lack of American involvement in overseas colonial empire and other cultural and intellectual isolation that account for lack of comparative knowledge of American scholars. Berge argues that the intellectual doctrine of positivism, reaction against nineteenth century social evolutionism and antithesis between science and history have contributed to the limitation and theoretical lack in race studies.

Race as the floating Signifier: An Argument

For this thesis, Race has been defined as a floating signifier. Stuart Hall (1997) argues that in order to understand race as a floating signifier, it is important to analyse the role of language, culture and representation. Race, as a category is a discursive construct. Hall argues race works like a language and a signifier. He describes race as a classificatory system, which works like language with respect to binaries such as white/black, civilized/uncivilized, and good/bad. In this way, “race works like language”. Further, Race as a signifier is associated with other signifiers such as morality, intelligence. As a signifier, the body also become like text and it is read like text hence he argues that, “we are readers of race”, “we are readers of social difference”. To understand the concept of race he gives two points, first, is that race is interpreted as genetic differences based on

racial classification. Second, and more importantly is the textual version in which genetic differences are represented through language to express social difference. Language and culture play a significant role in producing meanings. Meaning is given to difference through categories and classificatory systems, which are organized. This ordering is done through power and it is the power structures that produce and reproduce difference. It is power through which representation takes place.

Hall (1997) shows that the discourse on nature and culture also has taken place within the context of power regime. You can put a person into a certain place when you make a connection between nature and culture, for instance, when you identify a person in nature, you assign them their place in culture. He argues that in nature everything has a proper place and has to be kept in that place. There is a problem that arises when things are not put in their place. This is how Hall (1997) describes race and representation through a linguistic analytical framework for race, nature and culture. He also gives an example of a noble savage in which while on the one hand he may be a savage, but has been trained to have attributes of high culture. This is how the fetish for civilizing and a fantasy is stabilized while it necessarily is destabilizing. Another aspect of race as a floating signifier marks the idea of 'seeing is believing'. What we see are physical characteristics like hair, colour, bone, face, nose, which signify race. These are visible differences and these differences were fixed by the genetic code. They act like signifiers, which signify morality, sexuality and intelligence. This thesis defines race using Hall's definition of race as a floating signifier.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the various theoretical perspectives about race starting from the sixteenth century till the present usage. Important questions are raised about race and racism and the treatment of the subject in terms of what are the key issues that must be addressed to study the concept of race in Sociology and how to methodologically operationalize the concept. In order to conclude this chapter with an argument, it has been argued that Race is a socio-cultural identity; it has been studied as a 'signifier' as argued by Hall and hence, race has been examined as an identity, which also intersects with other identities such as class and gender. A Comparative analysis is made between 'race and caste', 'race, caste and gender', 'race and ethnicity', 'race and class' and overlaps have been outlined along with the differences. It was argued that analysis of each category has

to be made independently to avoid conflation and also be analysed alongside each other for a comparative study. Further, in the chapter a mapping of limitations of studies on race was made to analyse gaps in literature and scope of studies on race. In the last section of this chapter, the main argument of this thesis was outlined, that is, the definition of race, as a floating signifier.

CHAPTER 2: 'RACIAL' CLUSTERS AND URBAN SPACE: AN OUTLINE

Introduction:

Firstly, this chapter outlines the concept of urban space and highlights the various perspectives on urban space through a review of literature on the key concepts that contribute to the understanding of what is 'urban' in the context of formation of racial clusters in urban space. 'Clusters' have been defined as a generic term to analyse urban processes such as gated communities, enclaves, ghettos and racial clusters, which imply segregation or exclusionary practices. *Secondly*, Urban Space has been defined by majorly using the works of Castells, Lefebvre, Park, Harvey, *Thirdly*, in order to analyse transformation and urban changes, processes of globalization are examined to understand their impact on urban space and the consequent changes in urban forms and patterns. In this regard, urban re-structuring is analysed to understand how globalization impacts and re-structures urban space and transform it. For this purpose a literature review is done through the work of David Harvey (1985), Saskia Sassen (1994), Swapna Guha Banerjee (2010), Srivastava (2014).

Further, studies conducted by Chicago School on city and urban space are reviewed. In the context of Chicago School a review is done to examine how racial clusters/ghettos/enclaves were studied and analysed? What were the different processes of the city that contributed to the formation of racial clusters, ethnic enclaves, ghettos and such patterns in urban housing? An attempt is made through review of these studies to examine what these racial clusters implied in urban space? An outline of various perspectives on social inclusion and exclusion is made to understand what it reflects about the larger politics of the urban space or city? In what way does it demonstrate marginalization, segregation and spatial exclusion in particular? The most important aspect of this chapter is the inter-linkage that is made between Racial Clusters and Urban Space, which is the crux of this thesis. Further, in the last section of this chapter an introduction to the field of the selected urban space, Khirki Extension is described in detail. Khirki Extension as an urban space is chosen and described with the use of narratives of the local people living in this neighbourhood. The formation of the racial cluster in this urban space is described in detail through the use of data collected during fieldwork. The following section gives a conceptual overview of clusters in order to

understand racial clusters.

Conceptualising Racial Clusters

This section attempts to understand the meaning of clusters in order to define racial clusters. While on the one hand, the generic meaning of ‘clusters’ is outlined, but on the other hand, the underlying meanings and forms of clustering are also explored. Why does clustering take place in the first place? What does it imply? Does it imply segregation? And if it implies segregation, does it mean simple division of space in terms of land use patterns and activities of social groups? What are the reasons for the formation of racial clusters in urban space? Marcuse (2005) and Savage, Warde and Ward (2003) argue that the lines of division between groups can be based on “income, nationality, class, wealth, occupation, race, colour, ethnicity, language, personal cultural preference or lifestyle”. They highlight the manifestations of these divisions in space, which result in the formation of clusters. They refer to clusters as a generic term to understand ghettos, gated communities and ethnic enclaves. Marcuse (2005) argues that spatial processes have resulted in many forms of clustering (ghettos, gated communities, ethnic enclaves, religious communities, etc.), but lines of division between clusters have to be understood from acceptable forms to unacceptable forms of division. He defines ‘cluster’ as follows,

“Clustering is the concentration of a population group in space. Clustering is the generic term for the formation of any area of spatial concentration. Segregation is the process by which a population group, treated as inferior (generally because of race), is forced, that is, involuntarily, to cluster in a defined spatial area, that is, in a ghetto. Segregation is the process of formation and maintenance of a ghetto. Racial segregation is segregation based on race. Most ghettos in the United States are racial ghettos. Market segregation is the parallel process, operating through the real estate market, thereby, segregating those of lower income into class ghettos”. (Marcuse 2005:16)

Marcuse (2005) refers to the process of segregation, which he argues can take place either through spatial or social, economic, political factors. Spatial segregation can also be seen as operations of the market in capitalist societies. He argues that clusters can be formed on the basis of class, income, race, nationality, language and power. The different forms in which it takes place can result in exclusion. Segregation can also be expressed in space as spatial exclusion.

“Quartering is the division of urban space into quarters by the operation of the private market in real estate and housing, based on the income or wealth of households. Quartering is the process of formation of class clusters, and may bring about or reinforce segregation.

Congregating is the voluntary coming together of a population group for purposes of self-protection and advancement of its own interests, other than through domination or exclusion. Congregating is the process of formation of an enclave. Withdrawal is the voluntary and deliberate separation of a socially and economically dominant population group. Withdrawal reinforces segregation. Withdrawal is the process that leads to the formation of an exclusionary enclave. Walling out is the extreme physical form of withdrawal. Walling out may be involved in the formation of an exclusionary enclave, and is also involved in the formation of a citadel. Fortification is the voluntary coming together of a population group for purposes of protecting, strengthening, and symbolizing dominance. Fortification is the process of forming a citadel. Confinement is the deliberate, intentional separating out of a socially and economically subordinate group and its restriction to a specific location. Confinement is the extreme social, economic, and/or legal form of segregation, and may be involved in the formation of a ghetto. Walling in is the extreme physical form of confinement and may be involved in the formation of a ghetto. Desegregation is the elimination of barriers to free mobility for residents of a ghetto. Integration is the intermixing of population groups with ongoing, positive and nonhierarchical relationships among them” (Marcuse 2005:16-18).

The above outline of definitions provides the different forms of clusters that take shape based on various factors such as class, race, income, ethnicity, nationality etc. In the formation of clusters what is important is the aspect of choice. The element of voluntary choice has been underlined as crucial in the definition of different types of clusters. The question of choice, such as whether a population chooses to form separate enclave or whether it is forced to stay within the confines of a cluster is an important factor in the formation of clusters. For example, in the case of ghetto, a population is forced to stay within an area through the process of walling in.

A cluster is the generic term for any concentration of a particular group, however defined, in space. A quarter is an area of spatial concentration by income or wealth, created by the operation of the private market in real estate and housing, based on the income or wealth of households. A ghetto is an area of spatial concentration used by forces within the dominant society to separate and to limit a particular population group, defined as racial or ethnic or foreign and held to be, and treated as, inferior by the dominant society. An enclave is an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political, and/or cultural development. An exclusionary enclave is one whose members occupy positions of superior power—wealth, or ethnic, racial, or social status and excludes others from unauthorized entry. A citadel is an area of spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, defined by its position of superior power, wealth, or status in relation to its neighbours, cluster as a means of protecting, displaying, and enhancing that position. (Marcuse 2005:17-18)

Marcuse (2005) argues that, “in spatial terms, a cluster is an area of spatial concentration of a population group”. In “Enclaves Yes, Ghettos No: Segregation and the State” Marcuse argues that the ghetto is the worst type of spatial concentration. It perpetuates relationships of hierarchy and domination. He argues that this form of spatial

exclusion requires state intervention. He argues that, on the other hand, Ethnic enclaves are different from ghettos. Marcuse defines a ghetto as

“an area of spatial concentration used by forces within the dominant society to separate and to limit a particular population group, defined as racial or ethnic or foreign and to be held, and treated as, inferior by the dominant group. He distinguishes it from the enclave as an area in which self-defined ethnic, religious, or other groups congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political, and/or cultural development” (Marcuse 2005:17).

David P. Varady (2005), in “Desegregating the city: Ghettos, Enclaves and Inequality”, points to the aspects of segregation and its manifestations. He points out the difference between ghettos and ethnic enclaves. He argues that both indicate spatial concentration of different kinds, but ghettos are the worst forms of spatial patterns. Savage, Warde and Ward (2003) argue that in capitalist cities land is limited and privately owned. Every piece of land has a different value depending on its location, size and its potential use. It may be used differently. Some of it is used for industrial purposes, some of it is used for residential purposes and some of it goes into urban infrastructure such as roads, markets and transport. Land also gains its value from built environment, or built forms which might have historical residues giving it a certain value and nature. Based on the use of land, human activity may be sited differently. At a given point, human activity and land use pattern can be a result of competition, struggle, regulation or planning. It can also be a result of how people use space at a given moment.

Urban space and segregation can be understood in terms of how private property is used. Segregation of land that is a result of segregation of certain groups can be seen as problematic, that might give rise to social and spatial inequality. Therefore, social inequality can also be observed spatially. Different forms of inequality may be seen in urban spaces of capitalist societies. Social differentiation can be studied on the basis of segregation of land. A relationship between social inequality and urban space can be seen with forms of segregation. This thesis analyses different forms of clusters to understand *firstly*, if it marks exclusion, separation or segregation. *Secondly*, Whether a particular group forms a cluster based on voluntary choice or is it forced? The aspect of choice is taken in the definition of clusters, *Thirdly*, of course, what is the nature and basis, that is, whether it is formed on the basis of language, income, race, ethnicity or nationality.

From the above discussion and definitions it is clear that the notion of clusters are important concepts for understanding any kind of human settlement. Clusters can be

formed on the basis segregation. Some forms of segregation result in unacceptable forms, which exhibit marginality, spatial exclusion while some other forms of segregation of urban space may be marked by the particular kind of human activity that is sited in that space. Segregation based on land use patterns of what are the kinds of activities that can take place given the nature of built environment can be seen as one form of segregation expressed as acceptable segregation of space and human activity in capitalist societies. However, what may be unacceptable segregation of land resulting in clustering of a particular nature such walling in or walling out or ghettoization, quartering, making of walls for separation of a population can be a concern for sociologists. Lines of division forming a number of patterns of clustering may be based on division of groups on the basis of nationality, income, class, occupation, wealth, race, religion, language, ethnicity, cultural preferences, lifestyle, age. There may be many categories for division. Marcuse and Kempen (2002) argue that clustering takes place based on *firstly*, culture, *secondly*, economic factors, and *third*, hierarchy of power and position.

Factors contributing in the formation of Clusters: An Outline

As mentioned in the above section, there are various factors for clustering. In this section reference is made specifically to the many conditions that lead to spatial patterns such as cultural, social, political, economic factors and so on. This section outlines the major reasons that contribute to spatial forms in urban space such as clustering, enclaves, ghettos, etc. This discussion highlights the conditions for spatial patterns touching upon cultural, economic factors and power relations.

Kostoff (1992) argues that there are three conditions that facilitate spatial patterns such as cultural, economic and hierarchical divisions. *Firstly*, cultural divisions are easily discernible in terms of “differences in language, costume, or in architectural style. They may result in divisions by ethnicity, by country or nationality, tribe of origin or parentage or descent, by religion or belief, or by life-style”. He argues that within cultural divisions there may be differences based on economic factors and other social differences but these elements may not play a role when lines of division are based on cultural homogeneity. *Secondly*, he argues that divisions based on functional economic roles are also significant in spatial patterns. They are a result of physical or organizational economic logic such as for example, division based on areas assigned to factories or farms and residential areas. Different allocations are made in space based on economic activity such as separation of

services such as separate spaces for manufacturing and retailing or wholesaling. This is also give rise to the conditions of clustering based on the divisions in industries and occupations. It might also require for people to live closer to transportation routes making their work more accessible. Residential divisions may happen when workers are required to live in close proximity to their work places. Company-sponsored housing for industrial workers can also cause a condition for clustering. *Thirdly*, differences in hierarchical status may also reflect relationships based on power and domination and take the form of imperial enclaves. Class may also be a relevant in identifying differential status. Income can be an indicator of high status. These are indicators known as Socio-economic status (SES) for describing underlying relationships of power and prestige. Power can also be seen in the dimensions of military power, economic power, political power, legal power and social power. Slavery may be the extreme case of the other side of power.

The above three divisions can overlap and contradict in many cases. While on the one hand, the processes of the city can give rise to separate living spaces for the black/white, Jewish/Arab, imperial/indigenous, but on the other hand when income and status overlap with cultural divisions, it can also give rise to contradictions. For example for industrial work purposes, employees who are black and white working together might require to live together for efficient production as it would be inefficient to disperse them in neighbourhoods that are segregated.

The next perspective given by Park is significant in understanding spatial patterns. Park analyses spatial patterns based on the concept of 'cultural marginality', 'Social Role marginality' and 'Structural marginality'. This helps in outlining the processes, which overlap in urban space and produce conditions for segregation and exclusion. Park uses the concept of marginality as *First* "Cultural marginality" arises from hierarchical positioning of cultures. The relations between two cultures may be defined on the basis of acceptance/rejection or belonging/isolation, in-group/out-group. With overlapping experiences of economic pressures, heterogeneity, social change and mobility there can be experiences of isolation, confusion, alienation, faced by migrants or from the wider population. *Second* "Social role marginality" may arise out of failure to belong to a reference group. In the case of women it can take place as inability to enter into certain professions or membership clubs or groups. It can also happen on the basis of not fitting into one particular role such as in between childhood and adulthood experiences of adolescents. It could also signify gypsies, bohemians, anarchists who do not fit into

mainstream roles. *Third*, “Structural marginality” refers to political, economic, social powerlessness or disadvantaged segments in society. These three types of marginalities also give an idea about different aspects of segregation and the conditions that give rise to divisions in urban space.

The Chicago School Perspective on Racial Segregation

The Chicago School addressed the idea of race in the urban space of Chicago. It contributed greatly in understanding the city and how it is segregated and divided on racial lines. Taueber and Tauebar (1965) argue, that in the United States, a dual feature characterized American urbanization. The acceleration of metropolitan concentration and the spatial diffusion of activities and population, with a suburbanization, caused a reduplication of each of the large city into new zones. This process manifested the essence of urban dynamism. These transformations had profound consequences for the spatial distribution of social characteristics. The shift towards the better suburbs, towards new houses and distant quarters, requiring a very advanced individual set of amenities and capacities for individual mobility, was possible above all for the new middle strata. They benefited from economic expansion and the creation of a whole range of tertiary jobs, opening up career possibilities for the whites and, therefore, making possible option to individual credit in buying a one-family house.

The dwellings, thus, abandoned by the white were demolished, and reoccupied by a new population, made up of rural immigrants, particularly from the South, and lower strata, at the bottom of the income scale and/or victims of ethnic discrimination, in particular, the Blacks. An examination of the data concerning non- white housing showed that, within the black minority, the segregating city centre/suburb model did not apply and that it had to be replaced by a specific analysis of spatial segregation within the ghetto. In the North of the United States, the further away one’s home was from the city centre, the more one’s economic level was rising. But the reverse phenomenon occurred in the ghettos in the south, south-west and west of the country.

In Park’s introduction to *The Marginal Man*, Stonequist, (1937) referred to the interpenetration of cultures resulting from expanded contacts between the world. The contacts created two cultures and the estranged experiences of the immigrants, the strangers and migrants set the marginal man in a marginal area. The marginal area, i.e., “a region where two cultures overlap and where the occupying group combines traits of both

cultures” is the area of estrangement. In this area there is estrangement, a loss of the self and in the process a struggle. Stonequist (1937), argued that the two cultures in which the immigrant found himself were antagonistic as well as different. And the main protagonist in this shifting world was the marginal man, struggling to forge an identity “between two fires”. The marginal person may be a “racial hybrid” such as the Eurasians of India or the Cape Coloureds of South Africa, or a “cultural hybrid” such as Europeanized Africans or the children of immigrants. Stonequist defined the marginal man in terms of individual and groups who move from one culture to another, or who in some way, through marriage, education, or birth are linked simultaneously to two cultures. “The Marginal man is poised in psychological uncertainty between two social worlds, reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often “dominant” over the other, within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality) and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations” Stonequist (1937:8).

The above literature review attempts to show a relationship between ‘clusters’ and the conditions for clustering in urban space through the work of Tauber and Tauber (1965) and Stonequist (1937). The conditions of clustering can be seen as the processes by which segregation is subjected based on cultural factors, economic factors or power and privilege factors. The discussion highlighted how in the American urban space, a simultaneous suburbanization took place wherein the white elite dominant class moved out of the city centres and left the urban centre dilapidated and broken. Racial minorities occupied these dilapidated city areas. This process led to the American ghettoization. This was also the process by which racial minorities experienced exclusion.

The study of black Philadelphia (1899,1998) pioneered by W.E.B. Du Bois has formed significant and crucial component for Chicago school scholars who have been inspired by the path breaking study. His work contributed significantly to racial theories and is recognized as one of the most important contributions in the early twentieth century of American Sociology. Du Bois’s “Philadelphia Negro” made an important impact on knowledge that was previously held, laden with stereotypes and negative images about black life. His work laid the foundation for empirical work and arguments for democratization during the early twentieth century. In his work on particularly “the veil”, Du Bois (1899, 1903) unveiled racial dualism. His work is known for pragmatism and empirical knowledge also giving rise to pragmatist Philosophy. Influenced by this

pragmatism, Chicago school scholars also produced a large body of works demonstrating pragmatism and made Chicago a sociological laboratory. The Chicago school sociologists worked on crime, slums, poverty and the work was directly addressing the problem of race. Chicago school became known for their approaches and the attentiveness towards their subjects. Starting from the work of Burgess, to the comprehensiveness and creativity of Thomas & Znaniecki's study, the Chicago school scholars became known for their approach. Their engagement with the problem of race led to the culmination of the work by Park (1950) on the different dimensions of race using macro and micro approaches. The micro-side tradition of Chicago school was pioneered by Mead, and influenced by that, contributed to Blumer's work (1958) on the many symbolic dimensions of race. Chicago school sociologists broke the myth of biological dimension of race that had plagued the earlier works on race, and asserted the position of how race was a social construction and not a "natural" phenomenon. This view influenced the following work such as Gunnar Myrdal's, "An American Dilemma" (1944). Myrdal's work became recognized and exercised political influence due to the groundwork laid by Chicago school scholars.

It was due to Chicago school sociologists that studies on race took the streets and made the streets the very field for studying problems of race, poverty, crime and slums. Race had become the major concern for sociologists in the United States. Prior to the work of Chicago scholars, in the twentieth century, race was still defined through the biological dimension in United States. It was held as natural for the defence of racial hierarchical concepts. The defence of racial hierarchy and slavery were given defences using racial angles. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the influence of social Darwinism was still enormous. The shift in the perspectives on race also owed to the growing demands of democracy, owing to the changes in labour demands, and biological perspective became obsolete. It was also a wave of anticolonial movements, spread of democratic demands even to countries of ex-slaves that were considered "backward", increasing mobility both economic and geographic, and the World War I that brought a different perspective on race. The Chicago school sociologists brought a shift in the way race was addressed in America and brought the problematic of race to the very fore. This brought an impact on race theories. The fact that, the Chicago school scholars took the streets, and started working on the city using the problematic of race brought a shift in race theory. It began with addressing racial issues.

The above section analysed the meaning of clusters and further, to analyse race, brought in the idea of how clusters are formed and the factors for the formation of clusters. The extreme example of clusters was given with a discussion on ghettos. The formation of clusters based on the factor of race, defines racial cluster. Further, studies conducted by Chicago school also threw some light on the idea of race and its treatment in the urban space. The next section goes into the idea of urban space. It outlines the various perspectives on urban space and defines the meaning and the concept.

Conceptualising Urban Space

Urban space is a widely used concept and it includes different interpretations owing to the different contexts in which it has been used and applied. This section defines and conceptualises 'urban space' using the argument that urban space is a social product rather than a merely technical, scientific product compatible only for urban planning. Urban space is marked by the presence of politics, people and ideas. It cannot be reduced to a 'scientific neutral object'. This section argues that urban space is a product of social, historical and ideological processes. In order to throw light on this concept the range of perspectives are outlined as follows. The perspectives also highlight the processes by which urban space is shaped and the factors that contribute to the formation of urban space within particular contexts. In this thesis, the context in which urban space has been analysed is through processes of globalization, which have been highlighted in detail in the following discussion. The discussion begins by defining urban space as a social product.

Urban Space as a Social Product

Maria Balshaw and Liam Kennedy, in *Urban Space and Representation* (2002) argue that urban space is a 'social product'. Space has to be seen in terms of built forms and embedded ideologies. The notion that space is natural and transparent should be replaced with the notion that as a social entity, space has some particular, localised meanings. Castells (1977) too has defined urban space as a social product. In addition to defining it as a social product he has extended it to a wider range of perspectives. He argues that space can be understood through relations and interrelations between the social structures, the economic structures, the political and the ideological structures and it is the product of social relations that emerge from them. To add further to the idea he argues that space is a

“product of historical conjuncture and social form and therefore, it derives its meaning from the social processes that are expressed through them”. So he argues that space can produce specific effects on other domains of the social conjuncture, through the articulation of the structural instances that are constituted by it. Castells (1977) argues that this understanding of the spatial structure can begin with its characterization, its composition and its articulation. Thus, one must analyse economic, political, juridical and ideological space by specifying these categories in relation to the domain in question and analyse through the method of deduction from them, the forms and spatial conjunctures. The next point about urban space is highlighted through how it has taken shape through capitalism and has become a product. Urban space has become a commodity and a product of capitalist reproduction.

Urban Space as product of Capitalist reproduction

Henri Lefebvre (1968) has also contributed to the understanding of what is urban. He emphasizes on the idea of ‘urbanism’ as that which can bring about radical action. He analyses the mode of capitalist domination in everyday life. In this context he develops a critique for urban planning as it “represents space as a purely scientific object which gives rise to a science of planning that claims to be high on precision and claims to be as objective as mathematics”. He criticises the planning science by showing how “it is a technocratic theory, where spatial forms are taken as given and planning is seen as a technical intervention which can bring about particular effects, done on the basis of a scientific understanding of a purely spatial logic” . According to him, planning practice and urban theory in its scientific and objective manner has been founded on neutrality and a consequent denial that space holds inherent political character.

Lefebvre (1968) is critical of the perception of space that is regarded as neutral. He is critical of the common perception and the science of planning, which is, based on the perception that “space and politics is an irrational element which only intrudes upon the spatial system from the outside and it is not seen as being an essential element in the constitution of the spatial forms” (Lefebvre 1968:8). Thus, depoliticizing the question of space to defuse political struggles over the use of urban space makes him more and more critical of the common sense perception and planning science. He argues that, “Urbanism, almost as a system, is now fashionable. Urban questions and reflections emanate from technical circles, from specialists and intellectuals who think of themselves as *avant*

garde. They pass to the public sphere via newspaper articles and writings with various aims and objectives. Simultaneously, urbanism becomes ideology and praxis. Yet questions concerning the city and urban reality are not yet well understood or recognized, they have not yet assumed a political importance in the same way as they exist in thought (in ideology) or in practice” (Lefebvre 1977: 340). He further argues, “Space is political. Space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic. . . space, which seems homogeneous, which seems to be completely objective in its pure form such as we ascertain it, is a social product. The production of space can be linked to the production of any particular type of merchandise” (Lefebvre 1977:341).

According to Lefebvre, spatial forms and organization of space is a product of a specific mode of production that is capitalism and so for him the primary task for a critical theory is to explode this urban ideology by showing how capitalism perpetuates the reproduction of relations of domination. Urban ideology of space as a pure and non-political object is created precisely as Lefebvre argues, because space is a product of capitalism. It is, infused with the logic of capitalism (production for profit and exploitation of labour), and so, the contradiction identified by Marx, “between the forces and relations of capitalist production, has been overcome in the advanced capitalist societies through spatial expansion. The development of capitalism, in other words, has not reached its limits because the capital has transformed space into a commodity”. He writes,

“We now come to a basic and essential idea: capitalism is maintained by the conquest and integration of space. Space has long since ceased to be a passive geographical milieu or an empty geometrical one. It has become instrumental” (Lefebvre, 1970: 262).

He further argues that urban Space has evolved into a system where it is itself produced as a scarce and alienable resource. Space, is created as a homogeneous and quantifiable commodity: He writes,

“Space, e.g. volume, is treated in such a way as to render it homogeneous, its parts comparable, therefore exchangeable... the subordination of space to money and capital implies a quantification which extends from the monetary evaluation to the commercialization of each plot of the entire space...space now becomes one of the new ‘scarcities’, together with its resources, water, air and even light” (Lefebvre 1970: 261-262).

In the context of capitalist production of space Lefebvre makes two points.

Firstly, that space has become integral in generating surplus value for the industries that employ low-paid labour force and *secondly*, it is characterized by a low organic composition of capital. Further, he argues that since the commodification of space has created vast new markets it has contributed greatly in realizing profits. Consequently, Lefebvre refers to the idea of ‘urban revolution’ in this context. He defines it as the transition and change from an industrial to an urban base of modern capitalist production and he likens it to the ‘industrial revolution’ in which the main basis of production shifted from agriculture to manufacturing. It seems that, for Lefebvre, the concept of urban revolution does not intend to be equated with the concept of urban with the physical object of the city. It is his argument that, “the urban revolution creates an urban society, in which the physical separation of city and countryside becomes less significant”. The urban for Lefebvre consists of three related concepts namely, space, everyday life and reproduction of capitalist social relations.

Further in the light of the arguments presented by Lefebvre, it can be said that he has demystified the notion of space. He has critically engaged with the idea of space. Lefebvre has influenced many scholars such as Foucault and Soja who have used his paradigm and analysed it through the method of grand narratives in the post-modern era. In addition, Soja has also added to the concept and idea of space as a social product by showing how space is filled with politics and ideology (Soja 1989:6).

Analysing City as an Urban Space

An attempt is made to understand the city as an urban space, which is different from the rural village where agriculture and agricultural relations were the main source for kinship structure and production. A change in the production relations can cause change in social relations. Urban space has been defined through a range of perspectives that converged at the point where ‘urban space’ is defined as ‘social space’ and is seen as a social product, which results from very importantly, interactions and inter-relations with economic and political structures. An attempt is made now to link the definitions of urban space with the concept of the city. Weber (1920) shows that an interrelation between the city and its hinterlands exists wherein the city and the hinterlands are seen in relations to one another. In the study of the city and urban economy, he draws a relationship between the city and its hinterlands where he shows how the cities were dependent on the immediate hinterland for their food supplies. He writes,

The bulk of the measures of urban economic policy (*Stadtwirtschaftspolitik*) were based on the fact that, under the transportation conditions of the past, the majority of all inland cities were dependent upon the agricultural resources of the immediate hinterland, that the hinterland provided the natural marketing area for the majority of the urban trades, and finally that for this natural local process of exchange the urban market place, provided if not the only, then at least the normal locality especially in the case of foods. (Economy and Society, Vol. II, 1920)

Further Weber shows how city is 'political' through highlighting concepts such as administration. He argues that the city has a special political and administrative arrangement. He argues that the urban economic policy is made for the inhabitants but not by the inhabitants. He demonstrates how the city is a partially autonomous association, a 'community'. He writes,

The additional concepts required for analysis of the city are political. This already appears in the fact that the urban economic policy itself may be the work of a prince to whom political domination of the city with its inhabitants belongs. In this case when there is an urban economic policy it is determined 'for' the inhabitants of the city but not 'by' them. However, even when this is the case the city must still be considered to be partially autonomous association, a —community with special political and administrative arrangements. (Weber 1958:74)

Park (1915) proposed that, "the city must not be regarded as mere congeries of persons and social arrangements, but as an institution". Park (1915) borrows the concept of the 'institution' from William Sumner's folkways. Further, Park analyses the city on the following basis- (1) "*the city plan and local organization*". Park emphasizes on the significance and influence of neighbourhoods on human behaviour in an urban environment. In this he includes the perspective of race or space inhabited by black population such as in the particular city spaces such as the 135th street where the population of blacks were most concentrated than any other place in Bronx⁹, Chicago. He argues that the city plan fixes the character of the city and fixes locations. This fixes an "orderly" arrangement on it. Further, according to him human nature gives regions and buildings a character, (2) "*industrial organization and moral order*". He analyses the city on the basis of modern industrial organization and its consequent order, (3) "*Secondary relations and social control*". Here he analyses media, news and such institutions to throw light on secondary relations, which can have an impact, such as social control over the individual in the modern city, (4) "*Temperament and urban environment*". Here he argues that traits, which are not tolerated in smaller communities, find an outlet of

⁹ Robert Park, American Journal of Sociology, vol. 20, No. 5, March 1915, pp-58.

expression in the big city. The city according to him brings out the good and evil in human character in abundance.

Gaziano (1996) shows that in matter of contribution to the method of studying and analysing the city, in 1925 Park presented a paper in the American Sociological Society (ASS) meeting in which the theme was —The City. In his paper “*The Concept of Position in Sociology*”, he discussed the concept of ecology, which he borrowed from a Danish ecologist. Park’s Human Ecology concept emerged from this point where he tried to use the idea of plant ecology with Human Ecology to understand human environments as organic. It was in this meeting that Human Ecology was characterized with its historical, social, conceptual connections with plant ecology. He tried to understand the connection between plants, animal organization to human organization. Later on, Park with his former student Roderick McKenzie outlined the new approach in his paper “The Scope of Human Ecology”. Park asserted, “...is not simply - man, but the community’ not man’s relation to the earth which he inhabits, but his relations to other men” (quoted from Gaziano, 1996: 874). This discussion highlighted a connection between the idea of urban space to city, which is a product of political and economic factors and also importantly the ecological factors. The point of the above discussion was to understand the processes by which formation of the city takes place, different from rural hinterlands. It highlighted how human organization takes place based on city structures and relations.

Urban Space and Network Society

Castells (1977) emphasizes on how networks form around production and consumption in the urban space. In the context of the city, Castells (1977) analyses the city in capitalist societies through the concept of production of social space. Castells argues that to analyse Urban Space and city in capitalist society, one has to refer to the elements of the economic system and the political system also. He argues that the spatial expression in elements of economic system may be found in the dialectical relationship between two principal elements: first, *Production* and second, *Consumption*. The third is a derived element i.e., *Exchange*, which results from the spatialization of the transferences between production and consumption. The fourth element he names is *Administration*. These four elements i.e., Production, Consumption, Exchange and Administration according to Castells directly influence the urban structure in the capitalist societies.

Next, in order to understand the city in the capitalist society it is important to understand how the regional system within the capitalist context maintains itself. Castells argues that the regional system of interdependence is maintained because of the nature of communication. Technological processes thus make possible the evolution of urban forms. He further argues that technology is but one element in the ensemble of productive forces. These are, themselves, social relations. Therefore, they involve a cultural mode of using the means of labour. This link between space and technology is thus the most fundamental link between a given social structure and the new urban form. Urban dispersal, the formation of metropolitan region is closely bound up with the social type of advanced capitalism called the mass society.

This understanding of the spatial structure can begin with its characterization, its composition and its articulation. Thus, one must analyse economic, political, juridical and ideological space by specifying these categories in relation to the domain in question and analyse through the method of deduction from them, the forms (spatial conjunctures) on the basis of the elements mentioned.

Castells discussion on the urban space, shows how the urban form is distinguished *first* by size, *second*, diffusion in space of activities, functions, groups and *third*, their interdependence because of geographical interconnection. He argues that within such a space, a whole range of activities develop such as the activities of production, consumption, exchange and administration. In this space are offices, housing and amenities, which are interconnected and interrelated. The internal organization involves a hierarchized interdependence of different activities. Technological progress underlies the basis of the metropolis. The influence of technology is exercised both (a) through the introduction of new activities of production and consumption, and (b) the almost total elimination of space as an obstacle, thanks to the development of the means of communication. The generalization of electrical energy permits a widening of the urban concentrations of manpower, around larger units of industrial production. Public transport results in the integration of the different zones. The motorcar leads to further urban dispersion, widens residential zones, and creates linkages by road. This allows for the daily transportation of stable consumer products – without daily distribution of agricultural produce no metropolis could survive. He further argued that, the city, rather than being opposed to the country, comes into relation with it, but in terms of a set of hierarchically constructed interdependencies. The bourgeoisie dominates the city. Urban

diffusion, Castells maintains, takes place through a loss of cultural particularism. The processes of urbanization and cultural processes can be contradictory. This is the central problem of the modern city, which is, how to maintain the balance between high levels of standardization and the cultic significance given to individualism and uniqueness.

From Castells discussion on the metropolis, one can understand that this urban form typical of advanced capitalist society is distinguished by (1) size, (2) diffusion in space of activities, functions, groups and (3) their interdependence because of geographical interconnection. Within such a space, a whole range of activities develop. The activities of production, consumption, exchange and administration are concentrated such as head offices and zonal offices, others are distributed such as housing and amenities. The internal organization of the metropolis involves a hierarchized interdependence of different activities. Industry brings together in space certain technologically homogeneous or complementary units although it may disperse others though belonging to the same firm. Technological progress underlies the basis of the metropolis. The influence of technology is exercised both (a) through the introduction of new activities of production and consumption, and (b) the almost total elimination of space as an obstacle, thanks to the development of the means of communication. The generalization of electrical energy permits a widening of the urban concentrations of manpower, around ever larger units of industrial production. Public transport results in the integration of the different zones. The motorcar leads to further urban dispersion, widens residential zones, creates linkages by road. This allows for the daily transportation of stable consumer products – without daily distribution of agricultural produce no metropolis could survive.

This shows how the metropolis maintains itself through, for instance, the network of roads for transportation, means of communication, information and technology. In his book, the “Information Age, Economy, Society, and Culture: The Rise of the Network Society” Castells (2010) attempts to analyse a conceptual structure of the multiple societal changes occurring all over the world. He recalls the “collective human experience” at the time of the “Information Age”. Castells covers many aspects of the current economy, culture and society. He also outlines the network society through geometry, geography and analyses different forms of urban diffusion in the new age, which is particularly interesting for geographers, sociologists, urban planners and mathematicians. He argues that the Information Technology Revolution IT Revolution is

drastically different from the Industrial Revolution. He argues that it differs on the logic of networking. The networking logic of the IT paradigm is opposed to linear relationships or serial relationships existing during the Industrial Revolution perpetuated by the Fordist logic of mass production. He argues that the new age can facilitate even more complex interactions organized by a network. He argues that the structural relationships of economic and political type pervade through the idea of network which give rise to complex systems of networks and relationships that facilitate decentralization, transformation, telecommuting workers, interactions over virtual communities and most importantly economic globalization. These networks can be easily expanded using nodes that can integrate new nodes that share similar means of communication. These networks are much more malleable and flexible, as there is no visible overarching institutional or organization shape. Castells shows interconnections and interlinkages through new and current transformations taking place in the city. He is giving a new dimension to urban diffusion, network society, “spaces of flows” which means flow of information, flow of capital, flow of technology. These combine with the new forms of nodes in a network and gives rise to new types of relationships. He argues that this is how networking takes in the new era of Information Technology around the world. The “space of flows” is continuously evolving and emerging, hence, he argues that in this new era it is difficult to predict the winners and the losers.

Globalization and Urban Space

In the light of globalization and liberalization Harvey (2007) argues that innovation has given rise to new ways of organizing space. Innovation and technology has opened up new possibilities for urban processes to take shape. Urban growth is no longer limited to and confined to bioregions. Every innovation is breaking the barriers of time and space. He gives the example of the steam engine, which liberated the constraints and inefficient uses of energy, even though, one of the most important inventions in the field of transport. Harvey argues that every innovation liberates the constraints of new possibilities. That is why the bundle of innovations is so crucial as they open up new possibilities. However, Harvey argues that the technologies have all been produced under the drive of a capitalistic mode of production with interests for increased financial and industrial growth with hegemonic interests of the capitalist class.

Further, in the context of changes and innovations in technology under the

hegemonic interests of the capitalist elite, Harvey (2007) argues that space is restructured and reformulated by global processes and for this reason it is important to recognize the “global process of capitalist urbanization” even in the context of those countries that have followed a “non-capitalist path” and “non-capitalist urban form”. He analyses urban and urbanization on the spatial scales on which the production of space and political consciousness might be examined and in which neighbourhoods, regions, nation-states and power blocs being others are taken into study. Further, Harvey focuses on the process of urbanization as a specific object of analysis. In the context of urbanization that takes place, he argues that it is not confined to the study of political or legal entity. He argues that, “the study of urbanization in the global context is concerning the processes capital circulation, the shifting flows of labour power, commodities and money capital; the spatial organization of production and the transformation of space relations; movement of information”. He further analyses that cities in the legal sense have lost political power and geopolitical influence and that distinctive urban economies have now merged into ‘Megalopolitan’ concentrations and this is a part of the urban process.

Harvey (2007) argues that urbanization can vary greatly depending on how capitalist growth and possibilities are realized, created, opposed or proposed. But the way the urbanization processes are possibilities are realized, are definitely linked with capitalist production. He argues that based on these new possibilities, the large migrations of people whether forced or unforced, taking place around the world. He argues that the migrations and movements are unstoppable. Different countries may adopt different policies to control or stop it with tight immigrations laws and controls, but this movement is unstoppable in the global era. This also contributes to urbanization processes in the twenty-first century. This acts as a dynamic and powerful force of mobility of capital and labour. This is how the new accumulation system is restructuring and taking shape. In fact, He argues that these migratory movements are not detrimental for capital accumulation; they might even contribute in accumulation processes, however, in this new era of urbanization by capital, hegemony will not remain the same in the future as it has remained in the past, even if there is no organizing force. There may even be a powerful movement that counteracts the marginalization and injustices of the capitalist forms of urbanization through formation of an alternative urban formation. Based on the works of Engel, Harvey (1985) argues that technological, political, institutional and social contexts have radically changed in the new era of globalization, but the conditions in

many ways have worsened. He shows how exclusionary practices by communities are becoming stronger with labour migrations. “Urban Apartheid” as an example helps to reflect on the oddities that continue in the new age in different forms. He argues that urban formations are taking shape through exclusion practices of the new elites. New forms of exclusionary practices are taking place through formations of associations or communities to protect the interests of a ‘particular community’. In this regard he argues,

“..... over 32 million people in the United States currently live in a residential community associations and more than half of the housing currently on the market in the fifty largest metropolitan areas in the United States and nearly all new residential development in California, Florida, New York, Texas, and suburban Washington, D.C. is governed by a common-interest community, a form of residential community association in which membership is mandatory” Harvey (1996).

Harvey (1996) argues that this sounds harmless until the regulatory practices exclusionary attitudes of the community associations are analysed carefully. These practices indicate a “web of servitude regimes that regulate land use and mediate community affairs in what often amounts to a form of contracted fascism”. Harvey quotes the work of Mike Davis (1990) in “City of Quartz”, that the walls may have come down in Eastern Europe, but they are being erected in all the cities of the world. Harvey argues that these practices are evident everywhere even in countries that are developing. Mexico, Sao Paulo, Lagos, Cairo, Calcutta, Bombay, Beijing and Shanghai. He argues that in all the cities there is something different that is going on, what according to him seem a qualitative shift and a quantitative shift at one go. According to these cities have gone through even a bigger shift in one generation than cities like Chicago or London went through in maybe a matter of ten years.

Harvey (2007) analyses urban space through the process of urban change and transformation through globalization and liberalization. In his conceptualization of urban space, an important element of human experience also takes shape. In order to understand urban space, the aspect of human experience in the urban space and changing urban forms is also given attention. Harvey (1985) also conceptualizes urban space through consciousness and urban experience. In the light of globalization an important aspect highlighted by Harvey (2007) is the formation of community association that protect interests of a class. Srivastava (2014) also shows the contradictions and contrasts that take place in the process of urbanization through gated residential enclaves on one side and the illegal settlements on the other. He analyses the city that is produced from the contrasting

relationship between the slums and the Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs). He analyses the notion of citizenship, nation-state, middle classes and the market to analyse the urban processes. He engages with the idea of contradictions in the urban space much like Harvey's work on "the Right to the City", to understand exclusionary processes of the urban middle class of Delhi and NCR against the slums through the exclusionary practices of RWAs such as demolitions of slum dwellings and the urban politics of human settlements. He analyses the contradictions of middle class consumerism and the urban poor slum dwellers. Through this process he captures the essence of the city and identity in the context of urban spaces and transformations.

Banerjee (2010) argues that in the past 25 years, social scientists have produced cutting-edge analyses of the effects of globalization and neo-liberal policies on urban regions, in terms of their spatial transformations, changes in employment patterns, and the rescaling and re-shaping of Municipal governance at the local level. She argues that Municipal governments have been reshaped to suit the needs of a market-driven global economy, resulting in the withdrawal of the state from urban planning, increasing gentrification of particular neighbourhoods, and public-private partnerships that provide generous public subsidies to private developers. In the process, as she notes, both space and labour become highly fragmented and dispersed through income polarisation and extreme differentiation in spaces of habitation. New forms of centrality and marginality emerge within cities, as capital seeks out the cheapest and most flexible labour force, and the highest returns on real estate investment through increasing colonisation and differentiation of space. Also, Sassen (1994) demonstrates the functioning of urban governance and the processes of dispersal and centralization in Mumbai. She shows changing forms of urban governance through service delivery, i.e., municipalities, waste management, water and electricity provision.

Further, Sassen (1994) focuses on the impact of economic globalization on the urban space and the impact of the new urban economy on the workforce. She poses the question of the place of workers in the economy of the major cities. She raises the question of whether these workers have become superfluous? Further she raises the question of the place of the informal sectors or smaller firms that are marked by low capital investments and may lack advanced technology. Have they also become redundant, superfluous and unnecessary? Or can these firms, workers and sectors be seen operating within the "new economic core" but under extremely fragmented conditions and extreme

segmentation in economic, social and racial terms? She analyses the level of segmentation that is produced by ethnic and racial segmentation and racial discrimination. The segmentation that exists at the social level also pervades and exists at the economic level. In all the cities of the world, she argues there is an increase in socio-economic and spatial inequalities. The inequalities have increased although she argues that it may not be associated with the new economic reforms. However, it can be articulated through new economic restructuring and the formation of new economic forms such as commercial restructuring, residential gentrification and rapid increase in segmentation. Further, in the labour markets, changes also take place with changes in economic structures and social transformations. She argues that most of these changes come in the form of shifts in the job characteristics including employment stability, earnings and types of job opportunities available to local workers.

The new flexibility also gives rise to temporary and part time jobs, which produce inequality and for the employers gives rise to another form of flexible system in which they have to incorporate and adapt to the social divisions existing in society. These changes and new economic reforms also include issues of payment in which, for instance, in the case of immigrant population leads to lower wages in informal labour economy which further gives rise to lower cost of living. Further she argues that immigration has also given rise to changes in spatial patterns and forms. The trends show how the immigrant population is concentrated in the centre for all the major cities. For instance in London, “In 1991, Greater London had 1.35 million residents, or 20 percent of the population, classified as ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities were 25.7 percent of the population on Inner London and about 17 percent in Outer London”.

Marie-Helene Zerah documents the increasing commodification of services, which she differentiates from the process that others have described as creeping privatisation. She shows how the subcontracting of municipal services appeals to the middle class while subverting the claims of the city’s slum-dwellers to service provisioning. She views policy from the lens of the New Economic Policy. She analyses New Urban Policy with its emphasis on gentrification and mega-projects. She shows how privatization takes place of basic services and liberalization of the economy leading to changes in the real estate market. She shows how exclusionary policies and practices mark the dispossession and create inequalities in the urban space. New Economic Reforms were analysed through the work of Banerjee (2010). Harvey (1985, 2007) shows how urban space and

urban social transformation takes place through globalization processes, which give to spatial changes. Sassen (1994) and Zerah (2009) throw light on the effects of neo-liberalism on urban policy and changing metropolitan spaces in south Asia and the world. Banerjee (2010) provides insightful views on how finance capital is reshaping urban regions. Her discussion of “spaces of difference”, of the reshaping of centre and periphery in urban areas, and the hyper-differentiation of absolute space, draws from contemporary critical theory.

Urbanization, Globalization and Migration and Urban Space

Kundu (2009) examines the process of urbanization and migration in South Asian countries since the 1950s and gives projection of the different pattern of urbanization till 2030. He examines the movements and migrations in South Asia and examines the urban explosion of population. He argues that urbanization and migration is characterized by diversity in South Asia and this diversity can be explained through history, politics and social factors. He argues that migration and urbanization are positively correlated. The countries, which have high urban growth, have high percentage of international migration. In this context he explains the spatial patterns of urbanization in the last five decades. He argues that migration in the urban space takes place on the levels of urban growth and the pace at which it takes place. He analyses the pace at which international migration takes place as an indicator to analyse development and urban growth. With the high levels of per capita income, he analyses a positive correlation between urban migration and economy signifying that economic opportunities can give rise to higher levels of international migration. He argues that in highly developed countries the percentage of immigrants will be higher than other countries. He makes a correlation between urbanization and migration and argues that there is a positive correlation between migration and development. He argues that international migrants increased in the nineties in many countries of south Asia, which was the outcome of economic development. Further, Kundu (2009) argues that since the 1990-2005 there was a strong correlation between levels of urbanization, economic development, percentage of immigrants, investments and exports, pollution and life expectancy. He argues that the pace of urbanization in less developed countries is likely to be high in the following few decades as the developed countries are likely to limit their migration for orderly urbanization.

An interesting argument made by Kundu (2009) is that increasing unaffordability of urban space, and unaffordability towards access to basic amenities, exclusionary urban growth policies, negative policies towards migration, rural development programmes to discourage migration from rural areas could cause decline in migration. The changing urban patterns and shift towards urban growth and exclusionary practices are also giving rise to growth of second order cities but stagnation of small towns. However, there is a growth on migrant populations in south Asia because of new economic reforms, which also give rise to informal labour demands due to growth of some informal sectors. Further Kundu (2009) also analyses the influence of globalization in shaping urbanization. He argues that due to alternate policy frameworks in both economic and ideological dispositions, the urban population in countries of south Asia are likely to increase owing to global processes that are reshaping global policies since late seventies. His projections are that pace of urbanization would become rapid and urban population would increase in 2000-30 from 48% to 54%. The theorists of market and governance believe that globalization and related structural reforms will be responsible for acceleration of migration, which will give boost to urbanization processes.

In the above section an attempt is made to understand urbanization as a process in order to understand urbanization and migration. An attempt was made to analyse urbanization in relation with new economic reforms adopted by different countries, migration, globalization, which gives the process of urbanization a boost. This was followed by understanding urbanization through globalization and its impact upon the urban space.

Understanding Urban Space and Urbanization in the Indian Context

Urban space has been analysed as a site of capitalist reproduction, further understanding of urbanization has been made vis-à-vis industrialization, globalization and the coming of technology. The following examples show how the process of urbanization and industrialization has taken place. The processes of urbanization in the global arena have been discussed in the earlier sections. In this section an attempt is made to outline the processes of urbanization in the Indian context. Urban Space as a concept has also been understood through various perspectives. The definition of 'urban' can also be derived from the Census of India. In 1971 Census of India for the first time defined standard urban area for the purpose urban data tabulation. The "Standard Urban Area" was to be

defined through certain population characteristics. In order to study the processes of urbanization, the definition of an urban area defined by the government of India is,

“.. it should have a core town of a minimum population size of 50,000, (b) the contiguous areas made up of other urban as well as rural administrative units should have close mutual socio- economic links with the core town and (c) the probabilities are that this entire area will get fully urbanized in a period of two to three decades” (Census of India, 1971).

It has been argued by Bose (1973) that the definition of urban area can help to study urbanization processes. Although he argues that it varies from one census year to another and from country to country. In Greenland, “a place with a population of 300 or more inhabitants is called an urban area while in the Republic of Korea, an urban area must have at least 40,000 inhabitants”. That is how it varies from one country to another. He argues that the definition of an urban area can vary even within the country. The definition varies due to changes in land use patterns and ideology, policy etc. According to the census of India, the definition of town was the same for the period of 1901-1950. In 1961 it was changed from statistical point of view. He argues that in the Indian context, a great amount of latitude was given to the Census Superintendents with regard to classification between rural and urban. According to the Census of India 1901

“town includes (1) every municipality of whatever size, (2) all civil lines not included within municipal limits, (3) every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for census purposes” (Bose, 1973: 27-28).

Rao (1974) analyses urbanization through urban impact and change in relations as an essential feature in India. He broadly analyses three types of urban impact. He argues *firstly*, the villages, in which almost all the people have gained employment in cities far off from their villages. They live in the cities while the members of their family live in the natal village. *Second*, the villages that are located near industrial towns get exposure from urban emigrants. *Third*, growth and expansion of metropolitan cities create an urban impact on their surrounding villages. This is context, and urban impact that this present study is concerned with. The city expands and takes in the villages that lie on the borders, fringes or outskirts. The villages may get totally absorbed in the expansion process. This is the reason for many rural pockets in the city. In this case the land, excluding the area that is inhabited, may come under the urban development policy.

The next section introduces the field of this research study, that is, Khirki Extension, keeping in mind the context of urbanization, urban impacts on neighbouring

villages, which come into the fold of urban expansion as outlined by Rao (1974). Further the different patterns and forms of urbanization are explored keeping in mind, the processes globalization and migration.

Khirki Extension as an Urban Space: An Introduction to the Field

In this section, the most important aspect of this study is introduced, that is, the field. Khirki Extension is introduced as an urban space. The changes in the urban space of Khirki Extension are studied through fieldwork. The local perspective of the landlords, property owners and local migrants who have witnessed these urban changes since 1991, have been narrated.

The word ‘Khirki’ means window. Khirki village, which has its own ancient history, gets its name from the Khirki Fort, that is an ancient Masjid (Mosque), which was built by “Khan-i-Jahan-Junan”, the Prime Minister of Feroz Shah Tuglaq from the Tughlaq dynasty (1351-1388). Khirki is prefixed to the ancient Masjid and hence, also called “The Masjid of Windows”. Khirki Masjid is located near the Satpula, i.e., seven arched bridges of the southern wall of Jahapanah of Medieval Delhi. The Masjid is located in Khirki village. Khirki Extension, which is the area of study, comes in the Lal dora area of Delhi. Khirki Extension is an ‘unauthorised’ part of Khirki village but since it comes in the Lal dora¹⁰ area there is a lot of unauthorised construction that takes place here. Khirki joins Malviya Nagar from one side and Saket from the other side. Khirki village was known to be a vast forestland and today it is dominated by the dominant caste population of Kaushiks, Sainis and Chauhans who currently own most of the land in this area. They have owned this land since their forefathers. Since, this area was a vast forestland, agriculture was the main source of occupation and livelihood. Khirki Extension as an urban space today has gone through a major transformation due to globalization. The changes in this urban space were traced through interviews with the landlords who have lived here since their ancestors owned this land. They narrated that this urban space was a vast stretch of agricultural land. The landlords of Khirki village

¹⁰ ‘Lal Dora’ is known as village land and also refers to the concept of ‘Abadi’, which means ‘habitation’ for the village. Lal dora area was designated by the government, to the people of the village for ancillary purposes, for grazing or keeping livestock. According to the Delhi Masterplan, Lal Dora area of Delhi is exempted from the strict laws of construction as this area is primarily for the village settlement or village ‘Abadi’.

explained their history through personal narratives and oral history to explain the changes in this urban landscape that they have witnessed.

Urban changes and transformation in this urban space came about with processes of globalization such as coming of the shopping malls, a super speciality hospital called Max hospital and the Delhi metro line. The Shopping Malls called Saket Citywalk, opened in 2007 and is now a landmark for this area. Max hospital and the Delhi Metro line followed the making of the malls and have created a major urban impact. The Khirki village area has come become popular with the migrants as they found good connectivity in this area due to the new transport facilities of the Delhi Metro. Max hospital also has attracted a vast migrant population that comes to Khirki for renting purposes when they come for treatment to Max hospital. The growth and expansion of the area has also impacted growth in Khirki Extension. Khirki Extension, which is the unauthorised area of Khirki village, thrives on the new urban economy, which has given a boost to migration in the recent times. This has given rise to a new form of landlord and tenant relationship, that is, in the form of property ownership and new property agents, who own property, provide housing on rent to migrants. 'Urban Housing economy' or 'rental economy' has become the new economic opportunity for the landlords who are constructing buildings solely for renting purposes. The agricultural land has been converted to land for unauthorised urban housing for migrants. This has also created a major boom in the economy of Khirki village and Khirki Extension.

Today, those who own land in Khirki Extension also control the social and cultural norms of the area. They are the landlords of Khirki and the owners of property. The Property owners who have bought land in this area recently also control the economic, social and political relations based on ownership rights. The tenants of Khirki Extension, who are the migrant population, do not have control over the land and social relations. Through the detailed accounts and descriptions of the Property owners and local migrants, this urban space of Khirki Extension is analysed to understand the political economy of Khirki village and Khirki Extension from the local perspective. Further, Social, Political and Economic relations between the property owners and tenants are understood through narratives to understand the present context. During the process of fieldwork, in-depth conversations, informal interviews, oral history methods were used as the primary tools and technique to understand the relations between property agents/landlords and the tenants or migrants living in Khirki area.

The migrants come to Khirki Extension from different regions of India and from different countries of Africa. The African migrants particularly are found living in Khirki Extension in the form of racial clusters. They are the ones who have to approach the property dealers, agents and landlords for housing facilities. The urban space of Khirki Extension is visibly divided into zones where the migrant population is staying from different countries of Africa. The local community comprising of local migrant population coming from different states and regions of India, also lives here. But this urban space is clearly divided into specific lanes where the African migrants are living. The particular area where the migrant population is concentrated is called Hauz Rani. The African migrants occupy particular lanes and a clear division of space is visible. The African migrants live in clusters and come from different countries of Africa such as Somalia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Congo, Congo DR, Cameroon, Nigeria, South Africa. The cluster of African migrants is located within the same urban space but the cluster shows internal patterns of differences in terms of culture, religious beliefs, food eating habits and lifestyles. The African migrants with similar lifestyle patterns tend to group together generally in the form of occupancy of particular buildings. They live with their friends and in some cases with family members. It was observed that the African migrants generally lived on a sharing basis. The African migrants preferred to live in the same neighbourhood, streets and locality. Even though the African community is vast and migrants come from different countries in Africa, but they still live in the same area and locality.

In the following map, the major impact of urbanization in Khirki area and the increase in infrastructure such as construction of housing for renting purposes is shown along with the major landmarks, which have contributed to significant changes.

Impact of Urbanization on Khirki Village

In order to trace the changes in land use patterns and urbanization, the political economy of Khirki Extension was traced through interviews with property agents and landlords to understand how the land relations and land use pattern changed drastically since 2007 when the shopping malls arrived. The nature of this urban space changed from being vastly 'agrarian' in relation to a 'rental economy' wherein 'housing' became the major commodity and source of income for the landlords and property agents. The changes in this urban space were ushered in with changes such as better connectivity to the city,

roads, shopping mall, metro station, Max hospital etc. This entire built environment in this urban space brought in visible changes. These changes also had an impact on the nature of this urban space. While on the one hand, this area was not fully developed, had unplanned small informal commercial enterprises while going through a transition from primarily agrarian land to a commercial and residential development, to becoming fully metropolitan with globalization processes ushering in major urban changes. The interviews with the landowners and property agents portrayed all these visible changes in the urban space came formally since 2007. Further, with changes in this urban space and land use patterns, more and more migrants flocked in owing to the changes. The migrants came from different regions of India and rented housing here. The major change was also the coming of the migrant population from different countries of Africa. The migrants said that the rents were affordable here and the area had good connectivity, which was one of the major reasons that emerged for migration. The Shopping Malls were also very attractive for the foreign immigrants. It was interesting how in one of the interviews a respondent from Africa said that while living in Khirki had its own challenges and difficulties, the malls made up for the challenges. Further, interviews with property owners revealed how the changes happened in this urban space. A Local Property owner, who is 77-years-old said,

I remember this area when it was mostly an open expanse of vacant land. It was missing the basic facilities back then that it now enjoys. Several attempts were made to legalize the homes in this area of Khirki Extension but since those attempts failed, there is unauthorized construction taking place. These unauthorized houses are given on rent to tenants. In 1990s this land was completely untouched. Right in front of Khirki Extension there was a huge slum where the Malls are built today. This area use to stink as it was a dumping ground. The *Jhuggis* (slum) and the dumping ground no longer exist today as you can see. Prior to the opening of this Select City Mall, the property prices and resale values in this area were generally low. Even today, property resale values are not very high as all this area is unauthorized.

This research study expands from the period of the introduction of New Economic Policies in India in 1991 and its impacts on the changes in the local economy. The impacts and changes could be seen with the coming of the Shopping Malls in the neighbourhood of Khirki Extension. The Select Citywalk Shopping Mall is a vast complex of shopping Malls that is spread over 1,300,000 sq ft. of land, that is, 6 acres of land. This area includes almost up to 4 kilometres of a multiplex, public park, service apartments, office spaces, public spaces, etc. The Select Infrastructure developed this area. This urbanization is owing to a joint venture between Aarone group and Select

group. With the expansive commercial infrastructure there was a boom in the local economy of Khirki. This Shopping Mall was formally opened in October 2007. The Saket Malls definitely re-structured the urban space and changed the nature of this space to a large extent. This study takes into account the changes in the social, political and economic institutions and spatial transformation of this urban space from 1991 onwards till the year 2016. The landmark year of 2007 is used as a reference point as changes in Land relations and land use patterns could be marked in this time period. Also, the reason for taking this event into account is that the residents of Khirki Extension particularly mentioned that after the coming of the Malls more migrants flocked to this area given the fact that both Mall and a metro station came near Khirki Extension, which brought a cosmopolitan nature to this urban space. Khirki Extension is however, unauthorized. It has not been given any official legal clearance for building residential housing. However, Khirki village and Khirki Extension come under the Lal Dora¹¹ area of Delhi and that is one of the biggest reasons for unregulated housing in this area. This is also the reason why the rents are affordable here as this area is unauthorised. The location of Khirki has attracted a number of people from different communities coming for affordable low-to-middle income housing. Even though this urban housing is unauthorized, yet it is a popular residential choice for its convenient location and affordable housing. A local resident who shifted with her husband who lost his job in 2001 says,

Highly unauthorized and unchecked development is taking place here. These lanes are very narrow for cars to drive through and by the evening time, these lanes end up in chaos and traffic congestions made by cars, motorbikes, scooters and cycles, which jam these single lanes which are ideal only for pedestrians but nothing can be done as all the property owners themselves own cars. This neighbourhood is crowded but we are coming to live here as it's cheap and convenient. The location is somehow good.

A Local Property Owner who has witnessed a change in this space says,

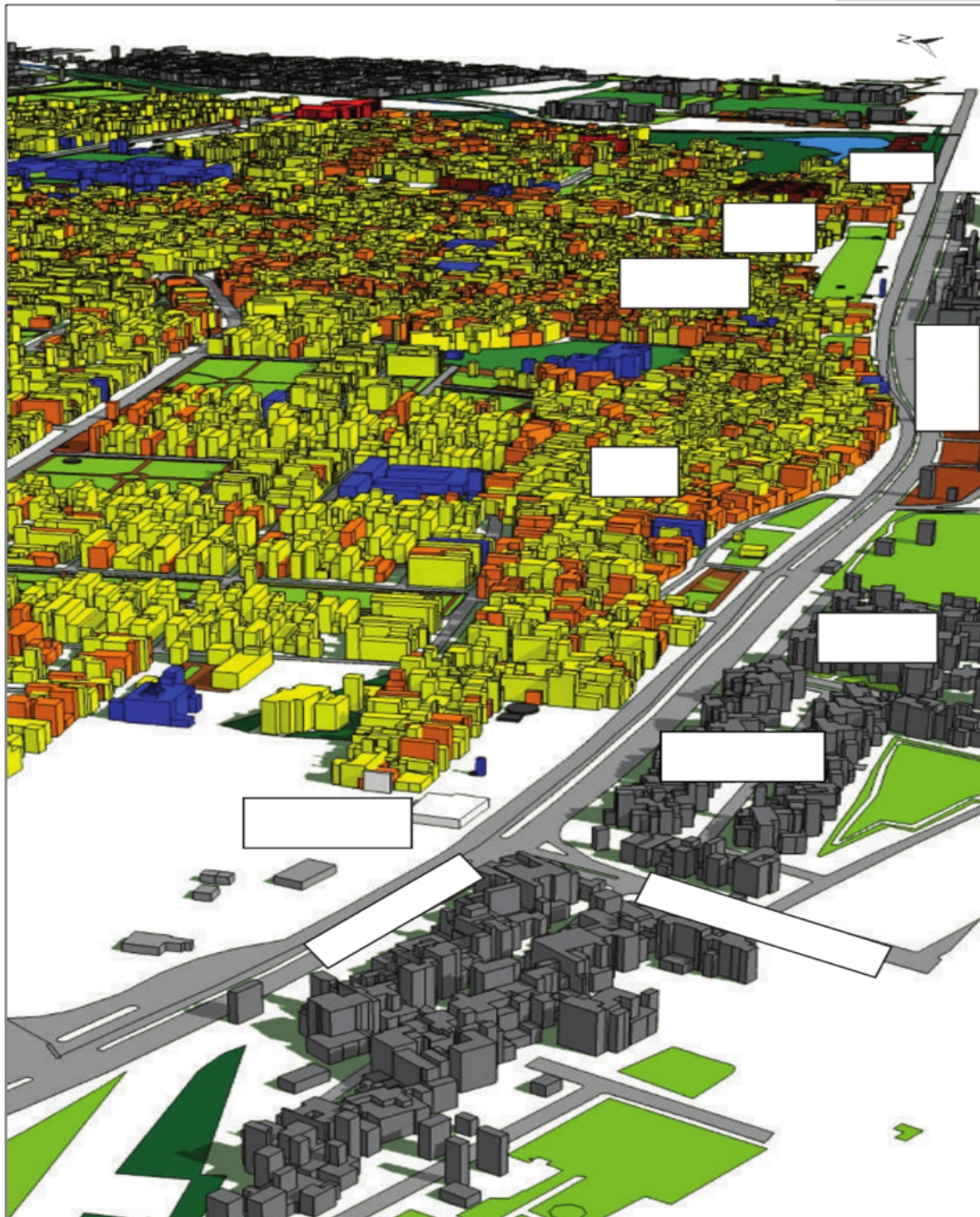
Many of the original residents have sold their property and moved out of these crowded lanes, some have put their homes on rent to various African nationals. I have avoided subletting my apartments that I own in this building to Africans, as having seen the troubles others faced in doing so, I have decided not to get swayed by the hiked rent. The African Nationals pay more rent than other migrants but the problem is that when two Africans sign up for an apartment, the next thing you know, there are five living there!

¹¹ First used in the year 1908, the term Lal Dora refers to village land or "Abadi" (habitation). Ideally it is an extension of the village habitation, which can be used by the villagers for their ancillary purposes such as keeping livestock. Such land is exempted from municipality rules and regulations. "http://www.delhi.gov.in/wps/wcm/connect/doi_southwest/South+West+District/Home/Land+Record/Apply+for+a+Certificate/Lal+Dora+Certificate"

Privatization of Medical facilities also became significant reasons for urbanization and migration in this area. The coming up of the Max hospital gave impetus to migration of population for medical reasons. Many of the migrants who live here come for the treatment of their family members and owing to the near proximity to the Max super specialty hospital migrants rent out apartments here while their family members are getting treatment in Max Hospitals. They come here as attendants for their family. Some treatments expand over months and sometimes over a year. Prior to 2007, this area lacked basic transport and was not at all well connected in terms of communication and transportation. However, with the coming of the Malls and Hospital, the transportation services became better. With Max hospital in its proximity, changes in this urban space were seen particularly in the rapid increase of African migrants. The reason why many African migrants came here was because Max hospital Saket has a business partnership with South Africa and other countries in Africa for a joint venture on health services. Privatization of the medical facility has become a major reason for the migration of people from different countries of Africa to particularly Khirki Extension for medical treatment. Max has partnered with LIFE Healthcare Group from South Africa, which is a large Private-Public Partnership venture. LIFE Healthcare Group is the second largest private health facility in South Africa. This joint venture is called Max India. This partnership on medical and health care services and expertise has given a major increase in migration for health care purposes. This privatization of medical facility and the coming of Max hospital have also contributed to major changes in this urban space.

Picture: Map showing Impact of Urbanization on Khirki Extension

Satpula	Malviya Nagar Metro Station	Select City Walk
Khirki Extension	Max Hosnital	Mehrauli Road
Hauz Rani		Press Enclave
		Khirki Masjid



Source: City Level Projects, Malviya Nagar, Hauz Rani and Khirki Extension, Site Specific Design for Ward 161, 162, 189, 191, Delhi Urban Arts Commission, Pp- 20

The African Cluster in Khirki Extension: An Outline

As mentioned in the earlier section, Khirki Extension emerged as a major hub for housing as the transition took place from 'agricultural economy' to 'rental economy' in this urban space. Based on the changes and urbanization patterns, many migrants came to this area for renting accommodation as it provided affordable renting options owing to its unchecked and unregulated development. Due to its close proximity to the shopping malls and Max hospitals many migrants from different countries of Africa came here for accommodation. Since 1991 when India adopted New Economic Policies, that is, liberalization, privatization and globalization the process of urbanization and migration also have gained impetus. Migration increased from African to India. The bi-lateral ties with different countries of Africa since 1991 also ushered in migration of people from Africa. Slowly with the growing population of the African migrants, Khirki Extension became a hub for housing of African migrants and this urban space also started flourishing with its new rental economy, given the changes owing to globalization, privatization and liberalization. This study specifically analyses the reasons for the formation African clusters in Khirki Extension.

Khirki Extension is an urban space where migrants from different countries of Africa are found living in the form of racial clusters. This particular urban space of Khirki Extension is visibly divided into specific zones where the migrants from Africa are clustered. The local community that comprises of the migrant population that migrates from different regions of India also lives here. But this urban space is clearly divided into specific lanes where the African migrants live. The African migrants occupy only particular lanes and a clear division of space is visible. The African migrants live in clusters and come from different countries of Africa such Somalia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Congo, Congo DR, Cameroon, Nigeria, South Africa. The cluster of African migrants is located within the same urban space but the cluster but there are differences in terms of nationality, language, culture, religious beliefs, food eating habits and lifestyles. In Khirki Extension the African National's reside in particular lanes and live together. Many share rents, which turns out to be cheaper for the migrants. Further, in the interviews with the African migrants, an important point that emerged was that they preferred to live in the same neighbourhood. Even though the African community is vast and people come from different countries in Africa but they still cluster in the same area.

In the urban space of Khirki Extension, the African migrants reside in particular lanes and zones as mentioned above. One of the areas or zones in which the African migrants are living in the form of a big cluster is known as Hauz Rani. Hauz Rani is a Muslim dominated area and it is a part of Khirki Extension. There is a mosque in this particular zone and many African migrants are living here in these busy lanes, which are near the Masjid i.e., (Mosque). A lot of the Muslim migrants from different countries of Africa are living here and it can be said that religion has played an important role for the Muslim migrants from Africa in the decision of living in this particular area. Many of the migrants from Africa are Muslims especially the migrants who are coming from Somalia, Sudan etc. There is a big cluster of Somalians living in this particular zone of Khirki Extension. They observe Ramadan¹². It could be observed that there were many Halal meat shops in these busy lanes catering to the needs of the Muslim population. Further, it was observed that Khirki Extension as an urban space also reflected multiculturalism as an important feature as people from different regions of India and the world lived here, belonging to different cultures, languages and religion. One of the local residents who belonged to Uttar Pradesh in India living here since 1990s said, that in this urban space of Khirki Extension one could find a church, Masjid (Mosque) and Hindu temples. He said,

Khirki Extension is a multicultural place. Here people are coming from every part of the country like North, South, East and West. They come from all regions in India and the world. There are also Afghani refugees living here. This is a very crowded area of south Delhi. The Africans particularly live in crowded areas because here people are so busy and doing their own businesses and work, nobody has time to look at anyone else. Very few habshis come out during the day. All are busy doing their work or they are sleeping. In the evenings they take the streets and create a noise. Khirki is multicultural as there is a church, a masjid and temples all in the same area. People from all religions live here.

The African cluster of Khirki Extension has migrants from different countries of Africa following different cultures and beliefs. They are a mixed population of both Christians and Muslims. However, they live here as one community. They live here in a cluster for many reasons. These reasons are explored in the following chapters. The following chapters explore and contribute to the analysis of the rational behind the racial cluster in this urban space.

¹² “Muslim Festival of Ramadan is observed as a month of fasting to commemorate the first revelation of the Quran to Muhammad according to Islamic belief. This annual observance is regarded as one of the Five Pillars of Islam”.

Conclusion:

In this chapter an attempt is made to outline the different concepts of urban space. Urban space *firstly* has been defined as a social product that is filled with ideology and politics using the frameworks of Castells and Lefebvre (1967). *Secondly*, urban space was understood through Chicago school's perspective on the different approaches of studying the city or urban space. Chicago school sociologists were recognized for their approach to taking the city as the field to study problems of race, poverty, crime and slums. The studies made by Chicago school studied racial clusters, ghettos and other problems related to race in the city. Further, in this chapter Urban Space was defined through the concept of urban transformation and urban change with globalization. For this, the works of Harvey (1985, 2007), Saskia Sassen (1994), Swapna Guha Banerjee (2010) and Srivastava (2014) were used to analyse concepts of restructuring in the context of globalization. Further, using the works of Kundu (2009) urbanization and migration was explored to understand how and in what conditions migration increases using a correlation between urbanization and migration. Rao (1974) analysis of urban impact in the Indian context was useful to study the field, that is, Khirki village and Khirki Extension. He analyses how with the expansion of the metropolitan city, villages lying on the fringes also become urbanized.

Further, Introduction to the field is made in this chapter. A detailed account of Khirki Extension as an urban space is given and changes in this urban space through processes of globalization and urbanization have been outlined. It was shown how migrants in this area flocked due to growth and urbanization, which were ushered in with the coming of shopping malls and other processes such as better connectivity, communication and technology. Through fieldwork, a change in the urban space was shown through the narratives of local migrants and landowners of Khirki village and Khirki Extension. The transformation in the urban space from 'agrarian economy' to 'tenant based economy' where housing became the major source of income for the property owners was studied. A shift from an agrarian economy to a housing- rental based economy was seen which boosted the local economy of Khirki. This shift led to a major increase in the number of migrants in Khirki Extension. The migrants not only came from different states and regions of India but also from different countries of Africa.

The migrants from different countries of Africa came here for housing. A link was made between global ties between Africa and India on health facility services provided by

Max super specialty hospitals. A relationship was observed between urbanization and globalization processes with the Max Health facility partnership between India-Africa. This gave impetus to migration of African nationals to Khirki Extension. Migrants from Africa formed a large part of the tenant population that came here and occupied particular spaces in the neighbourhood of Khirki Extension. A clustering pattern was observed in this urban space. With regard to the formation of a racial cluster, it emerged, that the migrants from Africa preferred to live in close proximity with each other. An interesting observation here and an important one, was that even though the migrants came from different countries of Africa yet, they lived together in the same area. In this study, this question is addressed as a major question that the following chapters would be addressing in detail; which is, why do the migrants from different countries of Africa live in a cluster?

To finally conclude this chapter, the main aim of this chapter was to theoretically define racial clusters and urban space. In this chapter 'clustering' as a concept is explored and 'racial cluster' conceptually has been defined. Urban space has been explored through the concept of globalization and urbanization.

CHAPTER - 3

GLOBALIZATION, MIGRATION AND THE AFRICAN CLUSTERS IN INDIA

Introduction:

This chapter comprises of Fieldwork, which studies the Racial Cluster in Khirki Extension. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the migrants from different countries of Africa reside here in a cluster. This thesis attempts to analyse the rational behind the formation of the African cluster in Khirki Extension and the conditions facilitating the formation. This chapter unpacks different perspectives from different nationalities of Africa. Further, an attempt is made to analyse the main factors that contribute to the formation of this cluster in the urban space of Khirki Extension. In this study, Globalization has been analysed as a major process that facilitated urbanization and transformation. Globalization ushered a particular kind of urbanization that made the nature of the urban space of Khirki village and Khirki Extension cosmopolitan. It facilitated migration of an expatriate group of nationals from different countries of Africa to come and reside particularly in this urban space. The various factors for migration to India have been analysed to understand why migrants from Africa chose to migrate to India and particularly to Khirki Extension. The reasons for migration to India have been outlined through the narratives and oral histories of the migrants from different countries of Africa.

An interrelation has been drawn between New Economic Policy 1991¹³ that ushered globalization, liberalization and privatization of various sectors of the Indian economy. An interrelation is drawn between urban space, changes in economic policies and migration resulting in the re-organization or re-structuring of urban space. It demonstrates how the economy and global capital restructure the urban space. It is in this context that Max Hospital and also the Saket Malls have been identified as indicators to imply changes in the urban space. They impacted the local economic structure of Khirki village. Further, an analysis of globalization is made through how India expanded its markets for trading through various initiatives. It adopted new economic principles and strategies such as, privatization, which accentuated growth and investment in the private sector. Privatization, liberalization and globalization ushered fundamental changes in the

¹³ Singh, Pratap Hemant, 'New Economic Policy (NEP) 1991- Objectives, Features, Impacts', Jagran Josh, Nov 24, 2015.

Indian economy.

Further, an important aspect of the African migration that is outlined in the following section, is, how the contemporary form of African migration is different from the past migrations between India and Africa. It is argued, that contemporary migration of the African nationals is profoundly different from the earlier migrations. The conditions under which it takes place today are quite different from the earlier century migrations. Therefore, before, going into the details of migration and formation of African clusters in Khirki Extension in the contemporary era, a brief outline is made of the migrations in the early centuries. The following is the outline for demonstrating how migration took place between India and Africa in the early centuries and how it is different from today.

Migration between India and Africa: A Historical Overview

This section outlines a brief history of India and Africa relations. The exchanges and therefore, migration between the two countries have become rapid in recent years. However, in the earlier centuries migration from Africa to India also took place and historical records have shown how migration happened as indentured labour from both India and Africa. Hawley (2008) shows how during the colonial period migration from India to Africa and Africa to India took place. Joshi (1942) highlights how migration between Africa and India has been taking place since the first century AD and therefore, the presence of diaspora is not a new phenomenon. Trade between India and Africa also has historical roots. Trading of cotton, oil, sugar, ghee, cloth happened ever since early centuries and by the tenth century trading of glass beads and porcelain was also taking place. The interactions and migrations have been documented back in prehistory. There has been a bidirectional exchange of commodities, ideas and people. Commodities such as ivory, cat skins, gold and crystals were exchanged. Oka and Kusimba (2008: 207) show how there was trading with millet, sorghum, teff, as well as slaves and soldiers to Asia since the early Bronze Age. Further, pre-dated records of African migration via the Indian Ocean have been marked. An example of African migration to India is the Siddi community that is settled in India in Gujarat. They came to India and settled in the early centuries and today have completely integrated into the Indian society. They have customs and rituals, which resemble African traditions such as dresses and dances etc. They migrated in AD 1489, through political control of the island of Janjira located on the western coast of India. Oka and Kusimba (2008) show that the coastal region of

Janjira was captured by the Ahmadnagar Sultanate of Central India and this coup was attributed to the Abyssinian slave elite group of the Daulatabad Sultanate. Oka and Kusimba (2008) argue that, “the development of Janjira remains obscure until 1620 when an African slave elite oligarchy, collectively known as the Siddi of Janjira, formally assumed command of the fortress and started playing a significant role in the coastal and hinterland politics, eventually organizing themselves as an independent state in the early eighteenth century”. Oka and Kusimba (2008) argue that many studies on the Siddi community have focused on their military and elite past and their ethnic status as ethnic minorities in India.

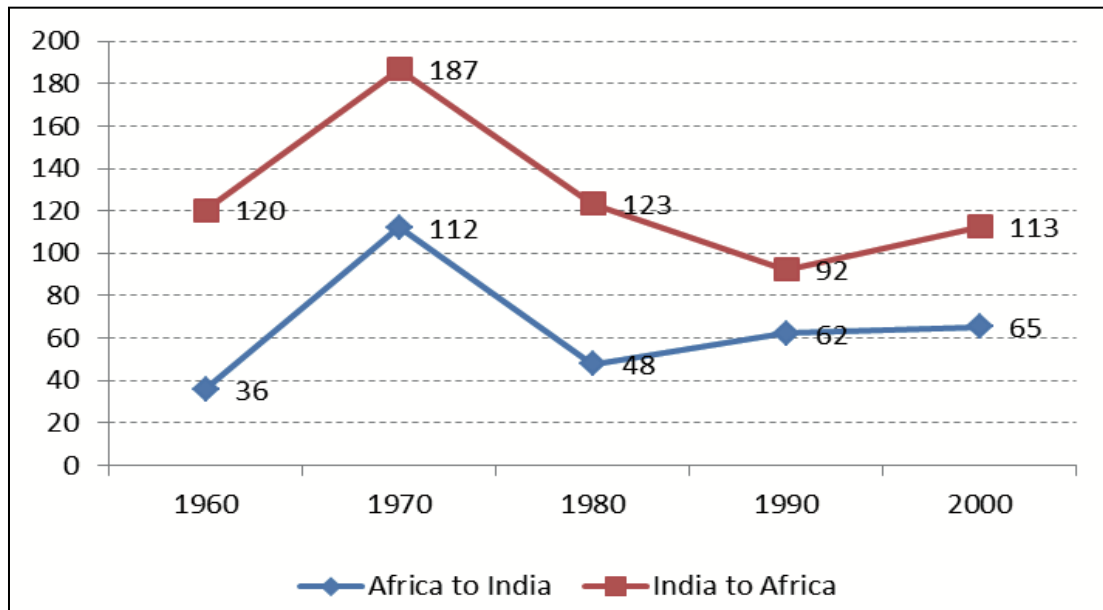
Oka and Kusimba (2008) argue that, “the presence of Africans on the west coast of India predates the Turkish or Afghani invasions of North India seems to be directly related to Indian Ocean trade”. The Diasporas of India and Africa suggest that cultural intermixing had been taking place through centuries. Historical scholarship demonstrates that Indo-African relations are very old and multidimensional. There are examples of the African diaspora in India that migrated in the early centuries. However, in the recent times, the migration from Africa to India is fundamentally different from the early century migrations. For instance, in the case of the Siddi community there is almost a complete assimilation and integration in the Indian society and today they form an ethnic minority of the Indian mainstream society. Therefore, it can be argued that the migration in the early historical periods was different from the migration that is taking place in the global era, after India’s liberalization in 1991. The following section analyses the contemporary form of migration between Africa and India.

Bilateral Migration

The migration between India and Africa is bilateral and it has been growing rapidly since 1980s (WTO/CII 2013). However, the growth of migration is evident from 1990s onwards, which shows an increase due to India’s new Economic Policy. The Figure 2 is highlighting the migration between India and Africa. It shows the flow of migration between 1960-2000. This flow of bilateral migration is significant as it shows the pattern prior to 1991, i.e., India’s adoption of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization model. Moreover Figure 3 shows the pattern of migration between 2006 and 2010 for tourism and business. The figure shows migration from India to Africa, which is high, however, it may be noted that African visitors to India increased from

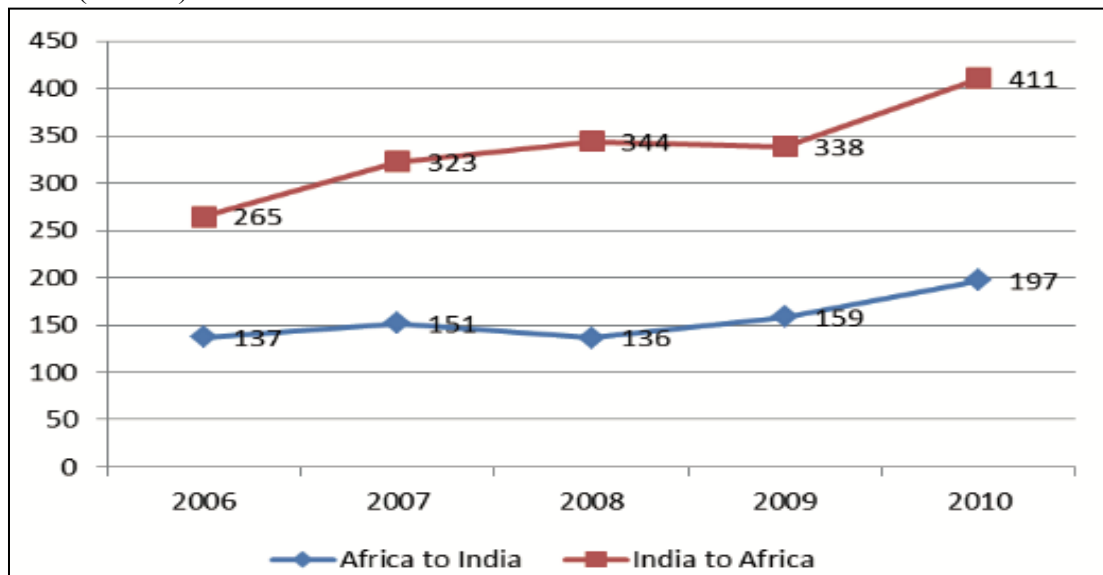
“137,000 to 197,000” growing annually at about 10%. Besides tourists and business visitors, both India and Africa host a sizable migrant population. A large population of Africa is also living in India informally (WTO/CII 2013). The records have been fluid due to influx of population living on informal basis.

Figure: 2 Bilateral migration between India and Africa: 1960-2000 (in '000s)



Source: India-Africa: South-South Trade and Investment for Development, (CII/WTO 2013) page no 48

Figure 3: International Tourists and Business arrivals between India and Africa 2006-2010 (in '000)



Source: India-Africa: South-South Trade and Investment for Development, (CII/WTO 2013) page no 17

In the year 2000, the countries that were on top for migration from India were: Democratic Republic of Congo with 24,192, Mauritius 8,185, Mozambique 6,312, Tanzania 7,151, South Africa 17,047. Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Madagascar were also destinations that received Indian population in high numbers. Further, African migrants who came to India were from the countries Uganda 11,575, Kenya 6,801, South Africa 9,041, Zambia 5,007, Nigeria 6,095. However, “a large population from Africa remains unrecorded due to informal labour related migration flows and foreign employment status or other status of employment, which remains informal” (WTO/CII 2013).

African Clusters in Khirki Extension: A Brief Introduction

As mentioned earlier, a large cluster of African migrants exists in Khirki Extension, which was formed post liberalization. In the 1990s, since Khirki Extension had not gone through the urban changes that today it experiences, the local urban economy was different and could not support migrants coming from different regions. The urban economy was of a different nature and the land use patterns were different. However, with globalization and restructuring, evidently since 2007, a change in the local economy was witnessed. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, the economy of Khirki Extension boomed in this period when the global processes brought visible urban transformations in this area. With the coming of the Malls and particularly Max super specialty hospital, the African migrant population gradually started to migrate to Khirki Extension. The formation of a large African cluster became observable and visible after 2007. There were many factors that gave impetus to African migration to India and particularly to Khirki Extension. The privatization of firms and public-private partnerships between India and Africa gave rise to a new wave of migration. With privatization many sectors expanded their market reach such as the Health sectors and Education sector. Privatization of health facilities such as Max Health facility for instance expanded its outreach for markets till Africa. Many private education firms boomed with the expansion of the market such as NIIT and other private IT based institutes in India. These institutes boomed after privatization as they expanded their reach till Africa. The education and health partnerships provided opportunities for migration of the nationals from different countries of Africa to India for medical and education purposes due to the mushrooming of privatized firms and facilities. Through the narratives of the migrants from different

countries of Africa it was demonstrated that education, medical facility and business opportunities in India were the main reasons for their migration. But other factors emerged, that were political unrest and civil war in native countries. This was a major reason for migration of the migrants from different countries of Africa.

Today, in Khirki Extension, the African migrants are residing in clusters. The migrants come from different countries of Africa such Somalia, Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Congo, Congo DR, Cameroon, Nigeria, South Africa. They live with their friends or with family members. To understand the cluster in more detail, the cluster of African migrants is located within the same area of Khirki Extension. The African cluster shows differences in terms of patterns of culture, language, political beliefs, religious beliefs, food eating habits and lifestyles. The African migrants with similar lifestyle patterns tend to cluster together generally in the form of occupancy of particular buildings in particular lanes. One of the areas in which the African migrants are living in the form of a vast cluster is known as Hauz Rani. There is a noticeable population of Somalians living in this area of Khirki Extension. However, it may be pointed out that the African nationals were also concentrated in other parts of Khirki Extension in particular lanes but due to many cultural clashes the African migrants were made to vacate. This aspect will be analysed in more detail in the next chapter.

Further, it was observed that the African migrants lived on a sharing basis. The migrants narrated that it turned out to be cheaper to live on sharing basis. In the interviews with the African migrants, an important point that emerged was that the migrants preferred to live in the same neighbourhood, streets and locality. Even though the African community is vast and people come from different countries in Africa but they still preferred to live in the same area and locality. Further, an interesting aspect of the African cluster in Khirki Extension was that over time, the African migrant community has settled in Khirki Extension and a mushrooming of African kitchens, restaurants, boutiques, tailor shops, saloons, barbershops, parlours, and grocery shops are visible that cater to the African migrant community. Migrants from Africa generally run these enterprises and the African migrants prefer to go to their African shops. For example, as mentioned, the men and women from the African community have common African barbershops. An interesting observation that emerged was how the African identity constituted within this common African cluster given the diversity of cultures, nationalities, politics, religion, beliefs etc. in Africa. Also, interestingly, there were a lot

of places such as certain African Kitchens, which were generally closed to the Local Indian community, but only catered to the African migrant community. In this context, one could find the presence of a sub-culture, which had common characteristics that brought the African community together on the basis of food, eating, dressing styles, music or for that matter, barbershops.

The African migrant community lived in Khirki Extension with a common identity at a diasporic level, which brought the migrants from different countries of Africa together. However, the experiences of the migrants also varied on the basis of the political contexts of their home countries. As mentioned in the section on methods and fieldwork, the fieldwork for this study consisted of three phases. Although there was a continuation in all the three phases in terms of contacts with respondents but the different phases marked different events during fieldwork. In the first phase, a mapping of the general demographic profile was made in order to understand the socio-political-economic- profiles of the African migrants to understand details of the personal, political, economic contexts from which they have migrated to India and particularly to Khirki Extension. The following section analyses the general contexts of the migrants from different countries of Africa migrating under varied conditions.

Migration from Africa: The Contemporary Perspective

This section outlines the general perspective of the migrants coming from some countries of Africa. Different nationalities live here as mentioned earlier. However, an attempt is made to analyse perspectives of specific countries in Africa. A detailed ethnographic account is taken of the migrants from Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon to highlight the reasons for their migration to India. These specific countries are highlighted in detail as the respondents from these particular countries were interviewed for a longer period of time and in more in detail, over a period of three years. These interviews were in the form of long narratives and Oral Histories/biographies, which were recorded during fieldwork. These were ethnographic accounts gathered through informal discussions and conversations in order to understand intricate details of their lives, their aspirations, their history, their family structures, politics of their respective countries including descriptions of civil war, political instability, discussion about corruption etc. The trust and friendship had to be built over a period of time for the respondents to get comfortable in giving out the details of their personal lives. The respondents were aware that I was pursuing a

study. Over a period of 3 years the respondents became comfortable enough to give personal narratives about their lives. The following are the general perspectives from each of the countries.

The Somalia Refugees Perspective

The following narrative is a descriptive account of a group of Somalian migrants who have been living in Khirki Extension with each other since 2012. They live in Khirki Extension in an informal refugee settlement. These narratives have been collected over the last three years. The following is an account of their lives woven in the form of a general narrative to highlight the conditions and different situations that they encounter while living in India. The outline of the following narrative gives a general perspective of the migrants coming from Somalia living in India.

No, its not hot from where we come (Somalia). It's a beach. It never gets cold or hot! Before I was coming here (to India), I was going to Nairobi, Kenya! I was growing up and my mom was going to send me there. My young sister she was living there. They were shooting people in Somalia. There was fighting going on. So we shifted somewhere else in Somalia where there was no fighting. My relative was there in Nairobi. So my mom and I shifted there. The wife of my uncle said, 'people in India are good', we are going to India, Will you guys give your children?' so we decided to come to India too. I got Visa for India. My uncle said that he would arrange the traveling! My father shifted out from Somalia in 1999 to Dubai. The shooting and fighting started in 2005. My father shifted before that. My aunty talked to my father in Dubai. He sent some money to my aunty. So we came here. I love India! I've seen many places. The thing is here, you have safety. Even in US if you are coming back after 10:30 somebody will shoot you. The thing here is you can travel anywhere. In any other part of the world you can be shot. I was sixteen years old when I first came to India.

The following narrative is a part of a conversation between two friends, which was documented. Interview was conducted with two friends who are like brothers now and have known each other since they migrated to India. The conversation shows the existence of community level networks and relationships.

R-I came to India when I was thirteen.

M-How did you meet your friend?

R-I met him through my friend who was in Mysore studying with me. We met in Bangalore first. I contacted him when I had to come to Delhi. He was living in this area so I also came here. We cannot go back to our country. There is a civil war going on in Somalia. Africa its bad! No one knows about that. In Somalia you cannot work even for yourself, 'cos they will say you have to consult us. You don't know from where they will get your no. 'cos if you work, they will not let you! They will say be careful next time! They get your no. and follow you, and call you *Talkative*¹⁴. They say we know your

¹⁴ On talking to my respondent, I got to know what he really meant by 'talkative'. It is supposed to mean clever, over-smart. An interesting observation while conducting my fieldwork was that there were many words, which translated into another meaning. Literal translation of Somalian words into English denoted

name. They'll say be careful next time. Mean, if you do your best, they don't let you. It's very crazy. That's why I live here. My mother and my 2 sisters are in Nigeria right now. They also use to live in India but now they have left back for Africa and I am still here.

Coming to the second respondent in the conversation,

My mother, brothers and sisters are living here (Khirki Extension) in India. I was eleven when I came to India. Somalia was not cool. We had to shift out of there due to the political situation. The roads are very unsafe there. I first came to Hyderabad to study and my mother, brother and sister were living here in Delhi. I completed my education and came to Delhi. I studied for six years in Hyderabad before I came to Khirki Extension. I am very lucky that I stay here with my family. Everybody is not that lucky. They have broken families; some relatives live here and there. Nobody lives in the same country. I am blessed. I even have a girlfriend. I will marry her. In Somalia we cannot have girlfriends like that. We have to marry otherwise our family starts to talk. They meet and talk amongst each other about the marriage. In India, now it is different. I can bring my girlfriend to my home but mother will say, "she cannot stay at night in my house.

The above conversation reflects how at the diasporic level people meet and build networks to form a community in India, particularly Delhi and Khirki Extension. The Somalian refugees have a big community in India. They build up their networks and relations to form a collective since many do not have their families in India. Only very few Somalians are living in Khirki with members of their family but almost everyone has stories of broken families due to the war and political unrest. Fleeing from the country means everyone does not get the same opportunity to migrate even within the same family.

The Role of Family and Kinship Relations

The role of family and kinship in the lives of the migrants coming from Somalia is very important for the purpose of analysis. The migrants are coming with their families as refugees due to the civil war in Somalia. The migrants come with their parents, sometimes only their mother, or father, sisters and brothers. Due to the civil war respondents explained how some of their family members live in different countries like Kenya and also other parts of the world like US, Middle East etc. Recently, many migrants have started coming to India under the protection of UNHCR. They are settling in different regions of India such as Hyderabad, Pune, Bangalore, Mysore and Chennai.

another meaning while the same word meant something else in English. Many of the Somalians living in Delhi speak in Hindi more comfortably than they speak in English. English is a learnt language. It is not their first language. In fact, my Somalian respondent actually belonged to the region of Somalia, which was colonized by Italy and so many of their family members like grandfathers etc. spoke Italian. Their food eating habits were also Italian, for example, the preparation of spaghetti for their meals.

Many receive their education in the schools at the elementary level. Some of the Somalian migrants live with their families, some with their friends. It so happens that some leave India for various reasons, leaving behind their children in the hope of a better future for them. The Somalian migrants get the refugee status many a times with the help of UNHCR but the government of India does not recognize them formally as refugees and therefore, many migrants have to leave due to this reason also. Sometimes they are confused for being illegal migrants. One of the Somalian Respondents says,

I grew up in Hyderabad, Bangalore, Mysore and I like the food there. I did my schooling from Hyderabad. I like *sooji*. We also eat a lot of *Sooji* in Somalia. We call that *Fufu*. In other places in India you have to eat on time. Everything closes early there. Especially after 10:00 at night there are no places to eat. In Delhi places are open till later at night. I like Delhi for work but not otherwise. I work as an interpreter in Max hospital for the people who come for medical purposes. Many can't speak in English. I speak English and Hindi.

The above perspective is not exhaustive. The situation for the Somalian refugees in India is very complex. They face hardships at multiple levels. They have very limited employment opportunities in India. They are not allowed to do jobs and obviously do not have the same rights as the citizens of India. If they pick up a job then they cannot exceed more than 11,000 Rupees a month. The respondents explain how it is impossible to survive in that much money every month as there are rents etc., which have to be paid. This also becomes a major reason for the growth of informal economy and informal working channels for business, which are regarded as illegal by the govt. of India. This is one of the main reasons why there is always suspicion for the African migrants generally living in India and particularly the Somalian community. A common stereotype is that that they do 'illegal business'. Education in India especially at elementary level for students between the age group of 13-20 is pursued in different regions of India, as school education in Somalia is next to impossible due to the political instability and failure of the state machinery. The impact of the political instability on the youth population has to be analysed in more detail. Due to the predetermined outline and framework of this study, this aspect is not dealt in full detail here. A general perspective and outline of the Somalian refugees is provided to throw light on the major reasons that contribute to the formation of racial clusters. The above discussion highlights the reason for their migration such as Education as the main reason and their migration pattern. Many of the Somalians even come to access health facilities provided by Max hospital.

The lived experiences with reference to the Midnight Raid

While conducting fieldwork, an important event that took place was a Midnight Raid in January of 2014, in which the ex-Delhi Law Minister from Aam Admi Party (AAP) conducted a midnight raid on the African migrants living in Khirki Extension. On January 16th, 2014 without a valid search warrant a midnight raid was conducted in Khirki Extension on the African clusters. This incident gained a lot of criticism as the raid was conducted without a search warrant. In the cold winter of January, migrants from the African community were forced to come out of their homes at midnight for allegedly carrying out illegal activities such as drugs and prostitution¹⁵. Migrants were forced to come out of their homes for checking. Women were forced to give their blood and urine samples in public, which caused great humiliation to the African migrant community. The raid was a result of the complaints filed by the local residents to the ex- Law Minister of Delhi, Mr. Somnath Bharti, about the migrants from Africa particularly the women living in the area. The raid was symbolic of the growing negative perceptions about the African migrants. The raid brought out a clear dislike for the community by the local residents who formed a dominant view about the migrants, in other words a sort of conflict and cultural difference in the urban space. The raid had opened up questions about drugs, prostitution, cannibalism, and other illegal activities, which the local community believed were being carried out late at night by the African migrants. In response to this incident, the Somalian respondent says,

I am staying here in Khirki Extension. We want to move from Khirki because most of my friends moved, most of the Somalians have moved. I also want to move but my sister and mother also live with me. People are not nice. After that Somnath Bharti raid, it hasn't been cool. No foreigner likes it. Even those who live here, live here for family reasons. I don't want to live here, but I have to live here. Because we have family out here and friends you know! Moving and finding another place is not easy but you know slowly a lot of Africans are moving to Chattarpur after the midnight raid in Khirki. Khirki is bad! I want to move out of Khirki Extension because people are not nice. I am living here still because my mother and sisters live here otherwise I would have also moved. People take advantage of us. The auto-driver takes a lot of advantage. They take you here and there. They don't understand the language. I even speak in Hindi but still.

It was observed that the Somalian refugees could speak very good Hindi. It was very fluent and you could not make out a difference from the way it was spoken with a very local touch. In fact, a lot of Somalians who live here now speak in Hindi. It was

¹⁵ The Indian Express, New Delhi, 17 Jan, 2014, 5:13 am "They Held us in Taxi for 3 hrs, took urine samples, said black people break laws"

observed that while talking to shopkeepers at the local grocery store or at household utility shops the Somalian refugees could bargain for prices and could communicate quite smoothly in Hindi. The women who were buying groceries were also speaking very fluently. Children walking with their mothers in the market area had also picked up Hindi. This was an observation, which was made on the community from Somalia.

Related to the Medical Services, there were some of the migrants who were working as Interpreters in Saket Max Hospital. They were acting as Interpreters for those who were coming to India seeking medical facilities from Somalia etc. In the field, what emerged was that in the case of Somalia, the push factor for migration that operated was the political unrest and instability of government in Somalia. The Civil War like situation in Somalia was drawing migrants out of Somalia in heavy numbers. Many of the Somalians living in Delhi got jobs in UNHRC on projects related to community development programmes. Working as Interpreters was a part of the many UNHRC jobs offered to the Refugee community. Somalians working as Interpreter was a common job preference but not all could get these jobs. Many people come here for Medical reasons so many of the migrants worked as translators in Max Hospital. Medical facility and Education acted as major pull factors for the migrants. Another interesting observation made was that respondent who was interviewed previously had the latest I-phone.

M- "Oh' wow, you have the latest I-phone!

H- Yes, I love it. I love my new I- phone.

It was interesting to observe that the Somalian refugees were living in the African cluster and in this cluster there was a range of income groups, ranging from those whose economic situation was better than others. This was observed during an interaction at an African Kitchen. There were migrants who appeared to be better off than others based on their lifestyle and consumption patterns. The one respondent using I-phone came from a family in which most members were living together, as opposed to the case of migrants who had no family in India and particularly in Khirki. Some of the migrants were better dressed than the others. However, it was observed that all made an effort to wear fashionable clothes and shoes etc. This observation was also made at the African kitchen, which is discussed in detail in the following chapter. As mentioned earlier the community of Somalian migrants formed an informal network or collective at the diasporic level wherein an effort was made by all to come together, especially during festival time such as Ramadan. On other occasions for instance, if a friend were travelling from other

regions of India such as Hyderabad or Mysore etc. the gang of the Somalians would welcome him. There was a great sense of awareness of the migrants who were spread across the country. Khirki Extension was a popular hub for meetings owing to many African kitchens and informal spaces created by the community for eating- drinking, meeting and interaction. Many migrants were living on a sharing basis with their friends in case of no family.

The next outline provided is of the general perspective given from the lens of the migrants coming from Kenya and living in Khirki.

Kenya migrant's perspective

Many migrants from Kenya who came to India migrated for education or health purposes. They migrated for better educational opportunities in India. They said that after gaining educational qualification from India through pursuing Higher Education degrees in courses such as Media studies, Journalism, Political Science, International Relations, there were a wide variety of high paying jobs that could be attained in Kenya. Jobs at the Embassy, Diplomatic jobs at Foreign Affair offices invited positions for students who had studied abroad and had gained specialized degrees. The experience of living in a different country helped to gain better jobs in the home countries. For instance, a Respondent from Kenya who is pursuing his studies on Media and Democracy in Delhi said that, it was cheaper to study in India than Kenya. Apart from that, getting high profile bureaucratic jobs was easier if you studied abroad.

He says,

In Kenya I would pay 1.5 lakh per year for the same kind of degree. In India my fees is 90,000 rupees. So, for me it is cheaper to study in India. I also come from a very poor family. In Kenya there is egoism. They don't teach the course. I could not afford to study in Kenya.

In addition, he said that having a degree from India additionally was more useful as getting a high profile job that pays well requires foreign exposure. Diplomatic jobs are possible and easier to get if you study from India. He was hopeful that he could work in the Embassy of Kenya. He said that in Kenya, for these Diplomatic jobs, like Foreign Affairs, one did not need to clear Civil Service Exams as in the case of India. In India such jobs were available only on clearing Civil Services and IAS or IFS level exams. Being a Student Representative of the African Students Association, trips and visits were

often made to the Embassy of Kenya. As a Student Leader he represented the interests of the African students. He is also involved in helping students of Kenya to land into India safely, helping them to find accommodation and helping them with other arrangements such as permits, registration etc. He says,

I should finish quickly, after doing my Ph.D there are many jobs I can get at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ambassador told me I should finish quickly. Because, there are not so many books on media and democracy I am stuck in my work. If there are more books I can finish my Ph.D so soon and go back to my country. In my Ph.D I am working on East African countries. In East Africa you can travel anywhere like Kenya (my country), Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, Burundi. Somalia is dangerous. Kenya is taking refugees from Somalia for almost 20 years. We help them. Kenya has the largest refugee community. Half a million refugees live here. Kenya is a dominant country in Africa. I have friends who are Sudanese students and if they ever have any problems and have to go to police, they will leave a Kenyan to speak. For them they cant defend themselves. We have been doing that. Kenya is an important country, if any flight from Uganda or Tanzania has to go anywhere; it has to go via Nairobi. So, I represent students from East Africa especially to voice out their concerns in India. I am also open to the option of coming back to India as a Diplomat in the Embassy of Kenya. This June (2016) it'll be my third year of Ph.D. My visa is till 2018. If my Ambassador gives me a reference or someone from the High Commission gives me a reference then I can get a job. Here in India, to get into Services you have exam but in Kenya No, a good reference can get you the job. If I get a job in Kenya I will take it. In Kenya there are good jobs and salary. The president of Kenya gets 20 lakhs per month and entertainment allowance is 2 lakh. The vice president gets 18 lakhs per month. And 400 members of parliament get 8 lakh each per month and 47 governors get 8 lakh and Assistant professors get 70,000 when you start.

The respondent was very motivated to complete his Ph.D and said that the Ambassador of Kenya thought of him as a good candidate for a bureaucratic job and was willing to give him a recommendation, which would get him a high profile job in Kenya. Being a student representative he was already doing administrative work informally, which showed that he had the ability to take on bureaucratic services. He was also very keen to get into Foreign Services.

On the question of whether it was easy to get a Student Visa from Africa to India, he said,

Ya, it is easy, not so difficult but you have to be so smart and sharp and know all the procedures. Because when I went there for the Ph.D visa they were giving me duration of 3 three years I said 5 years. They said, "You get 2 years of visa and you can extend in India." I said no! I told them if you give me 2 years of visa then the FRO will disturb me. I want to do my Ph.D in peace. You give me 3 years and above otherwise I'll not go. So you cannot talk like that in an Embassy, but I am knowing how to manoeuvre because I have that confidence. You have to know the system. You have to know the rules. They told me it's a standard procedure but I told them I want to do my Ph.D don't squeeze me in 2 years, give me 3 years and above. Then they told me you have to get it mentioned

from the university that the degree is 3 years to 5 years. Bring that letter and come next week. I told them ok, I can go and get it today. They said ok, you can come. I walked out of the Embassy, I made a phone call to my former room-mate. I told them you go to Foreign Affairs and find students cell and they sent it by mail. I took the print out and went back. They gave me visa for 5 years not 3 years. I told them if you want to give, give me 4 not 3, they give me 5. You come to the place in India do registration in Foreign office. You have to do it every year in (FRO) Foreign Registration Office of every police, Wherever you go, you have residential permit, everywhere you go you have to give the letter of permission of residence to the commissioner, everybody must have a registration permit in India, you have to register your house address. All these are procedures we follow. You have to report every 6 months to police. They'll say, oh' you're still around? Go' Sometimes they say go and bring another visa so they make the students run, but students cannot do much so they say ok, they take money, 3000 Rupees- 40000 rupees to leave you from getting another visa, but I know they system, I fight the system.

But according to the Respondent, getting jobs in Kenya is also very competitive. He says that the students who are studying in Kenya in Government Institutions or Private Institutions do not get jobs so easily. The educational institutions do not teach relevant things according to him. The students who get diplomas do not get employment. The children of rich parents, who are working in the Government like the Ministers, go abroad to study. That is why the standard of education is so bad in Kenya.

He says,

Some are Government, some are Private Universities, but what are they teaching? Theory! The Educational Institutions are making business because some govt. officials are making money. The students who go to government institutions are children of parents who cannot get degree, they get diploma, because they cannot pay fees! But for me, even if it is a diploma that can teach you how to make this chair! How can you study more than the degree? I've seen those who are from Technical colleges in Kenya, why they are not getting any jobs? They hire engineers from abroad to build our roads and railways, not our own people, because they are not getting good education. Now we are finished!

Further he narrates his personal frustration for how in Kenya, all the Chinese experts and Engineers are coming to do technical work like building roads and railways. They are building the infrastructure and earning a lot of money and profits while the people of Africa are still unemployed. He feels that the same jobs are not given to the local people in Kenya due to lack of proper training. The Chinese are working hard and taking over the market and all the jobs. They are making money and a good life. He feels that this can cause a lot of frustration among the people in Kenya because they are not getting the same jobs. But he also expresses how the students who come from wealthy backgrounds do not work hard. The working class in Kenya is also busy in earning and spending all the money. He says,

There was this Nairobi Super Highway 40 kms long. It has 8 lanes and so many roads, if you see the aerial view of it, it is so beautiful but its only 40 kms, who built it? The Chinese! In these 40 kms I asked the engineering students. And those Kenyan who are studying abroad and coming back, are they working in these projects? No! The Chinese would be there, having security. 'Friday' is 'for -aa-hi-day', get salary, get 3-4 lacs and spend it. I've seen it because I have come out of Kenya, if I was still there, I would have been angry, even I was telling my friend, sometimes you go back home and watch the kids, you can say it's a momentary madness but it is there, it is bitterness. Why this is happening? Why is it that Africans cannot do this? In Kenya, we have only 26 Universities but now you have almost 30 Universities in Kenya, but why, almost 24 universities, why are they not having an impact.

Street life, Street consciousness Theft, and Crimes in Kenya:

The following narrative describes the life in Nairobi, Kenya where the respondent says it was necessary to be street smart and conscious. He describes how due to the presence of theft and crime people are generally alert and more aware on the streets and they learn to fend for themselves.

You know the way we are brought up in Kenya, most of us are brought up to lead cunning lives. They are leading hassled lives. They do not get money from home. Today they have 1000 tomorrow they can have 200. Sometimes they want to get money through wrong means but that is their mentality. Everyone is on their own in Nairobi. If you ask a security officer, shopkeeper, someone selling fruits they will direct you in Africa. You have to be street conscious. Somebody will tell you short cuts but these short cuts lead you to slum areas. If you are carrying I-phones or other expensive things, they wait for you somewhere, and its gone. So you have to know whom you are asking, because the security personnel they'll know, this way, that way, if you go in the slum area then you will be robbed.

K- So nobody hurts you right?

J- If you resist, they hurt you. Because you know if you buy an I- phone two days ago, sometimes you resist. You get it?

K- So they beat you or kill you?

J- they wont kill you. But they are carrying knife or *Getta*. *Getta* is in their long sleeve there is a long wood shaft, so when you are walking they will come from behind you. So usually they know your height. So when you come from behind they will catch you and if you resist they will tighten the grip along the shaft in their sleeve, its painful.

K- Has it happened to you?

J- No my cousin. My cousin was drunk and he was walking in an unsafe area. But in India the areas are not so dangerous. And you cannot talk because of their tight grip on the throat, if you resist then they make it tight.

D- Has anyone died?

J- Nobody has ever died.

K- Ya I would imagine that a lot of people may be getting hurt but not be killed in such instances?

J- But some maybe killed because they resisted. But in South Africa, they will probably shoot you. Because when you see them, or touch them, they will shoot you. In Kenya pick pocketing is normal. So in Kenya when you show your I- phones on the streets you can get robbed. You can get robbed in Nairobi. When you reach home if you were carrying a bag then you'll find a big whole under your bag. The way it happens in Kenya, it's so funny that you cannot even realize it. In Nairobi somebody will read a newspaper sitting next to you in a bus, a paper is for 14 rupees.

D- and they are which papers?

J- The Standard, Daily Vision, So when someone is reading its for 14 rupees right, there could be a thief in the bus travelling just to get money, that is his job.

[Phone call therefore, change in subject]

J- In Kenya they can fraud you and in India they call it marketing. In India they want money from your pocket, they call you to get money, In Kenya nobody will do that.

From the above narrative what emerged were glimpses of the street life in Kenya. The respondent hinted at how it was important to be street smart in Kenya or otherwise you would get robbed on the streets if you were walking carelessly with expensive phones and gadgets. He said that people have to be generally careful. As for Education, he said that studying in Kenya was a more expensive proposition than India so he chose India. He explained how rich kids of Ministers and Businessmen went to study in the US or UK and that is one of the biggest reasons for the low quality of Education in Kenya. No proper investment is made by the government for better schools and colleges that is why the Chinese have to come and build roads and railways in Kenya according to him. He further says,

In India, many people come for Business. It is not easy to get a Business visa but now-a-days there are many private companies who are doing Business. In Kenya there are Indian companies which have tie ups, they do business, so Governor says ok, its Kenya and India, so these are partnerships! You have engineering students in Kenya, they do partnership in India and bring students to come and study in India. These companies have tie-ups between Indian and Kenya for Business. It is not easy to get Business visa but I call India a super power, it's a developed country according to Africans. For me I know I've been here for a few years but for others who are living in Africa, they call it a super power because it's a developed country. Because those who are coming for Business, they cannot come, they have to come and get a hold over a company, they have to get Indian company visa, it's a procedure, but there are brokers who do that, give them company name, in my case I am exporting and shipping tiles to Africa. There were brokers who charge money for arranging company visas. India is developed that way. We have gold but nobody can do mining. We are building the Kenyan railway line for the first time but the companies who are working in Kenya, are Chinese. You know when I see the Delhi Metro and I see in Kenya, the Chinese are making it. It is not like India.

In the following narrative the respondent is describing the general youth of Kenya. He says that very few are serious about their lives, most are wasting their time on drinking and going out, wasting money. Some of them have rich parents who don't care and give their children money to go out, but there are others who do not have rich parents, they are brought up well and taught by their family and society, how to be good. If they did anything wrong then, they would get punishment from family and society. But the new generation according to him is not taught well. Their parents spoil them. He calls this

the insane generation that is spoilt by their family and money. They don't have right values according to him and that is the reason for the failure of the larger society. If there is corruption in society it is because the children of the Ministers inherit wealth and positions. They have money to spoil their children who waste money and time on drinking.

Getting education is important. At 14 in Kenya you are thrown out. You are considered grown up enough. Some will be dependent on their parents but rest you have to get a job. But, those who can afford stay with their parents. Now-a-days women are interested to have babies outside their marriage and there's a group called 'Proud to be Single Mothers'. Social cohesion is breaking, society breaks away because they see they are happy, they have a job, they have a house in Nairobi, they earn 50,000 – 60,000 or 1 lakh. They don't care. But what about the future, the child will ask who is father, where is he? So, they don't see that, they are living for themselves. In Kenya people live like that, I have a house I have a salary, they don't think about tomorrow. People earn money and they spend it. When I went back to Nairobi 2013 I was seeing this group, this generation that was born after 89 is called the insane generation. The ones before 89 are the sane generation, sober generation. This insane generation don't care, no respect, nothing. So they are sitting in the bus you ask them to get up they say no, and us, when we see somebody elder then you, you give them your seat. They were born after the fall in the berlin wall. This is a new generation. They found that their parents can take them to school. In my generation if a neighbor slapped me and I went to my father and said he slapped me, my father will slap me and say you did something wrong that's why he slapped you, you have done something wrong maybe but the insane generation the father run out, "who slapped my son!" Our generation, society can punish you and nobody will question that, the new generation, there is no punishment, they did not face ragging. They do not think about their future. They can go for party. On Friday sometimes at 2:00 p.m. nobody is at office. Furahi means be happy so Friday becomes happy day. It is happiness and then people go clubbing, music party and everything. They will say we are going for work and they are in party. Its not like in India you party till midnight, in Kenya you party till Sunday evening, so there's no restriction. Girls at 18 are not supposed to party they are not allowed to party but now on Sunday there is jam session so now you find girls at 13, 14, 15, 16 drinking, they are getting spoilt so early and they get a chance on Sunday, so they get spoilt and go for party and nobody cares. Sometimes on saturday they bring fake id and come in high heeled shoes and they say, I'm 18.

The following narrative shows how the Chinese are taking over through technology, power and efficiency. They are coming to Kenya and building the roads and the youth of Kenya is busy wasting money and time of their parents. He feels that the government should do something about that. Better schools and quality education might improve the situation. The respondent hopes to bring that change. He wants to work towards changing his society through education. He is therefore, pursuing his education in India, as Kenya is more expensive for good education. He comes from a poor family he says and cannot afford to waste his time. He wants to improve his society so that the youth of Kenya can take over jobs in the country rather than the Chinese.

Kenya is more expensive than India. The families who are born after 1970s are middle class and get option to spoil their children. Like our parents who are born in the 40s they struggle a lot so they cant give you money to go to a club, they'll say you find your money and happiness. The new generation cheat at home. They ask for money for something else and they go for clubbing. For us we don't cheat. We ask for money for something, it's for that and that is why we struggle a lot. Because there was not enough money to go for happiness. If I go to jam session I'll dance but I look around me at what is happening so I watch them when I go to clubs. Somebody should teach them, why are they doing this and the government should do something because they are growing and they cannot lead the country so we have to get people from outside to lead us. Then when we get someone from outside there will be multiculturalism. Other from their culture will come in our country then there will be xenophobic attacks and then they will say foreigners have to go, why should the foreigners go? They are coming to the country, they are working hard and they are getting money and then they feel they are taking everything from us. There are a lot of Indians in Kenya. They came in 1890s with the train (railways construction) until 1927 but I've never boarded a train in Kenya, In kenya trains don't work. Only once in a year it'll come taking animals for show. We have show in agriculture. The biggest cow, the biggest goat, the biggest sheep. All our trains are still using steam. They take them to different cities, about 25 cities. Every month different cities!

The above narrative reflects the importance of Education. The respondent discussed how he is motivated to bring change in his society through education and this is the main reason for his coming to India. He wanted to pursue good quality education and get a job that can help him to achieve his goal. He feels that education was better in India and that is why many opt to come to India for Education. The next perspective also highlights how people migrate for medical purposes from Kenya to India. Education and Medical were the two main reasons that were observed for migration to India. A respondent who was living as an attendant for her mother's treatment in Max hospital said,

I am here for my mother's treatment. I am here with my sister. We both are looking after my mother. She is in Max hospital and I am an attendant. Me and my sister take turns. We are living here since 1 month. We are here for 6 months. I like living here in Khirki as I can find the local spices and groceries, which we get back home. It is easy to go and buy things from the market. We cook and take food for my mother. So far, my experience of living here in Khirki is good. We have come here as the doctors here are very good. The medicines are also available so that full treatment can be done.

The next perspective highlights the Nigerian migrant perspective. It highlights their experiences in India and gives a perspective on why they migrated to India. The reasons for migration as common to other migrants coming from different countries of Africa were education and medical. However, among the Nigerians it was observed, that the inclination towards doing informal business in India was also quite high.

Nigerian Migrants Perspective

The general perspective of Nigerian migrants ranges from respondents who are doing business in India to students who have come for IT degrees. It was observed that many respondents came to India particularly for IT courses. The respondent from Nigeria said, that in Nigeria, degrees from India are considered better especially IT degrees and science degrees. The IT courses in Nigeria are not as good as India. Courses in India are more advanced. But he said that the teaching jobs in Nigeria are better and more paying, better than India. In India the starting salary for teaching in University is 30,000-40,000 Rupees, but in Nigeria it is 70-80,000 Rupees. But there is corruption in Nigeria. The government makes money and does little for people. Many migrants who moved to India were of the same opinion that the government of Nigeria was corrupt.

Further, this general perspective also entails perspective of a respondent who is doing a small business in India. The respondent from Nigeria who is doing Business has an informal enterprise in Khirki Extension. He was working in Lagos earlier before he migrated to India with his family. In Lagos he was working as a salesman for a food and beverages company. He used to earn 26,000 naira that is, about 10,000 rupees a month. He came to India in 2012 because his company had laid him off due to frauds made by the senior management and since then the company had gone into losses. He said that he looked for a job for 2 years in Nigeria before he finally came to India. He could not afford education for his daughters and was not able to afford rent in Lagos. He said that rents there were higher than India. He left from Nigeria hoping for a better life in India. He narrates,

At the New Delhi Airport, I got a cab. It dropped me to the Select City Mall in Saket where my friend, a Nigerian National was waiting for me. He is like my brother. He was waiting for me at KFC. I was very hungry so I was glad to eat a Zinger burger, which I had with Pepsi. I actually did not know what I was doing here. I had never been to India before. I really did not know what I would do but all I wanted was a job. I needed money! I started living with my friend. I did a lot of work at home and one day my friend, my brother, he said, Aghede, you have got talent, you can really wash well, so why don't you open your own laundry business! That made sense to me, so I got myself a washing machine, sold off my mobile phone and got my business cards printed, I started my own business, my own laundry business. I started it here in his house, and then when the business got better, I got a room on rent for 8000 Rupees where I did all the washing and drying. Then I bought another washing machine and doubled my business. My business goes by the name, African Laundry and Dry Cleaning Services, and my tag line is, "Try is once and you will be convinced!"

Another reason for migration to India was for medical reasons. It was believed that Indian doctors were better. Also, migrants said that it was cheaper to come to India for treatment rather than going to America or a western country, which charged three times the money. Although, the treatment in India was also expensive as many of the migrants would also have to take up accommodation for the time of stay in Delhi. Khirki Extension was generally the only option for cheap accommodation. For instance, a respondent from Nigeria has come to India for his father's treatment in Max hospital. He is 35 years old, he said,

I have come to India for Medical Treatment. My father is in Max hospital so I have come to India for him. I am living in Khirki Extension temporarily till his treatment gets over. Dr. N.C. Peters Atchu came to Nigeria for medical treatment of people with his team from India. They came with treatment of Diabetes, Bariatric surgery, Gastro illness check ups and surgeries, Bone problems. They often come to Nigeria to set up medical camps. My father went for a medical check up there. They recommended Max Hospital in Delhi for his treatment. I got the round ticket booked, which cost 50,000 Rupees per head. While I am here I am also meeting my friends who live here to see if there are work opportunities here for me. I want to do business. I am here to meet some people as well who can provide me with ideas about business prospects.

In the Medical and Education factors, one could see that privatization of many firms and facilities; had opened the opportunity to do business. This had further given impetus to migration. Many private institutes now have emerged as booming sectors in India offering avenues and opportunities to African migrants. The private education sector especially has seen a boom. Education has become a major business prospect for many private Indian Educational institutes. The pamphlets and brochures of these universities portray diversity, reflecting the popularity of courses with students in Africa. These brochures, which are like business models shows how students from different countries of Africa are coming to India to study. This image further reflects how India is a welcoming country. For Indian private institutes, Africa is a good market for business and Education. Private educational institutes such as NIIT, Amity University and other private universities, which have started in Noida, are providing avenues to African students. Private health facilities are operating as Multinationals and Corporates in different countries of Africa such as Max, who are doing business partnerships through setting up medical camps in different countries of Africa, which are in private public partnerships. However, one can see that many companies are advertising from a solely business point of view. Such images globally also provide a good image of India, however, one cannot deny in this process that there is a commodification that is taking place. Of course, these

PPP's (Public-Private Partnerships) are allowing opportunities for health and education, Max super specialty hospital emerges as a great example of that, but at the same time, in India many African migrants complained that they faced racial violence, humiliation and abuse.

With the above narrative what also emerges is the nature of the Indian state. With the expansion of trade, which is boosting the economy through trade and with adoption of new economic policies, the state is focused on globalization of the economy rather than focusing on important aspects of culture, especially in the light of cases of racial violence. The state is merely driven by economy and business. This aspect will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. From this point of view, what emerges is the concept and idea of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has many aspects. One aspect of it is in reference with economic policies, which in the context of “deregulation of the economy, Liberalizing the trade and Privatization of state owned enterprises” (Ganti, 2014: 92). Here the most important economic institution is the market, which is linked with competition, efficiency and more importantly, the factor of varied choice which organizes the economic activity more extensively and through variety of choice. The state facilitates the market functioning and through control regulates the demand and supply. The important aspect of neoliberalism is the concept of freedom and choice laid out by state actors and the market to the individual. The main idea behind this plan is that wherever there is “competitive economic activity and private ownership of property and enterprises, there is freedom”. “This meant that the individuals were also understood in the sense of having the right to plan their own lives instead of the centralized planning authority” Ganti, (2014: 92). The market philosophy is that there must be freedom of choice in all spheres of production and consumption. India-Africa South-South partnerships portray a collaboration of a certain nature at multiple levels. There are also over 50,000 scholarships, which are given to students from different countries of Africa by the Indian government through ICSSR. Many students come on scholarships as well, but this can be seen through the larger lens of the India-Africa Partnerships.

The next perspective is from the migrants of Ghana living in India. A general outline is given below.

Ghana migrants Perspectives:

The perspective from Ghana also has a common factor of migration, which is education. Migrants from Ghana are coming to India even to work in Business firms and Corporates, which hire on a short-term basis. Migrants who are looking for experience and exposure are happy to take up the opportunities. They feel that coming to India also gives an opportunity to travel and meet people at a global level. However, the respondents narrated that, cases of racial violence that were erupting, were causing distress and anxiety. Respondent from Ghana says,

I came here to study. I studied in Lovely Professional University in Punjab before I came to Khirki Extension. I am here to stay for a few more months with my friends then I will go back to Ghana. The Indian degrees in Ghana are acceptable. I will go back and find a job. My experience in India in general is both good and bad. I was planning to continue my education here but since the incidents of violence on the Africans have increased in India, I want to go back. More and more people are finding out about these incidents and are discouraged to come here to study.

Another Respondent who is a working professional in TCS says that he like India. HE meets people who are experts from all over the world as the company in which he is currently working, hires professionals from all over the world. He says,

I am working here in TCS and I like India. Actually I have friends from all over the world like from Europe, America. Because my work makes me meet and interact with all experts from around the world. I have bad experiences also but I think that it is because of lack of knowledge and exposure that some Indians behave badly. The people here do not understand that we are all coming from different countries. Of course we are all brothers from different countries because when an incident happens on one African we all feel united and concerned about incidents of violence.

But, I have a lot of Indian friends. I throw parties for them, I cook and call all my friends who are experts from around the world. (See, Showing photo of himself dressed in his traditional dress from Ghana which was colourful and bright) I wear normal clothes in India so that I can mix up. I don't wear my traditional dress as people will not be able to understand it. I only wear it on special occasions. My interaction is with people who are experts. We party, we drink, we have fun on weekends. I like India. I will go back after 8-9 months. I would like to travel to other countries. I would have liked to stay in India longer and maybe do MBA from India because in my job we need MBA and I don't have that degree. I am able to get this job because I have a lot of exposure. I was a part of AISEC, which gave me exposure as a student so I am very good at working with private companies and get hired easily due to my experience. I can get better job if I have MBA. But I don't know. Maybe I'll stay in India and do that, but with the growing violence on Africans I am scared.

In the course of the fieldwork, it was observed that many of African migrants were not willing to talk initially as they felt beleaguered. Having experienced judgement,

suspicion and racial violence they were reserved and not ready and prepared to talk about their experiences. There had been many incidents of racial violence¹⁶. In the first phase of fieldwork, a mapping was done of the migrants from different countries of Africa living in Khirki Extension. In this phase analysis was made of the pattern of migration and the factors of migration. In the next section major factors of their migration such as push and pull factors are analysed in the context of globalization, liberalization and privatization.

Migration of African Nationals in India: The Neo-Liberal Contexts

Ahluwalia (2007) argues that there have been major changes in India's Economic Policies since 1991. This marks a new phase of India's development. He argues that the new policies were reflecting an economic change that other developing countries were also going through such as the erstwhile socialist countries. The new economic policy reduced Government control over many of the aspects of domestic economy. This paved way for the private sector along with the public sector using its scarce resources, to enter into trade and investment with foreign companies. The new investment with private sector initiates revives new investment and increases efficiency. Ahluwalia (2007) argues that the strategies of the Corporates are getting re-oriented for greater efficiency and a more competitive environment. Firms are modernising their existing plants and he says this must be seen as a desirable investment. Companies have channelized labour rationalisation through schemes like voluntary retirement to become ready for the increasingly competitive market. The firms, which are re-organizing themselves through new financial sector reforms, are creating a good market appeal and track record to raise a large volume of capital domestically and internationally to finance further expansion and modernization. Ahluwalia (2007) argues that Investment is getting stimulated by joint ventures and partnerships that are increasing investment in domestic firms through global tie-ups and partners¹⁷. In this research, the focus has been to analyse privatization as an important factor and of private public partnerships, so that the reason for African migration to India can be understood in a certain context. The phenomenon of

¹⁶ The Times of India, July 4, 2014, 09:54 PM IST "Two years after Jalandhar attack, Burundi youth dies".

¹⁷ Montek Singh Ahluwalia, 'India's Economic Reforms', in K.R. Gupta (2007) (ed) "Studies in Indian Economy, Vol. II, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi.

globalization has been analysed to explore how certain economic policies facilitate the flow of goods, capital, technology and people. In this context, migration is being studied.

The following section attempts to outline in detail, the various push and pull factors of migration from Africa to India. From the field it emerged that people from Africa migrated as refugees or for Education, Employment, and Health facility to India. The following is a discussion of the various pull factors of migration. They are as follows.

Education

Through fieldwork it emerged that many of the migrants were students between the age group of 10-30. The age groups especially between 15-30 were independently pursuing their education with or sometimes without the support of their parents. Some of them were students for High school education. Many were 'dependents' on their families and also went to primary school and Middle school in Delhi particularly the ones between the age group of 5-10 years of age. In the particular case of the Somalian refugees, they could access the government schools with their refugee I.D. cards issued to them by UNHCR. The UNHCR gives them protection. In case they are denied or prevented from this access then the UNHCR comes forward to intervene. They give legal advice and protection. Many Somalians who had migrated with their family are under the protection of UNHCR. In addition, there were also respondents who explained how they went to schools in South India such as Karnataka- Mysore, Bangalore, Tamil Nadu-Chennai and Maharashtra-Pune before coming to Delhi. Some of them had migrated with their families and guardians whereas many who were between the age group of 20-30, migrated independently of their families for Higher Education, for courses such as Bachelors degrees in Sciences such as Pharmacy and IT (Information and Technology) degrees, Masters Degree in Politics, Journalism, Philosophy, International Relations and Ph.D degrees in Social Sciences. A large section of the population interviewed was of students from Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda, Congo DR, Ghana, South Africa. The students from Somalia were here on Refugee Status as mentioned above. IT degrees were very popular as they were accepted in all the home countries. The IT degrees were regarded as specialized, which raised the chances for better employment in the respective native countries. Privatization of Education facilitated the access for many migrants. A respondent from Kenya says,

IT degrees from India are well recognized all over Africa, Actually people come to study

and they prefer to go back as they have high paying jobs there, greater than India. The Assistant Professors there get 70,000-80,000 Rupees but in India they get only 30-40,000. So we prefer to go back. Sometimes, you might have to do an additional degree like in the case of law but if you study from India it is well recognized at jobs such as Foreign Relations and Diplomatic relations. We can get jobs as Ambassadors at various Embassies.

Many private Institutes also offered language courses such as Hindi. These institutes were located in Delhi or in the NCR¹⁸ such as Noida and Gurgaon. Education emerged as a major reason for migration. The educational degrees were also accepted in Africa and many migrants narrated that on getting a degree from India such as sciences and IT degrees, getting jobs in different countries of Africa was easier.

Medical

Secondly, those who had come here for Medical Treatment to Max Hospital were living in Khirki Extension. They were living in Khirki as they had to make frequent visits to Max Hospital and given the close proximity, it was easier and more accessible to stay around the Hospital. Many were here with families for treatment of diseases and ailments such as Diabetes, Bariatric surgery, Gastro illness, heart diseases etc. The hospital was right opposite to Khirki Extension, on the same road as the Select City Malls. Max Super Speciality Hospital is a Private Hospital as mentioned earlier which is in partnership with different countries in Africa, which was a major reason for why many of the migrants were coming to India, on a Medical Visa. Migrants from Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Somalia, Cameroon and South Africa were interviewed who were here for medical purposes. What emerged as an interesting observation was the use of the term ‘Medical Tourism’ in the context of medical facility for migration. Even the local community of Khirki Extension explained this phenomenon of migration for health related issues as medical tourism.

Business/Employment

Through the interviews what emerged was that business opportunities brought many migrants from different countries of Africa to India. Particularly, migrants from Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, Congo DR were coming for business. One of the migrants who were from Democratic Republic of Congo was based in Khirki but was travelling in

¹⁸ New Capital Region which includes regions of Gurgaon and Noida

different parts of India for her business. She was married to a Gujarati man and they had a baby girl. They both were also business partners and travelled for business from Africa to India and vice versa. He was based in Gujarat for most of the year. She was exporting hair wigs from India. Their Business was both in Retail and Exports from India to Africa and Europe. She could speak Gujarati very fluently.

Further, some of the respondents were also doing informal business in India, particularly in Khirki Extension. Some had small enterprises such as Salons, Parlours for Hairstyling and hair weaving. The Saloon was set in small one room rented apartments. Some of the migrants also had small informal enterprises of Fashion clothing Shops in the Khirki Extension. Laundry services were also seen as informal business start ups. Grocery Shops were also informal enterprises where products and goods from Africa were available for the African migrant community living in Delhi. African Kitchens also provided a working opportunity. These were different business opportunities that the migrants from Africa had created for themselves. A Respondent from Nigeria says,

India is comparatively a better country to live in and I even plan to settle here. I am here because the people are good. My dream is to open a school here and develop my business in the education sector. People here cooperate and understand things. I like India. It is a great country to stay.

Supporting each other's business prospects such as African shops was observed as a part of 'community feeling'. The African shops were supplying to the wider needs of the African migrant community living in Delhi. For instance a saloon, which is operated by a Nigerian migrant living in Khirki Extension, is visited by all the migrants from different countries of Africa. It was interesting to observe that the migrants went to this particular saloon, as they believed that only he could cut the hair properly. Another example of the African beauty parlour showed that women migrants from Africa also had particular needs in hair weaving patterns, which were provided by a migrant from Nigeria. The hair weaving was done by the same Nigerian lady for all the different countries. Apart from that, informal business enterprises were also given a boost by the community due to various reasons. In the case of refugees from Somalia for example, they were not allowed to do business and at the same time they were not allowed to work for more than 11,000 rupees a month as they were here on a refugee status. But, while living in India many of the Somalians were working as interpreters in Max hospital. This was a job that many of the boys were doing to earn some money.

Another employment opportunity was also in the IT sector, which was available for many of the migrants from Africa. There were many professionals who were working in Gurgaon¹⁹ in various IT companies and firms.

Marriage:

There were not too many cases of Migration for marriage purposes but interestingly it also played a very important role. Many of the respondents shared how they were interested in settling down permanently in India and were open to the idea of marriage with Indian girls but this was only in few rare instances. This was not very common, but what were more important here were the attitudes of the Indian parents. In many of the cases during fieldwork it was observed that the parents of the Indian girls were not in agreement to the marriage. For instance, in the following case a boy from Kenya was interested in a Gujarati girl from India. They had met in the University. They had been dating for 2 years.

My friend, actually I proposed to her for marriage. I told her that I'll be your husband. Even she wanted to marry me, we use to joke. She use to say "I'll come to Kenya", I said who'll take you to Kenya? She use to say, "I will"! Then we use to make this joke. For 2 years we were dating. Then she told me one day her parents are arranging her marriage, I said no problem! Then I went to her marriage. This girl was telling her husband, he wants to take me to Kenya. I was telling her husband that now you have taken her away from me. And then I was giving them the normal friendship blessings of how they should live in life, so like that I can be a friend to them and they can be happy.

The respondent mentioned that he wanted to marry her but her parents did not agree and decided to marry their daughter to an Indian boy in an arranged set-up. Another respondent, who is Nigerian, is married to a Russian woman. They are both settled in India. They were living in Khirki Extension, at the time of the interview, which was post-the midnight raid in January 2014. He was very angry after the raid and felt that people in Khirki Extension had turned antagonistic towards the African Migrants and so he was planning to shift to Chattarpur with his family. He is currently living with his wife and baby girl in Chattarpur. He prefers living in India rather than Nigeria. He said that in India when a racist attack happens, at least we can have a protest and resistance, but in Africa, Nigeria, it is not possible. The government there is very corrupt according to him. Even though there is democracy there but the politicians are making money. He did not

¹⁹ Gurgaon is a famous IT hub for companies and professionals working in Corporate firms and International organizations. It comes in the Delhi NCR area.

want to go back to Nigeria. His country had many problems due to which he did not want to go back. According to him, the government was corrupt and the people in power made money. They sent their children abroad to study and transferred all the wealth of the country into their own personal accounts. He preferred to stay in Delhi. There are many problems in Delhi as well but this was a much better place to stay according to him.

Another major reason for living in Delhi, Khirki Extension was that he was married to a Russian girl. He said that living in any other part of the world would be very expensive. Living in India was a good economic option for him as he was pursuing a successful career in acting. He narrated that in Nigeria, Indian movies were very popular and that is how he got fascinated by Hindi films and acting. Once in a week, the cable TV in Nigeria telecasts Hindi movies with subtitles. The people in Nigeria fondly and very keenly wait for that day in the week when they can watch a Bollywood film. He came to India especially to become an actor. As an actor he had played short roles in many famous Bollywood movies. He said that he had worked with Amir Khan. The name of the film in which he acted was Dangal. He played the role of the Nigerian wrestling coach. His movie was about to release and he was very excited about that. He said that he was quite satisfied in Delhi as there was a general acceptance of his choice in marriage even though he felt that he experienced racial discrimination unlike his wife who was Russian but they both felt that India was a great place to stay. However, he said that in India people were racist. He was very vocal about his views and gave many interviews on TV against racism in India.

Another interesting illustration of marriage that emerged was also of a respondent from Nigeria whose wife is Mizo. They met through chat sessions on Yahoo messenger. They both started chatting across two continents and became closer through the media of Yahoo messenger. They got married in India, in 2009 when he flew down to get married to her. He is very happy to be married to an Indian girl he said. Today he runs an African restaurant and lives in India through an X entry visa, which you get when you marry an Indian citizen. His visa can be extended on a yearly basis for five years. They have children, a boy and a baby girl. He said that he wants to take his wife to Nigeria but till now, they have never been to Nigeria as a family. Their business is doing well in India, which is an African restaurant. It has been serving Nigerian food since 2010. The respondent narrated that for business purposes, a migrant from Africa could not buy property in India unless it's a big firm or a multinational company. Small informal

business entrepreneurs could not buy property and could only do business with an Indian partner who could buy property in their name. This is also another reason why many of the business enterprises in India are informal.

The section analysed the major factors of migration. While mentioning the pull factors it is also important to note that the push factors were political instability, corruption, civil war. In many cases, the migrants had to flee from the situation of war in their home countries such as Somalia.

Conclusion:

This chapter show how with the adoption of the New Economic Policy since 1991²⁰ India expanded its markets for trading through various initiatives. It adopted new economic principles and strategies such as liberalization, privatization and globalization, which accentuated growth and investment in the private sector. Privatization, liberalization and globalization ushered fundamental changes in the Indian economy. With privatization, many sectors expanded their market reach such as sectors of Health and Education till Africa. Privatization of health facilities such as Max Health facility for instance expanded their outreach for its market till many countries of Africa. Many private education firms boomed with the expansion of their market such as NIIT and other private IT based institutes in India. These provided opportunities for the migration of the African migrants to come to India for medical and education purposes due to the mushrooming of privatized firms and facilities. Through the narratives of the migrants from different countries of Africa it was demonstrated that education, medical facility and business opportunities (imports and exports) in India were the main reasons for migration.

This chapter attempted to link globalization, privatization and liberalization with migration of people from Africa to India. It outlined the major push and pull factors for the migrants from Africa migrating into India. This chapter discussed the role of the state and the private sector in facilitating the migration process. An outline was made of the different kinds of opportunities available for the migrants from Africa. An outline of the living patterns through the general perspectives of migrants from different countries of Africa was highlighted. An attempt was made to show their experiences of living in India, particularly Khirki Extension and also very importantly the political, economic and social

²⁰ Singh, Pratap Hemant; New Economic Policy (NEP) 1991- Objectives, Features, Impacts; In Jagran Josh, Nov 24, 2015

contexts of their own countries of origin. This chapter outlined the aspirations and personal situations in which they migrated from Africa to India. Further, on the basis of a brief discussion, an analysis is made of the formation of identities at the diasporic level, taking place through the idea of common African kitchens, barbershops, boutiques, saloons in Khirki Extension. How does the sense of community emerge within the African diaspora and a collectivity get formed?

Further, while conducting fieldwork, an important event that took place in Khirki Extension was a Midnight Raid in January of 2014, in which the ex-Delhi Law Minister from Aam Admi Party (AAP) conducted a midnight raid on the African migrants. This incident gained a lot of attention and criticism. It was alleged that the African migrants were carrying out illegal activities such as drugs and prostitution. Migrants were forced to come out of their homes for checking in the midnight. This raid was a result of the complaints filed by the local residents to the ex- Law Minister of Delhi, Mr. Somnath Bharti, about the migrants from Africa. The raid was symbolic of the growing negative perceptions about the African migrants. The raid brought out a clear dislike for the community by the local residents who formed a dominant view about the migrants, in other words, a cultural conflict and difference in the urban space. The raid had opened up questions about drugs, prostitution, cannibalism, and other illegal activities, which the local community believed were being carried out late at night by the African migrants.

CHAPTER - 4

RACIAL PROFILING, CULTURAL DIFFERENCES & OTHERING: THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF THE MIGRANTS FROM AFRICA

Introduction:

In this chapter an interrelation is drawn between the formation of racial clusters, racial profiling and the process of Othering. Welch (2007) argues that racial profiling takes place on the basis of black African identity treated as criminal. As mentioned in the previous chapters, in Khirki Extension racial clusters formed due to the complex processes of globalization and urbanization, which gave impetus to migration of people from different countries of Africa to India. Khirki Extension became the hub for housing for various reasons such as transformation of the local political economy of Khirki Extension itself from agricultural land to rental economy in which housing became the key commodity. The landlords of Khirki Extension started to give out unauthorized housing on rent to the African migrants. Thus, it could be said that the migrants from Africa contributed to the boom in the local economy of Khirki Extension through payments of higher rent compared to the local migrant population, which was one the main reasons why the landlords gave their houses to the African migrants in the first place.

From the perspective of the African migrants, this area had good connectivity to other parts of the city and had the Malls and Max hospital in close proximity. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Max hospital was a major reason for many African migrants to come to Khirki. These were some of the major reasons why the African population started to live in Khirki Extension in clusters. However, this migration of the African population and clustering in specific areas of Khirki Extension were becoming a reason for many cultural conflicts and differences in this urban space. This chapter outlines the cultural differences and conflicts, which gave rise to Othering. During the course of the fieldwork many issues came to light about Racial Profiling, Othering, discrimination, violence, humiliation and abuse faced by the migrant community from Africa living in Khirki Extension. These themes will be addressed in this chapter. Further, an attempt is made to analyse the dominant ideas, views and stereotypes about the migrants from Africa through narratives of the local people living in the same neighbourhood. Further, this chapter analyses the narratives of the African migrants who

felt that despite making efforts to assimilate within the larger population they were treated badly. In this regard, their response to the midnight raid is brought out through the narratives. The migrants felt discriminated by not only the local people, but also by the actors of the state such as the Law Minister of Delhi and the Police. This chapter outlines the narratives of the many incidents of violence, Racial Profiling and Othering in detail as experienced by the migrants from Africa.

Racial profiling and discrimination: An Outline of the Lived Experience

This section explores how racial profiling started to take place in Khirki Extension. With the formation of racial clusters in Khirki Extension, the local community developed resentment for the African migrants based on their lifestyle. This section shows through fieldwork how African migrants were disliked and how they gained a negative image based on local community reactions towards their lifestyle and culture. This led to a raid on the African community. Further, this section shows how due to these reasons, racial profiling started to take place not only inside Khirki Extension but also outside Khirki Extension in the neighbouring areas. This could be seen through the adoption of exclusionary practices, by the local community associations, such as Resident Welfare Associations (RWAs) that decided not give African migrants housing in their localities. The resentment of the local community and cultural clashes in Khirki Extension are outlined in this section.

The Midnight Raid on The African Community and its impact:

As mentioned earlier, the midnight raid was an outcome of the anger and resentment of the local community towards the African migrants. A local respondent, 46 years of age, living in Khirki Extension with her husband since the last eight years says,

“Forget drugs. In these tiny lanes, from late at night to early in the morning, they (members of the African community), get drunk, talk loudly and after they are done barbecuing on the bonfire, litter the whole area,”

The local residents felt that the African community does party, music and drugs all night. During fieldwork many local residents had the same response that is, they listen to loud music, consume drugs and trade drugs. They also felt that they cant live in peace with each other; one opinion that reflected such a view was,

“..forget about the other local residents here, they don’t care for their own!”

That was the local perception, that they fight with each other at night and make noise. For the local Indian community what emerged was that, there was no way of perceiving every African National differently; the local community felt that they were all the same, irrespective of the different countries they came from. The local sensibility did not see internal differences that for instance, the Nigerians may have with those coming from other countries of Africa. Those conflicts, which took place between the migrants from Africa, were perceived as fights with “their own” people! For example, a Nigerian national may have a fight with a Kenyan national and if a fight broke out local perception was that Africans fight with each other. They cant even live in peace even with each other!

After a fight between two African tenants in the middle of the night, one of the local residents along with other two local residents in her lane, including 57- year-old woman from UP living in the neighbourhood and a 55-year-old woman from Haryana, decided to approach the police. But they felt that irrespective of the several complaints they filed to the local police station, their issues had been ignored. For this group of local residents, the ex-Law Minister, Mr. Somanath Bharti’s attempt to crackdown the drug and prostitution trade was to be highly appreciated. For them Somnath Bharti was a true Hero. Another Local resident says,

“The police are quick to pounce on wrongdoing of the Indian community but they take no notice of the drug racket being run by the Africans in Khirki.”

A 32 year old resident, running a stationary shop near the place where the midnight raid took place, said that he was very happy that the raid had taken place on the African migrants. He applauded Somnath Bharti efforts for raiding the place. But he was highly unsatisfied with the police, as it was not taking strict action even after many complaints were registered against the ‘Africans’.

Impact of the Midnight Raid:

A close and detailed observation was made of the incident of the Midnight Raid in Khirki in order to engage deeply with the question of the rational behind a midnight raid? What did this midnight raid imply? What was the impact of this raid on the everyday lives of the migrants from Africa? One of the impacts of the midnight raid was that the African community felt targeted and disliked. Their general opinion was that they were not being treated well in India and they were expecting India to be a more friendly country. In fact,

they said that they were living in Khirki Extension under extremely tough conditions, as the local community did not like them and targeted them every now and then. Particularly, for this reason, many of the African migrants wanted to move out of Khirki Extension after the midnight raid. But it also emerged through their conversations and narratives that finding housing in other areas of Delhi was equally tough. In this context, a conversation with two migrants from Somalia living in Khirki Extension revealed,

H- Khirki is getting bad.

K- Bad means?

H's Friend- I'm moving to US.

K- But why?

H's Friend- Ya! for long time I will be in US. There's nothing to do in India and you cant go to Somalia. I cant go back to my country.

Through this entire conversation it was observed was that the African migrants, were living in Khirki Extension under pressure. They did not feel liked by the local community. The local community on the other hand, had collectively come to a conclusion that the African migrants were involved in drug rackets and illegal activities. The local community felt that the African migrants were not able to understand that the culture in India was orthodox and they should follow the cultural norms. They held that the African community should know Indian culture and behave according to the local rules. One of the local residents said,

The Africans! They just don't know how to dress. They dress so indecently, and have you seen their women? Have you seen how they dress? They should know the local norms of dressing at least, and should dress with some form of decency! The women wear revealing clothes and then complain about our men.

Through the course of fieldwork it was observed that after the midnight raid had taken place in January 2014, two situations occurred in Khirki Extension, *firstly* the clashes and growing conflicts in this urban space started growing even more. The local residents felt a legitimate power over the migrants from Africa after the raid, and to blame all the African migrants of drugs and prostitution. Although Somnath Bharti was criticized, by the public intellectuals, the media and students groups from universities where the African students were studying, but in the local sphere, these cultural clashes did not stop. Othering of the community started to manifest and take place in Khirki Extension. *Secondly*, the African migrant community felt that they were not liked by the local Indian community and an impact of the midnight raid could be seen on them such that, they felt discriminated and humiliated. The migrant community came together in

unity against the racial discrimination against them. They felt the need to take action against this discrimination. Many informal groups were formed by the African community, such as African Associations, even in Khirki Extension to take collective action against the growing racial violence and discrimination. The African associations were formed to deal with this racial discrimination and humiliation. Therefore, two cultural forces could be seen to be emerging in the urban space of Khirki Extension.

Through conversations and in-depth interviews another point that emerged was that the migrants from different countries of Africa did not find housing easily in other parts of the city of Delhi. Khirki Extension as an area gave housing to the migrants, but it was unauthorized housing and in this regard, that the African migrants in fact, contributed to the growth in the local economy of this urban space with higher rents and in turn, contributed to the processes of urbanization. It was observed that the migrants from Africa were paying double the rents for the same houses than the local migrants from different states of India. For the same house a migrant from Africa was paying much higher. This is one of the reasons why landlords and property agents preferred to give houses to the African migrants. But the local residents who were living in Khirki Extension had a problem with the African community. The African migrants were getting housing in Khirki Extension and it emerged through interviews that it was not completely out of choice that the African migrants were staying here, it was also because in other parts of the city housing was not available. Many gated communities in south Delhi had collectively decided not to give houses to the African migrants. Khirki Extension being an area that had remained undeveloped prior to this migration process got a boom in its local economy from the African population who were taking housing on rent on double the prices. However, the growing resentment towards the African migrants by the local community was very clear.

The midnight raid was symbolic of that growing resentment. The local community had put pressure on the ex- Delhi Law Minister and managed to get a raid conducted on the migrants as mentioned earlier. It was a lot of community pressure that made this event take place as the locals felt that the police was not doing enough to clamp down the African migrants. It was during this phase of fieldwork that it was observed that the nature of the city in general, and particular housing localities was so exclusionary, that finding housing and accommodation was so difficult for the African migrants. The migrants from the African community were not able to get housing in gated communities

in other urban housing areas. The following section shows the process of Racial Profiling wherein migrants from the African community particularly were not able to find housing in other parts of the city owing to the fact that preconceived notions existed about them and they were judged with suspicion of drugs and prostitution. This is the how a certain kind of racial profiling was done and the role of RWA²¹ was observed in facilitating this process of Racial Profiling. The RWA's made collective decisions not to give housing to the African community as a whole.

RWA and Racial Profiling:

This section shows how migrants from the African community were not able to find housing easily in other parts of the city. Welch (2007) shows how stereotyping of Blacks takes place as criminals. As mentioned above, Khirki Extension itself was undeveloped and unregulated prior to the migration of the African community. Therefore, to find housing *firstly*, the migrants had to pay double the prices for housing. This was the reason they found housing in Khirki Extension in the first place. Since Khirki Extension was unregulated and the prices were low, the landlords made more money by giving their houses on rent to the African migrants. *Secondly*, through the in-depth conversations the migrants from Africa narrated how they were not able to access housing in other colonies of Delhi. It was only in Khirki that housing options were available for the African migrants.

A Respondent from Congo DR who was searching for housing in other urban areas of Delhi says,

We do not get housing easily in the city. It is very tough to find a house. The people are very racist. You tell me, why are Indians so racist? They do not give housing to the African community. Many RWA have taken a decision to not allow any Africans in their locality. We only get housing in particular areas. In South Delhi we get housing only in Khirki Extension and now lately in Chattapur. After the midnight raid many of us are looking for housing outside this area, b'cos people are very bad! They shout at us, spit at us and abuse us. We are treated very badly in Khirki Extension after the raid. The African community is slowly shifting to Chattarpur where a few property agents are offering us housing. We do not get housing easily in other areas of Delhi. There are only a few property agents who help us, and they charge us a lot to find houses. Usually they send us all in the same area as no other gated community would take us in their area.

²¹ Resident Welfare Associations, are associations made to look after the interests of the residents of a gated colony.

The above narrative shows how the housing market operates as a nexus. The property dealers and the housing agents guide the African migrants to those areas only where housing would be available for them. In most areas of Delhi housing was not available and the property agents operated in a nexus in this way. They would have the information on exactly where to go for housing. They had the knowledge of all the houses that were up for rent. So, the migrants had to go to them. In fact, the African migrants said that the property agents also charged them double like the landlords. In the field a complete nexus was observed between landowners and property dealers and agents. Therefore, an observation was made of the property agents who were subletting the houses to the African migrants on behalf of the landlords. It was observed that the migrants had fixed numbers and contacts of property agents. If a friend was looking for accommodation the migrants helped them through the same network of property dealers. It was clear that there was a network that had formed between property agents, landlords and the African migrants. The property agents would inform the landlords and between the landlords and the property agents also there were understandings of how much rent to quote and scope for bargain. Mostly, it was seen that the African migrants did not have much of a bargaining power.

In some of the elite gated colonies and enclaves, RWA's had taken a strong decision to not give houses to the African migrants. Since the RWA's had taken a collective decision therefore, individual owners and landlords who were interested in making money and business were also strictly stopped by the RWA's. The RWA would give a warning to those who were giving their houses. One of the members of RWA of a rich (high income) locality said,

We give a strict warning to those who are giving their houses to Africans. We tell them directly that, "Are you going to take responsibility for them? If something happens in this locality with them then we will come to you and blame you. If you are ready to take full responsibility for them, then you can keep them!"

These were the instructions that were given to house owners in these gated colonies. The role of the RWA becomes clear from the above illustration. The RWA's play a significant role in making decisions on behalf of all the members of a particular colony. Some of the RWA's give very clear warnings and instructions to the property owners and property agents. This is how the local politics and local nexus between property agents are formed and how they get to know which are the places to get housing.

This is the reason why the African migrants become dependent on the property agents and dealers. They have to go to these property dealers for housing options.

Urban neighbourhoods were governed by dominant ideas and stereotypes about the Africans. The 'African' identity was associated with drugs, prostitution and cannibalism. This is the reason why they were treated with prejudice and bias. There were stereotypes about how they eat human flesh and that is why you should not give them your house, or that they will be involved in drugs and prostitution will happen in the houses, which were being given on rent. These were the stereotypes by which dominant ideas and stereotypes were spread. Many times Africans were also only assumed to be Nigerians. In the local community Nigerians were targeted and had the reputation of drug dealers. This was again an interesting observation. All the migrants were either addressed as Nigerian, or African. African had become an identity in itself and so had the Nigerian become an identity that was linked with drugs. This is how Othering was observed and Racial Profiling in this urban space took place.

Through the above discussion and outline it was shown how the African migrants were not able to access housing easily in Delhi. There was Racial Profiling in other localities of Delhi by which 'Africans' in particular were not given houses. In Khirki Extension, housing was available but the African migrants had to pay extra. While living in Khirki Extension the migrants had to face people's anger and humiliation. The next section shows how this anger was directed at them and why were they subjected to this.

Racial Profiling in their Local Neighbourhoods

As mentioned above, there were many stereotypes that had emerged about the migrants from different countries of Africa. A common stereotype was that, they eat human flesh. Such stereotypes generated negative images about the migrant community and became a reason for discrimination. There was a strong association of black colour with dirty, evil, illegal, etc. these stereotypes became the reason for 'Othering' the community. Because of racial profiling the local residents who were already living in these localities were highly vocal about their opinions. They believed that the crime rate had increased and many illegal activities were increasing in the locality. They were voicing opinions like how their children were growing up in bad company and influence, therefore, parents were keeping their children away from the African community, and hence, one witnessed a midnight raid, which the locals believed was a great move. As mentioned in the earlier

section, it was the local pressure that had made the midnight raid take place. It was the locals who directed the Law Minister to specific houses and buildings in which they wanted the raid to take place. The growing perception about the African nationals had become so negative that even domestic servants refused to work in their houses. The next narrative demonstrates how racial profiling was taking place at every level.

Domestic workers and Racial Profiling

Two domestic workers were interviewed who were working in different houses in Khirki Extension. They said that they don't want to work for the 'Africans', as they are black. According to one of the domestic workers,

I do not want to work in their houses, they are *habshis* and I feel very scared of them. They eat meat that stinks. I have heard that they eat human flesh. They keep the human meat in the fridge. People say that they like the flesh of human babies. They are scary and that is why I don't want to work in their home even if they pay me more than other houses. Their houses stink!

Further, the Respondents who were from Africa explained that Racial Profiling in India was very prevalent. The respondents explained that the police, local authorities and local residents, believed that all the migrants from different countries of Africa are involved in illegal activities. It is believed that all are doing drugs; all are listening to loud music, doing party, drinking, involved in prostitution, earning money through illegal channels. The questions of identity emerged here as given the similarity of experiences of racial profiling there was a unity that was observed amongst the African community living in Khirki Extension. Each of them faced similar treatment. Women were treated even more badly by the locals. They were objectified and it was observed that men and women from the local community particularly stared at them and made faces. A Female Nigerian Respondent said,

. . . it all depends on people's "perception" of the community. People see us differently and I'm not sure if they like us here!

The African unity could be seen at the level of diaspora. There was a "common feeling", "we feeling", solidarity and a kind of collective conscience that was emerging from the experience of living in a foreign land. There was an emergence of a common culture, which could be analysed as "African culture" or "African subculture" that was emerging. The local community had also simultaneously clubbed the different cultures of Africa, into one category. A Respondent from Africa says,

We are all categorized as 'Africans'. So when the raid happened, it happened on the African community, we come from different countries of Africa. We come from different regions with different nationalities, languages, cultures, beliefs and religion. But in India we are like brothers because we are all facing the same issues.

Language and Racial Profiling:

Coming to the question of hardships and challenges, all the migrants from Africa responded with narratives and everyday lived experiences of how they were called different names by the Local population such as *Habshi, Kala, Kallu, Kali*, etc. on the streets. The word *Kala*, which translates to 'black' in English, was used as a common signifier to address the migrants from Africa. The use of language for naming and then constructing the 'other' was observed in the Indian context. An understanding was made of how racism operates through the use of language. To address a population as black as reference point was noticed. Constructions of social stereotypes such as eating habits, dressing style follows the construction of the 'other'. A further association with meanings such as evil, illegal sinful, drug dealer, prostitute and cannibal followed this association of colour. This was the process by which Racial Profiling was done. All the African women respondents narrated of instances where they were asked 'how much?' The men in the neighbourhood thought that they were all prostitutes. This stereotype was the main reason for the midnight raid that was conducted in Khirki Extension where Ugandan women were asked to come out of their homes in order to be cross-questioned for allegations of prostitution. The extent of this Racial Profiling was done at the level of the State, where it was the 'Delhi Law Minister' who conducted the Raid and that too, without a valid search warrant. This form of racial profiling translated into urban social space where a social exclusion of a population was done.

While on the one hand it was only in Khirki Extension that African migrants were easily finding housing at a point, after the midnight raid many African migrants decided to move. On the other hand, facing the great difficulty of not getting housing, the African population had to start searching for newer areas for settling. In this context, another urban area called Chattarpur became a hub for many African migrants for housing. It had similar characteristics such as Khirki, that is, it was unregulated, property prices were low here, and the African population paying double the rents, was boosting local economies that were stagnant. Irregular colonies and undeveloped areas were the places where African migrants would get housing.

Colour Consciousness:

In an interview with a local inhabitant of Khirki Extension who is an artist and an intellectual, an important aspect came out in the discussion, she said,

Indians are colour conscious. In this neighbourhood people are responding to the foreign nationals based on their skin colour. Indians are not simply 'racist' they are colour conscious. There is a clear preference for the fair skin. Its origins can be found in the caste system itself. The Varna System has a clear divide of the Aryans from the non-Aryans. Even within families, and within the same caste, a fair child is given more preference than a dark skin colour child. In addition, this can also be understood through the colonial history. Since, we were colonized, Indians too were subject to racism where the dark skin was often thrown out of the public places such as trains, restaurants etc. Even we were subjected to racism, which made us even more colour conscious. Colour consciousness and race has a strong association with skin colour. In India, even dark colour girls are not preferred and told that they would not find suitable partners to marry because they are dark. People use to tell me that, 'I will not find a match because I am dark'. I had a complex for the longest time due to my dark skin. The fact that there are fairness creams in the Indian market shows that there is an obsession for fair skin. If we understand race in India works as colour conscious.

The above narrative brought attention to an important fact that in the Indian society there is colour consciousness, however, but the problem that the African nationals were facing was not only of colour consciousness but of racism, which is different from simply being colour conscious. When colour consciousness is taken to a different level to form further stereotypes and differences, that is, racism. Racism can be said to be a manifestation of colour consciousness but added with an association and meaning. The resultant of this is a system of hierarchy that is formed based on skin colour. In this system of hierarchy the fair skin is on the top and those who are black are ranked at the bottom. Based on this ranking system, a hierarchy and difference is created and it is this difference, which is the reason for discrimination and exclusion. This difference, which is interpreted through skin colour, is interpreted as bad, evil, sinful, dangerous, etc. For instance, there is a colour consciousness but it is not mere colour consciousness that is the cause of discrimination of black people in Khirki Extension, but an association. There is a relationship between 'signifier and signified' as argued by Hall (1997). The dark skin, the bone structure, the hair is the signifier. It is this signifier that is constructed to represent other floating signifiers like primitive and cannibal.

The above perspective highlighted how racial profiling was taking place in the urban space of Khirki Extension through the exclusionary practices of RWAs and local community practices. This perspective could be related with Harvey (2007) who argued

that the exclusionary practices of associations imply exclusion and exclusionary urban policies adopted by the dominant society. Further, using Hall (1997) it was seen how race as a signifier emerged in Khirki Extension. In the next section, an outline is made of the interrelation between race and culture. Based on the differences in culture, many conflicts were arising in Khirki Extension. The following outlines that in detail.

Race and Culture:

This section makes an attempt to understand the link between Race and Culture. An attempt is made to understand processes of assimilation/dissimilation and acculturation to understand intermixing processes and Othering processes. An attempt is made to analyse cultural processes to understand how the local culture interprets foreign cultures or different cultures. In this case more specifically an outline is made to show how the local community responds to the migrant culture or the African community. A detailed analysis is made of the interaction between cultures or the meeting of two cultures in one particular urban neighbourhood. How does the host society respond to the migrant culture and how do the African migrants understand and interpret the local cultures. What are the processes by which cultural exchanges and interactions take place in the urban space. An exploration is made to understand processes such as assimilation and acculturation. Further, through fieldwork it was observed that Khirki Extension could be analysed through the lens of multiculturalism. Pinderhughes (1989) defines culture “as a sociological and psychological fact”. She argues that, “the development of cultural sensitivity is first- an awareness and understanding of one’s own cultural background, its meaning and significance for one’s interaction with others”. She defines culture as a “complex of sociological and psychological fact that shapes a person’s self-concept and perception of those who are different. She adds that, included in this definition are the traditionally identified culture such as values, norms, behaviour styles, and traditions; to ethnicity, race, environmental support for a people’s survival. She further argues that, “Cultural background can be seen to be used for categorization, ethnic belonging, social class and minority-majority.”

Assimilation

To understand culture and cultural processes taking place, this section analyses the process of assimilation and acculturation in the urban space. Yinger (1994) defines

assimilation, as “a process of boundary reduction that can occur when members of two or more societies, ethnic groups or smaller social groups meet”. He argues that four principles can help us develop the term as a useful analytical tool, applicable across time and groups. These are, *first*, to understand and analyse assimilation as a descriptive and not an evaluative concept. Another way to say this is that “the study of assimilation is simultaneously the study of dissimilation”. *Second*, “assimilation refers to a variable and not an attribute”. *Third*, “assimilation is a multi-dimensional process”. *Fourth*, “Each process is reversible. Although there are powerful forces toward assimilation in many societies, groups become more dissimilar under some conditions. Cultural lines of distinction that seemed to be fading are sometimes renewed”, Yinger (1994:43). Further, he identifies the significant variables that affect assimilation and dissimilation. The variables may affect the speed and intensity of these two processes. He argues that the role of the state in this regard is important to note. He argues that the emergence of state signifies a dominant social structure, within the context of which multicultural relationships occur.

In the following observation, the process of assimilation is analysed through a conversation that took place in one of the respondent’s homes. Participant observation of an evening get together with his friends was made. The African migrant was from DR Congo. He was setting up his house for an evening get together. He was doing his best to make his home look perfect for the party. There weren’t too many touches of colour in his rented two-room flat in Khirki Extension and the cream walls of the hall looked dull. However, the red sofa helped to brighten the mood. Having made the effort of cleaning up and decorating, he happily gave himself a pat and said,

Ye achha hai! (This is good)!

His remark in Hindi was symbolic of the fact that African migrants were making an effort to assimilate within the culture of their host society. There was an effort that could be seen in his case to create a home away from home. He was organizing dinner for his friends, which was soup with bread made with traditional herbs and spices bought from an African shop in the neighbourhood. He is a B-Tech student at the Apeejay Institute of Technology. He is a Congolese by nationality, has many Indian friends. To learn Hindi, he took a course on reading, writing and speaking. He took a course in 2012 for two months at the Inlingua institute in South Extension. In fact, in the same year he also taught French at the same institute. He said he learnt Hindi as it helped him to

interact better with his Indian friends and the local community. It helped him to understand the local culture. He is one of the many migrants from Africa who is staying in Khirki Extension. When asked about his response to the Midnight Raid he said that the incident had left the African community living in Khirki completely terrified and extremely scared, but he said that it was no surprise. It was normal to face incidents of abuse and violence. He said that, “we have got use to it, and ignore it!”

Next, on the question of making an effort to mix with the local cultures and make an effort to understand the culture of the host society, it was interesting to specifically take into account the responses of the African Student community, as they had come to seek education from India. It was interesting to get their response on the Midnight Raid as the entire African community living in Khirki was allegedly accused of being involved in illegal activities. It was during this time of fieldwork that an observation emerged with regard to the efforts that were being made by the African community to adjust to a new country and the processes by which they had adapted and brought changes in their lives to assimilate into a new culture of the host society. A member of the African Association of India, living in Delhi said,

We teach Hindi and encourage all the Africans to learn Hindi. We actually encourage Africans who are living in India, to learn Hindi so that they can assimilate with the people of India. We try our best to learn from the culture and follow all the rules and norms of the culture in India. We have Indian friends. We like the food here and eat the local food; we try our best to assimilate with the people. We hold regular meetings to discuss how we can become a part of the local community and modify our own habits if needed to respect the local community sentiments.

A respondent from Kenya said,

Not all the people from Africa are drug dealers or party in the night. These are bad images of us that the people are producing. There might be few who are doing that but that doesn't mean all of us are taking drugs and listening to loud music. We are sensitive and understand that our neighbours get disturbed. We play music but it is never loud and also, after 10:00 p.m. we shut the music. We tell all our friends to do the same. In fact, we have an African Association in Delhi, which is very active. The Association only supports those who are abiding by the rules in India. We have told the students that if they get into trouble we will only come to help if they will live and understand the rules of the local society.

A Respondent from the African Students Association says,

In Nigeria, the culture is very different. On the streets playing loud music is common and part of the culture, but in India people don't like it and we know that we live in an Orthodox Society, so we abide by the local norms. We do not play loud music and if anyone from the community does that then we put a fine on

them from the Association. They have to pay Rupees 1000 for breaking rules. The association supports and protects all the African migrants living in India but if they do not behave according to the Indian local cultural norms and disrupt the normal way of life of the local community then we stop supporting and helping them.

The above narratives show how the African migrants particularly the students are making an effort to assimilate with the local cultures. An effort is made to understand the local norms. Many of the migrants who are studying in different universities in Delhi mainly which are private say that they come to India to learn and study. They are sensitive towards the local cultures and respect the local rules, laws and customs. A student respondent from DR Congo says,

I think India is a great country. I have seen police personnel suggesting to our girls not to be out late in the night, to avoid any kind of problems. It is very clear that India will always be a great country, but some people need to change their perception towards the people from Africa, the majority of Africans come here to study, they feel that education is what drives them to the city. The city offers opportunity for all people! It should be more progressive in outlook and the people should be more open. The city should belong to everybody who is paying! We pay for our education, we pay rent, bills and buy things just like everybody else! Then why should there be a difference?

The students who are coming from different countries of Africa to pursue education believed that since they were here to learn, they are happy to co-operate with the people. They are ready to sacrifice comforts of home and learn in a foreign country. Many said that they felt India was a great country.

Be it education or accessing health services, for us it is very cheap here compared to the US or European countries. Once you are away from home, a few things happen but that doesn't mean we will leave here and go.

A student from Cameroon said,

I am here to study in IT. I am a student in NIIT. I like India! Racism is everywhere in the world, its about how you make adjustments yourself. I cooperate with the locals in fact I have many local friends here. They even give me their children for babysitting. We have great friendship. My experiences are good. But when I hear of my brothers and sisters getting hurt I do feel bad. But what can we do, there is a lot of cultural difference. People lack exposure. Just like we cannot generalize that all Africans are bad people, similarly we cannot generalize that all Indians are bad people. People are good and bad everywhere in the world, its not only particularly India, it is in the world. Racism is everywhere.

Further, many students who were coming to India seeking education said that it was cheaper to access education in India. In many countries of Africa such as Kenya, the fee is more expensive than India. One would have to pay more for courses in Kenya. Apart

from that being in a foreign country also gave the students exposure to world politics especially for those who were seeking diplomatic jobs in Foreign Affairs. Therefore, they felt that adjusting in a different country is part of the learning process. However, many felt that they were making best efforts from their side to adapt to the difference in culture but the local community was still seeing them through preconceived notions and was spreading bad images of Africans. The narratives highlighted a range of views starting from acceptance of racism in which the students/migrants had come to terms with it and tried to make sense of it by saying that racism was everywhere. There was a certain acceptance to the harsh attitudes of the local people. The student's representatives narrated how they explain to all the fellow migrants that they had to live by following the local norms and if they did not abide by the local ways of the society, then they would have to pay a fine, or a warning was given to them that no African will come to help if they did not follow the norms of the local community. An effort was made to adapt to the local traditions, customs and norms. Many said that they were making efforts to learn Hindi and even told fellow migrants to learn Hindi.

The above narrative highlights what Yinger (1994) demonstrates as a paradox in context to ethnic studies. He demonstrates that when coercive policies or practices exist against distinctive cultural groups, at the same time paradoxically peaceful processes that reduce the differences between members of interacting ethnic groups also come forward. Both the coercive and the peaceful processes are forms of assimilation. He argues how assimilation can exist as both a coercive force as well as a peaceful process. Such a trend would illustrate the presence of a paradox: "when the powerful assimilative forces are matched by renewed attention to sociocultural differences, acculturation is not necessarily matched by integration" Yinger (1994:43). This difference is highlighted later in this chapter. While it emerges that an effort is being made by the African migrants to assimilate with the local culture, a negative image production simultaneous takes shape, but this shall be discussed in the last section. The following point leads to the discussion of narratives of the African migrants who are experiencing a different culture and also at the same time exploring their own cultural identities in a foreign country.

Acculturation

The above discussion showed how an effort was made by the African community to adapt to the new way of life and new lifestyle. The following discussion outlines how

on the other hand, there was also a mushrooming of African kitchens, restaurants, 'Afro' shops, grocery shops, barbershops, saloons, boutiques and tailor shops in Khirki Extension that showed that there was a two-way process of cultural interaction. *One* was that the migrants made changes in their life world such as lifestyle changes. Further, many of the migrants also made an effort to learn Hindi. Many African migrants also said that they made adjustment towards food eating habits. They missed the food from their own native countries but adapted to the Indian food. *Second*, simultaneously there was also an effort to build a community and build solidarity or a collective African unity. For instance, some of the migrants had opened 'African' shops in the neighbourhood to cater to the migrant community like African spices, groceries, cooked food and native dishes. African Kitchens were a good example of this process. Seen in this light, Khirki Extension was a good example of a site of multiculturalism.

On the one hand one could also find intermixing of the migrants from different countries of Africa who were discovering about different cultures of Africa due to the presence of diversity in the community of African migrants living in the same neighbourhood, on the other hand, there was also a local culture with its own set of norms, rules, which had to be understood and followed by the African migrants. There was a cultural exchange operating at multiple levels. The African Kitchens provided a space for exploration of an African identity at the diasporic level where a common identity did emerge based on various common characteristics such as food, lifestyle. In fact, it was very interesting how a respondent said that the African way of speaking English was very similar and different from the way Indians spoke English. However, the diversity of the African migrant community could not be ignored.

The diversity of the African community could be understood firstly through religious beliefs. There were both Muslims and Christians amongst the population of the Africans living in the neighbourhood. For the Muslim population the presence of a Masjid in Khirki Extension brought a sense of connectedness to religion and culture of the home country. Many Muslims who came from countries like Somalia, Sudan and some regions of Nigeria etc. were observing festivals, which some of the local minority population from India also had in common. In Khirki Extension, there was a strong presence of Muslims population from India especially in Hauz Rani. During festivals such as Ramadan and Eid one could find an interesting cultural intermixing of the Muslim population. Khirki Extension was also hosting a large refugee population from

Afghanistan. Therefore, during Muslim festivals one could find the streets buzzing with activity all the way till midnight. For the Christian population from Africa, a Pentagon Church in the neighbourhood of Khirki Extension provided a space for Sunday prayers and meetings. One of the respondents said that he was very thankful that he had the option of going to Church in the nearby areas, like Dr Ambedkar Colony, Andheria Mode and Chhatarpur. He said that the way of praying was very similar to that of his own country. He explained that South Delhi had a few churches, where prayers, were held in French for Congolese nationals, and in English for Nigerians. The choir of the Nigerian church, Mountain of Fire and Miracles Ministries, at Khirki Extension also held its prayers in Hindi. This was a special gesture for the local Indian community so that they could join. One of the respondents said that he wanted his Indian friends to visit his church and an effort was made by the church to conduct their prayers in Hindi sometimes so that people would see that not all Africans were bad and accept them as good people.

Through the above narratives one could find that, on the one hand, there was intermixing within the African community, which was diverse in itself, on the other hand, there was an interaction between the African migrant population with the local community of Khirki. Many of the respondents said that they had Indian friends and enjoyed being in India. Many had explained how informal 'African' spaces were a great way for learning and exchange. During fieldwork it was observed that many people from the local Indian community also visited African kitchens, shops and boutiques. The African grocery shops were open to the Indian community as well as the African migrant community from different countries. These spaces were a site for different levels of multi cultural exchanges. The African spices and groceries were explored and bought by many Indians from the local community as well as the African community. Similarly, The African community also explored the Indian vegetables some of which were different from those of the native country and some vegetables very similar. A Respondent from Rwanda who stays with her husband says,

I love the Indian *chapati* and *chole bhature* it's not something we get in my country. But I love it! I also love to buy some of the common foods from my country like *arbi*, cassava, banana chips. It makes living in Delhi easier for us. Finding similar foodstuff in the market gives me a feeling of home away from home. I also love going to the malls. It is right opposite our house. I go there with my husband. It makes up for the hardships. When we had just moved to Khirki in December 2013, we use to go there everyday. That time I ate KFC daily. I had to take KFC everyday, as the zinger burger was the favourite! I still love the burger. I can eat it everyday.

It was observed that the African migrants were really fond of visiting the shopping malls. This had come as a common response that going to the malls 'made up' for the challenges and hardships of living in Khirki Extension. Some said that they loved the Malls, as it was not there in their own country. Many respondents who were interviewed were quite influenced by the consumer culture. KFC was a very popular choice of food option amongst the migrants. In addition, it was also observed that many of the migrants were using expensive products and luxury items such as I-phones, expensive clothes, however, this cannot be made a generalization as there was a variation across class. While on the one hand all the migrants were living in Khirki Extension, which was cheaper than other areas in Delhi such as the rich enclaves and gated communities etc. but on the other hand, there were many who could afford to live in a highly consumer based culture. A very important point to be made here is that in Khirki Extension, the class of African migrants that were living could be studied in the category of low-income to middle class. Many of the respondents said that the diplomats, Officers, Ministers who were living in India from Africa working in the Embassy lived in rich areas with big mansions-houses, security guards, personal drivers and chauffeur cars. They belonged to high income, upper class category, which did not stay in Khirki. This point will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

To conclude, this section, it can be said, that Khirki Extension had African migrants who belonged to the middle class to low- income groups. They were composed of students, small and informal business entrepreneurs, refugees and those who had come for medical purposes to Max hospital. Through narratives it was outlined how in Khirki Extension one could find dual processes of cultural interaction. On the one hand, there was assimilation and acculturation that could be found in which the African migrants were adjusting to the local Indian way of life, following local norms and rules, on the other hand one could also find the emergence of the 'African culture' which was a mix of the diversity of the migrants from different countries to form a common unity symbolized or represented in the form of African shops, kitchens, restaurants etc. Through the above narratives it is observed that while there are differences between the African migrants based on nationality and cultures, beliefs, there is also unity with regard to facing stereotypes. The African migrant community in India narrated how they face problems even after an effort is made to assimilate from their side. The differences in cultures of Africa find a common ground in India. The differences are negotiated through

establishment of common African kitchens etc. It was observed that in the urban space of Khirki Extension while there were processes of multiculturalism taking place and cultural interaction, the general dominant view was that the African culture was different. Based on food eating habits, dressing style, lifestyles etc. the African community was treated differently. The Othering of the African community was done despite the efforts made by the African community to assimilate with the local cultures. The section outlines the process of Othering in Khirki Extension.

Cultural Difference and ‘Othering’

This section outlines the differences emerging from cultural traits such as food, dressing style etc. The African cultural food and eating habits were highly criticized by the local community in Khirki Extension. Apart from the common conception that they eat human flesh many complained that they had a problem with the smells coming out of their kitchens. The following point highlights that perception.

Food

On the question of food there were many stereotypes that existed. In the interviews what emerged was that the smell or odour that came while cooking food, from the houses of the African migrants were pungent and strong. The local residents said that they did not like the smells coming out of their homes. This brought out the existence of various stereotypes about the food habits and consumption patterns of the African community. The opinions shared by the respondents from the local community during my fieldwork were majorly targeted at the food eating habits and consumption patterns. One of the local Respondents said,

Their meat really stinks! I have a common kitchen window facing the African Lady’s house. When she is cooking food in her house, there is a strong smell and a whiff that comes into our kitchen. It is very bad. I feel like vomiting when I smell that. It smells like burning flesh. And there is a lot of smoke that comes out, it’s horrible!

One of the domestic workers who works in the area says,

I do not want to work in their house, they are black! They are dirty. They eat meat that stinks. I have heard that they eat human flesh. They keep human meat in the fridge. People say that they eat human babies. They are scary, that is why I don’t want to work in their homes even if they pay me more than other houses. Their house stinks.

When asked to respond on the question of food to the migrants from different countries of Africa, they said that they made arrangements for their food, which they missed. Many who were students living in shared accommodation and living independently of families cooked their food on a regular basis. A respondent from Somalia says,

I prefer living with my friends as I can cook and eat the food I like. In India we don't get the food we eat in our country but the dosa is very similar. I like dosa as it is a bit like the food we eat back home. But in Africa women are the chief chefs. The men will cook something that only they can eat, that's how the joke goes! The women are chief chefs. They say that men cook anything because they are hungry. So always in Africa ladies are the chief chefs. In India, we cook when we miss the food. We make the bread with suji white one, to eat with dry meat and vegetables, lentils and pepper. We eat with soup. It's very nice. The way we boil meat, is very nice! Ethiopian food is also very similar. But the food they eat is very spicy. If you want to taste you can get Ethiopian food in Vasant Kunj in their Ethiopian embassy. Its one the best East African food joints.

Another Respondent from Somalia says,

Delhi is not the place to eat. I miss my own home food! You have to miss it, right? I cook at home, sometimes I cook spaghetti. I need chicken to cook spaghetti. Delhi is not the place to eat. Because I grew up in Hyderabad, I like the food there and its not even expensive like Delhi. I took my friend, my Indian friends to African kitchen. We were chilling. They were hungry so they said lets go out and eat, I said no, we eat here in the African Kitchen. I want you try African food. They said yea, ok! The soup was very spicy and she said, "Oh' no! We can't eat so spicy!" I laughed, you are Indian and you cannot eat so spicy. We Somalians eat a lot of fish. In India we eat dry fish. We are from the Coast. I am from the South. You know Somalia has the biggest ocean. It has the Indian Ocean. We eat a lot of fish, Sea fish.

A Respondent from Kenya says,

I eat at odd hours; I'm not eating properly in India. Not eating at regular intervals. I know what I'm supposed to do, but my weakness is that I cannot do regular cooking and eating. I don't spend more than 5 minutes in the kitchen. I buy vegetables but they get spoilt. And in 2 weeks I make maybe 2 vegetables. I'll buy milk, get bread, eat milk-bread-milk-bread. There's jam, I'll buy Kissan. Even my mom knows about my eating habits, she says your wife will come and set you! I don't have an eating disorder, but I do not eat properly. I cook food in my house sometimes, I don't eat spices, my mum takes spices but she puts in her plate, not mine. She knows I wont. I'm not a foodie so my roommate does cooking sometimes, but when he cooks, everything will get messed up. He cooks and spoils the kitchen. When he enters- almost everything is finished. When the food is ready, I go into the kitchen and start cleaning. When I come back from the university, I eat but the food is cold. I will clean everything. I shout at him and tell him you have to be responsible, but he says no, I cook, I say you make everything dirty. So I spend 1hour 20 minutes everyday in cleaning! That is why I prefer eating out.

There were many restaurants, which catered to the African community as a whole, such as the 'African Kitchens' in Khirki Extension where a large part of the migrant community went for eating and socializing. One such kitchen was called 'Mama Africa'. The African Kitchens were informal spaces created for community socializing, going out, eating and drinking. These were informal business enterprises for the African community so as to create options for them to socialize in the evenings. The African Kitchens were opened in homes, apartments but operated as restaurants. Not many people knew about them except the members of the African community, to keep these spaces low key and away from the awareness of the local community. There had been many incidents when the closing of these kitchens had taken place due to the local community pressure. Generally one would find such a kitchen on the top floors of the buildings in Khirki. Also, these spaces were not revealed as commercial due to various technical reasons. They operated as spaces for meetings and spaces for "chilling". It was observed during an occasion of participant observation of the African kitchen that migrants coming from all the countries of Africa that were living in this neighbourhood of Khirki frequented these places. It was generally open to all the members of the African community. There was a sense of common culture and a common unity that was observed. If there were any differences amongst the migrants they were resolved at such spaces. One could observe an African diaspora living in Khirki at such an instance. These kitchens served as common grounds for all the Africans.

African Kitchens as subcultures

The analysis of the idea of culture and subculture is attempted through a detailed analysis of the African Kitchens. An important point to be made here is that the African kitchen as a space, unlike grocery stores or barber shops for instance, were a lot more closed in nature. Many of them were not open to the local community at all. Or a person from the local community could only visit if there was an 'African' migrant accompanying them. These spaces had become hubs and operated as subcultures. They were different from the dominant culture and dominant ideology. These spaces operated as interesting spaces for understanding identity questions. While on the one hand there was a lot of Othering that was taking place by the local community as a response to difference in culture and lifestyle patterns. On the other hand, there was an exploration into identity and culture that was largely based on African roots but different due to

responses of living in a foreign culture. The dominant culture of the society being largely different from the 'African culture' also created certain responses and therefore differences in practice of a culture and lifestyle. These circumstances ushered the formation of subcultures, which had emerged through African kitchens, bars, 'Afro'-shops, parlours, salons, boutiques etc. Most of these spaces were limited in their appeal for only the African migrants, such as for instance, the hair weaving shops. The hair weaving was done to the style of the twists and braiding of particular countries and styles of Africa. The stores that sold dry fish, palm oil, African spices were generally and most frequently only visited by the Africans. So a certain style and practice of culture emerged that was different from the dominant culture and dominant society.

Dressing Style

Coming back to the point of the emergence of cultural differences, there were many stereotypes that existed about dressing style of the migrants from different countries of Africa. The local residents from the Indian community said that the Africans did not know how to dress. They dress indecently especially the women. They should know the local norms of dressing, and at least dress decently. The women wear revealing clothes according to the local residents. They feel that such dressing standards make the local boys look at women very differently. That is why they get teased and humiliated and then they complain. A local migrant (Sandhya) name changed says,

The women don't dress properly. It's a conservative area. There are kids around. Why don't they at least cover themselves with some decency? They wear revealing clothes. That's why the men and young boys stand in the streets to look at them. I have young boys and feel that they will see all this! But what can I do? How can I stop them if the African women are standing around on the streets revealing their bodies? The women stand around hanging from their balconies. These streets have become very bad. Its really like we are living amidst prostitution. I don't understand why the landlords are renting out their houses to these Africans!

The locals felt that the dressing style that was followed by the women particularly was inappropriate to the cultural norms of the Indian society whereas a Nigerian respondent said that it was the dressing style of the 'Nigerian way'. They dressed like this in Nigeria and that was the norm of the culture that she belonged to. She says,

I don't talk to Indians. They are bad to me. I live in India like many Indians live in Nigeria. Are they prostitutes? Why I have to answer these kind of accusations in India. Indians are bad to me! They throw stones at me. I don't go out much. I only have Nigerians friends. If some women in India do illegal prostitution does, that mean all

Indian women become prostitutes? Why I have to answer all these things here? In Nigeria women dress the way they like, this is how we dress!

It was noticed that there were many cultural differences and therefore, clashes in cultural ideas and norms. What seemed inappropriate to the local community seemed appropriate to a Nigerian from Africa. She mentioned that if some people are doing illegal business such as prostitution within the African community, that doesn't mean every woman, is a prostitute. She used an interesting example, which is that if in India some women do sex work or are a part of the business of prostitution does that make all Indian women prostitutes? The respondent was very angry and she really was shouting on top of her voice so that it could be understood that she was facing that question and association all the time. In short, it could be argued that cultural differences, was creating a situation of Othering. This has been analysed in detail in the following discussion of narratives.

The Process of 'Othering'

This section analyses the process of Othering and how it takes shape in Khirki Extension.

A Muslim migrant who owns a juice shop in Khirki Extension says,

Yeh insaan ka gosht khate hein! (They eat human flesh!)

You know it is believed that human flesh is very tasty, if you eat it once, you will never touch any other meat as it is said to be that tasty, that is why these *habshis* eat human meat. They eat human babies. Once a group of *habshis* requested an auto driver to come up and help them to carry their luggage till the third floor of their apartment and then they just cut his throat and ate him up! The police came and caught them and put them in the prison. These *habshis* are like that, they eat human flesh.

Another Local migrant from Khirki Extension said,

I beat one *habshi* once who teased a chinki girl on the road. She shouted for help and I chased that *habshi*. He ran very fast. These *habshis* run very fast you know. Then I caught him and started beating him, but you know they have very thick skin, no matter how much you beat them they don't get hurt. I had to hit him on his head to injure him so that he would stop retaliating. Otherwise, no matter how much you hit them they don't get hurt. They have very thick skin. I have beaten at least 10-12 *habshis*.

(Inka Zehan hi kuch aur hota hai, Inka Kya! Yeh tou daru peke ash karte hein, kya kya khate hein, inka aur koi kaam hi nahi hai. Apne desh mein bhi koi kaam nahi karte, inko kaam karne ki aadt hi nahi hai. Do nambri kaam karte hai, drugs bechte hein aur yahan ash karte hein. Inka Kaam hi haraam ka hai)

(The blood flowing in their veins is only very different. These guys just get drunk and enjoy themselves, what all they eat, they don't have any other work except to eat drink and enjoy. They don't work even in their own countries, they are not use to doing any work, they do fraud, wrong business, sell drugs and enjoy. Their business is sinful.)

The above narrative shows how there was a dislike for the African community due to the negative images produced through impressions, rumours, hear-say such as how they ate up an auto rickshaw driver and other stories spread by the local community members. These images and representations made all the local community members believe that all the Africans eat human flesh. These were the images that were produced and reproduced by the local culture. Further, through narratives another point that emerged was that the African migrants get drunk and party all night. One of the Local shopkeepers said,

At night, after 11:00 p.m if you come out till late night 2:00-3:00 o' clock you find them drunk on the streets. This neighbourhood gets very disturbed; also the general environment becomes very bad at night. You cannot come out on the streets because they are fighting, shouting and screaming at night. They fight and make a lot of noise. Actually, they are very bad people! Our children, women are very scared of them. Who wants to have such elements in their neighbourhoods, you tell me? The people in the neighbourhood are very unhappy with them.

Another local Female respondent of Khirki Extension said,

They listen to loud music all night. They don't sleep. They are awake all night; they sleep in the day and make noise all night. They are drinking and smoking all the time. They take drugs and even sell drugs to other people in our locality. I have a daughter and a son who is growing up. They are seeing all this. In this neighbourhood- this is what they are going to learn and pick up! What they see!

A Local Property Agent said,

The Africans overstay their visas and some of them engage in illegal activities. Half of the Africans in Khirki are staying illegally. They lose their passports and don't have valid documents. That is why they pay extra money because everyone knows that they are staying here illegally. As property dealers we don't ask them for papers. That's how the deals are made. They know and we know- that they are staying here illegally, so that's how it goes! Nobody likes them!

One of the African respondents explained how he came to India in November 2013 with his wife and three-year-old child. He said that he came to India as he was seeking a "peaceful and stable" country than his own country, Nigeria. He said that he came to India thinking that he could have had a better life here. In January 2014, he opened a salon in Khirki Extension. However, he mentioned that dealing with the police was very tough for him.

Dealing with the cops is a difficult thing as they keep asking you for the papers. Only once a cop came to my shop for a hair cut and was very impressed with my services, he smiled. He said that the Midnight Raid incident had hit his business badly, with the number of his regular customers dropping sharply.

Another Respondent said,

The auto driver takes a lot of advantage. They take you here and there. Then they charge you more money. They take us on longer routes and pretend that they don't know the way, or pretend that they cannot understand. I speak in Hindi and explain to him, but still he doesn't understand. Then he starts shouting. But, now I can bargain back. I can tell when he is trying to dupe me. I don't pay him b'cos I know that the price is 50% less than what he asks.

It was observed that auto-rickshaw drivers, housemaids, shopkeepers/vegetable sellers, property dealers, landlords were all overcharging the African migrants because they believed, that they were all staying in India illegally and doing wrong things. The local residents complained that, they had many problems created by *Habshis*. They made noise at night, women were standing around in revealing clothes and doing prostitution, they eat human flesh, do drugs. All these problems were listed as problems created by the African community or as they were referred to as *habshis*. Through fieldwork it was observed that all these stereotypes not only created a situation of cultural difference but also a way of Othering. The residents said that they used threats and police force sometimes to keep the African migrants in check. But they were very unhappy that the police acted very slowly towards their complaints about their illegal activities. On the other hand, the migrants faced various problems due to local stereotypes that “all Africans do illegal business”; and by the police who come and break their salons and small business set ups calling them illegal. Many of the migrants said that they tried their best to cooperate with the local community but still local people did not like them.

Negotiating discrimination and Othering:

From the interviews with the African community what emerged was that abuse, name calling, public beating, harassment were very common when it came to everyday lived experiences of the migrants from different countries of Africa. Be it paying extra for a taxi ride, to having a fight with the police, security officials at the Airport, to the local residents who wanted to keep their children away from the influence of ‘African’ people; the African community could name a lot of incidents that made them feel different, disliked and socially excluded. Such discrimination was often felt to be racial as perceived by many of the African respondents. There were many narratives that explained how racial abuse, harassment and violence were experienced by the African community living in Khirki. The African respondents believed that these cases were of racial nature,

but the police, the State and the Ministry of External Affairs claimed that these incidences were simply criminal attacks and cultural conflicts between the locals and the African community and thus, it would be incorrect to call them racial.

Racial Clusters as Networks

In the context of Racial Clusters and Racial Profiling, as discussed in the section on Racial Profiling, it was shown how one of the major reasons for the formation of Racial Clusters was that the African migrants did not get housing in other areas of Delhi so easily as they did in Khirki Extension. There were particular lanes/ areas where housing was available. The property agents knew the exact houses, lanes and buildings for housing availability, therefore, they had to be contacted through the network of friends who got houses from them. Hence, they were settling in the same buildings, neighbourhood, lanes and areas. In other words, it was not a matter of voluntary choice to live in Khirki Extension but an urban process that created a spatial concentration of people. There was a certain kind of ghettoization.

The formation of the racial cluster in Khirki has to be analysed carefully with reference to two points. *First*, the African community was only able to find houses in certain particular localities. Khirki Extension was one such locality and that is why many of the people were concentrated in this area. The midnight raid in January 2014 was made on Khirki Extension due to the fact that a big African cluster of migrants from different countries of Africa was present here. Over a period of time this area became known as ‘Little Africa’²². *Second*, important point is that the African community started to prefer to live in the same areas after their experience of the city, where they experienced hostility, racial discrimination, abuse and harassment.

Clustering as Empowering

There are a number of reasons for why clustering is Empowering in this particular context. One of the major reasons that emerged was the issue of safety. Living in the same network area provided a sense of security for the people. It gave people a sense of protection and solidarity from the hostile environment in which comments were made at them such as *Habshi, Kala*. The respondents explained that such incidents of abuse, use of bad language for the African migrants and name-calling were experienced often when

²² India TV News, April 1, 2014, updated 7:32 AM, “Khirki Extension is a little Africa in Delhi”

at market places or restaurants or network nodes such as auto stands, taxi stands. Negative comments were hurled at the migrants from Africa irrespective of the country they came from. A Racial Profiling was happening where every migrant from Africa was seen in bad light. In addition, they were all seen as drug dealers and women were seen as prostitutes. Such stereotypes about the entire community formed very strongly within the local Indian community and the African migrants felt that living together and fighting it out helped them to survive on a daily basis. *Secondly*, what emerged, as a major reason for living in a cluster was that living in the same locality helped the migrants to build solidarity groups and networks at the level of diaspora. These groups also had taken shape of informal associations and organizations that helped to remain connected as one diasporic community. The African subculture as mentioned earlier gave the community members a reference point for identity related questions.

Conclusion:

The first section of this chapter outlined the process of Racial Profiling. It showed how Racial Profiling was done by the housing colonies and localities through implementation of selective practices and policies such that no African is given housing in the gated communities and localities due to presence of stereotypes such as involvement in drugs and prostitution. The second section outlined the process of a cultural difference that emerged despite the efforts made by the African community to attempt to assimilate with the local population. The emergence of cultural differences and stereotypes created the process of Othering. The third section outlined the various ways by which Othering reinforced cultural differences and created exclusion. The fourth section outlined how racial clustering emerged as a source of unity, to establish community and identity at the level of diaspora. The emergence of racial clusters while on the one hand could be seen as a manifestation of exclusionary practices and 'Othering', on the other, could also be seen as the reason for growing African unity amongst community members and the emergence of subcultures and African identity as understood by the African migrant community. In this context, clustering was seen as empowering.

CHAPTER - 5
UNDERSTANDING DISCRIMINATION THROUGH INTERSECTIONALITY
OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER

Introduction:

In this chapter, a detailed understanding of discrimination is made to understand the nature of violence and discrimination against the African migrants. Intersectionality is used as an approach and method for sociological analysis to study the different intersections in experiences, articulated as, ‘race and class’ intersections, ‘race, class and gender’ and ‘race, class, gender and religion’ intersections. Religion has been used as an axis in the matrix of domination, in order to analyse the transnational aspects of intersectionality that take the ‘race, class, gender’ triad approach through an additive approach of the factor of religion using the analysis made by Crenshaw (1989), Collins (1990) Egwuom (2014) and Purkayastha (2012). This chapter attempts to analyse the aspect of discrimination faced by the African migrants in the Indian context. It explores what are the different forms of discrimination and how it is racial.

Racial Discrimination: An outline of the lived Experience

Thorat (2004) in his book *Caste, Race and Discrimination* outlines the definition of Racial Discrimination as adopted by ‘The Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination’ (CERD) of the UN. As declared in Article 1 adopted by the United Nations on Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial discrimination: “Discrimination between human beings on the ground of race, colour, or ethnic origin is an offence to human dignity”. Article 2 adds: “No state, institution, group or individual shall make any discrimination whatsoever in matters of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the treatment of persons on the ground of race, colour or ethnic origin.” “The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, adopted in December 1965, defined the term ‘racial discrimination’ as any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise on an equal footing of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life”. This provision of the International Convention is explicit and clear with respect to discrimination associated

with race-colour-ethnicity-national and descent.

The above definition of Racial Discrimination is important to analyse in the recent Indian context when many cases of violence and discrimination of racial nature have been erupting rampantly. The African migrants living in Khirki Extension narrated that *firstly* they felt they were not liked by the local Indian community, as outlined in the previous chapter, in detail. *Secondly*, the formation of cultural differences and stereotypes were becoming the source of conflicts and clashes. But when these cultural differences were manifested in violence, abuse, shaming, lynching, humiliation, name calling such as *kala*, *kalu*, *habshi*, and further resulted in severe beating and murder then these cases were to be dealt with, differently. However, many of the African migrants expressed how these cases were not regarded as racial by the Indian state. They felt that they were not given protection against these violent eruptions by the state. In this context how do we analyse this violence and discrimination? Further, the African Migrants explained how they had been facing street violence not only in Delhi and Khirki Extension but also in other cities of India. There were cases, which had been mentioned by them that had taken place in Punjab²³ and Bangalore²⁴, which had resulted in death and public humiliation based on conflicts arisen out of difference in skin colour. These cases were affecting the lived experiences of the African migrants living in Delhi as they felt that they were in danger always. There had been descriptions of cases by the African migrants in which they had explained how Indian groups of local men would beat them up. The migrants would be beaten and in many cases left on the streets to die²⁵. These cases were not getting reported as racial violence and this made the African migrants feel even more vulnerable. Many of the migrants reported that the mob violence and street abuse was faced by them while they felt that the African Ministers living in Delhi were not facing the same kind of mob violence due to private body guards and high security. This brought out the question of class.

The following section attempts to analyse how discrimination multiplies with intersection of race, class and gender. Religion has been analysed with regard to race to understand how discrimination takes shape in this context for the African migrants. An analysis is made of how race, class and gender intersect with one another and multiply

²³ The Times of India, July 4, 2014, 09:54 PM IST “Two years after Jalandhar attack, Burundi youth dies”.

²⁴ India Today, Feb 3, 2016 16:49, “Tanzanian student stripped, assaulted by locals in Bengaluru”.

²⁵ The Indian Express, May 22, 2016, published 2:03 am “Congo man beaten to death: He came to Delhi looking for a better life”.

discrimination. To understand discrimination, intersectionality is used.

Racial Discrimination and its intersections with Social Identity:

This section argues that the discrimination faced by the Africans are not only racial. There is an overlap. The discrimination faced by the African migrants is a result of confluence of multiple identities that are associated with them. An outline of the intersections of identity that leads to their discrimination is stated below.

Race And Class

In an interview with one of the respondents from Kenya, who was here in India for the purpose of education, brought up an incident of how three African boys were beaten up at the Rajiv Chowk Metro Station²⁶, he says,

They were in the metro when some people started accusing them of teasing a girl. They had not teased the girl and no evidence was found on CC TV footage later. But the Indians wrongly accused the boys of teasing and on top of that they start beating them up. The metro coach, full of people got together and beat them up, so much so, that when the three boys managed to escape from the metro coach, people from outside caught them and joined in beating. The boys somehow managed to get on top of a Police booth to save themselves but no police official came to help them! They were standing on top of the booth and people were screaming and shouting from below. A police official came to the scene, instead of stopping the crowd and controlling the mob, he just laughed and left. The mob continued to beat the boys. The African boys screamed for help and begged the people to stop. No police intervention! Is this the way to treat us? This is the way the public gets together in beating and lynching. We feel so scared! The three boys had serious injuries and no complaint was filed against the people who beat them. One had a fracture and the others were bleeding. Such incidences make us even more aware of the discrimination. How can we forget this?

The Respondent from Kenya further suggested that the racial violence faced by them on the streets and in the local sphere of Khirki Extension is not faced by the African Ministers and Ambassadors who live in private mansions and have private cars at their disposal. He suggested that there was a difference in experience.

But the ambassadors don't face the same violence as us because they have their own VIP cars, which are followed by tight security. When they go to malls they just point at what they want and they get it. When they go to restaurants they get special treatment but with us, poor students we face a lot of abuse and violence on the roads and malls and restaurants. I talked about these issues and almost everything that's happening in India to our own Ambassador of Kenya. If anyone comes out of the police protection or high commission or diplomatic protection then on the streets you can face the same issues. The

²⁶ NDTV News Updated: 02 October, 2014 "Delhi: Mob Attack on African Students at Metro, No Arrests Yet" "<http://www.ndtv.com/delhi-news/delhi-mob-attack-on-african-students-at-metro-no-arrests-yet-674009>"

way Indians treat Africans is very bad. I don't understand why people are so racist? Why don't people understand that we are also human beings like them? We also bleed like them! When I first came to India, I was checked at the Airport as if I was already guilty of something. I was travelling with my friend who was white, we were coming out of the gate together but the officer in-charge asked me to come out of the line for a security check. They checked my luggage again and again as if trying to search me for something. In fact, they even told my friend to be careful of me. My first instance of facing discrimination began at the very start of entering India itself at the Airport. Then on my way to my friend's house in Khirki Extension, the taxi driver cheated me. He charged me 3000 Rupees from the Airport to the Saket Select City Malls. When the fare should hardly be 1000 Rupees. He charged me three times more.

Another student from Nigeria says,

In India there is a lot of racism. In university campus spaces the racism is not there as much as there is on the streets outside in Delhi. The streets are filled up with people calling us all sorts of names like *habshi* and abusing us in Hindi. Over time I have started understanding the abusive words commonly used for us. We don't say anything to people while walking on streets but as we walk down there are people commenting at us all the time. We have started ignoring it now as there is no point in fighting. Its better to ignore the comments as you never know the street mentality and the mob mentality. They can group together and beat you at any time and the police wont do anything. They only stand on the side and laugh. When you run to them for help they don't register your complaints. In fact, they harass us even more by asking us all sorts of questions. They often see us as guilty so we have even stopped going to the police. However, in the campus the atmosphere is much more friendly. We do get stared at many a times but no one says anything. There are 50,000 Africans coming into India. They go to Bangalore, Pune, Mumbai, Hyderabad, Chennai, Delhi. There is a big African community in India now. Many are living in Delhi. There must be atleast 8,000-10,000 African Nationals living in Delhi. Out of them at least 3000-5000 must be Nigerians. The African Nationals prefer to stay together for safety reasons. There are ambassadors of course who have cars and big houses in rich areas. They don't face the discrimination we face. But we face a lot of discrimination, especially us Nigerians, we have to face maximum!

The experience shared by both the respondents in the above narrative shows how they faced racial discrimination. They felt that they had to face it more than the Ministers. *Firstly*, the respondents said that they felt that they had to face more instances of discrimination as they were often stereotyped for being drug peddlers in Khirki Extension as outlined in the previous chapter. This became a major reason for facing racial profiling and discrimination at Airports and housing localities at the hands of the state authorities, local community and the police etc. *Secondly*, the African identity was stigmatized. This gave rise to additional problems and wider cultural differences, which translated to formation of negative images, produced and circulated via media. *Thirdly*, the Africans were facing discrimination based on the fact that they were black and black was associated with dirty and sinful. Race had become a taboo in the local cultural sphere. It had become a signifier. In addition to these problems, their problems were different from

the African Ministers and Ambassadors. There were differences that existed along the lines of class. There existed a class of bureaucrats employed in various Embassies of different countries of Africa coming to India on positions of Ambassadors and High Commissioners. They did not face as many problems as the African migrants living in low-income areas as explained by the respondents living in Khirki. According to the respondents the African Ministers lived in VIP bungalows in government allocated areas of Delhi. They belonged to high-income groups with high security, official cars, and servants at their disposal. They did not face the street violence like the other migrants. The respondent from Kenya further explained,

Many African students get ICSSR scholarship of 25,000 rupees who are studying in big Universities. They don't need to raise any problems because they are comfortable and pampered. The ministers take them for lunch so they never raise grievances. They hardly report any problems, as they are safe in their university campuses. On the University campus, they live with the intellectual class with privileges of good money and access. They never have any problems.

The respondent brought out to the fore the existence of a privileged class of the African community that lived in secure housing. Whether it was the university campus space, which was more secure, or the VIP housing such as government accommodations, the privileged class had fewer instances of discrimination. The above respondent brought up questions related to class and politics of space as to who stays where and consequently their lived experiences. The respondent said that the African diplomats who lived in private houses in official Embassy areas have privileges of the upper class such as security and therefore, they do not experience violence and abuse on the streets like other migrants of the African community. Therefore, in order to make these distinctions of experiences it is important to analyse forms of discrimination and exclusion through class.

'Housing' as an Indicator of Class

Houses in Khirki Extension are constructed in narrow lanes and have been built unchecked and unregulated in oddly fashioned and designed sets of rooms and Kitchen with attached bathrooms. The apartments can accommodate families living on a sharing basis. In Khirki Extension, the rent for the house ranges between 6000-15000 Rupees on an average. The migrants from different countries of Africa mostly live here on a sharing basis. Many of them live in one- room sets, which are also shared. Generally students

occupy these rooms, which cost about 6000 Rupees. The two bedroom and three bedroom houses range between 10-15,000 Rupees. Many of the houses in Khirki Extension are unauthorized and therefore, the rents in this area are generally lower than other parts of South Delhi. However, they have to pay more rent than the local migrants, as they are 'Africans'. The African migrants generally occupy these unauthorized buildings and houses, which are unregulated. Many occupants explained how in these houses there were water shortage and electricity shortages. The basic amenities such as water, electricity, drainage and sanitation system of Khirki is unplanned hence chaotic. There are often shortages of water especially during summers. The landlords generally build these houses for renting purposes so the fitting and piping is done randomly. The migrants who occupy these houses are generally students, refugees, informal business entrepreneurs, petty business men and women who are running informal businesses such as small African shops, salons, barbershops, laundry services, grocery shops or informal restaurants and kitchens serving the African community. The housing was generally shared by many members, for instance, a family of 4 would be living in 1 room with a small- attached bathroom and a kitchen which was sometimes made inside the 1 room itself, and very limited ventilation. The houses were generally built in congested buildings and hardly had natural light, sun or air due to cramped space. There was hardly any ventilation or windows as the construction of these houses was unplanned. The windows would be generally facing other migrant houses. In these houses, which had hardly any ventilation there were large families or friends sharing rooms. There was generally no arrangement for the adverse weather conditions such as extreme winter or summer. The living conditions for the African migrants in Khirki Extension were hard.

On the contrary, the houses of the African Ministers, Ambassadors and High Commissioners were mansions or bungalows built sophisticatedly in the VIP areas of Delhi. The areas where the Ministers lived were the rich enclaves that could not even be afforded by the average middle-income Indian resident. These mansions were built in specially allocated embassy areas, which were away from the busy streets of Delhi. These were quiet neighbourhoods with security guards outside, who would not allow entry into the bungalows without permission. Special cars with VIP numbers and symbols of High Commission were visible on the houses so that it could be recognized that these are VIP mansions. The Ministers, Diplomats, High Commissioners were given security guards, body-guards, drivers and servants to work for them in their private homes. A clear

distinction in class could be made through lifestyle, consumption patterns, housing and other symbols of wealth, status and position. For this study, housing is taken as an indicator to make a distinction in class and status.

In order to understand discrimination, in this given context, a method that has been used as an analytical tool is called intersectionality. This is an important method and approach for understanding discrimination, which is based on a combination of race and class. The term intersectionality has been coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1991) highlighting the neo-classical categorical triad of “race, class and gender” in the context of US anti discrimination policies. This reference to intersectionality provides a vantage point for analysing race. This approach acts as an important tool for analysis based on intersections between race and class. It is not simply race but also class that accounts for discrimination, which functions in multiplying discrimination and exclusion. The African migrants faced discrimination at the level of Race and in addition to that, also at the level of class, which summed up to a greater proportion of discrimination in the Indian context. They faced discrimination in terms of housing access and quality of housing. Crenshaw (1993) argues, that intersectionality is crucial as a method for an in-depth analysis of race. In order to understand race, it is important to take into account class. The experiences that intersect between each of these categories are important to consider. Therefore, she suggests the intersectional analysis to build a comprehensive argument.

She further argues that, while understanding race, it may be important to understand it in terms of intersectionality of the systems in which it operates. The method for this analysis should consider other oppressive systems, which makes the category of race not independent but also interrelated and interconnected with other discriminatory systems. Understanding one form of stratification or system is incomplete without understanding intersections of other oppressive systems, which make the experience of oppression double or triple. How do experiences of Race and Class intersect in Khirki Extension? Why is it that the migrants living in Khirki face discrimination on the streets unlike the Ministers? Khirki Extension as an urban housing area is known to be unregulated and therefore, prices of housing in this urban space are cheaper than other areas of Delhi. The class of migrants living in Khirki ranges from lower-income groups to lower- middle class groups. Living in a particular area becomes an indicator of class and further, the quality of housing also indicates class status and position. Therefore, in this context, why is it that the Ministers who live in high-income areas do not face street

violence as the migrants living in Khirki? Living in Khirki Extension makes the vulnerability of the African migrants to face racial violence higher than those who live in the tight security of bodyguards. The respondents further had mentioned that the Ministers who had private security guards and Chauffer driven cars, made the possibility of facing violence much lower. The respondents faced street violence in Khirki and in Delhi and these cases erupting affected the people and their everyday living experiences in India and particularly in Khirki. Further, the boys who were beaten in the Metro Station were more vulnerable to street violence. In this context, how can the experiences of intersection of Race and Class, make a study more analytical? Intersectionality as a method and approach provides a tool for understanding such discrimination based on race and class. Further, Intersectionality as used by Patricia Hill Collins also analyses the multiple dimensions of globalization processes that have created conditions for analysis of race and class in varied contexts as well.

Further, in the context of making an in-depth analysis of class it was observed that the African migrants lived in close proximity to each other. This was due to two major reasons. *First*, the major reasons that emerged were the issue of safety and security. Living in the same network area provided a sense of security for the people of the African community. According to the respondents from different countries of Africa, it protected them from the hostile environment in which racial slurs and comments were hurled at them such as *Habshi*²⁷, *Kala*, *Kallu* on the streets of Delhi and therefore, living together in a way offered protection. The respondents described incidents of racial profiling when at the markets, malls, restaurants, hub areas such as auto stands etc. Living in the same area in a cluster provided safety according to the respondents. The respondents reported that various comments are shouted at them irrespective of the country they came from. There was a Racial Profiling that happened which was also a form of Racial discrimination; like for example many African respondents complained that all African migrants were profiled as Nigerians. They were seen as drug dealers and the local residents treated all women as prostitutes and therefore, all treated harshly and with stereotypes by the local residents of Khirki Extension. *Second*, reason for living in the same area was the fact the availability of housing was accessible to a certain class only in certain areas of Delhi. Housing was not available easily in other localities of Delhi.

²⁷ *Habshi*, an Arabic word they use for people from the black community that referred to African and Abyssinian slaves in pre- British India.

Race, Class and Gender

Female respondents from Khirki Extension mentioned instances of discrimination that had taken place in India on African women and they mentioned that it bothered them to hear about these incidents. They described their own personal experiences in the light of these cases of humiliation, racial insult and violence. The respondents said that they got affected by hearing about cases in other parts of India as well as cases that happened in their own neighbourhood.

A Ugandan Woman who is 26 years old and is a Hairstylist in Khirki Extension, said,

My friend was forced to give her urine sample in the Street in front of everyone at midnight. The local residents of Khirki Extension demanded this, as they exclaimed that we all are prostitutes. This was very humiliating and such an attack on us makes us feel very bad. I am a hairstylist, I have a job, I earn my money and when I experience such humiliation, I feel very angry and insulted! I cannot do anything in India as people are dangerous and can do anything to us. They can bully us and tease us, call us prostitutes. Why are all women from Africa considered to be prostitutes?

The above narrative reflects the anger and frustration that is felt by the African women who face street violence in the form of accusations for prostitutions. They felt that in Khirki no matter what profession you follow, name calling, insult and abuse is faced regardless of country, nationality. All the women had to face the same attitude. A Respondent from Nigeria said,

When I was walking down the street in Khirki Extension, I heard somebody scream from the back “Go back to your country”. I do not understand why there is so much hatred for us. We are called by different names like *Habshi*, a term I heard for the first time when I came into India. The locals tease, scream and shout abuses, which we feel angry about, but at the same time we ignore! We are scared that if we say anything then they can strip us like they did in Bangalore, we can be hurt and no one will come for our help, including the police. We feel like protesting and fighting back but we cannot do that as we are living in a different country. In my own country I never take any insult. I hit back.

The above narrative shows how there is helplessness even with regard to the police. They felt that even the police do not help them when they are in trouble. In fact, many respondents even narrated that the police harassment faced by the migrants is even more. They generally never come for their help and if there is any case of abuse or violence that happens, the fingers are first pointed towards the African women. Another Respondent from Nigeria says,

When I walk down on the streets, the people call me a prostitute. I don't like Indians, I don't make any friends here as they treat me very bad! They call me

(*kalu*) black and spit at me!

The local behaviour towards the African women was negative. The African women were not only disrespected but also constantly judged. A Respondent who migrated from Rwanda and shifted to Khirki three months ago from the night of the Midnight Raid says,

The situation faced by women like me is not good. I feel like we are not liked in this country. People often stare at me while I'm walking down the street and auto drivers refuse to take the right amount of fare. I can't afford to move out of the one-bedroom flat I share with my friend because the rent is just 7,000 rupees a month. Between the two of us, rent is much cheaper than other areas in the city. They call you names like *kaalu*. You cannot do anything because they become horror!

The above respondent came to India in 2011 to pursue a Bachelor's in Business Administration from Lovely Professional University in Punjab. She shifted to Delhi and to Khirki three months back. She says that she has already faced her share of sexual harassment and cannot deal with it anymore; but she said that she doesn't believe in going to the police. It was observed that the women from the migrant community of Africa were facing sexual harassment on the streets and also had to face discrimination for being black, which was looked down upon. On top of that as mentioned above, they did not receive any help from the police, the respondent from Rwanda further said,

The reason I did not pay attention to vulgar/obscene remarks, teasing and harassment on the roads was because I felt that even Indian women face such things on the roads so I dint report it. I hear ugly sounds coming my way, which I cannot understand but I know they are sexist and racist.

The above narrative reflects an experience of gender harassment faced by African women who felt that this form of harassment was common to both the women from the Indian community and African community. Sexual harassment and abuse was a part of gender-based discrimination experienced by women of both the communities. Further, to come back to the particular question of violence and discrimination faced by African women, a respondent from Nigeria said,

When I walk on the streets people ask me "How much?" Everyone thinks that African women are prostitutes! We are coming to India to study and this is the way people behave with us. Even the Indian women call us prostitutes. The neighbours are all very bad. They don't talk to us. They keep distance from us like we stink. They think we don't shower and we are dirty. But this skin is black, it not dirty! But people think that it is because we don't clean it.

The above narrative reflects racial discrimination and gender violence in the light

of how even the women from the local Indian community were treating the African women like they were prostitutes. It was observed that the African women had to face much more harassment based on their race and gender. The African women were regarded and treated as 'prostitutes' by both the Indian men and women based on the fact that there was a strong bias towards their race. There was bias towards race and gender identity, the experience of harassment and violation was doubled. The African women were publically shamed on the Indian streets for their race and gender. For example, the fact that the Ugandan women who were forced to publically give their urine samples brought out violation and humiliation on multiple levels. Crenshaw (1989) argues that, "because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated. Thus, for feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse, to embrace the experiences and concerns of Black women, the entire framework has to be used as a basis for translating "women's experience" or "the Black experience" into concrete demands that had to be rethought and recast".

Crenshaw (1989) further, analyses how single axis framework for analysis of either race or class or gender only contributes further to Black women's marginalization in antiracist policy and feminist theory. Crenshaw argues that Black women have been excluded from both feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because the experiences that intersect at both the levels are not represented accurately and the experience of that intersection amounts to double or triple the experience of discrimination. She further argues that this approach is an appropriate framework for addressing a range of problems as otherwise the narrow scope of analysing discrimination tends to marginalize those who do not fit into tightly dawn categories. This approach believes that racism and sexism can be discussed meaningfully by antiracist politics and feminist theory. She argues how antiracist politics and feminist theory have been organized around racism as it is experienced by black men or black middle class men and sexism with regard to what happens to white women. The single axis framework marginalizes the Black women even more when within these very movements that are making claim of being part of one community, make the process of ending patriarchy and racism more difficult.

Egwuom (2014) argues that from its epistemological origin, intersectionality thus, has a twofold connection and suggests a dynamic relationship between theory and

empirical data: *firstly*, it developed as a challenge to hegemonic imaginations and social theories through deeply grounded personal social experiences of Black Feminists. Seen from this view, it motivates researchers to use their embodied feelings and experiences for academic knowledge production. *Secondly*, as a critical social theoretical concept, it also helps to reflect upon hegemonic imaginations in the field (and in our own thinking). It is because of this dynamic and twofold connection to reflexivity that intersectionality is a particularly useful concept in research on identity, difference and inequality.

Race, Class, Gender and Religion:

This section emphasise on the lived experiences from the he Somalian Muslim Refugee Women Perspective.

Oyewumi (2002:1) challenges gender studies with a focus on Africa, saying that any “serious scholarship of ‘gender’ in African realities must necessarily raise questions about prevailing concepts and theoretical approaches”. This is due to the fact that theoretical concepts of gender in the social sciences have usually been developed with reference to gender arrangements and gender regimes in white middle-class Euro-American social contexts (with nuclear families and a male-breadwinner model). Thus, the construction of “African women” as a group and the construction of “gender oppression” as a relevant form of oppression is a theoretical assumption that has to be questioned, she asks, To what extent does a gender analysis reveal or occlude other forms of oppression? (Oyewumi 2002: 2)

Purkayastha (2012) argues that Collins (1990) “treats religions as a separate axis on the matrix of domination, one that operates independent of structure of race”. Collins argues that “Instead of starting with gender and then adding other variables such as age, sexual orientation, race, social class, and religion, Black feminist thought should see distinctive systems of oppression as being part of one over structure of domination” (1990: 222). This approach has continued in intersectional approach. Oppression that takes place within the category of religion is regarded as “gendering within a religion in feminist scholarship”. However, Purkayastha (2009) shows how transnational feminists have recently argued against this position, as the oppression of the intersection of race and religion also needs to be seen through an intersectionality framework. She argues that it is important to reconsider the assumption of religious oppression. Religion as a category is used to create racial profiles across nations and even within nations. The idea

that certain religions promote tendencies towards terrorism and violence, have contributed to racial profiling in a big way. Therefore, she argues that we must pay heed to religious oppression within intersectionality framework in order to critically recognize the complexities in order to go beyond the Euro-American thought. The complexities of transnationalism have to be understood across nation-states and also within and between nation-states, to go beyond the paradigm of “women of colour” seen through the Euro-American lens.

Looking at the methods used for the development of intersectionality concepts, this reflection can be seen as an intersectional move in itself: Black Feminist Theorists like Patricia Hill Collins (2000) encourage researchers to actually use their own subjectivity, their bodies, their tacit and implicit knowledge, their positioning and their specific perspectives in interpretative research. Schurr and Segebart (2012) argue that using subjectivity encourages the development of empirically grounded, “messy” concepts that can be used to nuance and further develop social theories. It calls for an open-ended reflexivity and creates perspective for an engagement with theory based on personal experiences and empirical findings. However, this effort towards open-endedness does not mean that concepts that critically theorize structural systems of domination have become obsolete. Such deductive attempts can usefully point at “blind-spots” of difference and domination and thus be useful for reflexive research practice.

Using the above concepts with an urge for finding out the “blind-spots” of difference and domination, an analysis is made of the Somalian women living in Khirki Extension. Khirki has a large population of Somalians who are living there as refugees. Somalian women form a big part of this community of ‘Somalian refugees’. However, they are generally not seen outdoors as much as the men of their community. They are dressed in Burqas when they are outdoors. They follow particular religious cultural norms especially during festivals such as Ramadan and Eid. Many of them were observing Ramadan and fasting during the time this fieldwork was conducted. During Ramadan they were shopping for groceries and clothes for their homes and families. It was observed that they could speak in Hindi with the local shopkeepers. They could bargain at the grocery shops in Hindi. The area particularly where they stayed is Muslim dominated as even a large part of the Indian Muslim community is seen to be living around here. Many of the Somalian women living with their families particularly occupy the lanes close to the mosque. The composition of their families was such that many were here

with their children and extended relatives, distant cousins, brothers and aunts. It was clear that all the family members were not living in the same country. For instance, a Somalian woman who was interviewed was living with her two children on a refugee identity card, while her husband was living in Dubai. He had re-married and settled there. He even had children in Dubai. They did not wish to go back to their country due to the political unrest and civil war. The women had adjusted to this particular area due to the presence of a vast Muslim population particularly in the lanes, which were closer to the mosque.

Their vulnerability to facing discrimination was multifold; *firstly*, on account of their race, they faced discrimination. *Secondly*, they were more vulnerable to facing gender-based discrimination. Discrimination based on class was the *third* form of discrimination based on the location of housing being in Khirki Extension. *Fourth*, most importantly, while living in a society that was largely Hindu dominated, on account of being Muslim, which is a minority in India, they were immensely vulnerable to greater levels of discrimination. So, in their case, race, class, gender and religion made them extremely vulnerable to discrimination at multiple levels. Plus they were also on a refugee status. The experience of a Somalian woman can be analysed by understanding their identity through multiple framework analysis such as black and a woman living in Khirki Extension and on top of that, a Muslim in a country of Hindu majority. Race, gender, class and religion increased the vulnerability to multiple levels of discrimination such as racial, class based, gender and religious. This made the case of Somalian women even more important to analyse in these complex relations, which not only manifested in discrimination but also in marginalization and exclusion. One of the Somalian respondents explained how she had throat cancer.

I came to Max hospital but I don't think I'll be getting my treatment. It's too costly. We have a big family. Children also need money for education and we need money to survive in India. The treatment for this in Max hospital would cost about 15-20 lakhs, so I won't be getting the treatment. We have a community of Somalian people in Khirki but the state does not give us protection. UNHCR gives us a refugee card.

Winker and Degele (2011) argue that the concept of intersectionality has not only been used in gender studies for a detailed understanding of its intersections but also in the context of interdisciplinary debates on issues of inequality and difference. Intersectionality can also be used to study the extent of marginalization and exclusion. However, there is a need to develop empirical research and data analysis that can truly do justice to add to the complex theoretical concept of intersectionality. In short,

intersectionality frameworks are based on the fact that social divisions exist and categories of race, class and gender are interrelated on various levels of experience and representation.

Intersectionality in Social Science Research

Kathy (2008) calls intersectionality a theoretical “buzzword”. Choo and Ferree (2010) show how intersectionality can be used in sociology as a methodological approach or theoretical analysis to understand inequality. They argue that while on the one hand there is a consensus on using this approach across disciplines as a research approach or concept, the application of this analysis has been ambiguous. Their argument advances in two distinct steps, first clarifying the difference in how scholars have used this concept and employed it, and then seeing how intersectionality could be used to understand sociological concepts such as power, institutions, culture, relationships and interpersonal interaction. They demonstrate the use of this approach in sociological research by identifying three types of analysis of intersectionality that can be used in sociological research with distinct approaches to understand inequality, They are, *first* “group-centered, *second* process-centered, and *third*, system-centered practices which provide a useful framework for examining the global usage of intersectionality, and a way of thinking intersectionally about variations in political approaches to gender” (2010:130).

Choo and Ferree (2010) identify the *first*, in identifying the perspectives of those who are “multiply marginalized” and locating them as the centre of analysis. This is important as it gives voice to those who have been previously excluded. However, it is important to go beyond creating merely “content specialization” of disadvantaged groups or subgroups. It is also important to analyse groups in power. There may be wide ranging global intersections For example, Sylvain (2011) shows the intersectional discrimination of ‘*San*’ (Bush) women in Namibia, indicating how their own self construction makes it difficult for them to relate with foreign international groups working on indigenous women. *Second* is Process-centred approach, which focuses on interactions. This can include comparative analysis of inequalities and analysing selected interaction effects among various dimensions of intersections. This can help in paying attention to “unmarked categories”. This can be used in quantitative studies such as of immigrants in the US, as well as qualitative studies. Bose (2001) shows the use of census data for research in the intersections of ethnicity, race, gender and class in occupational

segregations and inequalities across groups. Further literature using this approach has also shown operations of sexist behaviour made against racialized groups and contributed to them being treated as backward. *Third* is the “System-centred approach” works for the practice of intersectionality to disassociate inequalities with institutions, example economy and social class equations or gender and family demonstrate how systems produce intersectional effects. Walby (2009) in “Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities” shows this intersectional effect. Several groups working internationally on gender justice or global south economic justice have used this approach.

Egwuom (2014) argues that using intersectionality also implies a non-essentialized understanding of difference while it is embedded in social struggle for justice. For instance, when using intersectionality framework empirically researchers are confronted with different questions: How does one determine which categories of difference should be looked at? How does one ensure that an intersectionality approach does not re-essentialize pre-determined, fixed categories of belonging, but looks at their interaction and mutual constitution instead? In this context, one can argue that a reflexive approach to research practice is an attempt to answer these questions. Starting from the assumption that all social categories of difference are relational and socially constructed, one can elaborate on different relations between concepts of intersectionality and show how these connect to fundamental ideas of ethnographic research. Further, it would be essential to expand on how reflexivity can be implemented when analysing field notes from empirical research and how this can lead to important insights.

Intersectionality and Reflexivity

The reflections on the question of Reflexivity in the context of Intersectionality gave the vantage point to understand inner subjectivities, which are important questions to analyse in empirical research. The rationale behind this was to be able to understand this question at an epistemological level. This movement in Reflexivity enhanced the studies on gender and more specifically made a contribution in Black feminist studies where personal location and experience also made an important aspect of the research. This study attempted to reflect up on how reflexivity contributes to empirical research. These are important questions, which are brought up during field research. Egwuom (2014) argues that the first aspect of methodological reflexivity implies that researchers should be aware

of theoretical categorizations such that these categories should not interfere with the field of knowledge, and therefore, they must distance themselves from pre-determined theoretical categorizations that influence their worldviews. This kind of reflexivity is firmly based in ethnographic research practice and stresses on being self-reflexive about how to bring theories and categories into conversation with empirical realities. Adhering to this kind of reflexivity, academic processes of creating knowledge about social or spatial categories have been treated as objects that can themselves become subject to academic scrutiny. Different researchers have called for such an “observation of observation” Luhmann (1990) or objectivation of objectivation” (Bourdieu (1993) and a more ethnographic approach towards research practice argues Matthes (1985). The point is to be able to understand how to place the ‘self’ in empirical research. In anthropology and sociology, from the early 1990s, Fuchs and Berg (1993) observe that, “an anthropological take on the practice of anthropology itself has become common. This has lead researchers from other fields to apply a similarly reflexive approach to their own scientific practices and thus to tap into an anthropological attitude towards the connection of theory and empirical findings as a model for reflexivity” (1993:14).

An attempt was made to understand the use of this methodological approach of intersectionality and reflexivity for analysing the myriad of complex relations of race especially located in the Indian context. For the purpose of this study, a detailed understanding was made for the types of approaches that must be used for understanding a phenomenon such as racial discrimination, which was a new phenomenon in the Indian context along with globalization. An understanding was required on analysing and reflecting upon the question of positionality. To reflect upon how the location of a researcher or the positionality can influence the production of knowledge, an important measure was to critically engage with this question while using intersectionality. This meant that awareness of a (possibly privileged) position before entering the field could be helpful, but a reflection upon experiences during fieldwork could show how such a position is negotiated, questioned, or challenged. The works of Datta (2008), Henkel (2011), Schurr and Segebart (2012), Faria and Mollett (2014), Fisher (2014), Kohl and McCutcheon (2014) show that such reflections can also be seen in recent work on methodology and fieldwork practice that show how embodied performances of gender, race, class, religion, or other aspects of the researcher’s identity are shaped by and in turn shape fieldwork experience. Epistemologically, this concept of reflexivity connects with

the movement of Black Feminist Theory and hence with the development of the concept of intersectionality.

The Black Feminist Theory developed with a strong emphasis on the shared tacit and practical knowledge and experience of black women in the United States. An integral part of “coming to voice” for Black feminist Theorists consisted of making their personal experience public, relating them to each other and therefore, challenging hegemonic social theories, policies and categorizations used for them, Hill Collins (2000), Hooks (1981), Hull et al (1982), Crenshaw (1989,1991) Thus, reflexivity in this sense was not necessarily seen as an instrument to “neutralize” the effects of the social positioning of the researcher Bourdieu (1993: 372), but as an attempt to constructively mark scientific knowledge as situated and positional. A reflexive approach to scientific practice must therefore, include a continuous effort to read the lived experiences of the researched against theoretically pre-determined categories and concepts. Practices of positioning the ‘self’ in interaction with people in the field are an important interpretative asset. Reflections upon how I am seen and positioned by others help to enlighten how they see themselves and about which kinds of positions these struggles are embedded in social relations. Everyday experiences in the field, whether they be grounded in difficulties of access or exceptionally positive or funny episodes Schurr and Kaspar (2013: 41) can potentially be important for data analysis and deserve close attention.

The Relevance of Positionality and Relationality in Research

Egwuom (2014) argues that in order to understand social positionality, it is important to stress on the interdependence of different social divisions as well as the nature of social categories. In empirical research, a high level of methodological reflexivity is required. The attempt should be to understand how the levels of methodological reflexivity are connected to intersectionality. Reflexivity in this context refers to continuous reflection and attention to social practices of differentiation and positioning in the field, which also includes the position of the researcher. Further, attention needs to be given to the academic knowledge and processes for political and social struggles. She argues that when using intersectionality framework to empirically analyse social positionalities, researchers are confronted with different questions: How does one determine which categories of difference should be looked at? How does one ensure that an intersectionality approach does not re-essentialize pre-determined, fixed categories of

belonging, but looks at their interaction and mutual constitution instead? In this context, one can argue that a reflexive approach to research practice is an attempt to answer these questions. Starting from the assumption that all social categories of difference are relational and socially constructed, one can elaborate on different relations between concepts of reflexivity and show how these connect to fundamental ideas of ethnographic research. Further, it would be essential to expand on how reflexivity can be implemented when analysing field notes from empirical research and how this can lead to important insights.

Further, Rationality as a concept in the philosophy of language refers to the assumption that the meaning of linguistic signs is constituted through a continuous process of differentiation, not by the essential fullness of a sign. “The elements of signification function not by virtue of the compact force of their cores, but by the network of oppositions that distinguish them and relate them to each other” Derrida (1982: 262) as cited by Egwuom (2014). To give an example, the term woman makes sense when we assume that there is a network of terms that woman can be compared to i.e., man, child, mother, etc. Furthermore, social order is continuously and implicitly (re-)produced through these processes of signification. However, people that are categorized by various academic disciplines and also through popular media, in political discourse and everyday language use, are actors that also categorize themselves and others in relation to each other, as well as in relation to the categories and positions available in public discourse Bourdieu (1995 [1985]: 53); Anthias (2013: 7). These categorizations can be subversive, can transcend boundaries, and show how ambiguous, fuzzy, or irrelevant academic or other public categorizations as well as personal experience may be. Such projects of deconstruction and subversion still need to employ language, and the terms, categories, and differentiations used in academic discourse, which need to be seen as co-producers of practices, identities, and places.

Egwuom (2014) further suggests that the conceptual elaboration of intersectionality is part of a counter hegemonic project that at the same time produces both relatively stable categories of identity and their subversion. However, understanding relationality purely from a linguistic perspective is not enough. The relationality of positions in social space is also based on material differences in resource endowments and in interdependent struggles for power to define how the social world is and should legitimately be ordered Bourdieu (1995: 38). From this understanding of relationality

Bourdieu argues for a reflexive approach to social research. His argument is based on the understanding that the social sciences are part of everyday struggles about categorizations and access to symbolic power. To be reflexive, social researchers thus have to analyse political and social struggles around categorization Bourdieu (1995: 54).

Lived Experience as a counter-narrative against pre-determined theoretical Concepts

This section analyses the idea of lived experiences and what and how it contributes to analysing fieldwork in more depth. Intersectionality can, on the one hand, be employed to shed light upon social relations of dominance that are underexplored in the everyday experience of people in a research field. This approach helps to shed light on “blind spots” of power and dominance. On the other hand, allowing lived experience to challenge and extend pre-determined understandings of power, inequality and difference is firmly supported by the epistemological foundations of intersectionality. Recently, Verne (2012: 192-193) has called upon a challenge that anthropological epistemology entails: “to try to seriously, holistically and intensely understand social and cultural life in the field on its own terms, rather than subsuming it under an already established social theory or concept”. Verne (2012) calls for a creative interplay of theoretical concepts, close participation in the lived experience of people and for a genuinely hermeneutic approach to interpretative research. Breidenstein et al (2013) argue that an anthropological attitude towards research means taking serious both the lived experience and self-descriptions of the research participants (as far as the researchers can understand them) as well as the subjectivity and bodily experience of the researchers own self, whose cognitive, emotional, bodily and spiritual reactions and positionings are a central research instrument. Such a relational analysis should shed light on the continued complex and often ambiguous relationships between different people that evolve through face-to-face social interaction and that are embedded in large social processes. The development of intersectionality as a concept can be seen as an important move. It used the lived experiences and empirical realities of Black Women in United States as a counterpoint towards existing social theories, policies and movements. The criticism against hegemonic and powerful social theories that was developed by Black Feminist Theorists was part of a more general criticism of the implicit generalization of white-masculinist, seemingly “neutral” social sciences Haraway (1991, 89) and the authority anthropologists

performed when “writing culture” Clifford and Marcus (1986). It was embedded in a larger movement towards a more reflexive scientific practice and a step towards marking knowledge as situated and partial (Harding 1991).

With regard to the African migrants living in Delhi, this method of intersectionality was extremely useful to understand their experiences in everyday life. Their experiences varied with respect to their identity. Further, it was observed that the African women’s experiences were very different from men in terms of the nature of racial discrimination. They faced sexual harassment along with racial discrimination in their everyday lived experiences. They were associated with prostitution and were asked ‘how much?’ based on the fact that their race had been associated with dark and dirty. An association was made between black woman and prostitution in the Indian context. Experiences of women who had migrated to India for education or business entrepreneurship were narrated. They said that both men and women from the local community of Khirki Extension treated them as if they were prostitutes and doing drugs alongside. The factor of class too contributed to facing discrimination unlike the higher income or upper class section of the African migrants. Religion was also analysed to understand Somalian women’s experiences in Khirki Extension. In short, the African migrants narrated incidents of racial profiling and racial Discrimination, which they faced in their everyday lives. It is also important to mention here that the cases of racial violence are not recognized as racial by the Indian state.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the various aspects of Racial Discrimination to understand what it means by definition and experience. Racial Discrimination was understood through intersectionality of race, class and gender. In order to understand this neo-classical triad of multiply marginality, narratives of the African migrants living in Khirki Extension were given to analyse their everyday experiences of racial discrimination. The complex aspect of religion along with the triad of race, class and gender was applied. This was studied in relation to intersectionality to understand how racial discrimination operates in relation to institutions, systems and power relations for a more nuanced sociological analysis. Further in this chapter an attempt was made to understand intersectionality as an approach and how different scholars around the world have used it. Scholars have also very interestingly related it to larger epistemological inquiries of reflexivity, posituality

and rationality. How do these contemporary epistemological inquiries influence our understanding on race, class and gender? An attempt was made to go into this debate. In order to reflect on these questions works of scholars were referred that presented the way in which marginalization and exclusion of people took place. Since, Intersectionality was first used in the US, the context of how black women were excluded from policy, was studied through the works of Crenshaw (1989) and Collins (1990). The Black women's experiences were often overshadowed by either race, or gender but never an intersection that was greater than the sum of racism and sexism. The aspect of class was equally important to understand black women's lived experiences. The analysis of reflexivity was made in this context that argued for the inclusion of black women's experiences of exclusion so that a more nuanced understanding of it could be made to understand the way in which groups were 'multiply marginalized'. Racial Discrimination as a phenomenon is complex, in the way it operates in everyday social life. This complex phenomenon required an empirical approach that could capture discrimination accurately and precisely. In the Indian context, this neo-classical triad as outlined by Crenshaw (1989) was useful to analyse experiences of the African migrants living in Khirki Extension.

CHAPTER 6
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, STATE AND BILATERAL AGREEMENTS:
PERSPECTIVES FROM THE CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Introduction:

The previous chapter outlined Racial Discrimination and outlined briefly how the African migrants felt that the Indian state does not recognize racial violence but instead asserts that these cases signify law and order issues, and general crime at the local community level²⁸. The African migrants felt that the Indian state is not giving them legal protection against racial violence. In fact, the African migrants narrated that the state does not acknowledge these cases as racial violence let alone legal protection or justice. The state in fact, through the Ministry of External Affairs specified that all the cases of violence and attacks couldn't be regarded as racial²⁹. In this context how do we analyse the role and the nature of the Indian state with regard to the African migrants looking for justice? Is it a state that is protecting its economic interests and keeping the economic trade exchanges with Africa at the centre? An analysis is made of India's economic policy with Africa and its economic tie-ups. It was evident through the official position of the state that it was protecting its economic and political ties with Africa. The Ministers of the Ministry of External Affairs gave their official position that attacks on African migrants were not racial. The Indian state could not endanger its economic relations with Africa and be known for racial violence. Keeping this context in mind, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section begins with a narrative of a Tanzanian migrant who narrates how he feels that in India there are no strict laws protecting the African migrants against racism. In the second section, India-Africa economic relations are outlined in detail to understand the Indian state and why it remains silent on the question of racial violence. In the third section, an outline is made of a movement that surfaced in Delhi against racial violence after the death of an African Migrant who was beaten to death. In the fourth section, an outline is made of Critical Race Theory to understand the Indian State through a critical perspective.

²⁸ The Times of India, March 30, 2017, 11:07 PM IST, 'India refuses to categorise attacks on Africans as racial'.

²⁹ Indian Express, 05 April 2017, 09:05 PM, 'All Attacks on Africans cant be termed racial: Sushma Swaraj in Lok Sabha'.

African Migrants, Racial Discrimination and the call for ‘March of Justice’

This section outlines the views and position of the African migrants living in Delhi on MEA (Ministry of External Affairs MEA) and the Indian government in the light of the racial attacks and violence taking place.

With the growing cultural differences between the local community and the African community living in Delhi, serious cases of racial violence emerged which resulted in public lynching and mob violence. In some of these serious cases African nationals were also beaten to death. It was in this environment in 2016, that the third phase of fieldwork was conducted. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, the fieldwork for this study was divided into three phases. In the first phase of the fieldwork it was observed that there was a lot of cultural conflicts taking place in Khirki. In this phase Racial Profiling, Othering and Racial Discrimination were seen to be taking place based on cultural differences in Khirki Extension. Interviews with the local migrants were conducted. The local migrants were vocal about their opinions and alleged that African nationals carry out illegal activities. In this phase public opinion was documented from the local community. The local residents of Khirki Extension were complaining that the migrants were responsible for drugs and prostitution in Khirki Extension. This resulted in local community pressure on the ex-Law Minister Delhi who conducted a Midnight raid on the African nationals. The local community was very appreciative of this raid. However, the Ministry held the Minister accountable for this act as he conducted the raid without any search warrants and prior notice. But no apologies were made to the African nationals by the Indian state.

The second phase of the fieldwork was conducted to understand the impact of the midnight raid on the African nationals and their reaction to it. In this phase, it was observed that the respondents from Africa were feeling targeted and shared their experiences about how cultural stereotyping is taking place. The respondents from Africa explained how they were making efforts to assimilate into the local space. However, there were cultural differences and these differences were becoming the reason for racial violence, racial attacks, abuse, public beating, mob violence and lynching. The migrants from Africa complained that they were being falsely accused. The impact of the Midnight raid was that the growing cultural gap between the local community in Khirki and the African community widened. In this phase many cases of racial attacks came to the light.

In this phase the Ministry of External Affairs made promises to the African nationals that they would sensitize the people in areas where they were living.

The third phase was followed by the death of a Congolese³⁰ Man, Olivier who was beaten up to death on the streets of Delhi. He was waiting for an auto at around midnight at 11:30 when he was beaten to death. It was Olivier's birthday starting at 12:00 AM. He died at 11:45 PM, 15 minutes before his birthday. This incident brought a shock to the community of migrants from different countries of Africa. It unleashed a series of stories of hidden and unreported racial attacks on the African migrants living in Delhi. The migrants from different countries of Africa expressed their views in public now using mass media. A mass media campaign was held. There were revelations of incidents of being severely violated by the local people and the police. Stories of violence against the African community and the injustices came out in the open and the Ministry of External Affairs³¹ was asked to give its position on these racial attacks. There were mass slogans, which were being generated and circulated in the mass media, such as,

“We are not safe, it could be anyone's turn tomorrow.”³²

To mark a resistance against these racial attacks and discrimination on May 31st 2016, a call for a 'March for Justice' was made. A call for a Peaceful March for Justice was made by the African community living in Delhi, organized by the Association of African Students in India, African Studies Association of India and other independent actors who came to the forefront to lead this anti-racism movement. Free transportation from various pick up locations was arranged, with the names and phone numbers of coordinators from Khirki Extension and from different university areas like Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Chattarpur etc. The news for this March for Justice had spread across not only Delhi but also other parts of India where the African community was living and facing racial discrimination. Many students came for this March from outside of Delhi as well. The call was made to congregate at Jantar Mantar between 10:00 AM and 12:00 PM. However, this March was cancelled. On hearing the news about the March many who came to the venue independently saw that there was no

³⁰ The Indian Express, Kedar Nagarajan, May 22, 2016, Published: 2:03AM “Congo man beaten to death: He came to Delhi looking for a better life”.

³¹ The Wire, May 26, 2016, “African Envoys Threaten to Stop Sending Students; Indians in Congo face backlash”.

³² <https://www.facebook.com/peopletree/posts/10154340863981004>

sign of the Protest or any people at the venue. This was because on the morning of 31st May 2016, the Ministry of External Affairs and the Nigerian Embassy along with other Embassies from Africa called the coordinators of the 'March For Justice' to cancel the protest. The police was sent to the venue by the Ministry of External Affairs to ensure that no Protest takes place. At this time a respondent from Kenya said,

I am going to fight for justice! Even if the march has been cancelled I will go to the police station and take permission for holding the peaceful March in Jantar Mantar. I have faced racism multiple times. First I faced racism at the airport when I arrived in India 3 years back. The security checks made on me were different from others. I was asked to leave the line and come aside. A German friend who I had met on the plane who was walking with me was told that he should stay away from me, as I could be dangerous.

Second time, was when I was beaten up and kicked by some Indian boys on my chest. I went to the police station to file a complaint and the police refused to register my complaint. I told them that I will go the Commissioner and instead of being scared, they threatened me and said that I can go and complain about them if I like and then they started laughing at me. I asked them to give me protection till the main road where I had been beaten up but they refused. This was disheartening.

I have learnt that in India if you want to stay safe and survive you have to learn to speak in Hindi. The landlord of my house in Khirki Extension was initially very nice to me, but when he heard people talking and passing remarks at me, he started keeping tight checks on me. Since then, he wants to keep a check on everything, my food, clothes and my friends. I have many friends and some of them are Indian too but he has a problem with all my friends. I have many friends. I am registered on a travellers web site, Couch surfing, so I have many friends who come to stay at my place, but he keeps a check on me and says that, "You have too many friends", "Indians don't have so many friends".

I have a scooty of my own and I have to park it at a back entrance. If any Indian is sitting behind me, they stop me and tell the Indian friend to be careful.

Many Indians host me and if I am friendly with Indians, the neighbors have a problem with me and tell the Indians to stay away. I came to India to do my Ph.D in journalism. So, now I am doing a Ph.D on the topic Media and Democracy. I come from a very poor family background. I don't get any scholarship. I have to survive in India all by myself. I teach journalism to students so I don't have to pay for my fees.

Further he said,

I had written a letter to the Prime Minister in Feb. 2016 when the incident took place in Bangalore; a Tanzanian girl was beaten up and striped in public. It was not her fault. A man from Sudan had a fight with the locals, so he was getting beaten up. He ran away and when this girl was coming on her own vehicle from the back, they got her down, started beating her and stripped her in public. She was told that her brother had run away so she has to pay for that. I had written a letter to the P.M following that incident. I feel if something had been done at that time then Olivier would not have lost his life. We African students feel scared now with such growing violences. I want to talk to my Ambassador from Kenya. She recognizes me. She is not made aware about these problems that is why I want to talk to her. We are not allowed to talk to our ambassador because they are scared that if we meet them we will tell them our problems and they are soft for us, they understand our problems but they don't allow us to meet them. When I take appointment to meet the Kenyan Ambassador they tell me she left 5 mins back. I get many calls from the office of Sushma Swaraj (MEA) but I know nothing will be done. They give me a glass of water and all my anger and frustration goes away. They do it

purposely. Now I tell them that no, I will not take water, first I will tell my problem then I will take water. With water they make you calm and that is not good. This is a common practice.

A Respondent from the Association of African Students in India said,

Our expectations are that when we are coming to study in India the people and the police should know about the people from Africa who are coming from different countries. We expect a safe environment for all of us. That'll all! Is that too much to ask for!

After the death of Olivier, there was a wave of solidarity that emerged within the African community. The African community became united at various levels. *Firstly*, there was a formation of unity between migrants from different countries of Africa, based on the fact that their experiences as a community were very similar in the city based on common experiences of racism. Words such as *Kalu, Kala, Habshi* were used for all the migrants who had come from different countries of Africa. Hence, 'African' as a strong identity emerged to assert. *Secondly*, during this phase various informal African Associations emerged which were ready to address the problems of all the African migrants in Delhi and form solidarities. *Thirdly*, based on skin color, the local community had started to refer to the migrants from different countries of Africa as '*Kalu, Kala, and African*'. Therefore, the 'African' as an identity emerged as a point of reference and a signifier for both, the local community and migrant community from Africa.

Many of the migrants from the African community said that they started learning about different countries in Africa after they came to India. They started forming a solidarity network based on the fact that physical characteristics were taking on a social character. The physical features were socially defined and recognized as different from the local. The formation of this African identity was an important event. In Khirki Extension itself it was observed that the African community had a common Barber shop who could cut the hair for all African people given the fact that the hair was different and the African migrants felt that Indian barber would cut off their skin as they dint know how to cut it due to lack of experience so the migrants preferred their own barbar shops. So a strong sense of identity emerged which was the 'African' identity. Many said that it was like brothers from different countries. The local perspective was that people would refer to the migrants from Africa, as Africans. African as an identity emerged. In the local sphere 'African' was associated with everything that was illegal, bad and criminal. It was

to counter such an association that several protests in the city grew and an Identity-based movement began to surface. Although these solidarities emerged, differences among the African nationals were prevalent,

Respondent from Kenya said,

Africa is so different and there are big differences among Africans. For eg. If a Nigerian was attacked or something bad would have happened to him, I wouldn't have come. Even the other ambassadors know that. Because usually they cause trouble. They do that, most of them. You know 'we'll say we are sorry for them but we won't come for the protest', if it was a Nigerian! Even in Africa itself, our country it is like that. We can talk to them and then say ok, it's a disease actually, Nigerians cause trouble. When I went to the meeting in the Nigerian Embassy, the way they were sitting, they know how their students are, and they know that they cause trouble, but that's how they operate even in economy, by being Rough, by bullying others, and do other bad things in Africa. They are risk takers. They can risk everything. But their govt. sometimes is behind them.

Due to the violent attack and death of Olivier the African community emerged as a collective identity. The differences among the nationals were overlooked to fight the common identity stereotype that was prevailing in the local sphere. The March for Justice that was organized was called by the African community overlooking personal, regional, differences. However, the March for Justice, i.e., the peaceful protest was cancelled due to pressure by the MEA.

K- so, what did you tell the ambassador? Why did the March get cancelled?

J- The March for justice was cancelled because there was so much pressure.

The African Ambassadors assured by the Ministry of External Affairs, compelled the African Students Association to cancel the protest. They assured that steps would be taken to ensure that students are safe in India. The Respondent who was a Representative of the African Students Association went to meet the Ambassador of Kenya. He went with an appeal in order to represent the interests of all the African Students. He said,

The ambassadors have assured that action will be taken so don't worry because they can take care of the students (referring to the Ambassadors).

The meeting was fine. The meeting was with the ambassador. She told me that I should have just called her yesterday to go into the Nigerian Embassy³³ for the meeting that was organized for the African Students. She would have told them that my boy is coming, let him in! They were trying to call me but my phone was off. They told me they were calling me from the embassy to let me go. They knew I was there and Kenyan boy should be there

K- So what were they discussing in the meeting?

J- The issues were about the African students in India. The ambassador told me that they were using my letter that I wrote to the Prime Minister in Feb 2016 after the incident with

³³ This is in connection with the meeting of ambassadors after the Congolese boy was killed. The March for justice, peaceful march was called off under the pressure of African ambassadors and the MEA.

the Tanzanian girl. When the Ambassador met with the other African ambassadors she was using my letter to talk about issues faced by students. She was telling me that your letter was so good that when issues and problems had to be discussed your letter was used. I had written to the PM and sent them a copy so she said when I was presenting the issues to the other African Ambassadors I was raising problems raised by you. So I was representing you. She said don't worry about meeting the Prime Minister, the letter, I have a copy and everyone has the copy so don't worry. The issues will be taken care of. If any problem happens somebody from the embassy will come straight to help you.

K- So where does the ambassador stay?

J- She stays in Delhi. Her name is Florence. She says if there is any meeting in India, they will send me. She said, 'You should not try to go there on your own or crash gate'. I told her that some other Indian students also want to be a part of our issues so she said that she will definitely send me and the group for meetings if there are any.

If people would have protested then there would have been a lot of media coverage about it and then the news would have spread, so that is why the protest got called off. The ministers said that this time action will be taken very fast. There will be fast track court and the governments will take action. They have said that in every city if there is any violence then the police commissioner has to go there himself. Otherwise you have to go through the local police station, the police will come. The Congo students were not so happy but the ambassadors have been told that quick action will be taken. Meetings were held with the students at the Nigerian embassy along with ambassadors of other African countries. The Ambassadors had told the African Students to call off the March as they too were under a lot of pressure by the Indian government. But when the news about death of Olivier spread, there was a flash Protest March. This was a sign for the government to show how angry we all are. Congo is the richest country in Africa. It has forests, green grass, it has good weather, it stays at 26 degree. The Grass grows beautifully and big. In Kenya, you have to get a grass cutter every Monday, its compulsory. They make boys stand, one here, one there, and cut grass. We use to do that in Africa. The new generation cannot do that.

The respondent very interestingly made a distinction between the sane and the insane generation. According to him, the sane generation was the one born in the 1980s or before while the insane generation is the one born in the 1990s and after. He says,

The sane generation comes to India. The insane generation will go back, if something happens to them, their parents have money, they will go back home! For me, I will like to stay and meet people and make friends; as for me the world is a global village. For them it is 'me' the individual. If I protest I think of society. For them it is individual. But if it is for the Ministry of External Affairs saying No protest, they will do it! They are extremists. They get radicalized very fast. For me I think I cannot cause harm to society.

This incident can be understood in the light of the formation of an identity based on common social experiences of migrants from different countries of Africa. This incident brought to light the formation of ethnic- racial categories and identities at the level of diaspora, which are formed as a result of economic globalization. Can these identities be understood with respect to Pan-Africanism or Pan-African Identity? The next chapter will discuss this in detail. However, coming to the question of conflict in the urban space, which manifests in the form of resistance and protest against racial violence

and discrimination, how can it be analysed to understand the link between State, Economy and Society. With regard to the above major discussions of Economy and Politics of resistance, it can be argued that even after the migrants of Africa are facing racial discrimination and violence, the government of India refuses to admit that these cases are symbolizing racial abuse and violence. The Ministry of External Affairs puts added pressure on the migrants of Africa to cancel the protest. At the end, these cases are regarded as criminal cases and not as racial violence. What does this say about the nature of the state? Why is the state silent on the question of racial violence?

When the incident of midnight raid took place on Khirki Extension, while it was a case of racial targeting and racial humiliation, the government did not acknowledge it as racial, instead many cases were filed against Somnath Bharti for conducting the midnight raid without a search warrant, it was the police that came under the radar and of course Somnath Bharti for forcefully conducting the raid without proper documents. There was no apology from the govt. about the racial targeting of a population, but instead the Govt. prosecuted Bharti for not following the correct legal procedure for conducting a raid.

The perception of Indian State on Racial discrimination

A very important event that emerged was that the Ministry of External Affairs indicated its concern when the incidences of racial violence came into limelight and became rampant. The state was compelled to give its stance on the issue as it felt that such incidences would be politically dangerous for the countries while they were in the process of bi-lateral exchanges³⁴ and treaties with Africa. Therefore, such incidences of racial violence were suppressed in the public sphere and in the media as they were creating a public image of the violence and attacks, emphasizing racism. To show its concern, the state promised the African migrants that, community sensitization programmes would be formulated and implemented in the localities where the migrants were staying to sensitize the local community and the police. In Khirki Extension, these promises were made as well especially after the midnight raid and many attacks that had followed between the years 2014 to 2017. This was initiated as a move to protect its relations with Africa. The State approach was that these cases were simple crimes emerging out of cultural differences. These could be reduced through local community sensitization programmes. In an interview with a respondent from Tanzania, he said,

³⁴ India-Africa Summit 2008, 2011, 2015

Local people take law into their own hands and start beating us. They think we have done wrong. Many a times the local populations take law into their own hands and feel that it is their right and duty to punish all of us for committing illegal acts. Some of the community attacks are only based on assumption. We may not have committed any crime but we are punished for being a part of the community that commits illegal activities. For example, a woman from my community was stripped³⁵ in public on the streets of Bangalore. This is public humiliation. She had not committed any crime but was sexually humiliated in public for being an African. Tanzanian people are very gentle and soft people you know. They can hardly speak up for themselves! If the local people could be strictly punished for violating somebody based on their race then we would be safe in India. But, no efforts are being made by the Indian state to control this violence and help us!

The African national from Tanzania explained that if India had strict laws to protect them against racial violence, then there would not be so much violence. He said that if the local people were aware that they could be strictly punished for violating the African migrants based on their racial identity then the instances of racial violence could be controlled. However, in the present situation, the local community can make racial attacks and go scot-free. In mob violence for instance, the local community goes free and no arrests³⁶ are made. The local people are not punished for taking law into their own hands. This brings to the fore, two questions, *firstly* which relates to the role of the state and *secondly* to the nature of the state. Why is it that the India state is not recognizing these cases as racial violence? Can this role and nature of the state be linked to India's Economic Policy with Africa? Do the new economic ties motivate the state? Does the Indian state feel the pressure of protecting its economic ties with Africa? Can the incidents of racial violence in India impede upon the larger political and economic interests with Africa? Why is the Ministry of External Affairs not acknowledging these cases as racial in nature? The next section outlines India and Africa relations. An outline is made of the present relations between India and Africa. Economic ties with Africa have been analysed in depth, to identify the areas of cooperation and economic- political ties. The following section shows the position of India vis-à-vis Africa and how present economic partnerships are formed. Also, a brief view is given on the historical political economic ties. The following section outlines a brief historical overview in order to gain perspective on the present ties, which are founded on the re-configuration of the past political and economic relations.

³⁵ Check the report and fill here

³⁶ NDTV news Updated: 02 October, 2014 "Delhi: Mob Attack on African Students at Metro, No Arrests Yet" <http://www.ndtv.com/delhi-news/delhi-mob-attack-on-african-students-at-metro-no-arrests-yet-674009>

Factors governing the perception of Indian state:

It is interesting to observe that when the African migrants, diplomats and international community are stating that violence against the African migrants are racist in nature, than when does the Indian government fails to acknowledge. Hence this section reviews the Africa-India bilateral relations to understand and outline the factors that influences or governs the Indian Government Perceptions.

India-Africa Political Relations

Dubey (2016) argues that after independence India-Africa ties became more formal and concrete. Prior to India's independence the nature their relationship was more diverse and wide-ranging. The new India-Africa relationship was forged on the basis of interaction and constant migration of people, ideas and growing trade potential. In the past, both India and Africa had been subjected to colonialism and exploitation. Both had common historical linkages, which tied them together through ideas of resistance against racial discrimination and colonization. Both suffered colonial exploitation based on which they borrowed ideas, strategies and support to struggle against colonial exploits and colonial rule. Both the regions witnessed migrations during the colonial period and saw the communities of respective regions occupying positions of prominence in the host countries. Although, it may be argued that there had been numerous struggles and resistances between the two regions but these issues were resolved rapidly. A large part of the migrant population in recent times have integrated in both these regions which is telling of the example of integration of migrant communities.

Further, while India was first to gain colonial independence, it supported African regions towards their liberation and anti-racial struggles. To add to the history of cooperation between the two regions, NAM brought the countries together in cooperation against world powers and domination. Their history of their cooperation was also marked during the Cold War period. Post its independence, India initiated the South-South cooperation based on its considerable high- level technological power which further contributed in its economic cooperation with Africa based on sharing of technology and knowledge for economic growth. As mentioned earlier, there were differences that emerged in both the regions but these differences were resolved giving rise to future economic cooperation. Africa saw India in the light of friendly power and the 'India

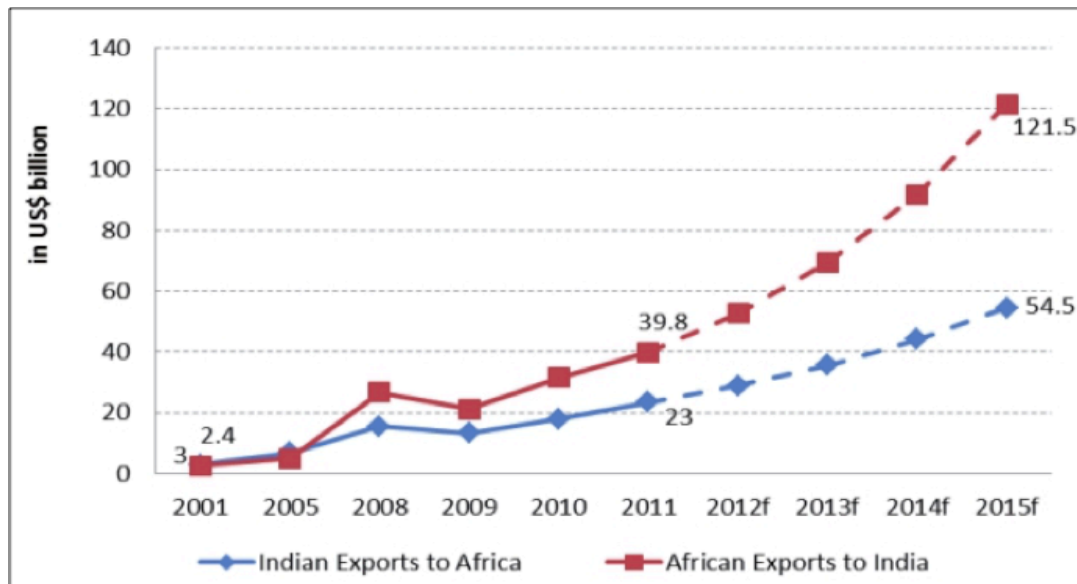
Rising Model' was recognized by Africa. This allowed for free exchange and sharing of development oriented practices and strategies, which India had gained over the period of its Independence. In this regard, India was seen as a model and recognized as a friendly power. Further, Indian diplomacy and foreign affairs worked towards cooperation with Africa ever since its independence and political and economic ties were built slowly with different countries. It may be noted that initially Africa was seen as a single region and the policy towards Africa was uniform. Nonetheless, Dubey (2016) argues that Indian policy was always sensitive towards African interests. A large diaspora living in Africa in the Anglophone regions, Francophone and Arab Africa, also gave impetus for growing economic ties between India and Africa. The Indian communities living in various parts of Africa are communities that have emerged as prominent and seen as a significant force bringing together economic growth to the regions. Based on these commonalities of past struggles and experiences, India and Africa forged their ties in the global era. Their partnership is seen as an example of South-South Partnership. This partnership has grown to becoming formal in terms of business enterprises and cooperation. An outline is made of the Economic ties between India and Africa which highlight the relations that have grown since 1991, when India adopted new economic policy that opened up its domestic market. This phase has been seen as a phase in which India and Africa ties became concrete and formalized with Policy Frameworks guiding as blueprints for Economic Cooperation in the global era.

India-Africa: Economic Ties and Strategies

As mentioned earlier, in 1991, India adopted a New Economic Policy due to economic, political and technological factors. India was on the verge of facing an economic crisis, which was dealt with through adoption of New Economic Policy. The New Economic Policy had a major impact on India's diplomatic and foreign policy. Dubey (1989) argues that this made India become diversified and the elements of multilateralism, which had their roots in Nehruvian period, became rejuvenated. Dubey (2016) further argues that during the Nehruvian period India perceived Africa as one singular region and therefore, it adopted a uniform policy for all the countries across the based on the fact that both had suffered colonial exploitation, imperialism and then the coming together through Non-Alignment. However since 1991, the economic and political interests have changed in nature giving rise to a more pragmatic approach towards Africa by India as a continent

and different African countries as separate nations. In the twenty first century the relations between Africa and India have grown especially since 1991 when India emerged as an important participant in global economy. The recent cooperation between India and Africa is marked in the “India-Africa Forum Summits”. In these summits a detailed plan was laid down for the grants, loans and development assistance that India would provide to African countries. India’s role in assistance to African countries in development projects differs fundamentally from that of the western countries. India and Africa policy frameworks are developed on the basis of mutual ties and mutual relationships. These ties have become realized as South-South partnership, which have taken the shape of India-Africa Forum Summits. The trading ties began very concretely since 2001 when trade projections were drawn. Figure 1 highlights the trade relations since 2001.

Figure 1: ‘India-Africa Trade Projections’



Source: ‘UN COMTRADE and WTO staff calculations’, as cited in India-Africa: South-South trade and Investment for Development, page no 15

The above figure highlighted how India and Africa established Economic trade exchanges. These trading relations were of utmost significance to the Indian state. This growth projection since the year 2001 outlines the concrete steps taken towards building formal economic ties. While on the one hand, India promised development assistance to Africa, it also showed its interest in African minerals. Therefore, it was also very important for India to develop mutual cooperation with Africa for trading purposes especially for crude oil imports (CII & WTO Report 2013). India’s interest in African

minerals and fuels resulted in the building of mutual interests. India and Africa's expanding trade and investment has in recent times taken a new direction. It has led to the formation of a new relationship between the two countries. It has led to new initiatives and activities and many of these activities are placed in the private sector. Under the guidelines of CII (Confederation of Indian Industry), the private sector has been doing business in Africa. The CII coordinates governmental as well as private initiatives for the formation of PPP (Public-Private Partnerships). The CII also organizes joint ventures between Indian firms and African firms. It does so through India-Africa Conclaves, which make tie-ups and project partnerships. The CII-EXIM³⁷ Bank coordinates funds for these joint ventures. India and Africa have already been partners in nine of these Conclaves, which have taken place since the year 2005. The project partners have grown ever since these ventures are organized through India-Africa Conclaves. The Conclaves provide opportunities for business partnerships. The EXIM bank plays an important role in facilitating the funds for companies to execute their projects. The EXIM bank also has released funds for developmental projects and offered LOCs (Lines of Credit) to institutions in Africa to support their projects in financing etc. African countries were compelled to accept IMF/WB monitored Structural Adjustment Programme. The countries of Africa had to opt for market economy for economic growth and development. This also led to negative growth in many of the African economies since 1980s and followed till the 1990s. However, this was the case in regions where there was a lack of political stability. Other economies in Africa saw a rise. It was during this period that India and Africa ties grew concretely with the private sector of India making an entry into African markets. It was in this phase that India and Africa relations started growing economically and concretely.

India-Africa ties in the era of Economic Liberalization and Globalization

Dubey (2016) demonstrates that in the 1990s India had also adopted SAP (Structural Adjustment Programme) under IMF (International Monetary Fund) and WB (World Bank). It decided to liberalize its economy and leave the mixed economy model that it had previously adopted as its growth model. The leaders under Manmohan Singh decided to adopt market economy. Dubey (2016:30) notes that at this same time, it changed its policy towards the diaspora. India launched a programme of long-term bonds, which

³⁷ Export Import Bank of India

fetched billions of US dollars. With these changes in policies India continued with its economic reforms. This brought the economy into the hands of private players. With this policy India established its economic ties with Africa. To establish these economic ties India extended LOCs “Lines of Credit” to PTA “Preferential Trade Areas” since 1992 Dubey (2016:30). Further revolving funds were allocated for I billion towards cooperation with Africa at a regional level in 1996; in 1997 MoU (Memorandum of Understanding) was signed with SADC “Southern African Development Community”. In 2002 “Focus Africa Programme” was launched and in 2003 TEAM 9³⁸ Initiative was launched worth US\$500 million.

Further India supported the vision for NEPAD “New Partnership for Africa’s Development” since 2001. This was to support Africa in achieving developmental goals. India has allotted \$200 million for “New Partnership for Africa’s Development” to establish economic ties with Africa. This also was initiated as a growth model for India to expand its market reach in Africa through cooperation in mining, motor vehicles, agro - based business and ICT (Information and Communication Technology). NEPAD lays scope to run big projects between India and Africa. In the 1990s, CII “Confederation of Indian Industries”, ASSOCHAM “The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry” and FICCI “Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry” recognized the importance of Africa for business opportunities. Beri (2003) analyses how these institutions identified areas for business and launched programmes such as ‘Made in India’ across Africa. Due to these initiatives many business agreements and joint ventures are taking place between Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Mauritius, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Ethiopia.

Dubey (2016) further shows that in 2015 India’s business with Africa grew at \$100 billion due its policies which was an increase from a decade ago of US\$5 billion and US\$60 billion in the year 2012 Dubey (2016:31). India’s trading relations have been diverse with Africa over the years in intensity and in regional dynamics. Zuma (2013) notes that, “India has emerged as the fourth partner of Africa in trade and economic ties”. India -Africa ties till 1970s was in traditional goods such as jute and textiles; and non-traditional commodities such as engineering goods, chemical, iron, steel, other commodities such as pharmaceuticals and cosmetics. In the 1970s and 80s India’s imports included raw cotton, pearls and other semi precious stones, dyeing materials, colouring

³⁸ “TEAM 9 Techno- Economic Approach for Africa-India Movement”

and tanning materials, raw cashew nuts, rock phosphate; however after 1990s India expanded the trade with hydrocarbons which has become a major commodity and metal products along with chemicals. India's trade exchanges and ties have grown and are consistently increasing. India is trading partners with Nigeria, Egypt, Angola and South Africa.

Further, in Energy Cooperation India and Africa emerged as prominent partners. Dubey (2016) argues that this was one of the major driving forces for partnership. (WTO/CII 2013) show that in terms of Energy consumption, India is the sixth largest consumer after United States, China and Japan. Therefore, there is a need for India to expand its energy resources to sustain itself in order to grow towards its economic goals. Fee (2006) shows that India's oil imports from Middle East are 70% and is seeking to diversify. For this it needs to invest on energy assets. In this regard India's interest in Africa is evident for its energy resources. Presently almost about 24% of crude oil is imported from Africa including North Africa. India's business enterprises such as OVL "Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Videsh Limited" have invested 3\$US billion in Sudan, this is the largest overseas investment. It has on-going business with Senegal, Ivory Coast, Libya, Gabon, Nigeria and Egypt. India is offering to also share its technical know how with Africa due to its interests in oil resources, it therefore, willingly extends cooperation in refining, storage, distribution, exploration and transportation. India has interests in import of energy from Africa. This is the reason why India is willing to extend loans, grants etc. to Africa as India has to reciprocate and this has to be different from traditional export and import as in the past. India has therefore agreed to extend support in capacity building, sharing of science and technology and in food security. This is how the African and Indian ties are being built. This liberalization of economy has initiated economic ties with Africa. The private sector is the key player in forging the India-Africa ties. The model of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization has worked in creating new India-Africa ties.

Bilateral Ties: India-Africa Forum Summits

The first India-Africa Forum Summit was held in 2008. It was symbolic of the first formal Partnership that was established between India and Africa. It was held in New Delhi from April 4 to April 8, 2008. It was agreed by India and Africa that IAFS (India Africa Forum Summit) will be held every three years. Fourteen countries of Africa

attended the First India-Africa Forum Summit with India being its Partner. The second IAFS took place in Ethiopia, in the city of Addis Ababa. It was held in the month of May. Fifteen countries from Africa attended it along with India. The third IAFS was held in New Delhi from Oct 26 to 30, 2015. These three summits have marked a formal cooperation between India and Africa. Since India's liberalization, the cooperation on and partnership was established and by 2000 India had offered technical support in Africa's agricultural sector. This sector was seen as one of the major sectors for partnership with great potential for business projects. In the 2008 summit, it was agreed that India and Africa would strengthen cooperation on water management, land development, food security, breeding technologies, agro-based processing machinery, combating agricultural plant diseases and conducting scientific experiments and training projects. Biswas (2016) argues that The India-Africa Summits were aimed at strengthening cooperation on three levels, at the level of AU "Africa United", REC's "Regional Economic Communities" and "bilateral Cooperation". In 2011, it was agreed that India and Africa would develop research for increasing agricultural productivity. This would be with respect to the food security agreement made in the past to bring down the increasing food prices in Africa and India. India agreed to share its research knowledge on agricultural science. Teams of experts of agricultural farming have visited Africa from ICAR (Indian Council of Agricultural Research) to examine the ways in which to improve their agricultural practices. Further, India agreed to offer 75 scholarships every year to students from Africa in Indian agricultural universities. In 2010 MoU was signed between India and Africa to cooperate in agricultural sciences and research signed by Department of Agricultural Research, ICAR and Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research. In the second IAFS, India agreed to give LOCs of about "US\$ 5.4 billion to support developmental practices in African countries". It was agreed to exchange scholars, experts, scientists and technologies between India and Africa. India also agreed for capacity building and strengthening knowledge-sharing programmes. The India and Africa Summits symbolize formal structured cooperation between the two regions and the highest leadership comes together for economic and political cooperation. The Summits provide a platform for the Governments to identify areas of cooperation for expansion. The Governments follow a structured "Framework of Cooperation" and followed it with "Framework for Enhanced Cooperation" during 2011 and 2014 Summits. The Framework acted as a blueprint for all the development projects. Through these Forums (LDCs) Least

Developed Countries were identified for development. The three main areas of cooperation that were agreed upon were political, economic and developmental. In the twenty-first century the Governments are putting efforts to unite on the agenda of development and economic interests. The South-South cooperation between India and Africa was recognized at Busan Partnership in 2012 for “Effective development Co-operation”. The areas for Co-operation that were identified were Agriculture, PPPs (Private-Public Partnerships) through grants and loans extended by EXIM bank, Pharmaceuticals, and Ocean Management. The following discussion outlines the areas of cooperation in detail by showing the business partnerships and countries positions with respect to area specific agreements. It also highlights India-Africa ties and its South-South Partnership in the World system or Global World Order.

Trading in Agriculture

Biswas (2016) argues that agriculture was one of the main sectors in which Indian-African bilateral policy was formed. Both India and Africa shared equal interests in Agriculture, which is a significant part of both their economies. Biswas (2016) further argues that, “in 2014 India’s agricultural imports from Africa were at \$1.56 billion”. The main import was of cashew nuts from East, West and Southern Africa. The cashew nuts were imported from Africa and processed in India as the domestic industry for processing had deteriorated tremendously. Biswas (ibid.) shows that, “Wood was the next biggest import valued at \$2.19 million in 2014 for domestic and industrial construction”. Further, India also imports goods such as; cotton, cocoa, coffee and tea from Africa, although India is among the largest producers of these cash crops especially cotton and tea. This import indicates expansion of these sectors in India such as the textile industry and the need for expansion.

Further, according to the (CII/WTO 2013) report the African cashew is a product of high demand. In 2012 a Singapore based multinational company called Olam, opened a 30,000 metric ton processor in Bouake in the Ivory Coast followed by Korhogo and Bondoukou in the same year. To add to that, processors were opened up in Ghana and Nigeria as well. The company expanded its capacity of processing up to 125,000 metric ton per year. Africa has been a major food producer in the past, but recently due to decline of exports since 1990s it is compelled to rely on imports of food to meet its own domestic demand. This is the case with grains, so in 2011-2012 it imported 20.8 MT; its

domestic production was 103 MT. It relies acutely on import of wheat, which is grown only in a few countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. It also relies heavily on imports of rice from Thailand and Vietnam for cheaper imports than US. This is putting a lot of pressure on the region and a strain on the budget of imports. “Nigeria imported 3.9 million metric ton of grain in 2011-2012. It is working to boost its domestic production of maize, rice, wheat, and sugar to become self-sufficient” (CII/WTO 2013). However, for food imports, it relies on Southeast Asia. A major issue emerging out of land rights in Sub-Saharan Africa causes a hurdle for many large-scale projects to succeed such as for example, establishing food export plantations. Such projects could lead to its growth in economy especially in the Chinese and Asian markets. But, as of now India is supporting Sub-Saharan Africa for its food security rather than the other way round. However, Potentially, Sub-Saharan Africa has great potential for expanding its market in exports that are related with non-grain agriculture such as high quality tea from Kenya and Ethiopia, and coffee from Uganda and various horticulture based goods from East Africa. In 2014 India’s exports of agricultural products to Africa were twice the amount of imports from Africa. In textiles India imports cotton lint and exports fabrics and yarn, which accounts for 28% of the total imports. Almost up to 25% of cotton from India is exported to Egypt and 12% to Senegal and Mauritius. India trades cotton and other goods with West Africa, such as Nigeria, Ghana and Ivory Coast.

Other exports to Africa include sugar, rice, fish and meat. However, the true scale of the exports and imports goes unaccounted due to informal trade in foodstuffs from Africa to India and India to Africa as noted by the Exim bank. It has noted that the demand for rice, which is the staple of the African diet, has ever increased. The food supply is inadequate according to the increased consumption (Economic Times 2014). It imports upto 10 million metric ton of rice each year. India competes with Thailand for rice exports. Thailand is the world’s leading exporter of rice. However, a large volume of rice from India is traded to Africa (Eco Bank 2013). India trades rice across North Africa and East Africa. Biswas (2016) shows that “a lot of informal trade takes place through informal network channels run by traders in Nairobi’s Eastleigh neighbourhood. They trade in large quantities of rice and sugar along with other foodstuffs and goods for Central and East Africa”. Eco Bank 2013 reports show that “these informal networks operate outside the formal banking system developed by a web of Hawala lenders, businessmen and traders mostly functioning in hard cash economy giving rise to cash and

carry business. This trade is further carried through corridors of trade in South Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania and parts of Central and Southern Africa. Large quantities of sugar from India also pass through these corridors, although lately there have been periodic export bans on sugar due to poor harvest, but a range of food products are going through these informal trading network chains”.

Trading in Pharmaceuticals

India's Pharmaceutical industry is very competitive and draws markets of the developing countries that are looking for cheap and low cost drugs. One of the major exports of India to Africa are Pharmaceuticals. It exports as much as 11.1% of its pharmacy products to Africa. Indian companies are very large providers of general drugs across the world. The Indian Pharmacy industry produces drugs at a very low cost. These low cost drugs are in great demand in the markets of many developing countries, which need cost effective health care pharmaceutical goods so that their population can afford healthcare. India ranks high on technology among developing countries. Since the liberalization of the Indian economy from 1991 onwards the expansion of the private players in the Pharmaceutical industry has given India a great boost.

Pharmabiz (2013) show that the Pharmaceuticals of India are in demand in many countries of Africa. By 2016 the growth of the Indian pharmaceutical exports reached at about \$30 billion due to rise in communicable and non-communicable diseases in Africa. The multinational companies in Africa that distributed pharmaceutical products in the domestic markets were namely, Abbott, Novartis, Sanofi-Aventis, Pfizer and GSK who had to face a competitive market. Indian Pharmaceuticals, which were sold as modern health care drugs, at low-cost intensified the demand for Indian Pharmaceuticals. In 2011 pharmaceutical imports reached at 17.7% of total African imports of pharmaceuticals increasing from 8.5% in 2002. This growth indicated the need for low cost effective Indian drugs. Biswas (2016) argues that, “Pharmaceutical companies such as Adcock Ingram, Aspen and CiplaMedpro all South African companies have been leading in the African domestic market but they now have to compete with the prices that Indian manufacturers provide. In addition they cannot meet standards for good practices to ensure high production” Biswas (2016:51). Further, they all do not have “prequalification status” from World Health Organization. Therefore, many NGOs, which have been buyers of these domestic medicines, are now refusing to buy essential drugs from these

manufacturers such as anti-infectives, preferring Indian manufacturers, because they are more cost effective than the western Pharmaceuticals. Pharmabiz (2013) shows that, the Indian exports of Pharmaceuticals was \$14.7 billion in 2012-2013 showing a growth of 11% and 55% leading compared to western regulated markets. India exports drugs to 220 countries, which accounts to 56% of the total bulk exports including Ayurveda and herbal products. The biggest market for Indian herbal products is the US, which is 22% followed by Africa which is 16% and Commonwealth States that is 8% of total exports.

The government exported almost about \$25 billion pharmaceuticals in 2016. Biswas (2016) shows that, “India has also developed life-saving medicines for diseases such as HIV at low cost bringing the cost down from \$12,000 a year to \$400 in 2004 according to MCI and MEA and FICCI” Biswas (2016:51). The developing economies welcome the cost effectiveness of the drugs. The companies, which are catering to the African markets, are Cipla, Ranbaxy and Dr. Reddy’s. India’s largest Pharmaceutical Company, Ranbaxy was first to also set up labs in Africa since 1977. This also opened the path for other Indian manufacturers, which now supply in Africa. Ranbaxy’s sales in Africa have grown tremendously since 2011. It has expanded its market reach and supplied in Nigeria. Ranbaxy is the fifth largest company in South Africa and has opened a manufacturing plant in Johannesburg since 2010. Ranbaxy brought out nine new products in the African market serving to local needs. It has gained approval from MCC, i.e., “Medicine Control Council” in South Africa for a manufacturing facility. It has upgraded its existing plant in South Africa. It has five offices, subsidiaries and a large workforce of nearly 1000. The network has expanded to 44 countries in Africa. The subsidiary of Cipla in South Africa is CiplaMedpro, which has gained a stronghold in Africa. It has recorded growth rate of 28% in six months; by the end of June 2012 it had grown to catering a market of worth \$123 million. It is the third largest firm in Africa. It has joint ventures in Uganda with Ugandan manufacturers of chemical industries worth a business of “\$32 billion that will produce anti malarial and anti-retroviral drugs” Biswas (2016:51).

Dr. Reddy’s has also made significant growth and progress. It entered the African market in 2004 through a subsidiary. It is the 18th largest company for drugs and Pharmaceutical products according to the (African Business Magazine 2012). They have grown through competitive prices. It used five elements, which gave impetus to its growth. Entry as a subsidiary and then control over market, local talent, brand image,

countries and target payers. They sell their products primarily through NGOs and government tenders. They have strong market presence in East Africa. They have WHO prequalification and sell affordable HIV medicines. They are expanding their range according to the demands in a variety of therapy areas. Jean Pierre O. Ezin, an official in the African Union (AU), says that, Africa wants to intensify its ties with India in areas of human capital and technology so that the continent that embodies 54 countries can develop their own indigenous technology instead of being a buyer from other countries. The AU is pushing for a road map for growth in science and technology to enhance its economic growth.

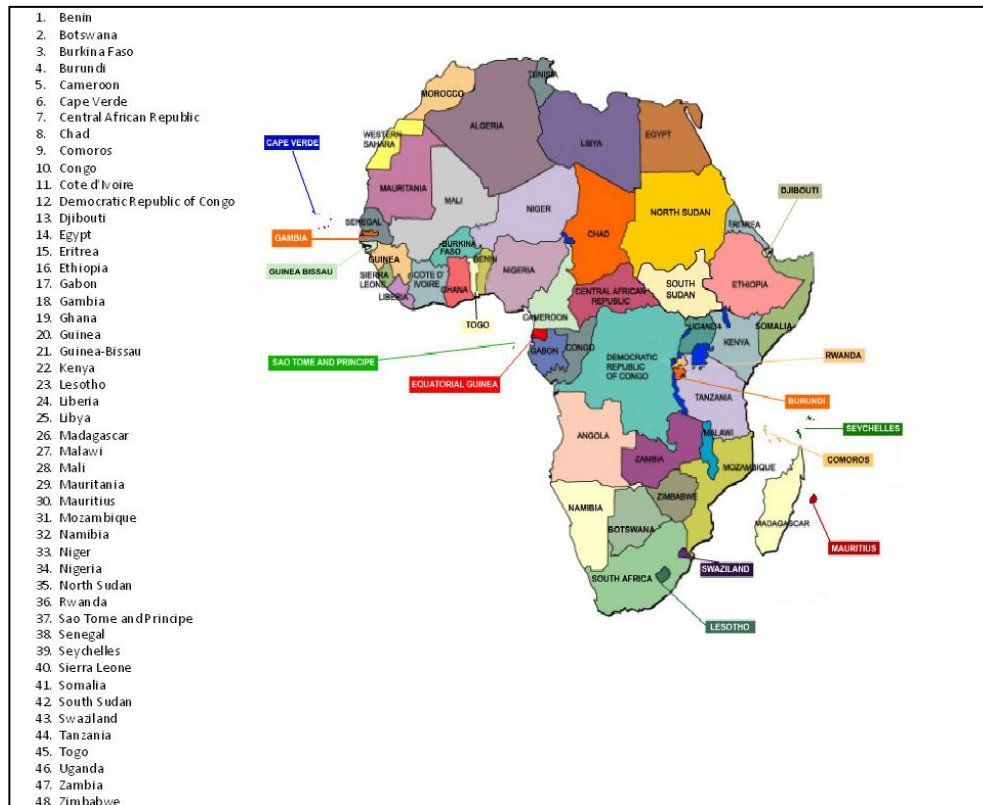
Cooperation in Science and Technology:

Biswas (2016) argues that in 2008 the India-Africa Forum Summit laid the foundation for cooperation between India and Africa in Science and Technology. A strong initiative was taken by India to share technical support with Africa for regional development. The Ministry of External Affairs in partnership with the Department of Science and Technology and FICCI “Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry” outlined the collaboration with AU (African Union). It was agreed that India would cooperate with institutions in Africa to strengthen their Science and Technology institutions by transferring technology and providing fellowships such as C.V. Raman Fellowship. In the 2011 India-Africa Forum Summit it was agreed that out of \$700 million \$185 million would only be dedicated to Science and Technology. India agreed to not only transfer technology but also share its technical knowledge with AU (African Union).

The aim of this initiative is to develop and create opportunities for capacity building along with development of human resources. By building these strong linkages with institutions in Africa, India would contribute to strengthening the human resources in different countries of Africa in their research and development. India committed to extend outreach in education to countries such as Ghana, Burundi, Uganda and Botswana in the year 2011. It promised to develop four sectors such as Information Technology, Communication, Administration and Planning and Foreign trade, (India Africa Connect n.d.). A follow up was done in 2012 March, in New Delhi when the Ministers of Science and Technology came together for a conference and Tech Expo. India extended its help in strengthening institutions in Tunisia, Benin and Gabon. It committed to training African

researchers and sharing technical knowledge. Consequently, in 2008 the Pan African e-Network was launched. The e-Network incorporates three elements: tele-education, tele-medicine and VVIP connectivity. Forty-eight countries in Africa can access this network. The following map shows the phases of Pan-African e-Network. The First Phase being with twelve countries and then the gradual coming together of forty-eight countries.

Map: Highlighting the Countries on Pan-Africa e-Network Partnership



Source: “http://www.panafricanenetwork.com/Portal/opennewpage1.jsp?requested_path=Portal/final%20africa%20map.JPG”

Prenab Mukherjee, the former External Affairs Minister, formally inaugurated the e-Network on 26th Feb 2009. It was inaugurated in the presence of High Commissioners and Ambassadors of Africa. This tie-up was symbolic of a unique cooperation between South-South Partnerships. As per the plans of this project, India would provide a satellite hub for connectivity to Africa for the formation of an e-Network. This network would provide access to expertise from India’s super speciality hospitals and universities to Africa. The second phase of this project was in 2010, a network was built with twelve

countries of African Union at TCIL³⁹ Bhawan, New Delhi. The twelve countries included, “Botswana, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Libya, Malawi, Mozambique, Somalia, Uganda and Zambia”, (Pan-African e-Network Project, Press Release, 2010).

Through the network a brief interaction took place on the e-Network regarding bilateral matters. This network linked all the Ministers of twelve countries in the second phase to the services offered by India such as Tele-medicine and Tele-education. The Pan-African e-Network marks the cooperation and formal bilateral ties between India and Africa. This project demonstrates the vision of the biggest distance learning and exchange project engaged through tele-education and tele-medicine. This e-Network provides VVIP connectivity through secure satellite network. Further, this network connected forty-eight countries of Africa. It is through this e-Network project that India would be providing technical assistance, enhancing capacity building and sharing technical knowledge with Africa. This project would allow education of about 10,000 students over a period of five years in various courses besides medicine, Information and communication, Science and Technology etc. through expert knowledge from Indian universities and super speciality hospitals. This network would connect medical practitioners in Africa with experts. This project was conceived by Late Dr. A.P.J. Kalam, former President of India in 2007 at a budget of US\$125 million. This cost would cover the supply, installation, testing, hardware, software, satellite bandwidth and support for providing the services of tele- medicine and tele-education.

The Pan African e-Network project is mainly supervised by the Ministry of External Affairs along with TCIL that is in charge of implementing the project. Tele-medicine services and Tele-education services have already been guided and are on-going through super-Specialty Hospitals from India to Africa. Sessions are conducted on a regular basis for strengthening the project from 11 Indian Super-Specialty Hospitals. More than 654 sessions had been conducted as of 2009 (Press Release, Pan-African e-Network, 2009). More than 2000 students are already enrolled in different universities for these Tele-education courses such as MBA, Finance, Diploma courses, IT, M.Sc etc. Regular live sessions are conducted from India to Africa. Interestingly, in many African countries Indian media is very famous. Biswas (2016) shows that Communications,

³⁹ TCIL refers to Telecommunications Consultants India Limited.

Technology and Media offer many opportunities for African markets. Indian Media with its plethora of newspapers and satellite channels, which offer more 80 channels of news and entertainment, are extremely popular in Africa. India alone has about 90,000 newspapers. African Media is also growing and is seeking partnership in infotainment. These are areas, which have growing potential for bilateral ties. (Biswas 2016:54). The media has become a boom and India's partnership offers further knowledge and technical sharing.

Infrastructure Development

It has been said that the infrastructure in Africa has been laid down by China in the recent times. However, Biswas (2016) argues that in the process of development of infrastructure, India is playing a significant role in Africa at the moment, particularly in the domains of satellite, cable, mobile, broadband coverage. Further, Dr Sood, the author of "Emerging Economy Report", said that India has an opportunity to contribute to development related work in Africa, which is carried out by China. India can capitalize on the market opportunity and strengthen ties with Africa based on development related issues, Biswas (2016:48). According to the South African Regional Poverty Network (2008) China is laying out the infrastructure for Africa in many countries of East Africa and in the West, they have a market reach but in the service sector there are a great number of jobs emerging, which are based on providing efficient services. This opportunity for India can be converted and capitalized. For Africa, having quality infrastructure may not be enough that China is providing successfully. India has been attempting to work on the lines of service development. This can be further developed with respect to other emerging areas and fields. Its contribution in developing Science and Technology institutions is considerable, Indian sector companies are looking at the African market with serious attempt to capitalize on it. As mentioned above many private players have already taken over the African markets, this can be seen as an example for other private Indian players. Recently, Tata Motors have expanded in areas like Senegal, Ivory Coast. It offers a range of motor vehicles, especially in heavy motors like buses. It has a 50% share in medium and heavy motor vehicles segments. Tata Motors also have a manufacturing plant in South Africa (WTO/CII 2013). Further, tourism is another emerging sector. The Tata Groups has already capitalized on it to a great deal by contributing in the hospitality sector in Zambia and South Africa.

The Economics of the Indian Ocean and Shipping:

In the twenty first century the Indian Ocean affairs have gained significance. The reason is clearly due to growth of the Asian economy and the need for trading for raw materials. Vines and Oruitemeka (2008) show how the Asian market is dependent on Africa for the purpose of energy trade. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become significant and strategic for engagement in the sea. Through bilateral and trilateral efforts with countries like Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and coastal regions of Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique India positioned itself strategically in order to gain a control and access to the Indian Ocean. Since the 1990s India has focused its foreign policy on Bangladesh, China and Sri Lanka, Pakistan to strategically emerge as a regional power. All these efforts are made to strengthen power and control for economic growth. The Indian Ocean is significant for India's economic growth. A majority of Indian trade happens by sea. Trading oil happens through the sea. 89% of the oil arrives through the sea to India. "The Indian Navy patrols the zone of Mauritius since 2003" (Berlin 2006:72). India signed a MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) with Seychelles for cooperation in defence for patrolling the waters. It is important for the regions to have no disturbance and threat in communication for economic growth. The Indian Navy also combats Piracy and counterterrorism in the regions that are closer to Africa of the Indian Ocean. It is also through the Gulf of Aden that India's oil and fertilizers are commuted.

Gokhale (2011) argues that "as per the Government records annual Indian imports that come via Gulf of Aden are valued to US\$50 billion while exports value US\$60 billion". Therefore, it can be said that the safety of maritime trade is a national concern as it impacts India directly. A threat to shipping is also piracy that exists around the coast of Somalia since the early twenty first century, which is around the same time as the Civil War. This has been a threat to India as well. Since October 2008 Indian navy started anti-piracy patrols in the Gulf of Aden in order to control and protect the ships of India. The Indian Navy is protecting the coast and makes a lot of effort towards anti-piracy. "Indian Navy has protected 1104 ships, 139 Indian ships and 965 ships from 50 different countries. Merchant ships are escorted along the entire (IRTC) Internationally Recommended Transit Corridor". India also participates in forums that focus on combatting piracy such as the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS). This aimed at cooperation and discussion of issues related to maritime. India has established bilateral

initiatives and multilateral forums for this purpose. East African countries like “Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, France, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan and Tanzania” are the key players in the initiatives and strategic cooperation led by India. This cooperation is of utmost importance to India for trading purposes.

India, Africa and the Global World Order

In the Global World Order, India and Africa have agreed to support each other. India and Africa have jointly agreed to support each other in the re-organization of world institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO, UN and the Security Council. Africa and India have agreed to be partners in supporting each other. Both agree that world organizations and world institutions have not included India and Africa in their policy. India and Africa have both come into an agreement that they would support each other's claims in the Security Council of the UN. They agree that UN Security Council must be restructured for the inclusion of countries of Africa and India for legitimate representation of the countries. India and Africa agree to mutually support each other. India and South Africa have become partners for additional financial institutions to be visualized through BRICS bank. These are the multiple ways in which India and Africa are attempting to emerge as democratic powers through numerous forums. The countries control and negotiate through cooperation with each other for the climate control regimes that scrutinize India and Africa in their trade and manufacture. They work together in cooperation to overcome the challenges of developing countries in the global era. Both are working towards gaining a legitimate power and position in the global world order, which to a large extent is controlled and monopolized by the countries, which emerged as powers after the Second World War.

Overseas Indian community and its role in Indian economy:

Large (2013) brought to the fore how Indian government has changed its policy of the Diaspora in recent years. The Indian government has recently re-established its relations with the Indian community living abroad recognizing its potential in bringing growth to the country. Since 1991, India is re-engaging with the overseas Indian community. Recognizing the crucial role that overseas Chinese played in bringing rapid economic growth to China's economy, India has decided to re-establish its relations with the

Diaspora communities. In 2004, the government created the “Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs” and launched an annual Pravasi Bharatiya Divas aimed to acknowledge and bank on the financial gains and knowledge of the Indian community living overseas.

A large body of Indian community lives in South Africa. Durban has the largest Indian community on the continent, which is about 1.3 million. This is viewed as the biggest city with an Indian population. A strong historical link exists between “African National Congress (ANC)” and the “Indian Congress Party”. South Africa is a leading African economy and it is represented at global bodies such as G20 and also BRICS. Alves (2007) shows that the Indian diaspora in South Africa are one of the wealthiest diaspora communities. Davis (2012) shows that Indian corporate investments in South Africa are the one of the highest. It has corporate investment such as of Reliance Communications, Tata Group, Mahindra, and Cipla, Ranbaxy pharmaceuticals. South Africa offers an environment with developed legal and financial sector for Indian private sector to grow. Davis (2012) shows how in 2012 bilateral trade reached \$14billion, which makes South Africa one of the biggest markets in exports (CII/WTO 2013). In South Africa, the Indian investment has exceeded \$6 billion since 2012. Alves (2007) highlights how a specially designed forum for CEO’s is regularly held for meeting senior business players. Investors and players such as Ratan Tata and Business Unity South Africa organize these forums. This includes participants from the Indian community living in South Africa. A significant economic player in South Africa is also the Gupta family. The Gupta family shares close ties with the South African presidency and is now popularly known as “Guptagate” (Mail and Guardian 2013).

Further, a large Indian community is also living in East Africa. Twaddle (1976) shows that in Uganda, a large community of Indians faced persecution in 1972 so very few Indians are left in Uganda. However, a large Indian community lives in Kenya. It has gained recognition and significance in the recent times due to the presence of a large community of Sikhs from India. While the Indian diaspora adds to the relations between India and Africa, however, the trading links have gone beyond just the diaspora community, which does play a significant role. Relations have built between Ethiopia and Sierra Leone in recent times. Further, it may be argued that the diaspora community is not a major reason for Indian business. For instance, the Indians who are doing trade in Africa are not necessarily doing business with the Indian community there or

substantially benefited by their presence. Indians are looking for business opportunities and growing through other networks.

The social and political environment in Africa can vary with each country so it is seen that the Indian communities are either completely out of the mainstream or in many cases also completely integrated, so to partner with the diasporic communities can be either very beneficial in the cases where the Indian community has flourished as a business community or can incur loss at the hands of the community that stays off mainstream and maybe subjected to bias. The challenges for Indian investors in Africa are many. Some of these challenges include poor business environment, lack of investment agreements in the bilateral trades, limited resources in terms of capital and the most important fact that it still remains a small market (Indian Chamber of Commerce 2012-2013, CII/WTO 2013). Indian investors face challenges to access the oil sector or the mining sector. A very significant role is played by the private sector in accumulating wealth for the nation, and therefore, it also relies on the government in many ways. The Indian government has taken steps for increasing the growth and regulating the market with its private players. The South-South partnership mainly takes place through the Exim Bank and CII. The role of other private firms may also be seen as significant.

Africa is a Strategic Partner for India: An argument

The above discussion relating to India and Africa's partnership outlines the specific areas of cooperation and strategies that India-Africa are partnering. It is clear that Africa is a strategic partner for India and the economic ties that are being formed cannot be endangered. This is the nature of the state with regard to African relations wherein the Economic relations are put in the forefront. No initiatives are taken by the MEA to improve the situation for the African migrants who are coming to India or to take concrete steps for building any gaps between Indian and African cultures. In fact, India does not want a negative image that, it is a country where racial crimes are rampant. This would endanger Economic ties, especially when India is becoming a growing partner with African countries. Therefore, in the past it had been seen that the Ministry of External Affairs suppressed all anti-racial Movements and Resistances. During the fieldwork for this study, it was observed that it had called upon the African Embassies to compel the African migrants to call off their protests. In Delhi there was a growing movement against racism, which was suppressed by the Ministry of External Affairs.

Taylor (2016) argues that in analysing the partnerships between India and Africa, there are many loopholes. Price (2011) argues that the business of Public-Private Partnerships are driven by merely an economic drive and to a large extent the solidarity and developmental concerns are rhetorical. The Indian corporations doing business in Africa generally follow the bottom line, Price (2011:9). This model of partnerships signifies that rather than being state-led the partnerships have given rise to a private sector business boom. The business activities do not portray normative concerns. Taylor (2016) argues that a balance has to be made between the “South-South Partnership rhetoric’s and commercial enterprises of the private sector”. He argues that this will remain the case as long as India’s diplomacy remains reactionary, parochial and conservative. The MEA “Ministry of External Affairs has 750 diplomats as opposed to Chinese diplomacy of a strong team of 6,000”, according to the Los Angeles Times, 25 May (2011). The Chinese have in recent years grown in magnitude of their business projects in Africa.

Taylor (2016) further argues that in 2003, in response to the challenges being faced by MEA, it decided that a separate body should be constituted that could look after Indian activities relating to aid and developmental projects abroad. In 2007-2008 the plan for this body to be established was made again. This body was to be known as DPA “Development Partnership Administration” within the Ministry of External Affairs (henceforth MEA). The DPA was to consolidate all activities of India relating to aid and it was to divide responsibilities across ministers of MEA. However, the plan did not take off immediately for its establishment due to infighting and rivalry among Ministers of MEA and “Ministry of Finance” over the question of the location of this agency. Later, the DPA was established and re-consolidated to work around the concept of launch, implementation, execution and evaluation. P.S. Raghavan is heading the DPA, he is also the additional secretary of MEA. The DPA manages capacity building projects. According to the Ministry of External Affairs (2013), the “DPA functions in close coordination with the concerned Territorial Divisions of the Ministry, which continue to be the principal interlocutors with partner countries on the selection of projects to be undertaken. The responsibility for implementation and execution of the projects rests with DPA”. The fact that DPA operates within the MEA shows how economic diplomacy is an important tool for global projects that MEA is handling. The role of MEA in coordinating, organizing, implementing and supervision of economic ties and

partnerships is the most important. Therefore, it has the larger responsibility to coordinate diplomatic ties and protect the economic interests of the state. The emergence of DPA is a step towards building a strong hold over government projects. The MEA also works in close relations with bodies such as CII, EXIM Bank which co-ordinate funds for PPPs (Private-Public Partnerships). The DPA's responsibility within the MEA is to navigate many of these projects, however, Taylor (2016) argues that it is yet to be seen whether DPA provides any strength to the bureaucratic workings and functioning within the MEA.

Further, the most important role of MEA lies in handling the South-South Partnership. With the 'South-South Partnership model' the state as an actor is seen to be working actively in building economic ties rather than a focus on aspects such as development, which it had sought out to do for some of African countries. In this regard, the South-South Partnership has been seen in the light of being rhetorical. The state has enabled the private sector and alongside only strengthened ties, which are Economic. The mutual ties are symbolic of only mutual economic ties. Taylor (2016) argues that Indian diplomacy is hidebound and it has not been able to expand in other arenas such as cultural spheres. Further, Racism⁴⁰ in the Indian context is also a matter that comes under the jurisdiction of MEA, but it has failed to acknowledge these cases, which have occurred. In fact the African envoys that had filed a petition in the UN for the cases of racial violence in India, was slammed by MEA⁴¹. Sushma Swaraj the Minister in-charge of the Ministry of External Affairs gave many statements that rejected any claims of being racial in nature. In this context the role of MEA is of utmost importance as while it protects Economic interests of the state, its position on racism has been controversial and rejected by the African nationals living in India.

Culture grows within an economic structure. Culture does not grow in a vacuum as Hall (1992) argues. Culture, economy, politics and the state are all interlinked in this analysis. Taylor (2016) identifies the nature of MEA as a big problem. He argues that there is a need to change the mentality of Indian diplomats. They have been trained in a certain manner that he calls "out-dated diplomacy" or "traditional diplomacy". Joshi and Kumar (2011:18) argue that MEA has been infamous for the Ministers being status-

⁴⁰ The Hindu, 29 May, 2016, Bhattacharya and Sikdar published 15:14 IST, 'Africans reject MEA response; plan protest'

⁴¹ Deccan Chronicle, April 5, 2017, updated 12:51 PM 'No right to call attacks on Nigerians as 'racist': Sushma Slams African envoys'.

obsessed and for their bureaucratic rigidity. They argue that it is essential that the diplomats be acquainted with economic diplomacy and Indian foreign policy outside of the purview of “traditional diplomacy” specifically with regard to African relations. They argue that it is essential to navigate the relations with African countries rather than policy advice derived from Western capitals.

Critical Race Theory: An Outline

Critical Race Theory emerged out of legal scholarship. It analyses race and racism through critical point of view. Critical Race Theory emerged as a framework for interdisciplinary scholarship. Intersectionality, which also falls within the purview of Critical Race Theory shows the multidimensionality of oppression and argues that race cannot be studied independent of other oppressive systems. In that regard, both Critical Race Theory and Intersectionality point towards critical analysis and the recognition of many forms of oppressions that people of colour have faced. It holds that race cannot be completely analysed through one-dimensional approach. Critical Race Theory began with Derrick Bell’s intervention in the Legal discourse. Derrick Bell, a black lawyer and professor made an intervention through radically transforming the outlook towards racism. He argued that Liberal Law tends to treat racism as irrational and intentional and further race consciousness as bad. In contrast Critical Race Theory uses a radical perspective by mobilizing race consciousness as an empowering strategy for people of colour.

Further, Critical Race Theory emerged within the context of the American system in which recognition was made of how much of racism was engrained within the American system. For this style of inquiry Critical Race Theory provided a lens to analyse how institutional racism was a part of the dominant culture. Using Critical Race Theory (herewith CRT), examination of the power structures is made which is based on white privilege and supremacy. Further Law discourse, which says that it is neutral, is challenged by CRT adherents who unveil the “legal truth” by examining meritocracy and liberalism as engines of self-interest, privilege and power. CRT highlights how institutional racism exists and meritocracy protects white privilege and only gives rise to systemic inequalities. Further, very importantly CRT adherents make a rejection of the concept of “race as a natural referent” and instead argue, that, “it is a product of social processes of power”, Delgado et al (2001). One of the central projects of CRT is to

expose the legal, cultural, social systems and operations by which people are assigned race and invested with races in the first place. It is argued that re-cognizing of race, as a product of social practice must be made rather than looking at it as an inherent characteristic to define people.

Delgado (2001) argues that unconscious and intentional practices also contribute in construction of racial status, practices, stereotypes and legal forms. They must address both unconscious practices and intentional ones. Rabaka (2009) show how it was also believed that Critical Race Theory emerged within the Frankfurt School critical theory. However, this was contested by critics of Africana critical theory who believed that Frankfurt School Critical Theory may be Eurocentric, but they did agree also that critical theory in general sense is not Eurocentric, but this view was contested by African studies. Critical Race Theory analyses how invisible privileges exist for white people and it is necessary to expose those privileges. Delgado (2001) in his own work exposed how Supreme Court judgments defined the policy of immigration and citizenship on who qualifies in eligibility for whiteness and who does not. Further he shows how criminality goes by images of nonwhite, even though evidence shows that crimes by whites are more harmful and hurtful. Further, CRT perspectives shows how land use patterns are based on colored lines to demarcate spaces in urban and suburban spaces in property, land-use, local government and voting laws. Harris (1993) shows how whiteness exists as property and resource of great values. Bell (2008) shows how law schools do not hire black professors beyond a certain number in order to preserve the whiteness of institutions.

Rabaka (2009) shows the broad scope in which Critical Race Theory operates within which it has deconstructed and reconstructed ways of analysis. Delgado and Stefancic (1993: 462-463) have outlined a number of ways to study structures and systems within the scope of Critical Race Theory in order to understand their nature. Counter narratives have been marked as important ways for doing so. The following outline marks the main themes that they believed should fall within the scope of analysis of the Critical Race Theory. These themes and scheme of study have been outlined as follows

One, Critiques of liberalism: This is the most important aspect of Critical Race Theory. American liberalism has been the centre of critique for the adherents of this perspective. It is argued that narratives of “law being neutral and colour-blind” are contestable. The narrow scope of the antiracist-law has not been effective in addressing

racism. Further, whiteness as property and as value is upheld, and whiteness of institutions is maintained, and privileges, powers are all protected. Neutrality, colour blindness, affirmative action, meritocracy only invisibly protect white social order and supremacy. This is one of the major themes for Critical Race Theorists. *Two*, Storytelling and Counter storytelling: This way of analysing the racialized social structure and social system is done by way of “naming one’s own reality” as argued by Delgado and Stefancic (1993). They argue that dominant cultures can only be understood through counter stories, which can challenge presupposed wisdom, power-laden ideas and beliefs. Some writers have employed counter-stories, chronicles, parables and anecdotes revealing the stories of majoritarian dominant ideas and structures. *Three*, American civil rights and laws and a Revisionist Interpretation: The authors have argued that anti-discrimination laws have been highly ineffective in addressing racial inequality. Critical Race Thinkers have attempted to seek answers in theories like psychology of race, politics of colonialism, anti-colonialism discourses, in order to expose white supremacy and self-interest in the existing laws, which are continuing to perpetuate whiteness as a valued property. They argue that Racialized social institutions and institutional racism still exists. *Four*, Race and Racism: Underpinnings of racism are to be found when dealing with questions like black sexuality. Interracial sex, marriage and adoption, which come within the ambit of legal discourses, are lop-sided. The majoritarian society still sees these movements through the lens of race and racism. The move towards ‘Alternative Dispute Resolution’ is likely to hurt disempowered disputants or may help, but this till remains unexplored to a large extent as the majoritarian views only perpetuate dominant cultures. *Five*, Structural determinism: CRT writers have focused on how structures of legal thought and cultures influences content. These put constraint and do not allow individuals to free themselves of predetermined ideas. If these constraints are understood then racial reforms can be made effective. *Six*, Race, class, gender intersections: CRT theorists have explored the intersections of race, class and gender. This has been particularly useful to understand if race and class double the marginality. The women’s movement has particularly used this to understand black women’s interests, which have not been adequately represented in the women’s movement. *Seven*, Essentialism, Anti-essentialism: The scholars of CRT also concern themselves with units of analysis that might be appropriate to understand the black community in order to further understand whether it is one or many communities? Example; would the problems of working class

black people be the same as those in middle class? Do all the oppressed black people have commonalities? How to understand categories more critically and analytically is the focus of CRT scholars. *Eight*, Nationalism and separatism: A strain that emerged from CRT scholarship was to promote the interests of black people encouraging ideologies such as black nationalism and insurrection. Some argued that it would be beneficial for all black people if there was separation from the American mainstream society. They believed that preserving diversity would benefit all and that could happen through separation. *Nine*, Representation in the bar, critical pedagogy, legal institutions: CRT scholars have been concerned about legal institutions and black people's representation in law schools and further representation in the bar. Scholars have been exploring alternative critical pedagogy to understand the question of representation. Women scholars of color have been analytically engaging with these questions. *Ten*, Self-Criticism and Criticism: The scholars analyse works, which significantly address criticism either by scholars who are within the movement of CRT or outside to include the works of criticism into the ambit of CRT.

The analysis of CRT is made to understand how the framework can be used to draw out distinctions and similarities within the Indian context. In the Indian context, what is interesting is that the legal discourse does not even recognize or acknowledge the racial discrimination let alone the institutional mechanisms to address racial violence and discrimination. However, what is drawn from the CRT perspective is how social and cultural dominant ideologies perpetuate racial violence and justify it through taking law in one's own hand to punish the so called potential criminals. In the Indian context every African is seen as a potential drug dealer, prostitute or cannibal who must be punished by the local community. The cultural understanding, which perpetuates racism and infiltrates into legal and social systems must be paid heed to. Otherwise, how can a state-led Midnight raid on the African migrants by the ex-Law Minister of Delhi be justified? The Midnight raid left a precedent for the local community to justify their acts of violence through accusations of racial nature. Secondly, on the role and nature of the state. Why has the Ministry of External Affairs not even acknowledged racial violence? To add to that, when the protest against racial violence was organized by the African migrants living in Delhi to express their views on racial violence in a democratic state, then why was that suppressed? The role and nature of state can be seen through the lens of, *one*, as not acknowledging racial violence and secondly, as one to suppress a movement against

racial violence. Does this contribute to the perpetuation and justification to racial violence and discrimination? The Ministry of External Affairs compelled the African migrants to cancel their Protest⁴². Critical Race theorists argued that the legal structures were inadequate and ineffective in addressing race and racism. They argued that it was racism that was being perpetuated through majoritarian dominant culture. In the Indian context there have been instances of racial attacks, violence and death, For example a student from Burundi⁴³ and DR Congo were beaten to death. Another incident was of a Nigerian man who was put behind bars on false charges and he had to find his own way out of the jail through his efforts and appeals. Critical Race Theorists combine the concepts of progressive struggles with racial justice and a critique to conventional legal systems. The Critical Race thinkers challenge race and racial power as constructed by law and culture. They focus on how dominant privileges are maintained through rule of law.

Relevance of Critical Race Theory in India:

What is the relationship between economy, law, polity and society? How does it shape the urban processes? The legal system represents the state apparatus that protects the Economy. In the era of capitalist growth and expansion, how does globalization as a process shape the local arena? What is the relationship between the local and the global? It is important to analyse how economic ties or interests, shape the political, cultural and social institutions. A link must be made of the neoliberal economic policies with reference to migration and diaspora to understand how these processes take shape and further influence these processes. The above section outlines the relationship between India's new economic policy and migration of people, particularly the African nationals and the politics of the state. The above sections also highlights that India-Africa Economic interests stayed at the centre of India's interest. These economic interests were very crucial and strategic for India. It has been pointed in the previous section that India has been strengthening its ties with Africa through the Private sector. PPPs (Private-Public Partnerships) were the ways of forming cooperation between India and Africa, which gave rise to growth of the private sector. This is true for health, education and business partnerships made through the private sector. In the case of health many

⁴² The Hindu, May 29, 2016, published 15:14 IST, "Africans reject MEA response; plan protest".

⁴³ The Times of India, Amaninder Pal Sharma, July 4, 2014, 09:54 PM IST "Two years after Jalandhar attack, Burundi youth dies".

migrants from Africa come for Medical purposes. Education is also a major reason for migration of African nationals. A number of private institutes are offering services and education to African countries, including institutes such as NIIT etc. Business partnerships are also creating job opportunities for African migrants. A link is made in this regard of the interrelation between economy, society and polity. A linkage is made between Economy and Polity in the local sphere. In this chapter, an emphasis is given to understand the question of racial violence and the position of the state on these cases. In the next section an attempt is made to outline the Critical Race Theory perspective. Can Critical Race Theory be used to understand the state and the Indian context?

In the Indian context academic studies on anti-racism struggles are missing in the context of globalization. Racism in that sense has been a recent phenomenon in India in this context of globalization. With the coming of liberalization, Privatization and Globalization migration from Africa to India became more discernable. It has been argued in the earlier chapters that migration from Africa to India was happening since early centuries but the form in which it takes place today is fundamentally different from the historical periods in which migration was happening within varied contexts. Ever since 1991, which marked India's liberalization period, the migration from Africa to India became more apparent. But as argued earlier, with the migration of the African nationals to India, cases of racism became rampant. However, struggles against anti-racism were suppressed by MEA (Ministry of External Affairs). In this section Critical Race theory has been used to draw from the perspective and analyse it with respect to the Indian legal system. The reason is because one tends to see a gap between legal policies, legal issues, culture, politics, social patterns and norms. As narrated earlier through the fieldwork it is clear that the migrants from different countries of Africa are facing racial discrimination and racial profiling yet, there are no formal legal mechanisms to address these cases of the African migrants facing racial violence. One tends to ask why if these cases, which are portraying racial violence and abuse, are they not addressed as racial violence? The state is quiet in many instances or claim that these cases are a matter of law and order problem and petty crime issues, which cannot be called racial. In the context of globalization and migration when there are bilateral ties which justify the migration of many migrants from different countries of Africa for education, health and business purposes, then how can issues not be addressed that are portraying violence and discrimination that is racial?

In the interviews with one of my respondents from Nigeria, there was mention of how there was no law or legal mechanism that formally addressed racial violence. According to him there should be harder laws to prevent racial violence and the state should address these cases as racial violence and abuse cases rather than seeing it as general crime so that racial violence can be prevented.

This section seeks to understand this interconnection between law, politics, economics and justice that impacts the migrants. Every African migrant is seen as a potential threat and a criminal such as a cannibal⁴⁴, drug dealer, prostitute or illegal migrant. There have been many instances when migrants from Africa have been misunderstood for somebody else and cases of Racial Profiling and discrimination have taken place as in the case of a Tanzanian girl who was beaten and stripped for mistakenly being a sister of a man from Sudan who had escaped from public beating. The mob was so angry that they beat up a Tanzanian girl and justified this by saying that “your brother escaped so you have to pay the price”. Further, cases of racial discrimination have been discussed in chapter 4 in detail. There have been many cases where the Indians have publically humiliated the migrants or racially abused them and the police did not address these cases or filed any charges against the Indian attackers⁴⁵. The racial abusers have gone scot-free of racial discrimination or charged for some other crime in most of the cases. The question that arises here is that if so many cases have been reported and have gained media attention as mentioned above, which are cases of racial violence and attacks, then why is the State not reacting? Why are the State actors silent? Sushma Swaraj⁴⁶ and V.K. Singh, who are Ministers of the Ministry of External Affairs, have exclaimed that these cases are not racial violence when the African migrants themselves have reported them as racial violence. In this context how can Law be analysed?

⁴⁴ India Today, March 28, 2017, 14:18 IST, “Caught on camera: Mob attacks African students at mall in Greater Noida, CM promises impartial probe”.

⁴⁵ NDTV News Bhairavi Singh Updated: 02 October, 2014 “Delhi: Mob Attack on African Students at Metro, No Arrests Yet” “<http://www.ndtv.com/delhi-news/delhi-mob-attack-on-african-students-at-metro-no-arrests-yet-674009>”

⁴⁶ Indian Express, 05 April 2017, 09:05 PM, “All Attacks on Africans cant be termed racial: Sushma Swaraj in Lok Sabha”.

Conclusion:

In this chapter an attempt was made to understand the nature of state through its economic policy. The bilateral relations between India and Africa symbolize political and economic partnership in the new era of globalization wherein both India and Africa form a South-South Partnership on the basis of mutual interests. These economic interests are kept at the centre of all relationships. The Indian state was interested to protect its economic interests with Africa so it denied racial discrimination and rejected the cases of violence as racial. Instead the state claimed that the cases were criminal cases. What is interesting to note is that let alone addressing racial discrimination, the Indian state completely rejected them as cases of racial discrimination and violence. Secondly, it even repressed a struggle against anti-racism. The nature of the Indian state could be seen in the light of repressive in the case of African migrants living in Delhi. In the first section of the chapter an outline was made of racial discrimination through a narrative of an African migrant from Tanzania who narrated how the local community and people in Khirki take law in their own hands and punish African migrants for being potential threats and criminals and most of the mob violence happens on the basis of suspicion. These cases had become very rampant. When severe cases of death happened the cases were filed as criminal cases and not as being racial in their nature. In the second section the state was analysed through its economic bilateral ties with Africa. The economic cooperation as business partnerships were outlined in detail. In the third section, a detailed analysis was made of an anti racial-violence movement, which surfaced in Delhi after the death of an African migrant who was beaten on the streets of Delhi and left to die. The African migrants who felt that the Indian state was not taking adequate action against cases of racial violence organized it. Further, it was seen that the Ministry of External Affairs refused to acknowledge these cases as racial violence, and repressed the movement, which portrayed the position of the Indian state on racial violence. In the fourth section, an attempt was made to analyse Critical Race Theory in the Indian context. The Critical Race Theory scholars showed how race and racism is perpetuated through culture and law and how racism penetrates into social, cultural and legal institutions further, maintaining the dominant structures and social order. The adherents argued that the legal structures were inadequate and ineffective in addressing race and racism. They believed that it was racism that was being perpetuated through majoritarian dominant culture.

CHAPTER 7
RACIAL CLUSTER AS A PAN AFRICAN IDENTIFY:
RACE AS A SIGNIFIER

Introduction:

The local community of Khirki Extension had started to refer to the migrants from different countries of Africa as '*Kalu, Kala, Habshi or African*'. The word 'African' was commonly used for the migrant community from Africa by the local community in Khirki Extension. An interesting observation that emerged from the field was that 'African' as an identity had emerged in the Indian context through two processes that were contributing to the construction of the 'African' identity. *One* was the identity constructed at the local level which was emerging out of the stereotype of 'African' identity as 'bad'; *Second* was the emergence of an 'African' identity in resistance and contestation of the stereotyping. As a result of the second process there was an emergence of a strong identity leading to the process of the creation of 'African' community. The 'African' as an identity emerged as an identity both, at the level of local community and at the level of the migrant community from Africa. Many migrants from Africa said that while they became united and formed solidarity at the level of one unified 'African community' living in Delhi; they also started learning about the diversity of different countries in Africa after they arrived in India. They started forming a solidarity network based on the fact that their general experiences in India were similar. This brought a social unity. The physical features were socially defined now to form a common identity. There was a common Barbershop who could cut the hair for all African people, the African migrants felt that Indian barber could not cut their hair due to lack of experience and knowledge, so the African migrants preferred their own barbershop and saloons. To add this, there were also many African kitchens that opened up in Khirki Extension for all the African migrants. Special shops for selling of specific African groceries also opened up in this neighbourhood, one such grocery shop was called 'the African shop'. A strong sense of identity emerged within the African community, which was the African identity in this urban space of Khirki Extension. Many of the respondents from Africa said that they felt like brothers from different countries.

However, the local community was also referring to the migrants as 'African', and the 'African' as an identity, became associated and linked with everything that was illegal, bad and criminal in the local cultural sphere. It was against this linkage that

several protests in the city grew and an identity-based movement that was against racial discrimination had surfaced. These solidarities emerged on the basis of a collective identity for fighting against all forms of racial discriminations. Interestingly, this solidarity within the African community emerged respecting the broader differences in nationalities, religions and regional-political differences in the Indian context. It is important to note how the African identity emerged at the diasporic level. Therefore, this chapter addresses the question of 'African' identity, which emerged as an assertive identity against racial discrimination. Further, another aspect of the African identity that is referred to here, is how race emerges as a floating signifier at the local community level. The local community used 'African' as a signifier associated with stereotypes such as drug dealer, cannibalism, prostitution and all the illegal activities in the Indian context. Therefore, using Stuart Hall (1997) analysis of race as a Floating Signifier is explored in detail. 'African' here would also be analysed as Pan African Identity or Pan-Africanism. In this context, an exploration of Pan-Africanism is attempted through the work of CLR James (1945). "Since the famous Fifth Pan-African Congress held at Manchester in 1945, the term Pan-Africanism has been applied to the question of political unity on the African continent. The original meaning included both the above usage and the idea of 'community' of interest among African people all over the world" (Martin 1972:191). Further, Diaspora studies help to broadly outline the social fabric and dynamics of people or migrant communities living in countries outside of their own native countries or homelands. Pan African Identity emerges in this setting in the India context.

Understanding Culture and Representation

In this section an attempt is made to analyse questions such as how representation is seen as a signifying Practice and what it signifies (Hall 1997). Further question that is interrogated is what are the critical concepts to be understood to explain its operations? Therefore, in this section using the works of (Hall 1997) a detailed outline of the question of representation is made. Along with the question of representation, central to the same question is the aspect of culture. What has representation got to do with culture? What is the connection between them? Hall (1997) argues that in simple words,

“culture is about shared meanings. Language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged” (Hall 1997: 1).

A detailed analysis is made of language and its various dimensions such as in the

way we use language, the poetics or the semiotics of language and the second aspect of language which is discursive, the politics, the historical aspects of language, in other words, the effects of language. Hall (1997) shows that 'culture' as a concept is the most difficult as there can be many ways of defining culture. A traditional definition of culture as a term can be that, which embodies the "best that has been thought and said, It can be a sum of the greatest ideas as represented in the works of classic literature, music, painting and philosophy" Hall (1997:2). It can be regarded as the 'high culture' of that age. Another way of defining culture in slightly modern in meaning is, to refer to it as popular music, art, literature, design, publishing or activities of leisure and entertainment, which are a part of everyday lives of ordinary people. This can be referred as 'mass culture' or 'popular culture'. In studies of culture, high culture versus popular culture has been a classic way of formulating a debate on culture wherein high meant good, popular meant debased. Hall (1997) argues that in the social sciences recently culture has come to be known as a 'way of life' of the people, social group, community or nation. The definition, which is more anthropological and has a sociological emphasis, describes culture as 'shared values' of a group. In this chapter a link is made between culture, language and representation. This allows an exploration into how the 'African' identity is represented through popular culture in the Indian context.

Race as a Signifier

In this section an attempt has been made to understand how the African as an identity gets created. In the Indian context it was observed that since the local community could not tell difference between Nationalities, there was a conflation in the identity of the 'African'.

A 23 years old student from Congo DR, (Kinshasa), pursuing his Degree (B.A) in Politics Economics and Philosophy from Amity University, Noida; says,

In India, if you come from anywhere in Africa, people think you must be from Nigeria. There are many Nigerians in India I think around 4,000 who live in Delhi. According to official estimates, there are nearly 40,000 Nigerians all over India, but now there are also at least 5,000 Congolese in India; and it forms a big part of the community in India.

Further, during fieldwork it was observed that there were two processes that were contributing to the construction of 'African' identity. *One* was the local stereotyping of the 'African' identity. The African identity was constructed as 'bad' and, the, *Second* was the emergence of an African identity in resistance and contestation of stereotyping. As a

result of the second process there was an emergence of solidarity and unity among the African migrants as a 'community'. In the local context, the 'African' was used as a signifier of race. Based on the racial, physical characteristics, discrimination was subjected by the members of the local community on the African migrants. The process of 'Othering' was noticed based on differences in physical characteristics and cultural differences, which were oversimplified to mean and refer to dangerous, cannibal, drug dealer, prostitute etc. Many of the migrants from the African community complained that all the members of the community were blamed to be drug dealers etc. and all were seen from the same lens and, therefore, racially abused and humiliated. A link was formed between race and wrongdoings such as illegal activities. It was also this form of targeting of a population that became one of the main reasons for the formation of an African cluster or racial cluster in the first place in Khirki Extension. This also took the form of spatial exclusion or racial clustering as mentioned in Chapter 2 (Racial Cluster and Urban Space). The local residents were using words like *Habshi*, *Kallu*, *Kala*, *African*, to refer to the migrants from different countries of Africa.

Culture and Representation of the 'African' in the Indian Media:

How is representation of the African migrants taking place in the Indian context such as images created by the local community in Khirki Extension and the media representation of the 'African'? What is the role of culture in the representation? Does a particular culture produce images and meanings within a particular circuit of culture? Does power play an important role in the representation of a particular object, people or events? This section attempts to analyse the representation of pictures and print media representation of the migrants from Africa as 'Africans'. In the local context, the word 'African' had become a signifier. Further, in the media too representation was happening as 'Africans', which was essentialised identity. The analysis of the representation in the Indian media is made through analysing local Indian newspapers, reports, news channels, journal articles and photographs used along with reportage. Further, an in-depth analysis was made specifically in relation with the reportage of the case of midnight raid in Khirki Extension.

The several media reports that were analysed particularly on Khirki Extension of south Delhi and more generally the media reports of India represented the migrants of Africa in a particular way. There were all kinds of images and interviews of the migrants

reported in journals and newspapers. Some newspapers represented a very negative image while some newspapers included the voices of the migrant community. However, it could also be seen that the migrants were against the general stereotyping and they were constantly struggling against the stereotyped images of the 'African' identity. There was a constant representation in the media, which was, that all the African migrants are involved in drugs and therefore, are arrested, beaten, lynched due to suspicion that they were involved in illegal activities. In 2014, when the midnight raid had occurred, the members of the African community were disturbed with the images created and the local stereotyping. In an interview with an African migrant of Johannesburg in South Africa, his statement was,

A controversy like Khirki Extension is shocking, and especially how our people have been accused of running a drugs and prostitution ring. A majority of the people in the area wanted us to vacate immediately, they were suspicious, judgmental and believed that we are dangerous. There are all sorts of rumours coming out, this is very disturbing!

To understand the representation more specifically of the 'African' identity, a review of the media reports was made from 2013 to 2017 to understand how representation of the African migrants was made. All the newspapers in Delhi and online news agency portals were reviewed to examine the representation of the migrants from different countries of Africa. Other forms of media and representation were explored such as visual media that included film and music videos, posters etc. on social media web sites in India and particularly Delhi to explore this aspect of how representation of the migrants is made. What emerged in the Indian context was that the print media and visual media representation of photographs in various journals and newspapers were reiterating negative images and representing stereotypes. There was representation of the Africans in the light of illegal activities. In 2014 after the Somnath Bharti Midnight raid the news reports were representing the migrants in the light of drugs and prostitution rackets and how dangerous⁴⁷ they were. Further, in 2017 four Nigerian boys were beaten in Noida⁴⁸ for accusation of cannibalism, the media reportage again highlighted the stereotype and there was reverberation of an association around 'Africans' as drug sellers and cannibals. The death of an Indian boy in a neighbourhood of Noida⁴⁹ due to drug overdose was also

⁴⁷ Hindustan Times, 20 Jan 2014 9:28 IST "Scared' of Africans, Khirki Extension locals back Somnath Bharti".

⁴⁸ The Wire, March 31, 2017, 'Africans Are Cannibals, and Other Toxic Indian Tales'.

⁴⁹ Mail Online, March 28, 2017, 17:00 BST, "Hundreds of Indians rampage through shopping mall and attack African migrants in revenge for teenagers overdose blamed on foreign drug dealers".

linked with the Nigerians living next door. The Nigerians being innocent students studying in a private university in Noida were made the target of wrath. This again found a certain kind of reportage and media representation in which ‘Africans’ were being represented with images of drug dealing. The imageries that were being circulated and produced in media were a generalization of the ‘African’ identity and that was, in turn, fixing the ‘African’ identity into a stereotype. A Congolese national says,

All Africans are blamed for being drug dealers and prostitutes. This way of calling us names, shaming us, is not good! We don’t behave like this with Indians living in Africa. There are many Indians living there but we don’t go into their homes and raid them, or spit at them, or abuse them like Indian do with the African community.

Interviews that came out in the newspapers also demonstrated the local stereotypes and discrimination. Simultaneously, there was also a resistance against this identity formed by the migrants and it is in that context that an assertive ‘African identity’ emerged, which was used to fight the local stereotypes.

Further, it can be argued that the media was representing sentiments and images of the African identity in a way that represented a conflation of identity. This conflation happened on the basis of physical characteristics such as black, and along with that an association with drug dealing, pimp, prostitution, violence, cannibalism etc. and the media through various processes fixed that ‘African’ identity. There was a certain type of identity that was created of the African identity, which conflated all nationalities and mostly, there was a generalization that was associated with drugs and prostitution rackets, which were becoming construed as the larger generalised ‘African’ identity, created by the local perception and the media. This public perception of ‘African’ in the media was of a certain nature. One repeatedly came across accusations made against the ‘Africans’ in general. Just like there was a generalization of the African identity, there was a generalization of their activities. Students, business entrepreneurs, professionals working in companies all faced the same attitude by the local people. There was a perception that all the migrants are living illegally, and they follow lifestyles that do not conform to the Indian way of life. The differences got reflected through culture.

Hall (1997) argues that culture is not simply “set of things” as much as a “set of practices”. Further he argues that the ‘cultural turn’ in human sciences and social sciences such as ‘sociology of culture’ and ‘cultural studies’ has emphasized how the aspect of Meaning is important in culture. Culture does refer to “Production and exchange of meanings but it is the ‘giving and taking’ of meaning that is to be emphasized between

members of society” Hall (1997: 3). The most important aspect in studying cultures is the aspect of cultural practices. It is the actors participating in culture that give meaning to people, objects and events. Things do not have meanings in themselves or have any one fixed, unchanging meaning. It is the actors who give meaning. It is how we use the objects, or things, or how we say what we say, how we think and feel about those objects or things or people, use language, represent that and give meaning. We give meaning to people, objects and events through the framework of interpretation. The meaning is given in how we integrate them and use them in our practices. Culture practices are those, which are not genetically encoded, they are meaningfully interpreted by social groups. Culture is the “human element that separates life from being defined on the basis of merely biological aspects. It is the social element.

Further Hall (1997) shows where meanings are produced? He says, “Meanings are produced at different sites and circulated through practices or processes called the ‘cultural circuit’. Meaning is what really gives a sense of our identity to understand with whom we belong and who we are, in short, it maintains identity” Hall (1997:4). Meaning is produced and exchanged in every social interaction. He opines that an important site of culture is media where it is also produced in a variety of ways, in global communication with technologies that are complex and circulate the meanings between different cultures at an extraordinary large scale. Meaning further is produced when we express ourselves and consume cultural things in an appropriate way and incorporate in our everyday lives and give them value. Meanings organize our practices and set the norms, conventions and rules. It governs and orders our social life. Those who govern and seek to regulate people’s ideas and their conduct, also become a site where meanings are created and produced. Therefore, meanings arise in our “cultural circuit”.

In the context of the construction of an African identity, a migrant from Africa said that the Indians couldn’t tell the difference between every country. Like in Khirki Extension where people from different countries of Africa are living together, people could make out the difference, so they think that all are *Africans*, and *Habshi*, which is the construction of an identity that is constructed in the local “cultural circuit”. When interviews were conducted in this regard, that is, with the locals during fieldwork, a dominant perspective that emerged from one of the local residents that reflected the local community sentiment was that ‘Africans’ are bad people. When asked why the respondent said,

..they fight amongst their own kind, they do not know how to get along amongst their own people! How can you trust them? You should not trust them! they are not good people. They party all the time, they do drugs! Women are doing prostitution. You should not go to their homes.

What emerges from the above narrative is the construction of African identity within a particular cultural circuit. The local community is not able to tell a difference between different nationalities of Africa. That is why there is a generalization. This is the local perception and a very common perception in Khirki Extension. Another common perception is that, all Africans are cannibals, yet another is about the status of their visa /passports. The local people in Khirki often raise questions regarding the validity of their migration as in legal or illegal. It is often assumed that they are all illegal migrants and they are over staying their visas. The status of their passports and visas are demanded every now and then. Since, it is assumed that they over stay their visas and that they are living illegally, they are always scrutinized and treated with suspicion. On many occasions the migrants from African have reported how the police has come and broken their small business start-ups, beauty parlours, saloons, African kitchens, grocery shops on the pretext that they are doing illegal business. Such local perceptions also affect the migrant's everyday life experiences. The 'African' identity is constructed within such contexts.

This is how an analysis is made within the "circuit of culture" where meanings are produced in everyday lives through 'practices'. In the Indian context the attempt was to understand how the process of construction of the African Identity was taking place within a culture and how it was represented? In what context does it form and what are the different dimensions and associations that are linked to the process of the formation of African identity in the Indian context. The attempt has been to outline that representation using local perspectives emerging from the field and the local newspapers. The idea was to *first* understand the construction of 'African identity' by the local community. *Second*, to analyse how a meaning was produced between the construction of an identity that is 'African' and its representation, which is, linked with drugs and prostitution rackets. This construction happened within a "circuit of culture". The identity, which is constructed as 'African', is also linked with Cannibalism, prostitution, drugs etc. There is a particular kind of stereotyping that takes place for the migrants from Africa. These stereotypes are also represented through visual and print images. However, the migrants from Africa are

always seen to be making a constant effort to defy and contest this construction and generalization of the ‘African’ identity that is created by the local community and represented in local newspapers and other media. The head of the Association of African Students, says in one of his interviews⁵⁰,

We live a normal life and try our best to blend in with the culture. But there is a lot of racism, it is not happening for the first time. Around 80% of all the Africans in Delhi are students, and many are living in Khirki itself. How can you call every African woman a Prostitute and every African man a drug dealer? This is not the treatment we expect! African students come to India with high hopes!

A respondent, who works with a multinational company in Gurgaon, says,

There is clearly a rise in discrimination against us; and that is growing, however, there are quite a few Indians who offer us help and solidarity so I appreciate the efforts made by some Indians to join us in our cause.

Language and the construction of the ‘Other’

Hall (1997) shows that Language is a way of signifying a meaning, it is a medium for representation of an object, event or people which has been given meaning through cultural practices, shared meaning, like how you give meaning to a certain object, or people or event. The different ways of communicating can be seen as “working like language”. If one was to understand the question of what is language and how does Language work? Hall (1997) shows how languages work. Language can be understood as “systems of representation”, (Hall 1997:4). He argues that language is essentially a “signifying practice”. “A representational system, which functions like this, can be seen as working like language” (Hall 1997:4). Photography can be seen as a representational system. Exhibitions and displays in museums can be analysed like a language since the objects produce meanings. Music is like a language. It uses feelings and ideas that produce meanings. The illustration of a football match where people might go with their bodies and face painted can be seen as working ‘like a language’, which gives meaning to belonging to a particular national culture or local community identification. Representation is closely tied with knowledge and identity. In this domain of knowledge and belonging how does one get to know what is being French, or English or German? These are called signifying practices. Without it one would not make sense of the ‘life-world’ or take on identities. Production of meaning and circulation takes place through

⁵⁰ Hindustan Times, Manoj Sharma, June 04 2016, 19:39 IST “Reaching Out: Africans in Delhi trying to follow the Indian way of Life”.

language and culture. The conventional meaning of culture, which is ‘things’ that exist in the material world and that, they have completely clear meaning in the natural world in which it exists, has changed since the cultural turn. Since the ‘cultural turn’ meaning is analysed to be “produced and constructed” rather than existing, this is known as the social constructionist approach.

Culture is thus, conceptualized by Hall (1997) “as a primary process or constitutive process which is as important as material or economic ‘base’ in shaping historical events and not simply a reflection of the natural world”. Language provides a model of representation in what constitutes two approaches, semiotics and language as discursive. Semiotics is the science of signs as the means for providing meaning in culture. But more importantly recently, it has been seen that it is not simply semiotics through which language works. Discourse is a “way of referring or a way of construction of knowledge or practice, a cluster of images, ideas, which give the ways of referring or talking about, conduct to associated with a particular topic or activity in society. These are referred to discursive formations”. Discursive formations define “our practices in relation to a subject or activity considered to be socially relevant and true in a particular context” Hall (1997:6). Discursive is the meaning, representation and culture in which it is to be constituted. In semiotics and discursive approaches there are differences. Semiotic concerns itself with how meaning is produced in language and it is concerned with the ‘poetics’. Discursive is the consequences and effects of representation, to be more specific, its politics. Discursive is the impact or politics of representation while semiotics is simply the poetics of language, to simply understand how meanings are produced. Discursive is concerned with not only how language produces meaning but with discourses connected with power that may regulate conduct, construct identities and define how things should be represented or thought about. It lays emphasis on the historical specificity or ‘regime’ or the power in which it is produced. This may also be referred to as the ‘discursive’ turn in social sciences and cultural studies, (Hall 1997:6).

In the Indian context, Language was seen to have played an important role in the context of construction of ‘African’ identity. It was observed during fieldwork that words such as *Habshi*, *Kallu* were used to refer to the African community. Respondents from Africa narrated that their experiences in the city were such that name-calling and verbal abuse were common in their everyday lived experiences on the streets of Delhi. Even in the neighbourhood where they lived in Khirki Extension, it was quite common to hear

words such as *Habshi*, *Kallu*, *Kalla* as names for referring to the migrants from Africa. One of the Respondents from Nigeria narrated that initially he did not understand Hindi but on hearing the word *Kallu* repeatedly, he understood that this word was used for him. In fact, he explained how *Kallu* was one of the first Hindi words he ever learnt. The phenomenon of language and representation can be understood here. The politics of language, as in, the discursive aspects of language are important to consider in the construction of the African identity. In this case, it is not simply the language and how it produces certain meanings for actors in society, which are the poetics or semiotics of language, but the use of words like *Habshi* or *kala*, which emphasize the discursive aspects of language. While conducting fieldwork, the link that emerged was, if this phenomenon could be compared to the construction of identity through language in the western societies to discriminate black people. The words such as Negro or Nigger were used in the west for people of African origin. Such words have been used to construct identity within power regimes that produced particular meanings that reflected power. In India *Kallu* or *Kalla* were used to refer to the African migrants. This process of creating such a construction also signified a hierarchy, or context of power, which placed the African migrants into a lower category. It gave the local community power over the African identity. This also led to forming a system of differentiation based on race. It is this identity, or the African identity, which was constructed in Khirki Extension.

Even though the African migrants have different cultures, nationalities and also follow different religions but they are generally clubbed as *Africans*, *Habshis*, *Nigerians*. Along with over simplification and generalizing there is also a certain kind of racial profiling. In fact it was observed during fieldwork that, the term *Habshi* was used for all the Africans. It did not matter which country the African Nationals came from, they were generally clubbed as *Habshis* or *Kallas* (blacks). Based on this association they faced similar treatment at the Local Grocery Shops, Transportation hubs⁵¹, Malls⁵², Markets.

Hall (1997) argues that the practice of representation occurs within a “shared cultural space in which production of meaning takes place through language, that is, representation” Hall (1997:6). He also argued that it takes place within a model of

⁵¹ NDTV news, Published: October 02, 2014 “Delhi: Mob Attack on African Students at Metro, No Arrests Yet”.

⁵² Mail Online, March 28, 2017, 17:00 BST, “Hundreds of Indians rampage through shopping Mall and attack African migrants in revenge for teenagers overdose blamed on foreign drug dealers”. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4357364/Hundreds-Indians-rampage-shopping-mall.html>

dialogue. It takes place in a dialogic manner, which does not guarantee that the meanings would remain stable or same forever. This is because power also intervenes in the form of discourse that leads to changes in the ‘meanings’.

The ‘Representation’ of Difference and Otherness

In the Indian context, it was noticed that the ‘African’ identity had been created as the ‘Other’ and that was witnessed in Khirki Extension through the formation of stereotypes as discussed in the earlier section. The representation was made in the media and in the local sphere within a particular context through a ‘culture circuit’. An important aspect of this thesis has been in addressing and analysing the ‘Other’. Hall (1997) argues that it is important to consider how representation is made of the ‘Other’. The process of ‘Othering’ lies in the aspect of representation. According to Hall’s analysis, and using the arguments made in the previous section, it can be said that Meanings are produced by culture and representation happens through the medium of language. Language has two aspects, *one*, its semiotics which emphasize on how meanings are produced within cultures and *secondly*, the discursive aspect of culture which emphasizes the politics of representation which happens through regimes and power. Meanings are fixed with power. This section not only attempts to analyse the aspect of representation but also focus on the ‘representation’ of the other. The idea is to understand how representation is made of a particular subject.

In order to understand the representation of the ‘Other’, Hall (1997) uses four theoretical models. *First* with reference to Saussure’s relational theory of Meaning in language such as those, which exist in binaries such as black/white, which signifies the difference between “black and white”. He argues that Meaning is relational. “The difference between black and white is what signifies and carries meaning. We know what it is to be British not simply because of characteristics of nationality but also how it marks a difference from the ‘Other’” Hall (1997:238). British means not German, not American, not Jamaican. Further, he adds Derrida’s analysis to this theory of binary oppositions by discussing that they can be charged of being reductionist and over simplified in their rigid two-part structure, but the power aspect also reflects something, that is, there are very few neutral binaries. Power is relational. He writes that there are two poles of power. But, the balance of power is lopsided in a relational sense, when we say “*white/black* or *masculine/feminine, man/woman, upper class/lower class,*

British/alien (Hall 1997:235). These are relational categories, which reflect power dynamics.

Second her refers to the theories of language much like the first but with reference to Mikhail Bakhtin. Hall (1997) analyses Bakhtin through how he understands 'difference' and how construction happens of 'meaning and dialogue' with the category of 'Other'. In the 1940s Bakhtin studied and analysed language much like the Saussureans, as a system that is objective, but different in the way it understands dialogue and how it takes place between two or more actors. He argues that it is through this dialogue that meaning is produced. The production of meanings takes place through give and take, and exchanges. *Third* Hall's explanation model of understanding the 'Other' comes from an anthropological context. He uses the ideas of Mary Douglas (1966) that incorporates the classical work of Emile Durkheim based on systems, more specifically symbolic systems and later studies which were made by Levi Strauss who demonstrates that, social groups give meanings by organizing and ordering things through classificatory systems. Levi Strauss (1979) showed that giving meanings is like dividing things into groups. Having binary oppositions are important for classificatory systems because it conveys a well-defined difference between things to classify them in an orderly fashion.

Strauss (1979) gives an example of food, which can be divided into categories of two groups, 'raw' and 'cooked'. Food categories may be divided into groups of starters, or main course, or dessert. Food can be divided into categories of fruits and vegetables. During cultural celebrations these categories provide meaning for preparations. This is how meanings are given and how difference becomes fundamental. However, using the above classical work, Douglas (1966) argues that what can be disturbing to cultural ordering is when things appear in wrong categories, or when they do not fit into a category. For example, Mercury, which is both metal and liquid; or for that matter, a mixed race individual, who is neither black nor white, provides a category that is hybrid, ambiguous, unstable or dangerous. The symbolic boundary keeps categories 'pure' and gives culture its meaning and identity; but this gets unsettled when things do not stay in their right place. It is like breaking of unwritten codes; because what matters is the place, such as, for example, how dirt is acceptable in the garden but not in a bedroom. That would be breaking the codes; it would be a sign of pollution, or transgressing of symbolic boundaries, or a taboo. Making a clear difference leads to the symbolically closing of the

ranks, expel or stigmatize anything that is not in its place or out of place by calling it impure or abnormal.

The *fourth* explanation that Hall (1997) gives for analysing the 'Other' comes from psychoanalysis. The difference is defined through psychic life. The concept emerges from how the 'other' is fundamental to the idea of self and sexuality. He gives an explanation of Oedipus complex in which the boy develops an attraction to his mother but finds that his father is in the way. He identifies with his father and his masculinity when he fears castration; he imagines that his mother was punished with castration. In the same way, the girl is attracted to her father but soon due to penis envy shifts her identification to mother. Many scholars who question the speculative nature of Freud's theory contest this analysis. However, this interpretation was altered tremendously by Jacques Lacan (1977), a French psychoanalyst, who contended that the child does not see itself "separate from the mother until it sees itself in the mirror" or in the sense that the mother looks at the child, like mirroring the image. This is identification in which it desires, "the object of her desire", Segal (1997). It is also like looking at oneself from the position of the 'other'. This allows the child to recognize itself and relate to the 'other' as the outside world. Another aspect of this relation is how the child splits the self into image of mother as the 'good' and projecting 'bad' as the other from the outside world. But Lacan (1977) argues that the child mis-recognizes rather than recognizes itself as it can never fully recognize the unified self. Further, there are also versions of Freud's theory on how child forges the significant 'other' through unconscious and symbolic relations. However, it has been contended that there are negative implications of this as there is never an inner core that is stable for the self to identify with. The subjectivity is created through troubled unconscious dialogue with this 'other', which lies outside us and there is always a lack.

Further Hall uses Franz Fanon's analysis of psychoanalytical theory to explain racism. His analysis has been used for understanding 'difference' and 'Other' in racial representation. He incorporates the linguistic, cultural, social and psychic aspects of race. On the question of 'difference' and 'Otherness', *firstly*, it is this analysis of 'difference' and 'otherness', which plays a significant role. *Secondly*, difference is both positive and negative. It is precisely for this purpose that 'difference' and 'Otherness' is important to analyse so that formation of language and social identities connected with the subjective 'self' can be understood. It explains hostility, aggression and negative feelings towards 'Other'. These were the four theories or approaches used by Hall (1997) towards

representation of 'Other'.

In Representation of 'other', which got identified with nature, a construction of symbolism took place in the form of binary opposition of the 'primitive' and 'civilized'. The Enlightenment classified societies on the scale of evolution, which was from Barbarism to civilization, Hall (1997:239), Edward Long (1774) quoted in McClintock 1995:22). Further, Mackenzie (1986) shows how the Negro race was dubbed as the 'monkey tribe'. This also produced a popular representation and colonization of Africa in the nineteenth century. Advertising used visual images and representation through popular forms and created an imagination of the colonized, racializing the subjects through commodity racism. These popular imaginations were projected with the white man, as an adventurer and explorer, while the black man depicted as exotic represented in maps, drawings, photography, diaries, newspapers, etchings, adventure novels. A representation was made of how the black man was uncivilized, associated with devil worship, cannibalism and savagery. This was advanced through the biological logic based on anatomical and physiological real and imagined characteristics, with emphasis on cranial, facial angles and characteristics which were associated with mental deficiencies and inferiorities.

Hall (1997) argues how the pro-slavery writings produced anxieties such as if abolition of slavery was to be realized then that would lead to inter-racial marriages, which would lead to degeneration of the white race. Defenders of slavery used this theory as propaganda against the abolitionists who were anti-slavery. Such racialized discourses are structured around binaries. There was a powerful opposition between 'white' (civilization) and 'black' (savagery), which worked as signifiers of absolute difference between human species or human 'types'. In the nineteenth century, anthropology was drawn towards finding causal connections between the debates of race and culture. As it became fixed that black was uncivilized, the socio-cultural differences became dependent on hereditary. Since the genetic differences were not visible through direct observation, they were inferred through the physical traits. Socio-cultural differences became subsumed with identity of the human body. Hall (1997) argues that "the body became the totemic object and its visibility drew the causal connection between nature and culture". The production of visual discourses, popular representation showed the racialized body and the representation of 'difference' became known as the 'Other'. The body and its difference became the site for everyone to see. This is how naturalization of differences

was made and the differences in the body became discursive through racialized knowledge. This is how 'Otherness' was produced and circulated. The association was made between primitivism and lack of culture, which was due to genetic incapability and biology. Stereotypes were constructed of the black body with laziness, primitiveness, cannibalism, devil worship, uncivilized and so on. Hall argues that, "Black people were reduced to signifiers of their physical differences-thick lips, fuzzy hair, broad face, nose" Hall (1997:249). Halls further contends that, "Why is Otherness so compelling an object of representation?" Through what kind of practices connected with representation does racial difference and 'Otherness' get signified? How can we analyse the discursive formations and understand the regimes of representation by which the media draws while representing difference? How is race represented vis-à-vis gender, sexuality and class? How are questions of representation linked with power?

The above section analysed how culture, language and representation are interlinked. This interlinkage helped to explore questions related to African identity, which was represented through media and local images. Language played a significant role in the construction of hierarchy and difference. The construction of 'Other' happened through language and further represented in particular manner in the media. The African identity was explored through the local community perspective in which the 'Other' was created through perpetuation of stereotypes and differences in culture. 'Otherness' was created through culture, language and representation.

Formation of a Pan-African Identity

An attempt here is made to explore the formation of Pan-African identity formed in Delhi and particularly Khirki Extension, resulting from economic, political, cultural and social factors. In the Indian context, the aim was to explore the processes by which a Pan-African identity emerged. The processes of Othering, the ways in which it takes place, formation of a collective identity for the 'African' migrants from different countries of Africa all can be analysed under the 'Pan-African identity'. As mentioned in the earlier chapters, the process of assimilation and acculturation takes place in the urban space wherein the migrants coming from different countries of Africa make an effort to assimilate with the local cultures, however, when there is a continued sense of resentment and 'Othering' such as in the case of the migrants from Africa, a formation of a collective identity takes place, which can be understood as Pan African identity on a diasporic level.

In this regard, the concept of pan-Africanism is explored and an attempt is made to study the Diaspora of the African population residing in Delhi.

C.L.R James used the term Pan African or Pan Africanism. He used the term Pan-Africanism to refer to the struggles of black people all over the world.

“Since the famous Fifth Pan-African Congress held at Manchester in 1945, the term Pan-Africanism has been applied to the question of political unity on the African continent. The original meaning included both the above usage and the idea of ‘community’ of interest among African people all over the world” (Martin 1972:191).

As mentioned in the above section, African identity was created through two processes, *one* was the local construction filled with suspicion and stereotypes. The *second* process, in which the African identity emerged, was an identity that struggled against stereotypes. This is studied here as the Pan African identity. As mentioned above, within the African community, there were differences of Nationalities, religion, politics, culture and so on. The African identity that emerged in the Indian context was to fight the racist interpretation. It became an identity that was fighting against discriminations in India that were deeply rooted in racism. A sense of solidarity was seen in which a unity formed based on similarity of experiences and everyday interactions. During fieldwork it was observed through narratives of the migrants, that as soon as they arrived in India, racism became an everyday reality. Starting from the experiences of discrimination at airports, to police stations and the local community, their experiences were filled with abuse and attacks. There were even reports, which showed how name-calling happened, such as *monkey*, *saand* (bull), *habshi*⁵³, which were reverberated from behind. In many of the narratives of the migrants it was surprising to hear how they recalled that Hindi abuses were the first ever words they learnt as they were abused so often. They narrated that they were abused in public; especially the African women narrated how they were asked “how much?”⁵⁴ by locals which meant that every African woman was seen as a prostitute. This was a common sentiment that emerged in all the interviews with the Female respondents during fieldwork. One of the female respondents said that she didnt want any Indian friends, as they are “*gou-gou*” people, which meant bad people or nasty people.

In another incident relating to cannibalism and drug abuse, which was reported in

⁵³ Firstpost, May 18, 2015, updated 12:56 p.m. “Its Like I have a disease’ Citizens of African nations talk of the racism they face in India”.

⁵⁴ The Times of India, Jan 24, 2014, 06:31 AM IST “Whenever we walk by, men ask kitna paisa: African women”.

the newspapers during March 2017, it was shown how four men from Nigeria⁵⁵ were brutally beaten, they were attacked by the local community on the grounds of suspicion. The attacks were made on the pretext that they had supplied drugs to an Indian boy who died of overdose. Prior to this incident in the same case, there was suspicion that the migrants had eaten up the boy when he had gone missing. In this case, the locals barged⁵⁶ into their house and scrutinized the refrigerator to see if they had eaten up the boy and kept left overs in the fridge. It was under such circumstances that a Pan-African Identity emerged. In one of the interviews, a respondent said,

We are all like brothers. Our hair is very similar in texture. We all go to same barbershop. We are from different countries, yes! We study about different countries in Africa just like you study about different countries in Asia and the world, even we study! There are economic ties between the countries of Africa. We feel united in India when we come. We have different culture, language but we all speak English in a particular way, it is different from how you speak in English. In India people speak in English with a different accent, we Africans speak English in very different accent.

Harris (2004) argues that Pan African Studies is the analysis of the lives of the people from Africa through a multidisciplinary perspective. It concerns not only the African continent but also those living in other parts of the world. It includes the study of Africa, the Caribbean, Africans living in America (Afro-America) and Africans living throughout the world. It is not confined to any particular geographical area. Pan Africanism studies people of Africa wherever they are in Asia, pacific islands, South America. The primary way of its organization is racial and cultural. Pan-Africanism includes a diverse field of study starting from slavery, colonization, oppression, imperialism, self-determinism, emancipation and liberation.

In the Indian context, to understand this Pan-African identity, an understanding of the African diaspora is also essential to make in order to study migration and movement of not just people but also the movement of different cultures. People from different countries of Africa come to India and learn about each other within a particular space and context. During fieldwork, many respondents said that they learnt about different countries of Africa and their varied African cultures, on coming to India. Meeting people of different nationalities, learning about their particular culture brought a sense of unity

⁵⁵ The Indian Express, Express News Service, 4 April 2017 10:55 am “Attack on Africans in Greater Noida: African envoys hit out, Govt. says aberration”.

⁵⁶ Huffpost, March 27, 2017 9:01 AM IST, “Nigerian students in Greater Noida Accused of Cannibalism, Neighbours- Barge In to Search Refrigerator”.

and solidarity among the migrants through common kitchens, informal spaces of interaction. In this context, an interesting question that emerged was, how does a Pan-African Identity form? An attempt therefore, was made to understand this connection and interrelation between migration, culture and politics wherein a formation of a Pan African identity takes place. The study of Diaspora in this regard also became relevant in order to understand questions related to identity formation in the Indian context.

On the basis of fieldwork, it can be argued that the Pan-African identity also contributes to the formation of African clusters where African migrants from different countries come to live within the same neighbourhood. There is a preference given to locations where there is an African community. There were many reasons for that such as common African shops, Afro-kitchens, informal spaces for interaction of the African community. The presence of African Kitchens, Restaurants, 'Afro' bars, boutiques, tailor shops, saloons, parlours and superstores, which used the name 'African' were visible on sign boards in Khirki Extension which gave a sense of community to the African migrants. More importantly migrants from Africa also run these enterprises. It is in this context that the Pan-African identity can be explored. Questions that emerged from fieldwork were important and related to inquiries such as what is this Pan- African Identity emerging at a diasporic level? How is the Pan-African identity constituted with the existing diversity of cultures, nationalities, politics, religion and beliefs in the Indian context? What are the processes that contribute to the construction of this Identity? What does this identity signify to the migrants of Africa living in Delhi?

Can these informal African spaces be seen as sites for multiculturalism? This was another question that emerged within the context of Pan-Africanism. For instance in these localities the 'African shops' particularly the grocery shops sold African spices and goods. These African shops were open to all the migrants from different countries of Africa and also the local Indian community who were curious to see the different African goods. What kind of cultural exchange could this signify? While on the one hand there was a strong resentment for the 'Other', which resulted in the formation of ghettoized spaces, on the other hand, the existence of African shops in Khirki Extension also conveyed that there was potential for community level exchanges. During interviews with the local community, a strong sense of resentment could be seen, but also there were very few Indians who were either indifferent towards African shops or would curiously peek in or occasionally even visit. This showed that a potential for community level exchanges

could be possible between the local community and African community. The presence of these shops could be seen as a site for multiculturalism from the perspective of the African community, which in itself was so diverse and at the level of the local Indian community.

Further, this Pan-African identity must signify something to the members of the host society? Do they interpret it as completely different and alien? Can this process lead to formation of African subcultures in the Indian context? Interestingly, there were also many informal places such as the African Kitchens and Afro-shops which were closed to the Local Indian community, unless an Indian was accompanied by an African migrant. In this regard, could there be a formation of an African sub-culture in the Indian context? If it is a sub-culture then what are the processes that contributed to its formation? As mentioned in the earlier chapters, the process of assimilation and acculturation takes place in the urban space of Khirki Extension wherein the migrants coming from different countries of Africa make an effort to assimilate with the local cultures, but, it was observed that when there was a continued sense of resentment for the 'other', a ghettoization of the community took place, which also contributed to the formation of a new African identity, leading to Pan-African Identity. It is in this context, that the concept of pan-Africanism can be explored in-depth. To understand this concept of Pan-Africanism, an attempt was made to study it in the context of African population residing in Khirki and in this regard an observation of a subculture that forms as a culture different from the dominant culture.

Limitation in the study of African Diaspora:

It has been argued that theorizing about the African Diaspora has become increasingly important as it not only contributes to political lobbying, religious networks, cultural exchanges and other institutional linkages, but also contributes to the larger ideas which emerge not just from the African continent but from those living in other parts of the world, concerned about the future of Africa. In the Indian context, as pointed out in the previous chapter, the political economic ties between India and Africa since liberalization have been leading to large scale migrations for business, education and medical purposes to India. The Ministry of External Affairs through government bodies provides loans and grants for students in various fields for capacity building, as discussed in the previous chapter. These migrations from Africa to India are based on South-South Partnerships.

Williams and Thompson (2002) argue that the African diaspora contributes to the development of its communities not just from the African continent but also from around the world where communities are living and struggling against racial discrimination. Pan Africanism as a concept developed in the diaspora that was living in cities of Europe and other parts of the world. Hakim (2002) argues that the ideas, which emerged from the diaspora, today have formed the basis for “modern African Political thought”.

A challenge that arises within specifically African diaspora studies and theorization is in defining the diaspora and delimiting it. *Firstly*, the definition of diaspora has been contested politically and opened up questions such as what are the types of consciousness between diaspora living in different parts of the world and its relationship with homeland. It is also the question of periodization that is the most important. For instance in the Indian context, the diaspora that is living in Delhi in the era of India’s liberalization, privatization and globalization is fundamentally different from the African diaspora that migrated to India in the early historical period such as the Siddi community which has today quite well integrated into the Indian society. The community has African origins but today is recognized as a part of the Indian culture and heritage; see Oka and Kusimba (2008). Williams and Thompson (2002) argue that there are different processes that have operated in different time periods and phases that have given rise to different ‘diasporic experiences’. Slave trade gave rise to the start of the diasporic experience. Shipping ports became a major centre for the diaspora. To move further, in the periods of capitalist expansion and growth, the migrations that happened were located at moments of economic crises and lack of opportunities in the home countries. The recent political situation has also led to fleeing of many from different countries of Africa to escape persecution and civil war. These challenge academic scholarship for providing a coherent definition of what constitutes African diaspora.

Williams and Thompson (2002) argue that the *second* challenge that comes in defining African diaspora is quite literally, mapping its geography. The ‘Black Atlantic’ has been the arena for exchange of commodities, people and ideas. While this view has been also been criticized as the African diaspora which is spread across the Indian Ocean, Mediterranean and the Pacific have had limited academic scholarship and attention. The ‘black Atlantic’ characterization of African diaspora reflects the views of select intellectuals holding relative political power and intellectual space in Europe and North America. The debates reflect the experiences of only part of the large population of

African diaspora spread across the world.

Williams and Thompson (2002) further suggest that to study the African diaspora it is essential to take into account the multiple sites of diaspora communities living around the world and link them with each other. Also one must be cautious of essentialising the diaspora based on skin colour and assume same 'origins'. Identities can be fluid, overlapping or changing and therefore, to fix an authentic 'African identity' may be a mistake. Ishemo (2002) argues that the experience of racism should shape and unite people's unity across African descent rather than fixing one unchanging African identity, which is singular. African identity must be placed within the context of diaspora and contexts of Afrocentrism and Pan-Africanism in which racism plays the central part. There cannot be a fixed 'African-ness' or 'black-ness'. Diasporic consciousness therefore can be shaped by common experiences. The act of migration into a particular country can give rise to multiple levels of hybrid cultures. The diasporic consciousness can also channelize and strengthen attachment to the home country. Reynolds and Uduku (2002) show how such a situation can also give rise to struggles for nation-state and nationalist struggles such as for instance Somalia. Global communication has given rise to access to people to continue national solidarity while being away from 'home'. Further, pop cultures become the means for expression of dance, music, religious beliefs and language. This also must be seen as an expression of diasporic consciousness.

The politics of diaspora or diasporic consciousness is how the African communities' link themselves with political struggles on the African continent. However, Edwards (2000) argues that in the recent times Afrocentrism and Pan-Africanism have been the rallying point for diasporic political activism however, the term diaspora is not employed in political discourses. Even though, diaspora has become very popular in discourses on culture, race and identity. Pan-Africanism is sometimes criticised for oversimplifying and homogenising realities on the African continent. However, they have been known for addressing racial exploitation in the western countries, which are known for being the 'lands of freedom'. So on the one hand, Pan Africanism or 'one-Africa' has been criticised, but on the other, they have been acknowledged for being crucial mechanisms for racial discrimination and racism. Further, Pan Africanists played a significant role in negotiating relationships in the post-colonial period, for bringing structural changes between Africa and the imperial world. Williams and Thompson (2002) argue that diasporic Africans have been at the forefront for the past 150 years at

least. They have played a significant role in shaping the future of African societies. For example, the work of Edward Wilmot Blyden, W.E.B. Du Bois and Frantz Fanon have played a significant role in shaping African societies and their future.

Conclusion:

This chapter analysed the question of African identity in the Indian context. It was argued that in the Indian context there were two processes that gave rise to the African identity. *One* was at the local level where ‘African’ identity emerged out of common stereotypes. Here Race acted as a Floating Signifier, which signified wrongdoings such as illegal activities like drugs, prostitution and cannibalism. This ‘African’ identity was analysed through the study of culture, representation and language to understand how ‘Othering’ takes place. The *second* type of the ‘African’ identity that was formed was at the diasporic level, which marked a unity among the African migrants. This ‘African’ identity formed out of a struggle against the stereotyping. This phenomenon of the African identity is studied in the context of Pan-Africanism.

CONCLUSION

Race as a Social Construct:

In the **first** chapter ‘Understanding Race’ a range of perspectives on race were outlined. The perspectives included the meaning of race in sociological and anthropological contexts. An attempt was made to understand race using two broad parameters, *first*, Biological determinism *Second*, Socio-cultural construction. The biological construction included the debate between naturalists, scientists, evolutionists, environmentalists, physical anthropologists, monogenists, polygenists, and Biblical account adherents. The debate outlined how race was seen as a classification of human species based on biological difference arising out of genetics. The *second* perspective, which was the social construction perspective, analysed race as a social construction to understand how race as a category gets constructed in different contexts. The production of race and identity within social systems, historical contexts such as colonialism and imperialism is traced, along with analysis of social institutions, race and racism, which further reproduce social relations and racialized social systems. The chapter outlined the various multidisciplinary perspectives existing about race starting from the sixteenth century till the present context. Further, an attempt was made to address racism in scholarship as well as public sphere such as political, economic and social institutions.

Referring to Fanon (1952) race has been addressed from the standpoint of the ‘black subject’ who is structurally placed in a position where differentiation is experienced through exclusion and violence at a structural level and personal/experiential level in the lived experience of the subject and scholar. Stuart Hall (1992b, 1997), Oliver Cox, Franz Fanon (1952), C.L.R James (1943), W.E.B. Du Bois (1899, 1967) have been referred to in this context. Important questions were raised about race and racism within the social sciences itself and the treatment of the subject in terms of what are the key issues that must be addressed to study the concept of race in Sociology and how to methodologically operationalize the concept. Fanon (1952) refers to epidermalization and this was understood as a process that takes place in the construction of self. He argues that hatred for dark is deeply embedded in cultural codes and construction of purity. The construction of dark is gloomy, bad, dirty, unattractive while the colour white symbolizes purity, virtue, peace, bliss, truth and so on. This chapter argued that race is a ‘socio-cultural identity’. Referring to Hall (1992b) race was analysed as a ‘floating signifier’.

Race has been examined as an identity, which also intersects with other identities such as class and gender. Further in this chapter an analysis was made between 'race and caste', 'race, caste and gender', 'race and ethnicity', 'race and class'. The idea behind this was to highlight the differences and overlaps between the respective categories. While there are differences in the respective categories, and they cannot be subsumed or conflated, it was important to make a comparative analysis, with respect to the differences and overlaps, in order to explore race in more detail. This was an analytical attempt to deeply engage with the concept of race. In the last section of this chapter, a mapping was done of the limitations of the studies on race. The main aim of this chapter was to analyse race and define race in the context of the present study. The main argument of this chapter was how race is a socio-cultural construct and race was defined as a discursive construct and a floating signifier. This chapter was a conceptual and analytical chapter providing the concepts and analysis of race.

Racial Clusters and Exclusion:

Chapter **two**, 'Racial Clusters and Urban Space' *firstly* outlined the concept of 'Racial' Clusters and highlighted the various perspectives on clusters through a review of literature on the key concepts that contributed to the understanding of what is a cluster in the context of the formation of 'racial' clusters in urban space. 'Clusters' have been defined as a generic term to analyse urban processes which lead to formations such as ghettos, gated communities, ethnic enclaves and racial clusters, which indicate exclusionary practices or segregation based on the aspect of voluntary or involuntary choice. It is in this context that 'Racial' clusters have been defined. *Secondly*, Urban Space as a concept has been defined by using the works of Castells (1979, 2004), Lefebvre (1967), Park (1915), Harvey (1985, 2005, 2008), *Thirdly*, in order to analyse transformation and urban changes, processes of globalization are examined to understand their impact on urban space and the consequent changes in urban forms and patterns. In this regard, urban re-structuring is analysed to understand how globalization impacts and re-structures urban space and transforms it. For this purpose a literature review is done through the work of Harvey (1985, 2007), Saskia Sassen (1994), Swapna Guha Banerjee (2010) and Srivastava (2014) to analyse concepts of restructuring in the context of globalization. Further, using the works of Kundu (2009) urbanization and migration was explored to understand how and in what conditions migration increases using a

correlation between urbanization and migration. Rao's analysis of urban impact in the Indian context was useful to study the field, that is, Khirki village and Khirki Extension. He analyses how with the expansion of the metropolitan city, villages lying on the fringes also become urbanized. In this chapter Urban Space was defined through the concept of urban transformation and urban change through globalization.

Studies conducted by Chicago School on the city and urban space is reviewed. In the context of Chicago School a review is made to examine how racial clusters/ghettos/enclaves were studied and analysed in the context of urban space. What were the different processes of the city that contributed to the formation of racial clusters, ethnic enclaves, ghettos and different patterns in urban housing? For this purpose the work of W.E.B. Du Bois, Robert Park and Thomas Znaniecki (1918), Stonequist (1937a) were analysed. An attempt was made through the use of these reviews to examine what racial clusters implied in urban space? An outline of various perspectives on social inclusion and exclusion is made to understand what it reflects about the larger politics of the urban space or city? In what way did the studies made by Chicago School reflect marginalization, segregation and spatial exclusion in particular? Chicago school sociologists were recognized for their approach to taking the city as the field to study problems of race, poverty, crime and slums. The most important aspect of this chapter is the inter-linkage that is made between Racial Clusters and Urban Space, which is the crux of this thesis. This relationship is drawn through fieldwork. Therefore, in the last section of this chapter an introduction to the field of the selected urban space, Khirki Extension was described in detail to understand the formation of racial clusters. Khirki Extension as an urban space was analysed with the use of narratives of the local people living in this neighbourhood. The formation of the racial cluster in this urban space is described in detail through the use of data collected during fieldwork. A detailed account of Khirki Extension as an urban space is made and changes in this urban space through processes of globalization and urbanization have been traced and outlined. It was shown how migrants in this area flocked due to growth and urbanization, which were ushered in with the arrival of shopping malls and other processes such as better connectivity, communication and technology. Through fieldwork, a change in the urban space was shown through the narratives of local migrants and landowners of Khirki village and Khirki Extension. The transformation in the urban space from 'agrarian economy' to 'tenant based economy' where housing became the major source of income for the property owners was studied.

A shift from an agrarian economy to a housing- rental based economy was seen which boosted the local economy of Khirki. This shift led to a major increase in the number of migrants in Khirki Extension. The migrants not only came from different states and regions of India but also from different countries of Africa. The migrants from different countries of Africa came here for housing. A link was made between global ties between Africa and India on health facility services provided by Max super speciality hospitals. A relationship was observed between urbanization and globalization processes with the Max Health facility partnership between India-Africa. This gave impetus to migration of African nationals to Khirki Extension. Migrants from Africa formed a large part of the tenant population that came here and occupied particular spaces in the neighbourhood of Khirki Extension. A clustering pattern was observed in this urban space. With regard to the formation of a racial cluster, it emerged, that the migrants from Africa preferred to live in close proximity with each other. An interesting observation here and an important one, was that even though the migrants came from different countries of Africa yet, they lived together in the same area. This observation became a major question in this thesis, which is, why do the migrants from different countries of Africa live in a cluster? Further, to study Khirki Extension as an urban space, the study of political economy was done to understand how the links between political economy and moral economy could be drawn, that is, how ownership of land gives ownership to the rights of judging what is right and wrong, moral and immoral. The dominant ideology, which emerges is through control of land and economy, which further leads to control of culture, ideology, politics, society, norms and ideas etc. In this context how does the larger change in politics and economy influence social, political and cultural relations? How does neoliberal change impact the culture and politics? Does the shift in political economy such as changing land relations change the cultural social norms patterns and belief systems or not? These were the larger questions that were analysed during fieldwork.

In short, the main aim of this chapter was to theoretically and conceptually define racial clusters and urban space. In this chapter 'clustering' as a concept is explored through ideas, cultural norms, practices, politics and 'racial cluster' conceptually has been defined as a process. Cluster has been defined as 'Lines of division forming a number of patterns of clustering, based on division of social groups on the basis of race, nationality, income, class, occupation, wealth, religion, language, ethnicity, cultural preferences, lifestyle, age. Clustering can happen based on many categories for division'. Marcuse and

Kempen (2002) argue that clustering takes place based on factors such as *firstly*, culture, *secondly*, economic factors, and *third*, hierarchy of power and position. Using the first and third factor of the definition, clustering has been analysed based on these factors. However, the second factor has also been considered that is the economic factor. The working definition that has been adopted for this thesis is when “the lines of division of social groups takes place on the basis of race”. Urban space for this thesis has been explored through the concept of globalization and urbanization.

Globalization and Migration from Africa to India

Chapter **three** ‘Globalization and Migration: Conditions facilitating the Formation of Racial Clusters’ is focussed on Fieldwork. It analyses the question of ‘Racial Cluster and Urban Space’. It takes the urban space of Khirki Extension to analyse the processes and conditions that give rise to the formation of ‘racial cluster’. This chapter unfolds the general perspectives of African migrants from different countries of Africa and the major reasons for their migration to India. A demographic outline and mapping was made to study the different countries of Africa from where migration takes place to India. Further, during fieldwork, a detailed ethnographic account was collected of migrants from Somalia, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Cameroon to highlight the reasons for their migration to India. These specific countries were highlighted in detail as the respondents from these particular countries were interviewed for a longer period of time and in more in detail, over a period of three years. The data collected was in the form of long narratives and Oral Histories/biographies, which were recorded during different phases in the fieldwork. The ethnographic accounts included descriptions of people and events, stories, counter-stories, narratives, explanations, interpretations, views, ideas gathered through informal discussions and conversations in order to understand intricate details of migrant’s lives, their aspirations, their hopes, their history, their family structures, politics of their respective countries including descriptions of civil war, political instability, discussion about corruption etc. They narrated the conditions and factors that led to their migration to India. Political instability and civil war were also the push factors and reasons for migration from Africa. Somalia was one of the countries from where migrants were coming due to civil war. Education and Medical facility were other reasons for migration common among the different countries of Africa.

In this chapter of fieldwork, globalization has been analysed as a major process that

facilitated migration from Africa to India. An interrelation has been drawn between India's economic policies and reforms that ushered liberalization and privatization of various sectors of the Indian economy. An interrelation was drawn between urban space, economic reforms and migration. This chapter showed how the economy of India expanded to become liberalized giving impetus to the private sector. The private sector expanded its market reach to Africa. Privatization of education and health facility opened up avenues for African migration to India. It was in this context that Max Hospital was identified as an indicator to indicate how the expansion of the Indian economy and the private sector was ushering in migration. Privatization, liberalization and globalization ushered fundamental changes in the Indian economy. With privatization, many sectors expanded their market reach. Many private education firms boomed with the expansion of their market such as NIIT and other private IT based institutes in India. These provided opportunities for the migration of the African nationals to India for medical and education purposes due to the mushrooming of these privatized firms and facilities and adoption of liberal economy. Through the narratives of the migrants from different countries of Africa it was demonstrated that education, medical facility and business opportunities (imports and exports) in India were the main reasons for their migration.

Further, changes in the urban space of Khirki were studied through indicators such as Shopping Malls ushering better connectivity, urbanization processes, better roads, networks and housing. Globalization ushered a particular kind of urbanization that brought a change in the nature of the urban space of Khirki village and Khirki Extension. It can be argued that it contributed and facilitated the migration of nationals from Africa to come and reside particularly in this urban space. As mentioned above, the various factors for migration to India have been analysed to understand why migrants from Africa chose to migrate to India. Further, it can be said that Max super speciality hospital was a major reason for housing in Khirki Extension. The attendants, that is, the family members accompanying a patient getting treatment in Max, would get housing in the near by area of Khirki. This could be seen as one of the reasons why Khirki became popular even among other migrants who were here for education and business. The major reasons for migration to India have been outlined through the use of narratives and oral histories of the migrants from Africa. Further, an important aspect of the African migration that is outlined in this chapter is how the contemporary form of African migration is different from the past migrations between India and Africa. It was argued, that contemporary

migration of the African nationals is fundamentally different from the earlier migrations. The conditions under which it takes place today, that is, liberalization, privatization and globalization make the nature and context of migration different from the earlier historical migrations.

Cultural differences, Stereotypes and ‘Othering’

Chapter **four** ‘Racial Profiling, Cultural Differences and Othering: An outline of the Lived Experiences’ demonstrates an interrelation between the formation of racial clusters and the process of Othering. During fieldwork, while narratives were being gathered from the African migrants living in racial clusters, it was observed that a certain kind of ghettoization was taking place among the African migrants. This chapter again analysed the main question of this thesis, that is, why is it that the migrant population from Africa live in a cluster which may resemble a ghetto. What were the factors that determined the process of this clustering? Was this a voluntary choice or were there other factors determining this process of clustering? Further, attempt was to analyse the perpetuating dominant ideas and views about the migrant community from Africa. The dominant views and stereotypes that emerged were, that they were ‘bad’ people doing drugs and involved in sex rackets. While conducting fieldwork, an important event that took place in Khirki Extension was a Midnight Raid in January of 2014, in which the ex-Delhi Law Minister from Aam Admi Party (AAP) conducted a midnight raid on the African migrants. This incident gained a lot of attention as the raid was conducted on the African migrants living in Khirki Extension without a valid search warrant. It was alleged that the African migrants are out carrying out illegal activities such as drugs and prostitution. Migrants were forced to come out of their homes for checking. The raid was a result of the complaints filed by the local residents to the ex- Law Minister of Delhi, Mr. Somnath Bharti, about the migrants from Africa. The raid was symbolic of the growing negative perceptions about the African migrants. The raid brought out a clear dislike for the community by the local residents who formed a dominant view about the migrants, in other words a sort of conflict and cultural difference in the urban space. The raid had opened up questions about drugs, prostitution, cannibalism, and other illegal activities, which the local community believed were being carried out late at night by the African migrants.

The incident also gave rise to a process of Racial Profiling. The local community developed strong stereotypes about the African migrants. Local stereotypes about their lifestyle, dressing, food eating habits were formed based on which ‘Othering’ of the migrant community took place. Racial Profiling and ‘Othering’ was seen through the practice of how urban housing colonies and localities started implementing selective policies, such that, no African migrants were able to access housing in the gated communities and localities due to presence of stereotypes. The housing agents and landlords believed that if they gave housing to the African migrants then their houses would be used for illegal activities such as drugs and prostitution. The African migrants narrated how the police, local authorities and local residents, believed that all the migrants from different countries of Africa were involved in illegal activities. It was believed that all were doing drugs; all were listening to loud music, drinking, involved in prostitution and earning money through illegal channels. Interestingly, the questions of African identity emerged here as given the similarity of experiences of racial profiling and ‘Othering’ there was a unity that was taking place amongst the African community living in Khirki Extension. Each of them faced similar treatment. Women were treated badly due to the local prejudice and suspicion that African women were involved in prostitution. Such stereotypes generated negative images about the migrant community and became a reason for discrimination. There was a strong association of black colour with dirty, evil, dangerous, and sinful, etc.

Further, in this chapter it was demonstrated how cultural differences emerged between the local community and the African migrant community. The local community believed that the migrants did not understand the local cultural norms. For example, many respondents from the local community had complained that the women from the African migrant community did not dress decently. The African migrants on the other hand, narrated how they were trying to understand the local cultural norms and tried to abide by them. Many even said that they tried to learn Hindi in order to break the cultural ice. However, despite the efforts made by the African community to attempt to assimilate with the local population, a difference between two cultures emerged in the urban space of Khirki Extension. It was argued in this chapter that the emergence of cultural differences and stereotypes were the main reasons for ‘Othering’. The fact that the migrants were judged by their lifestyle, dressing and food eating habits showed a prejudice. It was believed by the local community that the African migrants also eat

human flesh. The notion of cannibalism was very strong among the local community. In fact, the domestic workers working in different houses in Khirki Extension refused to work in the houses of the African migrants due to this belief. The 'Othering' of the African community in the urban space of Khirki Extension gave rise to a certain kind of exclusion. The process of 'Othering' was also observed through language. The local community referred to the African migrants as *Habshi*, *Kala* or *Kallu*. This association of *Habshi* and *Kala* (black) was further made with dirty, dark, sinful, bad, cannibal and prostitute and drug dealer. In this chapter there was an emergence of race as a signifier. Referring to Hall (1997) analytical framework of race as a floating signifier was made.

In the last section of this chapter, an outline was made about how racial clustering symbolised a source of unity. A different perspective was analysed that is, clustering as networks of empowerment. The African clusters symbolised unity based on the everyday lived experiences of the migrants. Through narratives it was observed that the migrants also preferred to live in the same network area. There were signs of unity in terms of a common identity through the presence of African kitchens, African shops, boutiques, tailor shops, saloons and barbershops. While on the one hand, it was noticed that there was diversity of culture, religion, language and nationality, on the other hand, there was unity based on diasporic identity. The emergence of racial clusters while on the one hand could be seen as a manifestation of exclusionary practices and 'Othering', on the other, could also be seen as the reason for growing African unity amongst community members and the emergence of subcultures and African identity as understood by the African migrant community. In this context, clustering was seen as networks and empowering.

Racial Discrimination in India

Chapter **five** 'Understanding discrimination and Intersectionality: Outlining Lived Experiences Through Race, Class and Gender' analyses the concept of racial discrimination through the method of intersectionality. This method allowed an analytical framework based on the understanding of intersections between race, class and gender. Intersectionality is used as an approach and method for sociological analysis to study the different intersections in experiences, articulated as, 'race and class' intersections, 'race, class and gender' and 'race, class, gender and religion' intersections. Religion has been used as an additional axis in the matrix of domination, in order to analyse the transnational aspects of intersectionality that take the 'race, class, gender' triad through

an additive approach of religion using the analysis made by Crenshaw (1989), Collins (1990) Egwuom (2014) and Purkayastha (2012). It explores and analyses the different forms of discrimination and understand how it is racial in nature.

In order to understand the experiences of race and class intersections the personal narratives of the African migrants were taken into account. *Firstly*, the African migrants living in Khirki Extension said that they had to face more instances of discrimination as they were often stereotyped for being drug peddlers in Khirki Extension. This became a major reason for facing racial profiling and discrimination in not only Khirki Extension but also at airports, local community, housing, state authorities, and the police. *Secondly*, they narrated how they felt that the African identity was stigmatized. This gave rise to additional problems and wider cultural differences, which translated to formation of negative images, produced and circulated via media. *Thirdly*, the African migrants were also facing discrimination based on the fact that they were black and black was further associated with dirty and sinful. Race had become a taboo in the local cultural sphere. It had become a signifier. In addition to these problems, they narrated how their problems were different from the upper class African migrants such as African Ministers and Ambassadors who were living in private housing in elite areas with personal chauffer driven cars and security. There were differences that existed along the lines of class. There existed a class of bureaucrats employed in various Embassies of different countries of Africa coming to India on positions of Ambassadors and High Commissioners. They did not face as many problems as the African migrants living in low-income areas as explained by the respondents living in Khirki Extension. They narrated that the African Ministers lived in VIP bungalows in government allocated areas of Delhi. They belonged to high-income groups with high security, official cars, and servants at their disposal. They did not face the street violence like the other migrants. In order to understand the race and class intersection, housing localities were taken as indicators of class, status and wealth.

Further, in the context of making an in-depth analysis of class it was observed that the African migrants in Khirki Extension preferred to live in the same network. This was due to two major reasons. *First*, the major reasons that emerged were the issue of safety and security. Living in the same network area provided a sense of security for the people of the African community due to lack of private security as in the case of African diplomats and Ambassadors. According to the respondents from Africa, it protected them

from the hostile environment in which racial abuses and comments were hurled at them such as *Habshi, Kala, Kallu* on the streets of Delhi and therefore, living together in a way offered community protection. The respondents described incidents of racial discrimination when at the markets, malls, restaurants, hub areas such as auto stands etc. Living in the same area in a cluster provided safety according to the respondents. The respondents reported that various comments were shouted at them.

Female respondents from Khirki Extension mentioned instances of discrimination that had taken place on them. They felt that all African women have to face the same kind of discrimination in which they are seen in the light of prostitution. They described their own personal experiences of humiliation, racial insult and violence. The African women respondents said that they also got affected by hearing about cases of violence on African women in other parts of India as well as cases that happened in their own neighbourhood. It was not simply race that could be said to be the form of discrimination but also in the case of women, class and gender, which operated in discrimination and exclusion. Women faced discrimination at the level of Race and in addition to that, also gender based discrimination and sexual harassment, which summed up to a greater proportion of discrimination in the Indian society. During the course of the fieldwork many issues came to light about violence, humiliation and abuse faced by the African women. The women said that the rents were affordable in Khirki Extension and that is why they lived here. The area had connectivity, which was also one of the main reasons that emerged for living in this particular urban space. Further, in one of the narratives of the women respondents, she described how she was asked ‘how much?’ as she was seen to be a prostitute. To add to this humiliation, in Khirki Extension Ugandan women were asked to come out of their homes in order to be cross-examined for allegations of prostitution during the midnight raid. This was done at the level of State, where it was the ex- Law Minister of Delhi who conducted the Raid and that too, without a search warrant. Women were demanded to prove that they were not guilty in the middle of the night. This was seen as humiliating by the African women living in Khirki Extension.

Another important aspect in the triad of intersectionality that is explored is ‘race, class, gender’ and ‘religion’. The vulnerability of women to facing discrimination in this case was at multiple levels. In order to understand this intersection the case of Somalian women was used. It was seen that, *firstly*, on account of their race, they faced discrimination. *Secondly*, they were more vulnerable to facing gender-based

discrimination. Discrimination based on class was the *third* form of discrimination based on the location of housing being in Khirki Extension. *Fourth*, most importantly, while living in a society that was largely Hindu dominated, on account of being Muslim, which is a minority in India, they were immensely vulnerable to greater levels of discrimination. So, in their case, race, class, gender and religion made them extremely vulnerable to discrimination at multiple levels. Plus they were also on a refugee status. The experience of a Somalian woman can be analysed by understanding their identity through multiple framework analysis such as black and a woman living in Khirki Extension and on top of that, a Muslim, which is a minority in the Indian society. Race, gender, class and religion increased the vulnerability to multiple levels of discrimination such as racial, class based, gender and vulnerability towards religious discrimination. This made the case of Somalian women important to analyse, which not only manifested in discrimination but also in marginalization and exclusion. Winker and Degele (2011) have shown how the concept of intersectionality has not only been used in gender studies for a detailed understanding of its intersections but also in the context of interdisciplinary debates on issues of inequality and difference.

Racial Discrimination and the State

Chapter **six** ‘State and Bilateral Agreements: Analysing the Significance of Critical Race Theory Perspective’ analysed the perspective of the Indian state to racial discrimination and violence. An analysis was made of the role and the nature of the Indian state with regard to its position on racial violence. It was seen that in the context of the Indian state, the economic interests were the key driving force behind its official position on racial violence. In this context, an analysis was made of India’s Bilateral ties with Africa. It was evident through the official position of the state that it was protecting its economic and political ties with Africa. The Ministers of the Ministry of External Affairs such as Sushma Swaraj on behalf of the Indian state gave the official position that attacks on African migrants were not racial. It could be seen that the Indian state was protecting its economic relations with Africa and could not be identified for racial violence. The India-Africa ties were important for the Indian state to protect as the trade exchanges were taking place at a large scale. However, the African migrants living in Khirki Extension did not appreciate this official position of the Indian state, as they felt that Indian laws were not able to protect them against racial violence. They narrated that

if India had strict laws against racial violence, then there would not be so much racial violence. The African migrants said that if the local people could feel that they could be strictly punished for violating the African migrants based on their racial identity then the instances of racial violence could be controlled. However, in the present situation, the local community could make racial attacks and go scot-free. In mob violence for instance, the local community goes free and no arrests are made. The local people are not punished for taking law into their own hands.

In this chapter a detailed outline is made of the economic ties between India and Africa, which formalised into the “India-Africa Forum Summit” in 2008. The economic tie-ups began since the 1990s when India changed its economic principles to liberalization, globalization and privatization. The economic reforms ushered formal economic ties between India and Africa and also gave impetus to African migration into India. However, the African migrants felt that while the economic ties were taking place and a cooperation of South-South Partnership was in place, but the local cultures were not welcoming. In fact, the local community and culture was subjecting violence and discrimination on the migrants based on stereotypes and the Indian state was not intervening in these cases, rather it was taking a position that the cases of racial violence were crime and law and order issues. It refused to acknowledge these cases as racial violence. However, the death of a Congolese Man, Olivier who was beaten up to death on the streets of Delhi in 2016 created a movement and resistance against racial violence amongst the African migrants. Olivier was waiting for an auto at midnight at 11:30 when he was beaten to death. It was his birthday the following day. This incident brought a shock to the community of migrants from different countries of Africa. It unleashed a series of stories of hidden and unreported racial attacks on the African migrants living in Delhi. The migrants from different countries of Africa expressed their views in public now using mass media. A mass media campaign was held. There were revelations of incidents of being severely violated by the local people and the police. Stories of violence against the African community and the injustices came out in the open. A call for a March for Justice was made, however, it was cancelled due to pressure from the Indian state and the African Embassies. These incidents of injustice and racial violence are understood in the light of Critical Race Theory. Critical Race Theory emerged as a framework for interdisciplinary scholarship though it primarily merged out of legal scholarship. The Critical Race Theory scholars showed how race and racism is perpetuated through culture

and law and how racism penetrates into social, cultural and legal institutions further, perpetuating the dominant structures and social order.

Pan-African Identity

Chapter seven 'Racial Cluster as a Pan African Identity: Race as a Signifier' analysed the question of African identity in the Indian context. It was argued that in the Indian context there were two processes that gave rise to the African identity. *One* was at the local level where 'African' identity emerged out of common stereotypes. Here Race acted as a Floating Signifier, which signified wrongdoings such as illegal activities like drugs, prostitution and cannibalism. This 'African' identity was analysed through the study of culture, representation and language to understand how 'Othering' takes place. The *second* type of the 'African' identity that was formed was at the diasporic level, which marked a unity among the African migrants. This 'African' identity formed out of a struggle against the stereotyping. This phenomenon of the African identity is studied in the context of Pan-Africanism.

The local community of Khirki Extension had started to refer to the migrants from different countries of Africa as '*Kalu, Kala, Habshi or African*'. The word 'African' was commonly used for the migrant community from Africa by the local community in Khirki Extension. An interesting observation that emerged from the field was that 'African' as an identity had emerged in the Indian context through two processes that were contributing to the construction of the 'African' identity. *One* was the identity constructed at the local level which was emerging out of the stereotype of 'African' identity as 'bad'; *Second* was the emergence of an 'African' identity in resistance and contestation of the stereotyping. As a result of the second process there was an emergence of a strong identity leading to the process of the creation of 'African' community. The 'African' as an identity emerged as an identity both, at the level of local community and at the level of the migrant community from Africa. Many migrants from Africa said that while they became united and formed solidarity at the level of one unified 'African community' living in Delhi; they also started learning about the diversity of different countries in Africa after they arrived in India. They started forming a solidarity network based on the fact that their general experiences in India were similar. This brought a social unity. The physical features were socially defined now to form a common identity. There was a common Barbershop who could cut the hair for all African people, the African migrants

felt that Indian barber could not cut their hair due to lack of experience and knowledge, so the African migrants preferred their own barbershop and saloons. To add this, there were also many African kitchens that opened up in Khirki Extension for all the African migrants. Special shops for selling of specific African groceries also opened up in this neighbourhood, one such grocery shop was called 'the African shop'. A strong sense of identity emerged within the African community, which was the African identity in this urban space of Khirki Extension. Many of the respondents from Africa said that they felt like brothers from different countries.

However, the local community was also referring to the migrants as 'African', and the 'African' as an identity, became associated and linked with everything that was illegal, bad and criminal in the local cultural sphere. It was against this linkage that several protests in the city grew and an identity-based movement that was against racial discrimination had surfaced. These solidarities emerged on the basis of a collective identity for fighting against all forms of racial discriminations. Interestingly, this solidarity within the African community emerged respecting the broader differences in nationalities, religions and regional-political differences in the Indian context. It is important to note how the African identity emerged at the diasporic level. Therefore, this chapter addressed the question of 'African' identity, which emerged as an assertive identity against racial discrimination. Further, another aspect of the African identity that is referred is how race emerges as a floating signifier at the local community level. The local community used 'African' as a signifier associated with stereotypes such as drug dealer, cannibalism, prostitution and all the illegal activities in the Indian context. Therefore, using Stuart Hall (1997) analysis of race as a Floating Signifier is explored in detail. 'African' is also analysed as Pan African Identity or Pan-Africanism. In this context, an exploration of Pan-Africanism is attempted through the work of CLR James (1945). "Since the famous Fifth Pan-African Congress held at Manchester in 1945, the term Pan-Africanism was applied to the question of political unity on the African continent. The original meaning included both the above usage and the idea of 'community' of interest among African people all over the world" (Martin 1972:191).

Questions Encountered during Fieldwork from the African community

During the course of fieldwork, interactions with the African migrants were eye opening. Interestingly, during fieldwork many questions were encountered such as,

- “Why are Indians Racist?”
- “Why is dark dirty?”
- “ Why should Indians be so racist at all? Were Africans and Indians not part of the same colonized history?”
- Indians were subjected to racism! So why should Indians be racist?

These were the questions that were encountered through out fieldwork from the African migrants living in Khirki Extension, as well as scholars, intellectuals from India. Racism in India was seen to be taking place in the form racial violence and discrimination. They could be seen in the light of hate crimes. The cases of racial violence were getting media attention due to the fact that they had become very rampant. The above questions were encountered repeatedly; that since India and Africa have been both colonized in the past and share a sense of history, then why should African migrants have to face racism in India? Indian and Africans should make social, cultural, political and personal connections more easily with each other based on their history. The African migrants repeated asked why they have to face racism in India. The migrants narrated that, they felt that they would be welcomed in India but, on the other hand, quite ironically, they were facing racial violence. The African migrants narrated and suggested that in India there should be more consciousness and awareness about the rich history of Africa. The representation of Africa itself is made in a manner, which is of poor, primitive and uncivilized. The African migrants felt that Indian textbooks should represent the true cultural history and heritage of Africa rather than the negative images, which have been manipulated by colonial representation. Courses have to be designed to allow a rich understanding of Africa.

Further, another question that was brought up by some of the scholars from Africa while this research study was being conducted was, how the discipline of Sociology was influenced by Euro-centric models and approaches. They narrated that sociological scholarship of many black authors is not followed by western theories; instead, there is a celebration of western scholarship that seeks to conform to the theories propagated by western scholars. Black Scholars, who have contributed majorly to the discipline of sociology in giving rise to counter-hegemonic narratives, are not included in courses of sociology in the west and also in India. The discipline of Sociology follows western scholars only. For example, the classical works of western scholars are the major focus of theory in sociology while on the other hand, one rarely studies full courses on the contributions made by Black scholars such as W.E.B Du Bois, Oliver Cox, Franz Fanon,

Stuart Hall or CLR James who have contributed majorly in providing counter narratives to hegemonic discourses. Sociology as a discipline should seek to rethink pedagogy in many ways to include multi layered perspectives. For instance, the above scholars have contributed majorly in Sociology such as in Sociology of Stratification, Political Sociology, Economic Sociology and sociology of Culture to address questions about social systems, institutions, social relations and power etc. Their contribution must be included in the main discourses.

A Brief Summary of the Thesis

In short, to conclude and summarise this thesis, the outline of chapter *one* was conceptual and aimed at understanding the category of race. Chapter *two* was analytical and made an interlinkage between the category of race and urban space. It gave a theoretical framework for analysing urban space and urban processes that led to the formation of ‘racial’ clusters. It analysed the concept clusters, to understand whether they were formed on the basis of voluntary choice, or was it a result of exclusionary policies and practices. Chapter *three* was descriptive; it outlined the general experiences of the African migrants living in the city and their political and socio-economic backgrounds such as nationality, language, religion etc. and contexts of their migration. It also outlined the factors of migration such as push and pull factors, i.e., education, health and employment. Marriage was also examined as a factor. Chapter *four* was analytical and aimed to analyse the processes of racial profiling and ‘Othering’ that led to the formation of racial clusters. Chapter *five* was empirical in terms of the use of social categories such as ‘race, class gender’ and their intersections. Religion was also used as a category for analysis. It was objective in its analysis of race through intersectional experience and methodological reflection of interrelated and interlocked categories. Chapter *six* provided the framework for understanding India-Africa economic relations and exchanges. Critical Race theory was used for understand racial discrimination. Chapter *seven* analysed the African identity emerging in the Indian context.

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ANNEXURE – 1







