

# ARCHITECTURE SUBVERTING RELIGIOUS COMMUNALISM

**Social Space, Rituals and Communalism in  
Bengaluru, India**

[3020 words]

Ifrah Ariff  
AR3A010 Research Plan MSc 3  
Joran Kuijper, Robert Gorny, Roberto Cavallo

AR3CS100 City of the Future Graduation Studio, 2022 - 2023  
MSc Architecture, Urbanism and Building Sciences  
Technical University of Delft



# CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	4
PROBLEM STATEMENT	4
RESEARCH QUESTION	10
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	11
METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	15
RELEVANCE	18
RESEARCH PLAN	19
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY	20
REFERENCES	23
IMAGE CITATIONS	24

Cover Image: Demolition of Babri Mosque by a right-wing Hindutva mob on December 6, 1992.

All image credits for this document provided in Image Citations section.

# INTRODUCTION

Recently, Indian right-wing Hindutva<sup>1</sup> politics has become a cause for concern for my Indian-Muslim family. Where Indian Hindus, Muslims and Christians stood at each other's sides, communal distrust has now taken root.

Indian communalism's relationship to architecture has been emblematised by the long-standing controversy over Babri Mosque. In 1992, the 15<sup>th</sup> century mosque was demolished by Hindutva mobs who alleged that it was built atop a Hindu structure.<sup>2</sup>

It is surmised that a combination of trade and colonialism brought Islam and Christianity, the nation's largest minority religions, to India.<sup>3,4</sup> Post-independence secularism sought to include them in the constitution. Hindutva ideologists argue that this happened at the expense of Hindu culture; the government favoured land ownership and other initiatives for minority religions.<sup>5</sup> But now, religious minorities - Muslims especially - face marginalisation with an increasingly Hindutva regime, through contested claims over ritual spaces, demolitions of homes and places of worship.<sup>6</sup> Social space could become a communal battleground for different groups seeking territorial claims for their religious and/ or political rituals.

This study will explore Indian communalism through claims over social architecture and rituals in my hometown, Bengaluru.

# PROBLEM STATEMENT

## CHAMARAJPET EIDGAH

The controversy over Chamarajpet Eidgah<sup>7</sup> in Central Bengaluru has echoes of Babri Mosque. Used as a Muslim prayer ground biannually, and as a children's playground otherwise, queries over its use for non-Muslim rituals recently caused communal tension. Though

1 Hindutva is the ideology of the Hindu right, represented by the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party, or Indian People's Party (BJP).

Sharma, A. (2020). On the Difference Between Hinduism and Hindutva. *Asian Philosophies and Religions*, 25(1), 43–47. <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/on-the-difference-between-hinduism-and-hindutva/>

2 Bacchetta, P. (2000). Sacred Space in Conflict in India: The Babri Masjid Affair. *Growth and Change*, 31(2), 255–284. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0017-4815.00128>

3 Engineer, A. A. (2002). Islam and Muslims in India: Problems of Identity and Existence. In *Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation* (pp. 239–250). Brill. [https://brill.com/display/book/9789004494671/B9789004494671\\_s023.xml](https://brill.com/display/book/9789004494671/B9789004494671_s023.xml)

4 Studio A (Ed.). (2017, September 12). *When did Christianity come to India? | The story of St. Thomas | St. Thomas Basilica, Chennai* [Video]. YouTube. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=2](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2)

5 Malhotra, R. (2007). The Axis Of Neo-Colonialism. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 11(3), 36–67. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/48505000?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/48505000?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

6 Patel, A. (2021, November 14). *Price of the Modi Years*. Westland Non-fiction.

7 *Eidgah* is a South Asian Islamic term for open-air congregational prayer areas, deriving from the Muslim 'Eid' festival's prayer.

the Karnataka Waqf Board<sup>8</sup> claimed ownership, Hindutva groups insisted that it belonged to the municipality. To mark a subliminal Hindu nationalist triumph, the Indian flag was hoisted on the ground for the first time on Independence Day 2022. The State Revenue Board took control of it amid calls to demolish the *mihrab*<sup>9</sup> wall that marks it as a Muslim space. The case is illustrative of i) poor land-use management due to negligent ownership and ii) contested ritual claims in social space.

## (NEO)COLONIAL HISTORY

In the colonial era, Bengaluru was a patchwork of spaces governed by both the British Raj and the Princely State of Mysore. With British facilitation, large portions of today's urban land were acquired by Christian missionaries and wealthy Muslim entrepreneurs.<sup>10</sup> Post-independence secularism empowered these religious minorities. A lack of equal governmental support for Hindu affairs left the Hindutva feeling disempowered, who deemed this a (neo)colonial erasure of Hindu identity.<sup>11</sup> Now, the rise of Hindutva through the BJP threatens a territorial lash-out against social spaces of Muslims and Christians.

## THE DEATH OF SOCIAL SPACE

Bengaluru was known as a relaxed town with India's best weather, a garden city and a pensioners' paradise. The neocolonial forces of the 1990s IT boom and a subsequent real estate boom have rendered this inconceivable. Today, less than 15% of the city is covered by gardens.<sup>12</sup> Social space has either been demolished, fenced off or regulated by absurd opening hours.<sup>13</sup> Social activities, including sports and rituals, are fighting each other for room. Efforts to improve the provision of social space are plagued by bureaucracy, corruption or (neocolonial) masterplans by Western 'experts' whose cultural non-embeddedness suggests that neoliberal architecture could continue prevailing at the expense of social wellbeing.

Open grounds and parks, but also roads and sidewalks in the vicinity of places of worship, are used for rituals like prayers, festivities and parades. But when ritual uses are contested in what is already a pressurised urban context that lacks common space, it is not difficult to picture imminent communal violence.

8 The Karnataka Waqf Board is a state-level subsidiary of the Waqf Board of India. The Islamic term *Waqf* refers to a asset held in by a (community) trust for social benefit indefinitely. After Indian Independence in 1948, the secular government established Waqf boards for each state.

9 A *mihrab* is a niche in a wall which denotes the direction of Islamic ritual prayer.

10 Dhanpal, S. (2022). The making of a model town: planning in a Princely city and the All-India Sanitary Conferences. *Planning Perspectives*, 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2022.2131610>

11 Malhotra, R. (2007). Op cit.

12 Ramachandra, T. V., Aithal, B. H., Kulkarni, G., & Shivamurthy, V. (2017). Green Spaces in Bengaluru: Quantification through Geospatial Techniques. *Indian Forester*, 143(4), 307–320. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315670439\\_GREEN\\_SPACES\\_IN\\_BENGALURU\\_QUANTIFICATION\\_THROUGH\\_GEOSPATIAL\\_TECHNIQUES](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315670439_GREEN_SPACES_IN_BENGALURU_QUANTIFICATION_THROUGH_GEOSPATIAL_TECHNIQUES)

13 Mavad, A. (2022, November 2). Why does Bengaluru lock up its parks? *Deccan Herald*. <https://www.deccanherald.com/metrolife/why-does-bengaluru-lock-up-its-parks-1158571.html>



**Figure 1** Children play cricket at the Chamarajpet Eidgah, with the minbar wall in the background.

**Figure 2** Independence Day celebrations at Chamarajpet Eidgah on 15 August 2022, when the Indian flag was hoisted there for the first time.





**Figure 3** Police stand guard at Chamarajpet Eidgah amid communalist tensions



**Figure 4** Workers move a murti (statue/ idol) of Lord Ganesha to a ritual site ahead of the 'Ganesh Chaturthi' festival, in Bengaluru.



**Figure 5** Eid prayers at Chamarajpet Eidgah.



**Figure 6** A congregation gathers in celebration of St Mary's Feast at St Mary's Basilica in Bengaluru.





**Figure 7** Ugadi festivities at a market in Bengaluru.

# RESEARCH QUESTION

In this research thesis, I will investigate the relationship between social space, rituals and communalism in Bengaluru.

On a theoretical level, this involves understanding how Bengaluru's social spaces can be explained by postcolonial theories of land and spatial production.

On a methodological level, this will require a spatial and ethnographic exploration of how communalism affects, and is affected by, rituals - religious and political - occurring in social space.

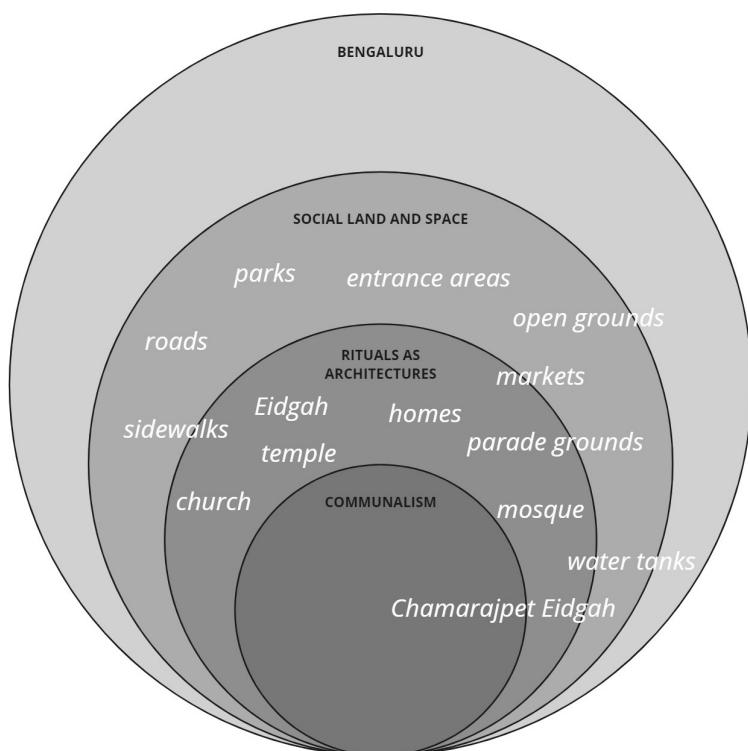
Ultimately, the goal is to use the research outcomes to explore, through various architectural epistemes, how architecture can subvert, or at least query, religious communalism.

## Main research question:

- What is the relationship between social space, rituals and communalism in Bengaluru?

## Sub-questions:

- How can postcoloniality explain the production of Bengaluru's land and social spaces?
- How are rituals related to communalism as architectures in action?
- (How) can architecture subvert religious communalism?



**Figure 8** Breakdown of research question (author's work).

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Using Chamarajpet Eidgah as a starting point, this thesis will investigate the praxeologies and semiologies of social spaces used for rituals. The spaces to be studied will be identified as an outcome of preliminary research. Architectural morphologies, like the Eidgah's *mihrab* wall for example, will also be studied through their ritual and social values.

## URBAN LAND PRODUCTION AND WORLDING

Chamarajpet's example necessitates a theorisation of 'land' as an entity of contested ownership and value. Anne Haila's *Urban Land Rent* theory proposes that the meaning of 'land' has been influenced by land commodification, urbanisation and densification in the last two centuries.<sup>1</sup> Gayathri Spivak's *Worlding* theory<sup>2</sup> explains how colonial cartographic logics of Indian land - as commodities to be demarcated and owned - replaced the precolonial understanding of land as commons. With neoliberalism, land titles have obfuscated, or even ceased, landlord-tenant social relations.<sup>3</sup> This obfuscation is now exploited in power grabs by religious/ political groups like the Waqf Board, Hindutva groups, and the municipality, who disseminate reproduced versions of the Eidgah that add value to their political agenda. Foucault's theory of Disciplinary Power as a productive force which creates (spatial) knowledge<sup>4</sup> explains the spatial disarray when multiple actors have disciplinary power. Politics and value in the social reproduction of space (as theorised by Petrescu and Trogal) can be used by these stakeholders to assert unequal power distributions even further, ultimately disempowering the common citizen in matters related to land use or value.

Beyond Chamarajpet Eidgah, colonial remnants of disempowerment exist in Indian spatial discourse. Bengaluru's urbanists turn to the West for expertise.<sup>5</sup> Cultural non-embeddedness and money-driven neoliberal logic at the planning level perpetuate spatial injustices, through caste, socioeconomic, gendered and religious boundaries.<sup>6</sup>

(Neo)coloniality seems to underlie i) confused notions of 'land' and spatial production, which perhaps ii) aggravate emerging Hindutva/ Muslim power imbalances. Whether this causality exists, and whether neocoloniality influences spatial production for rituals in Bengaluru is to be explored. This will include a historical study of social space (re) production.

1 Haila, A. (2015). *Urban Land Rent: Singapore as a Property State*. Wiley-Blackwell.

2 Spivak, G. C. (1985). The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives. *History and Theory*, 24(3), 247. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2505169>

3 Haila, A. (2015). Op cit.

4 Hirst, P. (1993). FOUCAULT AND ARCHITECTURE. *AA Files*, 26, 52–60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29543867>

5 Sundaresan, J. (2019). Decolonial reflections on urban pedagogy in India. *Area*, 52(4), 722–730. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12596>

6 Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City* (REV-Revised). University of Georgia Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46nm9v>

## RITUAL: ARCHITECTURE IN ACTION

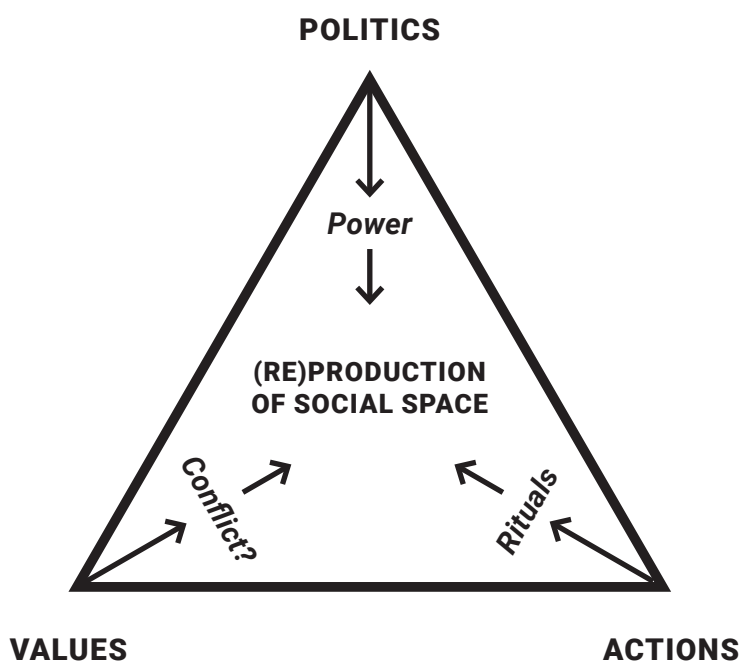
Serving as proxies to Hindu-Muslim tensions in Chamarajpet are rituals, which are worth treating as 'architectures in action' as per Petrescu and Trogal's space (re)production theory. Key features of 'architecture in action' include spatial indeterminacy or openness, enabling participants to reproduce the space to fit in their everyday lives.<sup>7</sup> The Eidgah's physical indeterminacy caused this to happen for decades. However, this indeterminacy has been politically exploited to create religious-spatial claims. Is spatial indeterminacy for rituals suitable in India's political climate? A study of rituals' spatial and temporal boundaries, and the constitutive openness - or rather closure - that accompanies will help answer this. Indeed, whilst rituals are often social events, they can be exclusionary to non-participants.<sup>8</sup>

But what constitutes a ritual? Peter Blundell Jones suggests that they are relational actions of temporality and repetitiveness, making them quite specific. It is difficult to categorise what is ritual and what is not. Nonetheless, 'ritual' implies a solemn spirituality and ceremoniousness: religious or political or both. Whilst the rituals themselves will be explored as temporal and scale-based actions, pre-and post-rituals activities are worth exploring too. For instance, rituals' logistics affect urban infrastructure such as roads and junctions (figures 4, 5, 6 & 7) in ways which *could* aggravate communalism.

The scope of this thesis is limited to social rituals in social space which have potential for communal effects. Examples of such rituals include, but are not limited to, Muslim communal prayers (Figure 5), Hindu *pūjās*, Christian chariot processions or flag hoistings (Figure 6).

7 Petrescu, D., & Trogal, K. (2017). *The Social (Re)Production of Architecture: Politics, Values and Actions in Contemporary Practice* (1st ed.). Routledge.

8 Jones, P. B. (2016). *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*. Bloomsbury Academic.



**Figure 9** Petrescu & Trogal's Space Reproduction theory applied to this thesis (author's work).

## COMMUNALISM

Though the root word for 'communalism', 'communal', implies sharing across groups, communalism refers to a strong allegiance to one's religious group, rather than to society as a whole.<sup>1</sup> In India particularly, it refers to the Hindu-Muslim tension. Mervyn Frost's Constitutive Theory proposes that a study of (ritual) stakeholders and practices from within their religious/ political fields<sup>2</sup> could be applied improve inter-group relations. In that vein, pluriversalising the study by engaging with the various religious epistemes through mysticism, theology and spirituality - rather than only rationality and neoliberalism - can explain the religious forces shaping land, social space and architectural networks in Chamarajpet and beyond.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, perhaps pluriversality would be a convoluted response beyond this study's scope. Chantal Mouffe's agonistic approach offers a counterbalance to pluriversality, viewing stakeholders as adversaries.<sup>4</sup> This will enable a nuanced network-approach towards the complex web of Bengaluru's space production stakeholders.

## POSTCOLONIAL SELF-REFLEXIVE

Despite being Indian, my situatedness is Western. The notion that Western epistemology is more superior than Indian pervades both my European architectural education and spatial planning discourse in India.<sup>5</sup> This thesis will aspire to address these pedagogical neocolonialities, drawing from postcoloniality.

1 communalism. (n.d.). In *Collins Dictionary*. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/communalism>

2 Though this theory is particular to international relations, I believe that it is applicable to any communal entanglement.

Frost, M. (2021). Constitutive Theory in International Relations. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.588>

3 Kothari, A., Salleh, A., Escobar, A., Demaria, F., & Acosta, A. (2019). *Pluriverse: A Post-Development Dictionary*. Tulika Books.

4 Mouffe, C. (n.d.). Chantal Mouffe: Agonistic Democracy and Radical Politics. *Pavilion Magazine*. Retrieved November 8, 2022, from <https://www.pavilionmagazine.org/chantal-mouffe-agonistic-democracy-and-radical-politics/>

5 Sundaesan, J. (2019). Op cit.

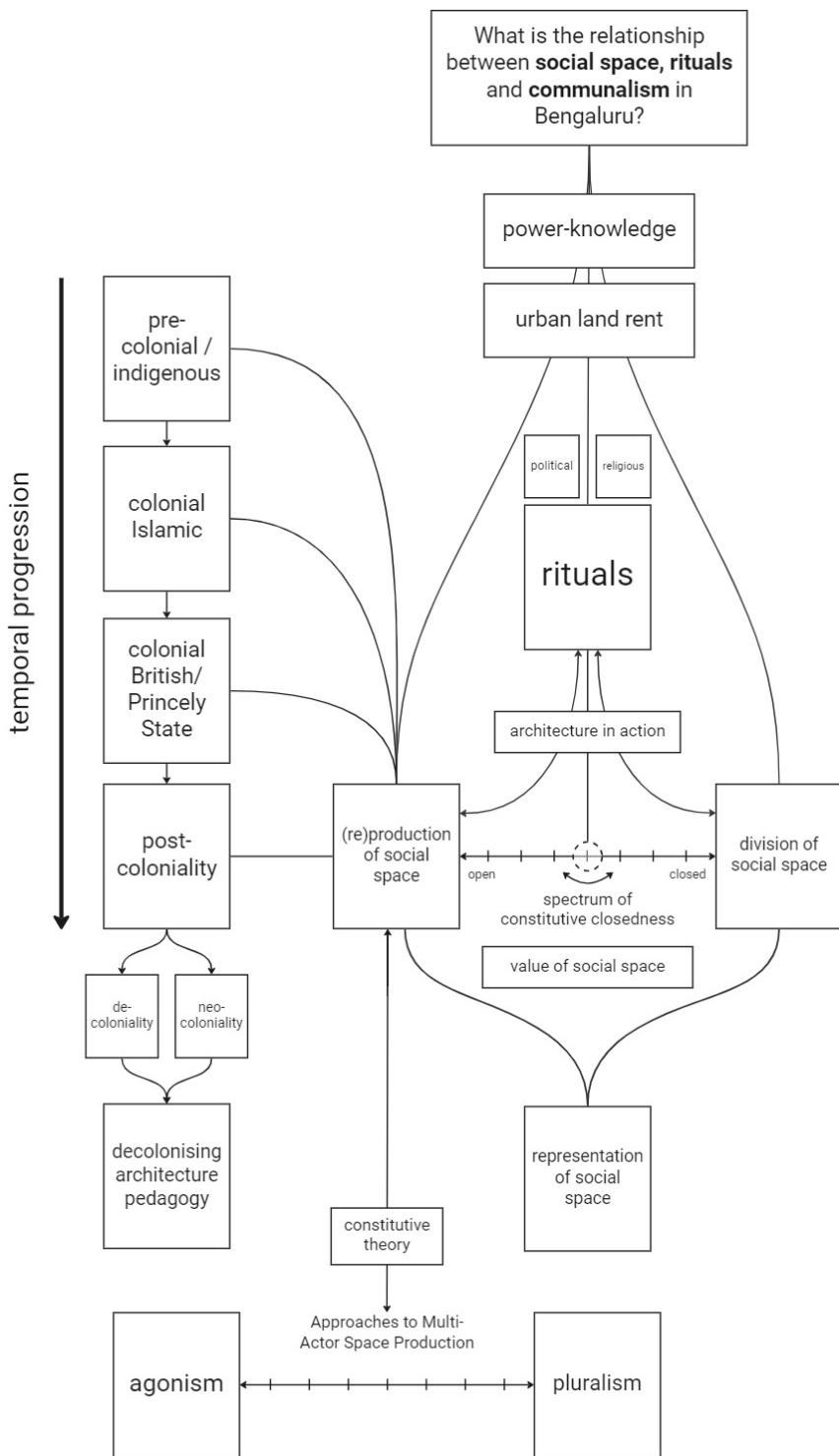


Figure 10 Theoretical framework diagram (author's work).

# METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

## DECOLONISING PEDAGOGY

Contemporary discourse on Indian architecture and urban development is imbued by (neo)coloniality. As an example of attempting to decolonise pedagogy, Jayaraj Sundaresan puts forth the example of the Bengaluru-based Indian Institute of Human Settlements (IIHS). Their education methods include interdisciplinary learning, sharing oral histories and resource co-construction, for example.<sup>1</sup> Though this thesis is an individual project, its methodology will be based around a similar collaborative attempt to decolonise its knowledge-gathering.

I will begin by tagging sources that can be confirmed as 'colonial' (e.g. maps from the British Raj, colonial land title records) to find the roots of neocoloniality in communalism. I will host discussions with Bengaluru-based architects, urbanists and researchers to foster interdisciplinarity, to share resources and to reflect upon my research methods. Cultural nuances overlooked by English will be incorporated through reference to Kannada and Hindi sources (translated by my mother).

A self-reflexive written log will be used to map out my own neocolonial epistemology, which will extend to be an autoethnographic exercise during an excursion to Bengaluru as an English-speaking, non-residential Indian (NRI), Muslim woman. This can be referred to throughout the research to decolonise my observations. Later on, the research will externalise decoloniality to query the relevance of (de)coloniality to the people in Bengaluru involved in urban land production.

## RESEARCHING RITUALS, THEOLOGY & ARCHITECTURE

Blundell Jones notes that, on the one hand, there exist typological studies of ritual architecture within an art-history tradition. On the other, there exist praxeological, anthropological studies of how rituals occur in contemporary space. The gap where art-history and anthropology do not overlap<sup>2</sup> fails to acknowledge that architecture should address the conflicts that arise when social spaces are territorialised for rituals. Another gap is that of a non-colonial perspective which considers religious theology and architecture simultaneously.

This research will bridge these gaps by combining a theological and typological study of Bengaluru's social spaces with fieldwork. A theological study of religious space will need a pluriversal approach that, as per Frost's constitutive theory, entails understanding the language(s) and ethics affirming rituals.<sup>3</sup> As I will embark on an

1 Sundaresan, J. (2019). Decolonial reflections on urban pedagogy in India. *Area*, 52(4), 722–730. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12596>

2 Jones, P. B. (2016). *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*. Bloomsbury Academic.

3 I have adapted Frost's constitutive theory to apply it to the study of rituals as actions. Frost, M. (2021). *Constitutive Theory in International Relations*. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.588>

excursion to Bengaluru, site visits to key social spaces of ritual use will record praxeologies and ethnographies, through observational records (notes, sketches, photographs, time-motion studies) and interviews respectively.

## DE-WORLDING & COUNTERCARTOGRAPHY

Nonetheless, most of the aforementioned methods could fall into Spivak's *worlding* trap. The mere act of me organising my findings in a particular way could subconsciously have a (neo)colonial bias. Separately, the bigger-picture questions for this thesis are: who is affected by religious communalism? Who is marginalised? Where is communalism felt most? When is it occurring? There has thus far been a lack of georeferenced literature which answers these questions. The relationships between social spaces and rituals need to be located in physical space and formalised somehow so that i) their relationships to communalism are understood and ii) so that communalism cannot be censored by politicians to create a (false) conviviality that emulates colonial cartographic logic. To this end, I will study the case of Babri Mosque in further detail.

In de-worlding Bengaluru and to shed light on communalism as a matter of spatial-political importance, an urban-scale counter-cartography of a key social space<sup>4</sup> will be undertaken. Counter-cartography is subversive by nature<sup>56</sup> and is therefore suitable for addressing the sub-question of subverting communalism. It will map ritual uses in Bengaluru's social spaces using data from the aforementioned ethnographic fieldwork, typological studies, as well as social media posts. Cartographic regression will be used to combine historic (colonial) and contemporary information.

Counter-cartography's goal is to provide the marginalised with a spatial claim which draws attention to their issues.<sup>7</sup> Though it is convenient for me to claim that Bengaluru has a Hindutva hegemony and a marginalisation of religious minorities, the Chamarajpet Eidgah example suggests that the question of who is marginalised required a more nuanced answer. As an architect, I have decided that the counter-cartography sets out to answer this question first before giving agency to any particular religious group. Though I recognise that this is an authoritarian (and colonial) stance, I - as the architect - must exercise a judgement here.

Regardless, the goal remains to de-world Indian spatial production and to provide room for all (the groups) who use social spaces for rituals in Bengaluru. In light of this, I will also be undertaking a case study of Babri Mosque.

4 Tentatively, this could be Chamarajpet Eidgah, but this is to be confirmed during the thesis' research phase.

5 Oranotango+, kollektiv. (2018). *This Is Not an Atlas: A Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies*. Transcript Verlag.

6 O'Dwyer, L. (2018, March 30). Counter-mapping: cartography that lets the powerless speak. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2018/mar/06/counter-mapping-cartography-that-lets-the-powerless-speak>

7 Ibid.



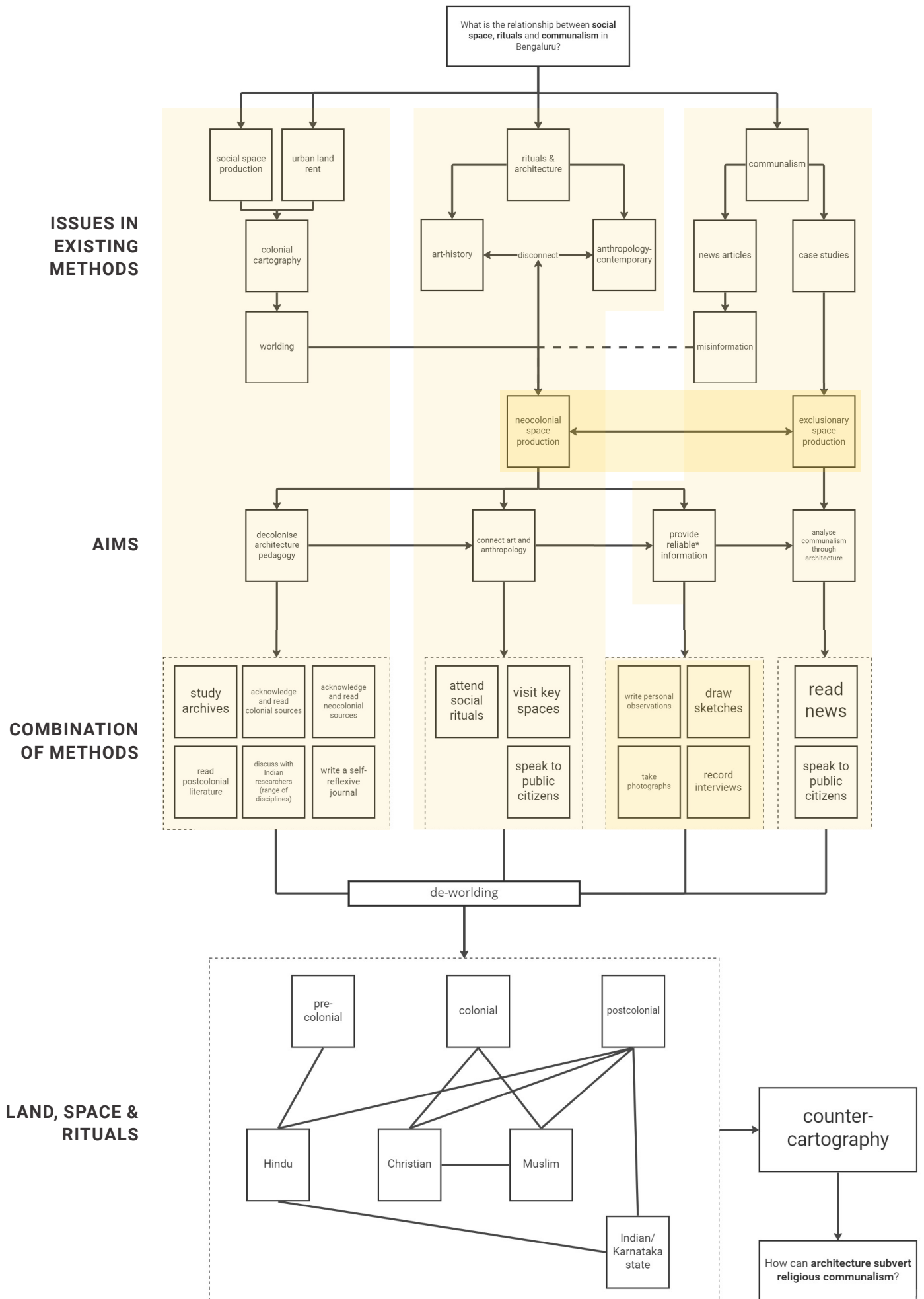


Figure 11 Methodological framework diagram (author's work).

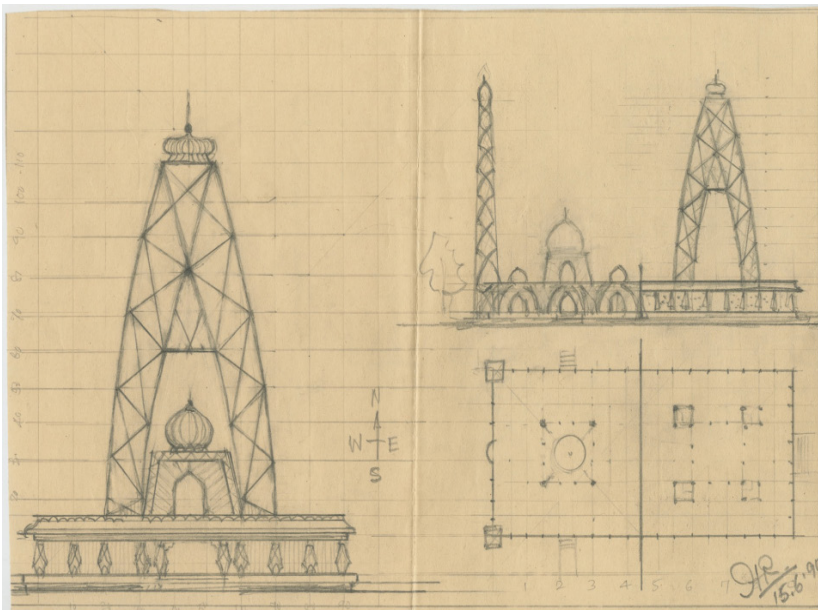
# RELEVANCE

Essentially, rituals and social spaces are used as proxies to study architectural violences. These violences are underpinned by the (neo) colonial logic of 'land' as well as a current power grab contextualised by a fraught Indian polity of fragile religious identities.

Though different religious groups have lived communally for decades, even attending each others' rituals, a risk of communalism-induced genocide exists. This study was conceived as a preemptive investigation and attempted amelioration of social space before a potential societal collapse. It could be treated as a follow-up to Habib Rahman's attempt to redesign Babri Mosque as a 'unique spiritual centre of all faiths' to subvert 'communal frenzy'<sup>1</sup> (Figure 12).

I only hope that my study demonstrates that the risk of (architectural) genocide is only a misapprehension. And that infrastructural issues Bengaluru already faces - water, park and waste mismanagement - can be addressed by addressing the problem of social space. I hypothesise that an understanding of rituals as architectural actions in social spaces can address social impasses and communalism.

1 Rahman, H. & Noble, A. (1990). "Do not kill man to protect God" - the Babari Masjid Design Proposal. *The Statesman*, July 28, 47(1).



**Figure 12** 'Ram versus Babur' (sketch by Habib Rahman, 1990).

# RESEARCH PLAN

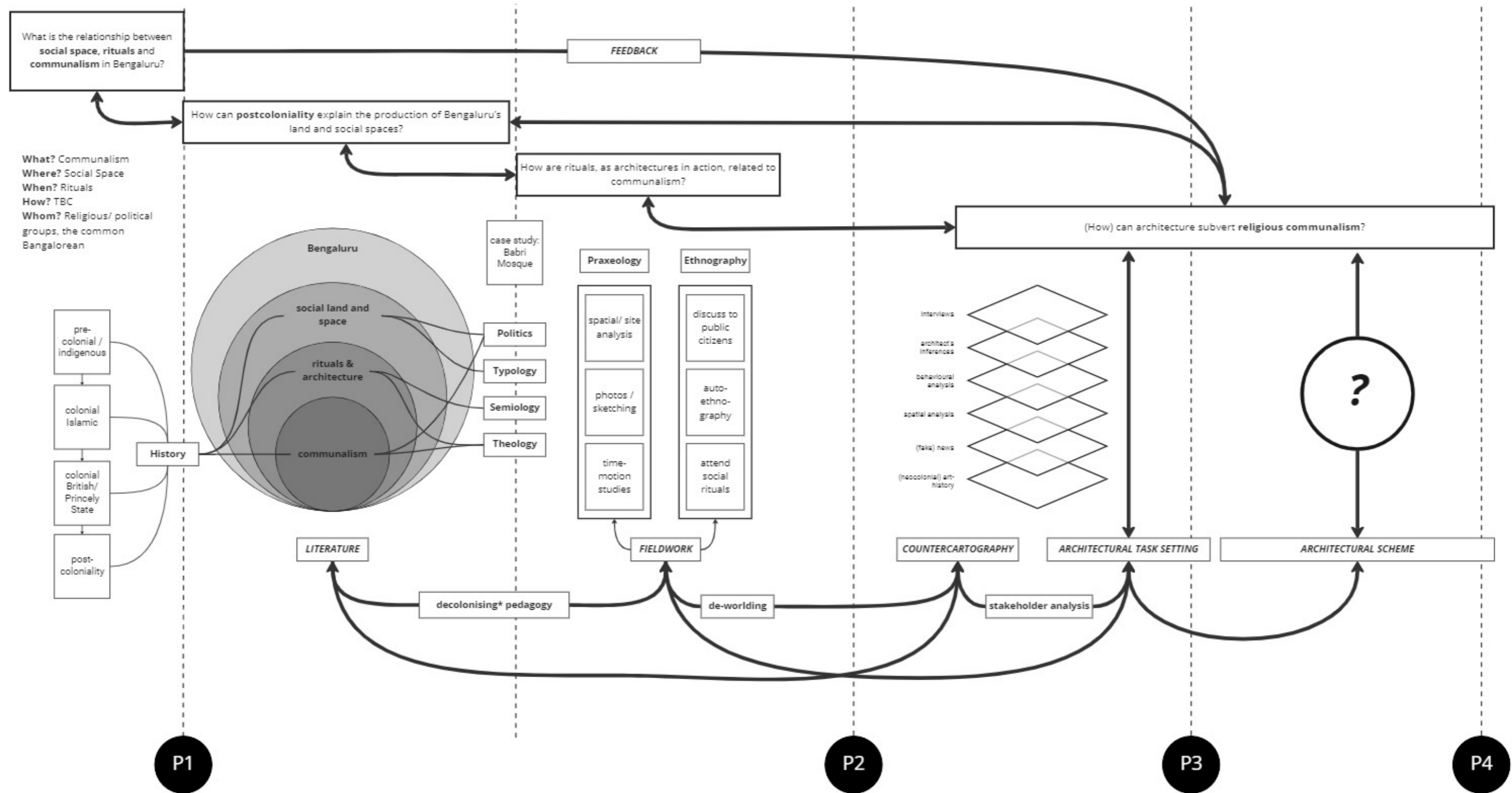


Figure 13 Research plan schematic (author's work).

# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacchetta, P. (2000). Sacred Space in Conflict in India: The Babri Masjid Affair. *Growth and Change*, 31(2), 255–284. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0017-4815.00128>

Bacchetta's paper draws on postcolonial theory and feminist-geographic theory to analyse the demolition of Babri Mosque from a sociological and policy-based episteme. She studies cultural meaning and the various stakeholders involved. Her theoretical frameworks will help me understand my theoretical framework better and how to apply it to my design. In a number of ways, my thesis could be an architectural version of Bacchetta's paper. But though her references to feminist theory have not factored into my thesis, perhaps they could be useful later on.

Dhanpal, S. (2022). The making of a model town: planning in a Princely city and the All-India Sanitary Conferences. *Planning Perspectives*, 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2022.2131610>

Sonali Dhanpal's paper analyses spatial and architectural patterns from the colonial jurisdiction era of Bengaluru's history. Her paper proposes that British worlding activities in the name of urban sanitation led to the erasure of vernacular commons. It also alludes to a link between colonial territoriality and urban/religious ownership divides. Her cultural situatedness is based on her upbringing in Bengaluru. I have already been in touch with her to discuss my thesis and hope that we can engage in discussions which can productively add to Bengaluru's epistemology.

Rahman, H. & Noble, A. (1990). "Do not kill man to protect God" - the Babari Masjid Design Proposal. *The Statesman*, July 28, 47(1).

This book, true to its nature, was available as an open-source download. It is a compilation of many case studies where counter-cartography has been used for different purposes such as 'to build political pressure', 'to create visibility' and 'to educate'. One of the chapters focusses on a case study of Hyderabad, a city neighbouring Bengaluru. The approaches described in that chapter could be relevant to this thesis.

Haila, A. (2015). *Urban Land Rent: Singapore as a Property State*. Wiley-Blackwell.

This book is a case study of Singapore's urban development in terms of Anne Haila's theory of Urban Land Rent, which is a development of Karl Marx' Land-Rent Theory. Though Singapore has had a very different urbanisation trajectory to Bengaluru, it is useful because developers and politicians often cite Singapore as the model city for Bengaluru to aspire towards. Haila's theorisation will shed light on why this is the case.

Jones, P. B. (2016). *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*. Bloomsbury Academic.

This book is a compilation of many case studies of architecture and rituals from across the world, written by many authors. The Introduction chapter by Peter Blundell Jones has been useful to set up a theoretical framework based on rituals. The case study chapters will guide my methodology when looking at Bengaluru's ritual spaces.

Kothari, A., Salleh, A., Escobar, A., Demaria, F., & Acosta, A. (2019). *Pluriverse: A Post-Development Dictionary*. Tulika Books.

This book's position is that pluriversality is required beyond that of neoliberalism and consumerism, particularly in design discourse. To that end, it includes chapters on various religions that would be worth consulting to build add to the theology aspect of this thesis' framework.

Mouffe, C. (n.d.). Chantal Mouffe: Agonistic Democracy and Radical Politics. *Pavilion Magazine*. Retrieved November 8, 2022, from <https://www.pavilionmagazine.org/chantal-mouffe-agonistic-democracy-and-radical-politics/>

This short essay is a summary of Chantal Mouffe's theory of agonism as a theory of analysing social relations. In it, she provides a critique of pluriversality which I will use, in combination with constitutive theory, to undertake a stakeholder analysis.

Orangotango+, kollektiv. (2018). *This Is Not an Atlas: A Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies*. Transcript Verlag.

This book, true to its nature, was available as an open-source download. It is a compilation of many case studies where countercartographies have been used for different purposes such as 'a tool for purpose', 'to build political pressure', 'to create visibility' and 'to educate'. One of the chapters focusses on a case study of Hyderabad, a city neighbouring Bengaluru. The approaches described in that chapter could be relevant to this thesis.

Petrescu, D., & Trogal, K. (2017). *The Social (Re)Production of Architecture: Politics, Values and Actions in Contemporary Practice* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Building upon Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, Petrescu and Trogal propose the theory of the social reproduction of space: that with capitalism, space production is a recurring process governed by politics, values and actions. Their framework helps to deconstruct the problem of the Chamarajpet Eidgah into its constitutive space reproduction elements. I will be applying their theory to other key spaces in Bengaluru, as well as a case study of Babri Mosque.

Sahgal, N., Evans, J., Salazar, A. M., Starr, K. J., & Corichi, M. (2021). *Religion in India: Tolerance and Segregation* | Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/06/29/religion-in-india-tolerance-and-segregation/>

Pew Research Centre's report on religion in India offers some important headlines about the status quo of Indian religiosity, which will be useful to apply where particular information on Bengaluru is not available. Additionally, it is a thoroughly researched overview of social perceptions of various religious groups and their interactions which can complement my ethnographic data.

Spivak, G. C. (1985). The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives. *History and Theory*, 24(3), 247. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2505169>

In this essay, Gayathri Spivak describes her theory of Worlding in a global context - for instance, whereby 'developing' countries such as India are deemed as 'other' - as an element of postcolonial orientalism, drawing on Heidegger's theorisation of 'being in the world'. This essay provides a theoretical basis for this thesis' postcolonial framing.

Sundaresan, J. (2019). Decolonial reflections on urban pedagogy in India. *Area*, 52(4), 722–730. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12596>

Sundaresan provides an evidence-based analysis of how (the education of) urbanism and architecture in India is based on the notion that Western discourse and expertise is better than anything that can come from Indian cultural embeddedness. He calls for a need to decolonise the pedagogy and uses the example of his teaching stint at IIHS (Indian Institute of Human Settlements) to explain how they used 'decolonised' teaching methods. Though the teaching methods' effectiveness has not been evaluated (if it was, how would it be?) this paper is a good resource for this thesis' methodological framing.

# FULL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacchetta, P. (2000). Sacred Space in Conflict in India: The Babri Masjid Affair. *Growth and Change*, 31(2), 255–284. <https://doi.org/>

communalism. (n.d.). In *Collins Dictionary*. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/communalism>

Dhanpal, S. (2022). The making of a model town: planning in a Princely city and the All-India Sanitary Conferences. *Planning Perspectives*, 1–31. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02665433.2022.2131610>

Engineer, A. A. (2002). Islam and Muslims in India: Problems of Identity and Existence. In *Religion, Conflict and Reconciliation* (pp. 239–250). Brill. [https://brill.com/display/book/9789004494671/B9789004494671\\_s023.xml](https://brill.com/display/book/9789004494671/B9789004494671_s023.xml)

Frost, M. (2021). Constitutive Theory in International Relations. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.588>

Haila, A. (2015). *Urban Land Rent: Singapore as a Property State*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City* (REV-Revised). University of Georgia Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt46nm9v>

Hirst, P. (1993). FOUCAULT AND ARCHITECTURE. *AA Files*, 26, 52–60. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29543867>

Jones, P. B. (2016). *Architecture and Ritual: How Buildings Shape Society*. Bloomsbury Academic.

Kothari, A., Salleh, A., Escobar, A., Demaria, F., & Acosta, A. (2019). *Pluriverse: A Post-Development Dictionary*. Tulika Books.

Malhotra, R. (2007). The Axis Of Neo-Colonialism. *World Affairs: The Journal of International Issues*, 11(3), 36–67. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/48505000?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/48505000?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)

Mavad, A. (2022, November 2). Why does Bengaluru lock up its parks? *Deccan Herald*. <https://www.deccanherald.com/metrolife/why-does-bengaluru-lock-up-its-parks-1158571.html>

Mouffe, C. (n.d.). Chantal Mouffe: Agonistic Democracy and Radical Politics. *Pavilion Magazine*. Retrieved November 8, 2022, from <https://www.pavilionmagazine.org/chantal-mouffe-agonistic-democracy-and-radical-politics/>

O'Dwyer, L. (2018, March 30). Counter-mapping: cartography that lets the powerless speak. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/science/blog/2018/mar/06/counter-mapping-cartography-that-lets-the-powerless-speak>

Orangotango+, kollektiv. (2018). *This Is Not an Atlas: A Global Collection of Counter-Cartographies*. Transcript Verlag.

Patel, A. (2021, November 14). *Price of the Modi Years*. Westland Non-fiction.

Petrescu, D., & Trogal, K. (2017). *The Social (Re)Production of Architecture: Politics, Values and Actions in Contemporary Practice* (1st ed.). Routledge.

Rahman, H. & Noble, A. (1990). "Do not kill man to protect God" - the Babari Masjid Design Proposal. *The Statesman*, July 28, 47(1).

Ramachandra, T. V., Aithal, B. H., Kulkarni, G., & Shivamurthy, V. (2017). Green Spaces in Bengaluru: Quantification through Geospatial Techniques. *Indian Forester*, 143(4), 307–320. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315670439\\_GREEN\\_SPACES\\_IN\\_BENGALURU\\_QUANTIFICATION\\_THROUGH\\_GEOSPATIAL\\_TECHNIQUES](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315670439_GREEN_SPACES_IN_BENGALURU_QUANTIFICATION_THROUGH_GEOSPATIAL_TECHNIQUES)

Sharma, A. (2020). On the Difference Between Hinduism and Hindutva. *Asian Philosophies and Religions*, 25(1), 43–47. <https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/aaa/archives/on-the-difference-between-hinduism-and-hindutva/>

Spivak, G. C. (1985). The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives. *History and Theory*, 24(3), 247. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2505169>

Studio A (Ed.). (2017, September 12). *When did Christianity come to India? | The story of St. Thomas | St. Thomas Basilica*, Chennai [Video]. YouTube. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=2](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2)

Sundaresan, J. (2019). Decolonial reflections on urban pedagogy in India. *Area*, 52(4), 722–730. <https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12596>

## IMAGE SOURCES

**Cover Image** *Babri Masjid - Madain Project* (en). (n.d.). [https://madainproject.com/babri\\_masjid](https://madainproject.com/babri_masjid)

**Figure 1** Chamarajpet Idgah is BBMP property, name it after Wadiyar: MP. (2022, July 15). *Deccan Herald*. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://www.deccanherald.com/city/top-bengaluru-stories/chamarajpet-idgah-is-bbmp-property-name-it-after-wadiyar-mp-1126736.html>

**Figure 2** Photograph taken by Jitendhra M. Express News Service. (2022, August 16). For first time, tricolour hoisted at Bengaluru's Idgah Maidan. *The Indian Express*. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/bangalore/for-first-time-tricolour-hoisted-at-bengaluru-idgah-maidan-8091543/>

**Figure 3** Siddiqui, M. (2022, June 8). Chamarajpet Idgah: Puzzling BBMP stand on a 'settled' case. *Deccan Herald*. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://www.deccanherald.com/city/bengaluru-infrastructure/chamarajpet-idgah-puzzling-bbmp-stand-on-a-settled-case-1116267.html>



**Figure 4** Express Web Desk. (2021, September 6). Amid fears of Covid surge, Karnataka permits Ganesh Chaturthi celebrations on a limited scale. *The Indian Express*. <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/bangalore/amid-fears-of-covid-surge-karnataka-permits-ganesh-chaturthi-celebrations-on-a-limited-scale-7490640/>. PTI photo

**Figure 5** Nachiyar, N., & Bharadwaj, A. K. V. (2022, August 8). Explained | Idgah Maidan row: Whose land is it anyway? *The Hindu*. <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/idgah-maidan-row-whose-land-is-it-anyway/article65626316.ece>

**Figure 6** DHNS. (2020, August 27). Novena of St Mary's Basilica to go virtual from August 29. *Deccan Herald*. <https://www.deccanherald.com/city/life-in-bengaluru/novena-of-st-marys-basilica-to-go-virtual-from-august-29-878853.html>

**Figure 7** News18. (2021, June 20). "Cooped up" Indians Throng Malls and Markets Weeks After Covid-19 Surge. *News18*. <https://www.news18.com/news/india/cooped-up-indians-throng-malls-and-markets-weeks-after-covid-19-surge-3869570.html>

**Figure 8 - 11** Authors own work

**Figure 12** Rahman, H. & Noble, A. (1990). "Do not kill man to protect God" - the Babari Masjid Design Proposal. *The Statesman*, July 28, 47(1).

**Figure 13** Authors own work