Riot politics: communal violence and state-society mediation in Gujarat, India

Berenschot, W.J.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
# Contents

Preface iv

**Part One: Introduction**

1. Riot Networks in Ahmedabad 10
   - Between instigator and instigatee 17
   - Research strategy: in the localities 25
   - What is to come 29

2. Understanding India’s Communal Violence: The Need for a Relational Approach 32
   - A primordialist approach 36
   - An ideological approach 39
   - An instrumentalist approach 42
   - A social-constructivist approach 48
   - A social-psychological approach 50
   - A relational approach 54

**Part Two: Shifting Patterns of State-Society Interaction**

3. The Coming of the Chamchas: The Politicization of Gujarat’s Neighbourhoods 64
   - A protection plan 68
   - Guilds as an ‘inner domain’ 73
   - The tracks of a snake that has passed 78
   - A new generation 84

4. A Prime Minister came from here: Changing Patronage Channels and the Rise of Hindu-Nationalism in Gujarat 90
   - The patronage of a trade union 92
   - An authority vacuum 95
   - Hindu-nationalists take over 101
   - Conclusion 106
Part Three: The Everyday Mediation of the State

5. Daily Elections: The Everyday Mediation of a Municipal Councilor
   110
   Omnipresent but feeble
   114
   From the budget of the municipal councilor
   120
   A porous bureaucracy
   125
   Evening compromises
   133
   Conclusion
   136

6. Modes of Mediation: Civil Society and the Axes of State-Access
   139
   A three-fold advantage
   142
   Civil society and political society
   145
   Canvassing as investment
   148
   Modes of mediation
   153

7. Neighbourhood Politics: How Brokers, Fixers and Mediators exchange Favors
   156
   Social workers and the importance of having a hold
   160
   Becoming a neighbourhood leader
   163
   Your seat is our seat
   166
   The ‘loose character’ of female workers
   170
   Party workers: dealers in proximity
   173
   Conclusion
   179

8. Money power and Muscle power: On the Nexus between Politicians, State Officials and Goondas
   181
   Goondas: The various uses of money power and muscle power
   184
   Violence as performance
   189
   Goondas as politicians
   193
   The politics of local state officials
   195
   Conclusion
   201
Part Four: Political Mediation and Violence

9. What Matters is the Majority: How Political Mediation fuels Identity Politics
   Hindu unity 208
   Voting for access 211
   The need for social divisions 214
   A superb Dalit 217
   A change in the panel 219
   The urban fabric of identities 222
   Praantvad, Jaatvad, Komvat 227
   Rioting for unity 229
   Conclusion 232

10. The Infrastructure for Violence: Rioting as Maintaining Relations
    Getting rioting done 237
    ‘He who has power can make his talk heard’ 243
    The world should learn from us 249
    The foot soldiers of Hindu-nationalism 255
    The performance of violence 261
    Police and the need for ‘situational logic’ 263
    Conclusion 266

11. Conclusion: Political Mediation, Communal Violence and the State
    Political mediation and violence: a summary 271
    Political mediation and violence in India and beyond 279
    Violence and vulnerability 287

Annexure: Some notes on methodology 290
Glossary and Abbreviations 296
Bibliography 298
Nederlandse samenvatting 320