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Communalism refers to a politics that seeks to unify one community around a religious identity in hostile opposition to another community. It seeks to define this community identity as fundamentally primary and fixed. It attempts to consolidate this identity and present it as natural – as if people were born into the identity. In order to unify and consolidate the community, communalism suppresses distinctions within the community and over emphasizes the essential unity of the community against other communities. It nurtures a politics of hatred for an identified other community. It then, becomes a particular kind of politicization of religious identity, an ideology that seeks to promote conflict between religious communities. It becomes a tool to mobilize people for or against by raising an appeal on communal lines. This hatred feeds a politics of violence.

India is a land of multiple faiths and religions leading often to violence and hatred among the people. Those who fan this religious violence do not consider religion as a moral order but use it as a means and weapon to pursue their political ambitions. Communalism essentially leads to violence as it is based on mutual religious hatred. Communalism has divided our society for long. It causes belief in orthodox tenets and principles, intolerance, hatred of other religions and religious groups, distortion of historical facts.

In India the problem of communalism is perpetuating phenomenon which has taken serious dimensions affecting the life of the nation. India which is a pluralistic society from religious point of view is full of the followers of all the great religious systems. Hindus constitute the bulk of the population and they inhabit in all parts of the country. Muslims constitute the largest religious minority spread across the Indian Territory. These communities in history have had lived peacefully. Beginning with the British rule the enter-communal relations began to deteriorate becoming progressively worse during the independence days finally dividing the British India into Pakistan and India on communal lines. After the partition the problem the communalism was thought out to settle town. It rather survived percolating itself deep into the socio-political fabric of Indian society often resulting in violent communal riots.
Communal Violence is not a new phenomenon in India. Indian society is a pluralist society. In spite of India adopting a Secular Constitution, religious tolerance there remains a distant possibility. Their enter-personal relations continue to be shaped on communal lines. Individuals, communal organisations, political parties in some form or the other play a role in communalising the Indian society the expressions of which, among many, are most often Communal Violence. Communalism is not only a simple picture among the two major communities that is the Hindu and the Muslim. It is a multidimensional phenomenon systematically and discreetly carried out at different levels in Indian society creating hatred and divisions on communal line undermining the constitutional and pluralistic features of national existence. The most open outcome of communalism is the repeated incidents of Communal Violence which affects not only the single aspect of national life but all aspects of life get badly affected. The state of Uttar Pradesh is the hot bed of communalism. The politics in this state since 1990s has been characterised by the interplay of Communal Violence, communal politics and caste politics.

The problem of communalism is becoming serious affecting Indian Nation at different levels. This study takes up this issue analyse it in detail to understand how the electoral politics in India is affected by it and vice versa. The Communal Violence is the focus of study. It tries to analyse what Communal Violence is. Is it really a political tactic? Is it spontaneous or organised? What affects it has on electoral politics? Does it affect the electoral results? Various other questions related to the issue are undertaken for analysis. For this study the major communal incidents of Uttar Pradesh particularly happening emerging at/before the time of elections are analysed. The proceeding electoral outcomes are looked into to understand the relationship between Communal Violence and electoral outcomes. The basic position of analysis in this study is that the communalisation and Communal Violence, far from being relatively impulsive, is deliberately planned by different vested forces/politicians for an electoral gain/purpose. For this aim, the study tries to identify the communal ideologies under the head of Hindu-Muslim communalism.
1.1. Why to study the Problem of Communal Violence

Communalism is becoming one of the most complexes and dominating issues being faced the Indian society the consequences which are worse, disastrous, and destructible of social fabric, resulting into terrorism, economic disruption and poisoning of gullible minds, killing of hundreds and making thousands homeless, jobless and rootless. We can see the consequences all around us in current times. It has been weakening Indian state and its democratic values. The Unity and Integrity of the nation is under threat. The Law and order challenge becomes serious and worst when Communal Violence happen also causing loss of public property and harming business confidence. A communally charged atmosphere spikes social-political polarization. Social harmony is critical for the smooth functioning of trade and business. Communal Violence may increase the risk of doing business which may in turn reduce the chances of new capital to flow into the region for investments. Investments are foundation of growth, infrastructure and jobs. A drought in investments may trigger a further round of vicious social cycle.

Besides this, communalism is also affecting the Indian politics in number of ways: Voters generally vote on communal lines. Communal riots often break out in many parts of the country particularly in communally sensitive areas affecting the electoral behaviour of the place/region undermining the free and fare election upon which the progress of the democracy rest. It foments jealousy and hatred among the various communities sometimes producing and promoting centrifugal tendencies. It has become the enemy number one of our secular democratic polity. Internally this is one of the major problems we face and we need to address it. The state of Uttar Pradesh being the hot bed of communal politics is the focal point of analysis. This including my personal inclination to understand this problem is the major reason for taking up this study.

1.2. Review of Literature

A plethora of literature is available on Communalism, Communal Violence, and Communal Politics in India. A review of the relevant studies is presented here.

The constructivist theory that deals community and communalism as in Historical way by Romila Thapar in *The Past as Present: Forging Contemporary Identities through History*. She argues about past Indian community and culture. It thoroughly explains the
present deriving from the past and exposing as accurately as possible the attempts by corrupt/dishonest politicians, religious fundamentalists and their manner to try and misrepresent and wilfully manipulate the past in order to serve their present-day agendas.

Ian Copland, Ian Mabbett, Asim Roy, Kate Brittlebank, and Adam Bowles, *A History of State and Religion in India*, presents the first long-duration analysis of the relationship between the state and religion in South Asia. It questions the proposition that communalism in India is wholly a product of colonial policy and modernisation, questions whether the Indian state has generally been a benign, or disruptive, influence on public religious life, and evaluates the claim that the region has generated a culture of practical toleration. The book is structured around six key arenas of interaction between state and religion: cow worship and sacrifice, control of temples and shrines, religious festivals and processions, proselytising and conversion, communal riots, and religious teaching/doctrine and family law. It offers a challenging argument about the role of the state in religious life in a historical continuum, and identifies points of similarity and contrast between periods and regimes.

The colonial communal constructions examined by Bipin Chandra Pal, *Communalism in Modern India*, who traces the roots of Hindu-Muslim communalism, in Indian society, which is educationally, economically and socially backward. His version is that communalism is the outcome of ‘divide and rule’ policy of the Britishers and argues that in recent times, Communalism has become the effective weapon of social, economic and political reactions.

Gyanendra Pandey in *Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* explores the concept of communalism as part of a large exercise, aimed at understanding the construction of Indian society and politics in recent times. He traces the history of the term communalism and the politics and attitudes, it seeks to summarize, while attending closely to the social, economic and political issues, underlying Hindu-Muslim struggles. He also studies the role of different participants in the sectarian politics of the period, attached to these politics.

The more contemporary and post-Independence overview of Indian communalisation, Communal Violence and communal politics is studied by various authors. Paul R. Brass
in *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India* tracked more than half a century’s riots in the north Indian city of Aligarh. This work is the culmination of a lifetime’s thinking about the dynamics of institutionalized intergroup violence in northern India, covering the last three decades of British rule as well as the entire post-Independence history of Aligarh. He exposes the mechanisms by which endemic Communal Violence is deliberately provoked and sustained. He convincingly implicates the police, criminal elements, members of Aligarh’s business community, and many of its leading political actors in the continuous effort to produce Communal Violence. In *Politics of India since Independence* he examines the politics of India since Independence provides a brief but inclusive analytical study of the major political, cultural, and economic changes and crises in India during the past forty-five years. The organizing focus is on the consequences of the centralizing drives and tendencies of the national leadership of the country to create a strong state, a unified nation, and a dynamic economy, all of which have been placed in serious doubt in recent years.

V N. Rai in *Combating Communal Conflict: Perception of Police Neutrality during Hindu-Muslim Riot in India* especially and deeply analyses the role of police during Communal Violence, attitude of the masses, role of communalists, communal bias in reporting facts, treatment of arrested persons in police custody, discrimination in preventive actions. The author has deeply studied some cases of Communal Violence, which proved that the police behaved partially during violence.

Asghar Ali Engineer in *Communalism in Secular India: A Minority Perspective* writes essays on various issues concerning communalism and challenges to secular India. The problems have been viewed here from a minority perspective that is the Muslims. Our politicians are obsessed with power, not with the people’s problems. In democracy only the people can force them to give attention to their burning problems and this can happen when the people become conscious of the games the political leaders play. In *Lifting the Veil: Communal Violence and Communal Harmony in Contemporary India*, he attempts to explore the reasons for the growing polarisation between India’s two largest religious communities. The first and second sections of the book provide a theoretical perspective by placing Indian communalism in the context of ethnicity and communalism in other parts of South Asia, exploring the political and economic status of Muslims in contemporary India and probing the link between development and violent ethnic or
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communal conflict. The third section which forms the bulk of the book is a detailed analysis of the Ramjanambhoomi–Babri Masjid issue and the communalisation of the Indian policy. The final section is a plea for communal amity and brings a message of hope by providing historical instances of harmonious coexistence between Hindus and Muslims, particularly among the Sufis whose religiosity combined the best of both traditions.

The Communal Violence and Votes Violence data examines by Steven Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Communal Riots in India* and Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* and Asghar Ali Engineer, *Communal Riots after Independence: A Comprehensive Account*. These studies rely on a unique database of Hindu-Muslim communal riots in India. Wilkinson and Varshney do not see the Congress as the peacekeeper. Both have separately written influential books on Communal Violence in India in the early 2000s, compiled a database on Hindu-Muslim riots spanning the 20th century. The database has its limitations but is the most consistent source for analysing historical trends in Hindu-Muslim rioting. Wilkinson also emphasized the role of inter-party competition and the ruling party’s reliance on Muslim minority votes in determining whether or not state governments act to suppress Hindu-Muslim violence. His *Religious Politics and Communal Violence* especially discusses the religious politics and communal vote-violence politics in India. The study is a collection of different essays on religion, power and elections. The author finds salience of religion in Indian politics that has arisen sharply in the past twenty-five years.

N.L. Gupta in “Communal riots after the Destruction of Babri Masjid,” in *Communal Riots in India*, edited by N.L. Gupta provides an analytical and political study about the main Communal Violence incidents after Independence. The contributions and field reports offer narratives of eyewitness accounts and analyses of incidents involving communal activities. The book presents minute information of incidents, related to persons, politics and also the events that queered the pitch of nationhood on communal lines. Based on original sources and commission reports this work on communal politics lays bare the dynamics of the communal conflagration that led to human carnages and posed a challenge to the democratic setup in the country for some time.
Zoya Hasan in *Congress after Indira: Policy, Power, Political change (1984-2009)* argues that the Indian National Congress (INC) has played a pivotal role in nation building in India’s political history. This provides an interpretation of contemporary Congress politics and the challenges it has faced due to the political and economic change, both nationally and globally. The book provides an insight into the structure and direction of change within the Indian National Congress (INC), and the governance agenda essentially with respect to economy, society, polity, and leadership - after Indira Gandhi. The volume also talks about the Ayodhya issue, the phase of economic liberalization, and the comeback of the Congress as a ruling party in 2004, as a coalition government for the first time. It also discusses the dualist structure of leadership and how this has shaped the perception of the masses regarding the party.

In *Religion, Caste, and Politics in India*, Christophe Jaffrelot examines especially since 1980s-90s the India’s political culture that is the caste and religion, including Hindu nationalism and lower caste politics, which play a major role in determining the course of electoral politics.

There was also a phase when explanations of Indian politics relied heavily on the caste-category of “faction” of political Parties. Rajan Pandey and Manish Tiwari, *Battleground U.P: Politics in the Land of Ram*. It sets out to explore the political environs of the State. The book sketches a vivid description of the mannerisms of each political party and its strategies of luring voters. It details the alternate succession to the Uttar Pradesh throne by the two regional parties that is the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and Samajwadi Party (SP).

Brass in *Caste, Faction and Party in Indian Politics* attributed the inner party factionalism and leadership conflicts as the main reason that results in instability and change in Indian politics. The second volume carried forward the argument through an analysis of class, caste, and party in Uttar Pradesh. The standard account of ethnic conflict as transacted between the state and ethnic elites is sought to be corrected in accounts of how ethnic parties transact with social groups.
Zoya Hasan in *Parties and Party Politics in India* covers the arguments on the interplay of caste, class and ethnicity, the relationship between state, society and democracy, the rise of coalition politics, and the new predicaments ahead of the multi-party system.

An analysis of attempts to mobilize ethnic blocs by weaving the demands for political and material benefits into the larger narrative of group politics, has been nicely done by Kanchan Chandra, in her work “The Transformation of Ethnic Politics in India: The Decline of Congress and the Rise of Bahujan Samaj Party in Hoshiarpur.”

The Hindu Communalism, political/social/cultural nature of Hindutva and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh’s (RSS) concepts and activities studied from the various authors book. Thomas Blom Hansen in *The Saferon Wave Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India* turns our attention to recent events in the world’s largest democracy, India. Here he analyses Indian receptivity to the right-wing Hindu nationalist party and its political wing, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which claims to create a polity based on “ancient” Hindu culture. Rather than interpreting Hindu nationalism as a mainly religious phenomenon, or a strictly political movement, Hansen places the BJP within the context of the larger transformations of democratic governance in India.

Christophe Jaffrelot in *The Sangh Parivar: A Reader* examines the Sangh Parivar and traces the rise of the right wing in Indian politics. It gives a comprehensive overview of the Sangh Parivar’s involvement with different sectors of the Indian society along with the major role played by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) in its expansion.

The political connections and importance of Hindutva richly examines from the Bruce Graham, *Hindu Nationalism and Indian Politics: The Origins and Development of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh*. This book presents a comprehensive and perceptive study of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) through the first two decades of its history from 1951. Graham examines why the party failed to establish itself as the party of the numerically dominant Hindu community. The author explains the relatively limited appeal of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) in terms of the restrictive scope of its founding doctrines; the limitations of its leadership and organization; its failure to build up a secure base of social and economic interests; and its difficulty in finding issues which would create
support for its particular brand of Hindu nationalism. He ends with a major survey of the party’s electoral fortunes at national, state and local levels.


The study also examines the events of Ayodhya - Babri Masjid issue and communal politics since beginning to the demolition of the Babri Masjid. The fruitful studies examines from various authors. P.V. Narsimha Rao in *Ayodhya 6 December 1992*, records prime minister P.V. Narasimha Rao’s view of what really happened at Ayodhya, and why. Comparing the 6 December 1992 incident with the unsuccessful attack on the Babri Masjid by Kar Sevaks in 1990 (when Mulayam Singh Yadav was chief minister of Uttar Pradesh and a Janata Dal government ruled at the Centre), Rao discloses in no uncertain terms how the issue of building a Ram temple at Ayodhya was politicized for electoral benefit. Others authors to be studied of this work are as Koenraad Elst, *Ayodhya and After: Issues before Hindu Society*, Joyti Sharma, *Secularism and Ayodhya Politics in India*, Scharada Dubey, *Portrait from Ayodhya*, Krishna Pokharel, and Paul Beckett, “Ayodhya: The battle for India’s soul: The Complete Story,” S. P. Udayakumar, “Historicising myth and mythologizing history: The “Ram Temple Drama,” etcetera.
1.3. The Missing Study

Notwithstanding the various studies on the subject, the scholars did not take the conscious note of the communal electoral incentive model and state politics behind the political mobilisation of community and caste in the state of Uttar Pradesh. However, above all the review of literature indicates/deals extensively on the problem of Communalisation, Communal Violence and Communal electoral politics of Congress-Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and caste-politics of Samajwadi Party (SP) - Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) from different angles. These surveys and researches are not covering sufficiently the relationship between Communal Violence and electoral behaviour in Uttar Pradesh especially since the 1989. In this regard no study was carried out to analyse properly the problem of communalism under study especially in the context of 2014 general elections and Communal Violence objectively and analytically. The purpose of this study is to make an attempt to answer the questions, that how the political parties and politicians used the religious sentiments of public as a tool/tactic for political gains/purpose. This study tests the electoral incentive explanation argument for the rising of Communalisation, Communal Violence, Communal Political Party-Politics and their Communal Political Consciousness since 1989 in Uttar Pradesh that directly and indirectly affects the electoral process and elections results.

1.4. Researcher Question/Objective

- What is Communalism and how it can be defined?
- What are the main features of Communalism?
- Which factors/causes are responsible for Communalism and how they are interrelated with each other?
- How Communalism re-emerged in post-Independence India?
- How religion fundamentalism plays as a tactic in politics?
- What are the main communal ideologies and their organisations exists in India and what communal myths/attitudes have been mobilising by them?
- In what way, political parties play a role to provoke communalism between various social and religious groups which generally leads to various Communal Violence incidents approaching election times.
- What is the state politics behind of each and every time of Communal Violence? Why it erupts? What are the communal strategies, what is the communal
campaign, hate speeches of the politicians involves in the form of state politics and how?

- What roles played by political parties, especially, the Congress Party and the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) to make the Babri Masjid (Ayodhya) dispute more complicated?
- To what extent the political leadership has been responsible for Communal Violence after the demolition of Babri Masjid?
- To examine how this communalisation of politics affects the “electoral process of Uttar Pradesh since 1989 to 2014” in a quantitative and qualitative way and how this all ultimately effects the vote share of each national and regional political parties and their power positions from conflict zones?

1.5. Hypothesis

Thus researcher sets certain hypothesis in this study, there are four main arguments, which become the main testing parameter for the electoral process behind the Communal Violence and State Politics, and these are as follows:

- Fundamentalism really suffices Communal Violence in Uttar Pradesh politics.
- Political parties play the card of Communal Violence under the banner of secularism.
- Communalism is the vote bank tactic in Uttar Pradesh politics.
- Communal Violence plays a crucial role in general elections and assembly elections of Uttar Pradesh.

1.6. Methodology

To answer the questions posed in this research work, it is essential to formulate an appropriate/suitable methodology. Certain aspects like the method of study, units of analysis, limitations of the study as well as data collection and data analysis techniques are discussed as under:

1.6.1. Methods of Analysis

This research is historical, comparative, descriptive and empirical in nature. A descriptive analysis is a fact-finding study with an accurate interpretation aiming at the creation of a systematic description or depiction, factual and accurate about facts,
tendencies and relation between phenomena under study. This study is hoped to provide a clearer picture on the development of communal politics in Uttar Pradesh that eventually bring about violence, destruction and political instability. Thus the hypothesis posed in the beginning of this research will either to be supported or rejected.

1.6.2 Units of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this research is the state of Uttar Pradesh of India as a communal political state where infrastructure/components of religion, caste, national and regional political party system are present. The how the interactions of these components create the tension in the name of religion for the sake of vote bank. The political parties and the state politics as the principal institutional means for organizing the expansion of communal political participation in a democratic polity will be the main focus of study.

1.6.3. Limitations of the Study

This research is limited to the study of the Communal Violence and State Politics: Electoral Process in Uttar Pradesh since 1989. This will be broadly divided into different layers of Communalisation its intensification in the name of Ram Janambhoomi, the construction of Ram Mandir at the place of Babri Masjid, Demolition of Babri Masjid, the Soft Hindutva picture of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the Congress, the comeback of Congress for two decade and finally the resurgence of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 2014.

1.6.4. Data Collection Procedures

The data for the research will be mainly collected from the “secondary sources.” A great deal of secondary data is very necessary for the completion of the study. Related materials from books, journals, magazines, articles, official statements periodicals, election and home ministry commission reports, news paper, party members’ debate on news channel, parliamentary debate, party election manifestos and Internet data etcetera are collected, selected and analysed.

1.6.5 Data Analysis Technique

The data analysis process in this study is descriptive-qualitative in nature. Bodgan and Taylor argue that qualitative research as a research procedure will result in descriptive data in the form of written words or might be in the form of people and their behaviour
as an object of study. Recognizing the scope of study, the analysis in the study will follow the chronological processes. It means that in all of the analysis, data interpretation is needed. Through this process, a clear picture of the phenomena will be available with analysis and interpretation.

1.6.6. Plan of the Study
The study begins from the ‘Introduction’ which lays down the scheme of discussion of the research, dealing with the importance of the topic, the statements of problems, the aims of research, and also the chosen methodology being used in the research. In Chapter one is examined the idea and concept of Communal Violence from different aspect like religion, social, political, Economical. In Chapter two what is examined is the type of communalism that exits in India broadly that is the Hindu Communalism and Muslim Communalism. It also reflects upon that what kind of ideology they are following and mobilising under the head of various organisations especially the Sangh Parivar and its Hindutva politics and their communal demands. How and what at level it attaches and plays a role in the erupting of Communal Violence in Uttar Pradesh. In Chapter three the main argument of the thesis that is to evaluate the development of communal electoral process in Uttar Pradesh since 1989 to 2004 under the heads of general elections with core relatively assembly elections is tested. The study tries to extract the data empirically regarding the communal issues/propagandas which are mobilised by the politicians in the name of religion and are of their political interest/purpose at the time of elections. The study will also reflect upon the electoral politics of Uttar Pradesh with reference to caste and community (especially the Muslim pampering) factors in the light of political inducement explanation. In the same chapter it also tries to make an investigation in the direction of a deeper understanding of the contemporary electoral upsurge of the Communal Violence - Caste Communalism and the consequent rise of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). In Chapter four the pattern of investigations remains the same but the chapter examines the communal electoral process since 2004 to 2014.

Thesis ends with the conclusion of research work.
1.7. Significance of the Research

Communalism is a serious issue. Its study in itself becomes significant from different point of views. This is internally proving destructive to Indian society. This study will contribute benefits towards the social and political development of the society and further it could rationalise the people and make them aware about the severe consequences of Communal Violence. Further, the study could also be beneficial to understand the communal role of political parties’ involvement in Communal Violence. Communalism resolved will be accompanied by the all-round development of the nation.