Acknowledgements

“Have you ever been in a riot?” I was asked by a Muslim journalist with a leading national daily in Ahmedabad. When I answered in the negative, and she said “that’s why you don’t understand. See in a riot if something is happening somewhere, you can run and go into some other lane and somehow escape, but in 2002 it was not like that.” After the interview was over and I went over my notes, it occurred to me that I had in fact witnessed two riots and was even present in the ‘site’ in one in the place where I grew up, Bombay, now called Mumbai. Perhaps like unused desktop items, they got auto archived in my mind or perhaps in a place like Bombay when a commute from one place to another often requires giving a blind eye to heart rending sights, as is typical of middle class apathy, one gets used to getting on with things at hand. With the exception of making me apprehensive about my safety for a few hours, my brief experience of a riot had not otherwise affected my life in a major way. The displacement of Muslim families in the aftermath of the violence of 2002 therefore raised several questions including one that is central to this thesis is namely is displacement an aberration in the life of a citizen or does it affect the experience of citizenship rights?

The endaevour to follow and make sense of the events of 2002 in Gujarat and their larger implications have more often than not overwhelmed me and left me at loss for words. This thesis would never have been near completion if it were not for my Supervisor Professor Zoya Hasan. Thanks are very much in order to Professor Zoya Hasan for her patience with me as I struggled with my writing. I am grateful to Professor Hasan for giving me the freedom to explore the topic while always pushing me to dig deeper and look wider and also drawing me back on track when I had strayed too far in any direction. I’m grateful for her criticism and comments of drafts and her depth of knowledge that have made a world of difference in the writing of this thesis. I am also extremely grateful to the faculty of the Centre for Political Studies, JNU for their encouragement at various stages of the writing of this thesis. I would like to thank in particular Professor Gurpreet Mahajan and Professor Valerian Rodriguez for their encouragement and Dr. Rajarshi Dasgupta for suggestions with field work that proved to be crucial.
My fieldwork in Gujarat from 2008 to 2009, on which this thesis is based would not have been possible without the generosity and assistance of many people. I am particularly grateful to the victims of the violence in 2002 who allowed me into their homes and who agreed to recount their painful stories with me. In particular I would like to thank Suraiyabano Aslam Khan Pathan, Noorjahan Kalumiyan Sheikh, the Meghrajis in Alliance Colony and Razzakbhai in Baroda among several others for their conversations and hospitality. I will always be grateful to Afroze appa and Altafbhai Sayyed for sharing their wealth of stories and insight as well as their hospitality. I would particularly like to thank Achyut Yagnik for his in depth understanding of Gujarat and his generosity in sharing it with so many students and researchers like myself. I am grateful to Prasad Chacko of Action Aid for introducing me to the city of Ahmedabad and for his invaluable help in my first few days there. I am also grateful to Somnath Vatsa of Action Aid for the being the legal eagle that he is and helping me to discern major methodological issues and to go after sources that would help me address them. Thanks are also very much in order to Fr. Cederick Prakash for all the leads he gave and for the important sources he introduced me to. I am also grateful to Monica Wahi, Zaid Sheikh and Anna for their friendship and warmth during my stay in Ahmedabad. I would particularly like to thank Sister Celine and Sister Kavita and Sharifaben for their support and hospitality during my fieldwork in Sabarkantha. I am also particularly indebted to Yusuf Sheikh, Convernor of AVHRS, and his wife for opening up their home to me and giving me access to the homes of many interviewees. I am particularly grateful to Dr. Sony Pellisstery of Institute of Rural Management Anand (IRMA), Anand for discussions on methodology and policy studies that helped me with handling data.

I am also grateful to the Library staff of Gujarat Vidyapeeth and to their students for helping me with locating legislative assembly debates and their translation. I must also acknowledge the generous help I received from Mrs. Tiliya in Bombay in the translation and sorting of these debates. I am particularly grateful to Ann Isaacs of CSRD, JNU for helping me use SPSS. I am also grateful to Dr. Suman Negi, CSRD, JNU for plotting my maps and for the excellent advice on thesis submission. I have also incurred a whole host of debts to friends who have helped me especially during various stages of the writing of this thesis. I will always be grateful to Imtiaz Siddiqui for his great goodwill in coming to the rescue of technologically challenged students like myself and taking care of all computer related issues. I am
especially grateful to Sateesh and Chandra Mallampalli for egging me on and helping me write my synopsis. I am particularly grateful to Panu Pazo, Tina and Anil Jacob for going through my drafts and for their invaluable tips on thesis writing. I am also grateful to Arunji for his excellent skills at the computer and for formatting this thesis.

I will always be grateful to my excellent neighbours Susanna, Theim Kipgen and especially to Kaya Chacko Mao at Sabarmati Hostel for the assortment of things they generously lent to me at the final stages of my writing. To the Sab girls Ruth Khongsai, Boinu Sithlou, Kaya Mao, Lienza Zeite and the one and only Shruti Joshea I will be always grateful for being my family in Sabarmati. I count it my priviledge to have enjoyed the friendship of Lipokmar Dzuvichu, Kamminthang Mantuong, John Thomas and Dr. Joy Pachuau.

I am also grateful to Dr. Vasanthi Raman for mothering me in Delhi and to Uncle CB and Selina aunty for all their love and support. I will always be grateful to Dr. Rev. Cecil Clements and Sheila Clements for their steadfast love and encouragement. For the lack of a better word I have to say thank you to my parents Bhasker and Shalini Badigar for their selfless lives and to my sister Salome Matthews George for living this journey with me.