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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE IN INDIA IN THE 1990s - A CHALLENGE TO  
THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: A STUDY OF PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE ON  
THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT FOCUSING ON A CASE-STUDY OF THE  
MARATHA GROUP, THE SHIV SENA

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

JER BILLIMORIA - ZENIERIS

Norman, Oklahoma

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THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS: A STUDY OF PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE ON  
THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT FOCUSING ON A CASE-STUDY OF THE  
MARATHA GROUP, THE SHIV SENA

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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## INTRODUCTION

Conflict mediated by democracy, and democracy eroded by violence. The paradox that is India is not easily resolved.<sup>1</sup> Herein lies the core of the current situation in India today.

What this dissertation attempts to show is that the current situation in India cannot be understood through the existing frameworks. There have been great metamorphoses on the Indian subcontinent in the 1990's. While the violence persists it cannot be explained through perspectives pursued by earlier developmental theorists. This dissertation attempts to determine that it is primordial violence in India that constitutes a threat to the Indian democratic process by focusing on the primordial group the Shiv Sena.

The future of India looks more threatened now than ever before. In recent months its government has been all but paralyzed by political squabbling. The country is divided by violence. Economic growth is slowing, and poverty on a scale that defies the imagination seems beyond all remedy. Time and again Indians will cast their votes in a general election. Their democracy is genuine, and that at

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<sup>1</sup>Austin, Dennis, Democracy and violence in India and Sri Lanka; London: The Pinter Publishers, 1994, p.8.

any rate is a cause for pride. But few of those voters will dare to hope that the next government -- regardless of party or leadership, regardless of campaign promises -- can even begin to improve their lives.<sup>2</sup>

In order to understand the situation in India today, one needs to have an understanding of some of the events that took place in 1947, the year of India's independence from British rule. After India became independent in 1947 the government of India adopted a policy in accordance with which the country was reorganized into linguistic states. During the British rule the provinces were simply administrative units and had no inherent factors uniting them from within. The policy of creating linguistic states officially accepted language as a principle uniting a region.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Clive Crook, "India: Small World", The Economist, May 4, 1991, p.3.

<sup>3</sup>Madhav M. Deshpande, "Nation and Region A Socio - Linguistic Perspective on Maharashtra", in National Unity, The South Asian Experience, New Delhi, Promilla Publishers. 1983, p. 111.

The Congress (the principal political party of India) had supported the principle of linguistic determination of state boundaries within India almost since its founding, arguing ironically enough, the British maintenance of "arbitrary" -- that is, nonlinguistic -- administrative units was part of a divide and rule policy.<sup>4</sup>

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, was appointed to the Linguistic Provinces Committee along with other prominent freedom fighters like Sardar Patel and Sitaramayya. Nehru was opposed to the linguistically divisive policy and spoke openly about his experience on the linguistic committee.

This inquiry has been an eye opener for us. The work of 60 years of the Indian National Congress was standing before us. Face-to-face with the centuries old India of narrow loyalties, petty jealousies and ignorant prejudices, engaged in mortal conflict and we were simply horrified to see how thin was the ice upon which we were skating. Some of the ablest men in the country came before us and confidently and emphatically stated that language in this country stood for and represented culture, race, history, individuality

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<sup>4</sup>Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, Free Press, N.Y., 1973 p. 255.

and finally a sub-nation.<sup>5</sup>

Within that decade India was completely reorganized along linguistic lines. Thus was born the independent nation of India, divided from the outset by linguistic boundaries. Prior to British rule, India as we know it today, did not exist. The territory was divided into countless principalities and kingdoms ruled by individual monarchs. A vast part of what is North India today was ruled by the Mughal empire prior to British rule. The British formed Administrative units in order to rule and control the Indian empire.

After independence the royal monarchs still remained and in spite of democracy and the Indian constitution continued to have some control over their kingdoms. It was only in the 1970's that the then Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, banned all royal titles and confiscated the privy purses of these royal rulers. The people living in these principalities identified directly with their rulers. Each principality had its own individual customs, festivals, food, dress and architecture separate from the other states

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<sup>5</sup>Quoted in S. Harrison, "The Challenge to Indian Nationalism", Foreign Affairs, 34, April 1956 p. 3.

and principalities. It is the culture and customs of these royal families that the people of each state identified with.

It is this range of culture, customs and language that has been so politically divisive in India today.

The problem that opened Jawaharlal Nehru's eyes in such wide astonishment is phrased in linguistic terms. But the same problem phrased in a wide variety of terms is, of course, literally pandemic to the new states.<sup>6</sup>

How should we look at democracy in India? Let us consider the thirty years following the death of Nehru (1964). First, there was the continuation of Congress rule under Indira Gandhi (the new Prime Minister and Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter), and her successor Rajiv (her son); then the rise of the Hindu-based Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) and its success in the elections of 1989 and 1991; and, third, the present period of uncertainty under renewed Congress rule, with several communal and caste parties. These three distinct periods overlap interspersed by elections and the shifting fortunes of political parties. Violence is never far away, heightened by the general 'criminalization of

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<sup>6</sup>Geertz, Clifford. *ibid* p 256.

politics' which so worries commentators.<sup>7</sup>

The period from 1947-1995 has been fraught with changes -- political, social and economic. This is especially true of the 1990's, where politically, the Congress party which dominated Indian politics is no longer as powerful. Smaller parties and alliances between parties have taken its place. The rule of the elite Nehru-Gandhi family ended with the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi and the leadership at the center is lacking in dynamism and strength.

The new government in India has opened up India's borders economically, thus, changing the country's fiscal policies and instituting the principles of free enterprise with few governmental controls. Socially, the middle class has realigned itself and become a political force while caste no longer controls social delineations. The Shakha culture promoted by the Shiv Sena, first in the state of Maharashtra and now in other states has created a renewed sense of identity and community.

This period has been rife with political conflict and the emergence of new parties and groups. Motivated less by

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<sup>7</sup>Austin, Dennis, Democracy and violence in India and Sri Lanka, p.9.

nationalism and more by the goal of securing a guaranteed share of society's resources, these groups are apt to use violence to achieve their aims. The Maratha group, the Shiv Sena, a Bombay based political organization is one such group whose motives are preferential treatment for its membership. In the period between independence and 1966 when the Shiv Sena was formed, Maharashtrians were relegated to subordinate political and economic roles in spite of the fact that Bombay, the economic and Industrial capital of India, was located in the state of Maharashtra. The group began as a sons-of-the-soil movement attempting to better the economic prospects of their community. Closely linked to the economic and industrial region of Bombay, the Shiv Sena has on several occasions incited its membership to violence.

The Shiv Sena is only one such group and its importance lies in the fact that it is based in Bombay the financial and economic capital of India. In 1993, the Shiv Sena through riots and political strife brought the city to a complete standstill for almost three weeks. The country's financial and industrial markets were closed and it was only after the intervention of the Army and emergency measures



were instituted by the federal government that order was restored, though the threat of more violence persists.

The current situation in India cannot be understood through existing frameworks.<sup>8</sup> A review of political conflict on the Indian subcontinent shows that there is a great shortage in terms of the theory building process.

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<sup>8</sup>Developmental literature up to the early 1970's did not consider India a major research area. While India is considered and discussed by few western theorists like Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, yet, not included by the vast majority of developmental theorists like Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, New York, 1953; Djilas Milovan, The New Class, New York: Praeger, 1957; Eric Wolf, Peasant Wars of the twentieth Century, New York: Harper and Row, 1969; Theda Skocpol, State and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Historical Analysis of France, Russia, and China, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. Revolutionary conflict theorists like Cane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, New York: Vintage Press, 1965; Ted Robert Gurr, Why Men Rebel, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970; and Chalmers Johnson Revolutionary Change, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966 while dated, address a variety of conflict theory in a historical perspective but do not address the specific case of India at any length. Later theoretical publishing by Jack Goldstone, "Theories of Revolution: The Third Generation", World Politics, Vol.32, 1980, and Ted Robert Gurr, Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research, New York: Free Press, 1980 and Jack A. Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, and Farrokh Moshiri, Revolutions of the Late Twentieth Century, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995, while providing cohesive literature do not include India. either.

While there is a vast amount of data available, there is no cohesive theory explaining why the violence persists. Most scholars focusing on violence in the Indian subcontinent tend to see the violence in a secessionist or revolutionary framework which no longer exists<sup>9</sup>. Neither can it be understood through the framework of a passivist political culture as has been suggested by various authors in the field of political development.<sup>10</sup> A new understanding of the issue may be reached through the framework of primordial violence.

What constitutes a primordial group? What is the organizational structure of groups like the Shiv Sena and under what conditions do these groups mobilize? And, What threat (especially that of violence) does this mobilization pose to Indian democracy? Are some of the questions that will be addressed in the following chapters.

For the purpose of this dissertation Chapter I will provide the general characteristics of Primordial Violence

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<sup>9</sup>Fred Von Der Mehden, Comparative Political Violence, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973; and Jerry Boucher, Dan Landis, and Karen Arnold Clark, Ethnic Conflict and International Perspectives, London: Sage Publications, 1987.

<sup>10</sup>For a more detailed discussion see Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

and the definition of a Primordial group. Chapter II and III will include the structural model and the hypotheses. Chapter II will outline the model and the conditions that have created the variables utilized in this dissertation. Chapter III will address the dependent variables, the independent variables and the hypotheses. Chapter IV presents the case-study of the Shiv Sena, providing background and organizational material. Chapter V will provide an analysis of the patterns that are emerging as a result of the current situation in India. The anti-democratic tendencies in India may no longer be explained through the traditional concepts and thus primordial violence provides a more thorough explanation. The last chapter, the conclusion will address the prescriptions needed to alleviate the threat to the democratic process on the Indian subcontinent.

## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE

The "world's largest democracy" is a common description of Indian politics and the evidence is plain to see in the record of election, freedom of debate in parliament and independence of the press and public meetings.<sup>11</sup>

India looks back to a long tradition of liberal constitutional belief, a tradition shaped not by Mahatma Gandhi--of political confrontation grounded on morality--but by reformist politics. The line stretches back to men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and more recently, to Dr. Sarvapelli Radhakrishnan, the first vice-president of the Republic, to Dr. Ambedkar, chief architect of the constitution and campaigner for the rights of Untouchables, to Bahadur Sapru, Jawaharlal Nehru and comparable figures

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<sup>11</sup>Austin, Dennis, Democracy and violence in India and Sri Lanka; , Pinter Publishers, 1994,p.8.

during the transition to independence.<sup>12</sup>

This dissertation attempts to explain the current wave of violence in India through the framework of primordialism.

While works on primordialism and primordial violence exist and there are a great many works on the Indian subcontinent, there is no cohesive theory that explains why the violence persists. The issue of primordial violence in India has not been comprehensively addressed thus far. This dissertation attempts to address the current wave of violence (perpetuated by groups like the Shiv Sena) in India through the framework of Primordialism. This chapter addresses the definitions of political violence, primordialist theory, and primordial violence as it applies to the Indian situation.

Violence bedevils Indian society today. It cannot be ignored or dismissed. "Is there a latent tendency for violence in within Indian society or within hindu beliefs? There is much in hindu scriptures and a great deal in current political practice to suggest that Indians, whether hindu or non-hindu, share with the rest of mankind a horrifying capacity, even an appetite, for violence".<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Edward Shils as quoted in Dennis Austin, p.8.

<sup>13</sup>Austin, Dennis, Ibid, p.31.

For the purpose of this dissertation political violence refers to all collective attacks within a community against the political regime, its actors including competing political groups as well as incumbents. The concept represents a set of events, a common property of which is the actual or threatened use of violence, but the explanation is not limited to that property. The concept subsumes revolution, ordinarily defined as fundamental sociopolitical change accomplished through violence. It also includes guerrilla wars, coups d'etats, rebellions, and riots. Political violence is in turn subsumed under "force", the use or threat of violence by any party or institution to attain ends within or outside the political order.<sup>14</sup>

With the end of the cold war new developments have begun to increase the number and intensity of internal conflicts. According to one study, in the 1945 - 1989 period more than 200 groups "openly resisted the terms of their incorporation in states controlled by other groups. Their grievances about discrimination and threats to group identity

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<sup>14</sup>Gurr, Ted Robert, "Why Men Rebel", New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1970, p. 4.

motivated hundreds of protest movements."<sup>15</sup>

The concept of violence includes acts such as killing, injuring, raping or forcibly stealing from others. When we attempt to establish the political orientation of such violence or to judge the relative influence of such acts upon the political system the simple definition of violence becomes clouded.<sup>16</sup>

The following definition by H.L. Nieburg appears to cover much of what is covered herein: acts of disruption, destruction, injury whose purpose choice of targets or victims, surrounding circumstances, implementation, and/or effects have political significance, that is, tend to modify the behavior of others in a bargaining situation, that has consequences for the social system.<sup>17</sup>

Secondly, it must have direct political significance, that is, it must pose a threat of at least severe inconvenience to the normal operation of the existing political system. Hence, ordinarily labor strikes would not

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<sup>15</sup>Ted Robert Gurr, Minorities at Risk, Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993, p 92.

<sup>16</sup>Nieburg as quoted in Fred R. Von Der Mehden, "Comparative Political Violence," Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1973, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

satisfy this condition but labor strikes with at least mildly threatening political objectives would. Finally, the event must involve political activity. Therefore, phenomena such as murder, armed robbery, and similar criminal acts with no political intent are not relevant here, although they may have important second-order political implications by becoming "public" issues and sometimes stem from widespread alienation from existing socio-economic and political arrangements.<sup>18</sup>

Defining the events or acts that may be termed violent is the next step. For example domestic violence in a family situation while a violent act does not constitute political violence. Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr., in his book "Mass Political Violence--Its Scope and Measurement," describes six different categories of acts that may be defined as politically violent. They are:

1. Riots--Any violent demonstration or clash of a large group of citizens. Violence implies the use of physical force and is generally evidenced by the destruction of property, the killing or wounding of people, or the use of riot control equipment. They are distinguished from armed attack events on the basis of whether the event

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<sup>18</sup>Douglas A. Hibbs, Jr. "Mass Political Violence: A Cross-national Causal Analysis," New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1973.



seems to have been organized, whether it is goal directed, and whether it involves all or most of the participants acting purposefully.

2. Armed Attack Events--Acts of violence committed by or involving organized groups with weapons of any kind, when these acts are intended as protests, or acts of revolt or rebellion against a government, its members, policies, intended policies and the like.
3. Political Strikes--Any violent strike by industrial or service workers, or students, for the purpose of protesting against a government, its leaders, or a government policy or action.
4. Assassinations--Any politically motivated murder or attempted murder of a high government official or politician. Included in this category are national leaders state and provincial leaders, mayors of large cities, members of the cabinet and national legislature, members of the inner core of the ruling party or group, leaders of the opposition, and newspaper editors.
5. Deaths from Political Violence--The number killed in conjunction with any domestic intergroup violence in the nature of armed attacks, riots, demonstrations, and the like. Assassinations are excluded.
6. Anti-government Demonstrations--Organized, nonviolent gatherings of large numbers of people for the purpose of protesting against a government, its actions or policies, or one or more of its leaders. Demonstrations that become riots are excluded.<sup>19</sup>

There are a wide variety of specific factors that have lead to political violence in India. On the subcontinent there have been food riots to combat forced shortages, violence to promote land reform and the consolidation of

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

fragmented land, riots for reform against generational slave labor, ghetto riots in the urban slums of India, and armed attacks by primordial groups against their enemies.

What then is a primordial group and what motivates these groups to violence? James Coleman defines the term "primordial" as ties based on birth.<sup>20</sup> The primordial strategy focuses on ethnic revival-- in the words of Anthony Smith, "Communal regeneration through self discovery and self-realization".<sup>21</sup>

The mobilization of the ethnic community for political action often centers on an assertion of the ethnic groups identity, usually in the context of issues, culture, identity, or belief and in reaction to threats to the identity from assimilative policies. The instrumental strategy focuses on the pursuit of social and economic interests.<sup>22</sup> These, under specific conditions may, lead to primordial violence.

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<sup>20</sup>Bourdieu, Pierre and James S. Coleman, Eds., Social Theory for a Changing Society, Boulder, Westview Press, p.5.

<sup>21</sup>Smith, Anthony, The Ethnic Revival, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.87.

<sup>22</sup>Roeder, Philip G., Soviet Federalism and ethnic mobilization, World Politics, January 1991, p.203.

The mobilization of ethnicity,<sup>23</sup> according to Rothchild, is "a highly conscious, political, and new mode of interest articulation."<sup>24</sup> Edward Shils in "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties", compares primordial ties to that of an extended family attachment which possess certain especially significant relational qualities which can only be described as primordial.<sup>25</sup>

In the 1950s and 60s many social scientists thought economic development, the migration of rural people to cities, and growing literacy would lead to the creation of complex and integrated societies throughout the world.<sup>26</sup>

Modernization theory, as this argument was called, made a specific prediction about ethnic identities: that greater

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<sup>23</sup>Donald L. Horowitz, in Democracy in Divided Societies, defines ethnicity as "a highly inclusive (and relatively large-scale) group identity based on some notion of common origin, recruited primarily through kinship, and typically manifesting some measure of cultural distinctiveness. So conceived, ethnicity easily embraces groups differentiated by color, language, and religion: it covers tribes, races, nationalities and castes". (Horowitz p.10)

<sup>24</sup>Rothchild, Joseph, Ethnopolitics: A conceptual framework, New York, Columbia University Press, 1981, p.27.

<sup>25</sup>Shils, Edward, Center and Periphery: An Essay in Macrosociology, The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

<sup>26</sup>Gurr, Ted Robert, and Harff, Barbara, Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, Boulder, Westview Press, p.79.

political and economic interaction among people and widespread communication networks would break down people's parochial identities with ethnic groups and replace them with loyalties to larger communities such as Canada, the European Community, or an emerging pan-Africa.<sup>27</sup>

This theory has been disproved, for, rather than declining, conflict based on ethnicity increased.<sup>28</sup> In the twentieth century this kind of conflict has led to the largest number of deaths outside of international war. In the period prior to 1945 the Turkish action against Greeks and Armenians and the Nazi liquidation of Jews comes to mind.

Racially and religiously oriented conflict has been considerably more bloody in Afro-Asia than in Europe or the Western Hemisphere in the post war era.<sup>29</sup> Hundreds of thousands of people died following the partition of India and Pakistan. Thousands of Muslims and their families were killed in India and many countless Hindus were killed in

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<sup>27</sup>ibid,p.78.

<sup>28</sup>The foundation for modernization theory was laid by Karl Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, Cambridge, MIT Press,1953. Ted Robert Gurr reports on the trends in violence (1945 to 1989) in Minorities at Risk, Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

Pakistan. Sri Lanka has had plenty of ethnically motivated violence between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. In Burma, or Myanmar as it is currently called, religiously motivated deaths took place in the civil war, and in Indonesia, primordial violence was perpetuated by the Christian separatists against the Muslim majority and vice-versa. In the region of East Timor, Indonesian Christians were forced to flee their homes and leave even though they were Timorese natives. In Vietnam, the Vietnamese and Cambodians perpetuated acts of primordial violence against each other as did the Iraqis against the Kurds in Iraq. The Kurds, have a strong sense of identity which they have maintained over the years in spite of the attempts to victimize them by the regime of Saddam Hussein. The ethnic cleansing perpetrated by the Serbs against the Croatians, Bosnian Muslims and other minorities continue to provide an example of how deadly primordial violence can be and how deeply primordial sentiment runs through the members of the communities that indulge in such violence.

Indeed, small scale cases of domestic political violence with religious or ethnic connotations were reported

in every country in East, Southeast, and South Asia. If one includes the domestic attacks against Jews in Arab countries related to the Arab-Israeli conflict, then almost all of the Middle East has been subjected to similar violence.<sup>30</sup>

Several alternative approaches have been used to explain the persistence of ethnic conflict in a modernizing world. The Primordialist approach argues that people's religious and ethnic identities have deep social, historic, and genetic foundations.<sup>31</sup> From this perspective, called primordialism, modernization is a threat to ethnic solidarity's that prompts minorities to mobilize in defense of their culture and way of life.<sup>32</sup>

A second alternative emphasizes the instrumental nature of ethnic mobilization. The main goals of a group are assumed to be material and political gains; cultural identity is invoked only as a means to attain these goals.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>31</sup>For a more detailed discussion see Frederik Barth, Daniel Bell "Ethnicity and Social Change" in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds. Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

<sup>32</sup>Gurr, Robert and Harff, Barbara, Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, p.78.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p.78.

The primordial and instrumental approaches emphasize different factors. The first emphasizes defense of ethnic identity, and the second stresses the pursuit of group material and political interests. Yet they are not fundamentally inconsistent. Ethnic groups are likely to mobilize when both conditions, a strong sense of ethnic group identity in combination with imposed disadvantages, are present.<sup>34</sup>

A common argument is that when people of different ethnic groups compete directly for the same scarce resources and positions their ethnic identities become more important to them.<sup>35</sup> In this situation some groups are more successful than others and this provides a situation in which the disadvantaged group may mobilize thus creating conflict and violent political strife.

The term primordial violence is reserved for situations in which a racial, religious, or ethnic group attempts to metamorphose its situation by changing or altering conditions, or even taking control of the central government,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p.79.

<sup>35</sup>Olzak, Susan, The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992, ch.1.

through the use of violence as a strategy to attain its goal.

Primordial violence in its extreme may run deeper than secessionist violence since one or both parties seek the destruction of the other, not just separation. This situation is often associated with very high levels of violence, as in the case of Ibo separatism in Nigeria, Karen attacks on the Rangoon government in Burma, the formation of Bangladesh, the north-south Moslem-Christian, Arab-Black dispute in the Sudan.<sup>36</sup> Primordial violence is racially, ethnically, and religiously oriented conflict--acts of violence related to cultural, primarily racial or ethnic and religious conflict.<sup>37</sup>

In developing countries one is accustomed to the more salient presence of religion in the public sphere. For example, popular Jihad in the Middle East, the militant Sikhs in the Punjab, or the battle for the birthplace of Rama in North India. However, the intelligentsia in these countries who speak with the authority of modern science and the modern state see these events, important as they are, as the

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<sup>36</sup>Edward Shils, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup>Fred R. Von Der Mehden, Comparative Political Violence, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973.



expression of primordial sentiments, and indicative of the underdeveloped nature of the people concerned, rather than the political expression of unresolved issues, ill concealed by the fabric of normal politics and not articulated by political institutions.<sup>38</sup>

Thus, within the framework of this dissertation, orderly and regular changes of government, through a non-violent electoral process, would be considered an indication of stability, while politically motivated riots or demonstrations, particularly those directed against the regimes authority, would, for example, be considered evidence of instability.<sup>39</sup>

Though we live in an international community, the social unit of effective action is the political society, primarily the nation state. The nation is the unit of competition between states in the international order; the national society is the domestic arena for political competition between groups to gain advantage or to claim or

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<sup>38</sup>Mitra, S.K. Desecularising the State: Religion and Politics in India after Independence, Comparative Studies in Society and History, Oct91, Vol.33, p.755.

<sup>39</sup>Peter Schneider, "Social Mobilization and Political Stability: A Comparative analysis", Stillwater, OSU, p.2.

enforce rights and protection.<sup>40</sup>

While one is a citizen of the nation (a legal and political status), most persons have multiple social attachments which cross-cut one another and allegiance to these varied attachments change depending on the situation in which a person finds himself or herself.

Questions about multiple group memberships always raise the question: With whom can I act and for what? In the past, this question was rarely problematic. The answer to "Where do I belong?" was a given fact, in which a primary attachment was stipulated by one's clan, religion, or race.<sup>41</sup>

It is in modern times where under conditions of rapid political and social changes that one can choose one's attachments or identifications. In the post colonial states due to an increase in mobility, because of rapid modernization, identification and industrialization, the attachments that people have toward their race, religion, language, community and class take on new meaning. Today, a nation state is an effective unit of identification. The

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<sup>40</sup>Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan eds., Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1975, p. 153.

<sup>41</sup>ibid - p 153.

members of most post colonial states identify with their newly freed state, yet, have unanimously strong primordial attachments which creates an ambiguity within the state and a divided sense of identification for the members. For example, India is a nation state that received its independence from the British in 1947. But individuals within the country identify themselves more readily as Maharashtrians, Gujeratis, Tamils, Bengalis etc. Thus, membership in a larger nation may be ambiguous, since it confuses political sovereignty with primordial identifications. In assessing a nation one has to distinguish between the subnational identifies of the members and the nation as a whole political entity.

Religious differences between members of a nation have historically proved to be very divisive. Race, color, language and ethnicity are some of the other categories that members of a nation may choose an identification or an attachment too.

Throughout the world today the largest and most important category of group membership (particularly in its ability to rouse emotional feeling) is that broad set which

we call "communal" individuals who feel some consciousness of kind which is not contractual, and which involves some common links through primordial or cultural ties.<sup>42</sup>

Commonalties in race, color, language and ethnicity are examples of these ties. Given these multiple over-lapping components of these categories some sociologists and political scientists have sought to entitle these primary identifications as primordial groups.<sup>43</sup>

A more exact phrasing of the nature of the problem involved here is that, considered as societies, the new states are abnormally susceptible to serious disaffection based on primordial attachment.<sup>44</sup>

By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the "givens" - or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed "givens" of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly,

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<sup>42</sup>ibid - p. 155.

<sup>43</sup>see Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, New York: Free Press, 1975; Donald Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985; Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994; Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, Ethnic Conflict in World Politics, Boulder: Westview Press, 1994.

<sup>44</sup>E. Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil ties", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8, 1957, p 130 - 145.

but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, ipso facto: as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest or incurred obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself. The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person; from society to society, and from time to time. But, for virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural -- some would say spiritual -- affinity than from social interaction.<sup>45</sup>

In modernizing post-colonial nations these ties can prove devastating to the growth of the nation state. Prime Minister Nehru discovered this in his attempt to unify India.

While the Constitution of India was proclaiming its unity and secularity, in actuality India was being divided up into distinct linguistic groups in the hope that the sense of

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<sup>45</sup>Geertz, Clifford, *The Interpretation of Culture* p. 260.

linguistic identity would ultimately be less divisive and keep the newly formed nation of India united.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, one of India's founding fathers and a proponent of the separate linguistic states stated:

The reasons why a unilingual state is stable and a multilingual state unstable are quite obvious. A state is built on fellow feeling. What is this fellow feeling? To state briefly it is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This feeling is a double-edged feeling. It is at once a feeling of "consciousness of kind" which, on the one hand, binds together those who have it so strongly that it overrides all differences arising out of economic conflicts on social gradations and, on the other, sever them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing not to belong to any other group. The existence of this fellow feeling is the foundation of a stable and democratic state.<sup>46</sup>

It is this crystallization of a direct conflict between primordial and civil sentiments, this longing not to belong to any other group, that gives to the problem variously called tribalism, parochialism, communalism, and so on, a more ominous and deeply threatening quality than most of the

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<sup>46</sup>Dr. Ambedkar, Thoughts on Linguistic States, New Delhi, 1955, p. 11.

other, also very serious and intractable problems the new states face. Here we have not just competing loyalties, but competing loyalties of the same general order, on the same level of integration.<sup>47</sup>

Clifford Geertz in "The Interpretation of Culture" has created a typology of the patterns of primordial diversity found in the post-colonial states. The first pattern is that of a dominant group set against a single and strong minority group. The Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus are examples of this.

In the second pattern there is one group of several medium sized or large peripheral groups. The groups may exist on the geographic periphery of a region.

In the third pattern we find the emergence of two evenly balanced bi-polar groups. The Malays and Chinese in Malaysia and Singapore are an example of this.

In his fourth pattern, Geertz, classifies several large, medium sized and even small groups with no group being clearly dominant. India along with the Philippines, Nigeria and Kenya are examples here. Finally, in the last category

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<sup>47</sup>Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, p. 261.

there are multiple small groups or fragmentation as in West Africa.

The one aim of all these groups is to be noticed. It is a search for identity, and a demand that the identity be publicly acknowledged as having import, a social assertion of the self as "being somebody in the world".<sup>48</sup>

The network of primordial alliance and opposition is a dense, intricate, yet precisely articulated one. The product, in most cases, of centuries of gradual crystallization. The unfamiliar civil state, born yesterday from the meager remains of an exhausted colonial regime, is superimposed upon this fine-spun and lovingly conserved texture of pride and suspicion, and must somehow continue to wean it into the fabric of modern politics.<sup>49</sup>

The transformation of India from a colonial state, dominated by the British Empire, to an independent nation state has not been an easy one. In spite of Mahatma Gandhi's call to non-violence, the struggle for India's freedom was not a peaceful one. Communal and secessionist riots pervaded the Indian scene in the early years of its nationhood and

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<sup>48</sup>ibid - p. 258.

<sup>49</sup>ibid - p. 269.



have continued even to this day. These riots occurred in India in 1967 and threatened the break up of the Indian state. Kashmir, the Punjab, Orissa and Tamil Nadu were some of the problem states.

Today the secessionist movements have lost their momentum and the unity of the Indian states is no longer in question. Yet the violence exists. This violence can no longer be understood in the framework of early development literature on the Indian state.<sup>50</sup> This violence is no longer secessionist violence or communal violence and except for the violence in the state of Kashmir, not religious either.

The concept of Primordialism and Primordial violence described by theorists like Frederik Barth, Clifford Geertz, Ted Robert Gurr, Donald Horowitz et al, is one that needs to be re-visited. In the 1990s, it has been included in works

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<sup>50</sup>see Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966; James McKay, "An Exploratory synthesis of Primordial and Mobilizationist Approaches to Ethnic Phenomena, in Ethnic and Racial Studies, October, 1982; A. Smith The Ethnic Revival, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981; Leslie J. Calman, Protest in Democratic India: Authority's Response to Challenge, Boulder: Westview Press, 1985; Madhav M. Deshpande, "Nation and Region: A Socio-Linguistic Perspective on Maharashtra" in Milton Israel, National Unity: The South Asian Experience, New Delhi: Promilla Publishers, 1983.

by Susan Olzak, Larry Diamond, Ted Robert Gurr, Barbara Harff, and Dennis Austin. While literature on the theory of primordialism abounds and there is a vast amount of data on violence on the Indian subcontinent, the two have never been included in the form of a comprehensive theory building process. This is what this dissertation purports to do. Today, primordial violence when linked with the variables in this dissertation pose a threat to the democratic process and this dissertation attempts to outline the extent of this threat.

The violence in India today is perpetuated by primordial groups who are continually threatened by democratic, industrial and economic growth. It is these primordial groups that members of Indian society (who have an allegiance to a particular group) are using to seek political redress in the Indian scene. Thus the primordial group acts as an interest group articulating the needs of its members, sometimes through violent means.

The reduction of primordial sentiment to civil order is rendered more difficult, however, by the fact that political modernization tends initially not to quiet such sentiments but to quicken them. The transfer of sovereignty from a colonial regime to an independent one is more than a mere slight of power from foreign hands to

native ones; it is a transformation of the whole pattern of political life, a metamorphoses of subjects into citizens. Colonial governments, like the aristocratic governments of pre-modern Europe in whose image they were fashioned, are aloof and unresponsive; they stand outside the societies they rule, and act upon them arbitrarily; unevenly, and unsystematically. But the government of the new states, though oligarchic are popular and attentive; they are located in the midst of the societies they rule, and as they develop act upon them in progressively more continuous, comprehensive and purposeful manner.<sup>51</sup>

This thrusting of a modern political consciousness upon the mass of a still largely unmodernized population does indeed tend to lead to the stimulation and maintenance of a very popular interest in the affairs of government. But, as a primordially based "corporate feeling of oneness remains for many the fons et origo of legitimate authority -- the meaning of the term self in self rule -- much of this interest takes the form of an obsessive concern with the relation of one's tribe, region, sect etc."<sup>52</sup> The primordial groups now vie for attention from the new, involved government in the hopes of having its needs and goals realized.

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<sup>51</sup>Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, p. 269.

<sup>52</sup>ibid.

The strength of a primordial attachment is that emotional cohesion derives not only from some "inner consciousness of kind", but from some external definition of an adversary as well.<sup>53</sup>

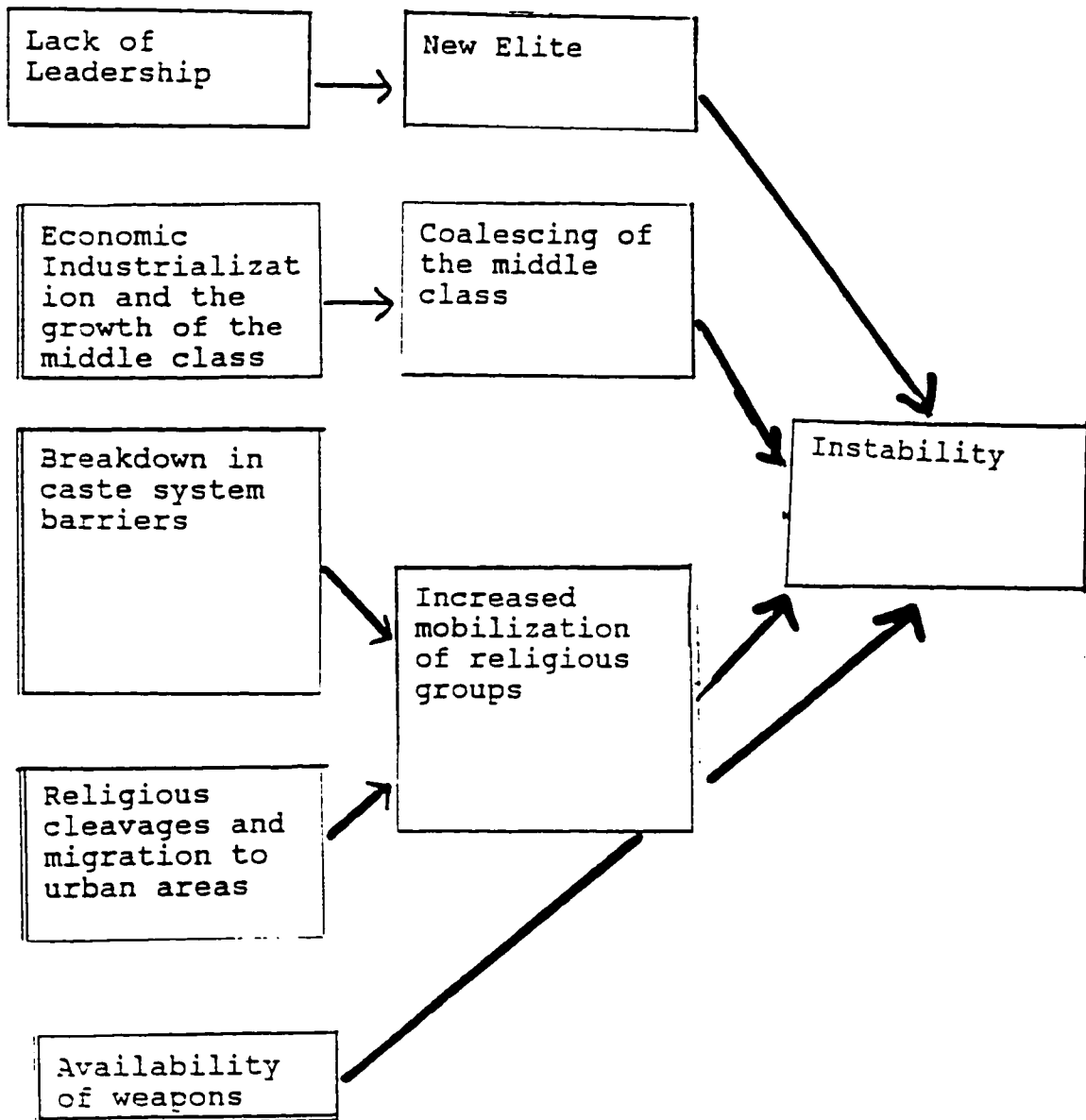
It was once hoped that the politics of ideology might be replaced by the politics of civility, in which men would learn to live in negotiated peace.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps, an understanding of primordialism and the violence perpetuated by such groups in the Indian setting may lead to one? The conditions under which primordial mobilization leads to primordial violence and how this violence affects the democratic process will be discussed in the following chapters, but next, the structural model, the theoretical framework, hypotheses and variables will be addressed.

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<sup>53</sup>Sigmund Freud, "Civilization and Its Discontents" London, Hogarth Press, 1961.

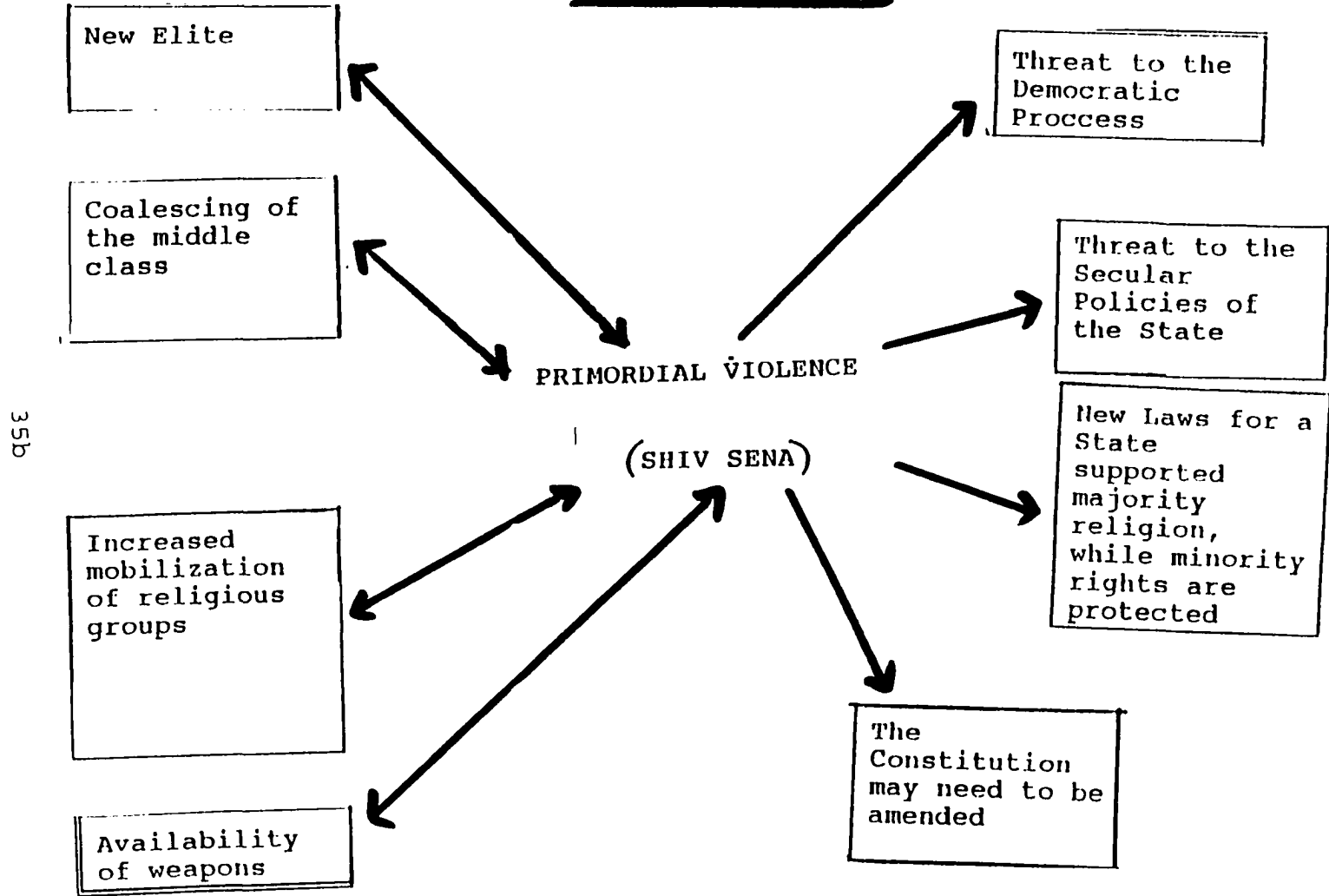
<sup>54</sup> Daniel P. Moynihan and Nathan Glazer, Ethnicity Theory and Experience, p. 174.

STRUCTURAL MODEL A



A COMPARATIVE MODEL OF INTER RELATED VARIABLES CREATING  
INSTABILITY IN CONJUNCTION WITH PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE  
LEADING TO DIVERSE OUTCOMES

STRUCTURAL MODEL B



New Elite

Coalescing of the middle class

Threat to the Democratic Process

Threat to the Secular Policies of the State

New Laws for a State supported majority religion, while minority rights are protected

PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE

(SHIV SENA)

Increased mobilization of religious groups

Availability of weapons

The Constitution may need to be amended

## CHAPTER II

### THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIMORDIAL VIOLENCE IN REFERENCE TO INDIA

Primordial conflicts are the main determinants of violence and disorder in many areas of the world today. These conflicts are often categorized as ethnic or religious but in the 1990s these terms are confusing and in many regions of the world this terminology does not hold true. Often times the scope of this violence moves beyond simply religious ties or those ascriptive ties defining a community or communal group. The ties may be those of language, of region, of class, or color.

In India for example, the Hindus may be broadly classified as a religious group or even as a communal or ethnic organization. Yet, almost consistently the history of India has shown violence perpetuated by one group of Hindus against another. What is it that sets these groups apart? It is the divisions perpetuated by language differences, customs, geography and region and historical animosities that draw the primordial group even closer

together in their common bond.

The simple starting point is that a number of major social trends -- convergent, overlapping and divergent -- are forcing the reworking of existing societal arrangements.

These are the enlargement of political boundaries and arenas; the increase in the number of actors and claimants in a political arena; the challenges to the present day distribution of place and privilege; and the questioning of the normative justifications and legitimations which have sanctified the status quo.<sup>55</sup>

Within each civilization, we have seen movements from tribe to city, from city to empire, or from region to nation and from nation to world. For small classes of persons -- scribes, intellectuals, artists -- the question of primary attachment has always been problematic as they moved from the geographical periphery to the cultural center, from the provincial clubs to the cosmopolitan salon. Deracination is a historical experience. What is different today, however, in the contrasting terms of "tradition" and "modernity", is

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<sup>55</sup>Moynihan, Daniel P. and Nathan Glazer, "Ethnicity Theory & Experience", Cambridge, Mass, Howard University Press, 1975. p. 142.



the way large masses of persons find inherited ways and creeds outdated and new modes and creeds of uncertain validity; and therefore the sense of uprootedness spreads throughout entire societies.<sup>56</sup>

Today, the question of "Who am I?" and "Where do I belong?" draws people into the fold of the primordial group.

No longer living in small closed communities, but more and more in large metropolitan areas (especially in the case of India) the individual is drawn towards groups that hold primary ties. Language, regional commonality, that of custom or dress, caste, etc., bind individuals to the primordial group thus answering the questions for the individuals.<sup>57</sup>

Political scientists in the field of development like Barrington Moore, Jr.<sup>58</sup> believed that India would ultimately move from a traditional society to an industrialized one. A great many political scientists attempted, through studies

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<sup>56</sup>ibid, p. 143.

<sup>57</sup>For a more detailed discussion see Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, New York, Free Press, 1975 and Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994.

<sup>58</sup>Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Beacon Press, 1966.

in the various theories of political development, to explain the state of the new nations that mushroomed in the twentieth century. The early scholars of political development paid little attention to the issue of political violence in these developing nations and even less attention to the issue of primordial violence. Thus while an understanding of political development is important it does not explain the violence in India today.

India was granted her freedom from the British in 1947 after a long and arduous struggle and the deaths of thousands of Indians in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis on non-violence. Other dependent nations soon joined the fray and gained their independence from the British, Dutch, and French.

The thesis and models of political development imply progress and through progress an end stage or final stage of political development. By the 1960s it was apparent that the path from a traditional society to a modern, industrialized one was not an easy one. Military regimes and dictatorial rulers mushroomed in the previously colonized nations. Representative democracy had little or

no meaning to these repressive regimes. Gerald Heeger characterizes this change as a shift from the politics of development to the politics of order.<sup>59</sup>

Politics in underdeveloped societies has become predominantly a politics in search of order.<sup>60</sup> Development, often an intangible concept at best, has proved to be an elusive goal. Order, in contrast, is both more tangible and, so it seems, more necessary. The growing number of military regimes with their anachronistic, colonial-era-like preoccupation with order is only one indication of the shift from the politics of development to the politics of order.<sup>61</sup>

Thus, while an understanding of political development is important it does not explain the Indian situation. The early scholars of political development paid little attention to the issue of violence in these developing nations, though violence played a major role in their transition from colonialism to independence. India, was and

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<sup>59</sup>Gerald A. Heeger, The Politics of Underdevelopment, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1974, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>John C. Watson, Social Mobilization, Economic Development, Political Institutionalization, and Political Violence in South America: A Test of Huntington's Theory, University of New Orleans, May 1981, p. 4.

is an area of research not addressed by many political scientists and there is a shortage of literature available on the sub-continent. This dissertation will provide a contribution to the area of modern Indian political study.

The early literature in the area of political development did not consider India a major research area. It is to Barrington Moore, Jr., and his thesis, "Social origins of dictatorship and democracy," that we turn to in attempting to understand the polity of India during colonialism and in the early stages of democracy. Though dated and elitist, this work sheds a great deal of light on the Indian state and that is why it is important to mention it at this point.

Today, India faces the very threat which Barrington Moore described in 1966. The effects of industrialization and the growth of the economy are finally catching up with political development and the effect may very well be explosive. It may be a threat to the complete democratic process. As Moore stated, "Nor were there among the peasants any forces at work that would have been likely to produce either an economic or a political break with the

prevailing society".<sup>62</sup>

In the case of India social and racial groups that were culturally maligned and inhibited are now seeking to rearrange the social and political order to their advantage.

Coalescing together primordial violence is their way of focusing attention on their plight.

In the 1990s we find that a great many changes have occurred in peasant society in India as described by Moore In "Social Origins of dictatorship and democracy." The "Green Revolution" created a genre of farmers who used modern-day machinery to cultivate huge farms. Splintered and fragmented farms were once again consolidated. Those peasants that relied on subsistence farming began moving en masse to the urban areas in search of employment in the industrialized factories. As a result, caste barriers were loosened and the level of education within society have grown in leaps and spurts while Democracy has not done a great deal toward modernizing India's social structure.<sup>63</sup>

Industrialization is rapidly changing the social structure embedded within Indian society for thousands of

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<sup>62</sup>Moore, p. 315.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 316.

years. Caste barriers have been dropped in many areas where caste is no longer considered important. Both low castes and high castes work side-by-side in factories to earn the same wage.

Thus, while Moore's work is extremely detailed and explains the conditions of India in the 1960s, it is dated and developments such as the Green Revolution and Industrialization are not part of his hypothesis.

Most scholars focusing on violence in the Indian subcontinent tend to see the issue as revolutionary or secessionist. As has been pointed out before, in chapter I, the current situation cannot be understood through the existing frameworks. It is not an issue of a passivist political culture as Barrington Moore has suggested. It is no longer secessionist or revolutionary violence that threatens the Indian democratic process, it is now primordial violence that may ultimately prove deadly. Herein lies the contribution of this dissertation.

Political scientists in the field of development in the 1960s and 1970s believed that ultimately the allegiance felt by individuals to the primordial group would give way to a

new allegiance; that of the nation - state. (See Clifford Geertz in The Interpretation of Culture). The newly formed nation state would then reach political unity as more and more of its citizens identified with the nation and less and less with a primary group.

In the 1990's we realize that this has not taken place. In fact, ties to primordial groups and identification with these groups have grown stronger while in many nation states, as in India, the individual may identify as a citizen of the nation-state as well as have strong ties with the primordial group. In a large polity it is the primordial group that acts as the interest group for the individual. India, Malaysia, Rwanda, Nigeria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and countless other nation states are all faced with the problems of primordial violence.

Decolonization and the creation of new nation states have created a situation where the new nations consist of varying racial and ethnic groups. This resulted in the incorporation of various ascriptive groups, often against their will, into single political entities, in which there were few of the shared ideas of the community necessary to

sustain civil society.<sup>64</sup> This situation provides a fertile ground for primordial violence.

According to one recent study, *Minorities at Risk*, for the 1945 - 1989 period more than 200 groups "openly resisted the terms of their incorporation in states controlled by other groups. Their grievances about discrimination and threats to group identity ... motivated hundreds of protest movements."<sup>65</sup>

In the 1990's the number and intensity of these conflicts has increased drastically with the end of the cold war. The break up of the old Communist Soviet system has created new states riddled with primordial violence. The Middle East, North Africa, South Africa, Burma and other parts of Asia all face the same problems. What accounts for the eruption of ethnic pluralism in some countries, and its relatively peaceful management in other countries, or at

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<sup>64</sup>Richard H. Schultz, Jr., *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, State Disintegration and Ethnic Conflict: a framework for analysis, Sept. 1995, v 541, p. 75.

<sup>65</sup>Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk*, Washington, D.C., United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993, p. 92.



other times in the same countries?<sup>66</sup> Today primordial violence is more important and plays a larger role on the world stage than ever before. The importance of this dissertation lies in the fact that it focuses on the problems created by primordial violence in a nation state formed by decolonization, India. This theory may then be applied to other emerging nation states facing similar problems.

The primary purpose of this study is to determine that primordial violence, and its effects, pose a fundamental threat to the survival of the democratic process in India. For, India is a divided society and as Donald Horowitz explains "severely divided societies represent a particularly serious threat to democratic polities".<sup>67</sup>

Because ethnicity taps cultural and symbolic issues- basic notions of identity and the self, of individual and group worth and entitlement- the conflicts it generates are intrinsically less amenable to compromise than those

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<sup>66</sup>Diamond, Larry and Plattner, Marc F., eds. Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p.22.

<sup>67</sup>Donald, Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, p.224.

revolving around material issues.<sup>68</sup>

Ethnic cleavages become even more volatile when competing notions of morality--of the sacred and the profane--are invoked, as in religious rioting. Thus did the dispute over the Ayodhya mosque, and its eventual destruction by hindu fundamentalist mobs in 1992-93, trigger furious rioting that claimed over a thousand lives across India.<sup>69</sup>

In deeply divided societies like India, these cleavages appear to be permanent and all-encompassing. G. Bingham Powell's innovative study of contemporary democracies added another empirical dimension of explanation: Countries with extreme ethnic complexity experience high levels of deadly political violence, which severely strains the fabric of their democratic order.<sup>70</sup> This, may best describe the situation in India today.

In particular, the focus of this study is on the Maratha

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<sup>68</sup>Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p.18.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p.18.

<sup>70</sup>G. Bingham Powell, Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability and Violence, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982, p.43.

group, the Shiv Sena, and incidences of primordial violence that the Shiv Sena has been involved in, that creates insecurity and threatens the democratic process in India.

The Shiv Sena is one of many groups in India that desire a piece of the political and economic pie. Like the Shiv Sena's leader, Bal Thackeray, other leaders too believe that democracy may not be the answer to India's problems. Thackeray, using the example of Shivaji, the military hero, has stated that a benevolent dictatorship or even military rule were an acceptable alternative to democracy. Herein lies the threat to the democratic process.

While primordial violence has always existed on the Indian Peninsula, this study will identify how primordial violence poses a fundamental threat to the democratic process in the 1990's, in the post-Gandhi era, by addressing the variables proposed in the structural model. Never before, in the history of independent India, has the validity and stability of the democratic system been the threatening issue it is today.

In studying primordial violence in India this dissertation focuses on the Maratha primordial movement, or

the Shiv Sena, as a case-study within the India scenario.

The Maratha movement is not secessionist nor revolutionary.

It is a movement which is not afraid to use violence to achieve its aims. The movement believes that only through violence will political attention be focused on the needs of the Maratha people. Such primordial movements are surfacing in several states within the Indian subcontinent. There are primordial movements in the state of Gujarat, Bihar, Tamil, Nadu, and the Punjab to name a few.

There are several important conditions today, which, when occurring along with primordial violence threatens the democratic process and each one will be addressed as a separate variable of the hypotheses. They are:

- A) Lack of Leadership
- B) Economic Industrialization and the growth of a middle class
- C) Breakdown in Caste system barriers
- D) Religious cleavages and migration to the urban areas
- E) Availability of weapons

- A) LACK OF LEADERSHIP -- Lack of strong leadership

certainly seems to play a pivotal role in the rise of primordial violence on the Indian subcontinent. The Nehru-Gandhi family which governed India through almost all the years since independence in 1947 is no more. The lack of strong leadership makes it possible for religious and ethnic groups to incite violence all over the subcontinent. The period beginning after the death of Rajiv Gandhi has been one of instability in India due to the lack of strong leadership. Jawaharlal Nehru's government was inclusive, representative of the myriad strands of Indian society, committed to promoting secularism, sensitive to conventions governing relations between the government and opposition benches, and generally careful not to intrude upon state rights. The fact that state governments were almost all under the control of the Congress party helped since the 1960's, however, politicians have gradually become less cosmopolitan, while federalism has become more complex, requiring bargaining and accommodation between governments run by different political parties.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Ramesh Thakur, Ayodhya and the Politics of India's secularism, in Asian Survey, Vol. 33, No. 7, July, 1993, p. 648.

Yet, Indira Gandhi and then Rajiv Gandhi managed to create a balance between the center and the states. The Congress party dominated India, except for a brief period in the 1970's during Janata Party rule. Rajiv Gandhi's succession to Prime Minister after his mother's assassination was a land slide. Liberal and western-educated, he along with a young western educated cabinet set about creating economic and political reform. When Rajiv Gandhi came to power in 1984, he seemed to bring a new attitude. He promised to speed up the reforms that his mother had already begun to introduce.<sup>72</sup>

In spite of his leadership and vision to reform India's economic and social policies his administration was rocked by scandals like the Bofors.<sup>73</sup> After his assassination in 1990 the unifying power of the Congress has eroded. Due to the power of television and mass communication even poor, uneducated, illiterate Indians were aware of the politics of

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<sup>72</sup>Clive Crook, India: Small World, The Economist, May 4, 1991, p. 12.

<sup>73</sup>Bofors, an arms dealers provided massive monetary kickbacks to those high up in the Rajiv administration in exchange for contracts to the Indian government. These were exposed by the media and the whole incidence got national attention.

New Delhi.

In 1992 when riots erupted in Ayodhya (the Ancient birth place of the God Ram), the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao was unable to control the situation. This was repeated during the riots in 1993 in Bombay. Weak leadership at the center along with factionalism has opened up a doorway for primordial groups to succeed.

It is important to point out here that from 1947 to 1990 (43 years) India had five Prime Ministers. They were Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai and Rajiv Gandhi. From the period between 1990 and 1996 (6 years) India has had four different Prime Ministers. They are V.P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Narasimha Rao and currently Deva Gowda. Jawaharlal Nehru who was western educated believed strongly that India's future and success would lie in a secular constitution. He worked hard to create a unified India taking steps toward industrialization and economic growth. It was Nehru who proposed the five-year plans based on the Russian models. These plans outlined the economic and industrial growth process for the country.

It was left to Shastri, a soft spoken Sanskrit scholar to begin the process of unifying the Hindus and Muslims. Shastri carried on Nehru's legacy and helped strengthen the position of the Congress party in Indian politics.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter, succeeded Shastri to the Prime Ministership. When her father was Prime Minister she had served as his secretary and was well advised about the Indian political scenario. A strong, courageous leader Mrs. Gandhi took some bold steps during her reign as Prime Minister. One of the new laws that she instituted was that of the Privy Purses\*. Even after independence kings or "Rajas" of the many small kingdoms that made up modern day India were allowed to keep their titles and continued to rule their kingdoms and also receive a Privy purse. Mrs. Gandhi stated that since India was a democracy and all Indians equal it was no longer appropriate for one group of people to still have titles and crowns as if in a monarchy.

She continued her fathers vision of the five-year plans and the Green Revolution where agricultural growth was the main focus. By the 1970s though her administration was



riddled with corruption. In 1977, after the Emergency she lost popularity and power but came back even stronger a little over a year later to regain Prime Ministership (Under the laws laid down by the Indian Constitution the Prime Minister may declare a State of Emergency when the sovereignty of the country is being threatened, internally or externally. During a state of Emergency all the Fundamental Rights guaranteed to a citizen by the Constitution may be suspended.)

In shaping the Congress Party in her own image and in protecting Sanjay, her son, Mrs. Gandhi damaged institutions by obliterating the differences between party and government. If her courage were exemplary, the way she ran the party and government were not.<sup>74</sup>

Negative or positive, Mrs. Gandhi's legacy are the lessons she left behind -- of how courage equals charisma and how corruption and undemocratic behavior equals decay.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps, Rajiv Gandhi's legacy lies in his sweeping economic

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<sup>74</sup>Inderjit Badhwar, Profiles in Cowardice, India Today, January 15, 1995, p. 10.

<sup>75</sup>ibid - p. 11.

and industrial reform. Foreign investment was encouraged, capitalism and free enterprise prevailed and India entered a period of unprecedented economic growth. Yet, his administration was beset by scandals and corruption, the most publicized of which, the Bofors deal,<sup>76</sup> proved to be his undoing and in 1989 he was succeeded as Prime Minister by his finance Minister V.P. Singh.

V.P. Singh separated from Rajiv Gandhi on the corruption issue and humbled the nation's most powerful ruling party. He was a leader appealing to a broad audience on a broad issue [His anti-corruption theme was deftly combined with a subliminal anti-dynastic message].<sup>77</sup>

Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated while attempting to make a comeback and in 1990 Chandrashekhar became Prime Minister.

His minority government depended heavily on the Congress Party for its survival and in March 1991 he resigned.

Narasimha Rao was the next Prime Minister. Lacking leadership and support he was unable to control the

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<sup>76</sup>Kickbacks from Swedish arms Dealer Bofors to official high up in the administration were discovered and published.

<sup>77</sup>ibid - p. 11.

factionalism and violence that prevailed in India during this period. He was unable to contain the situation in Ayodhya, the mythological home of the India God Ram. Here, Hindus propounding Hindutva (hindu nationalism) burnt an ancient Muslim mosque, the Babri Masjid in 1992. Large scale violence and riots broke out all over India especially in the state of Maharashtra where the Shiv Sena also currently propounds the theory of Hindutva. In 1993, when riots and violence broke out in Bombay he was extremely slow in responding to it by sending in the Army. As a result all industries and the economy virtually shut down for almost three weeks.

Since 1990, the different Prime Ministers have worked harder at solidifying their political positions than at unifying India. State governments and primordial groups like the Shiv Sena are aware of the weakening center and are working hard at strengthening their positions both inter-state and intra-state. The leadership has not risen up to meet the needs of these groups and thus these groups are attempting to meet their own needs often using violence.

As Susanne and Lloyd Rudolph have argued," that

conflict....is the creation of present day militant politicians and intellectuals, springing not from the disadvantaged but from the elite, who thought they could ride to power by hijacking Hinduism--replacing its diversity...with a monotheistic Ram cult".<sup>78</sup> Thus weak leadership in an attempt to gain a strong political foothold use primordial mobilization for their own political advantage creating an even greater divide in the process.

B) ECONOMIC INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE GROWTH OF A MIDDLE

CLASS -- India has seen unprecedented growth in the 1990's. Trade barriers between India and other countries no longer exist as they did up until this time. Bangalore, a southern city is considered to be the "Silicon Valley" of the East and Bombay's financial markets are often compared to New York City. In the early 1980's India was just being introduced to computer technology. Today, it is everywhere.

India's vast English speaking population provides a cheap alternative to many western multinational corporations who

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<sup>78</sup>Susanne Hoerber Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph, "Modern Hate", The New Republic, 22 March 1993, p.26.

are moving their Asian operations to India. While many western countries are facing a decline in their industrial production as well as economic recession, India's economy is growing by leaps and bounds.

This has resulted in vast migration to the urban areas where these jobs are available. It has also created a growth in the middle class. Consumerism is reaching new heights in India as a result of this. Televisions, cars, stereo equipment, clothes washing machines, home computers and other forms of technology, which in earlier days only the affluent could afford, are all within reach of the new urban middle-class. Primordial groups want to ensure that their members are part of this growth. In the case of the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra, preferential treatment for Maharashtrians is sought in the industrial and economic areas.

Rajiv Gandhi's reform system created a great change in India's economy. Prior to the 1980's industrial and economic growth was sluggish. In the 1970's Indira Gandhi's administration had nationalized major foreign corporations (Coca-Cola is an example). Since the Prime Ministership of

Nehru, India has been very protective, even suspicious of foreign investment in India. Rajiv Gandhi attempted to change this through reform. Foreign investment was welcomed and encouraged and it proved to be the boost India's economy needed. V.P. Singh, Rajiv Gandhi's finance minister and the man who succeeded Gandhi as Prime Minister continued these reforms.

The most spectacular reform implemented by Mr. Gandhi and his finance minister V.P. Singh was to cut income tax. The maximum rate had once been 97.8%; it came down to 50%. He also cut corporate taxes. Immediately there was less tax evasion, so the new, lower rate gathered 40% more revenue than the old.<sup>79</sup>

Since independence in 1947 India has pursued self-sufficiency. An ever-proliferating bureaucracy had planned the economy's future in extraordinary detail, using ideas and methods borrowed from the Soviet Union. A goal of this approach was to separate India from the world economy. This was done by replacing imports with domestic production and

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<sup>79</sup>Clive Crook, India: Small World, in, The Economist, May 4, 1991, p.12.

by discouraging foreign investment.<sup>80</sup>

The founders of the country and the writers of the Indian constitution had an inherent mistrust of foreigners and believed that too much interaction between India and other countries would lead to dependence. India's colonial past shaped its industrial policies. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister believed that the Soviet system of Central Planning would be the best policy for India's development. Thus were born the five-year plans.

The first five-year plan for 1951-56 outlined that detailed planning should be attempted only for a few selected industries which India lacked and which the private sector could not provide.

The principal author of the second plan was P.C. Mahalanobis a cabinet advisor. His ideas blended Fabian socialism with values that had been propounded by Mahatma Gandhi -- notably, disdain for consumer goods and revulsion at the idea of "luxuries". India, said the Nehru-Mahalanobis blue-print, would transform itself from an

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<sup>80</sup>Clive Crook, "India: Small World", The Economist, May 4, 1991, p. 4.

agricultural economy into an industrial one. Investment would be channeled into the production of capital goods. Imports would be turned away with tariffs, quotas or outright bans. There would be no need for exports. Consumer goods would stay in short supply, so people would save. These savings would provide the resources for more investment.<sup>81</sup>

During this period many big industries were nationalized and it is here that India's complicated licensing system came into being. Quotas were introduced and firms were told how much product they could produce.

Small labor-intensive firms were favored over bigger capital intensive ones: handloom weavers over powerlooms. But, since the great bulk of India's poor live in the countryside, where they depend for their living on farming, helping the poor meant helping agriculture. This was awkward because the goal of forced industrialization necessarily meant holding agriculture back. The planners needed to shift resources from the primitive rural economy to the rising new industrial sector where India's future was

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<sup>81</sup>ibid - p. 6.



though to be. So the government drew resources out of the farm economy with one set of economic policies and then, to alleviate poverty, fed resources back with another.<sup>82</sup>

Some of Asia's successful economies like Malaysia followed the developmental models laid down by economists like W. W. Rostow and political scientists like Samuel Huntington and Barrington Moore, Jr. Growth began in the agricultural sector. Rising incomes in this sector created a surplus of resources and along with this surplus a market for goods and services. The industrial take-off came next.

As the demand for labor increased wages went up and due to this the economy grew and stabilized.

Cheap labor is something that India has plenty of, yet, economically speaking India did not "take-off" till the 1990s. This was due to the fact that India's economic policy had been detrimental to growth. India's economy was jeopardized in several ways.

First, international businesses and trade was discouraged. Then the government (who nationalized several industries in the 1960's and 1970's) operated in an

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<sup>82</sup>ibid - p. 6.

extremely inefficient manner. Thirdly, the private sector had been over-regulated. Imports were not usually allowed and a complex system of licensing ensured that they were extremely limited. The Foreign Exchange Regulation Act of 1973 kept a tight control on foreign exchange flowing in and out of the country. Most foreign companies were required to keep their holding in collaboration efforts in India to 40%.

The inefficiencies caused by protectionism and badly run state enterprises are doubled and redoubled by the domestic regulatory system. This has no equal in the world.

In many ways it puts Soviet Central planning to shame. It is hardly a caricature to say that it disallows successful firms to grow, encourages them instead to become unsuccessful and, when they fail, forbids them to close.<sup>83</sup>

In addition companies also have to follow the rules laid down by the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act (MRTP). The Act requires most corporations to apply for further licensing through this governmental agency.

When Rajiv Gandhi came to power he and his western-educated cabinet began to change industrial and economic

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<sup>83</sup>ibid - p. 11.

policy. Besides reducing income-taxes they also reduced licensing procedures for industries and companies. Restrictions, especially in the field of imports, were lifted. In 1990, V.P. Singh, the next Prime Minister, began the process of inviting and encouraging foreign investment into India.

Deregulation in the early 1990's was a rapid process. Industry, commerce and the economy went through a boom period. While inflation was high, wages, especially in the industrial cities grew rapidly too. This is especially true for cities like Bombay which have seen a spurt of economic growth. In 1995, India saw a growth rate of an unprecedented 6% and the creation of 8 million new jobs.<sup>84</sup> Foreign corporations are now allowed to increase their holdings from 40% to 51% in some industries and 100% in others.

While India has always had problems with migration from rural to urban areas this problem has been exacerbated by the growth in the economy. The industrialization process

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<sup>84</sup>Mark L. Clifford and Manjeet Kripalani, Modern India has been put on hold, Business Week, April 29, 1996.

and the move away from regulatory policy toward a free market has created a group of individuals, the Indian middle class. A number of these individuals are displaced from their home towns and regions now living in industrial areas for greater economic rewards. It is these individuals who are drawn to become members of groups like the Shiv Sena to which they may have some primordial ties. Thus, groups like the Shiv Sena have been growing in membership as they increasingly represent the needs of individuals lacking political efficacy.

C) BREAKDOWN IN THE CASTE SYSTEM BARRIERS-- Today, thanks to the efforts of leaders like Dr. Ambedkar, the caste system while still prevalent, is not as stringent. The new middle class, in its pursuance of economic goals has managed to break down the barriers even further. Prior to 1947, towns, villages and even cities were rigidly divided by caste, both physically and socially. The upper castes living in their own neighborhoods, the middle and lower castes in theirs. These groups never mingled socially. They did not go to the same schools,

temples, or playgrounds. After the caste system was legally abolished in independent India the changes were slow and very gradual. The ruling party in India up until 1990 was the Congress Party (except for a short break from 1977-1979). This party dominated the Indian political scene and until 1990, had at its head a Gandhi or a Nehru. The leaders of the Congress party all came from the higher castes. In the post-Gandhi era following 1990 we find the growth of many new parties all vying for power and the leadership of these parties contains people from all castes.

The Shiv Sena is one such group. It draws its members from all castes. It is not uncommon to find members of all different castes sitting alongside each other at a Shiv Sena meeting. Their collective goal is the betterment of the Maratha community and this transcends caste barriers.

"This too is happening in India (and elsewhere) as formerly subordinate groups develop elites that lead them into a measure of collective autonomy and prestige they had not formerly known and also into competition with their

former masters".<sup>85</sup>

The caste system stratified India within rigid boundaries for hundreds of years. Today, the lower castes live and work side by side with the higher castes. They go to the same stores, restaurants, movie theaters and schools and colleges. In stratified India everything had its place.

In the 1990s a new place for themselves is being sought by groups like the Shiv Sena. The doctrine of Hindutva, or hindu-ness, which the Shiv Sena and the Bharatiya Janata Party (The Hindu Party) propound subscribes to the notion that all Hindus are bound by the tie of birth and lineage regardless of caste. Thus, while the breakdown in caste barriers is a true move toward equality for all Indians (as the Constitution of India promises), it has created a shift in power, and this along with the threat of primordial violence poses a threat to the democratic process in India.

D) RELIGIOUS CLEAVAGES AND MIGRATION TO URBAN AREAS--

Religious cleavages have always existed in India. The

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<sup>85</sup>Donald L. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, p.34.

growth of a middle class and a market economy has also created a void in terms of religious delineations.

Jawaharlal Nehru was a major architect of the Constitution. During his tenure as prime minister (1950-64) he tried to give "flesh and blood" to the constitutional principles.<sup>86</sup> In time, some parties began to attack Nehru's legacy of tolerating religious diversity as "pseudo-secularism" and appeasement of Muslims. Their attacks gained credence with attempts by Prime Ministers Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi to build vote banks along sectarian divides. There were a series of legal decisions and policies that cumulatively seemed to demand adherence of the majority community to secularism while conceding to the Muslim minority the right to live by other norms. By insisting that on some matters Muslims should be exempt from the requirements of secularism, Muslim and government leaders progressively eroded the very secularism on which the security of Muslims depended in a hindu majority country. Permitting Muslim men to have four wives, for

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<sup>86</sup>Thakur, Ramesh, (Professor of International Relations and Director of Asian Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand), Ayodhya and the politics of India's secularism, Asian Survey, v33 p648.

instance, is grist to the Hindu chauvinist's propaganda mill that India will eventually be overrun by Muslims.<sup>87</sup>

These demarcations do not simply run along Hindu-Muslim lines. The Shiv Sena is a Maratha group taking pride in their hindu culture and customs yet, the Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray's early rhetoric was directed against various South Indian hindu groups. Thackeray believed that South Indians were claiming jobs in Bombay, India's industrial center, that belonged to the Maharashtrians, the original dwellers of the state of Maharashtra of which Bombay is now the capital. That rhetoric was then extended to other non-Maharashtrian groups. The Shiv Sena has functioned as the interest group for Maharashtrians (especially the poorer ones) and the power of this group is being especially felt in the 1990's.

Thus, today the growth and popularity of primordial groups along with the other factors above create a direct threat to the democratic process in India.

E) THE AVAILABILITY OF WEAPONS-- In the 1990's modern day

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid, p. 652.



weaponry is easily available in the Indian market. Unlike the United States Constitution, the Indian Constitution does not provide for "the right to bear arms". In India it is unusual to see a regular policeman carrying a fire-arm. Yet, because of the new trade policies and the continued functioning of the "black market" firearms and other weapons technology are more available now than ever before. Thus, the level and magnitude of political violence has escalated. Weapons are smuggled in from the middle-eastern countries to help the cause of these groups.

The study addresses each one of these conditions and attempts to show the effect of primordial violence on political society-at-large in India.

Political stability, as has been mentioned before, may be defined in any number of ways, but for this study, it shall be defined as the ability of a government or constitutional order to maintain its authority with a minimum of violence. Purposely excluded from this definition are such concepts as democracy or dictatorship, for governments under any system may be found to be stable or unstable.

Thus, orderly and regular changes of government through a non-violent electoral process, would be considered an indication of stability, while politically-motivated riots or demonstrations, particularly those directed against the regime's authority, would, for example, be considered evidence of instability.<sup>88</sup>

The above conditions show that while primordial violence has always been an existent factor on the political scene, today, the conditions outlined bring the threat of primordial violence to the fore. For example, the growth of the Maratha movement, the Shiv Sena, in the state of Maharashtra has been a cause of concern since the 1960s. In 1992-93, the lack of effective leadership at the center made it possible for large-scale rioting and primordial violence which led to the deaths of hundreds of citizens in the city of Bombay. It was only after ten days of rioting that the center, at the insistence of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, called out the National Guard to control the violence.

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<sup>88</sup>Peter Schneider, "Social Mobilization and Political Stability: A Comparative Analysis," Stillwater, OK, OSU, p. 2.

The major urban areas have become centers of migration for the rural poor in search of wealth and jobs. In the process vast slums or ghettos have been created in all the urban areas. These house many thousands of individuals. Unlike rural India where caste delineations determine the area in which one lives, in the urban ghettos these barriers are broken down. Thus the urban ghettos or slums are festering grounds of discontent which local religious leaders take advantage of. A high-caste Hindu living in an urban slum will band together with a low-caste Hindu to fight another ethnic or religious group.

The growth of a middle-class and a market economy has also created a void in terms of religious delineations. A market economy, industrialization, greater political awareness has created a group of individuals ready and willing to fight for their rights.

The dissertation will focus on the importance of these variables as the structural model on page 27a outlines, and attempt to determine how they have allowed primordial violence to challenge the stability of the democratic process in India.

The five conditions described above have created a shift in the socio-political culture of the sub-continent. These have further created instability within the Indian scenario. This instability coupled with the threat of primordial violence poses a threat to the democratic process.

The dissertation will then study the following dependent variables (which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter and which have been presented in the structural models on page 35a and 35b) thus explaining this instability and the creation of an environment where it is possible for primordial violence to succeed. The variables that will be addressed by this dissertation, in the next chapter, are:

- 1) Increased mobilization of religious groups.
- 2) The coalescing of the middle-class.
- 3) The rise of a new elite. They are the new industrialists -- western educated capitalists who are not politically involved at all.
- 4) The availability of modern day weapons.

The lack of political leadership has led to the

creation of a new elite. Their goals are not political but capitalistic in nature. These new elites head industrial and economic empires. They have little interest in the political arena. Strong leadership has been of vital importance in post-colonial, democratic India. It was the strength of leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and his daughter Indira Gandhi who kept the Indian state from disintegrating in times of strife. In the 1990s this leadership is no longer available at the center creating a situation of instability in the country.

The breakdown in caste system barriers and the vast migration to urban areas has allowed for the increased mobilization of religious and ethnic groups. In most Indian villages the social and political structure is stratified by caste. This is not true for the major urban areas where, economics not the caste system prevail. The basic fabric of Indian society which has been in existence for thousands of years is changing rapidly thus creating instability within Indian society.

Economic Industrialization has led to the coalescing of the middle class. India has always been stratified by caste

not class. Yet, today due to industrialization India has a rapidly growing middle class which is coalescing in an attempt to be heard, and have its demands adhered to. This change has created a situation of instability within India.

The variables used above are not arbitrarily prescribed by this author, but, subscribe to categories provided by Jack Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, and Farrokh Moshiri in Revolutions of the Late Twentieth Century ( Westview Press, 1991). This book reveals a diverse set of internal and international conditions that can lead to a crisis which weakens state authorities' grip on power.<sup>89</sup> In their study they have identified four conditions that shape struggle and its outcomes. They are:

- a) Sources of state crisis
- b) Sources of elite alienation
- c) Sources of mass mobilization
- d) Shape of the struggle

In the case of the Indian situation the sources of state crisis would constitute weak leadership, a change in

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<sup>89</sup>Jack Goldstone, Ted Robert Gurr, and Farrokh Moshiri, Revolutions of the Late Twentieth Century, Boulder: Westview Press, 1991, p.324.

the economy, high inflation rates, a weakening in the control of the Congress party.

In the second category sources of elite alienation would include a weakening in the political leadership, corruption, growth of a middle class yet their exclusion from power, uneven development, and a lack of leadership at the center.

The sources of mass mobilization would be population growth and urbanization exceeding economic opportunity, economic industrialization, breakdown in the caste-system barriers, uneven economic growth, mobilization by hindu nationalist ideologists and other militant groups.

The shape of the struggle would identify the Shiv Sena's organization and its ability to incite its members to violence in order to achieve its goals and this outcome will be described elsewhere in this dissertation. The variables included by this dissertation fit the categories described by Gurr et al in their work.

The importance of this study lies in the fact that the above variables may be used to study the impact of primordial violence, not only in India but elsewhere in the

world. Primordial violence today exists all over the world.

It is existent in the New Russian states, in South Africa, and in the United States too.

These may then be generalized to situations in different parts of the world. For the purpose of this study these variables will be used in reference to the Indian subcontinent.

The focus of the study is the Maratha group, the Shiv Sena. It is the Shiv Sena that will be used as the primary primordial group. Thus the study is very narrow in its scope, for, it simply studies the Shiv Sena in an attempt to explain how the above variables along with primordial violence pose a threat to the democratic process. This may then be generalized to other primordial groups on the subcontinent and elsewhere in the world.

Thus the dissertation will attempt to determine that primordial violence in India, in the 1990's, constitutes a fundamental challenge to the stability of the democratic system. This will be done in a narrow framework by focusing on one primordial group, the Shiv Sena.

The dissertation while providing a historical



background only addresses the post Gandhi family era beginning in 1990. This is important because there is no Nehru or Gandhi in power. The Congress party, the predominant party in India up until 1990 is no longer the premier party either. Major cleavages exist within the party and it is because of this that India has many different political parties all vying for power, thus creating a weak center. This situation did not exist prior to 1990, for, the Congress Party dominated India's political scene. The end of the Gandhi-Congress era has created new political, economic, and social boundaries and a shift from the business as usual policies of Indian politics. This political and economic scenario in India, in general, is changing very rapidly. Along with these changes and the growing popularity of primordial groups like the Shiv Sena, in particular, there is now a situation which directly threatens the sanctity of the democratic process.

The primary focus of this dissertation is the Maratha movement. This may then be generalized to other primordial movements within the subcontinent and elsewhere. Thus, the dissertation is narrow in its scope and attempts to provide

insight into the current situation in India. The next chapter addresses the hypotheses and the dependent variables which, when, coupled with primordial violence pose a threat to the democratic process.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE HYPOTHESES AND VARIABLES

This study attempts to examine the effects of primordial mobilization and violence on the political system in India. In the previous chapters the definition of a primordial group has been discussed, and the theoretical framework addressed in Chapter 2. In this chapter, we will examine the hypotheses of the dissertation and address the dependent variables.

The conditions addressed in Chapter 2 were:

- a) Lack of leadership.
- b) Economic Industrialization and the growth of the middle class.
- c) Breakdown in caste system barriers.
- d) Religious cleavages and migration to urban areas.
- e) Availability of modern day weapons.

These lead to variables that have altered the socio-political constructs of India and allow primordial

violence to challenge the state. These dependent variables create instability and they will be addressed along with the hypotheses in this chapter. These are:

- 1) A new elite.
- 2) Coalescing of the middle class.
- 3) Increased mobilization of religious groups.
- 4) Availability of weapons.

The questions addressed by the hypotheses are two-fold. They are:

a) Can the current wave of violence in the India (in the post Gandhi era) of the 1990s be identified as primordial violence?

b) Does the growth, organization and activities of these primordial groups like the Shiv Sena threaten the democratic process in India, more now (in the 1990's) than ever before in the history of free, independent India?

To put it succinctly, is the democratic process in India more threatened now than ever before in the history of India? And is this threat posed by the growth organizations and activities of primordial groups like the Shiv Sena?

Thus the specific hypotheses tested will be:

a) The current wave of violence in India (in the post-Gandhi era of the 1990's) can be identified as primordial violence.

b) It is primordial violence perpetuated by primordial groups like the Shiv Sena, whose organization, growth, and activities constitute a fundamental threat to the democratic process.

This study does several things:

a) Defines primordial violence and focuses on primordial mobilization in the context of the Indian sub-continent in the 1990's or the post-Gandhi era.

b) Identifies the Maratha group, the Shiv Sena as a primordial group and uses it as a case-study for the purpose of this dissertation. The group leadership, organization goals, membership and incidences of violence are addressed.

c) The study is conducted in the time frame of the 1990s. Several variables and their outcomes determine the conditions in which activities of groups like the Shiv Sena actually threaten the democratic process and allow them to

succeed.

d) Provides prescriptions as to the outcomes.

Why use the 1990s as a time-frame for the purpose of this study? The 1990s are important for several reasons. Firstly, for the first time in many decades there is no one from the Nehru-Gandhi family in power or in the position of Prime Minister. Secondly, the Congress party is no longer the strong, centered party it once was. Thirdly, economic reforms begun by the Rajiv Gandhi in 1987-1989 are creating social and political repercussions. Fourth, weak leadership at the center is creating a situation of political uncertainty and instability.

In the second chapter, the conditions that have created the situation where the variables (discussed in this chapter) perpetuate instability were discussed. When this instability is coupled with primordial violence it poses a threat to the democratic processes of the Indian state. The dependent variables are discussed in detail below:

1) A NEW ELITE- The political exploitation of a Hindu sense

of grievance was thus the proximate cause of the Ayodhya tragedy (in 1992). But the ultimate cause was the creeping malaise afflicting India's constitutional democracy. For this the chief responsibility lies at the door of the Congress Party. An independent and powerful judiciary is one of the chief instruments to the attainment of the liberal goal of freedom from unrestricted state authority. But Indira Gandhi argued that an independent judiciary was the most powerful bulwark of an elite against the democratic demands for equality. During her emergency rule (1975-77), the Supreme Court effectively succumbed to governmental pressure and abdicated its role as the guardian of individual rights against the state also faced growing political interference. Indian commentators have long pointed to the unholy nexus between politicians, criminals and the police. With a steady criminalization of politics it is hardly surprising that there should now be a politicization of crime. Politicians are corrupt and held in general contempt but feared for their ruthlessness in

wielding state power.<sup>90</sup>

Since independence India's leadership at the center has always been strong maintaining a balance between the center of the states. The 1992-93 riots in Ayodhya and Maharashtra proved the weakness of the center to control the politics of the states. The Indian electorate no longer has leaders like Nehru and Indira Gandhi to look up to. The leadership at the center today lacks a vision for the future of India. It is consumed with the business of staying in power, of maintaining coalitions and then realigning themselves when those coalitions no longer work. The Congress party no longer has an overwhelming majority and in order to stay in power it has had to form alliances with the BJP (the Bharatiya Janta Party). The sense of strong visionary leadership in the style of Nehru and Gandhi is corroded and in the vacuum created by this lack of leadership at the center has grown a greater bonding and reliance on local political strongmen and politicians. The

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<sup>90</sup>Ramesh Thakur, *Ayodhya and The Politics of India's secularism* Asian Survey, Vol. 33, No. 7, July, 1993, p. 658.



Shiv Sena has successfully organized itself into "shakhas" or districts and the shakha heads provide leadership and protection to the community.

The Shiv Sena was and remains a product of conflicting associations. Yet its model has managed to not only maintain and create bonds among its members but successfully grow and expand into a national party in different states. The Shiv Sena leadership is effective at all the levels drawing their members into the fold in a personal way. It (the Shiv Sena) associated (under the uniting power of several brands of patriotism and parochialism) leading members of the higher castes, a strong but not overwhelming Maratha support, a large following of the so-called other backward castes, influenced for long by the non-Brahmin movement, and a motley mixture of 'others'.<sup>91</sup>

It encompasses in the same organizational framework office employees anxious about their social

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<sup>91</sup>Heuze', Gerard, Cultural Populism. The Appeal of the Shiv Sena, published in Bombay - Metaphor for Modern India, p. 214.

status, people afraid of violence in the metropolis, street roamers and petty gangsters. It promotes agitation in the name of order and speaks about 'total revolution', as well as military rule.<sup>92</sup>

It engages in politics but pretends to hate and despise politicians. A perpetual suspicion has existed in the party against its own politicians (MPs, MLAs, and Corporators - elected members of the national parliament, members of the state legislature, and members of the Bombay City Corporation). This party is not reducible to the simplistic scheme of a leader fascinating atomized masses that it itself promotes through its propaganda. There exists also a case of committed ideologies, inspired from the very beginning by the 'national-Hindu' ideology of V. D. Savarkar, a well-established coterie of the common type of power - greedy politician, along with representatives of more or less organized social groups who try to promote their interest through parochialism. The more or less organized groups and the atomized masses are inclined to

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<sup>92</sup>Ibid, p.214

compensate their feeling of powerlessness through violence.

The politicians and the ideologues use this violence for their ends. This could be a simplistic, but not false, presentation of the Shiv Sena.<sup>93</sup> The evolution (of the Shiv Sena) is seen in several important changes in political line, the relative shifting from parochial and local issues to Hindutva and all India nationalism, and the new importance given to the middle bourgeoisie and its desiderata (cleanliness in the city, security, etc.). As is widely known a part of the contradictions that agitate the organization have been overcome, though always provisionally, through violence.<sup>94</sup>

Yet, the importance of this organization lies in its ability and endurance (27 years). The Shiv Sena is deeply involved in the social and everyday life of its members.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>ibid,p.215

<sup>94</sup>ibid,p.215

<sup>95</sup>See, N. Kumar, Urban Culture in Modern India. World of Power classes' in The City in Indian History, Urban Demography, Society and Politics, Delhi, Manohar Press, 1991.

The Shiv Sena Shakha addresses the problems of the neighborhood, local disputes, someone's excessive drinking, etc. Through the Shakhas they have been clever in letting loose a social process which gives people a sense of belonging, social space, makes them feel worthy of trust, useful to society, capable of self-assertion.<sup>96</sup>

A Shakha is like an extended family and the Shakha pramukh (leader) like a paternal head. The ideology of service in the Sena is not lip service. People who are part of the Sena have an emotional relationship with it because the Sena is able to build a relationship between family, religion and daily experience<sup>97</sup>. It uses symbolism to reinforce these primordial ties over and over again and very effectively maintains the loyalty of its members. There is no need to compel people, and especially, the youth to come to the Shiv Sena. It is very deeply rooted in young people

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<sup>96</sup>Sameera Khan, "Globalization is wiping out the Shakha culture", in The Times of India, Bombay edition, March 3, 1996, p. 1.

<sup>97</sup>ibid,p.2

of Maharashtrian origin.<sup>98</sup> According to Heuze, [Heuze has spent the years from 1990-1995 studying the Shiv Sena. He is associated with the Center for study of India and South Asia in Paris. He has spent time at 48 Shiv Sena Shakhas trying to understand the people that the party attracts and the role it plays in the community. Heuze's interest is in the cultural aspect of the Sena's appeal. "Here, probably lies the secret of the Sena's political resilience over the past three decades", he says, "Here also was the reasons why other political parties, unions and the communists have failed to gather effective momentum."] the Shiv Sena organizes and integrates its members in three different ways.

The first, is that of the Shakha. The Shakha functions as the family or as the new family. This metaphor works especially well for the 4.8 million people who live in the slums of Bombay working in the city's industrial sector.

Their sense of displacement and loss is replaced by the

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<sup>98</sup>Gerard Heuze, Cultural Populism: The Appeal of the Shiv Sena, p.218.

sense of an extended family in the Shakha providing security and a sense of familiarity and common cultural roots.

The second source is that of the informal network of youth at the local level. The fact that education does not bring great changes in the life of the youth is typical of the situation of the popular classes. The frustration associated with this phenomenon gives the Shiv Sena precisely the impetus it needs for growth. Its popularity and strength would not be understandable without taking in account its ability to integrate very young people without disturbing their affinity group. It does this by intervening directly on the pavements where the youth wander, using rather efficiently the student union as a resource.

The third source of integration is through a network of clubs known as "mandals" or 'friends clubs'. This is a very important area for cultural interaction and the integration of new comers. Here members are exposed to Maharashtrian cultural themes, songs, plays, movies and rituals.

The main channels of transmission of cultural theories and symbols are nevertheless chatting, and group interaction, especially intense during particular festivals.

Culture in this context, assumes a peculiar evolution. It is uniformized, notably by way of competition between clubs during festivals. It becomes more and more simplistic. This simplified culture that does not exclude the presence of simple, but strict rituals, becomes also more and more an element of collective assertion. All events (like the riots of 1984) are interpreted through the local-minded, youth-oriented, and male framework of the mandal.<sup>99</sup>

It is in the mandals that the Shiv Sena develops its roots, spreads them, gains popularity and tunes into the needs of the people. During the 1980's the mandals had declined in political activity and become more focused on sports activities but the large scale riots in 1993 changed the focus of the mandals. A state of 'crisis' (the commonly used metaphor of the enemy used successfully once again) mobilized the mandals and brought about unity in the

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<sup>99</sup>Heuze, Gerard, p. 220.

organization.

The Shiv Sena, today, is more popular than ever before and where once was considered to be an urban organization has now spread its roots to different parts of Maharashtra.

The Shakha leaders provide a sense of direction and security to their district. Disputes are settled, members are protected, marriages are arranged and performed within the Shakha and thus the primordial identify of the individual is maintained and nurtured.

The Shiv Sena has borrowed many features from the global evolution of Indian politics and especially from the Congress party with which it maintains at different levels a specific love-hate relation. It has nevertheless been able to add a very special touch to the city scene, and, regarding some issues, it has developed an alternative model. This model is an essential part of the Shiv Sena relationship with the people. It is based upon a particular type of polarization which helps explain why the organization is so often keen to indulge in confrontation.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Gerard Heuze, p.224.



The first trend in this model is a move toward masculinity. Symbols like the heroic Shivaji are used to advance this. The strong masculine male ready to fight the enemy is the image that is constantly projected as ideal. Political mediators and conciliatory politicians are not part of this image while young men ready to fight the enemy are.

Secondly, the promotion of youth is an important part of the Shiv Sena. The leader of the Shiv Sena Bal Thackeray is currently sixty-six years old. Yet the party continues to portray him in the image of the angry young man. The involvement of the party with the mandals and sports activities as well as their ability to mobilize the student populace is an example of this.

The self-assertion of these youth through violence has now become part of the culture of the Shiv Sena. This is the culture of the 'power of the street' and the social assertion of the elder brother (dada).

There is a very specific ideology in the Shiv Sena about hooligans and violence. Many of the committed cadres

consider that there exists a useful strength in the criminalized youth. This part of 'their people' must not be marginalized. The dada has to be nasty and dangerous for a while. His violence may be used for fighting the enemies of 'the people' and the opponents of the organization. It is also asserted that among Shiv Sainiks, in an atmosphere of brotherhood, service and danger, the petty criminal will learn how to behave and become useful to the community. According to this pervasive ideology which has practical consequences the Shiv Sena is the place where the bad can become good.<sup>101</sup> Thus, dadaism goes hand in hand with the Shakha leadership. Protectionism and extortion co-exist together. Shiv Sainiks are people in perpetual revolt and the violence perpetuated by the dadas is rationalized as the fight against the enemy for the good of their people.

Yet the Shiv Sena is not totally associated with violence and riots on the streets. At this level the Shiv Sena has a striking resemblance with the salvation army. Here the Shakha leaders are pre-occupied with charity,

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<sup>101</sup>Gerard Heuze, p. 226.

service and helping the community. The Shiv Sena Shakhas are extremely active and this action is translated into several areas other than simply the perpetuation of violence. The Shiv Sena has in essence found an answer to the complexity of conflicting identifications prevalent in Indian society today. The Shakhas and Shakha leaders provide a simplistic answer to these problems. Maratha culture, values, songs, dress, food, the community providing security and a sense of purpose to their small communities. Through the dada culture the community is protected against 'evil' - whether that be corrupt politicians, policemen, or south-Indians. The simplistic use of symbolism and ritual enhance the Shiv Sena message and thus create the feeling of intense loyalty among members.

Joining the Shiv Sena remains an important and emotional act, very different from other political commitments. With "the people" the Shiv Sena builds another and much more powerful entity, our "people". A very strong feeling of loyalty is related to the total availability of the activist. "You go to the Sena because you want to do

something"; "this situation was unbearable, you had to act"; "I wanted to fight for justice"; "We had to defend the people"; are some of the ways Shiv Sainiks present themselves.<sup>102</sup>

It is the Shakha leaders who provide the leadership to carry out this mobilization. During a crisis the Shakha Pramukh (Bal Thackeray) directs the Shakha leaders and these in turn mobilize the masses into action. Thus the Shakha leaders provide a sense of leadership, security, community and perpetuity to the masses which the leadership in New Delhi no longer provides.

Bal Thackeray's power has been increasing. By 1988, he boasted of having ShakhAs in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, as well as in 10,000 of Maharashtra's 35,000 villages. "The country belongs to me and I belong to the country", he thundered and Maharashtrians applauded.<sup>103</sup> Thus the Shakha culture has

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<sup>102</sup>Ibid., p.217

<sup>103</sup>Godfrey Pereira, Tiger Tale in Sunday, March 6, 1990, p.15.

created a sense of community, security, and family, where none existed before.

2) COALESCING OF THE MIDDLE CLASS - Political disorder is more threatening now than in the past because political breakdown jeopardizes the predictability on which organized society rests. The rules that govern life, property, and the everyday behavior of common citizens increasingly are not dictated by custom thus requiring the presence of an effective state and legal machinery. The state is also deeply involved in the management of economic life down to the grass roots. The degree to which socio-economic life once was insulated from national power struggles has been eroded, probably forever.<sup>104</sup>

Within India's political discourse the term "middle class" has come to refer to some 60-80 million city dwellers who work mainly in the professional and the civil

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<sup>104</sup>Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent: India's growing crises of governability, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 12.

service or are self-employed.<sup>105</sup>

The most striking feature of this class now is its enormous diversity of occupations, age groups and residential locations. What its members have in common, however, is a sense of uncertainty about the future.<sup>106</sup>

The support that the Indian middle classes provided for Rajiv and his economic program was overwhelming. The middle class identified with him and looked upon him as their leader. Rajiv was western educated, an ex-Indian Airlines pilot, spoke English impeccably, was reform oriented and geared toward change. He believed in modern technology and computers and wanted to take India into the twenty-first century as a country capable of competing in the world technologically and industrially. The policies he initiated reflected this, hence, his initial popularity. Later on in the 1980s that image was usurped by one of political corruption and

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid, p.329

<sup>106</sup>Jayant Lele. Saffronization of the Shiv Sena: The Political Economy of the City, State and Nation, p. 193.

politics-as-usual at the center.

Nevertheless, one gets a clear impression from the news media that the new middle classes identified strongly with the image that Rajiv Gandhi initially projected. It would be difficult not to agree with the conclusion of a survey published in an Indian news magazine: "Over the last five years [1981-86], the Indian middle class has come into its own. It is now more assertive and confident, particularly after Rajiv Gandhi -- who it sees as one of its own -- became Prime Minister."<sup>107</sup>

In the 1990s the power of the middle class as an effective interest group has grown considerably. The new economic policies instituted by Rajiv Gandhi and later V.P. Singh provided many benefits to the middle class. Taxes were cut and foreign investment welcomed and encouraged. The market was suddenly flooded by consumer goods after years of shortages.

From the point of view of the political inclinations of the middle-income groups, the new strategy

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<sup>107</sup>Imprint, March 1986,p.14-28

meant not only higher incomes over the short run, but also, for the first time in post colonial India, an economy that was not beset by shortages of consumer goods. Growing incomes and increasing availability of products, in turn, fostered a benign view of the government, at least over the short run. That such tangible rewards were more important than any feeling of shared values with the leadership was demonstrated when those same middle income groups threw their weight against the government's plans to raise petroleum prices in 1987.<sup>108</sup>

The economic policy of the new regime was largely driven by pent-up demand for consumer durable and luxury goods from this class. This new middle class was now perceived by the regime as the engine of growth, as a category of efficient and avid consumers, savers and producers.<sup>109</sup>

This had a gradual but decisive impact in eroding the strength of the patriarchal - patrimonial ideology which

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<sup>108</sup>Atul Kohli, p. 330.

<sup>109</sup>Jayant Lele, p. 200.



had operated in a 'religiously secular' environment of unchallenged hegemony. With the decline of their hegemony, elites found it necessary to seek more militant and overtly coercive ideological forms of assertion and implementation of their dominance. This became the basis of the renewed alliance between the rich and middle farmers and the urbana petty bourgeoisie. The pan-national ideological cement for this alliance was provided by the rising tide of Hindutva and Hindu nationalism.<sup>110</sup>

The Shiv Sena has used this symbolism to harness the uncertainties of the middle class. The Sena enlisted their support through the use of symbols and the "newly identified enemy" - the non-hindu or un-hindu person. In the Maharashtra region the Sena controls most of the Trade Unions in the Industrial sector and thus wields a great influence on Indian industry. The state of Maharashtra is well known for its major textile industry and the Shiv Sena

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<sup>110</sup>Jayant Lele, 'Hindutva as a Pedagogic Violence' in N. Crook, ed., Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia: Perspectives of the Social Agenda, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993.

led the textile unions.

Thus, while the middle class continues to expand and wield power, the Shiv Sena has successfully drawn the middle class into its fold by playing on the insecurities of a percentage of the group through its continued symbolism of "the enemy" and "Hindutva".

### 3) INCREASED MOBILIZATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

India's culture is so complex and diverse that the founding fathers of the country believed that the constitution should specifically stipulate that religion should play no part in the political institutions of the new democratic Indian state. The form of nationalism propounded by the founding fathers tried to ensure that religious identities would play little or no role in political life.

Influenced by both liberal and Marxist thought the group of Indian nationalists led by Jawaharlal Nehru after World War I developed an alternate model of Indian nationalism. India, according to this group, needed a nationalist ideology based on national ideas and norms of

behavior which could rise above religious beliefs and practices. "At the same time such an ideology should embody a scientific temper so that it could enable a person to override the narrow caste, communal, and regional loyalties which are so deeply embedded in the psyche of the average Indian".<sup>111</sup>

He (Nehru) was convinced that if and when traditional societies like that of India based their course of development on science and technology, secularism would become the norm of politics. Support for this view is found in the writings of Lucian Pye, James Coleman, Sidney Verba, Joseph LaPalombara, Samuel P. Huntington, et al.

Nehru and his associates did not totally reject Hindu cultural ethos recognizing the synthetic nature of Indian culture to which many other cultures, especially Muslims, had made major contributions. However, according to Hindu nationalists, their goal was "to remake India in

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<sup>111</sup>Yogendra K Malik and V. B. Singh, Hindu Nationalist in India: The Rise of the Bharatiya Janta Party, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1994, p.5.

the Western Image."<sup>112</sup> Thus Nehru and the founding fathers believed that eventually cultural, racial, and religious differences would be unimportant in a homogenized democratic India.

It was the Nehruvian school of Indian nationalism that became the dominant ideology in post-independence India and led to the introduction of liberal democratic institutions along with the principles of federalism. Such a polity, this school of thought believed, would provide suitable outlets for the utilization of creative energies as well for the satisfaction of the political ambitions of the regional and local elites. The Nehruvians were further convinced that if citizens could participate in the political process they would rise above religious and ethnic identities. Thus national unity would be consolidated and the pan-Indian national identity created by the nationalist movement would be strengthened. Furthermore, they believed that this was the most practical approach to the delicate

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<sup>112</sup>Girilal Jain, "A turning Point in History", Manthan Vol. 13, No 1-2 (May - June 1991) p. 20.

task of nation building in a culturally and socially plural society.<sup>113</sup>

In actuality, however, the opposite took place. It became harder and more difficult to bring together a cohesive nation based on universal suffrage. In fact, as people became more and more aware of the democratic process each community, group, race wanted a piece of the political pie. Politician and party leaders openly appealed to religious or primordial loyalties in their quest for power.

Consolidation of religious and caste-based identities thus became inevitable leading to the formation of vote banks. It is common knowledge that the centrist political parties, whether the Congress or the Janta Dal, before giving the party tickets to their candidates consider their religious and caste affiliation.<sup>114</sup>

Over the years the Nehruvian policy of secularism has been discounted and challenged over and over again. It

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<sup>113</sup>Yogendra K Malik and V. B. Singh, Hindu Nationalists in India: The Rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party, New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1994, p. 7.

<sup>114</sup>ibid - p. 6.

is now believed that Nehru had nothing but contempt for Hindu religious traditions and that this was the main reason he rejected the ideology of Hindu nationalism since it emphasized the primacy of Hindu religious traditions, culture, and civilization in the development of Indian national identity.<sup>115</sup>

Besides abolishing the practice of untouchability, the government of India passed a comprehensive law, the Hindu Code Bill, governing the Hindu family system, marriage, divorce, and inheritance practices, despite the opposition of many prominent hindu leaders and groups.<sup>116</sup>

While the Hindu community had legislation written specifically for it in the Indian constitution the Muslim personal law was left untouched. Muslims were allowed to live by a separate code from the uniform civil code. This, has spurred the growth of the Hindu nationalist movement or Hindutva, as we know it today.

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<sup>115</sup>Chandan Mitra, "Fountainhead of Indian nationalism", Manthan Vol. 13, 1-2, May - June 1991, p. 33.

<sup>116</sup>ibid - p. 7.

The origin of Hindu nationalism is rooted in Hindu cultural revival and social reform movements of the nineteenth century.<sup>117</sup> At the heart of Hindutva lies the myth of a continuous thousand-year old struggle of Hindus against Muslims as the structuring principle of Indian history. Both communities are assumed to have been homogenous blocs -- of Hindu patriots heroically resisting invariably tyrannical, 'foreign' Muslim rule. Every element in this myth has been demolished by historians. If the early Muslim Kings had been invaders so presumably were the Aryans.<sup>118</sup>

But, the myths persist, more so in the 1990s than ever before. It is interesting to note that prior to India's unification it was a series of principalities and kingdoms run by hereditary monarchies, and, while clashes occurred between the principalities and kingdoms they were not frequent. In the twentieth century with the news media

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<sup>117</sup>ibid p.3.

<sup>118</sup>Tapan Basu. Pradip Dutta, et al, Khaki Shorts, Saffron Flags, Bombay: Orient Longman, p. 3.

infiltrating every household, news of these clashes occurs almost immediately. It is not accidental, therefore, that broader identities of many types started getting consolidated roughly around the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. What came to be termed a communal identity (Hindu, Muslim or Sikh) was formed alongside of, and often interpreted with regional, caste, class and national loyalties.<sup>119</sup>

In order that society should exist... it is necessary that the minds of all the citizens should be rallied or held together by certain pre-dominant ideas<sup>120</sup>. The ideology of Hindutva certainly prescribes to De Tocquevilles philosophy.

Such an ideology laced with symbols and myths of Hindu religion was further popularized by Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak and his associates in the Congress movement and by the writings of a host of authors in regional

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<sup>119</sup>ibid p.3.

<sup>120</sup>ibid - Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1945, Vol. 2, p. 72.



languages of India especially in Maharashtra, Bengal, Gujarat, and Hindi writings of North India. Such an ideology not only gave a glorious vision of the past but also visualized a future where the religious and cultural traditions of the ancient times would serve as guide - posts for the upcoming generations.<sup>121</sup>

Hindutva or Indianness is the "sum total of the ever evolving qualities and attributes, moral and ethical values, and the attitude of mind which all make the inhabitants of this country a distinctive entity by themselves".<sup>122</sup>

In theory, the term Hindutva may not mean identification with the values of the followers of a particular religion. In its practical application, however, it would be hard to deny that dominant attributes of Hindutva are found in the people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the country. They also have the

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<sup>121</sup>Yogendra Malik, and V. B. Singh, Hindu Nationalists in India, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup>A. K. Ray - "Hinduism: A Geo - Cultural Concept", Manthan Vol. 13, #1-2, May - June 1991, p. 27.

largest and unbroken history of cultural evolution as an essentially indigenous native. In this way Hindutva acts as an exclusionary force in Indian society rather than universalistic and open to the values of other cultures.<sup>123</sup>

In the 1990s this movement of Hindutva has gained new momentum with the rise of the Bharatiya Janta Party. The BJP is a revivalist Party whose leaders are not sure of the direction they should take. They are strong in opposition, indifferently successful in office. They use violence to support their cause while claiming to prefer constitutional methods.<sup>124</sup> They are the party that has used Hindutva as a conscious policy to further divide India and create insecurity among the minority Muslims, Christians, and Parsis, as the foreigners who do not subscribe to Hinduness.

In 1991 the party leader L. K. Advani took a yatra or long journey to increase support for Hindutva and his

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<sup>123</sup>Yogendra Malik, and V.B. Singh Hindu Nationalists in India, p.15.

<sup>124</sup>Dennis Austin - Democracy and Violence in India and Sri Lanka, London: Pinter Publishers, 1994, p. 18.

party. The journey was undertaken as a slow procession from North to South playing out the mythological tale of the God Ram.

Here religion and politics marched together. The lotus symbol and saffron banners were displayed everywhere along the route, a testimony not only to the fervor but to the efficiency of the BJP's supporters. Vande Mataram - Worship the Motherland - became the song of the march, together with shouts of 'Jai Shiv Ram' - Long Live Lord Ram.<sup>125</sup> It was at this point that the ideology of Hindutva gained national momentum in an activist manner.

In 1992, the work of extremist political Hindus created the Babri Masjid incident in Ayodhya that created a further divide among the various differing religious groups.

While Congress hesitated in New Delhi, and despite the BJP's promise in the Uttar Pradesh Capital, Lucknow, that it would protect the Ayodhya mosque (by now in dispute and padlocked shut), the militants set to work. Down came the Babri Masjid (a Muslim mosque said to be erected on the

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid., p.22.

birth place of Ram in Ayodhya) in December 1992, its heavy domes smashed by crow-bars and pick-axes, its walls beaten flat by several thousand fanatical supporters of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Rashtriya syamsevak sangh.<sup>126</sup>

Once the activities at the mosque were broadcast on television violence erupted all over India. Citizens from different communities and all walks of life attacked each other, some fleeing from their homes.

The greatest damage was in Bombay (thousands of miles away from Ayodhya) where the Shiv Sena immediately mobilized against the new enemy -- the Muslim and the non-hindu. Not only were Muslims murdered and killed but property was looted and burnt and acid bombs were used along with fire-arms and guns.

The Prime-Minister and New Delhi were slow to react to the violence but President's Rule was imposed in several states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, and Maharashtra. Narasimha Rao (then Prime-Minister) declared that the Ayodhya mosque would

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<sup>126</sup>ibid - p.23.

be rebuilt but that is far from certain. India's democracy was tested and at this point it has managed to retain a tenuous hold on the system though the religious divides grow.

Under the guise of Hindutva religious hindu groups all over the country have mobilized and coalesced to be prepared to fight the enemy again. That ambitious politicians feed these feelings in nothing new. During the 1980's, all political parties kept the issue of the distinctiveness of the Muslim presence in India at the center of their political discourse. The Shah Bano case, Muslim Personal Law and the Babri Mosque at Ayodhya became household words and middle-class support for the propagators of Hindutva across India continued to grow. The Shiv Sena diligently used these events to enter the rural scene.<sup>127</sup>

Since, the 1970s the labor market in the Middle East has provided opportunities for work to some Indian Muslims. Bombay's commercial and financial links to the

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<sup>127</sup>Jayant Lele, Saffronization of the Shiv Sena: The Political Economy of City, State and Nation, p. 205.

region have steadily expanded. Names of men who control Bombay's real estate or handle drug traffic, labor migration and arms shipments to and from the city and who have found a haven, safe from Indian law, in places like Dubai, have surfaced from time to time.<sup>128</sup>

The Shiv Sena has effectively used the images of individual Muslim dons of crime syndicates to convict the entire Muslim community as one of traitors, profiteers, criminals, ruthless and aggressive propagators of their faith and wanton producers of too many children.<sup>129</sup>

This rhetoric has further created a situation where the Hindu masses are ready and mobilized against the enemy to protect their homeland and their 'Hinduness'. The divide between Hindus and Muslims is greater today than ever before and it is growing. Though, for the first time Indian Jews, Christians and Parsis are beginning to feel the threatening influence of Hindutva as well.

The Hindutva of today constitutes a major

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<sup>128</sup>ibid p. 204.

<sup>129</sup>ibid, p. 204.

departure from previous phases of hindu communalism mobilization in one crucial respect. Unlike earlier periods of acute communal tension (in the 1890s, the 1920s, the 40s, or 60s) it is inseparably identified with a concrete organizational concept. Earlier communalization did depend on organization inspiration as well, but the VHP (Vishwa Hindu Parishad - an extremist wing of the Bharatiya Janata Party), and the larger institutional structure that it is tied to, has made itself co-extensive with the phenomenon of mass communalism.<sup>130</sup>

This is done by tapping into the primordial sentiment that ties into the hindu culture. Examples of this are the common mythology, the superiority of hindu gods, the color and pomp of hindu festivals, the dances, and the common heroes. Historic plurality has thus been substituted by the political myth of an unvarying fight against a common enemy.

Television and the media has done a lot to

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<sup>130</sup>Tapan Basu, Pradip Datta, Sumit Sarkar, Tanika Sarkar, Sambuddha Sen, Khaki Shorts, Saffron flags, Bombay: Orient Longman, 1993, p. 56.

propagate the ideology of Hindutva. The long running TV series 'The Ramayana', did much to resurrect the mythic God Ram. Ram was characterized as the ideal persona, the hero that all Hindus should aspire to be.

The idiom of commercialized mass entertainment has also enabled the organizers of Hindutva to popularize traditional religious institutions also. In a visit to the Jhandewalla Mandir in New Delhi, one may encounter the amazing spectacle of a bhajan (devotional singing) session which featured a band that had a saxophone, an electronic keyboard and drums topped by a look alike Amitabh Bacchan (the famous movie star) crooner. The mood in the congregation was a far cry from the serious rapture of bhajans (devotional singing) of yesteryears: there was loud laughter, as the singer in an act that recalled stock Hindi film scenes, held out the micro-phone to a little boy in the audience while encouraging him to sing with the background music.<sup>131</sup>

The Shiv Sena has used the ideology of Hindutva to

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<sup>131</sup>ibid, p. 98.



consolidate its position and expand itself to a national party. With the combined strategy (a) of riots to identify and punish Muslims, and in specific situations neo-Buddhist dalits, as the main perpetrators of the contemporary malaise affecting all sectors of the working population, and (b) of electoral enticements to divide that population through inter-caste, inter-religious competition, the Sena made substantial gains in rural Maharashtra in the 1990 elections. <sup>132</sup>

The Shiv Sena and the Bharatiya Janata Party formed an alliance in 1990. The BJP gained a foothold in the electorate of Western India while the Shiv Sena is fast becoming a nationally known and recognized party.

Nationally a significant shift has occurred in the posturing of the BJP leaders. The very act of the demolition of the mosque in Ayodhya and its blatant defense as an act of spontaneous valor places the BJP in the same camp as the Shiv Sena. Their continuing popularity and the inability of the government to confront the arrogant

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<sup>132</sup>Jayant Lele, p.207

defiance of law by both parties indicate a deeper change in the cultural fabric of the petty bourgeois constituency.<sup>133</sup>

#### 4) AVAILABILITY OF WEAPONS

Like the drug trade the arms trade is a prime example of predatory capitalism. It whets consumer appetites as it tries to satisfy them. It feeds on political instability, people's fears, and ambitious leaders. As the global armament industry expands, develops, and exploits new as well as old markets (private and public), Bombay has become its favorite playground. Many of the interests it serves are already dominating Bombay's political scene. These interests are being fed through multi-layered links that extend from criminal gangs to movie tycoons, from slum lords and real estate dons, to respectable corporate and public sector executives. A range of 'service sector industries' are now thriving on the ideology of liberalization. From banking and stock market

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<sup>133</sup>ibid, p. 208.

manipulation, to gun running and drug trafficking, there are claims of profit sharing. While hard evidence is impossible to come by there are clear enough indications that the Shiv Sena is involved in fostering and being fostered by this form of capitalism.<sup>134</sup>

It is perhaps interesting to note here that the average Indian policeman does not carry a fire-arm. In the English tradition he carries a stick or lathi. It is no wonder then that the police force finds it impossible to deal with mass violence and often the Indian army is brought in to stop the rioters. The majority of the police force is pro-Hindutva and thus generally slow to respond to a call of action against riots and rioters. Perhaps the Shiv Sena's greatest asset is its ability to mobilize as soon as the call is sent out by Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray.

For active participants whose daily life is full of uncertainty, drudgery, and subservience, riots give a sense of power, of taking control of the forbidden zones and territories in which the rich and the glamorous reside.

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<sup>134</sup>Jayant Lele, p. 203.

They also bring material benefits from looting and prospects for on-going extortion through threats of retaliatory action in the future.<sup>135</sup>

The Shiv Sena once again proved its power and control in the January 1993 riots. This time the mobilization of its troops had some distinctive features. It was far more systematic than ever before in its organization, in the targeting of its enemy, and in the total dehumanization and brutality of its methods.<sup>136</sup>

For the first time in Bombay's history, people were fleeing en masse from the city. Over 200,000 citizens are reported to have abandoned their possessions and their livelihoods to escape attacks by the Sainiks. That these included both Muslim and non-Muslim Maharashtrians raised some questions about the authenticity and efficacy of the Shiv Sena's espousal of the hindu cause and about the concept of Hindutva as well.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>135</sup>Lele, p. 205.

<sup>136</sup>ibid, p. 185.

<sup>137</sup>ibid, p. 185.

There was evidence that fire-arms and small bombs were used to kill the enemy and destroy property and possessions. The enemy consisted of mainly Muslims who were sought out, beaten, and sometimes killed. Homes, cars, and offices were first pillaged and then bombed and burnt, and, for a while anarchy prevailed.

The Shiv Sena claimed responsibility for the riots and yet neither the leader Bal Thackeray or other Shiv Sena higher ups were arrested or indicted in the days that followed the tragedy. It is also interesting to note that the level of political violence had escalated to the use of small bombs and murder, not simply rioting and looting as had been evidenced in previous politically violent situations.

These four related variables, the new political elite, coalescing of the middle class, the increased mobilization of religious groups for electoral reasons, and the increased availability of weapons which have given rise to social unrest, direct attention to the interaction between the center, state, social, and cultural forces that

help explain the increased threat to India's democratic process.

These variables described above, and in the previous chapter, are treated here as independent and dependent variables only in so far as one is not fully reducible to another, yet each one independently adds to the growing instability of the Indian democratic state. Moreover, they "feed into" each other in cause -and-effect relationships. In order to avoid circular reasoning, therefore, one must carefully analyze how, over time, they influence one another and how, when coupled with the primordial violence instituted by groups like the Shiv Sena, they affect the outcome: the threat to India's democratic process.<sup>138</sup>

Having put forth the structural model, the variables, and the hypotheses, in the next chapter the focus of the dissertation will shift to the Shiv Sena. The group's history organization and primordial mobilization will be addressed in the next chapter. A time-ordered matrix that

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<sup>138</sup> see Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent: India's growing crisis of Governability, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 19.

outlines incidences of violence perpetrated by the primordial group is provided in Appendix A.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PRIMORDIAL MOBILIZATION OF THE SHIV SENA: THE HISTORY,

#### GROWTH, AND ORGANIZATION OF SHIV SAINIKS

The Shiv Sena has changed a great deal since its inception in 1966. The initial symbolism portrayed by Bal Thackeray, its leader, projected the first symbol of the enemy as those usurping jobs that rightfully belonged to the Maharashtrian. In this instance the projected enemy was the South Indian. That projection changed and over time the enemy became the Muslim, the Communist, the immigrant, the non-Maharashtrian, and now the un-Hindu. In spite of the changing symbolism the Shiv Senas cohesion lies in the core of its primordial mobilization. That is what this chapter addresses. Appendix A provides a time-ordered matrix outlining the violence perpetrated by the group in the 1990s.

Bombay is one of India's most cosmopolitan cities. Bombay is situated in the state of Maharashtra and yet



Bombay is not a Maharashtrian city<sup>139</sup>. The heterogeneous ethnic identity of Bombay has been at the core of the Shiv Sena's genesis.

Bombay's ethnic character has changed greatly in the last century. Although the Shiv Sena appeared to arise overnight in 1966, the party is an outright growth of a long standing historical process: the gradual strengthening of the Maharashtrian (the native dwellers of the state of Maharashtra, hence the name Maratha) position in Bombay.

Until independence in 1947 Maharashtrians in Bombay had been relegated to subordinate economic and political roles.

Since then the division of the old Bombay State into the separate states of Maharashtra and Gujarat in 1960 boosted the status of Maharashtrians, and although, Maharashtrians did not succeed to positions of economic dominance, they did gain instant control of the state government. This new political status released expectations about the prospective position of the Maharashtrian community in Bombay to which the Shiv Sena's emergence can be traced.<sup>140</sup>

The relative lackluster role of Maharashtrians in the

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<sup>139</sup>Bombay has always consisted of a mix of cultures. The original Parsi industrialists, the Gujerati shopkeepers, the Irani restauranteurs, the Sindhi businessmen, the South Indian blue collar workers, etc.

<sup>140</sup>Katzenstein, M.F., Ethnicity and Equality: The Shiv Sena party and Preferential Policies in Bombay, p.40.

city of Bombay contrasts with the drama of Maharashtrian past. A rich literary tradition and the conquests of the Mahratta empire distinguish Maharashtrian history. The feats of the seventeenth century hero, Shivaji Maharaj, won recognition throughout India. Shivaji's acts of heroism are well known in India. It was he and his army who first fought the Muslim invaders and then the British. It was because of Shivaji that the Muslims, the Moghul rulers of North India, could not conquer the southern part of India. Shivaji, later fought a loosing battle with the British. To the British army Shivaji and his forces were known as "the Mountain Rats". Groups of Maratha warriors, practicing guerrilla warfare, would attack the British troops ceaselessly. Ultimately the British subdued the Western part of India and along with that came Bombay and Maharashtra.

Bombay became a major port and commercial and industrial center. It also played a major political role in the overthrow of the British empire. A large group of intellectual elites like Morarji Desai, Naoroji Tata, Mahatma Gandhi as well as Mohammed Ali Jinnah( the founder of Pakistan) had roots in Bombay. It is thus no accident that the Shiv Sena or "the army of Shivaji", with it's orange flag, which, is exactly a copy of the flag used by Shivaji, has now sought to secure Maharashtra for the

Maharashtrians.

In the mid-1950s a decision was made by the then fledgling government of independent India to include the city of Bombay into the new state of Maharashtra. Supporters of this believed that Bombay's wealth had been built on the back of Maharashtrian labor, and that Maharashtrians, if not a majority were the largest linguistic community in the city.

By the early 1960s, the political status of Maharashtrians in the city had significantly improved. Compared to the Maharashtrian representation of twelve percent in the municipal council of 1875, forty-three percent of the 1961 municipal council was Maharashtrian.<sup>141</sup>

In British India suffrage was limited to tax payers. Wealth was the determining factor in political strength. Thus, while Maharashtrians numbered more than the other communities in the state of Maharashtra, they played a subordinate role in municipal politics.

The creation of universal suffrage (1947) in independent India and also that of the independent state of Maharashtra clearly helped to raise the number of Maharashtrians in political office. The enhancement of

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<sup>141</sup>The Times of India, April 25, 1965.

Maharashtrian political status paved the way for the inevitable questioning of the communities continued economic difficulties.

The Shiv Sena's emergence owes much to its effective use of the media, especially newspapers. The party's birth can be traced directly to the popularity of the Marathi paper, Marmik, which was edited by Shiv Sena founder and leader Bal Thackeray. Marmik played a crucial part in drawing the attention of Maharashtrians to their own plight.

In Marmik, Thackeray did a series of surveys of Bombay's major industrial houses. He reported that out of 1500 executives only 75 were Maharashtrians.<sup>142</sup>

The first set of lists was accompanied by a caption which stated, "Read and be quiet". Subsequently the lists appeared with the exhortation, "Read this and think".<sup>143</sup> With the publication of these lists Marmik's popularity skyrocketed. There were other reasons for the success of Marmik as well. It was a Marathi newspaper not an English one. This allowed for a more extensive readership. By 1961

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<sup>142</sup>Kapilacharya, Shiv Sena speaks, Bombay, V.D. Limaye Printing Works, 1967, p.13.

<sup>143</sup>Rao, Dr. Vasant D., "Shiv Sena-A case study in regionalism", Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Calcutta, Vol. 13.1, 1973-74, p.135.

Bombay's literacy level had risen to 58.6 percent<sup>144</sup> thus further opening up avenues for the media to gain public attention and support.

The articles ranged from simple to sophisticated in order to reach out to different demographic groups within the community. In June of 1966 the Shiv Sena was founded at a rally at Bombay's Shivaji Park. It is unlikely that the Sena could have been organized without Marmik. Established by men who were political unknowns the Sena needed not only a cause but a means of broadcasting that cause before the party could hope to register, as it proved later able to do, thousands of names on its membership rosters.<sup>145</sup>

Thus economics, and more specifically job opportunities, not nationalism explained the emergence of the Shiv Sena. Although the presence of a large population of non Maharashtrians contributed to the birth of the Shiv Sena, the object of this movement, during its formation was the competition over jobs between Maharashtrians and non-Maharashtrians.

Since then the party has explicitly sought a rightist image. The Bharatiya Kamgar Sena, the Shiv Sena labor union, had declared itself the only organization capable of

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<sup>144</sup>Information from the directorate of Publicity, Maharashtra State, 1969, p.135.

<sup>145</sup>Katzenstein, Ibid., p.52.

fighting communist unions on their own terms, or, by implication with violence. By virtue of this virulent anti-communism the Shiv Sena soon acquired a reputation for right-wing extremism. But that reputation had other foundations as well. The very name Sena or Army, the highly disciplined public meetings, and the closely guarded style of the party organization all contributed to this image. <sup>146</sup>

After the State Legislatures by-election of 1970, Bal Thackeray declared in Marmik, "I am not ashamed of calling myself a Hindu. Our victory is a victory of Hindu-ness, the victory of true nationalism. What is wrong with that?"<sup>147</sup>

In order to fully comprehend the working of the Shakha culture it is necessary to understand the organization of the Shiv Sena. This (the organization) is what sets it apart from the other political groups in India. The Shiv Sena is well organized and the structure tightly controlled by the party leadership, which, dictates every move made by party. The organizational structure of the party is as follows:

- 1) ORGANIZATIONAL WING
- 2) LEADER OR SENAPATI, BAL THACKERAY
- 3) ORGANIZERS

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<sup>146</sup>Katzenstein, Ibid,p.89.

<sup>147</sup>Senapati Bal Thackeray editorial in Marmik, Diwali Issue, 1970.

- 4) DIVISION LEADERS OR VIBHAG PRAMUKHS ( 7 of these)
- 5) BRANCH LEADERS OR SHAKHA PRAMUKHS (120 of these)
- 6) ASSISTANT BRANCH LEADERS OR UPASHAKA PRAMUKHS

All the leaders are appointed by Thackeray or the other few top organizers like Manohar Doshi. The characteristic that sets the Sena party member apart from that of any other party is youth. Youth, vigor, energy, vitality and passion are all part of the party ideology in keeping with Shivaji's legend of the young hero. When the Shiv Sena participated in the election of 1968, Bal Thackeray was only 42 years old. The organizers and middle level division leaders were either contemporaries of Thackeray or younger. While many of the active Sainiks, who participated in the rallies were of student age, this was not true of the Sena hierarchy, the Branch leaders and above. This group consisted of people in their first or second job.

The typical activist in the Sena organization, then, could be readily identified. He is young, in his late twenties or early thirties, he is a matriculate (high school graduate), he is Maharashtrian, a native to Bombay, and comes from a middle or lower middle occupational and class status.<sup>148</sup>

The Shiv Sena managed to attract it's membership from

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<sup>148</sup>Katzenstein, Ibid,p.100.

across the barriers of the caste-system. Its importance lies in the fact that until independence the Hindu culture was strictly stratified by the caste system, the upper castes dominating the lower ones. In independent India the caste system was constitutionally abolished though the stigma attached to the lower castes persists till today.

Even in the 1990s the caste system is not completely abolished. Yet from its very inception the Shiv Sena has managed to attract people from all the various castes and sub-castes. The Congress Party (the dominant party at the time of the Shiv Sena's inception) drew its membership from the elites and upper classes. The Shiv Sena draws its membership from all castes and downplay the importance of caste in its ideology, though, from time to time there have been reported instances of violence against the Dalits (the lower castes or untouchables) perpetuated by groups of Shiv Sainiks.

Discipline is another aspect of the Shiv Sena organization. The Sena leader, Bal Thackeray, and other Sena leaders carefully plan the party organization. The seven division leaders are hand picked and they in turn are appointed three assistants each. The Branch leaders are also selected by the Sena leadership.

Order, discipline and the centralization of authority best describe the Shiv Sena. Their public meetings exhibit



a similar order and precision. Meetings, even today, always start on time, in spite of poor road conditions or bad weather. Young Sena members are recruited as volunteers to keep people seated and to solicit questions for the leadership to answer in advance.

Military prowess and military rule is another theme of the Shiv Sena. The word "Sena" means army and Shivaji the military hero was chosen as the symbol for the party. The Sena has never shied away from violence, and, on several occasions has used it during the shutdowns (bandhs) of Bombay.

Thus the party's membership and patronage increased in the 1960s and early 1970s only to decrease after Indira Gandhi's Emergency in 1977. Bal Thackeray (who does not believe in democracy) openly supported Mrs. Gandhi's Emergency measures while other Shiv Sena leadership did not.

This in-fighting among the party leadership led to a decline in the party's popularity in the 1980s.

In the 1990s after the death of Rajiv Gandhi whose government was moderate and middle of the road the power of the Shiv Sena and other groups like the Bharatiya Seva Sangh has increased greatly. The leadership of these groups have used the media to their advantage by exploiting the feelings of uncertainty within the country due to a weak leadership.

In 1992 a Muslim mosque was burned in Ayodhya, a Hindu stronghold and the home of the mythological God Rama. The repercussions of this act were felt all over India but nowhere more than in Bombay. The Shiv Sena organized a massive campaign against Muslims and other non-Maharashtrians who they believed were depriving members of their community from economic advancement. Rioting was rampant and cars, buildings, and businesses were burned. The city of Bombay came to a standstill. Schools were closed, buses and other means of public transportation did not run, and the city's commercial and industrial markets were closed. The Shiv Sena was back in power again and subsequently proved it by winning the 1994 elections.

Thus the Shiv Sena succeeded within the space of several years in forming a highly disciplined, hierarchical and effective party organization. Recruited by a small group of organizers around Bal Thackeray, the numerous party activists are a visible and enthusiastic core of Shiv Sena support throughout Bombay. The pool of support from which these activists is drawn includes largely the young middle-class Maharashtrian youth. The disciplined, structured, and vibrant quality of the Sena organization and activities more than anything else was central in recruiting young party

workers.<sup>149</sup>

At a Sena election rally in 1995 Bal Thackeray unsheathed a silver sword presented to him by a prominent jeweler. He held aloft a huge glittering bow and arrow, the party's symbol. And then, before he unleashed his well-rehearsed attack on Sharad Pawar (Chief Minister of Maharashtra) at a mammoth rally organized by the Shiv Sena and the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) to mark the final phase of the election campaign, he had to wait several minutes for the din of fire crackers to die down. Clearly, to the army of faithful supporters gathered at Bombay's historic Shivaji Park, it seemed apparent the Shiv Sena Pramukh (Leader) Balasaheb Thackeray had at last conquered Maharashtra.<sup>150</sup>

The sixty-eight-year-old Thackeray is associated with a militant anti-caste brand of Hindutva propounded by the Hindu Mahasabha leader Vir Savarkar.<sup>151</sup> In his younger days he was associated with the RSS or Rashtriya Syamsevak Sangh, a militant group whose membership mainly consisted of young

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<sup>149</sup>Science, Volume 250, Issue 4984, November 23, 1990, p.10.

<sup>150</sup>M. Rahman, "Thackeray's Sena scare", India Today, Feb. 28, 1995, p.23.

<sup>151</sup>Hindutva, is a militant branch of Hinduism that propounds hindu-ness and believes in the god Ram. While the concept has been in existence for a long time it gained national prominence in 1992 after the burning of the Muslim mosque in Ayodhya, the mythic birth-place of the god Ram.

hindu men.

As a leader he is essentially anti-democratic, believing in the concept of a benevolent dictatorship, and is even an admirer of Hitler though he criticizes the Holocaust. He is well aware that his followers also revere him because he conveys the image of militancy and absolute authority.<sup>152</sup>

A gifted cartoonist, Thackeray resigned from the Free Press Journal (A national newspaper in India), after a dispute with its South Indian owner and funded his own Marathi weekly, Marmik. Thackeray used Marmik to passionately campaign for jobs for Maharashtrians who, he believed, faced discrimination in Bombay, even after the creation of their own linguistic state on May 1, 1960. His anger initially was directed mainly against south Indians who held a significant share of white collar jobs.<sup>153</sup>

Thackeray's espousal of nativism struck a chord among both the middle and working class Maharashtrians in Bombay.

A mammoth crowd showed up for the first Sena rally (held on Dussera day, 1966), and, attacked Udipi restaurants (south Indian restaurants) as it dispersed, instantly and forever linking the new parties image with its mascot, a snarling

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<sup>152</sup>Ibid., p.26.

<sup>153</sup>ibid,p.31.

tiger. Ironically, the mascot had been created for Thackeray by a south Indian hindu painter.<sup>154</sup>

For nearly two decades the Sena's influence had remained mainly in the Bombay area. The Sena took on an anti-Communist, anti-south Indian, ant-Muslim character. The appeal of the party in the 1960s and 1970s lay with Maharashtrians residing in and around the Bombay area.

Thackeray, however unleashed the full force of his Hindutva message in the mid 1980s. As a result the Sena spread rapidly throughout Maharashtra. In the 1990 assembly election it won 94 seats in alliance with the Bharatiya Janta Party (the National Hindu party that also believes and propounds Hindutva) out of 141 votes.<sup>155</sup> In March of 1996 he led the Sena in an election victory in the state of Maharashtra.

Until this time political commentators had regarded the Shiv Sena as an eccentric factor, or, at best, an irritant in Maharashtra's politics. "The Sena's popular appeal cannot only be gauged from the election results, though they do constitute an important index. It has won seats in the Bombay Municipal corporation since 1971 and has now become

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<sup>154</sup>Ibid., p.31.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid,p.31.

the party in power".<sup>156</sup>

It is not only in the election results that the Sena's popular appeal is reflected. It is able to mobilize, at the drop of a hat, people for demonstrations and violent confrontation. The Shiv Sena leader, Mr. Bal Thackeray's statement that the Sena had committed the violence during the 1992-93 riots has been perceived by many with moral outrage. This statement however embodies a sense of pride of the mobilizing capacity and the fact that the Sena can unleash spontaneous violent action.<sup>157</sup>

It is not a paradox that a party such as the Sena can incorporate both this protest and simultaneously represent the interests of those who are initiating these economic changes. The twentieth century history of Europe bears a testimony to this phenomenon, whereby a party that reflects the uncertain mass protest against existing economic policies can come to power to institutionalize the programs and policies of these very interests. To convince the masses to accept this, it diverts their perception to a symbol, to an enemy who is then extolled as the root cause of all the evils in society. The Jews became such a symbol in Hitler's Germany.<sup>158</sup>

The Sena's symbols have shifted and changed over the years though the underlying basis of the party remains loyal to the Maharashtrian cause and its betterment. At first, it

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<sup>156</sup>Sujata Patel, "The Shiv Sena's Base in Bombay", The Hindu, June 7, 1996 or at <http://www.webpage.com/hindu/950701/25/2712d.html>.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

portrayed itself as a sons-of-the-soil movement touting the slogan "Bombay for Maharashtrians". All non-Maharashtrians were symbolized as the enemy. In the 1970s South Indians and Muslims were portrayed as symbols of the enemy. In the 1980s non-Maharashtrian immigrants became the symbol of the enemy, and, in the 1990s, the Shiv Sena has become the Hindutva party, forming a coalition with the Bharatiya Janta Party, thus nationalizing its appeal.

Bal Thackeray's orange robes are now well known on the national political scene. The success of the Shiv Sena is being used as an example by other parties propounding Hindutva or Hindu-ness all over India. In spite of the changing symbolism the Shiv Sena's cohesion lies in the core of its primordial mobilization and adherence to family and lineage loyalties.

James Coleman defines the term primordial as "ties based on birth".<sup>159</sup> The Shiv Sena has always stressed its ties based on birth into the Maharashtrian community, the renewal of the greatness of the community through these ties and the regeneration of the great state of Maharashtra (Great Kingdom).

The Maratha identity which strongly developed primarily due to the political support of the Yadavas was shattered by

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<sup>159</sup>Pierre Bourdieu, and James Coleman, eds., Social Theory for a Changing Society, Boulder: Westview Press, p.5.

the Muslim invasions of the 14th century. In 1347 AD, the Bahamani Kingdom was established in the Deccan (this region now houses the modern state of Maharashtra). This led to the wanton killing of thousands of Hindus, the destruction of hundreds of temples and most of all the destruction of the Hindu, and particularly, the Marathi identity. With the conclusive loss of their political power the Hindus gradually came to accept the domination of this foreign power and there began the process of the Persianization of the Marathi language and culture. As the Marathi speaking region was integrated with non-Marathi regions under the Muslim rule it did not retain its earlier political integrity.<sup>160</sup>

It was Shivaji (1627-1680 AD) who created a true "national" feeling in the region of Maharashtra. The core of this new nationality was the linguistic and cultural identity of Maharashtra. Shivaji instilled a new political confidence among the Marathi speaking people and they responded to his call with a show of strength.<sup>161</sup> Under Shivaji the Maharashtrians waged a constant battle against the Mughal invaders.

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<sup>160</sup>Madhav M. Deshpande, Nation and Region in National Unity: The South Asian Experience, New Delhi: Promilla Publishers, 1983,p.123.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid,p.126.



These images are constantly used by the Shiv Sena. In fact, as has been mentioned before, Shiv Sena, means the Army of Shivaji. Membership in the Shiv Sena is based exclusively on birth ties in the Maharashtrian community.

These ties are also as Edward Shils states "an extended family attachment".<sup>162</sup> Members of the Shiv Sena are likened to the family of Shivaji, an extended family which encompasses all Marathi speaking descendants of Shivaji, exclusively. Language, culture, food, dress (the Maharashtrian sari is worn in a completely different manner from the rest of India), speech, social practices, folklore, dances, literature, music provide an overpowering force creating a strong primordial mobilization.

Maharashtrians are Hindus, and yet, the form of Hinduism followed by Maharashtrians is decidedly different from non-Maharashtrian Hindus. Ganesh Chaturthi, the festival honoring the Lord Ganesha (who is half man and half elephant) is almost exclusively Maharashtrian. Statues of the God are revered and anointed in individual homes or communities, and, on the designated day, are carried in large processions accompanied by singing and dancing to the sea where they are submerged in the water and allowed to

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<sup>162</sup>Edward Shils, Center and Periphery: An Essay in Macrosociology, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975, p.112.

float out to the ocean.

Maharashtrian wedding rituals are typical only to this community. The Maharashtrian language, script, and dialects are vastly different from other north and south Indian languages. Their folk-lore revolves around Shivaji and the poet saints of Maharashtra like Ramdas. The Maharashtrian folk dance called "Lavani" is prevalent only within the Maharashtrian region and is typically performed by women.

These bonds encompass kinship, friendship, family ties and spiritual affinity as has been described by Clifford Geertz.<sup>163</sup> The diffusing of this Marathi culture in the new nation state of India has always been a threat to the Maharashtrian community. And, as Clifford Geertz has succinctly stated, it is the aim of the group to be noticed and its identity be publicly acknowledged as "somebody" on the Indian political scenario.

Sigmund Freud believed the strength of the primordial attachment not only derives from some internal cohesion but from some external definition of an adversary as well.<sup>164</sup> The Shiv Sena has successfully used the image of an adversary, though the adversary has changed over time and circumstance, to encompass new threats.

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<sup>163</sup>see Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Culture, New York, The Free Press,

<sup>164</sup>see Sigmund Freud, Civilization and its Discontent, London: Hogarth Press, 1961.

Thus the Shiv Sena has been able to use primordial mobilization to successfully achieve its aim through not only kinship ties but spiritual ones, first in the form of allegiance to Shivaji and now to Hindutva (the policy of hindu-ness that it currently propounds). The political leadership of the Shiv Sena has also successfully used the symbolism of an adversary against whom the Sena mobilizes and uses violence.

Beyond this the Maharashtrian culture though hindu is peculiar to its geographic region. Thus the primordial identity also encompasses a geographic identity. Maharashtra lies in central India and thus Maharashtrians do not identify with the North Indian Aryan culture or the South Indian Dravidian one. The importance of this centrality also lies in the fact that whatever happens in Maharashtra, and especially in Bombay, influences events in other parts of India. For example, the riots in 1992-93 in Maharashtra soon spread to neighboring states like Gujarat and Karnataka.

The importance of the Shiv Sena lies in their ability to mobilize and resort to violence to achieve their goals. Since their first historic meeting at Shivaji Park and the subsequent violent attacks against Udipi restaurants the Shiv Sena has been associated with violent mobilization. Today this mobilization is gaining legitimacy, for the Shiv

Sena is no longer a fringe group, but a legitimate one winning seats and now a majority in the legislature. The Shiv Sena model is now being used by other groups all over India. As a group on the periphery the Shiv Sena was simply another of India's fragmented communities. Today, as a group with the power to create divisiveness and maybe even legislate it (for example, soon after coming to power they attempted to round up illegal immigrants from Bangladesh seeking work in Maharashtra and transport them back to the border) it poses a threat to the central government. Its program of Hindutva is perceived as a threat to the secular system laid down and propounded by India's constitution and their belief in a benevolent dictatorship threatens the very foundations of India's democratic process. Herein, lies their importance.

It is perhaps interesting to note that in the 1990's, the Shiv Sena has invaded the criminal underground of several states including Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Uttar Pradesh. Money laundering rackets, extortion, gun smuggling, protection rackets etc. were all part of the Sena's underground activities. Not a day went by when the Indian newspapers did not mention the Shiv Sena's activities. This author has refrained from using these

incidences in the time-ordered matrix because these activities do not fall into the political sphere.

In May 1995 after the Shiv Sena government gained control of the state of Maharashtra along with the BJP (Bharatiya Janta Party) in an alliance, they openly censored films and did not allow films that had Pakistani movie stars in them to be shown.

Those who felt that power would make Thackeray and the Sena more responsible were both right and wrong. As the 'Bombay' controversy, the first test for the government revealed, the strategy seemed to be to act with caution, but to carry on making the right noises lest Thackeray's vast Hindu vote-bank begins to get disillusioned.<sup>165</sup>

The 'Bombay' controversy is one more incident whereby the Shiv Sena has sought to control the Bombay-based Indian Film Industry or Bollywood as it is locally known. In this instance film maker Mani Ratnam was forced to make cuts and censor his film 'Bombay' due to suggestions made by

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<sup>165</sup>Jyoti Punwani, "A dangerous silence, Humanscape, p. 7.

Bal Thackeray and the Shiv Sena. Earlier, veteran film maker A. K. Hangal's movies were banned from film screens all-over the country.

The Indian film industry is one of the largest in the world and wields a great of influence in India. By gaining control of the film industry the Shiv Sena can control the masses. By imposing censorship on first the film industry and then attempting to curtail the press the Shiv Sena is openly against the Indian constitutions tenet of Freedom of Speech and of the Press.

Since coming to power the Shiv Sena also attempted to create a 'permit' system to help the police evict Bangladeshis and Pakistanis living in Bombay's slums.

In the meantime Thackeray himself had been busy fighting a series of court cases filed against him. In May, 1995, he was indicted by the Supreme Court for derogatory statements made against the judiciary in 'Saamna' and 'Loksatta' in October 1994. He later recanted and apologized for his statements against the Supreme Court.

On June 28 1995, a civil liberties movement called

"Citizens against Goondaism" was set up to combat the "forces promoting nepotism and corruption in government and encouraging state-sponsored terrorism".<sup>166</sup> Comprised of various human rights groups it was conceived after week-long deliberations by high-court lawyer M. P. Vashi, former municipal commissioners J. B. D'souza, and S. S. Tinaikar and other concerned citizens.

Earlier protests against Mr. Thackeray's editorial attacks on others daring to differ with his views -- generally, his admiration for Adolf Hitler as the model of nationalism -- were dismissed by the Shiv Sena leader as the elitist concerns of anglicized Maharashtrians who were out of touch with reality.<sup>167</sup>

Then in August 1995, the Supreme Court ruled against the election of Shiv Sena's Das Rao Deshmukh to the legislative assembly because he had used posters during his election campaign which had appealed to the voters in the

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<sup>166</sup>Sujata Anandan, "New Forces to combat desi brand of Nazism", Indian Express, 28 June, 1995, p. 1

<sup>167</sup>ibid, p. 9.

name of 'Hindutva' to "teach the Muslims a lesson".<sup>168</sup> His election was set aside under section 123(3) and (3A) of the Representation of People's Act which is to curb communal and separatist tendencies in the country and that the paramount and basic purpose underlying section 123(3) of the Act is the concept of secular democracy. The amendment was brought to the Act to eliminate from the electoral process appeals to divisive factors such as religion, caste, etc.<sup>169</sup>

In November 1995, the Shiv Sena held its first ever meeting of Rajya Pramukhs (State Chiefs). Nearly 200 delegates from 18 states in India attended the meeting at the C. K. Naidu Hall in the Cricket Club of India premises.

It was the first attempt of the Sena to go national and take its message of Hindutva to the rest of the country. In this meeting the Sena attempted to move beyond its position as a regional party. The rest of the country was well-represented by other states. Uttar Pradesh had 18

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<sup>168</sup>R. Venkataraman - SC upholds secular values, The Telegraph, August 2, 1995, p. 1.

<sup>169</sup>ibid.



delegates, Madhya Pradesh had 10, Delhi-12, Punjab-11, Haryana-10, Himachal Pradesh-5, Jammu and Kashmir-10, Kerala-5, Tamil Nadu-12, Andhra Pradesh-12, Karnataka-8, West Bengal-10, Bihar-13, Assam-8, Rajasthan-15, Gujarat-13, Goa-6, and Orissa-5.<sup>170</sup>

The Shiv Sena's new slogan is 'Jai Hindustan' from 'Jai Maharashtra' and they stated that they would contest seats in the upcoming election even if the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) did not form an alliance with them in other states. It was interesting to note that at the meeting the delegates which included the Shiv Sena general secretary Mr. Subhash Desai and Mr. Uddhav Thackeray, the elder son of Mr. Thackeray, all spoke in Hindi and an organizer apologized in English to delegates from the South (who speak no Hindi) for using the national language. Bilingual booklets in Hindi and English were distributed and Shiv Sena's aims, goals and objectives were outlined.

Mr. Desai said, "In Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena is

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<sup>170</sup>Ketan N. Tanna - "Growing Ambition", The Pioneer of India, November 20, 1995.

a state party. Now it wants to be a national party. If the country is to be strengthened only one leader can take us on the right course, Balasaheb Thackeray".<sup>171</sup>

The party attempted to woo other communities and nationalities into the Hindutva fold. At the meeting Mr. Thackeray said, "I have never used the slogan 'Maharashtra for Maharashtrians'," thus proving once again his reputation as a man of contradictions. His son tried to soft-pedal this drastic change over by explaining that "In Maharashtra we are Maharashtrians, in Hindustan (India) we are Hindus."<sup>172</sup> These statements were made in an attempt to attract the South Indian delegation. (The Shiv Sena was formed in 1966 as a party out to fight the South Indian influence in Bombay).

Said Maharashtra Chief Minister Manohar Joshi, "Hindutva is not an ideal that is anti-other religion. We

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<sup>171</sup>'Sena unveils national ambition' - The Telegraph, Calcutta, November 19, 1995.

<sup>172</sup>Lyla Bavadam, Widening Horizons, Sunday, 26 November - 2 December, 1995, p. 30.

see it as a Rashtriya Bhavna (nationalistic spirit).<sup>173</sup>

By December 17 1995, at least 17 independent MLA's joined the Shiv Sena to contest the election. In the meantime Mr. Thackeray continued to make anti-democratic statements. At A meeting in Nagpur he said, "I do not believe in the wretched democracy. If I come to power I will bring about changes in the electoral system".<sup>174</sup>

From January 1996 onwards the Sena worked hard to enroll members in other states and began to seek out candidates that were fluent in English. In the elections held in 1996 although the Bharatiya Janta Party failed to retain its government at the center (New Delhi) the Shiv Sena, for the first time had 15 elected Members of Parliament (MPs).<sup>175</sup>

Thus, from being a regional force in the state of Maharashtra the Shiv Sena has successfully stepped into the

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<sup>173</sup>ibid, p. 30.

<sup>174</sup>Express News Service, Indian Express, Bombay, 17 December, 1995.

<sup>175</sup>C. P. Surendran, "Thackeray is Politics as Popular Culture", The Times of India, June 15, 1996.

national lime-light propounding its own brand of Hindutva. The Shiv Sena has used the film industry the burgeoning cable industry, Hindi film songs and music to get its messages out to the masses in the same successful way that it used Saamna, the Marathi daily, of which Bal Thackeray has long been the editor, to get its message out in the state of the Maharashtra.

In the 1960s and 1970s authors like Professor Sujata Patel and Deshpande saw the Shiv Sena as a fringe, extremist group. Today, that same fringe group has moved into the mainstream of Indian politics with a message that is still divisive and explosive. Drawing now on the primordial ties of all Hindus in India they have used popular culture to inculcate their brand of hindu-ness into the political culture thus successfully alienating the minorities like Christians, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsis.

Mr. Thackeray has always been very open about his opposition to democracy, especially secular democracy, and he has also stated (above) that if he came to power he would change the system. Herein, lies the danger to the Indian

democratic process. Having gained national popularity the Shiv Sena's organizations is being copied in other states and their Leader Bal Thackeray is being looked upon as a national hero. In a country where illiteracy abounds mass opinion can be easily swayed by these primordial sentiments used to their advantage by a party like the Shiv Sena.

Having addressed primordialism, primordial violence, the structural model, the hypotheses and the variables, along with the history, growth and organization of the Shiv Sena, the next chapter puts forth an analysis of the information presented thus far.

## CHAPTER V

### EMERGING PATTERNS

In analyzing the information presented thus far several patterns emerge. Firstly, there is an imbalance in the power distribution between the center and the states. The powers of the central government today supersede the powers of the state governments. This imbalance draws conflict to the center where otherwise it may be controlled by state governments and thus alleviate the ripple effect of conflict and violence spreading across the country as it did during the Ayodhya crisis. Secondly, violence and conflict is curtailed at least temporarily through force and not resolved through bargaining and accommodation. Force alone seems unable to resolve violent conflict.

Thirdly, the tension between majority and minority rights is growing. In every democracy the tension between the two is prevalent but in the case of India the rights of minorities appear to be at risk due to the growing tide of the unchecked Hindutva movement. There is no longer a respect for the rights of minorities, rather, a growing

sense that minority groups being non-Hindu are un-Indian. As Hardgrave maintains, "Democracy is sustained because there is no single, monolithic and permanent majority..."<sup>176</sup> In the case of India the Hindus have always been the overpowering majority but democracy has continued because the Hindu communities viewed the other minorities with respect and tolerance. With the growth of Hindutva this feeling of respect and mutual co-existence is changing to one of intolerance.

Even prior to the departure of the British from India polarization had been used by individuals and groups as a means to attain a following amongst the masses and through this route an attempt to gain power. The British policy of divide and rule enabled such groups to legitimize their aspirations and actions. In the course of time there arose political formations brazenly parading their parochial platforms. The Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the

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<sup>176</sup>Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., "Democracy in Divided Societies", in, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Democracy, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p.80.

Akalis -- all these and many more splinter groups made no secret of their striving for the advancement of a section of the people to the exclusion of others. Thus the Hindu communalists advocated the supremacy of the Hindu faith, traditions, and aspirations.<sup>177</sup>

The British policy of divide and rule was continued by the Congress Party. Though the Congress Party itself remained strong and unified against any opposition and was the premier political party in India. The Congress control over India was seemingly unbreakable till Indira Gandhi imposed the Emergency on India in the 1970s.

The imposition of the Emergency and the excesses committed then, became a sure platform to bring all sorts of parties, including communalists together. Thus, the Leftists, Socialists, Iman Bukhari, RSS (Rashtriya Seva Sangh), and Jan Sangh, all spoke from the same platform. The Congress-I (Indira) was defeated and the Janata Party formed the government. As always happens the disparate

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<sup>177</sup>The Indian People's Human Rights Commission, The People's Verdict, 1996, p. 96.



forces that had combined to defeat the common enemy soon disintegrated. The only beneficiary in this experiment were the communalists who gained respect in national politics.<sup>178</sup>

The Congress Party soon regained control as a disillusioned electorate voted them into power again. They remained in power through the death of Sanjay Gandhi and Indira Gandhi. In the late 1980s the Congress Party began to loose power again during the administration of Rajiv Gandhi. Under allegations of corruption and bribery Rajiv lost the election to his finance Minister Mr. V. P. Singh, who, lost power a year and a half later. Rajiv was assassinated during his re-election bid in the early 1990s.

Since then the Indian government has been loosing control of the states. Weak leadership at the center is the key reason. The constant struggle for power at the center and the forming and reforming of new alliances to maintain this power have been pivotal in weakening control of the central government.

Soon the tentacles of the Sangh Parivar (a right-

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid, p. 97.

wing militant Hindu group) spread, invoking Veer Savarkar's idea of Hinduising politics and militarizing the Hindus. In this, Ayodhya, (the birth place of Ram) became an easy symbol. The BJP (Bharatiya Janta Party), the Bajrang Dal the VHP (Vishwa Hindu Parishad) and the Shiv Sena became the votaries of Ram as against Rahim; the ultimate goal being not a Mandir (temple) or religion, but power at the center.<sup>179</sup>

Unfortunately, for the country the center did little to stop the growth of these primordially based groups, who, for political reasons, tapped these sentiments in the majority of the Indian people. V. P. Singh, the then Prime-Minister, could not stop L. K. Advani's Rath Yatra (religious procession across the country, in the style of Ram). The illiterate masses identified very strongly with Advani's procession which traversed across the country, gaining support for Hindutva. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Prime-Minister in 1992-93, could not stop the demolition of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya, or control the outbreak of

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<sup>179</sup>ibid, p. 98.

riots and tensions all over the country after the demolition took place.

By 1993 the atmosphere in the country had changed.

The citizens were no longer certain that the center could control the states. At the same time the rise of the Shiv Sena - BJP alliance under the banner of Hindutva took place.

In essence, the project of Hindutva is that of homogenization of a population with histories and practices constituted by diverse but intermeshed traditions. Despite flexible variations to accommodate change the common understanding of the word Hindu shared by all Hinduist organizations is based on convenient interpretations of Brahmanic texts. The need for enforcing homogeneity arises when oppression, embedded in hegemony, crosses the cultural threshold and leads to reassertion of suppressed diversity.

Such a reassertion challenges those who control material and cultural production and use homogenized tradition to legitimize it. In order to emphasize commonality, to create an illusion of community, without abdicating dominance, the

hegemonic project requires a clearly identifiable enemy.<sup>180</sup>

The Shiv Sena has always used the metaphor of the common enemy to further their cause. First, it was the South Indians usurping jobs and opportunities from hard-working Maharashtrians, then it was the Communists, later, the Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants and finally, the non-Hindu-anti-national persona of the minority groups. While the enemy per se has changed the method or mode of handling the enemy has remained the same. This is done by rhetoric used in newspapers and a call to violence from the Shiv Sena leadership.

Herein lies the strength of the Shiv Sena-- the ability to mobilize, almost instantly, at a call from their leader. Mr. Bal Thackeray is a strong, dominant leader. In a country where the strength of leadership is declining he is becoming a leader of national standing because he is perceived (by the masses) to be a strong leader, who, follows his words with action and who has also withstood

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<sup>180</sup>Jayant Lele in "Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India", Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, Ed's, Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1995, p. 204 - 205.

thirty years as a political leader.

He is controversial, enigmatic, and at times unpopular, and yet, the masses first in Maharashtra and then in the rest of the country identify with him and his party.

The Shiv Sena drawing on primordial sentiment is able to mobilize its members whenever the need arises. Drawing on birth, family and kinship ties they proved their effectiveness in the State of Maharashtra. Now they are attempting to widen these ascriptive ties through the concept of 'Hindutva' and Hindu mythology to encompass all Hindus in India and unite them against a common enemy.

As Donald L. Horowitz wrote in his work, *Ethnic groups in Conflict*, ... Group members often call each other brothers and call distantly related groups cousins. Harmonious relationships among groups, are referred to as brotherhood, a term with a figurative meaning: the word connotes the condition of being like brothers but not actually brothers. The behavior of ethnic groups is often justified on the basis of a family idiom.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>181</sup>Donald L. Horowitz, "Ethnic Groups in Conflict", California, the University of California Press, 1985, p. 57.

When the Fang of Gabon and Cameroon embarked on a movement to re-unite their diverse clan and dialect clusters, they explained their former disunity in terms of family quarrels.<sup>182</sup>

"The connections between ethnic relations and family relations are well-illustrated by the importance placed on indigenusness or prior occupation of territory, whenever large scale immigration of ethnic strangers occurs.

Confronted with immigrants, a good many ethnic conflicts are intense ... It also accounts for some special difficulties ethnic conflict poses for democratic politics.

And ascription is what makes inter-ethnic compromise so difficult in divided societies, for those who practice compromise may be treated with the bitter contempt reserved for brothers who betray a cause".<sup>183</sup>

The Shiv Sena has time and again used this

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<sup>182</sup>James W. Fernandez, "The affirmation of Things Past: Alar Ayong and Bwiti as Movements of Protest in Central and Northern Gabon", in Robert L. Rothberg and Ali A. Mazrui, eds., Protest and Power in Black Africa, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 427.

<sup>183</sup>Donald L. Horowitz, p. 54.

"contempt" for members and other Maharashtrians who do not believe in their cause. Mr. Sharad Pawar, the ex-chief Minister of Maharashtra is one individual who has been at the receiving end of the Shiv Sena's ire, often termed a traitor and the enemy of the people. The Shiv Sena rhetoric has been against him.

The Shiv Sena has continued to be able to create mass identification through the use of the media, polarization around the symbols (of culture), and the simplification of the diverse elements that constitute the popular culture.

The widespread features of popular culture underwent significant but also very variable changes during the past decades. Their meaning is not easy to synthesize regarding culture itself. Concerning the evolution of the popular classes their interpretation is perhaps more difficult. Let us take firstly the fundamental trilogy constituted by akhadas (gymnasiums), tamashas (folk entertainment), and gambling. It was a prominent part of male popular mass culture outside the household for more

than 30 years. It has not disappeared but it was gradually replaced during the fifties and sixties by another set of practices, mass sports succeeding to akhadas, cinema (then TV) replacing tamasha, and matka (a highly organized numbers game) taking over from pavement and tea-shop gambling.<sup>184</sup> Thus the process of standardization and mass influence begins to take place. The trend toward 'massification' and dispossession has nonetheless been counterbalanced by the development of small networks in clubs, the reorganization of marital relations to center on the couple, etc.<sup>185</sup>

Herein, lies the reasons for the Shiv Sena's continued success. For the Shiv Sena is not just a political group. Because it is primordially based it permeates every aspect of the members life, It is not simply a political organization but also, the members family. The Shakha (group) or local community looks after its members, arranges marriages between members helps find

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<sup>184</sup>Gerard Heuze, Cultural Populism, in, Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India, Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, Ed's, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 240.

<sup>185</sup>ibid, p. 240.



jobs for the jobless members, resolves disputes between members and organizes the festival ceremonies (poojas) as well as provides the money that makes these collective ceremonies possible.

Mass pujas (rituals) have now become a unifying force for the majority of Hindus. In the metropolis, the management of this popular religious culture in the public sphere is in the hands of the youth. It is controlled by rich notables and politicians and partially in the hands of the Shiv Sena.<sup>186</sup>

For ten years the latter has been the more dynamic agent of organization. The largest mass pujas are organized by Shiv Sena dominated committees. Shiv Sainiks are very proud of their intervention at this level. It is a strategic field for them. They proclaim that 70% of the Ganapathi pandals (temporary public shrines for worship of the elephant-headed God) are organized under their aegis. Pujas structure the party life (as it happens in the RSS).

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<sup>186</sup>Gerard Heuze, "Cultural Populism", in Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India, Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, Ed's, Bombay Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 242.

During Durga Pujas 100,000 Shiv Sainiks ritually meet in Shivaji Park.<sup>187</sup>

The mass puja is a very special moment when a different order of things emerges for a while. The Shiv Sena uses it at first as a field for demonstrating its ability to manage the city and to appear as an alternative power. Then it uses this privileged moment when the whole of space belongs to its youth as a kind of symbolic battlefield. An army (Sena) needs training. The puja becomes a 'euphemization of war' (as Mussolini said, but about mass sports), or perhaps only a preparation for riots.<sup>188</sup>

This politicized 'Hinduization' of the mass majority has moved nationwide. The Bharatiya Janata Party and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad have created their own form of oneness through a new calendar of Hindu festivals that also includes some Scheduled Caste (low castes), Sikh, and Buddhist sacred events. Altogether it seems to sum up the entire span of Hindu festive activity. Noticeably, oneness

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<sup>187</sup>ibid, p. 242.

<sup>188</sup>ibid, p. 242.

is not projected as sameness, or a fundamentalist commitment to an identical body of doctrine and practice, but through its reverse. It is achieved through a controlled pluralism through a single organizational cluster that allows yet coordinates a large rank of sacred events.<sup>189</sup>

The claim of today's Hindutva to an immediate identity with the entire Hindu world thus conceals and legitimizes the operation of an intrusive, authoritarian political formation which defines not only the Muslim, but also the Hindu solely in its own terms. A deeply undemocratic syllogism follows: Hindus are the majority, the RSS-BJP-VHP-Shiv Sena combine has the unique power of defining what being a Hindu means, and therefore, the will of this political formation must prevail on a permanent basis.<sup>190</sup>

The movement is rooted in a series of images of Great Hindus and these encompass both Gods and men. Ram,

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<sup>189</sup>Tapan Basu, Pradip Datta, Tanika Sarkar, and Sambuddha Sen, Khaki Shorts, Saffron Flags, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1933, p.63.

<sup>190</sup>ibid, p. 57.

The Emperor Ashoka, Gandhi, Lokmanya Tilak, Ambedkar, Rabindranath Tagore, Veer Savarkar are all eulogized. The attempt is to create a sense of kinship through lineage and birth. A sense that all Hindus are united through the greatness of their predecessors simply because of their birth into this great hindu community.

Since it is important that all Hindus appear united symbols are used to create this unity in the Hindu world. For example, during the Kar Seva (religious work) campaign, all Hindu households were required to fly the saffron flag.<sup>191</sup>

"The most interesting specimen in this connection was the sticker displaying Ram and/or the temple. Stickers were produced in a variety of garish colors, at one time they could be seen all over North Indian cities and towns and also in many villages. They could be pasted anywhere -- on vehicles, offices, houses or on school black boards. They swamped individuals in their ubiquity, contriving a

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<sup>191</sup>ibid, p. 60.

sense of the irresistible tide of Hindutva".<sup>192</sup>

While Hindus have always been the majority, the tide of Hindutva is for the first time creating a sense of Hindu unity to the exclusion of everyone else. One's birth, family, and lineage provide the link to this mass movement that creates a sense of oneness and strength through their large numbers. Herein, lies the danger to the Indian polity. The Ancient Brahmanic texts preached tolerance of other faiths and religions. The new Hindutva is preaching a sense of intolerance for everything that is non-Hindu. A sense that while there are differences in the Hindu religion in terms of practice and ritual these are acceptable because they are Hindu differences and encompass the vast spectrum of Hinduism, while there is a growing intolerance for anything or any religion that is non-Hindu.

India's democracy and its success has always hinged on its secular values. It is a country where there has been a tolerance for other faiths and religions, and where, from time to time this tolerance is tested and

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<sup>192</sup>ibid, p. 60.

violence and tension erupt but ultimately, secularism prevails and minorities are still perceived as legitimate citizens of the country.

Groups like the RSS (Rashtriya Sevak Sangh) and the Shiv Sena were considered to be fringe groups because of the intolerance they preached. Today, these groups are part of the mainstream political life of India. No longer are they considered to be extremist. Their doctrine and propaganda are part of everyday Indian politics. The movements are gaining in strength and growing from state to state. In the case of the Shiv Sena it will be interesting to see if the transition from a "Maharashtrian" group to one on the national scene, encompassing all Hindus will be successful.

Bal Thackeray is considered to be a national political figure who is portrayed as strong and fearless, someone who represents the masses and who they identify with. Already states like Gujarat are emulating the Shikha system and thus creating a sense of Hindu community and security in their cities and villages.

The minorities are represented as dangerous

because they do not subscribe to Hinduism and are thus un-Hindu and non-Indian. All persons outside the boundaries of Hindutva are not Hindus and can therefore be labeled as the potential enemy to the Hindu rashtra (nation). Similarly, the we (Hindus) must be in a perpetual struggle against 'they', the non-Hindu. Integral Humanism<sup>193</sup> is part of the doctrine of Hindutva. It identifies democracy as a western notion, which breeds problems.<sup>194</sup>

The breakdown of political order in contemporary India questions the future capacity of the Indian state to govern the crucial questions related to the issue of eroding authority are these: How will India be ruled in the future -- as a democracy or by other means? If as a democracy, what type of democracy? Who within the state -- which individuals, parties and socioeconomic groups -- will exercise power? And finally, how effective is the state likely to be in solving India's pressing problems? The

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<sup>193</sup>See Deen Dayal Upadhyay, Integral Humanism, Bombay: Bharatiya Jana Sangh, 1965.

<sup>194</sup>ibid, p. 77.

issue of governability in the contemporary context thus concerns the State's capacity simultaneously to accommodate disparate interests and promote development.<sup>195</sup>

As this dissertation has so far shown there are indeed questions about the continuity of the democratic process in India. That is not to say that the process is likely to breakdown tomorrow or in the near future. Rather, there seems to be a trend where in the last decade the democratic process is becoming less effective. The government is unable to control outbreaks of violence due to changes in the socio-economic scenario brought on by new groups, who, gaining in power and importance, are undemocratic in their doctrine.

As has been pointed out before, from 1947 - 1990, India had five Prime Ministers. They were Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai and Rajiv Gandhi. In the period between 1990 and 1996 India has had four different Prime Ministers. In a span of six years V.

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<sup>195</sup>Atul Kohli, "Democracy and Discontent: India's growing crisis of governability", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 14.



P. Singh, Chandra Shekhar, Narasimha Rao, and currently Deva Gouda have been, or, are the Prime Minister.

Besides the lack of continuity there has also been a decline in the quality of leadership since the demise of the Gandhis. The Congress party is no longer the premier party controlling the center. As a result coalitions and alliances between parties are forged in order to maintain power and these fall apart in time due to inter-party rivalry. The leadership at the center is more involved in maintaining its position than in effective governing. As a result of this weakening at the center parties like the Shiv Sena have flourished and grown. In addition to leaders like Bal Thackeray and L. K. Advani, some of the proponents of Hindutva are dynamic and have mass appeal unlike the leadership at the center. The ineffectiveness of the central government is especially important in a federal democracy like India where the balance between power at the center and the individual states is essential for the continuation of the democratic process.

The socio-economic changes within society are also

an important aspect of the changes taking place in Indian society. While politically the lack of leadership has created new ground for regional primordial movements to gain national ground, changes in the social set-up and in the economy have also contributed to this. Rajiv Gandhi while Prime Minister set into motion economic changes that reformed the previous policies of the Indian government. As a result the economy has gone through a boom period. Deregulation on a mass scale has created many new businesses and jobs. Foreign investment began to pour into the country along with multi-national corporations and collaborations.

Due to the new economic policy there has been a vast growth in the middle class. While migration to urban areas has always been a problem in the city centers and industrial regions, in the 1990s because of the growth in jobs and industry, mass migration has become a problem of mammoth proportions. While incomes have grown and the education level and consumer buying index are higher, the middle-class, feeling politically ineffective sought out primordial groups which they could identify with and through whom they

would gain both a sense of political efficacy and a sense of belonging to a unit that is based on birth ties and has a commonality of ritual and customs. This is especially true for the masses of displaced migrants having no one else to turn to in the industrial regions in which they now live.

This in turn has led to a breakdown in the caste-system barriers which traditionally had divided Indian society. These barriers are no longer binding and in the urban areas lower castes and upper castes reside in the same areas. The Shiv Sena has appealed to all castes and draws its membership from upper and lower castes. It is also interesting to note that the doctrine of Hindutva (while propounding traditional Hindu beliefs) does not propagate division along caste lines. They see caste as a non-issue and during the mass pujas (rituals) that these groups conduct all castes are welcome. To the western observer this may not seem to be an important issue at all, but, in fact, within the framework of India the breaking down of the caste system to the point where it is no longer a divisive issue is of prime importance.

The caste system was legally abolished during the process of Independence and it was enacted into law by the Indian Constitution by 1947. Yet, caste, has always been a major stratification in India. It has existed since early Brahmanic times thousands of years ago. While other nations were stratified by a class structure which was usually based on economics the Indian caste system is based on birth into a caste. Nothing can change that status in a life-time and the individual lived the boundaries of his or her caste permanently.<sup>196</sup>

Caste has always been a major divisive force in Indian society. First the British and then Indian politicians have used it to create divisions and vote banks in the Indian political system. Today, at least the doctrine of groups like the Shiv Sena do not utilize caste as an issue. The Shiv Sena which has now become a national force prescribes to the doctrine of Hindutva, where all Hindus are welcome regardless of class.

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<sup>196</sup>For a general discussion see Fredrik Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries", London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers, 1970.

A great social change has occurred as it is now possible for all castes to attend the maha-artis (or mass rituals) and sit beside each other. It is an unprecedented outgrowth of the doctrine of Hindutva whereby there has been a conscious effort to unite all Hindus laying aside caste barriers.

What is disturbing about this outgrowth and the rapid acceptance of Hindutva is that the religious cleavages between the majority (Hindus) and the minorities (Muslims, Parsis, Christians, etc.) have grown and become more explosive. Hindutva and Hinduness does not simply encompass a religious and cultural ideal but also a political and nationalistic one which excludes the non-Hindu.

These conditions have altered the political, social and economic conditions in India. One needs to bear in mind that changes in India, so far, have never been rapid or revolutionary. Thus the recent political and economic changes which have occurred so quickly are bound to have repercussions that are far-reaching. The altering of the existing socio-political constructs have allowed the growth

of primordial movements and the violence they perpetuate to threaten the State.

The variables that this dissertation addresses are key in analyzing the changed socio-political constructs which are giving rise to a new paradigm.

A new elite has stepped in to take the place of leadership at the center who the masses no longer identify with. This is (at least for the purpose of this dissertation) called the Shakha culture. The Shakha or community forges bonds between individuals and takes the place of the family for those away from their villages. The Shakha pramukh or leader is the person who brings the community together, organizes rituals and mass pujas, helps find jobs for the unemployed, settles disputes between members etc. Thus the Shakha provides a sense of belonging to the individual. It is also these Shakhas who coalesce immediately when a call for violence is given by the Shiv Sena leadership to fight the enemy.

The Shiv Sena has also successfully managed to bring into their fold the working middle-class. As a

primordial group that has always been pro-industry, pro-consumerism and for progressive economic reform (it is interesting to note that the Shiv Sena leadership carry mobile phones, drive cars equipped with cassette players and air-conditioning), the Shiv Sena provides a sense of political efficacy to the individual. Whereby, through the actions of the group the individual too, influences government and policy that affects the individual as a member of Indian society.

With the rise of Hindutva as a doctrine and its growing popularity there seems to be a greater divide between non-Hindu communities like the Muslims, Parsis and Christians. For the first time the Hindu community with its vast differences in ritual, language, custom and caste seems to be aggregating together under the common roof of Hindutva as the divide grows between other communities. Having re-written the tenets of Hinduism to suit the framework of modern, political India, Hindutva is an exclusionary force, which uses violence in order to achieve its ends and is alienating the minority communities creating

insecurity and fear as it continues to gain momentum. The Shiv Sena has adopted the doctrine of Hindutva and joined forces with the Bharatiya Janta Party. This has been a politically successful venture for the Shiv Sena which has now become a national party of its leader touted as "Hindu hero" ready to fight the enemy.

That the Shiv Sena is capable of mobilizing almost instantly has worked to its advantage. A single call from the leadership brings thousands of members onto the streets ready for action and violence -- to become heroes fighting the enemy, thus creating a better community and country.

The easy availability of weapons in India today has created a situation where during riots and other mass explosive movements the level of force used has escalated greatly. Guns, automatic weapons and small bombs are all used during incidences of violence whereas in earlier tension situations stones, rocks and sticks were the level of weaponry available to the masses.

During the riots after the demolition of the Babri Masjid newspaper reports and television footage showed many



instances of civilians armed with weapons, using them on the public. The irony of this situation lies in the fact that the average policeman in India does not own a gun or any fire-arm. He is only permitted a heavy stick or lathi. Similarly, bomb attacks both in Bombay (at the Stock Exchange) and elsewhere utilized modern day plastic explosives for the detonation.

In terms of the time-ordered matrix (Appendix A) incidences of violence perpetuated by the Shiv Sena are tabulated for the reader. The matrix shows the Shiv Sena's involvement in all aspects of political activity in the state of Maharashtra, then in other states and finally, on the national scene. The overlying implication of the matrix is that the Shiv Sena may no longer be perceived as a local group but one that has spread its message of violent mobilization to many different states, and, even to the center. Secondly, the level of violence projected by the group shows an escalation in the use of bombs and fire-arms in the 1990s.

Thirdly, the pattern emerging, especially during the

Ayodhya incidence shows that non-Hindus in many states were targeted and attacked simply because they were not Hindu. Mass violence, bombings, and killings took place all over the country and the central government seemed unable to control the situation.

Fourthly, the matrix provides an insight into the constant violent mobilizational ability of the Shiv Sena and the inability of law enforcement authorities in India to control and curtail this mobilization. Lastly, the matrix shows that the group is ready to wage violence against any and all aspects of society, from groups of Muslims to the sole Director of a Scientific Institute of Research, thus implying that no one is safe from the violence of the Shiv Sena.

While the Shiv Sena's ability to stop a cricket match, destroy the pitch and threaten violence if the match does take place is seen as an annoyance and irritant its involvement in the demolition of the Babri Masjid and in the subsequent riots both in Maharashtra and elsewhere prove once and for all that the mobilizational ability of this

group has deadly repercussions. That they openly declared their involvement, yet, were never jailed, indicted or even challenged proves that the Indian government is ineffectual in dealing with the challenge of the Shiv Sena and its leader Bal Thackeray.

Time and again journalists, newspapers and even television cable stations were the targets of the Shiv Sena's violent outbursts. Bal Thackeray has openly declared that he does not believe in democracy as a system and even though he is a journalist himself has mobilized his membership against any member of the media that criticizes him or the Shiv Sena. Even though these methods are undemocratic and violent they are justified by his rhetoric in his newspaper "Saamna" as the perpetual fight against the enemy (whatever it may be at that particular time).

What may be considered most disturbing though is the fact that the Shiv Sena has gone from being a fringe, extremist, regional group to one that is considered part of the mainstream on a national level with little change in the leadership's rhetoric or policies or a lowering of the

levels of violence it perpetuates both in Maharashtra and elsewhere. In fact the Shiv Sena has grown in popularity and strength since the 1992-93 Babri Masjid incidence. That the right-wing policies of the Shiv Sena have gained credence at the national level does not bode well for the democratic process in India. Furthermore, if the Shiv Sena does ever gain enough votes to gain control of the center they would have the ability and the power to create new policies and maybe even amend the Indian Constitution. Herein lies the danger, for, whereas primordial incidents of violence are deadly and have far reaching effects the effects of altering the Constitution may cripple the democratic process permanently.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

It was Frederik Barth, who, in 1969 first stressed the importance of primordialism in "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference". (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969). In his work he stated that ethnic and racial categories are primordial and that mobilization is often based on the distinctive markers of race, language, birth, etc. He also believed implicitly that these deserve intense scrutiny in the realm of developmental literature. Other theorists like Donald L. Horowitz, Anthony Smith and Pierre L. Van den Berghe also believed in the importance of primordial ties in the formation of ethnic boundaries.<sup>197</sup>

From this perspective modernization is a threat to ethnicity and culture that prompts these groups to protect

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<sup>197</sup>See Donald L. Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Berkeley, University of California Press 1985; Anthony D. Smith, The Ethnic Revival in The Modern World, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981; Pierre L. Van Der Berghe, The Ethnic Phenomenon, New York, Elsevier, 1981.

their individuality by mobilizing, sometimes by mobilizing violently. Yet, while modernization reaffirms ethnic identity it also destroys it. These may seem contradictory but in fact both these claims can co-exist at the same time.

While modernization may erode the bases for smaller-scale ethnic identities, such as dialects or village and tribal identities, it simultaneously favors identification and mobilization along large scale regional or ethnic party lines.<sup>198</sup>

Many theorists now are of the opinion that ethnic movements today are the products of modernization<sup>199</sup>. Yet, they all reinforce that small-scale identities remain strong in many cultures.

This is certainly the case for India. The

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<sup>198</sup>Olzak, Susan, The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition, Stanford, California University Press, 1992, p. 17.

<sup>199</sup>For a general argument see M. T. Hannan, The Dynamics of Ethnic Boundaries in Modern States, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1981; A. D. Smith, The Ethnic Revival, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981; F. Nielsen, "Ethnic Solidarity in Modern Societies" American Sociological Review, Vol. 50., p. 133-145, 1985; and Susan Olzak, The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992.

conditions described in Chapter II are by-products of the process of modernization both political and economic. It is because of those conditions that we have the creation of a new elite, the coalescing of the middle class, increased mobilization of religious groups and the availability of modern day weaponry (the dependent variables of the structural model).

These in turn have accelerated the growth of primordial movements like the Shiv Sena. This group has been in existence since the 1960s on a regional level but in the 1990s has moved to the national scene and has mass appeal. It has expanded its basic Maratha primordial identity to encompass the doctrine of Hindutva, thus bringing other Hindus in the fold using the same primordial ideology to tap into the sentiments of the broader, mass group.

Thus, while the current situation has occurred because of modernization and the change incurred thereof the importance of primordialism should not be discounted in the modern world.

Early theorists in the field of development believed that over time these strong primordial ties will wither away as ethnic communities got drawn into the framework of the newly aligned, free state.<sup>200</sup> In the 1990s we are finding that the solidarity of these groups is growing and that in newly formed countries everywhere this form of mobilization and the subsequent violence that it generates is creating endemic problems of governability and posing threats to the newly formed systems.

The questions that the hypotheses raised in this dissertation are two-fold. Firstly, can the current wave of violence be identified as primordial?

As Clifford Geertz has identified these ties purport to some spiritual affirmity that the primordial group has tapped into. This ties encompasses kinship, cultural bonds, language, ritual as well as birth ties. Herein lies the importance of these ties for they are so

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<sup>200</sup>See, Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968; N. J. Smelser Theory of Collective Behavior, New York: Free Press, 1962.



strong they cannot be severed. The Shiv Sena may be identified as a primordial group on the regional level for it tied into Maharashtrian culture, ritual, language, customs, festivals etc. According to the tenets it prescribes to one can only be Maharashtrian by birth and, or, lineage. Through these birth ties one belongs to the larger Maharashtrian family, and, through loyalty to it one is always ready and willing to fight the enemy just as Shivaji the Great Maratha Warrior king was. The Shiv Sena army was always mobilized and ready for action, Ready to join forces with Maratha communities everywhere to fight at the call for violence from the leadership.

The group encompasses all the givens of culture, ritual, birth language (prescribed by Clifford Geertz in Chapter I) but, it also involves the creation of a spiritual tie, of a tie that is based on heritage and roots, and the proud Marathi tradition and Gods. The Shiv Sena has actively used these ties to create centers of community (Shakha) which have moved beyond mere rhetoric and actually implemented these primordial ties into the everyday life of

the member. When the call of action (violence) is given by the leadership the army of Shivaji moves in to fight the enemy and gain victory.

The Shiv Sena has now used the same ideology on the national level. Down-playing Marathi ties they are now promoting the primordial ties that bind all Hindus. They believe all Hindus, united by birth and lineage, should organize to fight the common enemy the un-Hindu, and that, all Hindus should unite under the umbrella of Hindutva because of their common Hindu heritage. Hindus should be ready to fight for an India that is free of the threat of the enemy. To the Western observer this may not seem unusual or disturbing but to attempt to bring together all Hindus under the umbrella of Hindutva through the politicization of Hindu tradition is like bringing together all types of Christians under one roof. One may ask the question: What does a Russian Orthodox Christian have in common with a Christian Scientist, and what does a Christian Scientist have in common with a Southern Baptist?

Yet, as the Babri Masjid incidence has shown that

the movement is gaining membership and success. The Shiv Sena and groups like it openly espouse the doctrine of Hindutva and while their rhetoric suggests that the doctrine is not meant to create further divides in India, in actuality it has done so, along with creating insecurity among the minorities.

Hindus, from all walks of life and from different castes united to demolish the mosque in Ayodhya and participated openly in the riots and lynchings later. Herein lies the danger, for, if it has happened before on such a large scale it can happen again.

It seems as though the army which is non-partisan is being used more and more to control violent demonstrations, riots etc., and this may relate to the theory of leaders like Bal Thackeray who openly denounce Democracy and believe that a dictatorship would serve the needs of Indians better. This also implies the inability of civil government to maintain law and order in the country.

In a country where illiteracy and ignorance abound, a dynamic leader like Bal Thackeray who directly

appeals to the masses may prove deadly for the democratic process. His calls for violence have always been answered by the Shiv Sena. Whether he will be able to mobilize Hindus at the national level the same way he mobilized the Maharashtrians remains to be seen.

The second question that the hypothesis project is does the organization and violence of groups like the Shiv Sena pose a threat to the democratic process?

This dissertation affirms the hypotheses in that on a regional level the Shiv Sena while a disturbance and a threat to the State government of Maharashtra posed little threat to the national scenario. That situation changed in 1992 with the Ayodhya incidence and the widespread involvement of the Shiv Sena in the riots and mobbing that took place there after. Since then the Shiv Sena is gaining in importance on the national level and is becoming a force to reckon with. As the Babri Masjid incident showed -- one incident in Ayodhya, in a far eastern part of India, created waves of violence across the whole country, even as far as Bombay on the west coast. The whole country felt the

repercussions of this violence and yet the central government seemed unable to control the situation or even address it.

Shakhas are now forming in many states all over the country bringing people together on a daily basis into the family of Hindutva.

India is still a functioning democracy but there is evidence everywhere of an eroding political order. Below the rulers, the entrenched civil and police services have been politicized. Various social groups have pressed new and even more diverse political demands in demonstrations that often have led to violence. The omni-present but feeble state, in turn, has vacillated; its responses have varied over a wide range: indifference, sporadic concessions, and repression. Such vacillation has fueled further opposition. The ineffectiveness of repression, moreover has highlighted the breakdown of the civil machinery intended to enforce the law and maintain order. In order to protect themselves citizens in some parts of the country have begun organizing private armies. The growing political violence has periodically brought the armed forces into India's political arena, whereas the armed forces once were considered.<sup>201</sup>

This violence does affect the democratic process

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<sup>201</sup>Atul Kohli, *Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of governability*, New York; Cambridge University Press, p. 3.

and therein lies the threat. It must be clarified here that while the democratic process is more threatened now than ever before because of conditions of change occurring in the Indian state nowhere does it state in this dissertation that democracy is imminently in danger. In actuality, there is a gradual breakdown of the political process that is escalating because of the enormous socio-economic-political changes of 1990's. How this threat plays out will be seen in the next few years.

A dynamic leader, like Bal Thackeray, who provides a direct sense of identity with the masses may have far-reaching effects if in fact he does gain power. Then direct democracy may well become a thing of the past as he does not believe in the democratic process.

The other effects of this threat though, not as far reaching, may still pose some serious threats to the secular nature of India's state. Under Nehru's vision the Indian Constitution proclaimed Indian's secularity and its non-alignment with any one religious group. Yet, in actuality there is a difference between the Uniform Hindu

Code and the Code of Law followed by the Muslims which has always been a source of contention between communities in India.

The whole movement of Hindutva may ultimately negate the policy of secularism by creating a situation whereby the majority religion (Hindu) becomes the state religion and whereby the minority religious and communities have limited rights protected by the Constitution. In order to do this the Constitution will have to be amended and India's secularity will no longer be an issue. The national government will then be able to accept the Hindu doctrine and there will no longer be a separation between church and state. This may have some dire consequences on the security of the minority groups and yet, in doing this, India will align itself with other newly developed nations that do subscribe to a state religion (Pakistan, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Russia, Uzbekistan, Israel are all examples. The ideal of secularism, while a lofty one, may not be a practical one for the Indian state today.

Thus, as the structural model shows the changing

conditions in India have effects which when coupled with primordial violence from groups like the Shiv Sena pose a threat to the democratic process in several different ways.

First, in the extreme there is a remote chance that a dynamic leader with mass popularity may impose a dictatorship or even military rule. But, the more direct threat to the democratic process is the threat to secularism. India's democracy has succeeded so far in part because of its policy of secularism whereby minorities are allowed to co-exist on an equal basis (at least Constitutionally). The gradual breakdown of the democratic process has created a direct threat to secularism today.

The question to be asked here is if secularism is threatened today, through continual primordial coalitions and violence, how much longer before the system breakdown to the point, where democracy itself, is no longer a viable alternate?

Finally, the main prescriptive implication of this analysis is that while the democratic process is being threatened by the rise of primordial violence it is possible for the situation to be controlled and rectified. Horowitz,



in "Ethnic Conflict Management for Policy Makers", argues that political institutions should be designed so as to "make moderation pay".<sup>202</sup> His prescription lies, "in the emergence of more limited but nevertheless truly multiethnic political coalitions that will bring multiple groups into political power and keep them mutually dependent on one another".<sup>203</sup>

In order for this to take place federalism is pivotal, for federalism helps disperse conflict and then keeps it contained to a limited area. It matters greatly, however, how federalism is structured and implemented. One critical issue is whether to create homogenous or heterogeneous federal units. By reorganizing state boundaries along linguistic lines India enhanced the security of major groups at the cost of reinforcing prejudices against the

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<sup>202</sup>Donald Horowitz, "Ethnic Conflict Management for Policy Makers", in Joseph V. Montville, ed., Conflict and Peace-Making in Multiethnic Societies, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1990, p.115.

<sup>203</sup>Ibid., p.116

minorities.<sup>204</sup> The negative effect of this type of structuring has created problems for the Indian state since its inception. In addition, India's worst internal conflicts like the Punjab and Kashmir were aggravated by usurpation of state autonomy and abuses of power in the central government that began during the Prime-Ministership of Indira Gandhi.<sup>205</sup> Hardgrave believes that the balance between the center and the states must be restored if India is to overcome its current turmoil.<sup>206</sup>

India's federal system once acted to compartmentalize social unrest. In this way political crises was often containable within a single state or region. But the centralization of power also centralized problems bringing too the desk of the Prime-Minister issues once resolved at the state level. The balance must be restored through a

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<sup>204</sup>Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p. xxvii.

<sup>205</sup>Ibid.

<sup>206</sup>see Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., and Stanley Kochanek, India: Government and Politics in a Developing Nation, 5th edition, Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace Jovanich, 1993, p. 167-215.

devolution of power to the states, indeed perhaps to an increased number of states and possibly "autonomous regions" within states. But this devolution must be accompanied by the constitutional guarantee of civil rights and liberties to ensure that all persons receive the equal protection of the law.<sup>207</sup>

In his essay, "Democracy in Divided Societies", Robert L. Hardgrave draws some conclusions in regard to the situation in India. He believes that conflict management can take place when there is a balance of power between the center and the state, and a move away from the centralist policies of today, where central government powers supersede the powers of the state.

Historically, too, these types of conflicts have been solved through bargaining and accommodation of the rights of the minorities. Force alone seems to be unable to handle violent conflicts and bring about their resolution.

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<sup>207</sup>Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., "Democracy in Divided Societies" in Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1994, p.80.

Next , he believes that in every democracy the tension between majority and minority rights is prevalent. Indeed, "Democracy is sustained because there is no single, monolithic, and permanent majority, but rather a shifting series of ruling coalitions made up of minorities".<sup>208</sup> It is important for these groups to have a sense of mutual respect for each other. Lacking this, one group or a coalition of groups may seek to dominate the others, and, if the center cannot control this, the society may be torn apart by violence and strife.

Finally, primordial conflict management must be considered in an international context. In India, Sri Lanka, Bosnia, and throughout the newly formed states of Eastern Europe primordial conflicts are "intertwined with the strong national, religious and linguistic bonds that unite people across borders."<sup>209</sup> The international community has a critical role in making sure that minorities can co-exist safely within the borders of their own states. It is

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid, p.85.

<sup>209</sup> Larry Diamond, and Marc. F. Plattner, p.xxvii.

also important that international organizations like the United Nations monitor as well as mediate primordial disputes.

In spite of the seemingly insurmountable problems facing India today ultimately the vitality of the system will remain. For as history has shown, as it did, during the post Emergency era that when democracy and democratic institutions are threatened by a leader, however popular, that leader or party is overthrown. Thus far, democracy and its continuation are of prime importance to the electorate and the mandate of the people has disallowed any one leader or party from becoming too autocratic.

The overarching message of this dissertation is that the proper structuring of the political system, the balance between the center and the state, the upholding of the rights and liberties of minorities and the dispossessed in Indian society, and continued dialogue and accommodation of the rights of all the different groups in India is necessary to alleviate the current threat of primordial violence to the democratic process. For as Horowitz observed, "Even in

the most severely divided society, ties of blood do not  
ineluctably lead to rivers of blood".<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>210</sup>Donald Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, Berkeley:  
University of California Press, 1985, p.684.

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APPENDIX A: THE TIME ORDERED MATRIX<sup>211</sup>

DESCRIPTION OF

<u>DATE</u>	<u>VIOLENT INCIDENTS</u>	<u>PLACE</u>
1. April 8, 1991	Hundreds of Sena Supporters gathered shouting slogans, disrupting the court proceedings and vandalizing the courthouse.	Bombay High Court
2. October 25, 1991	A gang of Sena members physically attacked the newspaper <u>Mahanagar</u> , its staff members and smashed telex machines.	Bombay
3. October 30, 1991	300-500 people marched to protest the attack (above). They were stoned, bottles were thrown at them. Sena members attacked them especially journalists Milind Khandekar ( <u>Dopahar</u> ) with iron rods and Manimala ( <u>Navbharat Times</u> ) who was beaten even worse than Sheela and Rajan Chavhan while the police watched and did little. Magazine vendors selling	

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<sup>211</sup>See Appendix "B" for Sources.

Mahanagar had their booths stoned and burnt. Several people were hurt in the use of firearms by Sena members.

4. October 19, 1991 Clashes occurred between the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) (a student union) and the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sena, the Sena's student wing headed by Mr. Raj Thackeray, the Sena chief's nephew. Bombay
5. October 22, 1991 Shiv Sena activists damaged the pitch at the cricket stadium to protest the presence of Pakistani cricket Wankhede Stadium players in keeping with their anti-Pakistani stand. Nineteen Shiv Sainiks tricked 60 police officers by pretending to be construction workers. They dug up the wicket and poured oil on the pitch. They were later arrested.
6. October 26, 1991 The one-day International Cricket match against Bombay

Pakistan was called off for fear of threatened violence from the Shiv Sena. The match was scheduled for October 28, 1991.

7.     October     Shiv Sainiks "gheraod" (to  
26, 1991           physically converge upon and  
                  threaten) the food and civil  
                  supplies minister, Jawaharlal  
                  Darda, in an anti-price rise  
                  agitation.
  
8.     October     300-500     people     marched     in     Bombay  
30, 1991           protest     against     the     Sena  
                  attack     on     the     Mahanagar  
                  office.     They     were     attacked  
                  by Sena members.
  
9.     November     Mr. Thackeray was charge-     Mulund,  
15, 1991           sheeted     for     instigating,     Vikhroli  
                  abetting,     sparking     riots     and  
                  for criminal trespass at the  
                  Wankhede Stadium on October  
                  22, 1991. Mr. Thackeray was  
                  also charged for his  
                  provocative             public  
                  utterances, with intent to  
                  cause riots, at the Sena's  
                  annual Dussera Day Rally on

October 11, at Shivaji Park.

The charge sheet came up for hearing today. Mulund and Vikhroli (Sena strongholds) observed a spontaneous bandh (a situation where shops, offices, stores, banks, etc., close down for fear of violence).

- |     |                      |  |         |
|-----|----------------------|--|---------|
| 10. | February<br>13, 1992 | A bomb blast outside the Sena office in Mulund killed a worker.  | Mulund  |
| 11. | February<br>15, 1992 | Shiv Sena Pramukh (leader) Maruti Haldankar was brutally murdered outside his residence by three assailants. One of the assailants stopped and spoke to him while the other two attacked him from behind, first with a sword and then with a firearm. The killers spoke fluent Marathi according to eye-witnesses. | Bhandup |
| 12. | March<br>24, 1992    | Shiv Sena MLA (Member Parel of the Legislature) was shot at point blank range at his   | Parel   |

residence in Parel, a Shiv Sena strong hold. Dispute over extortion money was said to be the motive behind the killing. The murder sent shock waves throughout the Parel community as the Sena called for a bandh (shutdown) and shops and businesses closed. The police believed that there was a connection between this murder and that of Shiv Sena leader Maruti Haldankar.

13. May 25, 1992 Shiv Sena activist from Baroda, Hemant Modi was killed by Kumar Pillai. Two days later Pillai's father was dragged out of a bus at knife-point. His body was found later that night.

Baroda,  
Gujarat

The Sena foothold in Gujarat has grown rapidly in the last two years. Hemant Modi was the lieutenant of Shiv Sena leader, Raju Risaldar of Baroda. Modi was wanted in the murder of Ashok Bhogilal, a close friend of External Affairs Minister, M Solanki Ashok Bhogilal was

gunned down in broad daylight.

The Shiv Sena has set up about 50 offices in Gujarat and they control a lot of important areas. Industrial disputes and property disputes were settled out of court through Sena arbitration.

In recent months, the personnel manager of Gokak Mills Amer Rawal was killed allegedly by the Shiv Sena trade union at the textile mills.

14. December 5, 1992      The first group of Sena Volunteers left for Ayodhya to join VHP forces. The mosque was destroyed on December 6th.

15. December 28, 1992 - January 5, 1993      Riots and mass fighting in Ayodhya as the Babri Masjid (a Muslim mosque said to have been built at the birth place of Ram) was demolished by the VHP and the Shiv Sena. As news of the demolition spread



riots, mass killings, and vandalism took place all over the country. In the state of Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena taking advantage of the situation went on a rampage.

16. January 6, 1993 - January 15, 1993      Severe riots took place in Maharashtra and especially Bombay. It was reported that almost 200,000 people fled the city. The Shiv Sena burnt buildings and cars, destroyed property and vehicles and burnt and killed citizens of the city. The whole city came to a standstill. Industry and commerce shutdown and the Prime Minister had to bring in the army to control the situation. The Shiv Sena openly accepted responsibility for the destruction of the mosque and the subsequent situation in Maharashtra.      Bombay, Thane, Nasik
17. February 8, 1993      The Shiv Sena led a procession to Malang Gad, a controversial place of worship. The army      Thane

was called out and there was a lathi-charge (the military attempts to control the mob by rushing them and then beating them). Many Shiv Sainiks including the leader of the team Mr. Anand Dighe were injured. Offenses against 16 Sena activists were registered. A bandh was enforced in Bombay by the Shiv Sena (though this insurgence took place in Ulhasnagar, Kalyan, Thane, Ambarnath and Badlapur) to protest the arrest of Mr. Dighe. Stones were pelted at buses and drivers were injured and in Bombay the police had to use gun fire to disperse the mob.

18. February 9, 1993	A bandh was called by the Shiv Sena to protest the arrest of 250 of its members. The office of the Municipal Commissioner, Mr. Madhukar Choubey, was pelted with stones and glass panes were broken. Shops, banks, schools and gas stations remained closed. The bandh stretched	Thane, Devlali, Nasik
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as far as Devlali and Nasik districts in Maharashtra.

19. February 11, 1993 A sit-out (dharna) was staged by BJP - Shiv Sena members at Mantralaya (the offices of the government of Maharashtra) in protest against the arrest of Mr. Madhukar Sarpotdar (who was arrested with illegal arms) and Mr. Dighe, the Thane district chief. Fifty BJP and Sena members were involved in a scuffle with the police when they were stopped from entering the state government headquarters. Several members of the delegation were hurt in the scuffle. Bombay
20. May 30, 1993 The Shiv Sena MLC, Mr. Ramesh Shanker More, was gunned down outside his Versova home. Versova
21. June 28, 1993 Mr. Dinesh Pathak the editor of Sandesh a Gujaratis daily, was brutally murdered by the Baroda unit of the Shiv Sena. In Baroda the Shiv Sena has 19 murders, 9 murder attempts, 15 Baroda, Gujarat

rioting cases, 14 assaults leading to injury and 6 other cases against them.

22. June 29, 1993 A gang of 30 youth owing allegiance to the Shiv Sena linked the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sena (BVS), attacked Professor PA John of Hinduja College. He sustained injuries on his back, neck and stomach. The leader of the youth, 24 year old Sanjay Shankar Gahdi, was arrested and released on Rs. 2000 bail. Bombay
23. August 19, 1993 Journalists of two Marathi evening papers were targeted for attack by the Shiv Sena today. The office of Aaj Dinank was ransacked and the editor of Mahanagar, Mr. Nikhil Wagle, was assaulted in two separate incidents. Three people were injured. Bombay
24. August 29, 1993 A meeting held by the Action Committee against Terrorism at Dadar

Dadar was disrupted by Sainiks who threw stones and glass bottles, injuring a BBC journalist Naresh Kaushik. The police resorted to a Lathi-charge to disperse the mob.

25. September 4, 1993      Activists of the Shiv Sena disrupted a Goregaon meeting at which Mr. Nikhil Wagle, the editor of Mahanagar was scheduled to speak. They threw stones at cars and people, looted hawkers and shouted profanities. The Sena members attempted to attack the police and sixty eight of its members were arrested and taken to the police station.      Goregaon
26. September 5, 1993      People returning after attending the "DKS" (Dahashatvadvirodhi Samiti) were attacked by Sainiks in Mazgaon. About 15-20 people were injured.      Mazgaon
27. September      A dharna was staged at Sena Dadar,

12, 1993                      Bhavan in Dadar, by 500                      Bombay  
journalists from all over  
India to protest the Shiv  
Sena's attacks against  
journalists and the state  
government's reluctance to  
take any action against them.  
The road leading to Sena  
Bhavan was lined with Sainiks  
and policemen attempting to  
maintain peace and order.  
Sainiks displayed placards and  
shouted slogans and the Sena  
women's group was in dressed  
in their saffron saris. The  
Sena mob raised questions  
about the credibility of the  
journalists, their newspapers  
and the reports they wrote.

28. November                      The Shiv Sena shakha from                      Andheri  
10, 1993                      Andheri threatened an  
agitation over the issue of  
the color scheme of the  
railway station. They  
objected because the station  
was painted green.  
Meanwhile the Shiv Sena  
decided to break their  
alliance with the BJP  
(Bharatiya Janta Party) and

decided to move to the national stage and contest four northern states in the forthcoming elections.

29. January 20, 1994 The police foiled a plot to kill Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray the militants belonging to the Babar Khalsa. Four of them were arrested as they were also involved in a number of criminal cases including blowing up of police vehicles. Batala, Punjab
30. January 21, 1994 The Shiv Sena indulged in organized violence against the Dalits throughout Marathwada. An effigy of Shiv Sena Chief Bal Thackeray was burnt in Hyderabad by Dalits in protest against the violence perpetrated by Shiv Sena members in the Marathwada region over the renaming of Aurangabad University after Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (the champion of the lower castes). Marathwada, Hyderabad
31. February Nine journalists sustained Aurangabad

- 19, 1994 injuries when they were beaten up today by Shiv Sena activists in a hotel where the Sena chief, Mr. Bal Thackeray was about to hold a press conference.
32. February 24, 1994 A case was filed by Mr. Alam against Mr. Thackeray for manhandling, deliberately insulting and humiliating him and also for using profanity and having security guards drag him out of the hall where Mr. Thackeray was holding a press conference to which Mr. Alam had been invited. Aurang-abad
33. March 5, 1994 The newspaper distribution vans of various publication houses were barred from distributing newspapers to the vendors by the Shiv Sena. Even the presence of police did not bolster the confidence of the vendors who refused to sell newspapers in North East Bombay. Bombay



34. May 24, 1994 The police arrested 107 Sena activists, including 73 women, under Section 135 of the Bombay Police Act for unlawful activities. Ghatkopar, Bhoiwada, Matunga
35. May 25, 1996 - April 8, 1995 The Shiv Sena worked hard to win the upcoming election in March, 1995. Violence was toned down and every effort was made to win over the citizens of Maharashtra. The Shiv Sena - BJP alliance was triumphant and Mr. Manohar Joshi, of the Shiv Sena, was sworn in as Chief Minister of Maharashtra.
36. August 16, 1995 At least 50 activists allegedly associated with the Shiv Sena stormed the residence of civic crusader Arvind Ghatpande and blackened his face with 'tar' to protest his anti-Ganesh activities. Pune

37. September 9, 1995 Mr. D. B. Kadam, principal of Bhavan's College in Andheri was attacked by Shiv Sainiks. They wanted the principal to close down the college to mourn the death of Bal Thackeray's wife Meena Thackeray and attacked the principal because he refused to do so. Andheri
38. November 24, 1995 Security for Shiv Sena leader Mr. Bal Thackeray was tightened due to threats by leader of the 'underworld', Dawood Ibrahim. Bombay
39. January 14, 1996 Shiv Sainiks burst into the office of Zee TV breaking window panes, fax machines and destroying office cars and terrorizing the secretaries. The Sainiks believe Zee TV, a cable station, to be anti-national. New Delhi

40. September 6 & 7, 1995      The Shiv Sena initiated spontaneous bandhs all over the city to mark the death of Meena Thackeray, Bal Thackeray's wife.      Bombay
41. June 28, 1996      An apartment belonging to Jaidev Thackeray, the son of Mr. Thackeray, was raided by the Bombay police in connection with an extortion racket, creating ripples in the political circles of the state.      Bombay
42. July 5, 1996      The face of vice-president of Nippon Denro Ispat Ltd, Ct. Mammuty, was blackened by Shiv Sainiks and a garland of slippers was placed around his neck at the company's plant. A large number of Sainiks marched shouting slogans and demanding jobs.      Raigad
43. July 8, 1996      Shiv Sainiks stormed the Haffkine Bio Chemical

Institute and kidnapped the Director, Dr. Vishwanath Yemul, who was dragged to the residence of Mr. Thackeray. He was made to sit outside the leaders room and was occasionally punched. After a while he was allowed to leave.

Note - the time-ordered matrix was formulated from information gathered from The Times of India, The Indian Express, The Telegraph, The Hindu, The Sunday, The Observer, Outlook, The Pioneer, Mainstream, The Independent, The Week, Illustrated Weekly of India, Mid-Day, India Today, The Free Press, Journal, Blitz Weekly, The Sunday Observer, Communalism Combat, The Statesman, The Guardian, Humanscape, Business Standard, Business India. A nationwide search was undertaken, in India, in order to formulate the matrix. The Times of India information service and Reference Library's Archives in Bombay, provided a major source of information. English language dailies, weeklies, and monthly magazines were all used to compile the matrix. Any article written on the Shiv Sena in an English language publication, from January 1990, was utilized to form the basis of the matrix. More than four hundred pages of information was compiled in order for the matrix to be formulated.

## APPENDIX B

The sources of information for the time-ordered matrix in Appendix A.

1. The Times of India, "The Sena at the High Court", by a Staff Reporter, Bombay; April 18, 1991.

2. The Independant, "Mahanagar Office Attacked", by a staff reporter, Bombay; October, 25, 1991, p.26.

3. The Blitz, "Journalists Rally against Shiv Sena Bullying", by a staff reporter, Bombay; October 30, 1991, p.24.

Also reported in the Times of India and Navbharat Times.

4. The Times of India News Service, October 19, 1991, Bombay.

5. The Independant, "Boycott Pakistanis: Thackeray", by a staff reporter, Bombay; October 22, 1991, cover story. Also reported in the Times of India and The Indian Express.

6. The Times of India, "State to Tackle Cricket Issue", The Times of India News Service, October 24, 1991, p.1.

7. The Times of India, "City Frowns on Thackeray", by a staff reporter, Bombay; October 26, 1991, p.1.

8. The Blitz, "Journalists rally against Shiv Sena bullying", by a staff reporter, Bombay; October 30, 1991, p.24.

9. The Indian Express, "Criminal Case slapped on Thackeray", Express News Service, November 15, 1991, p.1 and 7.

Also reported in the Independant, and The Week.

10. The Blitz, "The Grip Loosens", by P. Sainath, Bombay; February 13, 1992, p.24.
11. The Independant, "Sena Leader Murdered", by a staff reporter, Parel; February 15, 1992, p.1.
12. The Independent, "Extortion Link to MLA Killing", by a staff reporter, Bombay; March 24, 1992, p.1.
13. Indian Express, "Sena Flexing muscles in Baroda Underworld", by Bharat Desai, Gujarat; May, 25, 1992, p.1.
14. The Times of India, "First Sena Batch leaves for Ayodhya", by a staff reporter, Bombay; December,5, 1992, p.1.
15. As reported in every English language publication of these dates as front page cover stories, December 28, 1992-January,5, 1993.
16. Cover story reports in The Times of India, Indian Express, The Independant and the Statesman, January 6-15, 1993.
17. The Times of India, "Mixed Response to Thane Bandh", by a staff reporter, Bombay; February 8, 1993, p.1 and 3.
18. The Times of India, "Thane Bandh", by a staff reporter, Bombay; February, 9, 1993, p.1.
19. The Times of India "Arrests not Political", by a staff reporter, Bombay; February 11, 1993, p.1 and 15.
20. The Times of India, "Shiv Sainik gunned down", by a staff reporter, Bombay; May 30, 1993, p.1 and 28.
21. Deccan Herald, "Politicians win battle with Underworld", by S. Vyas, Ahmedabad; June 28, 1993, p.1.

22. Indian Express, "Sena Youth attack Lecturer", Indian Express News Service, June 29, 1993, p.1.
23. The Times of India, "Sena Men Attack Marathi Scribes", by a staff reporter, Dadar; August, 19, 1993, p.1 and 10.
24. Indian Express, "Shiv Sena goes on the Rampage again", Express News Service, August, 29, 1993, p.1 and 3. Also reported by The Times of India, "Sena Terror in Action", by a staff reporter, Bombay,; August, 29, 1993, p.1.
25. The Pioneer, "Close Encounters", by Kalpana Sharma, New Delhi; September 4, 1993, p.1.
26. Deccan Herald, "Thackeray Men continue to attack Press", by Sanbhit Bal, Bangalore; September 5, 1993, p.1.
27. The Times of India, "Dharna by Scribes at Sena Bhavan Today", The Times of India News Service, September 12, 1993, p.1.
28. The Times of India, "Thackeray dictates on Andheri Station", by a staff reporter, Bombay; November, 10, 1993, p.1.
29. The Pioneer, "Plot to Kill Thackeray", Press Trust of India News Service, January 20, 1994.
30. The Pioneer, "Thackeray Effigy burnt in Hyderabad", by a state correspondent, Marathwada and Hyderabad, January 21, 1993, p.1.
31. The Times of India, "Sena men beat up Journalists", The Times of India News Service, Aurangabad; February 19, 1994.
32. The Times of India, "Case filed against Thackeray", The Times of India News Service, p.1 and 6.

33. The Independant, "Sena Activists bar Vendors in Suburbs", by a staff reporter, Bombay; March 5, 1994, p.1.

34. The Times of India, "Sena Activists Arrested", by a staff reporter, Bombay, May 24, 1994.

35. Reports from the Blitz weekly, "The Shiv Sena goes Global", Vaibhav Purandhare, Bombay, June 25, 1995, p.1;

The Times of India, September 27, 1994; October 13, 1994; October, 20, 1994; November 22, 1994; November 24, 1994;

Indian Express, December 25, 1994; December 26, 1994;

India Today, "A Change of Color", by L. Rattanani, New Delhi, January 11, 1995, p.33;

The Week, "A Populist Pitch", by B. Krishnakumar, Bombay, January 29, 1995, p.35-43;

The Sunday Observer, "We have to, Must, and will form a government at any cost", by Olga Tellis, Bombay, February 12, 1995.

36. Indian Express, "Sena Men Assault Civic Crusader", Express News Service, August 16, 1995, p.1.

37. The Times of India, "Bombay University College Teacher's Union (BUCTU) urges the Chief Minister to book principal assaulters", by a staff reporter, Bombay, September 9, 1995, p.1.

38. The Times of India Security for Thackeray stepped up", by Dilip Chaware, Bombay, November 24, 1995, p.1 and 11.

39. The Pioneer, "Right Wing", by Sunil Sethi, New Delhi, January 14, 1996, cover story.

40. The Times of India, "Sena Bandhs", Times of India News Service. Bombay, September 6 and 7, p.1.



41. The Pioneer, "Headed to Nowhere", by Lakshmi Aiyer, New Delhi, as reported on July 16, 1996, cover story.

42. The Times of India, "Sainiks Blacken Officials Face", The Times of India News Service, July 5, 1996.

43. The Pioneer, "Headed to Nowhere", by Lakshmi Aiyar, New Delhi, as reported on July 16, 1996, cover story.

\* The founding fathers had allowed the various "Rajas" privy purses in order to encourage them to join the newly formed union.