

Contents

Preface to the Second Edition ix

Preface xiii

Part I Arguments and Theories

1 Introduction 3

2 Why Civil Society? Ethnic Conflict and the Existing Traditions of Inquiry 23

Part II The National Level

3 Competing National Imaginations 55

4 Hindu-Muslim Riots, 1950–1995: The National Picture 87

Part III Local Variations

Aligarh and Calicut: Internal and External Cleavages

5 Aligarh and Calicut: Civic Life and Its Political Foundations 119

6 Vicious and Virtuous Circles 149

Hyderabad and Lucknow: Elite Integration Versus Mass Integration

7 Princely Resistance to Civil Society 171

8 Hindu Nationalists as Bridge Builders? 201

Ahmedabad and Surat: How Civic Institutions Decline

9 Gandhi and Civil Society 219

10 Decline of a Civic Order and Communal Violence 239

11 Endogeneity? Of Causes and Consequences 262

Part IV Conclusions

12 Ethnic Conflict, the State, and Civil Society 281

Appendix A Questionnaire for the Project on Hindu-Muslim
Relations in India 301

Appendix B Data Entry Protocol for the Riot Database 309

Appendix C Regression Results: Hindu-Muslim Riots,
1950–1995 314

Notes 319

Index 373