

Type : Politics Research Paper

Topic : Is India moving towards Hindutva Politics or Politics of Development?

Under the supervision of :Mr. Ritwik Mehta

Author: Sourishree Ghosh

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Introduction	3
Trajectory of Hindutva Politics in the South	6
Neoliberalism, Political Economy and Hindutva Politics	7
Economic Nationalism under Politics of Hindutva	10
Caste Dynamics and Hindutva Politics in India and Abroad	13
Case study on the Gujarat and U.P Model of Development and Electoral Success	15
Decoding the Gujarat Elections 2022	17
Minority Politics, Hindutva and Development	18
Decolonisation of India as Development	20
Conclusion	21
References	22

Abstract

Recently in India, there has been a triumphalist positioning of a cultural and economic right-wing nationalist discourse in the political process. The development discourse in the country over the last decade has been shaped by the rise of neoliberalism and the end of the trickle-down effect of the socialist economy, coupled with the decline of the Congress. Since 2014, the party's general elections campaign slogan has been the 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas, Sabka Viswas,' with Shri Narendra Modi as the central figure. It's noteworthy that the party's developmental discourse before the 2014 elections focused on the Gujarat Model against the policy paralysis of the then Dr. Manmohan Singh-led UPA government. After the 2019 elections, the political rhetoric has seen the consolidation of the narrative of Hindutva. The BJP's manifestation of market citizenship involves an intermingling of cultural nationalism and neoliberalism. The ruling party's vision of 'Bharat' revolves around two focal points: nationalism (Rashtravaad) and development (Vikas). 'Atmanirbhar Bharat' can be perceived as an attempt to reincarnate the idea of a 'golden Indian past' and a move towards decolonization. The aim is to present India as a Hinduized nationalist idiom and a 'vishwa guru.' Both the Hindutva card and development are crucial determining factors in the upcoming 2024 Lok Sabha Elections. This paper examines how Hindutva has shaped the development discourse in the country post-India's independence. Additionally, it delves into the Hindutva angle of policies such as caste census, freebies, and minority politics in Modi's 'New India.' Notably, major opposition parties have also leveraged the Hindutva vote bank in the recent state assembly elections and the upcoming Lok Sabha Elections in 2024. In the ongoing elections, party campaigns are characterised by a mix of competitive populism and communalism. The paper aims to present an analysis to understand whether India is moving towards the politics of development or the politics of Hindutva.

Keywords: Nationalist, Communal, Hindutva, Neoliberalism, Development, Minority

Introduction

Are Indian elections/political systems issue-based or identity driven?

Elections in India, both at the state and national levels, are influenced by various factors, including caste, class, religion, and other identity-based considerations. To ascertain whether India is shifting towards a politics of development or Hindutva, an examination of the political strategies employed by the ruling party and the largest opposition is crucial. Some political analysts argue that development has emerged as a central issue in Indian politics, evident in the electoral success of parties like the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) in Punjab and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)

due to their focus on development. The upcoming Assembly elections in Chhattisgarh, Mizoram, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Telangana are often referred to as the semi-finals before the Lok Sabha polls, serving as a litmus test for Hindutva. In the north-central Indian states with a significant Hindi-speaking population, the BJP seeks to capitalise on increased support for its unabashed Hindutva ideology. Contrastingly, the Congress has concentrated its strategy on three key elements: an Anti-Modi narrative, political consolidation, and mobilisation of Muslim communities (referred to by the BJP as the minorities appeasement policy) and Dalits. It is noteworthy that the Congress, since post-independence, has been perceived as an umbrella party without identity-based politics. Examining the 2021-22 Budget reveals that the Central government, led by the BJP-led NDA, allocated over Rs 4 trillion towards major schemes. A closer look at the political and development discourse indicates that the incumbent party has prioritised infrastructural development, financing micro to medium entrepreneurs, and developing the technical infrastructure for improved and efficient scheme delivery. The BJP's political slogan, "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vishwas, Sabka Prayas," is rooted in the soft and hard components of development crucial for India's future. The concepts of New India and Hindu Rashtra are viewed as two sides of the same coin. The Sangh Parivar's ideology, Hindutva, is evolving into Hindu populist politics, taking a more inclusive and developmentalist stance. This shift has proven to be an effective political strategy under its conservative ideology. The rhetoric of "Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas and Sabka Biswas, Sabka Prayas" has a socialist and liberal dimension to it, and is also an attempt to make it politically inclusive.¹

On the development front, the BJP-led central government has unveiled a series of schemes. During the 2014 general elections, the campaign emphasised development (Vikas), presenting a vision of 'achhe din' and envisioning a 'New India' through a religious lens. The victory in 2014 was a blend of Hindutva and development, aiming to reclaim India's place as a 'Viswa Guru' on the world stage, projecting an awakened Hindu nation capable of exporting traditional values. Modi's India, through various measures, established the concept of 'Brand India,' driving an energetic foreign policy since 2014 to reform western-dominated world institutions and represent the Global South. Post the 2014 elections, the BJP adopted a soft Hindutva approach, demonstrating a political strategy to include minorities, including Muslims and Christians.² Despite the BJP's historical hardline Hindutva stance, it has softened with a flavour of inclusivity. Notably, the party increased its budget for minorities, introducing schemes like free UPSC preparation for Muslim

1

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1TooyzDhIYsYFksS7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzYEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698249907/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.deccanherald.com%2ffinda%2fsabka-saath-sabka-vikas-indias-guiding-principle-in-global-relations-pm-modi-2674798/RK=2/RS=3YrY5cniYDRGoO5L1vFnkPujMI-

2

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrxtSTG15lzHoiSi67HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700695059/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2findianexpress.com%2farticle%2fpolitical-pulse%2froad-to-2024-hindutva-plus-welfare-emerges-as-bjp-pitch-for-polls-congress-not-far-behind-9035056%2f/RK=2/RS=pepglX0oLDYD6AR6RtCi5xtNUdM-

minorities. The recent announcement of five years of free ration further aligns BJP's policies with the developmental needs of the people. The BJP's strategy retains a significant element of Hindutva without removing it entirely from the political agenda. Interestingly, the Congress has also adopted a Hindutva approach. Ahead of the Chhattisgarh elections, top Congress leaders were observed visiting temples, including Kedarnath. The Congress, set to contest the 2024 Elections under the INDIA bloc, faced public backlash when MK Stalin of Tamil Nadu remarked that Sanatana Dharma must be eradicated. This provided a political opportunity for the BJP to consolidate its focal point of the Hindutva strategy. The BJP's alignment of policies with developmental needs, accommodating minority aspirations, reflects a crucial lesson learned by the party after successive electoral setbacks. Previously, the BJP was predominantly seen as a party representing the upper castes and the business community (baniyas). However, there has been a shift in this perception as the BJP aims to unite all Hindus, regardless of their caste, under the umbrella of nationalism. The party is strategically emphasising the concept of Rashtravad, positioning itself as a political force that prioritises national security transcending religious boundaries. This approach has proven successful in garnering support from the Other Backward Classes (OBC) voting bloc. The OBC vote share of the BJP has risen significantly since the 1999 BJP led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee and today, they have a vote share of 60-70% of the OBC vote. The BJP's all-India vote share in the Lok Sabha election of 2019 (37.6%) was almost double that of 2009 (18.6%) and one of the main reasons is the rise of the OBC vote bank of the BJP.³ As we see that the BJP also brought the Triple Talaq Bill and this also helped the party to garner the votes of the Muslim women in Uttar Pradesh.⁴ This also sheds light on the BJP's opposition to the ongoing caste survey in Congress-led states such as Bihar and Rajasthan. The BJP's stance is rooted in the belief that caste surveys could potentially sow divisions among Hindus. Given that India is home to around 3,000 castes and 25,000 caste groups within the Hindu religion, segmented by specific occupations, the BJP fears that conducting such surveys would lead to countless divisions among castes and sub-castes. In this scenario, every caste might assert its demands for reservations, posing a perceived threat to the BJP's goal of establishing a Hindu Rashtra. The BJP sees Rashtravad and Hindutva as integral components of the same political strategy. On a national level, an analysis reveals that Dalits and Muslims tend to vote for the Congress, providing data and facts to substantiate this claim, while supporting regional parties in regional elections—such as the Trinamool Congress in West Bengal.

³https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKCdsthFtIImoCbBi7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzIEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700525230/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2findianexpress.com%2farticle%2fexplained%2fan-expert-explains-caste-survey-obc-vote-8971768%2f/RK=2/RS=i6Bh7dUIYW7mk.J_DoNc3PvIKNQ-

⁴ Triple Talaq Bill and Electoral Success in UP

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrX_6xahlI8H4Clim7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700525786/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2feconomicstimes.indiatimes.com%2fnews%2fpolitics-and-nation%2fup-bjp-to-appoint-100-women-as-teen-talaq-pramukhs-in-january%2farticleshow%2f67266266.cms/RK=2/RS=IXSLtneAPthDUuEUvgHasGJaUml-

⁵The Hindutva ideology propagated by the BJP dismisses caste divisions within Hindu society, prioritising nationalism over caste considerations. Over the past nine years, there has been a noticeable rise in the BJP's adoption of soft Hindutva, a trend mirrored by major national parties in India. This shift suggests that India is concurrently moving towards a political landscape characterised by both Hindutva and developmental politics.

Consequently, it can be asserted that India is undergoing a shift towards a political landscape characterised by both Hindutva politics and a focus on development. In the Punjab elections, the Bharatiya Janata Party is anticipated to focus on the minority Hindu population, leveraging nationalist sentiments amidst the India-Canada Controversy.⁶ The party is recognized for its robust Prime Ministerial figure and efficient administration, contrasting with the Aam Aadmi Party's perceived silence on the issue, potentially affecting public sentiment. This underscores the growing significance of international events in shaping national elections, particularly evident in Canada being a preferred destination for Sikhs pursuing higher education and employment. Opposition parties are also recognizing the necessity of incorporating a Hindutva flavour into their political strategies. However, this does not imply a lack of voter aspiration for developmental issues. The ongoing debate over freebies versus welfare schemes has become integral to Indian political discourse.⁷ The BJP frames it as a threat to the nation's development, labelling it a 'revdi culture.' Examining recent elections, such as those in Karnataka, reveals a nuanced approach by both opposition parties and the BJP in their manifestos, striking a balance between freebies and developmental programs. Indian politics is evolving as a blend of freebies and development, challenging the notion that the BJP solely relies on Hindutva. Former Chief Election Commissioner, OP Rawat, emphasised that measures promoting food production, direct benefits for employability, education, sports, cultural activities, and affirmative action for weaker sections are not merely freebies. Some experts argue that the focus should shift from labelling welfare measures as freebies to evaluating the effectiveness of central and state governments' efforts in mobilising the poor. The discussion centres on achieving a balance between fiscal deficit and welfare spending. The gap between affluent and economically challenged states has widened, with Jharkhand, Kerala, Odisha, Telangana, and Uttar Pradesh witnessing the most substantial rise in

5

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1TScCHF5lohghbhq7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700695171/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ftimesofindia.indiatimes.com%2fcity%2fkolkata%2fmuslims-pressed-button-for-tmc-in-cong-bastion%2farticleshow%2f82360837.cms/RK=2/RS=HSMHdYIB1_dYxFRY8vFWRdouSe4-

6

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKBRtLHF5IT9ogNCy7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700695244/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ftheprint.in%2fopinion%2fbjp-ownwed-national-security-issue-china-wont-change-that%2f447554%2f/RK=2/RS=RYE.gV_v1nLCMIZ6nK4ia6Oc.al-

7

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1TScSHV5l.20iAxS7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700695442/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.newindianexpress.com%2fnation%2f2022%2faug%2f10%2ffreebie-politics-becomes-new-flashpoint-between-bjp-and-opposition-askejriwal-demands-referendum-2486223.html/RK=2/RS=I6lxryu.Gk9J6CliStExCnYNaEE-

subsidies over the last three years, according to the RBI for June 2022. While the Supreme Court Panel lacks a clear definition, the RBI identifies provisions like free electricity, water, public transportation, and bill waivers as potential freebies, warning against undermining credit culture and distorting prices. The Comptroller and Auditor General of India's report reveals that state governments' total expenditure on subsidies increased by 12.9% and 11.2% during 2020-21 and 2021-22, with highly indebted states allocating over 2% of GSDP to subsidies and non-merit goods. This focus on freebies, as opposed to subsidies, is reflected in BJP-ruled states' budget allocations, characterised as welfarism by the party. Bloomberg Quint data further demonstrates the BJP-led central government's increased subsidy bill on food, petrol, and fertilisers, reaching 3% of GDP in 2020-21 from 1.1% the previous year, indicating the party's developmental approach.

On the international stage, the BJP is cautious not to portray itself as an anti-minority government, recognizing the potential negative impact on the country's image. However, a controversy arose when G20 delegates received invitations from the President of Bharat, not India, during the G20 Summit under India's Presidency. The Hindu outlook of the BJP, both domestically and internationally, appears unlikely to undergo significant changes. In foreign affairs, the current ruling government is engaged in temple diplomacy, cultural exchanges, and soft diplomacy to foster cultural connections with other nations.⁸ The conservation of sacred sites and the construction of new temples have become integral aspects of India's diplomacy, notably towards Myanmar, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. For instance, in Vietnam, the Archaeological Survey of India initiated the chemical conservation of the My Son temples after an agreement was signed between Hanoi and New Delhi in 2014. While this diplomatic approach began as early as 1992, it has gained prominence under the BJP's regime, reflecting the intertwining of development and identity in Indian diplomacy, to some extent. The recently concluded state Assembly elections in five states are considered a precursor to the general elections in the first half of 2024. Contestants are vying to outdo each other with promises of a wide range of welfare schemes. In Telangana, the Congress pledges to expand the state's welfare regime, mirroring similar promises in states like Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The response to the Congress's call for a nationwide caste census has been mixed among voters. The BJP has added a Hindutva touch to its campaign, emphasising the inauguration of the Ram temple in Ayodhya in January 2024. Special attention has also been given to tribal voters, with both the BJP and Congress launching initiatives like the Rs. 24,000 crore PM Janjati Adivasi Nyaya Maha Abhiyan⁹, aiming for last-mile welfare scheme delivery and the protection of vulnerable tribal groups. However, in recent years, voters have also demonstrated a clear distinction

8

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1TSeMH15leXsiYD.7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzQEEnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700696077/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fswarajyamag.com%2fideas%2fhindus-temples-in-india-an-alternate-governance-approach/RK=2/RS=ef1i_TNclIG.SbxqvjSuHgaKIYg

9

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKDhwPIF5ICSkimZK7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEEnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700696207/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.iasqyan.in%2fdaily-current-affairs%2fpm-janjati-adivasi-nyaya-maha-abhiyan/RK=2/RS=Q2SXz3o5e2mgDGIIYuTx7GKHwcU-

between Lok Sabha and State Assembly Elections, indicating evolving political dynamics in the country.

Trajectory of Hindutva Politics in the South

The current manifestation of Hindutva politics appears to face challenges in explaining its depth in the South of India, primarily being perceived as a phenomenon rooted in North India. With the exception of Karnataka, the BJP's presence in the Dravidian-speaking South is limited compared to its influence in the North and West. While Hindutva politics has found electoral success in the northern regions, it encounters complexities in the South. One key reason for the rise of Hindutva in Karnataka, the only southern state where the BJP has made significant inroads, is the absence of a dominant party akin to those in Tamil Nadu or other Telugu states. The BJP has sought to implement a Hindutva strategy reminiscent of Uttar Pradesh, which transcends caste divisions. However, Karnataka, marked by a deep-seated caste divide, particularly with the Lingayats holding numerical and political power, poses risks to this approach. The prevalence of anti-minority politics in Karnataka before elections should be viewed as a logical outcome of socio-cultural and political processes spanning several decades, fostering the notion of a 'Hindu samaj' in the state. Historical facts underscore that social stratification in the South significantly differs from that in the North. Despite the distinct cultural and religious practices between Hindus and Muslims in the South, influenced in part by the Dravidian movement, the Right's politics of polarisation encounters obstacles. However, historical alliances between the BJP and DMK in various periods since the 1990s suggest a more complex relationship.¹⁰

In its outreach to the South, the BJP is striving to redefine Hindutva within the specific context of Southern Hindu religiosity. Unlike North India, the party aims to incorporate linguistic diversity into its Hindutva narrative. According to a Pew study, 42% of respondents in the South believe that being Hindu is essential to the idea of being Indian. Additionally, 27% of South Indian respondents approve that speaking Hindi is a marker of national identity. The recent Assembly elections shows the sway of the BJP in the Hindi heartland of the country. This indicates the BJP's effort to adapt its Hindutva narrative to accommodate the linguistic plurality of the South. It also shows the softening of the rigid faultline of Hindi in the north-south divide. Political strategists point out that BJP can build its support base among the electorally significant caste groups and new social equations can play a crucial role as in case of Karnataka.¹¹

¹⁰

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKDhzEIF5ISGEiuWu7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700696389/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fthewire.in%2fcommunalism%2fsouth-india-final-frontier-contest-hinduism-hindutva/RK=2/RS=cYMyL0.MThgBNzD8LfSrtIJ0e.l-

¹¹

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKEtwlzThIFMYF1J27HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698250149/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ffrontline.thehindu.com%2fcove-r-story%2farticle30221691.ece/RK=2/RS=Th5eSF2EyB3IGuf8HflUna97Yno-

The ruling party at the centre has been actively promoting Hindi as a national language, advocating the concept of 'one nation, one language,' which signifies a trend toward the homogenization of cultures in India. This global effort has resulted in the recognition of Hindi as a UN language.¹² The promotion of Hindi is framed as a means to preserve India's ancient (Hindu) culture, positioning English as an imposed colonial legacy. Article 351 grants the Union Government the authority to issue directives for the development of the Hindi language. The imposition of Hindi has faced resistance in several non-Hindi states, notably in the Southern state of Tamil Nadu, reflecting the linguistic diversity of India. The notion of Hindi as the lingua franca of India is perceived as economically unviable. The promotion of Hindi is intricately linked to the cultural project of Hindutva. According to the 2011 Census, Hindi is the language of less than 44% of Indians and the mother tongue of just over 25% of the population. The delayed publication of the latest census has contributed to ambiguities around this issue, further impeding the effective implementation of various developmental schemes and policies.

Neoliberalism, Political Economy and Hindutva Politics

Neoliberalism has evolved into a comprehensive political and economic project driven by the capitalist classes, seeking to advance their interests through collaboration with the ruling classes. This project permeates all aspects of social, economic, political, cultural, and religious life. Since the 1980s, particularly during Congress rule, India actively embraced neoliberal economic policies. Initially, Hindutva politics aligned itself with nationalist economic policies, opposing neoliberalism as part of its populist, nationalist narrative. The farming community's class interests in India have been effectively subsumed under the waves of Hindutva. The country has also witnessed a shift towards the informalisation of labour since the 1990 reforms. The BJP has championed the governance strategy of 'Minimum Government and Maximum Governance,' waging a war against corruption, especially within opposition parties, as a key element of its development agenda.¹³

Nationalist and regional political parties in India continue to promote neoliberalism as synonymous with economic development, creating a conducive environment for the consolidation of Hindutva in Indian politics. The right-wing religious politics of Hindutva has played a significant role in propagating this neoliberal ideology. Until the 1990s, the BJP, in its earlier form as the RSS, emphasised the state's role as the protector of Hindu society against the market and a tool for societal transformation. However, a shift occurred in the 1990s when Indian bureaucratic

¹²

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1Sh6BJ15IWCAjk427HAX:._ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700698114/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.indiatoday.in%2fworld%2fstory%2findia-un-contribution-million-promote-hindi-language-ruchira-kamboj-2407878-2023-07-17/RK=2/RS=2eB0xddSBGlmMTXlprjpk92xIrl-

¹³

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awrx_8eqJ15l8tMicti7HAX:._ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700698154/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.investindia.gov.in%2fteam-india-blogs%2fbudget-2022-minimum-government-maximum-governance/RK=2/RS=qHwZ1Ov3O2INbDjuTtIFa6DIAYQ-

and political elites, including the BJP, began viewing the market as a major driver of societal transformation, marking an ideological rift with the RSS. Historically, within the Congress, ideas of state intervention, wealth redistribution, and industrialization shaped the nationalist discourse post-India's independence. Veer Sarvarkar, in 1939, envisioned a nationalistic economy shaping India's economics. Post the 2017 Delhi assembly election results, Shri Narendra Modi declared a shift from welfarism to development, emphasising empowering the poor with opportunities instead of providing doles. This included promises to revive the agrarian economy through loan waivers for marginal farmers and interest-free agricultural credit. Critics argue that the economic strategy aligns with neoliberalism, transferring funds from welfare expenditures to incentives for capitalists. This is evident in debates on tax waivers for big businesses and the increased involvement of the private sector in areas once monopolised by the government. It's essential to distinguish between wholesale privatisation and strategic investments, which the current government aims to achieve.

The BJP is also called the suite boot government by the opposition due to their close association with the big businesses. The BJP has always been perceived as the party of higher Hindu castes and businesses, but that has been changing now. The idea of tying up political parties and big businesses applies to all the parties across the timeline of Indian politics. The political parties have generally been hesitant to amend the electoral bonds, allowing the donation money to be kept opaque.¹⁴ The current political landscape in India reflects a complex interplay between Hindutva forces and neoliberalism, with each consolidating the other's position in society, politics, and the economy. In the 1990s, the BJP was initially perceived as a party representing the middle-class commercial traders with a sectoral and communal agenda. However, over time, the BJP has sought to broaden its base by accommodating other political parties. The corporate-Hindutva complex is discernible in the party's economic policies, although they cannot be strictly categorised as wholly neoliberal. Neoliberalism, characterised by liberalisation, privatisation, and market deregulation, aligns with the economic policies of the BJP to a certain extent. This economic agenda coexists with initiatives like Gau Raksha (protecting cows, considered holy by Hindus) promoted by both central and state BJP-led governments, investing significantly in cow shelter building. The unification of Hindus, including Sikhs and Buddhists, under the banner of national pride centred around figures like Shri Narendra Modi, with the goal of achieving a \$5 trillion GDP by 2025, underscores the political and economic strategy. It's noteworthy that the embrace of economic neoliberalism is also influenced by global capitalist trends, with the BJP retaining socialist dimensions in its welfare schemes, recognizing India as essentially a welfare state. The recent surge in infrastructural growth

¹⁴ Electoral Bonds and Party Funding

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKFt3oh1tl_usCDxu7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700526185/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.firstpost.com%2fexplainers%2felectoral-bonds-how-much-money-did-the-bjp-receive-what-about-the-congress-13326272.html/RK=2/RS=hcatrTFTamucAGigR_e_k.cUV00-

in India is a major highlight of these efforts.¹⁵ To comprehend the current ruling trajectory, it's insightful to examine Golwalkar's views, who criticised both communism and capitalism, prioritising ethics and culture over economics, a recurring theme in Hindu nationalism. His economic ideas were geared towards the upper-caste Hindu population, rejecting capitalism as tyranny. This contrasts with the Congress's idea of a welfare state. The evolution of the BJP's beliefs and ideas has been multifaceted, representing a modified form of Hindutva. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee advocated for private sector encouragement but with state control to prevent undue profiteering. The BJP has accepted certain Congress policies, such as the Public Distribution System (PDS) and Minimum Support Price (MSP) for farmers. The Jan Sangh's initial emphasis on social and economic issues gave way to the prioritisation of key Hindu nationalist issues in the 1950s, like making Hindi the national language and removing Jammu and Kashmir's special status. Despite these shifts, the BJP is keen on preserving its identity as a Hindutva party. The BJP government in UP has also been spending a vast part of the budget through their investments in the cow shelter building.¹⁶

Economic Nationalism under Politics of Hindutva

The strategy of Swadeshi liberalisation faced tensions within the BJP due to differences in the approach to state-society and market relations between the new middle-class supporters and the older Hindu nationalist lower-middle class. The former supported economic liberalisation, while the latter opposed it. In the 1990s, these divergent wings were unified by Hindu nationalist discourses, emphasising stability and order against perceived threats from religious minority groups, especially Muslims. The BJP's election manifestos from 1996 to 1999 reflected welfarist themes, with a renewed commitment to caste-based reservations in the later manifestos. The 1998 manifesto reiterated the party's commitment to Swadeshi, described as economic nationalism. This involved "calibrated globalisation" and an alternative model to the West's jobless growth, while the party continued to expand social welfare schemes for both rural and urban poor. Contrary to the misconception that liberalisation leads to a retreat of the government, greater liberalisation demands increased government involvement to protect national industry and employment, indicating a business-state alliance. By 2004, the BJP shifted its policy, supporting global markets, Special Economic Zones, and Foreign Direct Investment, with the government playing a facilitating role in streamlining regulations and improving technology. In 2014, the national leadership of the BJP, lacking a strong base in the RSS, established a firm grip over Gujarat by

¹⁵ Central Government's Infrastructural Push

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Aw1TSfmJ15lsi8j3jq7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzIEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700698215/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fswarajyamag.com%2finsta%2fbjp-manifestos-major-infra-push-60000-km-of-new-highways-piped-water-in-all-houses-total-railway-electrification/RK=2/RS=4oQBpYAs_wFpdgTo742zQDBIH.I-

¹⁶

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKFt2blltp7YB2DS7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzYEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700526875/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.businessday.in%2flatest%2feconomy-politics%2fstory%2fyogi-adityanath-govt-gau-rakhsa-cess-make-toll-tax-alcohol-costlier-up-158819-2019-01-02/RK=2/RS=XfGMYLKtjoiu3HWksOSPNzCMpmE-

merging development and Hindutva policies successfully. The government transitioned into a facilitator role rather than a regulator in the Indian economy, opening up to Foreign Direct Investment and prioritising rapid economic growth over development. The rise of Hindu nationalism has dominated public life, contributing to the growth of a middle class and a new elite class. The BJP initially supported state interventionism during the post-1990s liberalisation, and its economic nationalism model favoured internal liberalisation with a focus on Swadeshi. Despite this, the party's constitution still mentions the "Gandhian approach to socio-economic issues." The BJP capitalised on the opportunity to gain support from industrialists who benefited from the 1991-1993 reforms. The emphasis on Swadeshi as a part of its nationalist economic vision was clearly evident.¹⁷

The development paradigm in India, as reflected in the Atma Nirbhar Bharat initiative, is intricately tied to the BJP's Hindu nationalist agenda. The party has often celebrated India's historical wealth and prominence before foreign invasions, citing estimates that suggest India accounted for a significant portion of the world GDP in ancient times. The Atma Nirbhar project envisions a 'new India' by drawing on the cultural ethos of Hindustaniyat and aims for nationwide Hindu reawakening to restore India's past greatness. The Atmanirbhar Bharat Stimulus package, designed in response to the economic challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, is structured around various tranches focusing on areas such as MSMEs, agriculture, governance reforms, vibrant demography, and demand. Key schemes within this initiative include the Production Linked Incentives Programme and Make in India programs.¹⁸ The government's push for indigenous production, particularly in core defence technologies through Atmanirbhar Bharat II, exemplifies this commitment to self-reliance. Furthermore, there is a trend toward the inclusion of private players through Public-Private Partnership Projects, expanding their role in sectors traditionally controlled by the government. This shift aligns with the BJP's vision of combining economic development with nationalist sentiments, emphasising self-reliance and promoting indigenous industries. Overall, the politics of development in India is intricately intertwined with the discourse of Hindu nationalism, shaping the country's trajectory toward economic self-sufficiency. The idea of Minimum Government and Maximum Governance¹⁹ is also an integral aspect of the Atma Nirbhar Bharat Scheme. The Defense Ministry's proposal for a 75% investment

17

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrPpYIBzzhIKSIGH6y7HAX.:_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzYEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698250625/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.orfonline.org%2fresearch%2fa-neoliberal-two-india-reality%2f/RK=2/RS=CZsteHVxFM9hqAF49Zg9T3owCn4-

18

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awrxt.T.LF5l.e8j.iW7HAX.:_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700699519/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.businessworld.in%2farticle%2fBJP-Promises-Startup-Friendly-Policies-And-Rs-5-000-Cr-Fund-Of-Funds-For-K-taka%2f02-05-2023-475224%2f/RK=2/RS=ZNy_t_jFhqHpv664u5c12OB2760-

19 Minimum Government, Maximum Governance

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKEtwc0zhlOJcG.GS7HAX.:_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698251677/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fpib.gov.in%2fpresreleasepage.aspx%3fprid%3d1696267/RK=2/RS=u95oa5DmFd.av71Z9FYgGdxoqP4-

subsidy to set up testing infrastructure reflects a broader strategy to enhance the country's strategic armaments and achieve self-reliance, particularly in light of events like the Galwan Valley Standoff with China. The push for indigenization, as seen in schemes like Make in India and the Digital India program, aims to reduce dependence on foreign countries, notably China. Make in India has set ambitious targets, including a 12-14% increase in manufacturing growth annually, a manufacturing share of 25% of GDP by 2022, and the creation of 100 million jobs. The program has attracted nearly double the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flows between 2014-15 and 2021-22 and expanded India's global presence in military hardware, such as missiles, offshore patrol vessels, and surveillance systems. Despite these achievements, there has been a decline in the share of manufacturing in the workforce between 2011 and 2021, alongside a 2.9% Industrial Production (IIP) Growth Rate. Infrastructural development projects, notably the PM Gati Shakti National program, have become key components of the Modi government's agenda. This emphasis on infrastructure aligns with the Atma Nirbhar project's goal, aiming to enhance self-sufficiency and create a robust foundation for economic growth and development. The textile sector, traditionally protected and dominated by small-scale industries, has witnessed changes that deny special treatment to a key segment of the Hindu nationalist constituency. Legislative efforts have been made to dilute acts like the Right to Fair Compensation, Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement Act, which is viewed as a significant obstacle to business expansion. Analysing budget allocations under Modi's leadership reveals a shift from prioritising funding for basic public goods to focusing on skill development, business growth, and entrepreneurship. While the BJP's pro-corporate policies align with economic liberalisation, dissent has emerged from RSS-affiliated organisations. For instance, the head of the RSS trade union, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), has criticised the BJP's pension and insurance schemes, suggesting they primarily benefit companies. The RSS, with its wide outreach and numerous affiliates covering various sectors, plays a crucial role in shaping the BJP's policies. It has used nationalism as a tool, often synonymous with Hindutva. The RSS's involvement in the Ram Janmabhoomi Movement has further contributed to the BJP's rise. The emphasis on privatisation has gained momentum, particularly with the boost given by policies such as the National Education Policy (NEP) 2020. The shift towards "Indianization" in education, as opposed to foreign influence, is apparent. The narrative of an ancient golden Hindu age is being woven into the education system, particularly in the study of History. Recent recommendations by the CBSE panel to replace "India" with "Bharat" in textbooks further illustrate this trend.²⁰

Caste Dynamics and Hindutva Politics in India and Abroad

20

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKDhzPLV5lXq8j6h27HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Nj/RV=2/RE=1700699728/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.newindianexpress.com%2fnation%2f2023%2foct%2f25%2fpanel-suggests-replacing-india-with-bharat-in-textbooks-ncert-says-pramature-to-comment-2626895.html%23%3a~%3atext%3dSpeaking%2520to%2520The%2520New%2520Indian%2520Express%252C%2520the%2520committee%2cSystem%2520%2528IKS%2529%2520in%2520the%2520syllabus%2520for%2520all%2520subjects./RK=2/RS=3Daely2B.hojK4c8nzfZalwKaR8-

The dynamics of caste play a crucial role in the intersection of Hindutva politics and development in India. Narendra Modi's humble background from the Other Backward Class (OBC) has been portrayed as an alternative to the dynastic politics of the Congress, presenting the BJP as a non-elitist party with Modi as a central figure.²¹ The Sangh Parivar of the RSS, despite its significant role in the rise of the BJP, often takes a backseat in public discourse. Caste-based reservations, aimed at ensuring social justice and developing historically marginalised communities, have been a central aspect of Indian politics. Shri Narendra Modi's outreach to non-dominant OBC and Dalit communities under the Hindutva umbrella has been a strategic move. The BJP, led by an OBC leader, has successfully assimilated aspects of Hindutva ideology to portray it in a subaltern light. The BJP's political strategy involves canvassing against agrarian caste groups like Yadavs, Marathas, and Jats, pitching them against non-dominant communities. This fragmentation has been successful in breaking down Mandal Parties, which historically had a social justice political rhetoric. For instance, Nitish Kumar's creation of EBC (Economically Backward Classes) and Mahadalit categories in Bihar played a crucial role in defeating the Yadav-Muslim social coalition of the Rashtriya Janata Dal. The BJP's stand on the caste census remains unclear. The introduction of the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) reservation, providing a 10% quota to upper-caste individuals with family incomes less than Rs 8 lakhs, has raised concerns about disproportionate representation in the reservation system. The caste census in Bihar is seen by some as a historic turn akin to a "Mandal 2.0" movement, challenging the established politics of identity based on reservation and backward caste assertion. In Bihar, the Extremely Backward Classes and Other Backward Classes (OBC) together constitute around 63% of the state's population. The politics of identity, reservation, and backward caste assertion that once favoured socialist parties has shifted with the arrival of Modi, who combines Hindutva with a form of welfarism in the BJP's outreach to OBCs. Of the total population of Bihar which is around 13.07 cr, the Extremely Backward Classes and the Other Backward Classes(OBC) account for around 63% of the state population and Yadavs had the largest share of the total population at 14.27%.

The dynamics of caste in Indian politics remain crucial, and various political strategies have been employed to consolidate vote banks. Caste surveys, such as the proposed one in Rajasthan, hold implications for both national and state elections. While much research has been conducted on the mobilisation of backward and Dalit communities by Hindutva politics, there is still a research gap in understanding the impact on tribal communities. The 1990s saw a notable conflict encapsulated in the phrase "Mandal versus Kamandal," representing the politics of backward and Dalit mobilisation versus Hindutva. Hindutva has seemingly won this battle, attracting voters from backward and Dalit Hindus through a combination of religious identity and welfare benefits. In Southern states, the BJP faces ideological pushback due to a mix of caste equity and language-based

21

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrPpYKP0zhl_xQHZD67HAX.; ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzIEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698251791/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2feconomictimes.indiatimes.com%2fnews%2fpolitics-and-nation%2fbjp-steps-up-outreach-to-obcs-dalits-with-eye-on-lok-sabha-polls%2farticleshow%2f101799899.cms/RK=2/RS=_dfERI2OW9RRoWZc0_0aG0DRD_w-

nationalism. Championing the idea of social justice appears to be a challenging proposition, as it may draw the ire of upper castes without necessarily attracting the backward and Dalit votes. The West Bengal elections highlighted the rise of subaltern Hindutva, indicating a shift of rural poor, backward classes, Dalits, and Adivasis towards the BJP. The BJP's appeal in this context was based on cultural and political solidarity among Hindus, along with anti-bhadralok sentiments in rural areas. In states like Telangana, the BJP's promise to look into the sub-categorization of Scheduled Castes reflects its efforts to garner support from specific communities, such as the Madiga community. The BJP's victories under Narendra Modi have reshaped Indian politics, challenging the dominance of caste-based parties in the heartland. The BJP successfully breached non-Yadav OBC vote banks, nullifying the influence of regional parties like the Samajwadi Party in UP and the Rashtriya Janata Dal in Bihar. The BJP's success in defeating strong Dalit-Bahujan alliances indicates a shift in political dynamics, where aspirational and religious nationalism, coupled with strong leadership, overshadow traditional caste-based mobilisation. While caste politics has transformed over time, it continues to play a significant role in state-level elections, prompting the BJP to reconsider its stance on caste census due to concerns about challenges from other political parties mobilising backward classes. This debate has added a new dimension to the intersection of caste and development politics across the country.²²

India's diaspora has indeed played a significant role in shaping and spreading the Hindu nationalist discourse abroad, particularly through the presence of organisations affiliated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). In countries like Canada, RSS-affiliated associations, such as the Hindu Self-Reliant Association and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, have been involved in political mobilisation to support Hindu-first policies promoted by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Their activities encompass educational, cultural, and social initiatives to propagate the ideals of Hindutva. Apart from influencing political narratives, the Indian diaspora holds economic importance for India, contributing to the country's foreign policy as ambassadors. However, the connection between Hindutva organisations, influential diaspora members, and social media has been instrumental in spreading the ideology of Hindutva among Hindus living outside India. Controversies have arisen, such as the one related to preventing Indian students from holding elected positions in student unions, which some right-wing groups term as 'Hinduphobia.' This term is used to describe perceived discrimination against Hindus. Additionally, the intersection of Hindutva and caste dynamics is evident in the context of recent legislation in California. This legislation aims to ban caste-based discrimination and incorporates it into existing civil rights laws. The upper-caste Hindu diaspora has expressed concerns and protested against such legislation, fearing stereotyping and potential negative impacts on the Indian Hindu community from South Asia. This reflects the complex interplay between diaspora engagement, identity politics, and the

transnational spread of ideologies. This is similar to the Hindutva discourse which considers the division of caste (mainly the affirmative action taken by the state for special treatment of the marginalised Hindu communities) as a threat to the unity of the Hindus globally.²³

The book Bunch of Thoughts M.S Golwalkar²⁴ provides insights into the perspective of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) on Hindutva, nationalism, and various aspects of Indian society and culture. Golwalkar advocates for the concept of Hindutva, defining it as the cultural and spiritual essence of India rooted in Hindu traditions and values. He contends that India's identity is primarily based on its Hindu heritage and criticises the divisive impact of religious conversions by foreign religions. In Golwalkar's view, true Indian nationalism is synonymous with Hindutva, which he sees as a unified Hindu culture. The book expresses opposition to what is perceived as the appeasement of religious minorities and the prioritisation of secularism over the Hindu way of life. This stance sheds light on the rising interest in the terms "secular" and "socialist" in the Constitution. The book also addresses the debate around forming a political party and the conditions for registration. Golwalkar argues against binding citizens to follow a specific ideology, stating that socialism and secularism are political thoughts and should not impinge on the rights to practise religion and free speech. In economic matters, Golwalkar emphasises self-sufficiency and economic self-reliance as essential for India's progress. He promotes the use of indigenous goods and industries. His perspective aligns with the concept of 'Vishwa-bandhutva,' denoting world fraternity based on Hindu values. The book reflects Golwalkar's views on education, character building, and values. He criticises the imposition of English by the British and advocates for making Hindi the national language, aligning with the popularity of the BJP in the Hindi belt. Golwalkar also emphasises the use of Bharatiya languages with roots in Sanskrit as the national languages of the country. "Bunch of Thoughts" expounds on the idea of creating a Hindu Rashtra, envisioning minorities shedding their separate identities and merging into the national mainstream identity of Hinduism. This perspective provides insights into the religious dynamics that influence the beliefs of the BJP and the broader Hindutva ideology.

Case study on the Gujarat and U.P Model of Development and Electoral Success

The state of Gujarat serves as a significant example illustrating the rise of Hindutva and the consolidation of its support base, providing valuable lessons for national-level politics. The BJP,

²³

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrPoejA1Dhlzz4Gyca7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698252097/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fscroll.in%2farticle%2f1048844%2fhindutva-is-increasingly-influencing-the-hindu-diaspora-and-extending-indian-politics-overseas/RK=2/RS=HkLXr2UgLn_ZXbXvw.nXluAYbwE-

²⁴

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awrx.15z1Udl0YE7r6q7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzUEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1699235315/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ftheprint.in%2ftheprint-profile%2fms-golwalkar-the-rss-chief-who-remains-guruji-to-some-a-bigot-to-others%2f245534%2f/RK=2/RS=i9U4vg1Cswe0X4VHq6tAekAQkrw-

under the leadership of Narendra Modi, successfully broadened its voter base from the Savarna Constituency, comprising upper and middle-class and upper-caste groups. However, this expansion was accompanied by communal and social polarisation, leading to the marginalisation of Dalits, Adivasis, and Muslims. The neo-middle class, consisting of better-off members of OBC groups who had migrated from rural areas to urban centres, became a crucial part of the BJP's support base. The party privatised its manifestos, particularly in the 2014 elections, appealing to this neo-middle class. Gujarat, under Modi's leadership, experienced rapid economic growth, with a model rooted in the collaboration between the state and the corporate sector, tax incentives for investments, and the acquisition of private property for industry at substantial subsidies. The economic reforms of the 1990s marked the onset of neoliberalism in India, introducing temporary and market-based contracts that affected various spheres of life. The BJP-RSS strategy shifted from mobilizing caste Hindus and OBCs to a more aggressive form of anti-Muslim politics. Economic reforms contributed to the shift of labour into the informal economy amid communal propaganda. The authors note instances of Sanskritization, where caste Hindus gave Brahmanical names to deities worshipped by Adivasis, as part of the larger Hindutva project. The BJP's appropriation of transactional welfarism, such as the distribution of free rations, combined with a corporate-Hindutva alliance, has been central to neo-liberal capitalism in India. The party's hyper-nationalism, distinct from anti-colonialism, has resonated with a broader audience. The government's tax concessions, worth Rs. 1.45 lakh crore, and Modi's carefully crafted image of political decisiveness and administrative firmness have contributed to the BJP's outreach to new voter demographics. The emphasis on uniformity, as seen in proposals like "one nation, one election," aligns with the BJP's vision of governance.

The Modi government's approach to social policy represents a departure from the Congress's rights-based inclusion strategy for marginalised sections of society. While the Congress, for instance, implemented a loan waiver program for distressed farmers, the BJP launched schemes like the PM Mudra Scheme, focusing on financial inclusion in the non-corporate sector. Specifically, it targets young, educated, skilled workers, and women entrepreneurs to drive employment generation. Another initiative, the Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay Shramev Jayate Karyakram, aims to enhance the ease of doing business,²⁵ with limited involvement from labour unions. Despite this, it has been portrayed as pro-worker, providing labourers access to skills training and health insurance. Financialization, a key aspect of the neo-liberal project, seeks to create a global market based on flexible accumulation and competitive social relations. In states with chronic underdevelopment, such policies are viewed as opportunities for capital interests through public-private partnerships and the promotion of financial services. The transformation of labour laws aims to depict labourers as nation-builders, aligning with the broader narrative of shaping a 'New India.' The Jan

25

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1QLBdL15llvQi4ge7HAX.; ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700126/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.businessday.in%2flatest%2ftrends%2fstory%2fimproved-infra-ease-of-business-among-key-reasons-behind-bjps-win-in-up-sa-ys-survey-325579-2022-03-11/RK=2/RS=04bNOJsaSREcnfqNkaqY2M5tcQU-

Dhan Yojana Scheme, promoted during the Hindu festival of Raksha Bandhan, ties financial inclusion to cultural celebrations. The scheme encourages brothers to gift cards to their sisters for insurance, intertwining Hindu nationalist and neo-liberal themes. Political events, such as the appointment of the state president of the Congress party in Uttar Pradesh, had Benn done with Vedic hymns and symbolic Ganga Aarti, reflecting a saffron approach and a departure from the party's traditional secular image. Analysts suggest that in upcoming state elections and the 2024 Lok Sabha elections, Hindutva is likely to play a significant role. The UP government's emphasis on cow protection, along with substantial investment in related schemes, aligns with the sentiment that cows are sacred animals in Hinduism.

Decoding the Gujarat Elections 2022

The recent assembly elections in Gujarat marked an unprecedented rise for the BJP, which has dominated the state since 2002. Winning 156 seats out of 182, the BJP's victory was substantial. The Congress, on the other hand, experienced a decline in its vote share, losing 14% compared to 2017.²⁶ The Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), a new entrant, secured around 13% of the votes, impacting the consolidated opposition votes. Analysing the vote shares in the last three Gujarat elections, it's evident that the state's political landscape is competitive. The Congress has witnessed a decline in its vote share from 38.9% in 2012 to 27.3% in 2022, while the BJP's share increased from 47.9% in 2012 to 52.5% in 2022. The BJP secured 86% of the seats, while the Congress won around 9%. The BJP's success spanned all sub-regions, particularly in central and south Gujarat, known for high industrial activity. The Congress struggled in all sub-regions except North Gujarat. The AAP's vote share was concentrated in Saurashtra and southern Gujarat, especially in Scheduled Tribe seats. The overall voter turnout decreased from 68.4% in 2017 to 64.8% in 2022, nearing the national average. The NOTA (None of the Above) option remained a non-factor, with minimal impact in tribal areas. Gender equity and minority representation had remained the recurring challenges in the Indian elections. Fewer women were elected overall, and major parties did not increase women's representation among their candidates. Muslims, constituting around 9% of the population, historically received disproportionately low representation, and in 2022, only nine Muslim candidates were nominated by major parties. The AAP made gains in Patidar and tribal-dominated seats, while the Congress failed to capitalise on its 2017 gains in Saurashtra, the tribal belt, and North Gujarat. The BJP's impressive performance in OBC-dominated North Gujarat included winning seats in Banaskantha, which the Congress had won previously. The BJP addressed anti-incumbency through strategic political repositioning, giving tickets to Congress defectors and withdrawing controversial bills and projects that had faced opposition from specific communities.

26

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKBRuiL15lmH0h.B.7HAX.:_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMec2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700194/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fscroll.in%2farticle%2f1039572%2fdecoding-the-gujarat-election-in-35-charts-congress-woes-are-self-inflicted-aap-must-bide-its-time/RK=2/RS=D0a3XWXmqpi14KUjQKOX_2894Cw-

Minority Politics, Hindutva and Development

The trajectory of the minority politics is also an essential element of understanding the debate on politics of development and politics of Hindutva. The BJP in Kerala also organised a sneha yatra or the journey of love to attract the state's Christians. The party also has a special outreach programme for the Muslims. The BJP also gave tickets to the Muslims in the polls in Uttar Pradesh. In a recent BJP national executive meeting, Modi called upon the party leaders to connect with Pasmanda and Bohra Muslims and educated members of the community without expecting votes in return. The RSS chief also met leaders from the Darul Uloom Deoband and Ah al-Sunnah and religious leaders from Kerala. Pasmanda Muslims had long been oppressed owing to their caste and occupation. In the last three or four decades, among the Pasmandas, the Ansari, Saifi, Salmani and Quraishi communities have economically performed well. The class divisions among the Muslims is quite evident in the states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, along with the areas of Punjab, Jammu region of J&K. Moreover, in the run up to the 2024 Lok Sabha polls, assembly elections will be held in 11 states. The Muslims form a substantial part of the voters in the states of Telangana, Karnataka, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The various policy legislations under the Modi's government such as the abrogation of the Article 370, the Citizenship Amendment Act and BJP government's legislations for outlawing religious conversions and cow vigilantism, perceived as targeting of Muslims. The BJP and RSS believe that while the Ashrafs (upper class Muslims) are their fierce critics, Pasmandas- due to the lack of education and other opportunities are devoid of political representation. So, the engagement of the BJP through the Pasmanda Muslims has been through the underprivileged Pasmandas. This is also an effort of the BJP towards building the narrative that the government is bringing in welfare schemes for all the people on the basis of caste or religion. According to the Uttar Pradesh government data, Pasmanda Muslims, who comprise a major chunk of the Muslims in the state, who constitute almost 35% of the beneficiaries of the Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, 37% of the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana, 30% in the Pradhan Mantri Mudra Yojana. Additionally, the state's 'one district one product' scheme has benefitted numerous Pasmanda artisans. The Pasmanda Muslims²⁷ constitute around 85% of the Indian Muslim population have been historically underrepresented in the areas of political representation, business opportunities and in the bureaucracy.

The BJP's Sneh Milan program aimed at connecting with Pasmanda Muslims and advocating for affirmative reservations reflects a strategic effort to broaden its support base among diverse communities.²⁸ The 2006 Sachar Committee Report highlighted that Muslims constituted nearly

27

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1SXRb1ThlpGcGBwe7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698252225/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.outlookindia.com%2fnational%2frss-muslim-outreach-and-centre-s-push-for-pasmanda-community-eye-on-2024--news-225108/RK=2/RS=PCbJsNonMNTRIFN1XR0C2dUbRBE-

28

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1QLDoL15IVIUjH4W7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700264/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.oneindia.com%2findia%2f

16% of India's total Other Backward Classes (OBC) population. Affirmative actions for Muslims, attempted by UPA-led state governments, faced legal challenges, and Pasmanda communities are now demanding Dalit status, seeking greater political representation and social justice. The decline in Congress's support among Pasmanda Muslims, with their votes shifting to parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party and the Samajwadi Party in Uttar Pradesh, and the Rashtriya Janata Dal in Bihar, has influenced electoral dynamics. This shift played a role in the BJP's defeat in the 2021 West Bengal polls. The BJP's outreach initiatives, such as the 'Sufi Samvad Maha Abhiyan,' indicate attempts to engage with Muslim-dominated regions in states like Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Kerala, and Telangana. Programs like 'sneha yatras' in Pasmanda Muslim-dominated regions in Uttar Pradesh showcase the party's strategic engagement with this community. The BJP's engagement with caretakers of Sufi shrines underscores an emphasis on inclusivity and aligns with Prime Minister Modi's 'sabka saath sabka vikas' (Collective Effort, Inclusive Growth) policy. The party's attempts to connect with Sufi traditions might be a response to concerns within the Hindutva discourse about monotheistic Abrahamic traditions, with Sufism perceived as more tolerant and closer to native Hindu culture. While the BJP has made political inroads in Muslim-majority areas, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, the party's strategy also involves exploiting divisions between Barelvi and Deobandi Muslims, a significant religious faultline in North India. Nominating a tribal Gujjar leader, Ghulam Ali Khatana, to the upper house of Parliament and dropping its Muslim parliamentarians from elite communities signify a shift in the BJP's representation strategy. However, the BJP's rejection of religion-based reservations, evident in decisions related to Muslim OBC reservations in Karnataka, underscores its ideological stance.

²⁹The caste survey, which could pose a threat to the BJP's Hindutva strategy, remains a complex and evolving aspect of Indian politics.

The concept of a "double-engine government" has gained popularity as a political and development metaphor in Indian politics³⁰. It implies that when the same political party is in power at both the central and state levels, it facilitates greater cooperation and coordination, leading to enhanced development. Beyond its application to state elections, the metaphor also signifies a broader reinvention of national ideology, culture, and education. The first engine in this metaphor represents the path toward prosperity and modernity, encompassing aspects such as the growing influence of the Indian diaspora, India's achievements in space missions, and successful

[from-sufi-samvad-to-sneha-milan-how-bjp-is-reaching-out-to-muslims-ahead-of-2024-3535808.html/RK=2/RS=FI8KnLVb6B5Buyml2FeGd7OQ6z8-](https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/karnataka/explained-why-and-how-was-the-4-reservation-for-muslims-under-the-obc-category-scraped-in-karnataka/article66673107.ece/RK=2/RS=FI8KnLVb6B5Buyml2FeGd7OQ6z8-)

²⁹

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1QLA8MF5lQvkj2CK7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700348/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.thehindu.com%2fnews%2fnational%2fkarnataka%2fexplained-why-and-how-was-the-4-reservation-for-muslims-under-the-obc-category-scraped-in-karnataka%2farticle66673107.ece/RK=2/RS=FXjGer4DelpFN1UnpxTfB_lifmQ-

³⁰

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKDhwRMF5lLZwjT1m7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700305/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2findianexpress.com%2farticle%2fexplained%2fassembly-polls-view-double-engine-modi-govt-7726753%2f/RK=2/RS=g8inBL1TUgz eXing2Hc4vHH83fw-

participation in international forums like the G20 summit. For Hindu nationalists, it also implies a desire for the redefinition and revision of India's self-image, rooted in some form of the Hindu Rashtra and a glorification of the past. The Karnataka elections serve as an example of the complex interplay between development and identity issues. Polarising topics such as the hijab ban, halal meat, and Azaan over loudspeakers stirred communal tensions in the state, shaping the narrative of the assembly elections. The BJP model of development also led to the passing of the anti-conversion and anti-cow slaughter bills, scrapping of the 4% Muslim quota.³¹

The historically significant Lingayat factor, constituting 17% of the population, has played a crucial role in elections and traditionally supported the BJP. However, the change in Chief Minister from Yediyurappa to Basavaraj Bommai created certain alienation within the BJP. Analysts note a shift in focus for the Congress, which historically concentrated on local issues like the Nandini Amul Controversy. Since 2018, the Congress has adopted a "soft Hindutva" approach in some states, a departure from its traditional stance.³² This shift is significant, given that the BJP has often accused the Congress of being "anti-Hindu" and practising appeasement politics. Manifestos and electoral promises also provide insights into the developmental and political trajectories of the country. The Congress in its manifesto for the Karnataka election had included initiatives like building gaushalas (cow shelters), developing the Narmada Parikrama route, and the Ram Van Gaman Path (the route taken by Lord Rama during his exile). Populist schemes such as free electricity, a subsidised cylinder, and an old-age pension scheme are part of the Congress's electoral strategy. In the long run, the Congress appears to be attempting to blend its "soft Hindutva" approach with a new strategy termed "Mohabbat Ki Dukaan" (the shop of love). This reflects the evolving landscape of Indian elections, shaped by the influence of Hindu nationalism. The RSS, under the leadership of Mohan Bhagwat, has also moderated its hardline stance toward Muslims, indicating a changing approach within influential Hindutva circles.

Decolonisation of India as Development

The push to decolonize India's history, as demonstrated by the call to change the country's name from India to Bharat, aligns with the ideology of Hindutva, particularly promoted by the BJP. This effort includes renaming landmarks, such as the recent change from Rajpath to Kartavya Path in

³¹

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKA5nd1Thl6KoGqnC7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698252382/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2findianexpress.com%2farticle%2findia%2fkarnataka-cabinet-anti-conversion-bill-bjp-govt-8664605%2f/RK=2/RS=MMK3gZkl.6jr_QYWWJpn53FwtVc-

³²

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrX_8eCMF5lboAjddS7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzIEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700419/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fscroll.in%2farticle%2f1054338%2fwhy-the-congress-is-practising-soft-hindutva-in-madhya-pradesh/RK=2/RS=aZKj.CRWauwFA.JjaJd8f2sfSA-

Delhi, as part of a broader attempt to distance India from its colonial past.³³ The RSS, the ideological parent of the BJP, has consistently advocated for referring to the country as 'Bharat.' Proponents of the name 'Bharat' argue that 'India' was a term imposed by British colonists. Historically, the name 'India' derives from the river 'Indus,' known as 'Sindhu' in Sanskrit. Travellers from ancient Greece used this term to identify the region southeast of the Indus River. On the other hand, 'Bharat' is an even older term found in ancient Indian scriptures, representing a socio-cultural identity rather than a geographical reference. The government has also taken steps to repeal outdated laws, introducing bills to revoke the British-era Indian Penal Code, Indian Evidence Act, and Code of Criminal Procedure. The proposed Bharatiya Nyay Sanhita Bill, Bharatiya Nagrik Suraksha Sanhita Bill, and Bharatiya Sakshya Bill, 2023 aim to bring significant changes to the criminal justice system.³⁴ Some proposed amendments include setting a maximum limit of 180 days to file a chargesheet and a time frame for deciding prosecution sanction against police officers and civil servants. Another significant project for the BJP is the Ram Mandir initiative. The planned inauguration of the Ram Mandir in 2024, ahead of the General Lok Sabha elections, is a crucial element of the BJP's national election strategy. The project seeks to unify Hindus across caste, linguistic, and geographic lines, aiming to correct what is perceived as a historical wrong and mobilise Hindus politically.³⁵ The Rath Yatras initiated by BJP stalwart L K Advani in 1990 played a pivotal role in galvanising the Hindu cause. The BJP's commitment to projects like the Kashi Vishwanath Corridor, Shri Mahakal Corridor, and Kartarpur Sahib Corridor, along with its legal support for the Ram Janmabhoomi movement, reflects a focus on cultural and civilizational aspirations of Hindus. The party's idea of decolonization is intertwined with its vision of development, and these initiatives play a role in shaping the political landscape of India.

Conclusion

The development initiatives, particularly those showcasing India as a 'viswaguru' (world teacher) and a representative of the Global South, are part of a broader strategy employed by the BJP. This approach seeks to position India on the global stage while emphasising the country's cultural and historical significance. It aligns with the overarching narrative of Hindutva nationalism promoted

33

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1Sh6LMV5IECAkVEm7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700683/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ftheconversation.com%2fbharat-why-the-recent-push-to-change-indias-name-has-a-hidden-agenda-213105/RK=2/RS=FMVeNMNO_xo4DYdeTFJMVU6TdgA-

34

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1Sh7fMV5lmhkkqVK7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzUEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700768/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.bbc.com%2fnews%2fworld-asia-india-66495428/RK=2/RS=CS7nyeVXWgjz6wOzsqYHf41KO3k-

35

https://medium.com/@lr_48411/inauguration-of-the-ram-mandir-reinstating-civilisational-glory-720abf8852f2?source=user_profile-----4-----

by the BJP. The wave of Hindutva nationalism has, over time, influenced social justice politics in India. The BJP has strategically appealed to Dalit-Adivasi communities by actively promoting socio-cultural symbols and addressing issues such as religious conversion and 'love jihad.' The party has integrated indigenous Adivasi values and cultural symbols into the broader iconography of Hindutva, often referring to these communities as 'Vanvasi' (jungle residents). This appropriation extends to embracing icons like Birsa Munda and Ambedkar to craft Hindutva narratives. Efforts have been made to bring about unity in the country through a form of uniformization, emphasising a common cultural and religious identity. Dissent is sometimes labelled as a threat to 'national security,' and the BJP-led government has positioned itself as capable of taking a firm stance against external challenges, particularly from China and Pakistan. The Modi government has advanced its Hindutva ideology through various policies and laws, reflecting its commitment to shaping the socio-cultural fabric of the nation. This includes initiatives such as the promotion of cultural and historical symbols, the emphasis on a uniform national identity, and the integration of Dalit and Adivasi narratives into the broader framework of Hindutva nationalism. Uniformity is one of the cornerstones of the BJP's objectives.³⁶

The BJP's approach to governance, as reflected in schemes like "One Nation, One Constitution," "One Nation, One Tax" (referring to GST), "One Nation, One Mobility," "One Nation-One Mobility Card," and "One Nation-One Election," is rooted in the idea of unifying the country. Initiatives such as the abrogation of Article 370, particularly in Jammu and Kashmir, and the focus on development and national integration in the Northeast are part of a larger project aimed at administrative efficiency and national unification.³⁷ However, this has also raised concerns about over-centralization and the concentration of power in the hands of the ruling party. The politics of development has taken a new turn with the changing of names, perceived as a way to disengage from colonial legacies and glorify the ancient past for greater development. Nationalist projects, like the idea of "one-country-one-language" and a National Register of Citizens, also contribute to the BJP's vision of a unified nation. In Karnataka, the party's manifesto emphasised the implementation of the Uniform Civil Code and the idea of "love jihad," reflecting an emphasis on identity issues and perceived threats from minorities and immigrants to India's development. The abrogation of Article 370, the Pulwama attack, and the Balakot Strike have strengthened the discourse in favour of the BJP, aligning with the party's long-term aim of creating a 'Hindu Rashtra.' The ideological underpinnings of Hindutva, including a common race, common

36

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKCSg41jhlbBAHvAa7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzMEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698252472/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.news18.com%2fpolitics%2fgender-equality-womens-rights-tracking-bjps-push-for-uniform-civil-code-via-its-election-manifestos-8197135.html/RK=2/RS=5vdTwuEgyl2XdHUG00zztUZQkFc-

37

https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1Sh5yMI5I9.sjuoW7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1700700915/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ftimesofindia.indiatimes.com%2findia%2fone-nation-one-election-india-pm-modi-democracy-lok-sabha-state-assemblies-congress-simultaneous-polls%2farticleshow%2f103289047.cms/RK=2/RS=xnLS6lvD6E_C16GsCNUer9DM.L8-

civilization, and the concept of "Hindu dharmacracy" (cultural nationalism), are central to this vision. The CBSE has also been planning to include Mahabharata and Ramayana (Hindu scriptures) in the history syllabus. The push for a name change from India to Bharat has both political and cultural dimensions. Politically, it aligns with the Hindu nationalist base and is seen as a strategy ahead of general elections. Culturally, it reflects a desire to break away from colonial shackles and mindsets. The RSS has long advocated for using 'Bharat' instead of 'India,' and this shift is part of a larger developmental agenda seen in BJP policies. In conclusion, India's trajectory of developmental politics is deeply intertwined with the broader umbrella of Hindutva, influencing governance, identity politics, and the nation's global image. To conclude, India's trajectory of developmental politics is subsumed under the greater umbrella of Hindutva.

References

1. Rajagopal Arvind, (March, 2015), The Reinvention of Hindutva, the Hindu, retrieved from https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKA5mSFTllacQMd227HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698268691/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.thehindu.com%2fopinion%2fop-ed%2fThe-reinvention-of-Hindutva%2farticle62118837.ece/RK=2/RS=hKuc2nRACooi5uxD8HKQk.IRpD0-
2. Shreyasi Sardesai, West Bengal Assembly Elections, Subaltern Hindutva on the wane?, (May 6, 2021), the Hindu, retrieved from https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKEtzMFTllPSoNTzS7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698268749/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.thehindu.com%2felections%2fwest-bengal-assembly%2fcsds-lokniti-survey-finds-wheather-subaltern-hindutva-is-on-the-wane%2farticle34494129.ece/RK=2/RS=mRcx3OSZK1QtXeEheKxfI9YyUpQ-
3. Chacko, Priya, Marketizing Hindutva: The State, Society and Markets in Hindu Nationalism, *Modern Asian Studies*, 53,2 (2019)pg. 377-410, Cambridge University Press, first published online 26 October, 2018, retrieved from https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrPpYJHzlla98MBbC7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698271232/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.cambridge.org%2fcore%2fjournals%2fmodern-asian-studies%2farticle%2fab%2fmarketizing-hindutva-the-state-society-and-markets-in-hindu-nationalism%2f92243742C585CD73910BA63030F6A655/RK=2/RS=1.rZPOC7cCN9hJ2ZLKK.KoAi33k-
4. Yadav Vikash, Kirk, A Jason, the Politics of India under Modi, 2023, published in the United States of America by Lever Press in partnership with Michigan Publishing, retrieved from https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKA5kzIDllkKUMj4y7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzME

[cG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698271411/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.bibliopen.org%2fp%2fbopen%2f9781643150543/RK=2/RS=UebN9laMO8M8L2wecFOXRW9kOdo-](https://www.bibliopen.org/2fp%2fbopen%2f9781643150543/RK=2/RS=UebN9laMO8M8L2wecFOXRW9kOdo-)

5. Bobbio Tommaso, Making Gujarat Vibrant: “Hindutva” development and the rise of Subnationalism in India, Taylor and Francis, Third World Quarterly, 2012, Vol. 33 No. 4, Governing Difference, Inequality and Identity in India and China (2012) , retrieved from
https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKA5kzIDllkKUMj4y7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1698271411/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.bibliopen.org%2fp%2fbopen%2f9781643150543/RK=2/RS=UebN9laMO8M8L2wecFOXRW9kOdo-
6. Sinha, Greeta, Nayak and Bhabani, Rise of Hindutva Politics, Demonetisation, and Its Impact on Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises in India, (2021), IntechOpen, retrieved from
https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrKCaUr1UdljW49ikG7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1699235243/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fwww.intechopen.com%2fchapters%2f74578/RK=2/RS=.F17t3jPoAWpik6wmqDpxyDp2bU-
7. Neelanjan Sircar, The Welfarist Prime Minister: Explaining the National-State Election Gap, Economic and Political Weekly, retrieved from March 6, 2021,
<https://tcpd.ashoka.edu.in/the-welfarist-prime-minister-explaining-the-national-state-election-gap/>
8. Aafaq Zafar, November 5, 2023, Olive Branch or division of Votes? Behind BJP’s “Sufi’ Outreach to Muslims, Scrollin, retrieved from
https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=Awr1QVbu2UdlEgY.0Qq7HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzIEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1699236463/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2ftheprint.in%2fopinion%2fbjp-olive-branch-pasmandas-momentous-first-in-india-3-factors-behind-it-amu-vc%2f1341204%2f/RK=2/RS=bGamsxNIhO58KAI3VuANtAskJ6Q-
9. Dr. Ashis Verma, Dr. Sikha Dimri, Contemporary Relevance of MS Gowalkar’s Idea of Nationalism: Looking into the Cultural Identity and Present Needs of India, retrieved from
https://r.search.yahoo.com/_ylt=AwrX_P1Q2kdlaDA8oF27HAX.;_ylu=Y29sbwNzZzMEcG9zAzEEdnRpZAMEc2VjA3Ny/RV=2/RE=1699236560/RO=10/RU=https%3a%2f%2fpapers.ssrn.com%2fsol3%2fpapers.cfm%3fabstract_id%3d4045006/RK=2/RS=30c7MNY7sC9N8sAaAmqpF2lzrgs-