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Hindutva, right-wing extremism, and genocide process

An ideational analysis

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ABSTRACT

This thesis paper analyzes to what extent ideas of right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and genocide process evident in texts from important Hindutva actors as Narendra Modi, Yogi Adityanath and Laxmi Dubey and to what extent India can be classified under Gregory Stanton's ten stages of genocide. The research method applied in this paper is ideational analysis with ideal types. The writer has selected specific theories on right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and genocide process. These specified theories have provided the theoretical and analytical framework for the analysis mainly focusing on ideas.

The analysis indicates that ideas of right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and genocide process are evident to a great extent in the texts derived from key Hindutva actors. However, the explicitness in the texts varies. The analysis indicates like other experts that India can be classified under Gregory Stanton's model of genocide process.

It has been a challenging yet giving journey.

This is my humble contribution to real and present challenges coming from a deep passion for political science.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Synnøve Jenssen for valuable guidance and feedback.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Ring-wing extremism is on the rise. Italy's Prime Minister Georgia Melon is from the political party Brothers of Italy. It is regarded as the most right-wing party to govern in Italy since Mussolini 80 years ago. In Eastern Europe, primarily Hungary and Poland, and Brasil there has been pockets of prominent far right influence. In France, Marine Le Pen from the far right has been runner-up in the last two presidential elections. The AfD (Alternative for Germany) is a serious political contender with more than 70 seats in parliament. In Scandinavia the right is on the rise in Sweden, Finland, and Norway (Whitehead, 2023). Considering this, I find it a highly relevant research subject. In Western context, there is plenty of comparative literature on right-wing extremism. Outside the terrain, there has been conducted very little research (Leidig, 2020, p. 218).

India is the world's largest democracy. General elections in India are held between April and May 2024. India's ruling party Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and the country's Prime Minister Narendra Modi are campaigning for re-election for a third term (IISS, 2023). Narendra Modi and the political party BJP are closely related to Hindutva. Hindutva is a political ideology that defines the cultural identity of India in terms of Hinduism and wishes to make India a solely Hindu nation-state (Raikar, 2024). Since at least 2014, BJP has been the dominant party in government as well as various regional governments. It signals that Hindutva is widely supported, not imposed. It also means that we can analyze not just what the party says, but also what it does in practice as a key actor in the Hindutva movement (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 365).

BJP is the largest political party in the world. The world's biggest party is a right-wing ethno-nationalist party (Ledig & Mudde, 2023, p. 360). We shall acquire knowledge of a far-right ideology governing in the world's biggest democracy. In the light of this year's general elections, it is opportune to study that what has been, only then, we can fully understand what is to come. This paper sheds light upon the way religion is *politicized* in Hindutva, and to say that the interpretation of Hindutva as a type of religious extremism/fundamentalism is flawed (Leidig, 2020, p. 220).

Often, Hindutva has been analyzed as an isolated case (Leidig, 2020, p. 220). And there is a void in right-wing extremism academia with most of the research being restricted to a Western context. The paper seeks to universalize the phenomena of right-wing extremism by

studying Hindutva as a variant of right-wing extremism. The aim is to identify right-wing extremism in Hindutva and contribute to academic research that situates right-wing extremism within dimensions of Hindutva. However, it is important to note that the paper does not aim to disregard the origin, evolution and adaptation of Hindutva and aims to credit the geographical, political, historical, religious, and cultural circumstances of Hindutva (Leidig, 2020, p. 220).

In an interview with *The Wire*, Gregory Stanton said “the early warning signs of (genocide) are present in India”. He identified several stages as being fulfilled (Genocide Watch, 2022). Genocide never “just happens”. The Holocaust did not start with the gas chambers. It was built on years of oppression and propaganda. It took centuries of prejudice. Since the Holocaust, the world stood in agreement that this must never be repeated. Recent history has shown us otherwise. Genocides have continued to happen in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Darfur (Marks-Woldman, 2023). Around the world today we see instances of concern. “Re-education” centers in China for Uighurs. Persecution of Rohingyas in Myanmar. The recent escalation in the Israel-Palestinian conflict is of grave concern. The need to be aware of the process towards genocide has never been more important. Scholar Gregory Stanton has constructed a model of the process towards genocide called the “ten stages of genocide”. To prevent future genocides, it is important to become familiar with the ten stages (Jewish Museum Milwaukee, 2020).

This paper seeks to look at the Hindutva ideology in texts derived from prominent Hindutva actors with the help of theory on right-wing extremism and genocide process. It will also investigate how the ideology manifests itself in practice and consequently to what extent the genocide process is underway in India. The research questions are accordingly presented in the next chapter.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1. To what extent are ideas of right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and genocide process evident in texts from Narendra Modi, Yogi Adityanath and Laxmi Dubey?*
- 2. To what extent can India be classified under Gregory Stanton’s ten stages of genocide?*

3. BACKGROUND

3.1 Right-wing extremism

Right-wing extremism emerged from philosophical exchanges in which fascist thinking was developed and shared in the 19th century (Leidig, 2020, p. 216). The ideological developments became mainstream shortly prior to the Second World War. Fascist thinking and ideology have since 1945 been divided into several fractions in response to different political circumstances. The rise of extreme-right political parties, organizations and vigilante/paramilitary groups is well documented. Scholars have thus given attention to the various extreme-right movements, parties, and organizations (Leidig, 2020, p. 217).

Since the mid 1970s the term right-wing extremism was used alongside right-wing radicalism. Later, it was replaced. Today, there is an international consensus on the use of the term “right-wing extremism” (Mudde, 1995, p. 204). The definition of right-wing extremism serves knowledge when applied in a serious scientific manner. When used as a slogan in the daily political sphere it may serve as the labelling of the political enemy. The apparently simple question that poses “what is right-wing extremism?” can be difficult to answer in practice. The term bears on several things in both scientific and societal discourse. Concepts such as “communism”, “liberalism” and “socialism” often have a long history and a fixed description. That is not true for the concept of right-wing extremism (Mudde, 1995, p. 205).

Extreme right gives the empirical facts that people *have* different social positions and that there *are* inborn differences between human beings a moral significance. Social hierarchy is legitimized and explained by reference to nature. This “common” sense of the extreme right partly explains its attractiveness. It forms the mythical fundament of extreme-right ideology. The specificity of the extreme right, then, lies in its political doctrine. The doctrine is made up of different themes, such as anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies, ethnic nationalism, xenophobia and racism, and conspiracy thinking (Fennema, 1997, p. 482).

The definition presented in this thesis paper is an “operational definition” of the concept of right-wing extremism. Hence, the definition shall be seen as a means of providing more insight into the complex nature of right-wing extremist ideology. It is not to be seen as *the* definition of right-wing extremism (Mudde, 1995, p. 204).

3.2 Hindutva

Hindutva (“Hinduness”) emerged as a political ideology during the early nineteenth century. Ideologically Hindutva dates back to 1923 with V. D. Savarkar publication *Hindutva: Who Is a Hindu?* (Leidig, 2020, p. 236). Hindutva has its own origin, adaptation and evolution (Leidig, 2020, p. 220). Early ideologues were influenced by European scholars and claimed that the Indian civilization was superior in its race (by having Aryan origins) and language (by being the mother of Indo-European tongues). The early development of Hindutva was in relation to Italian Fascism and German Nazism. Following the Second World War and India’s independence the relations with European contemporaries discontinued. Scholars still argue that Hindutva in India draws parallels with right-wing extremism in the West (Leidig, 2020, p. 220-221).

The founding ideologues of Hindutva defined “Hindu” identity as a “matter of race and blood”. In order to distinguish between Hinduism as a “religion” and Hindus as a “nation” Hindu nationalists ethnized religious Hindu identity through Hindutva (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 362). Hindu identity was presented in contrast to the Muslim “invader” and “foreigner”, the internal enemy and the British colonial project, the external enemy. (Leidig, 2020, p. 221). Hindutva claims that the Vedic period, “golden age” of the Hindu civilization prior to British colonialism and Muslim-ruled Mughal Empire must be restored (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 362).

The ideology seeks to convey that the Hindu culture is the “authentic” and real culture of India. Hindus are viewed to be connected and united through a Hindu rashtra (a Hindu ethnostate). It includes the current states of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and parts of Afghanistan and Myanmar (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 362). Hindutva ideologues have been visible in building a majoritarian identity in India, often through otherization of Muslims and other minorities. (Leidig, 2020, p. 236).

Most scholars that cover Hindutva put it as a majoritarian or religious nationalism. The implication is that it is a singular case. They further go into the detail of the intricacies of South Asian communal politics. The scholars do acknowledge the complexity of Hindutva as an ideology, it’s ethnonationalist and cultural sentiments in the political agenda. However, they do not situate it within the broader scope of right-wing extremism as a global occurrence (Leidig, 2020, p. 220). Hindutva was referred to as “saffron-clad European nationalism” by Indian writer Valson Thampu. Saffron is the official color of the broader Hindutva movement (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 361).

Today, it is utmost closely associated with the Bharatiya Janata Party (English: Indian People's Party; BJP) and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (English: National Volunteer Organization; RSS). BJP is one of the main political parties in India. RSS is a powerful Hindu nationalist paramilitary organization (Raikar, 2024).

3.3 Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

BJP is the largest political party in the world. The world's biggest party is a rightwing ethnonationalist party and claims to have over 100 million members. The number of members even exceeds the Communist Party of China. It is part of a greater community of Hindu nationalist organization groups termed the Sangh Parivar ("Family of Organizations") (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 360). The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) was founded in 1980. BJP is the political arm of the Sangh. Hence, the party closely aligns with the broader Hindutva movement, notably the RSS. The BJP and RSS are two formally independent and separate organizations. However, they share personnel and ideas. Leaders in the RSS hold markable power over the BJP (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 363).

Over the last 30 years, BJP has had a steady increase in support. The party saw a more significant increase in support towards the 2014-elections when the new BJP leader Modi transformed the party's campaigning discourse (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 363). For their first term in power, BJP campaigned for relatively vague and general motives for social and economic change. With the second Modi administration, once in power, BJP more clearly expressed visions of implementing Hindustan in words and party practice (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 365). The 2014 election manifesto focused on issues like good governance, anti-corruption, accountability, and transparency. The 2019 manifesto focused with a much stronger emphasis on preserving "cultural heritage", national security and the threat of terrorism (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 365). Under Modi's leadership, BJP has come to dominate Indian politics making Modi the longest-serving prime minister to come from another political party than Congress, which is the main opposition party (Sharma, 2024).

3.4 Narendra Modi

Narendra Modi born on 17th September 1950 is the current Prime Minister of India. From 2001 to 2014 Modi served as the head of government (chief minister) of the Western Indian state of Gujarat. In the 1970s, Modi joined the Rashtriya Swayemsevak Sangh (RSS). He also

set up RSS students' wing unit in his area, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad. He rose through the ranks in the organization which subsequently benefited his political career.

In 1987, Modi joined the Bhartiya Janata Party. A year later, he became the general secretary of the party's Gujarat branch and played a vital role in strengthening his political party's role in the state. In the later years, he held different high rank positions in the party. Thereafter, Modi's career has been a mixture of both self-promoted achievements and controversy. His role under the communal riots in Gujarat in 2002 is especially deemed controversial where he was accused of condoning or doing little to stop the killing of more than 1000 Muslims. Despite this, he established himself with a reputation as an able administrator. In 2013, Modi was selected as BJP campaign leader for the 2014 national elections. Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister of India in 2014 for the first time. He had high economic visions for India's underperforming economy under his electoral term and promoted Hindutva (D'souza, 2024). Hindutva was brought to mainstream attention during the 1990s. However, it was truly mainstreamed in 2014 when Narendra Modi was elected as Prime Minister (Leidig, 2020, p. 215).

3.5 Yogi Adityanath

Yogi Adityanath born on 5th June 1972 is the ruling Chief Minister of the Uttar Pradesh state in India. Adityanath has been a Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) member since 1998. He has elected been to the *Lok Sabha*, the lower house of Indian Parliament five times since 1998. Since 2014, Adityanath has been the head priest of a Hindu temple in Gorakhpur. Additionally, he is the founder of Hindu Yuva Vahini, a Hindu nationalist organization aiming to provide a Hindu youth platform (Times of India, w. y.). A social media hashtag tracking tool has noted that Yogi Adityanath was the second most talked about leader in India after Prime Minister Modi on social media platform X, according to their latest ranking in November 2023. The ranking was prepared based on number of posts by Indian X users in the month of October (Drishti, 2023).

3.6 Sangh Parivar and the Rashtriya Swyamsevak Sangh (RSS)

The Hindutva movement is defined by many intricately linked organizations, with RSS being the organizational heart. RSS is a paramilitary organization dating back to 1925 with millions of members and several thousand local branches. The plethora of organizations in the Sangh Parivar consist of different political, cultural, social, and economic milieux. Altogether, these

organizations form the Sangh, united by a mutual understanding of the vision to transform India to Hindustan (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 362-363).

3.7 Saffron pop

Bhajans, songs in praise of Hindu deities have traditionally been a custom in Hinduism. The rise of Hindu nationalism has encouraged more politically charged form of such music with clear anti-Muslim sentiments (Saaliq, 2022). «Saffron pop» or “Hindutva pop” is a term used for the music soundtrack to a set of policies that seek to transform the pluralistic and secular India into a Hindu state. Many songs openly call for violence against Muslims, praise the Indian nation and Hindu deities (Fähnders, 2021). Many of these songs tributes Hindu nationalist politicians such as Adityanath, Modi and other BJP leaders as well (Rehbar, 2022).

The music form was initially used by Hindu nationalists during the 1990s to appeal to young listeners through cassettes set on the tune of popular Bollywood songs. In 1992, there was a violent communal campaign that led to the demolition of the 16th-century Babri mosque. The events led the BJP party to national prominence (Saaliq, 2022). Since, Hindutva songs has been a part of the Hindu nationalist Hindutva movement as a tool to sustain their politics. The music form has parallels with music production under the Nazi regime in Germany under the 1930s. It is played in rallies by Hindu nationalist groups, mainly in the northern Indian states also called “Hindi belt.” (Rehbar, 2022).

3.8 The ten stages of genocide

Various scholars have studied conditions of genocide. Including Ervin Staub, Helen Fein, Romeo Dallaire, Frank Chalk, Ted Gurr, Barbara Harff, Benjamin Valentino and Jay Ulfelder among others. They have developed different models for genocide, ethnic conflict, and the risk of state failure (The Senitel Project, w. y.). All of these are interrelated. For this thesis we have chosen to apply Gregory Stanton’s model.

Jewish-Polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin is acknowledged to be the first person to use the term “genocide” in 1940s. He coined the term when describing the slaughter of the Jewish population in Europe. Genocide as a phenomenon is complex. It is widely seen as the gravest crime against humanity. There is not much consensus on what constitutes genocide and when it is appropriate to use the term. However, it is indisputable that genocide is the whole or partly destruction of a particular group of people (Marks-Woldman, 2023).

The system of the “ten stages of genocide” was designed by Dr. Gregory Stanton. He has been engaged in genocide and prevention in academia, government institutions and civil society since the 1980s (Operation Broken Silence, 2020). American scholar Gregory Stanton is the founder and director of genocide prevention institute Genocide Watch. He founded Genocide Watch in 1999. In addition, he is the founder of and chairperson of the world’s first anti-genocide coalition Alliance Against Genocide (1999). He was the president of the International Association of Genocide Scholars from 2007-2009 (Genocide Watch, w. y.). Dr. Stanton is a former lecturer at George Mason University in Virginia USA for genocide and prevention studies (Al Jazeera, 2022). He has also been associated with University of Mary Washington in Virginia earlier (Genocide Watch, w. y.).

Gregory Stanton has examined in what conditions genocide happens and similarities between genocides (Marks-Woldman, 2023). He then outlined the “ten stages of genocide” that aim to demonstrate how genocide is committed. They were originally written in 1996 and revised in 2013 (The Genocide Education Project, w. y.). They are widely recognized as a useful tool for understanding the mechanics of genocide. In addition, they provide early warning signs that can be helpful in the prevention of future genocides. The measures provided can be used to slow, stop or prevent the process (Operation Broken Silence, 2020).

4. METHOD AND APPROACH

4.1 Ideational analysis

Idea analysis is a qualitative study of ideas in text with an in-depth interpretation of the given text being an essential part (Bratberg, 2017, p. 57). Ideal- types are often applied as a tool by the researcher. These ideal - types are typically constructed through theory obtained from secondary literature. The ideal – typical versions of ideas are essentially used to identify the ideas in empirical data (Bergström & Boréus, 2012, p. 150). The operationalization itself is usually presented in a systematic table of ideal – types (Bratberg, 2017, p. 83). This empirical research follows these guiding lines to carry out an ideational analysis.

One of the purposes of this thesis is to gain knowledge about the main ideas of right-wing extremism ideology, Hindutva ideology and genocide process by analyzing a selection of texts related to Hindutva. Therefore, idea analysis is found to be the preferred method of investigation. In ideational analysis the interpretation of the text is a key objective, idea

analysis is used to analyze the presence of ideas in text. Interpretation of the texts implies going beyond the words and phrases, and study the text as a whole, in order to grasp its underlying assumptions and beliefs (Bratberg, 2014, p. 57). This implies that the researcher pre-understands the text's primary content and overall message (Bratberg, 2014, p. 57). This paper tried to provide a basis for pre-understanding by giving sufficient background information on this thesis subject.

The text is evaluated based on the overall context including the people it is connected to (Bratberg, 2014, p. 60). An overall aim of the study is to gain in-depth knowledge about what kind of right-wing extremist and Hindutva ideas the texts are presenting, in addition to ideas from Gregory Stanton's genocide literature. By in-depth analysis and contextualizing the main ideas of right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and Gregory Stanton's 10 stages of genocide will be apparent. One of the most important aspects of idea analysis is the perspective of the study subject, i.e. those we are studying. Their beliefs, values and behavior are important in the given context as these are the main investigation points (Bryman, 2004, p. 287).

Circumstances and the situation the text was produced are important in approaching our data. The reason for this is that issues are embedded in specified historical and political contexts. They are given proper meaning only when contextualized (Gerring, 1997, p. 297-298).

4.2. Secondary literature

To study the main ideas of right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and ideas of Gregory Stanton's 10 stages of genocide require an in-depth analysis of texts derived from Hindutva key actors. The analytical framework for this thesis is designed based on renowned academic literature on right-wing extremism and Hindu nationalism (Hindutva), as well as literature on what ideas that characterize the process towards genocide. The literature provides meaningful insight in well-established theories on our research themes.

4.2.1 Secondary literature on right-wing extremism

Cas Mudde's article "Right-wing extremism analyzed" (1995), Meindert Fennema's "Some Conceptual Issues and Problems in the Comparison of Anti-Immigrant Parties in Western Europe" (1997) and Elizabeth Carter's "Right-wing extremism/radicalism: reconstructing the concept" (2018) as chosen as the theoretical frame. Carter's recent work builds on Mudde's classic work (Carter, 2018, p. 161). Both are chosen to make sure both old and new

developments in the ideology are covered. Fennema's article complements Mudde's "Right-wing extremism analyzed".

Cas Mudde, born in 1967 is a Dutch political scientist with research interest in right-wing extremism and populism in Europe and the United States. Mudde has, based on a literature study, selected 26 descriptions and definitions of right-wing extremist ideology. These were from Dutch, English and German literature to minimize the influence of country-specific features. The definitions selected from the literature study were then used to construct an inventory of features of right-wing extremist ideology mentioned most often. Nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy, and the strong state were five features mentioned by at least half of the authors in one form or another (Mudde, 1995, p. 206).

Elisabeth Carter's research focuses on political parties in Western Europe, in particular parties of the extreme right. Carter believes that we through definitions learn about the complex and ever-changing phenomenon of right-wing extremism (Carter, 2018, p. 157). In her article, she reconstructs the idea of right-wing extremism. Firstly, she collects a representative set of definitions. Further, Carter extracts their characteristics. Lastly, she constructs matrixes that organize the characteristics meaningfully (Carter, 2018, p. 158). The focus of Elisabeth Carter's article is definitions and the features of definitions. It is the first step in moving forward with analysis and exploration. The study of definitions allows us to identify the core concept of right-wing extremism. And to delimit it from other concepts as well (Carter, 2018, p. 159).

Consequently, it enables us to easier separate extreme right parties from other radical parties. Each concept requires a core definition. Otherwise, we will struggle to understand more specific meanings of the concept (Carter, 2018, p. 160). Furthermore, we must provide a definition that is not so culturally or temporally bound as to reduce its applicability (Carter, 2018, p. 159). Mostly the definitions Elisabeth Carter has considered come from studies of the extreme right in Western Europe. Some of them are found in studies about the phenomenon in further afield locations. Although all 15 definitions Carter has used originate from studies focusing on political parties, Carter argues that they can equally be applied to looser groups or networks and social movements (Carter, 2018, p. 162). Authoritarianism, anti-democracy, racism and nationalism and conspiracy thinking continue to be the features most often mentioned (Carter, 2018, p. 175).

4.2.2 Secondary literature on Hindutva

“Hindutva as a variant of right-wing extremism” (2020) is an article by Eviane Leidig. It is chosen as the main secondary literature on Hindutva. The thesis also adapts research from Mudde and Leidig’s article “Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) The overlooked populist radical right party” (2023). In addition, “From love jihad to grooming gangs: Tracing flows of the hypersexual Muslim male through far-right female influencers” (2021) by Leidig and Kathinka Frøystad’s “Sound Biting Conspiracy: From India with “Love Jihad”” (2021), Christopher Jaffrelot’s “Towards a Hindu state?” (2017). In addition to a few other research pieces by other scholars spanning from 2018-2023 (see 9. Bibliography). Newer literature is purposely selected to provide integrated knowledge about the ideological nuances of Hindutva. Savarkar’s “Who is a Hindu: Essentials of Hindutva” (1923) provides fundamental insight.

4.2.3 Secondary literature on the ten stages of genocide

The elaborate information about the ten stages is derived from Gregory Stanton’s own institution website Genocide Watch to gather information as close to the source as possible. Genocide is a process, and each stage is a process itself. The process of genocide may not be linear, and stages may coincide, occur simultaneously, and can entrench over prolonged periods of time. Later stages are followed by earlier stages. All stages continue to be present throughout the process (Stanton, 2013, p. 1). The ten stages that lead to genocide are: classification, symbolization, discrimination, dehumanization, organization, polarization, preparation, persecution, extermination, and denial. Each stage can be stopped by preventative measures (Genocide Education Project, w. y.).

4.3 Data

The analysis data is picked out of an extensive selection of material available to investigate. This demands an elaboration on the choices made and a good evaluation. Reliability is strengthened by a reflected, well-defined selection. The data material is seldom picked randomly. The researcher has rather made a choice based upon aspects in the data material worthy of a closer study (Bratberg 2014, p. 68). The significance of one single text comes from it expressing ideas that are common to and can be related to a greater family of texts and in connection with a greater context. Hence, we have chosen text derived from a highly

significant national politician, local politician, and singer to represent the masses as well as the political actors.

4.3.1 Narendra Modi speech

Narendra Modi delivered the speech in the northern Indian town of Ayodhya at the ground-breaking ceremony of the Ram Janmabhoomi Mandir (Ram's Birthplace Temple) on August 5, 2020. Ram is a Hindu deity depicted as a reincarnation of Lord Vishnu and a just king in the ancient Indian epic Ramayana. Today, many Hindus consider themselves devotees of Lord Ram today ("Rama", 2024). Until 1992, there was a historical mosque at the temple site. The first Mughal ruler Babar built the mosque 500 years ago. During Mughal rule several landmarks, forts and mosques were built in northern India, including Taj Mahal ("Mughal architecture", 2024).

The broader Hindutva movement with the RSS and BJP in the front proclaimed for years that the 16th century Babri mosque was built on the very spot of the birthplace of Lord Ram. There was also a claim of the mosque being a temple site earlier in honor for the Hindu deity's birthplace. No verifiable historical records for this claim are found. In 1984, a nation-wide campaign was initiated by the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (World Council of Hindus) to demand a temple replacement at the mosque site. This movement aimed for public and political support and was backed by Bharatiya Janata party. The party promised a temple at the site of Lord Ram's birthplace. After years of campaigning, in 1992 a mob of Hindutva adherents took to the streets of Ayodhya and eventually razed the mosque to the ground as security personnel stood by. The incident caused violent riots in several months across India resulting in 2000 people killed. Most of them Muslims (The Wire, 2020 & Jacobsen, 2009).

The divisive campaign that turned violent marked a turning point for Hindutva as a political movement (Ramesh, 2009). In 1996, BJP was elected to the national assembly for the first time (Jacobsen, 2009). Following a verdict that came in favor for a Ram birthplace temple at the disputed site, the construction work was launched on 5th august 2020. BJP's long-term promise was fulfilled, and Prime Minister Modi conducted a 35-minute televised speech at Ram temple ground – breaking ceremony (The Indian Express, 2020).

4.3.2 Yogi Adityanath speech excerpts

Uttar Pradesh in Northern India is a politically crucial state. It is the most populous state in India with more than 222 million people. If it were a separate country, it would have been the fifth largest country in population after China, India, USA, and Indonesia. The state sends more MP's to India's parliamentary institution than any other state. Several Indian Prime Ministers have come from Uttar Pradesh (BBC, 2017). Despite its political significance, Uttar Pradesh is one of the poorest states in the country. In recent years, there have been issues of high inflation, unemployment, and crimes against woman (Pandey, 2022a).

The narrative that BJP has built that profoundly maintain law and order alongside Hindutva has been a major selling point. Bharatiya Janata Party won the Uttar Pradesh Assembly Elections in 2022 under Adityanath's leadership. Hence, he is the Chief Minister of the state for a second term. Under Yogi Adityanath's rule in Uttar Pradesh, the state brought a law against interfaith marriages. He ordered to shut down abattoirs and restaurants serving meat mostly owned by Muslims (Pandey, 2022a). Adityanath is also known under the title "Bulldozer Baba." The Uttar Pradesh Chief minister first ordered the usage of bulldozers against notorious criminals. For this, the government won some recognition for "firm administration." Critics claim "bulldozer campaigns" have brought political mileage to the established BJP- politician and have approval from Prime Minister Narendra Modi as well. But in recent years, the bulldozers have become a political tool to target Muslim community properties and to intimidate the opposition and government's critics, especially Muslims (Pandey, 2022b).

Speech excerpts from six different speeches delivered by Yogi Adityanath from November 2021 to January 2022 are analyzed. The context is the forthcoming 2022 state legislative assembly elections held from 10th February to 7th March in Uttar Pradesh. The speeches were held from Kairana, Mathura, Sonbhandra, Amroha, Bhaghpat and Hapur which are all places located in Uttar Pradesh. The selection of speech excerpts has been grounded on accessibility and relevance.

4.3.3 Laxmi Dubey's song

The saffron pop song chosen for analysis is "Har Ghar Bhagva Chhayega – part 2" by singer Laxmi Dubey released in 2018 (Bhakti Mala, 2018). The song is immensely popular with three versions till date (Laxmi Dubey Official, 2023). It is viewed 71 million times on one platform. The songwriters are Laxmi Dubey and Vedvyas (Bhakti Mala, 2018). Laxmi Dubey

is a 32-year-old Hindutva pop singer from Bhopal in the central Indian state Madhya Pradesh. It is viewed 71 million times on one platform. Dubey is often invited to perform by BJP members to perform in their cities (Rehbar, 2022).

Conventionally song texts are not used in ideational analysis. However, researcher's research methods and choices ought to be relevant to the research subject. This paper is looking at a political movement where traditional devotional music has been transformed to fit into a political agenda. The music is actively used as a tool to sustain politics. For instance, in political gatherings such as rallies and meetings of right-wing supporters. "Saffron music" is therefore an analysis subject of interest as it is opportune to see whether the song texts give an insight into the ideology itself. If so, it is relevant for the research question to what extent the ideology manifests itself in popular Indian culture through music.

4.4 Methodological concerns

4.4.1. General validity and reliability

Generalization and external validity are not a concern in idea analysis as it is not the initial point or aim. The aim is rather a contextual understanding and in-depth knowledge of the given case. The attitudes, perspectives, and actions of those being studied are in focus as we see the world through their eyes (Bryman, 2005, 287). A study has a great level of validity if we with certainty measure what we aim to measure (Keohan et al., 1994, p. 25). The validity of research depends on how the theoretical categories have been operationalized. The reliability, meaning the possibility of tracing and re-conducting the analysis should increase with small and well-defined units (Bratberg, masteroppgave).

An important problem to consider when conducting idea analysis is that some words and phrases can be wrongly misinterpreted by the researcher to fit into the analytical model. This might prevent the texts from speaking for themselves (Bergström and Boreus, 2005, p. 172). On one side, use of ideal types can pose a possible danger of reading meaning into the text not initially by the author, given that everything must fit in a preconceived analytical frame. On the other side, there is a risk to discard textual data as irrelevant, where another ideal type with a slightly and/or totally different research focus would have used that information in a more comprehensible way (Bergström & Boréus, 2005, p. 160 & 173-174).

These problems could be raised concerning the reliability and validity of our research. Nonetheless, a conscious research design and research should mitigate the shortcomings of this kind. My aim throughout this research work is to be as specific and explicit as possible about the choices made throughout the research process. One of the greatest tasks in this work is to “interpret a statement as an expression of a specific idea” and as well aiming to make the logic behind the interpretation as clear as possible.

4.4.2 Validity of Narendra Modi’s speech, Yogi Adityanath’s speech excerpts and Laxmi Dubey’s song

The data selection for analysis has religious references and/or connotations. Due to this, the validity question regarding how well the data fits for analysis on Hindutva ideology is discussed here prior to analysis. Narendra Modi delivered his speech at a temple opening ceremony. It is given that there will be many religious/Hindu references. Yogi Adityanath is a politician and a priest by profession. It is a possibility that his religiosity may impact his speeches. Saffron or Hindutva pop music source from traditional devotional music. Hindu references are natural in this context.

According to scholars, there is a misunderstanding towards how Hindu nationalists relate to religion. The common understanding is that there is an intense attachment to religion for Hindu nationalists. Hinduism does play a vital role in Hindutva. However, Hindutva is not centered on religion. In Hindutva ideology religion is politicized. Being Hindu hence bring forth belonging as an ethnonationalist identity (Leidig, 2020, p. 220). Western right-wing extremism scholars often mispresent Hindutva as a primarily religious nationalism rather than ethnonationalist. In this sense, it is incorrect to say that in Hindutva ideology religious identity takes precedence over national identity. The reason being that the Hindutva movement seeks to create an ethnonationalist state (Leidig, 2020, p. 218-219).

Hindu nationalists challenge religious coexistence and are reactive towards how the state as a secular institution allows such coexistence. The practice of religion itself is not necessarily an issue for Hindu nationalists. Therefore, to regard everything that is for instance “Muslim” or “Hindu” as religious is methodologically incorrect (Leidig, 2020, p. 220). Following this academic debate, an additional question is posed as to what Indian secularism is. It is not like Western understanding of the concept. In Eurocentric conception of secularism there is a clear separation of church and state. In India, secularism is not characterized by a rigid separation

between religion and state. It is more accurate to say that the religion and state are proportioned at a principled distance. Indian secularism accepts the practice of religion and make room for religious pluralism (Leidig, 2020, p. 219).

In summary, there are bound to be religious references in the data. However, researchers on Hindutva ideology present it as an ideology that *politicizes* religion. On these grounds, this paper aims to focus on references that can be related to the Hindutva ideology, not on purely religious references. This requires a high level of competence about Hindutva. For this, knowledge from renowned academics has been acquired for the theoretical part which later in the paper will be applied during analysis and discussion, aiming to come to a final conclusion. Lastly, loyalty towards the research question is vital.

5. THEORY AND OPERATIONALIZATION

5.1 Right-wing extremism

5.1.1 Anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies

According to extreme-right tradition democracy extinguishes natural and socially useful differences between people. In extreme-right tradition democracy is the rule of cowardice. Political leaders are cowards because they hide behind democratic procedures (Fennema, 1997, p. 484). Democracy amounts to the fundamental equality of the citizens. Hence, anti-democracy rejects the fundamental equality of the citizens. Democracy is principally defined as pluralism. Anti-democracy is therefore seen as anti-pluralism (Mudde, 1995, p. 214).

The authoritarian conception of the state is closely related to anti-democracy. The three sub-features of the strong state/authoritarianism are anti-pluralism, law-and-order, and militarism. Anti-pluralism was touched upon earlier. Law-and-order is a quest for authority and order accompanied by demanding a strong punishment for those breaching the rules (Mudde, 1995, p. 216). This doctrine is directed at external threats such as immigrants and asylum seekers, criminal elements and its critics and political opponents (Carter, 2018, p. 162). To maintain law-and-order the state must have a strong police force. Militarism is the call for a strong army to protect the nation and national interest. Militarism in the extreme-right tradition is fueled by ethnocentrism. The home state must dominate others because it is considered superior (Mudde, 1995, p. 216).

5.1.2 Ethnic nationalism

Nationalism is a political doctrine where the nation is defined by the political unit, the state, and the cultural unit (Mudde, 1995, p. 209). In the right-wing extremist ideology, the nation has a biological connotation and is often defined by ethnic terms. Thus, the state should be an expression of the ethnic community according to right-wing ideologues. Those not belonging to the given ethnic community are excluded from the nation.

The notion is that the nation has a “soul.” Membership in the ethnic nation is by a common “destiny” and by descent (Fennema, 1997, p. 483). The idea of the nation is one of extreme collective homogeneity (Carter, 2018, p. 164). In the extreme right discourse “rooted” and “ownness” are opposed to “uprootedness” and “alien” (Fennema, 1997, p. 483). Only people belonging to the X-nation have the right to live within the X-state’s borders (Mudde, 1995, p. 210). Extreme right parties agree upon an ethnic conception of the nation that stresses conversion, expulsion or worse of the “Other.” The term “nativism” is used to explain the idea that states shall only be inhabited by members of the native group (“the nation”). Nonnative elements (ideas and persons) are deemed fundamentally threatening to the homogeneity of the nation-state (Carter, 2018, p. 164).

5.1.3 Xenophobia and racism

The term xenophobia is used as collective noun to describe fear, hostility or hate regarding “ethnic foreigners” (Mudde, 1995, p. 212). The notion is that non-natives pose a threat to the host community (Carter, 2018, p. 164). Xenophobia and ethnocentrism are closely linked. There is a positive attitude towards the ingroup and a negative attitude towards outgroups (Mudde, 1995, p. 2012). Policies of cultural homogeneity and exclusionary nationalism are closely related with xenophobia and/or racism. Homogeneity is advocated based upon the notion that there are irreconcilable and intransigent natural differences between groups of people. There is a strong belief that these groups should not mix considering racist doctrine (Carter, 2018, p. 164).

Mudde explains this kind of racism can be of two kinds. The classical type is characterized by a belief in natural differences between races with a core belief that one race is superior to others. The new culturist type with emphasis on the incompatibility of the races rather than hierarchy. And, on culture rather than race (ibid. Carter). “The New Right emphasizes the incompatibility of cultures and ethnicities and advocates the right of the Europeans to be

different and to resist cultural mixing”. This is a segregation of cultures and ethnicities enforced politically.

Right-wing extremist ideologists manage to mobilize towards xenophobic and racist opinions without being stigmatized for racism through “ethnonationalist xenophobia”. It is a shift from classical biological racism to ethnopluralism. Ethnopluralism countermodels the concepts of multiculturalism and is a modernized strategy against immigration and integration. This concept centers around the “threat” that immigrants perceive to pose to the homogeneity of the country. As a result, anti-immigrant policies may look like policies of national preference in employment and social benefits, strong immigration controls and repatriation. Hostility and xenophobia towards foreigners are the most mentioned factors in the definitions under consideration (Carter, 2018, p. 165).

5.1.4 Conspiracy thinking

Conspiracy thinking is defined in many ways. At a broad level, conspiracy thinking explains the actions of a conspirator group as the most prominent cause of an event or events or a situation. Conspiracy theories consist of three interconnected characteristics. Firstly, the goals and actions of the conspirator group are illegal, nefarious, or threatening. Secondly, the conspirators manage the course of events because they are particularly manipulative, powerful, or sly. Thirdly, the group operates in secret and have a cover-up in place to hide its work.

Conspiracy theories are especially difficult to disprove because of these characteristics. Because lack of evidence or counterevidence can be seen as results of secrecy and cover-up. For the same reason, data from conventional sources are rejected (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023).

Conspiracies in the extreme-right discourse aim to explain why the nation is not as strong as it should be as per the ideology of ethnic superiority. Conspiracy thinking in this discourse is related to political opponents who according to the extreme right ideology have no legitimate right to exist (Fennema, 1997, p. 485). On the far right, conspiracy theories often place religious or ethnic minority groups in the role of conspirator. In these kinds of conspiracy theories, the conspirator often collaborates with traitors from the “inside”. Politically charged conspiracy thinking in extreme ideologies often form the basis of *subversion mythologies*.

The “enemy” from the outside has found allies from within the society and followingly they both work and conspire together to undermine the social order.

Again, conspiracy theories and extreme political beliefs are interconnected. It could be discussed whether hostility towards democracy, government, and “out-groups” in political far right lead to conspiracy thinking, or if conspiracy-thinking produces distrust which finds meaning in extreme movements. Theorists note that conspiracy theories fuel the ideology by further demonizing the enemy and legitimizing violence as a necessary political tool to wake the sleeping masses (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023).

5.2 Hindutva

5.2.1 Anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies in Hindutva

Constitutionally, India is a multicultural inclusive liberal democracy (BJP). The Hindutva project has not rejected electoral democracy. However, an ability to subvert democratic processes and de-democratize is present. Hindutva actors are patient and have effectively fused violent othering along with democracy, participation, and modernization (Banaji, 2018, p. 346). The high-profile Hindus that oppose Hindutva narrative are labelled pseudo-secularists and traitors. Ordinary resisting Hindus are silenced and persecuted (Banaji, 2018, p. 346). In an early Hindutva publication, *A Warning to the Hindus* (1939), the writer argued for military resistance and self-defense against the threat of “Mohammedanization” (Leidig, 2020, p. 226).

5.2.2 Ethnic nationalism in Hindutva

Hindutva is promoted to create a sense of shared culture, history, and an awareness of India as one’s Holy Land (Leidig, 2020, p. 226). Hindus are defined as “sons of the soil”. India is not only a motherland, but a sacred land as well. Christians and Muslims are presented as outsiders. To become true Indian nationals, they must swear allegiance to Hindu identity and its key symbols (Jaffrelot, 2017, p. 52). There is an equation between Hindu civilization and Indian identity that reflects an ethnic definition of the nation (Jaffrelot, 2017, p. 53). Nativism is expressed through the goal of a Hindu *rashtra*. A Hindu *rashtra* denotes to a Hindu ethnostate, often referred as “Hindustan” (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 365).

Hindustan is exclusively for Hindus. Those who consider India as both their «pitribhumi» (“fatherland”) and “punyabhumi” (“holy land”). In this sense, anyone who has ancestral ties and religious background in ancient India is a Hindu. Buddhism, Sikhism and Jainism are traditions with roots in India and therefore fit into the large cloak of Hinduism according to Hindutva doctrine. Since Christianity and Islam originate from outside of India, Indian Muslims and Christians are not included in the Hindu nationalist Hindu definition (Savarkar, 1923, p. 41-43). Religion is politized in a way that being a Hindu denotes belonging to an ethnonationalist identity. This identity is presented in contrast to the Muslim who is often presented as a “threat,” “foreigner” and “invader” (Leidig, 2020, p. 221). Such “threats” are formulated as a danger to collective Hindu identity, i.e., collective homogeneity (Leidig, 2020, p. 236).

5.2.3 Xenophobia and racism in Hindutva

In Hindutva narrative there are definite positive attitudes towards the ingroup and a negative towards the outgroup. The narrative of India as a (democratic) Hindu nation contains of Hindu superiority and innocence. The narrative of the Muslim outgroup is framed as foreign wicked aggressor with anti-national beliefs and practices. Hinduism is posed as enlightened and peace-loving while Islam is posed as benighted and violent (Banaji, 2018, p. 342).

Muslims are viewed as “invaders” of the “pure” Hindu nation (Leidig, 2020, p. 236). The notion is that Muslim communities have harboring terrorist intentions against their home states (Banaji, 2018, p. 343). “They” are the uncivilized “other” with irreconcilable differences. Co-existence will result in absolute chaos and disaster. “Muslim culture” is framed as fundamentally “Other,” and the underlying assumption is that they do not subscribe to Hindutva values and is distinctly foreign (Leidig, 2021, p. 12). In positing Indian Muslims as “they” versus “native us” there is a construction of an assumed fundamental difference (Leidig, 2021, p. 16).

5.2.4 Conspiracy thinking

Among Hindu right wing there is a clearcut narrative that the Muslim population is rapidly increasing and will eventually outnumber and replace Hindus as the majority in India. It will replace the “Hindu” culture (Ghasiya et al., 2023, p. 6). Another conspiracy theory is love jihad. It holds that young Muslim men conspire to lure young Hindu women into marriage and conversion. The conspiracy theory seeks to say that this is to alter India’s religious

demographics as a part of a strategy for an eventual political takeover (Frøystad, 2021, p. 1). Many Indian states have passed new laws or amended laws to tackle with alleged love jihad (Frøystad, 2021, p. 7).

Under the corona pandemic, the term “corona jihad” was popularized. It was conspiracy theory that framed Muslims as “super spreaders” and “carriers of the virus bomb” (Kumar, 2023, p. 1). It was a derogatory representation of Muslims claiming that the minority group deliberately wanted to spread the virus as much as possible. Other conspiracies are UPSC jihad, land jihad and education jihad. These conspiracies are notably politically charged and seek to place the Indian Muslim minority group in the role of the conspirator. A recurring theme for many of these “jihad conspiracies” is that the “enemy” and “the conspirator” conspire to undermine the social order (Ghasiya et al., 2023, p. 6).

Hindu nationalist discourse is obsessed with explaining demography thorough conspiracies. Differences in birthrates in communities do not explain uneven development, rather it is a conspiracy to alter demography. Marrying outside of the religion is also a vast attempt to alter demography. Conversion has a similar explanation (Mehta, 2022, p. 7). In summary, the Hindutva ideology notes that Muslims are viewed as “anti-national” engaged in a secrecy plot to “Islamize” Hindustan. The belief is that tactics as “love jihad” among others are used to achieve their dominance. Hence, the commonly attributed enemy is considered responsible. However, left-wing individuals, mainstream media and Bollywood, the film entertainment media is responsible for allowing love jihad to occur. In other words, the “enemy” has found allies from within the society, and they work together (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023). These conspiracies fuel the Hindu nationalist ideology and further demonizes the enemy (Leidig, 2021).

5.3 The ten stages of genocide

5.3.1 Classification

Classifications are categories to distinguish people into “us” and “them.” By nationality, religion, race, or ethnicity. Lack of mixed categories, typically in bipolar societies increase the chance of genocide. To actively emphasize understanding and tolerance through established institutions prevent this early stage. The search for and emphasis on a common ground that integrate identities is vital to prevention of genocide on an early stage (Genocide Watch, w. y.).

5.3.2 Symbolization

Symbols are assigned to the classified people. Symbols are applied to members of groups and groups are distinguished by symbols like name, colors, or dress. Symbolization and classification are natural and innocuous. Classification and symbolization do not lead to genocide unless these categories lead to dehumanization. It becomes dangerous when symbols are combined with hatred and members of the group are identified by their symbols and persecuted. Symbols may also be forced upon members unwillingly. Symbolization, hate symbols and hate speech can be forbidden by law as a measure. Legal measures must be supported by cultural enforcement in the nation-state to succeed (ibid.).

5.3.3 Discrimination

Political power, law and custom are used to deny the rights of other groups by a dominant group. The dominated powerless group may be deprived of rights due to an exclusionary ideology of the dominant group. For example, civil rights restrictions or citizenship. The ideology may advocate power expansion by the dominant group and legitimize discrimination. Those pursuing and advocating for exclusionary ideologies are often charismatic and manage to attract massive support by expressing their followers' resentment. Discrimination by religion, ethnicity, race, or nationality should be illegalized (ibid.).

5.3.4 Dehumanization

Members of a group are vilified and addressed as diseases, animals, insects or vermins. They are equated with immorality, impurity, and filth. One group denies and deprives the other group of their humanity. Dehumanization is effective in a genocide process as dehumanization makes it easier to overcome the usual revulsion against murder. The majoritarian group are indoctrinated to regard the "other" group as less human and alien to their society. The propaganda sets the tone that "we are better off without them". Genocidal societies lack official protection. Hate speech should be condemned and made culturally unacceptable. Leaders inciting genocide should be sanctioned, and atrocities and hate crimes should be punished (ibid.).

5.3.5 Organization

Genocide is organized. Usually genocide is state-organized. Militias are often used to cover for the state and state responsibility. Sometimes organization is decentralized or informal where special militias or army units are trained and armed. Weapons are purchased by militias and states to facilitate for genocide. States organize police for suspected opposition to

political leaders. Membership in violent genocidal militias should be outlawed to combat this stage. UN should create commissions to investigate violations and make use of national legal systems as well (ibid.).

5.3.6 Polarization

Extremists drive the groups apart from each other. Laws may forbid interaction and intermarriages for instance. The moderate political center may be intimidated and/or silenced. Moderates from the ingroup are the most able to stop genocide, but the first ones to be persecuted as well. The dominant group enforces rapidly passed laws that grant more power over the targeted group. The laws compromise fundamental civil liberties and rights. Help assistance to human rights groups and protection for moderate leaders (ibid.).

5.3.7 Preparation

Plans for genocidal killings are made by national leaders or perpetrator group leaders. Genocide is defined in terms as “counterterrorism,” “ethnic cleansing” or “purification.” The population is instilled with fear of the victim group and the idea that “if we don’t kill them, they will kill us”. Genocidal acts are thus regarded as self-defense. There is a sudden increase in hate rhetoric. Genocide can be triggered by forecoming elections or political processes that may threaten the genocidal group’s total dominance (ibid.).

5.3.8 Persecution

Individuals from the targeted group is identified and singled out based on religious or ethnic identity, and death lists are compiled. Members of the targeted group may be forced to wear identifying symbols in state sponsored genocide. Their property is often unsafe and expropriated. Sometimes, members of the target group are deported into concentration camps, or into ghettos segregated from the rest of the population. They can also be confined to a region struck by famine and starved. Programmes to prevent reproduction such as forced abortions or forced sterilization are introduced and implemented. Children might be taken from their parents by force. Basic human rights may be violated systematically through displacement, torture and extrajudicial killings (ibid.).

Massacres begin as acts of genocide as destroy parts of the group intentionally. The perpetrators might look for any international reaction for their atrocities. If there is no strong international reaction, it means the leaders can carry out the genocide unhinged, and the international community will permit the crucial acts passively. A Genocide Emergency must

be declared. Political will should be mobilized to prepare peacekeeping forces for armed international intervention or heavy assistance should be provided to the victim group for self-defense. Humanitarian relief should be organized as well (ibid.).

5.3.9 Extermination

For the preparators, the mass killing is “extermination” as they do not consider their victims to be fully human. When the genocide is state-sponsored the military forces often work together with militias to carry out the killings. Sometimes the genocide may result in revenge killings. Genocidal acts illustrate how dehumanized the victims have become. Religious and cultural property is destroyed to erase the group’s existence from history. Mass rape of women and girls is a characteristic in all modern genocides. In some genocides all men of a fighting age are murdered. In total genocide all the members of the victim group are exterminated. During this stage only an overwhelmingly armed intervention can stop genocide. Safe areas heavily protected by the international army should be established (ibid.).

5.3.10 Denial

Denial is prominent throughout the process. It is the final stage as well and always follows genocide. The killers attempt to cover up evidence of genocide. For instance, they dig mass graves, burn the dead bodies, or intimidate the witnesses. There is denial for the crimes committed and the blame is often directed towards the victims themselves. The genocidal group continues to govern until driven out of power and attempt to block crime investigation. Trial and then punishment by national courts or international tribunal is the best response to denial (ibid.).

5.4 Operationalization

5.4.1 Operationalization analysis part 1.

I have constructed a table of ideal – types to be able to recognize the specific ideas in Modi’s speech, Yogi’s speeches and Dubey’s song. Analytical constructions of this kind display the “pure” characteristics in the ideological tradition. The reality presented in the empirical data can be different from the ideal-typical characterizations. These ideal-typical characterizations might merge into each other. To do such a study is challenging taking the political sphere, the social fabric of India, and the nuances in the Hindutva ideology as well as the right-wing extremism school and the genocide process school (Zaman, 2020, p. 10-11).

The table of ideal types in this research paper is a framework of a large scale integrating different ideas from different ideologies together. The overall aim is not to necessarily finding all ideas to be present in the texts derived from various Hindutva actors. However, given the context the possibility that many ideas from the ideational framework may be present in the text increases. The genocide process stages serve as analytical dimensions, and the stages included are those which were deemed to be compatible with our two ideologies (right-wing extremism and Hindutva ideologies). The analytical dimensions are more open-ended and capture the ideas in right-wing extremism and Hindutva.

5.4.2 Table of ideal types

	Rightwing- extremism five building blocks		Hindutva ideology		
10 stages of genocide CLASSIFICATION	Ethnic nationalism		Ethnic nationalism in Hindutva ideology		
“US”	nation defined by political unit, the state and the cultural unit		Hindus as “sons of the soil”	Those who consider India as both their « <i>pitrabhumi</i> » (“fatherland”) and “ <i>punyabhumi</i> ” (“holy land”).	India is not only a motherland, but a sacred land as well.
	a common “destiny” and by descent		A superior Indian civilization	A “Hindu <i>rashtra</i> ”	Hindustan is exclusively for Hindus
	“rooted” and “ownness		Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists are defined within the “Hindu” – definition		
“THEM”	The “Other”		Christians and Muslims as outsiders.		
	“uprootedness” and “alien”		Muslim as a “threat”,		

			“foreigner” and “invader”		
	Xenophobia and racism	Xenophobia and racism in Hindutva ideology	Conspiracy thinking	Conspiracy thinking in Hindutva ideology	Ethnic nationalism
SYMBOLIZATION	resist cultural mixing				
Groups are distinguished by symbols like name, color or dress					
DISCRIMINATION					
ideology advocate for power expansion by the dominant group and legitimize discrimination					“outsiders” have to swear allegiance to Hindu identity and its key symbols to become true Indian nationals
DEHUMANIZATION					
Members of a group are vilified	(xenophobia) fear, <u>hostility</u> or hate regarding “ethnic foreigners”	Muslims are viewed as “invaders” of the “pure” Hindu nation	conspiracy theories often place religious or ethnic minority groups in the role of conspirator	Indian Muslims in the role of the conspirator	
Equated with immorality, <u>impurity</u> , and filth		the Muslim outgroup is framed as	the goals and actions of the conspirator	Muslim population increasing	

		foreign wicked aggressor with anti-national beliefs and practices	group are illegal, nefarious, or threatening	rapidly and will eventually outnumber Hindus	
One group denies and deprives the other group of their humanity			conspirators manage the course of events because they are particularly manipulative, powerful, or sly	young Muslim men conspire to lure young Hindu women into marriage and conversion.	
We are better off without them	non-natives pose a threat to the host community/ outsiders are perceived to pose a threat to the homogeneity of the country	Muslim communities have harboring terrorist intentions against their home states	The “enemy” from the outside to undermine the social order/ “enemy” has found allies within the society and they work together to undermine the social order.	“Corona jihad” claiming that Muslims deliberately wanted to spread the virus as much as possible.	

			why the nation is not as strong as it should be as per the ideology of ethnic superiority	Muslims are engaged in a secrecy plot to "islamize" Hindustan	
	Anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies				Anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies in Hindutva ideology
PREPARATION					
Genocide regarded as self-defence. "if we don't kill them, they will kill us"	Law-and-order is a quest for authority and order accompanied by demanding a strong punishment for those breaching the rules	directed at external threats such as immigrants and asylum seekers, criminal elements and its critics and political opponents	Militarism is the call for a strong army to protect the nation and national interest.	To maintain law-and-order the state must dispose a strong police force	military resistance and self-defense against the threat of "Mohammedanization"

	democracy is the rule of cowardice		an ability to subvert democratic processes and de-democratize is present.		an ability to subvert democratic processes and de-democratize is present.
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Table 1.

5.4.3 Operationalization analysis part 2

In the second part of the analysis, we will be utilizing the ten stages towards genocide as an analysis tool. The thesis will be looking closer into examples within the time of Modi government to see to what extent these stages are present. The findings will be summarized in a table. The approach to investigate the stages will be relatively the same as the idea analysis where we will try to follow each element of each stage in our study. All the elements are explained in chapter 5.3 and will be listed in chronological order in the following.

The paper intends the two analysis parts to supplement each other. The first part of the analysis studies the appearance of the ideology in text from three important Hindutva actors. The latter part studies how the ideology manifests itself in practice and thus to what extent India can be classified under Gregory Stanton's ten stages of genocide. With this, many examples can be presented. However, because of limited capacity in the paper we will be focusing on a selected case or cases in each part of each stage to illustrate. These will be representative of other such examples. In the end of the analysis of each stage, there will be a

table of findings to present the presence of each part of the stages with either a dash, tick or cross.

For findings earlier research on the ten stages of genocide in India has been used as a source as well as news platforms like Al Jazeera and The Wire for updated developments.

6. ANALYSIS

6.1 ANALYSIS PART 1

Nota bene: In the analysis the dimensions and ideas found will be listed above the paragraphs to easier track them in the table of ideal-types.

6.1.1 Narendra Modi speech

P1 & 2. Classification. “Us”. Ethnic nationalism. A superior Indian civilization. Those who consider India as both their «pitribhumi» (“fatherland”) and “punyabhumi” (“holy land”).

Modi opens his speech by hailing Lord Ram. Then follows “today this call is reverberating not only in this Ayodhya the city of Lord Rama, but its resonance is being felt across the entire globe. On this monumental occasion, I extend my heartfelt greetings to all the ardent devotees of Lord Rama, my fellow countrymen and the crores of Indian nationals spread across the continents.” Modi seems to be proud of the reverberating call, the slogan for Lord Rama, being felt across the globe. It aligns with the notion that Cas Mudde presents that the home state is considered superior and there is a wish for it to dominate (Mudde, 1995, p. 216).

He deems the groundbreaking ceremony as a *monumental occasion*. Modi extends his *heartfelt greetings*. Prominent positive wordings have been selected for the inauguration speech. The opening statement in many ways makes clear the Prime Minister’s stance on the mosque-temple matter. His stance as expressed through the speech is in favor of a grand temple being built at the site of the razed mosque. The heartfelt greetings to fellow countrymen and Indians across the continents can be linked to the Hindutva idea of those who consider India as both their «pitribhumi» (“fatherland”) and “punyabhumi” (“holy land”) (Savarkar, 1923, p. 41-43).

P3-5. Classification. “Us”. Ethnic nationalism. A common “destiny”. “Rooted” and “ownness”.

Modi then proceeds with personal greetings in the following. “My greetings to the eminent dignitaries on the dais- the enthusiastic, proactive and celebrated Chief Minister of UP Shriman Yogi Adityanath, Governor of UP Srimati Anandi Ben Patel ji, Parampujya Mahant Nritya Gopaldasji Maharaj, our dear reverend Shri Mohan Rao Bhagwat ji, great and learned saints and gurus, epitomes of austerity who have come today from all corners of the country and my dear fellow Indians.» Here, the greeting to chief minister Adityanath stands out. Modi addresses his party colleague with words of honor and praise, *the enthusiastic, proactive and celebrated Chief Minister of UP Shriman Yogi Adityanath*.

Modi proceeds further, “I feel highly obliged to be invited by Shri Ram Janmabhoomi Trust on this auspicious and historic occasion. I am deeply indebted to the trust for this honor. Of course, it wasn’t an occasion to be missed as we say “राम काजु कीन्हे बिनु मोहि कहाँ बिश्राम (Ram Kajuu keenhe Mohi Kahan Vishram)” meaning “After all how can I rest without accomplishing the work assigned by Lord Rama””. For years, Modi’s political party BJP had promised a temple at the site of Lord Ram’s birthplace (Tripathi, 2024). However, Modi is reluctant to show ownership to the cause, when he expresses how he *feels obliged and indebted* to the Trust, rather. He calls the occasion auspicious. Modi expresses that this was not an occasion to be missed and inclines towards his presence at the occasion being work assigned by Lord Rama. He is making religious references by these remarks. In a way, religion is politized, as this “occasion” is taking place at a highly political scene (Leidig, 2020, p. 221).

The Prime Minister continues his speech with more religious references. «India is witnessing a golden historic moment with the blessings of the mighty Lord Bhaskara on the banks of the auspicious river Saryu” “(...), the entire country is encompassed by and for Lord Rama.” The Prime Minister continues his speech with more religious references. His phrase about the entire country being encompassed by and for Lord Rama can be interpret as inaccurate and unprecise because it does not necessarily apply to the country’s non-Hindus. “The whole country is ecstatic, and each heart is illuminated. Entire country is emotional and overwhelmed to be a part of history and witness this long-awaited historic moment.” The same applies for this part further on in the speech. It aligns with right-wing extremism ideas of “rooted” and “ownness” and a common destiny all while being negligent of the “other” (Fennema, 1997, p. 483).

P6. Classification. “Us”. Ethnic nationalism.

“15th August is the embodiment of sacrifices of the lakhs of people and a deep yearning for the independence. Similarly, several generations have made self-less sacrifices for several centuries for the construction of the Ram Temple. Today marks the culmination of that centuries-old penance, sacrifices, and resolve.” Furthermore, Modi draws a comparison between the struggle of nation-building with the struggle of building the Ram Birthplace temple. He compares August 15, 1947, India’s Independence Day with August 5, 2020, the Ram grand temple construction launch. Indians belonging to all castes, religions and ethnicities fought for independence from British colonizers during the national freedom movement. On August 15, 1947, India became independent with Gandhi’s vision of a pluralist and diverse nation-state. The freedom movement is said to be inclusive. “Sacrifice” and “a deep yearning for independence” was shared by Indian Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs etc. The temple movement, on the other hand, is said to be exclusive. “Culmination” of “sacrifices and resolve” was not shared by all Indians (Zaman, 2020, p. 19) There is an equation between Hindu civilization and Indian identity that reflects an ethnic definition of the nation (Jaffrelot, 2017, p. 53).

P7. Dehumanization. We are better off without them. Non-natives pose a threat to the host community.

“Buildings collapsed; every attempt was made to erase the existence ... but Lord Rama is fully embedded in our hearts.” Further on in the speech Modi made this statement. The starting part of the statement carries negative connotations. The latter part has positive connotations. The negative part is expressed more implicitly. Who made the buildings collapse? Who made the attempts? To erase the existence of what? “Every attempt was made” is a notably strong statement (Zaman, 2020, p. 19). It fits the narrative about non-natives posing a threat to the host community, that they made *every* attempt to erase the existence (Carter, 2018, p. 164). The positive part is a bit more explicit as Modi uses the possessive pronoun “our”. It is a positive attitude towards the ingroup and a negative attitude towards outgroups evident from the way the statement contrasts from the start to end from negative terms to positive terms (Mudde, 1995, p. 212).

P 8 & 9. Classification. “Us” and “them”. Ethnic nationalism. Nation defined by political unit, the state, and the cultural unit.

Modi proceeds further on to say, “we need to keep in mind that the humanity could progress whenever it kept its faith in Lord Rama, and that it moved towards destruction, whenever it swept away from Lord Rama”. Here there is a clear distinction in his selection of words. “Progress” and “faith” in the first part and “destruction” in the other part. There is no explicit reference to Islam when Modi talks about sweeping away from Lord Ram (Zaman, 2020, p. 18). It fits the Hindutva narrative which often conflates Hinduism with positive terms and Islam with negative terms (Banaji, 2018, p. 342).

“Lord Rama is the foundation of our culture; he is the dignity of India”. In other words, our cultural foundation is Lord Rama of meaning Hinduism, as he is the dignity of India. It aligns with the right-wing extremism idea of nation being defined by both the political unit and the cultural unit (Mudde, 1995, p. 209). Modi also says that the “Shree Ram Temple would be the modern symbol of our culture and I am intentionally using the word ‘modern’. It will symbolize our eternal hope. It will epitomize our national feeling.” Here, a temple is connected to culture, eternal hope, and national feeling. The same idea of nation, state and culture being one can be seen expressed through the following statement later in the speech as well “Fellow mates, the construction of Shree Ram Temple is a task to unite the entire nation.” Here the religious/cultural task of building a prominent temple is designated with uniting the *entire nation*. Another statement that can be seen under the same ideational theme is, “(...) Rama is the connecting link in India’s ‘unity in diversity’”. However, the “connecting link” (Lord Rama/the temple) for this “unity” that Modi mentions here cannot be linked to the “entire” diverse nation of India, notably Muslims and Christians (Zaman, 2020, p. 14).

P 10- 12. Classification. “Us”. Ethnic nationalism. A superior Indian civilization.

“Once the shrine is constructed, not only the grandeur of Ayodhya would become multi-fold but the entire economy of this region would undergo massive transformation. There would be new avenues & new opportunities in every sector.” This can be related to the prospects of a superior Indian civilization in Hindutva ideology (Banaji, 2018, p. 342). BJP as a party has particularly framed themselves as being engaged in promoting and developing India’s economy (Inamdar, 2024). Modi as a Hindutva actor makes a link between his economic development plans with Hindu experiences. For instance, how “the entire economy of this region would undergo massive transformation” because of the grand temple and he makes the link seem normal and natural. It can be connected to the ethnic nationalist units of nation,

state, and culture as one in right wing extremist ideology (Mudde, 1995, p. 209). As the head of state launches a cultural landmark and insinuates its economic benefits. “Today’s historical moment would be recounted across the globe for ages and bring laurels to our country.” From this statement we can tell that Modi has high hopes for the historical moment to be recounted internationally and bring laurels to India, to the great Indian civilization.

“Therefore, we need to ensure that the message of Lord Rama, Ram Temple and our tradition of thousands of years reaches to the entire world till years to come.” By this statement Modi is putting a strong emphasis on sharing “our tradition of thousands of years” among other things with the “entire world till years to come” by phrasing it “we need to ensure”. Further on in the speech Modi says, “It is the responsibility of present generation and future generations to make world familiar with our knowledge, our way of life.” Here Modi reminds the public about their generational responsibility of making the world familiar with “our knowledge” and “our way of life.”

The phrases like “our tradition” and “our knowledge” are not elaborated on by Modi to make clear his stance. However, these statements are followed by “keeping this in mind, ‘Rama Circuit’ is being created in the country, following the holy trail of Rama”. It is a specific Hindu reference. The main idea of these phrases is that the “Hindu” for instance “tradition of thousands of years” and their way of life have been eternally dominant in India and should be continued and shared with rest of the world relating to the superior Indian civilization idea (Banaji, 2018, p. 342). Modi very clearly resonates with this idea, with Lord Rama “the slogan of Lord Rama is “our motherland is superior than heaven also””. The stance is that the motherland is not just superior, or superior to other lands but “superior than heaven also”.

“And Brothers and Sisters, Lord Rama’s principle is भयबिनु होइ नप्रीति i.e. “there is no love in absence of fear. Therefore, India would be peaceful and happy as long as it continues to grow stronger.” This statement can be interpreted in relation to a quest for a strong state in right-wing extremist ideology (Mudde, 1995, p. 216). A condition for peace and happiness, as Modi puts it, is growing strength. “We need to develop a confident and self-reliant India with the help of our efforts and resolution.” This excerpt nurtures the same theme with the “need to develop a confident and self-reliant India.”

Classification. “Us”.

“This day is the proof of the honesty of the millions of determined devotees of Shree Ram.” Here, we see positive connotation “honesty” connected to determines devotees of Lord Ram. “There was *sacrifice, dedication* and *resolve* during the movement for the construction of the Ram Temple.” And sacrifice, dedication and resolve are highlighted in relation to the temple movement. “The Ram Mandir should be built with bricks of love, respect & brotherhood.” These statements contain with more positive words in direct relation with Hindu references of Lord Ram and the temple. “This day is a unique gift from the law-abiding India to truth, non-violence, faith & sacrifice.” “The pious task of the construction of Ram Temple began today with the support of the people of India.” We can tell he is solely using positive words in relation with Hindus from the references used. The phrases used can be related to Hinduism being posed as enlightened and peace-loving and the idea that to become true Indian nationals, “they” must swear allegiance to Hindu identity and it’s key symbols.

Classification. “Them”

“We displayed a similar discipline when the Supreme Court pronounced the historic decision. Back then we witnessed how the entire nation accepted the decision peacefully and graciously keeping in mind the sensitivities of everybody. Even today we are experiencing the similar peaceful conduct.” The Indian Muslim community was one of the two main parties in the Ram temple-case, and their historical place of worship was erased. Here, the sensitivities of Muslims are reduced to the sensitivities of “everybody” (Zaman, 2020, p. 16-17). Hence, the Muslim community is not acknowledged directly for their peaceful conduct, compromise, and patience.

So, even though Modi is not expressing any negative sentiment towards Muslims, it is as if he is he is not taking any proper notice of his Muslim countrymen (Zaman, 2020, p. 20-21). The same goes for this statement, “We need to respect the sentiments of all. We need to be together, progress together & trust one another.” He does not fully or directly acknowledge sentiments of Muslims as he for instance directly addresses the happy sentiments of devotees of the temple at many points during his speech. Muslims must reconcile themselves with a collective “all” (Zaman, 2020, p. 17). Nonetheless, he stresses the need to “be together, progress together & trust one another.”

“This devotion of India and the unity of the people of India and this great strength of the Unity of India is something that the world needs to study & analyse.” This is also an interesting phrase as the ground-breaking ceremony is a testimony of not allowing co-existence of two different religious sites, mosque, and temple both with important historical significance. This can be related to resisting cultural mixing (Carter, 2018, p. 165). To make a statement of unity with such background is strange. “Lord Rama calls for protecting the one who seeks refuge is the responsibility of all.” This statement is interesting as well keeping in mind the citizenship amendment bill where not everyone seeking refuge is protected only those who are not Muslim.

Classification. “Us”. Ethnic nationalism. A common “destiny” and by descent.

“Fellow mates, with the enshrining of this temple not only a new history is being written, but also history is repeating itself.” Here the old times are glorified along with new history being written. This can be related to the ethnic nation’s “destiny” and descent (Fennema, 1997, p. 483). “Friends, I am sure this grand temple being constructed in Ayodhya will be an indicator of rich heritage of Indian culture as good as Lord Rama.”

Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists are defined within the “Hindu”-definition.

“Thousands of years ago, the Rama who was an inspiration to the ancient India as depicted in Valmiki’s Ramayana, the Rama who was inspiring India through Tulsi, Kabir and Nanak in the Medieval era, the same Rama was present in the Bapu’s bhajans during the fight for freedom in the form of non-violence and satyagraha.” “Lord Buddha was also connected to Lord Ram. At the same time, this city of Ayodhya has also been the center of Jain religion for centuries. This is the ubiquity of Ram, it reflects the unity in diversity that is of India!”

These two experts from the speech show that Modi connects the Hindu deity Ram to Hinduism first (“Ramayana”). Then, he connects him to Kabir (poet-saint revered by Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs (Britannica, 1998)) Nanak (founder of Sikhism) and Lord Buddha (founder of Buddhism). The Jain religion is connected to the city of Ayodhya. There is no reference to Christianity in connection with Ram or elsewhere in the speech. Kabir *can* be connected to Islam; he was adopted by a Muslim family which influenced his early life. He was later strongly influenced by a Hindu ascetic. Muslims place him in Sufi (mystical)

lineages (Britannica, 1998). This aligns with the idea that Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism are related to Hinduism and the Hindutva sometimes define Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists within the “Hindu”-definition (Savarkar, 1923, p. 41-43).

6.1.2 Yogi Adityanath speech excerpts

Speech excerpt 1.

Classification. «Us» and «them». Dehumanisation. Equated with immorality, impurity and filth. Xenophobia and racism. The Muslim outgroup is framed as foreign wicked aggressor with anti-national beliefs and practices. Authoritarian tendencies.

“The people who did not want the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, who are against Article 370 ending in Kashmir, when are these people happy? When there are riots in Muzaffarnagar. When there is an exodus in Kairana, and when the Taliban is established in Afghanistan, that’s when their slogans ring out. But we will not allow the Taliban to be established, and whoever supports the Taliban, the government will stop it with strength,” Yogi Adityanath 8th November in Kairana.

In this speech Yogi Adityanath talks about *the people* and *we*. The alleged *people* are called negative towards two matters. They are negative towards the Ram temple in Ayodhya on site of the Babri mosque (a centuries old Mughal heritage). They are negative towards article 370 ending which allowed the state of Kashmir a certain amount of autonomy. Following the address on these important achievements in Hindutva discourse *these people* are negative towards, the idea is somewhat formed that these people have negative attitudes towards Hindutva.

Followingly, the question is posed as to what makes these people positive, i.e., happy? They are happy when there are riots in the city of Muzaffarnagar in Uttar Pradesh and exodus in Kairana, from where Yogi delivered this speech. The notion is, *they* are happy when there is unrest. Their slogans ring out when the Taliban is established in Afghanistan. The notion is *they* are positive towards Taliban being established in Afghanistan. As a reaction to this alleged attitude of *these people*, Adityanath proceeds to say that *we*, the people who hold other attitudes as opposed to these people, will not allow this to happen, i.e. Taliban establishment. Adityanath further proceeds to say that the government will stop whomever that is in support of Taliban with the use of *strength*.

There is no reference in this speech excerpt that guides us directly towards who those people exactly are. However, an idea is constructed of a collective group. They are not in support of renowned national events applauded in Hindutva discourse, such as Ram temple construction and revoking article 370 in Indian Law. In addition, they are in support of Taliban. Being in support of a terrorist organization is commonly regarded as anti-nationalistic mindset all over the world. In conclusion, an idea is constructed of a collective group and their anti-national interests (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023).

In Hindutva ideology, Muslims are viewed as “anti-national” (Banaji, 2018, p. 342). The priest turned politician himself is an adherent of Hindutva. The references used tell us that he is indicating towards Muslims as *these people* and how they react towards certain incidents. It seemingly also appears that Yogi draws a parallel of Muslims in India to Taliban, by the statement “we will not allow Taliban to be established” (Fatima et. al., 2022). It is not clear where “we will not allow Taliban to be established.” Taliban is mostly associated with Afghanistan. Taliban was already established in Afghanistan prior to this speech. Is Yogi signaling towards not allowing Taliban to be established in India? They are no verified sources that claim Taliban foothold in India. Yogi says that the *government* will use *strength* to stop whoever supporting Taliban. This call on use of strength can be related to the idea of authoritarianism and the strengthened repressive function of the state in right wing extremism (Mudde, 1995, p. 216).

Nonetheless, the speech excerpt is descriptive of Yogi’s projection of his Muslim countrymen as a group to be anti-nationalistic, enjoy unrest and support Taliban and followingly whom needs to be taken stringent measures towards.

It is an indirect target at the Muslim community in the name of national security. Adityanath delivers a speech with Taliban as one of the themes and by these projects his anti-Muslim stance as a matter of defense (Fatima et. al., 2022).

Speech excerpt 2

Classification. “Us” and “them”. Dehumanization. “We are better off without them”.
Conspiracy thinking. The “enemy” from the outside has found allies from within the society and followingly they both work and conspire together to undermine the social order.

“Brothers and sisters, had Babua been on the path of his Abbajaan then he’d have shot dead the people working for the construction of the Ram Mandir because he would have had no time for respecting your faith, women and farmers but only for freeing terrorists from court cases”, Yogi Adityanath 8th December in Mathura.

Babua, meaning “little boy” is a reference to Akhilesh Yadav (Pandey, 2021). Akhilesh Yadav is president of Samajwadi party in India. Samajwadi party is a socialist party. In addition, Akhilesh Yadav is the leader of the opposition in Uttar Pradesh. He served as chief minister in Uttar Pradesh from 2012 to 2017. *Abbajaan*, is the Urdu word for father. According to the website Global Network on Extremism & Technology Adityanath has made several statements using the Urdu word *abba jaan* for father in a derogatory sense.

In this speech excerpt, Adityanath is affiliating the opposition leader with lawlessness and terrorism. “He’d have shot dead the people and freeing terrorists from court cases.” Amid attributing Yadav with lawlessness and being favorable of terrorists, Adityanath inclines towards assigning Yadav with less favorable characteristics such as not being respectful towards faith, women, and farmers. The use of *abbajaan* dog whistle on Yadav and assertions of lawlessness, disrespect and terrorism linkages given to Yadav by Adityanath in this speech excerpt aligns with right wing extremist idea that the “enemy” finds allies from within the society (left-wing individuals among others), and that they work together, i.e. “he’d have shot dead the people working for the construction of the Ram Mandir” (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023). The following speech excerpt affirms this furthermore, “These people only need power for scams, for encroachment, to give a free run to mafias. The red caps want to form the government to get terrorists released from jail”. The red caps are a reference to Samajwadi Party (Verma, 2021).

“The money spent by earlier governments to build the boundaries of graveyards – we are using the same money to develop holy sites and increase the pride of Braj region,” he said in the following. Graveyards in India are facilitated for Muslim and Christian inhabitants. Adityanath depicts what previous governments spent their resources on, and what his government on the contrary is using money on. The underlying belief is that the previous government helped facilitate for Muslims and Christians. *We*, on the other hand, help facilitate holy sites and increase the pride of Braj region.

For context, the rally where the speech by the Chief Minister was delivered was held in Mathura in the region of Braj. Here, deputy Chief Minister Keshav Maurya had earlier made remarks about plans for Krishna Birthplace complex. Krishna is a prominent Hindu deity. These remarks had created tensions. Many groups wanted to incorporate a prominent mosque in the complex claiming it was originally a part of it. Some had approached local courts for the matter as well (Ranjan, 2021). The Chief Minister did not refer directly to the Krishna Birthplace temple development. The wording “develop holy sites” and “increase the pride of Braj region” indicate the development of the birthplace temple complex, which after its development will increase the pride of Braj region.

In this speech Adityanath ties the opposition party leader with the matter of terrorism in relation to Muslims.

Speech excerpt 3

Classification. “Us” and “them”. Symbolization. Dehumanization. We are better off without them. Preparation. Anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies. To maintain law-and-order the state must dispose a strong police force.

“If any festivals would come, then before the festivals riots would begin. Huge riots would happen. Even in Sonbhadra there were riots. The Janmashtami procession was not allowed to go. In Navratri, they did not allow Durga pooja. Ram Leela events would be stopped. The Kanvar yatra was not allowed to leave. Every type of effort was made to disrupt festivals. But brothers and sisters, now the rioters have been taken to where they were meant to go”, Yogi Adityanath 22nd December 2021 in Sonbhadra.

In this speech excerpt, the bottom line is festivals being disrupted by riots. The contrast between festivals which are associated with celebrations and godliness versus “rioters” that used to come in the way is interesting. Adityanath ends with addressing his *brothers and sisters* saying that now *they*, the rioters, *have been taken to where they were meant to go*. The idea is that what used to have passed. “We are better off without them” and can now carry on with *our* celebrations undisrupted (Genocide Watch, w. y.). *They* riot and are disruptive. He is using the term rioters to symbolize Muslims (Fatima et. al., 2022). Genocide literature highlights that it is dangerous when symbols are combined with hatred (Genocide Watch, w. y.). In the Kairana speech, Adityanath ends with how the government will stop Taliban supporters with strength. Here, he ends the symbolic target on Muslims by “now the rioters

have been taken to where they were meant to go”. Hence, in these two speeches in Kairana and Mathura, either it is displayed how *terrorist supporters* are going to be dealt with or that the *rioters* have been dealt with. An equivalence is implied to terrorists and rioters related to Muslims (Fatima et. al., 2022).

On an earlier occasion, on 9th November 2021 in Badaun in Uttar Pradesh, Adityanath touched upon the same themes. Law and order and often occurring riots in contrast with peaceful festival celebration. “Before 2017, because of Uttar Pradesh’s miserable law and order situation, every third day there was a riot. Any festival could not be celebrated peacefully.” For context, Yogi Adityanath became the chief minister in the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh in 2017. The Uttar Pradesh chief minister again expresses the importance of law and order. This aligns to the extreme right-wing idea of a strong state (Mudde, 1995, p. 216).

Speech excerpt 4

Classification. “Us”. India is not only a motherland, but a sacred land as well. A common “destiny”. A superior Indian civilization.

“Are you happy with the Ram Mandir at Ayodhya? Everyone? And now in Kashi, Bhagwan Vishwanath Dham has been made beautifully. You’ve seen it, no? And then how will Mathura Vrindavan be left behind? Work has been going forward with pomp there. In Braj, we have constituted the Braj Teerth Vikas Parishad (Braj Pilgrimage Development Committee) and given a renewed push to the development work there”, Yogi Adityanath 29th December 2021 in Amroha.

Adityanath once again brings attention to Ram Mandir, an achievement he consistently mentions throughout the speeches. He asks about the audience’s happiness regarding it. He makes sure *everyone* is with him. Then, he carries on his speech with the temple built in Kashi. Further, in Mathura Vrindavan the BJP leaders are promising the construction of a “grand temple” at the Krishna Janmabhoomi complex. It can be interpreted as an expression of BJP’s supposed commitment to Hindus in the way they have carried out and will carry out temple development work (Fatima et. al., 2022). Positive, light, and futuristic words have been used in the speech excerpt. *Happy, everyone, beautifully, going forward with pomp, renewed and development.*

Speech excerpt 5

Preparation. Anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies. Law-and-order is a quest for authority and order accompanied by demanding a strong punishment for those breaching the rules.

“If you think that government bulldozers should be always running against the mafia and professional criminals, then the BJP is necessary,” Yogi Adityanath 29th January 2022 in Baghpat.

To understand this statement, we must look closer into a few things. *Government bulldozer should always be running.* What are *government bulldozers*? The statement tells that it is something used against *mafia* and *professional criminals*. For this to continue, *BJP is necessary*. The political message that is conveyed aims to show a strong stance against those breaching the law, i.e., *mafia* and *criminals*.

Speech excerpt 6

Classification. “Us” and “them”. Ethnic nationalism. Symbolization. Groups are distinguished by symbols.

“*The heat, which is being displayed in Kairana and Muzaffarnagar, all of this will be calmed...In May-June I will make it Shimla*”, Yogi Adityanath 30th January 2022 in Hapur.

To understand the comparison to Shimla we must know that Shimla is a cold city in the mountains in the state of Himachal Pradesh (District Shimla, w. y.). The *heat* is a reference to Muslim violence. The message is that heat in the Uttar Pradesh cities of Kairana and Muzaffarnagar will be *calmed* when in May-June Adityanath will be the sitting chief minister of the state after winning the local elections. And followingly, the notion is that that *they* bring the heat whilst *we/I* bring in the *calm*. There is a positive attitude towards the ingroup and a negative attitude towards outgroups (Mudde, 1995, p. 2012). Hence, *heat* is used with a negative connotation as a reference to Muslims and *calm(ed)* is used as a positive connotation in reference to Adityanath’s political party with Hindutva as an ideological background. There is a clear distinction in his selection of words which fits Hindutva narrative often conflated with positive terms and the “other” in negative terms (Banaji, 2018, p. 342).

Famous statement

Classification. “Us” and “them”. Ethnic nationalism. Those who consider India as both their «pitribhumi» (“fatherland”) and “punyabhumi” (“holy land”).

Adityanath made a famous statement during the elections. As it was broadly discussed, it is included in the analysis to sum up and contextualize Adityanath’s election campaign. The statement is “Uttar Pradesh would be an 80 % versus 20 % election”. Yogi Adityanath has later elaborated on the percentage numbers. The 20 % he referred to were those who sympathized with mafia and terrorists and those who opposed the Ram birthplace temple, Mathura Vrindavan and Kashi Vishwanath Dham. Adityanath said the following whilst speaking to a news channel, “The 80 % will move ahead with positive energy. The 20 % has always opposed and will continue to oppose but BJP will come to power.” He has also said that those who are anti-Hindu and anti-nationalists would never be able to accept Yogi and Modi (Times of India, 2022).

The CM targeted the opposition as well claiming that the Congress was denying the existence of Lord Ram, and the Samajwadi party and the Bahujan Samaj party were supporting it (ibid.). The 20 % versus 80 % statement where the 20 % is a reference to the country’s minority percentage is a clear instance of classification. It is also polarization where extremists drive the groups apart from each other by making a division of numbers between the Hindu majority and minority group (Genocide Watch, w.y.). When Yogi elaborates on his statement, he leaves no doubt in his ideas presented in other speeches of Muslims being and/or sympathizing with mafias and terrorists. And according to him, those who oppose Ram birthplace temple among others. He even called those who do not accept Modi and Yogi as anti-nationalists which matches the Hindutva xenophobic and racist narrative of the Muslim “outgroup” having anti-national beliefs and practices (Banaji, 2018, p. 342). “The 80 % will move ahead with *positive energy*” also exemplifies how the ingroup is posed. By claiming that the Congress was denying the entire *existence* of Lord Ram as a way to put forward that some opposed the temple is apprehensive as well (Times of India, 2022). It aligns with extreme right conspirative worldview where the commonly attributed enemy has found allies within the society (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023).

6.1.3 Laxmi Dubey’s song

P1. Classification. Ethnic nationalism. “Rooted” and “ownness”. Symbolization. Ethnic nationalism. Hindus as “sons of the soil”. Those who consider India as both their «pitribhumi» (“fatherland”) and “punyabhumi” (“holy land”).

“Saffron color will be spread in every house, when Ram rule will come.” The saffron color is rooted and “own” (Fennema, 1997, p. 483). And there is a hope in the wording that Ram rule will definitely come and the color of saffron will be in every house. Hindu identity and its key symbols are brought up, i.e., the symbolic color saffron and Hindu deity Ram who is prominent in Hindutva ideology (Jaffrelot, 2017, p. 52). The chorus of the song is also an expression of nativism and an ultimate goal of a Hindu *rashtra* with the words *in every house* (Leidig & Mudde, 2023, p. 365). “Go on and make the announcement that the saffron color is my identity”. There is a call to announce this. There is a sense of pride in this. Hindutva is promoted to create a sense of shared culture, history, and an awareness of India as one’s Holy Land (Leidig, 2020, p. 226); “we have come to wake up Hindus. We are only to leave after doing so.” Denoting we are only to leave after we have made them aware of the Hindutva cause.

P2 & P3. Dehumanization. Members of a group are vilified. Conspiracy thinking.

Then there is a slight switch to themes like death, swords, and enemy. “Until we die, we will keep chanting hail to Lord Ram. The swords are shining, the heart is shining. Do not deem the Hindu is weak. By doing so, the enemy is mistaken.” Until now the song focused on “self” – “us Hindus.” There is a change in focus towards the enemy. And letting the enemy know that “we” are not weak with our shining hearts and swords and our ever-mongering chants until death. And then the theme is made light again by “everyone has God in them, and in God there is Ram. Say together Hail to Lord Ram.” The theme is made light, but the focus is nevertheless not lost. The message is that surely, everyone has God in them (the enemy as well). But it is not to be let go that in God there is Ram. The somewhat violent references are modified by “say together Hail to Lord Ram.”

“Why has not every valley of Kashmir become saffron? Say to the neighboring country to stop playing their tricks.” Again, the theme of saffron color as an important Hindu symbol is brought up. But this time in a slightly more aggressive tone. “Why has not every valley of Kashmir become saffron?” The question is posed as if how it is even possible that this is not the case yet. And then addressing the neighboring country to stop playing tricks. There seem

to be made a connection between Kashmir not being saffron and the neighboring country's trick-playing. There tricks explain why the India does not expand as far as Kashmir. There are several countries neighboring countries to India. But Dubey says, "say to *the* neighboring country to stop playing their tricks". The infamous neighboring country which is referred to here is Pakistan. "To stop playing their tricks" as to say they are particularly sly (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023).

P4. Classification.

The Hindu brothers are lions (...). We will dedicate every piece of land to Lord Ram. The strength to be able to stop Hindu lions, the traitors no longer have". The ingroup is referred to in courageous positive terms, i.e., *lions, brothers* who have *dedication*. The outgroup is referred to in negative feeble terms as *traitors* who have *lost strength* (Mudde, 1995, p. 2012).

P5-7. Classification. Ethnic nationalism. India is not only a motherland, but a sacred land as well. A superior Indian civilization. Hindustan is exclusively for Hindus.

"If you want to live in Hindustan, learn to say Vande mataram (I praise you, Motherland)". This aligns closely to Hindutva ideas that Hindustan is only for Hindus who consider India their motherland (Jaffrelot, 2017, p. 52). This stanza follows right after the stanza about traitors. Is "if *you* want to live in Hindustan, learn to say Vande mataram" directed towards the *traitors*? It then follows by "learn to say Vande mataram and to say in your lane." There is an idea of superiority that *others* are told to "stay in their lane". Next is the chant of *vande mataram* and *jai shri ram* and a pledge to Lord Ram about being granted Hindustan in every lifetime, and being called a Hindu is every lifetime. Hindustan, a commonly used term for India is used here as something to be granted in every lifetime and right after with being called a Hindu. Being granted Hindustan and being named a Hindu are related to each other to imply the Hindutva idea of Hindustan being exclusively for Hindus (Savarkar, 1923, p. 41-43).

Later follows "traitors if you are not to put yourself together now..." as a warning. "Put yourself together" the way Hindutva adherents want them to. In other words, compile to their will of how you should be. Afterwards the theme is directed towards the saffron color yet again. And the expansion of saffron. Earlier to Kashmir, now to Himalaya. "We will raise the saffron flag on the Himalaya hill." "We will raise the saffron flag; we will raise the flag" is repeated. "In front of Hindu lions now the enemy will bow as well". Implying that the enemy

will acknowledge the Hindu strength and superiority, and that they will surrender to that (Banaji, 2018, p. 342).

“Hind (a short form for Hindustan) will be for Hindus`. Only saffron will be everywhere.” This reaffirms the idea that Hindustan is for Hindus. “*Only saffron*” implies there is no place for any other color, anything other than the Hindu symbol of saffron. “Saffron is pride. Saffron is the identity of Bharat.” And to strengthen this idea further; “bhagvad geeta (Hindu scripture) teaches us *saffron*.” It is also notable that saffron is presented as a whole idea. It is a color related to Hinduism, but Hindutva adherents actively take ownership of it and use it in their political context. And saffron is related to pride and identity, these positive terms are aligned with the idea of Hinduism posed as enlightened (Banaji, 2018, p. 342).

P8. Dehumanization. Xenophobia and racism. Outsiders are perceived to pose a threat to the homogeneity of the country.

“Do not get divided Hindu lions.” In other words, stand united Hindu lions. In extreme right discourse the idea of the nation is one of extreme collective homogeneity (Carter, 2018, p. 164). “Carry the torch of solidarity, make history Hindu lions.” It is specified those who are to carry the torch of solidarity, namely Hindus. Outsiders are perceived as a threat to the country's homogeneity (Carter, 2018, p. 165). «Surrender wherever you are enemy of the land. We will definitely teach you a lesson. (...) we will remove you from the root.” It is not specified who the enemy is. But strong measures are taken towards the enemy by “*we/us*.”

P9. Classification. Ethnic nationalism. A superior Hindu civilization. Dehumanization. Conspiracy thinking. The “other” as nefarious, manipulative, and sly. India as both motherland and sacred land. Hindustan is exclusively for Hindus. Hostility towards foreigners.

In the next follows “there is Ram rule in every street and every town.” “Every tongue is chanting that Hinduism is priceless.” Again, there is a sense of strong attitude of positivity and superiority towards oneself. “We are going to reveal the truth that has been hidden up until now.” Before the question is raised, which truth? The idea of “revealing” is further elaborated. “We will snatch the traitors off of their veils and reveal their true face.” These lyrics align closely with the idea of someone who conspires who is nefarious, manipulative, and sly (Axelsen & Emberland, 2023). “Even if we are to lose our lives, we will keep singing vande mataram.” This shows how strongly they believe in the idea of India being their

motherland and a sacred land for which they are willing to sacrifice their lives. And the singer herself manifests that “Laxmi is the daughter of Hindus” and that “Hindus are all united” to let “others” know that “we” are united. “We are not to share our land,” “we swear, we swear by that saying vande mataram.” This describes a hostility towards “foreigners” and the idea is strongly manifested that India is exclusively for Hindus. And the song is ended by several chants of *vande mataram* and *jai shri ram*.

6.2 ANALYSIS PART 2

6.2.1 Classification

Classifications are categories to distinguish people into “us” and “them. By nationality, religion, race, or ethnicity.

India is a pluralistic country with different religions and ethnic backgrounds. In the Indian constitution the country is defined as a democratic secular nation, so the Constitution or the state itself do not distinguish people into “us” and “them.” The Hindutva narrative, which is getting a stronger foothold in the country (see 1. Introduction), nonetheless, seek to convey that Indian identity and citizenship is rooted in religion. Thus, Hindus are seen as the true and indigenous citizens of the country. And others, primarily Muslims are seen as “them” or the “other.” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 6) So, we see that classifications that distinguish people into “us” and “them” are prevalent in some discourses in India. Hence, this part of the classification stage is partly present.

Lack of mixed categories, typically in bipolar societies increase the chance of genocide.

In India, with different ethnicities, religions, and languages naturally there are mixed categories. However, some measures can indicate towards lessening such mixed categories. Laws have been implemented in several states that track and forbid inter-faith marriages. In the states of Uttar Pradesh, Uttarkhand, Himachal, Haryana, Assam, and Gujarat we can find so called *love jihad* laws (Siddiqui, 2024). These are laws that aim to prevent “forcible conversions” through marital contract. Love jihad is a term used by Hindu political right to describe a phenomenon that allege that Muslim men lure Hindu women into marrying with the intent of converting them to Islam. Hindu right groups claim it is a conspiracy and measures such as laws has been implemented to counter the claimed organized conspiracy. For instance, in Uttar Pradesh the local government passed the Prohibition of Unlawful

Conversion of Religion Ordinance in February 2021. The ordinance declared religious conversion “through *marriage*, deceit, coercion, or enticement” an offence with up to 10 years in prison if found guilty (Neogi, 2022).

12 states have now passed anti-conversion legislation containing some variations from state to state. All states share three common factors. These are prohibitions on conversions, notifications requirements to the government and provisions that presume guilt. (Khan, 2023). One common practice in India has been conversion through marriage or through Christian religious missionary work. When prohibitions on for instance conversions are implemented, it prevents new people establishing a mixed religious and/or cultural background. Lack of mixed categories, typically in bipolar societies increase the chance of genocide. However, mixed categories to this day exist and some states still permit new mixed categories forming. The precursor of this part of the classification stage is underway as prohibitions on interreligious marriage and conversion are implemented.

To actively emphasize understanding and tolerance through established institutions prevent this early stage.

Public educational institutions like schools, colleges, and universities are examples of universalistic institutions with great potential of promoting tolerance and understanding. India is a multilingual, multi-religious and multi-ethnic nation. Educational institutions are mini societies where children, young and old from diverse backgrounds come together to seek knowledge and educate themselves to later contribute to society. In India, for instance children can learn about their shared history of many years regardless of their ethnic, subcultural, and religious background. The schooling institutions in this way have potential to provide a common ground that can integrate identities (Genocide Watch, w. y.). It is safe to conclude that there are variations in the messages given through schooling in the different schools, hence it varies how actively understanding and tolerance is emphasized. Thus, this part to prevent the classification stage is partly present and partly not present.

The search for and emphasis on a common ground that integrate identities is vital to prevention of genocide on an early stage.

Earlier textbooks presented accomplishments in literature, architecture, philosophy, medicine, music, and art as unifying in India. It was a joint effort of both Hindu and non-Hindus over several centuries, including Islam. India was depicted in belonging to all faiths, as per the

Gandhian framework. The national freedom movement against the British Empire was taught as a syncretistic, unified struggle in which Hindus, Muslims, all castes, classes, and regions partook (Chishti, 2023). In recent years, modifications defying the pluralist conception have been undertaken. Changes have been prescribed to the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) textbooks. It is a state-run body subject to the federal education ministry (Jaswal, 2023).

In 2020-2021 edition of the NCERT textbook the following sentence was deleted; “Gandhi was convinced that any attempt to make India into a country only for Hindus would destroy India.” The sentence to follow was deleted as well; “steadfast pursuit of Hindu-Muslim unity provoked Hindu extremists so much that they made several attempts to assassinate Gandhi ‘ji’ [ji is an honorific in Hindi].” Specific references to Muslim contribution in the national history have been removed by the NCERT. In Class 11 political science textbook reference to Muslim freedom fighter Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and his contributions has been removed. Azad was India’s first education minister and contributed to drafting the Constitution after gaining independence from British rule in 1947 (ibid.).

In the earlier editions of the textbook a sentence said, “The Constituent Assembly had eight major committees on different subjects. Usually, Jawaharlal Nehru (India’s first prime minister), Rajendra Prasad (the first Indian president), Sardar Patel (Vallabhbhai Patel, first deputy PM and home minister), Maulana Azad or Ambedkar (Bhim Rao Ambedkar, chairperson of the drafting committee) chaired these committees.” After revision, the second sentence has changed to following; “Usually, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel or BR Ambedkar chaired these committees.” Maulana Azad’s mention is removed in the sentence revision (ibid.).

Chapters on years of Muslim rule over larger parts of modern Indian has been removed (Bhat, 2023). When there is mention of the Mughal Empire, their victory is downplayed. A book asserts that one of the most renowned Mughal Emperor Akbar didn’t win the 1576-battle against Maharana Pratap. It also asserts that the Mughal victory was not certified. (Chishti, 2023). Schools have been instituted to teach Hindu scripture as historical fact (Tazamal, 2022, p. 7). “Glorious ancient India” is described as a shining and monolithic past where only indigenous people lived covering up for historical studies that prove that India has been a crucible for many cultures. (Chishti, 2023). Now, measures in the education field have been taken to classify Hinduism as true Indian identity and aligned it with historical rewriting

primarily focused on associations with Hinduism (Tazamal, 2022, p. 7). These modifications were reasoned to reduce the workload on students (Jaswal, 2023).

In the light of our findings, we can see how history can be effectively rewritten via textbooks in the minds of young students and this modified version of history then flourishes in the society these students are a part of having a lasting impact (Chishti, 2023). By rewriting history in such a manner Hindu nationalists lay claim to India. Knowledge retrieved from schoolbooks will shape young minds in India and can affect understanding and tolerance. Educational institutions are established institutions where everyone comes to seek knowledge. Education is a human right. By revising the books befitting to the idea of India as a purely Hindu state, an important established institution to emphasize understanding and tolerance as a way of prevention at the early stage of genocide is lost. The search for and emphasis on a common ground that integrate identities is vital to prevention of genocide on an early stage. (Genocide Watch, w. y.). The modification of textbooks is an example of how search for and emphasis on a common ground that integrate identities is not benefitted from as an early prevention of genocide measure. Other forces might look for and emphasize common ground that integrate identities. We have not studied further on to this in this research paper. Thus, this part to prevent the classification stage is partly present and partly not present.

Table of findings:

Classifications are categories to distinguish people into “us” and “them. By nationality, religion, race, or ethnicity.	—
Lack of mixed categories, typically in bipolar societies increase the chance of genocide.	—
To actively emphasize understanding and tolerance through established institutions prevent this early stage.	—

The search for and emphasis on a common ground that integrate identities is vital to prevention of genocide on an early stage.	—
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Table 2.

6.2.2 Symbolization

Symbols are assigned to the classified people.

Expressions of Muslim identity is assigned as symbols to the classified Muslim people. Examples are headscarf, skullcap, common Muslim greeting Assalamoalaikum (Peace be upon you) or any other Islamic phrase and halal meat (Tazamal, 2022, p. 10). We will look more into this in the upcoming parts.

Symbols are applied to members of groups and groups are distinguished by symbols like name, colors, or dress.

Fabindia is a clothing brand in India. Prior to Diwali, a Hindu festival in 2021 they published an advertisement for a Diwali collection. It was phrased “Jashn-e-Riwaaz.” It means “celebration of tradition” in Urdu. For this, they received a lot of backlashes from Hindu right groups. A new festival clothing collection around Diwali time was given an Urdu name. It was deemed offensive to Hinduism (Tazamal, 2022, p. 8). The claim was that Urdu language just could not be associated with a Hindu festival.

The backlash was intimidating. The brand changed the collection name from “Jashn-e-Riwaaz” translated as “celebration of tradition” to “Jhilmil si Diwali” translated as “sparkling festival of lights.” Both phrases can be understood by Indian Hindi speakers. The Persian loanwords “*jashn*” and “*riwaaz*” are seen as common Hindi words apart from the genitive marker “-e-” instead of “ka” shared by both Hindi and Urdu. Nonetheless, “-e-” is common in popular Indian culture as for example Bollywood. All Indians come across it very often, including Hindi speakers. The extent it is used in their personal speech varies from speaker to speaker (Daniyal, 2021).

Urdu and Hindi have many similarities. Urdu as a language was born in India. The two languages are almost common grammatically and most of the daily life vocabulary is alike. Many linguists classify Urdu and Hindi as literary registers of one common language. Urdu

mostly borrows words from Persian. The Persian language is the lingua franca of the elite of medieval India. Turkish and Arabic words in Urdu have been adopted through Persian as well. The same borrowings in the Hindi language as opposed to Urdu are from Sanskrit. Sanskrit as a language has high prestige in India. It's position is of the liturgical language of Hinduism. (Daniyal, 2021).

The Hindutva discourse sees Urdu as a "Muslim" language. The quest to make Urdu less prominent and more invisible marginalizes the Muslim community (Kuchay, 2021). Here we can see that one of the official languages in India is applied as a symbol to a group. As a result, it is attempted to disassociate a festival with Urdu. Because the Hindu group and Muslim group are distinguished by symbols like language. Hence, we see an example of the presence of this part of the symbolization stage.

Symbolization and classification are generally natural and innocuous.

It is agreeable that symbols within Islamic culture and Muslim identity are natural and innocuous to symbolize and classify Muslims with. Headscarf, skullcap, and other Islamic clothing. Common Muslim greeting Assalamoalaikum (Peace be upon you) or any other Islamic phrase. Halal meat and biryani. It is natural because it is characteristic of the certain group. It is innocuous unless it is proved otherwise.

Classification and symbolization do not lead to genocide unless these categories lead to dehumanization.

In the categories of classification and symbolization we have examples of dehumanization. In March 2020, newspaper the Hindu published a cartoon on the current corona virus. It depicted the "coronavirus" dressed in Muslim attire pointing a rifle at planet earth. The narrative that the cartoon depicted was the "corona virus" in Muslim attire, stripping Muslims in the subcontinent of their humanity while depicting them as a virus holding a weapon against the entire planet (Ullmann, 2020).

It becomes dangerous when symbols are combined with hatred and members of the group are identified by their symbols and persecuted.

Many Muslim expressions of faith have been targeted. For instance, the ban on skull caps and halal meat. Consumption of beef is prohibited in many states in the country. As a result, Muslims often refrain from eating any kind of meat not just beef in fear of being targeted by

mobs. The fear is evident from several incidents of lynchings of Muslims alleged for consuming, selling or transporting beef (Tazamal, 2022, p. 10).

Indian Muslims have expressed concern and fear and have undertaken steps to hide their religious identity. This can be to avoid using common Muslim greeting of Assalamualaikum (Peace be upon you) or other Islamic phrases of that sort in crowded public spaces (ibid.). Women and girls in government colleges had earlier worn head covering without any issues. In 2022 in Karnataka Muslim teachers and girl students who wore hijab were denied entry into college. This was explained as a violation of school uniform policy. Critics claim it was an unprecedented symbolization campaign (Tazamal, 2022, p. 9).

Symbols may also be forced upon members unwillingly.

Biryani is one of the most popular dishes in India, irrespective of food choices, class, caste, and religion. During an election rally in February 2020 Adityanath alleged that the Aam Admi Party (AAP) served biryani to protesters besides equating them with terrorists (Misra, 2020).

Critics claim that the Bharatiya Janata Party has demonized biryani as part of their campaign against protesters as the food dish has become a political weapon, dog-whistle, and a slur. BJP frequently alleged that the AAP was serving biryani to protesters at Shaheen Bagh. Shaheen Bagh in Delhi was the site of protests against the Citizenship Amendment Act amended in 2019.

Amit Malviya from BJP is head of the party's IT cell. He tweeted "Proof of biryani being distributed at Shaheen Bagh!" The tweet was set in a tone that apparently exposed the dark secret of protesters having biryani as supper (Daniyal, 2020). In this way critics claim that biryani has been demonized in India. Biryani is often associated with South Asia's Muslims. However, it has transcended, originating within Muslim communities to become nationally acknowledged. Three years in a row biryani was the most ordered meal on India's largest food delivery app Swiggy. Hindu nationalism feels a sense of outrage that a "Muslim" dish is highly enjoyed in popular culture (Daniyal 2020).

There are no findings of symbols being forced upon members unwillingly. Symbols like clothing, language and food that are traditionally associated with Muslims in the Indian region because of historical origin are not intended to be limited to Muslims. India is a pluralistic society and naturally the people take inspiration from another. The Hindutva

narrative as we studied in part (biryani) restricts symbols like clothes, language and food that are traditionally Muslim strictly to Muslims. Muslims themselves do not claim these symbols only for themselves. In this sense, we can say that symbols are forced upon members of the Muslim group unwillingly. However, there are no symbols that have been imposed on the group that they have to carry unwillingly.

Symbolization, hate symbols and hate speech can be forbidden by law as a measure.

There is not a legal definition for “hate speech.” According to legal provisions acts, signs, writings and speeches that promote violence and dissension amongst groups and communities are considered as “hate speech.”

“Promotion of animosity between different groups on the basis of religion, race, place of birth, residence, language, etc., and doing acts harmful to the maintenance of harmony are bott crimes punishable by three years in prison under Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code.”, according to India Times (Thakur, 2022). There are other laws that cover hate speech as well.

Legal measures must be supported by cultural enforcement in the nation-state to succeed.

According to BBC, experts explain that the laws exist as a measure. It is the lack of political will that prevents the hate speakers to not be prosecuted. Analysis conducted by the India Hate Lab show that anti-Muslim hate speech has been normalized in India’s socio-political sphere (Sharma, 2024).

Table of findings:

1. Symbols are assigned to the classified people	✓
2. Symbols are applied to members of groups and groups are distinguished by symbols like name, colors or dress.	✓

3. Symbolization and classification are generally natural and innocuous.	✓
4. Classification and symbolization do not lead to genocide unless these categories lead to dehumanization.	✓
5. It becomes dangerous when symbols are combined with hatred and members of the group are identified by their symbols and persecuted.	✓
6. Symbols may also be forced upon members unwillingly.	—
7. Symbolization, hate symbols and hate speech can be forbidden by law as a measure.	—
8. Legal measures must be supported by cultural enforcement in the nation-state to succeed.	✗

Table 3.

6.2.3 Discrimination

Political power, law and custom are used to deny the rights of other groups by a dominant group.

After Modi rule, the government has passed several policies and laws that can be discriminatory (Tazamal, 2022, p. 11). We will talk about one of them. In March 2024, the Indian government announced the law enforcement of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA). The law was passed by the Indian parliament in 2019 but was not implemented until now. When it was initially passed, it faced huge protests and criticism over being an alleged anti-Muslim law. The law passed in 2019 was originally introduced to the parliament

assembly in 2016 and was an amendment bill of the Citizenship Act of 1955 (Al Jazeera, 2024).

The dominated powerless group may be deprived of rights due to an exclusionary ideology of the dominant group. For example, civil rights restrictions or citizenship.

Prior to CAA, any foreign national seeking Indian Citizenship needed to have lived 11 years in India to meet the requirement for citizenship. The CAA on the contrary applies that Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis, and Hindus who faced persecution based on religion in neighboring Muslim countries, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan and as a result escaped to India, can apply for citizenship in five years after coming to India. The law makes applicants from these faiths eligible regardless of whether they currently possess valid visa or other required papers or not (ibid.).

Defendants of the law argue that the law will make persecuted religious minorities in neighboring countries to acquire Indian citizenship. Critics argue that earlier religion was never a point of eligibility for Indian citizenship. All applicants had to submit that they were staying in India legally and had to wait the same period span of 11 years to become eligible to acquire Indian passport. The implementation of CAA changes this by introducing religion as form of requirement for citizenship for the first time in Indian history (ibid.).

Outside the Indian capital city of New Delhi, the city of Gurgaon is known for having shortages of mosques. There are an estimated 13 mosques to cater for more than 1, 5 million people. The Muslim communities attempt to build a mosque has been met with hostility and resistance. However, the local community has been given permission to make use of open public areas for outdoor prayer. For instance, local Muslims have used open public spaces for congregational Friday prayers for many years. In December 2021, these open public spaces used for prayer became the center of attention and tensions. Right-wing voices alleged Muslims of occupying land belonging to Hindus. Some engaged in provocative activities such as disposing cow dung on the site of outdoor congregational prayers and holding religious events on the spaces Muslims had routinely used for weekly prayers (Tazamal, 2022, p. 13-14).

The ideology may advocate for power expansion by the dominant group and legitimize discrimination.

In August 2019, the Modi government revoked Article 370 and 35A of the Indian constitution. The articles revoked granted autonomous status to Jammu and Kashmir. This was a special status granted to the state after Partition. The revocation makes it possible for non-Kashmiris to buy land in the Jammu and Kashmir region for the first time in decades (Tazamal, 2022, p. 12).

Critics say this is a move for power expansion and the plans for settler colonial project for Hindus in Kashmir. The revocation makes it possible for non-natives to permanently settle down in the region and hold local jobs as well. The government introduced a fast-track process for non-local Indians to obtain domicile status in the state if they fit certain nominal criteria. As a result, many non-native Hindu Indians can have residency in the Muslim region in a brief period. Hafsa Kanjwal, an assistant professor of South Asian history at Lafayette College in the U.S. stated that the intent of the new law is to change the demographics of Kashmir from a Muslim-majority to a Hindu majority. The process could lead to ethnic cleansing (ibid.).

Those pursuing and advocating for exclusionary ideologies are often charismatic and manage to attract massive support by expressing their followers' resentment.

The ruling government has denied the allegations about the CAA law being discriminatory towards Muslims. They manage to attract support for the law expressing that the law only seeks to protect those escaping religious persecution. Critics have pointed out that the law has been implemented right upon the forthcoming elections where the government will be campaigning for a third term through national elections, as to garner more support (Al Jazeera Staff, 2024).

Discrimination by religion, ethnicity, race, or nationality should be illegalized.

The NRC and CAA are designed to not only exclude Muslims from citizenship, but also render them stateless, paving the way for the authorities to strip them of their rights and justifying their forced removals. Taken together, the NRC and CAA demonstrate the institutionalization of anti-Muslim discrimination in India (Tazamal, 2022, p. 11).

Both laws are representative of classification and structural discrimination. In practice, the laws work to classify and exclude primarily Muslims from accessing Indian citizenship and

belonging. The BJP’s attempt to classify citizenship upon region demonstrates this initial stage of genocide, effectively excluding Muslims from this right (Tazamal, 2022, p. 7-8).

Table of findings:

Political power, law and custom are used to deny the rights of other groups by a dominant group.	✓
The dominated powerless group may be deprived of rights due to an exclusionary ideology of the dominant group. For example, civil rights restrictions or citizenship.	✓
The ideology may advocate power expansion by the dominant group and legitimize discrimination.	✓
Those pursuing and advocating for exclusionary ideologies are often charismatic and manage to attract massive support by expressing their followers’ resentment.	✓
Discrimination by religion, ethnicity, race or nationality should be illegalized.	✓

Table 4.

6.2.4 Dehumanization

Members of a group are vilified and addressed as diseases, animals, insects or vermins

There have been numerous incidents of dehumanization. The right-wing discourse vilify and alienate the Muslim population. Right-wing media and politicians play a vital role in this.

Amit Shah is head of the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party. During a speech in 2019, the year the

NRC was revised his description of Muslims was as “termites”. He made vows to his audience to throw the illegal immigrants in the Bay of Bengal (Tazamal, 2022, p. 16).

They are equated with immorality, impurity, and filth.

During corona virus pandemic there was proliferated conspiracy theories regarding the virus and Muslims. These were widespread on social media platforms. Some mainstream media like The Hindu was prominent in this as well. The conspiracies and alleged claims revolved around Muslims “purposedly” spreading the infectious virus (ibid.).

The Hindu for instance printed a political cartoon. In it was a depiction of the corona virus as the “head” of a person wearing traditional clothes usually worn by Muslims in the region. It illustrated the direct equivalence of Muslims to the virus. Right-wing voices online termed the conspiracy theory as corona jihad and online users made frequent use of the hashtag #coronajihad. Eventually it became very rampant and was found in a report by Equality Labs to appear approximately 300, 000 times. On Twitter/X posts with corona jihad hashtag had reached to nearly 165 million people on Twitter. The term was used to depict the belief that Muslims in India carried the virus and an engaged in a secretive sinister plot to infect others with it (Tazamal, 2022, p. 16).

In addition, there were hateful comments about Muslims food vendors spitting in food, or licking vegetables and fruits they are selling to spread the virus. These allegations were used to justify the characterization of Muslims as filthy and impure (Tazamal, 2022, p. 16). This kind of rhetoric has later been played along with. In 2019, Yogi Adityanath described The Muslim league party as a “virus”. He stated the following as well; “anyone infected with the virus cannot survive” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 19-20).

One group denies and deprives the group of their humanity.

An example to illustrate this is these lyrics from a devotional song by Prem Krishnavanshi “you are not human, you are butchers; it’s enough of Hindu-Muslim brotherhood” (Rehbar, 2022).

Dehumanization is effective in a genocide process as dehumanization makes it easier to overcome the usual revulsion against murder.

In December 2021, a religious conference was held in Haridwar city. There were Hindu religious leaders and BJP politicians in attendance. At the conference, some right-wing Hindu religious leaders openly called for genocide of Muslims. Yati Narsinghanad Sarawati is a priest and was the host of the conference. He has been accounted for making dehumanizing anti-Muslim comments in the past (Tazamal, 2022, p. 20).

In 2019, in a video post on Facebook he stated that he wanted to exterminate all Muslims and “eradicate Islam from the face of the earth”. The video had garnered several million views. In another video a Hindu preacher made threatening remarks directly towards Indian Muslims. He stated firstly that they must leave India, otherwise “he himself will kill all the Jihadis, and a billion Hindus will take the law into their hands”. “Islamists” and “jihadis” are often used slurs and code words for all Muslims (ibid.). Here, we see examples of call for murder in relation to dehumanization.

The majoritarian group are indoctrinated to regard the “other” group as less human and alien to their society.

The dehumanizing allegations made during the pandemic and especially in the virus' initial stages had long-lasting effects. It resulted in discrimination across the country. There were reports of Muslim patients being denied medical treatment. Doctors stated on-site and online that they will solely treat Hindus not Muslims. These attitudes came in the aftermath of a dehumanizing rhetoric targeted at the Muslim population characterizing the community as a threatening menace. This corona response towards Muslims added fuel to othering, dehumanization, stigmatization, and discrimination of Muslims in India (Tazamal, 2022, p. 17).

The propaganda sets the tone that “we are better off without them”.

“The theories included “love jihad”, an alleged phenomenon where Muslim men lure Hindu women into marrying them and converting to Islam; “land jihad”, which alleges Muslims are occupying public lands by building religious structures or holding prayers; “halal jihad”, which views Islamic practices as the economic exclusion of non-Muslim traders; and “population jihad”, which alleges that Muslims reproduce with the intention of eventually outnumbering and dominating other populations.”

There are several conspiracy theories that set the tone that “we are better off without them”. “Land jihad” alleges that Muslims occupy public land to build religious structures and hold prayers. “Halal jihad” view Islamic practices as economically excluding towards traders that are not Muslim. “Population jihad” alleges that Muslim reproduction is with the intent to gradually outnumber and dominate other populations (Sharma, 2024a).

Genocidal societies lack official protection.

Hate speech in general, and dehumanizing hate speech is seldom condemned by the government officials. There are few if any reports of action taken against it by authorities (Tazamal, 2022, p. 17).

Hate speech should be condemned and made culturally unacceptable.

This is covered in 6.2.2 Symbolization.

Leaders inciting genocide should be sanctioned, and atrocities and hate crimes should be punished.

As discussed in for instance 6.2.7 Preparation this is not the case.

Table of findings:

Members of a group are vilified and addressed as diseases, animals, insects or vermins.	✓
They are equated with immorality, impurity, and filth.	✓
One group denies and deprives the other group of their humanity.	✓
Dehumanization is effective in a genocide process as dehumanization makes it easier to overcome the usual revulsion against murder.	✓

The majoritarian group are indoctrinated to regard the “other” group as less human and alien to their society.	✓
The propaganda sets the tone that “we are better off without them”.	✓
Genocidal societies lack official protection. Hate speech should be condemned and made culturally unacceptable.	✓
Leaders inciting genocide should be sanctioned, and atrocities and hate crimes should be punished.	X - this is not the case.

Table 5.

5.2.5 Organization

The genocide literature states that genocide is organized. However, it is difficult to argue for “organized genocide” in our case. In few cases the intention of genocide is transparent. Therefore, for the organization stage we will not analyze each part but discuss it more fully. There are many recorded events of Hindu mobs targeting Muslims. In these cases, Muslim neighborhoods, businesses, and mosques get targeted (Tazamal, 2022, p. 21). They may also assault students at colleges and universities. For instance, in March 2024, Muslim students were attacked by Hindu mob over Ramadan prayers at Gujarat University. The mob carried iron bars and stones and they objected to prayers inside the campus. The BJP government does not usually speak about instances of inter-religious violence. This incident was condemned by the government (Sharma, 2024b). However, there are organized parties in the persecution as well. For instance, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) is a right-wing paramilitary volunteer organization founded in 1925 (Tazamal, 2022, p. 21). The volunteers must swear an oath of allegiance (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22). There is much focus on both mental and physical discipline and dedication. The

means is to restore Hindu courage and strength. Paramilitary training such as quasimilitary drills and daily exercise play a big part in this discipline (Britannica, 2024).

RSS is a ground-level organization and is rapid growth. The organization provides schools and other services in remote areas. There are more than four million volunteers in RSS. They are divided into more than 57 000 branches called *sakhas*. In the *sakhas* there is a trade union wing called the Bharatiya Vidyarthi Sangh, a woman`s wing called the Rashtriya Sevika Samiti, a student wing called the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad and an economic wing called the Swadeshi Jagaran Manch (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22).

RSS is the leader organization of a larger group of organizations termed the Sangh Parivar. The RSS, as the center of the Sangh sets tactics and priorities to promote Hindu nationalist goals and ideals for the achievement of a Hindu nation, a *Hindu Rashtra* (Bridge Initiative Team, 2021).

Other notable organizations under the larger Sangh Parivar group are ruling political party Bharatiya Janata Party BJP, Vishva Hindu Parishad and their associated youth wing Bajrang dal. Bajrang dal is a militant nationalist organization often referred to as the RSS “foot soldiers” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22).

In the larger Hindu nationalist movement, the RSS has historically played a major role (ibid.). The mission statement of the group describes it as "firmly rooted in genuine nationalism" and claims that the nation`s integrity has been erased in the name of secularism. In the statement the RSS also decries “an endless appeasement of the Muslim population” (Frayer & Khan, 2019).

In the past, Indian governments have banned the paramilitary organization for alleged partaking in communal violence (Britannica, 2024) In the past, RSS has been accused of acts of terrorism and plotting assassinations. Many BJP members, including ministers are Sangh Parivar members. Prime Minister Modi himself is a member. He has been associated with the organization for many years. Narendra Modi reportedly consults with the RSS in policy matters (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22).

In July 2015, Modi had been in office for over a year. He attended an RSS conclave in New Delhi. According to political commentator Neerja Chowdhury the prime minister and other

senior ministers went there to report on their policies and to receive policy feedback. RSS's political influence can be seen in education, food, and commerce. The organization has helped in changing public school curriculum to teach Hindu belief as facts (Frayer & Khan, 2019).

Some of the wings take part in violent campaigns. The vigilante violence can stoke communal riots (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22). Some of the reason sporadic organic growth of Hindu right-wing gangs and local RSS branches appear and operate is a record of not being held accountable by the ruling authorities. The case of Monu Manesar which also has an interconnection with violence in Nuh in Haryana state, illustrates how some wings participate in violent campaigns. And how violence can result in communal violence. Two Muslim men accused of cow smuggling were lynched in February 2023. Monu Manesar who leads a chapter of Bajrang Dal was suspected of the mob lynching. He remained free for months after authorities linked him to the case. He continued posting anti-Muslim content on Facebook and Instagram (The News, 2023).

In July, he made plans to attend a Hindu procession in Nuh and made an announcement for it. Taking this into notice, Nuh police confirmed the Bajrang leader's arrest. Ultimately Manesar did not attend the procession in Nuh. The procession was organized by Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Bajrang Dal. The procession resulted in violence after some Muslims in the area tried to stop the march and unrest later. In the communal violence six people were killed and many got injured. It continued for days and spread to nearby area (The News, 2023).

6.2.6 Polarization

Extremists drive the groups apart from each other.

Sangh Parivar mentioned in Organization is a family of organizations that have constructed and work along the narrative that India is a home for Hindus and that Muslims in India either invaded or their ancestors converted from Hinduism to Islam and because Islam is not native to the region. For right wing extremist forces in India, Indian Muslims are a threat to the Hindu society. This argument is repeatedly used. As a result, the Indian society is increasingly polarized (Tazamal, 2022, p. 23). Conspiracy theories like economic jihad, thook jihad (spit jihad), rice jihad and land jihad contribute to driving groups apart from each other. These narratives seek to segment society by framing one segment, i.e. Muslims as engaging in sinister plots (Tazamal, 2022, p. 24).

The narrative of polarization can and has caused tensions and violence between groups. Many individuals face the consequences of rhetoric and pay a personal price. In one incident, some Hindu residents in a village in Uttar Pradesh attacked a Muslim man. Mubeen Qureshi was allegedly assaulted in Farah in Uttar Pradesh's Mathura district. In July 2022, he went to his field to gather animal fodder. There he was met with a group of men. He recalled that the men forced him to chant Hindu slogans. He said the accused hurled slurs and told him "We won't let you Kat*** live in this country now. We will erase you from here now". The accused held him by his beard and said that he is anti-national. The assaulted man recalled the incident in an interview and asked "Why were they behaving like this with me? We are from the same village. We know each other." This single incident highlights how extremists drive groups apart from each other. In this case, acquaintances from the same local community turn against each other (The Wire Staff, 2022).

Laws may forbid interaction and intermarriages for instance.

"Love Jihad" is a conspiracy theory. As a result of the conspiracy theory several states have implemented concrete legislation impacting inter-faith couples. The law is implemented in Uttar Pradesh for instance. It is India's most populous state and its Muslim population is made up of around 40 million Muslims. The state's legislation bans "unlawful religious conversions" through marriage. When states pass legislation based on conspiracy theory it lends the theory and the claims that it promotes credibility. As a result, fundamental civil rights and liberties are compromised. This is not only the case for Indian Muslims but Hindus who want to marry a Muslim person as well (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22-23).

The moderate political center may be intimidated and/or silenced

On New Year's Day derogatory content regarding hundreds of Muslim women in India including journalists, activists and other prominent personalities was shared on an app called "Bulli Bai". The app "offered" an "online auction" of Muslim women. The name of the app is derived from a derogatory used for Muslim women (Dasgupta, 2022).

The purpose of the app was online trolling as no real transactions were made available on it.

The government faced backlash from opposition parties followingly. They claimed that the police and government had shown inaction on such cases which made such targeting of Muslim women online possible. When users opened the app an image of a Muslim women

emerged with the tagline “Your Bulli Bai of the day.” Fatima Khan, a journalist in The Quint is one of them (ibid.).

According to the Vox, the government has expelled Rahul Gandhi leader of the opposition party from parliament. He was sentenced to two years of prison for by a lower court in 2023 for allegedly defaming the prime minister with a joke (Beauchamp, 2023). The sentence was later suspended by the Supreme Court. The two years period was the period needed for the politician to be banned from running general elections expected in April and May 2024 and to disqualify as an MP.

A judge at a lower court in the prime minister's home state of Gujarat found Gandhi guilty of defamation and gave him the maximum sentence of two years: the exact period needed to result in his disqualification as an MP and to ban him from running in the general election expected to be held in April and May 2024. The prime minister has also created an official panel targeting to take down social media posts that are critical of the government (Ellis-Petersen, 2023).

Since prime minister first term in office in 2014 and especially after the second term in 2019 he has manipulated judges to rule in his party's favor and used law enforcement against opponents as well as increased control over the press in India (Beauchamp, 2023).

Moderates from the ingroup are the most able to stop genocide, but the first ones to be persecuted as well.

There are example how party opponents are singled out in 6.1.2. This helps us illustrate how those who want to stop the country from going towards the Hindutva-direction are stepped upon.

The dominant group enforces rapidly passed laws that grant more power over the targeted group.

Jammu and Kashmir is an only state in India with a Muslim majority. It is a state at the border to Pakistan. The state is subject to a territorial dispute with neighboring Pakistan. Until Modi government revoked it in 2019, the state held a special autonomous power (Beauchamp, 2023). The Supreme Court passed a ruling stating that Jammu and Kashmir shall have the same statehood as the other Indian states. There should not be any separate autonomy rights – “at the earliest and as soon as possible” (Al Jazeera, 2023).

There has been animosity between India and Pakistan over Kashmir for over 75 years. Pakistan claims that Muslim-majority Kashmir should be a part of Pakistan. Article 370 which was revoked in 2019 was an agreement due to war conditions in the state signed by Hindu ruler in Kashmir in 1947 as he agreed to join India. Article 370 came into effect in October 1949. The state of Kashmir was granted autonomy for internal administration as an effect of special autonomous status. Following this, the state could make their own laws in matters except foreign affairs, finance, defense, and communications. The region established a separate flag, an own constitution and denied property rights to persons from outside of the region (Al Jazeera, 2023).

The revocation has now made it possible for people outside of Kashmir to buy land in the region for the first time in several decades. Non-Kashmiris are now permitted to hold local jobs as well. Scholars and human rights activists have expressed concern of settler colonialism tendencies as Hindus settle in Kashmir. A fast-track system process was introduced for non-locals Indian to obtain domicile status in Kashmir given they fit some criteria resulting in a large number getting residency permit in a short period of time (Tazamal, 2022, p. 12).

The laws compromise fundamental civil liberties and rights.

The Karnataka hijab ban was imposed in December 2021. The ban drew international attention when six Muslim girl students were denied entry to school in Udupi (Maktoob Staff, 2023). The ban was based on the Karnataka Government Order on Dress Code for Students (GO). Female students were banned from carrying the hijab at educational institutions in Karnataka (Bakshi, 2023).

People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL) is a human rights group who has a chapter in Karnataka. They have expressed in a press statement that "The Karnataka Government has a constitutional responsibility to respond to the continuing violations of fundamental rights of young Muslim women". Muslim women students in the state have given testimonies of experienced isolation, harassment and humiliation following a sudden ban on hijab. When educational institutions imposed the ban, many Muslim women wearing the hijab had to choose between carrying on wearing hijab or to carry on with their education (Maktoob Staff, 2023).

Reports show how vigilante groups of Hindutva organizations carried out a vilification campaign against hijab-wearing students and how the inaction of the government and police gave implicit encouragement to these fundamentalist forces (Maktoob Staff, 2023). October 2023 marked one year since the Supreme Court Bench delivered a split verdict on the ban imposed on educational institutions in Karnataka. Hence it continues to compromise Muslim girls’ civil liberties and rights (Bakshi, 2023).

Help assistance to human rights groups and protection of moderate leaders.

There are no findings of human rights groups and protection of moderate leaders other than ordinary help assistance.

Table of findings:

Extremists drive the groups apart from each other.	✓
Laws may forbid interaction and intermarriages for instance.	✓
The moderate political center may be intimidated and/or silenced.	✓
Moderates from the ingroup are the most able to stop genocide, but the first ones to be persecuted as well	—
The dominant group enforces rapidly passed laws that grant more power over the targeted group.	✓
The laws compromise fundamental civil liberties and rights.	✓
Help assistance to human rights groups and protection for moderate leaders.	X

Table 6.

6.2.7 Preparation

Plans for genocidal killings are made by national leaders or perpetrator group leaders.

In December 2021, there was a religious conference held in Haridwar. Haridwar is a city located at the foothills of the Himalayas. It is a city known for its temples and is considered one of the sacred cities in India (Uttarakhand tourism, w. y.). The conference was held over three days and was organized by priest Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati with ties to BJP. The organizer has made derogatory comments about the Prophet Muhammad and Islam and advocated for violence against Muslims in the past. It was attended by politicians from BJP and right-wing Hindu religious leaders aligned with the party. During the conference, there were made calls for mass violence against Muslims. Muslims were described as a threat on whom violence was justified as a claim of self-defense. Calls for mass murder were put forward in the following way for instance; “If a hundred of us become soldiers and kill two million of them (Muslims), we will be victorious” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27). Here we see that group leaders and members affiliated with the ruling national party put a plot layout that “If a hundred of us become soldiers and kill two million of them (Muslims), we will be victorious.”

Genocide is defined in terms as “counterterrorism”, “ethnic cleansing” or “purification”.

At the Haridwar conference, speakers urged the audience they were addressing and all Hindus to purchase weapons to defend the religion. President Swami Prabodhanand Giri of the right-wing Hindu organization Raksha Sena called for a “cleanliness drive” alike what occurred in Myanmar with the Rohingyas. The reference here is the brutal military genocide of Rohingya Muslims in 2016-2017 in Myanmar. Giri urged upon every Hindu to pick up arms (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27).

Earlier in June 2021 Swami Prabhodanand Giri made other genocidal statements alongside Narsinghanand in a video. Giri said that we will need to clean our country for jihadis. There should be treatment and management on this earth for jihadis. He brought forward that a few days ago someone said that in Islam jihadis are born and rapists are born. “I have been saying this for some time, there is a jihadi and a terrorist in each Islamic home. Through these statements, the idea is forwarded that Muslims are terrorists and violent, i.e., “there is a jihadi and a terrorist in each Islamic home.” There has also been presented an idea of “cleaning” the

country for jihadis and that “we will need to clean our country for jihadis” as a form of counterterrorism (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27).

There was another video showcased from the Haridwar event in December 2021 showing Chavhanke – an RSS-member. In it, he was giving an oath to turn India into a Hindu-only country. He said, “we make a resolution until our last breath: We will make India a Hindu nation, and keep it a Hindu-only nation,” he said. “We will fight and die if required, we will kill as well” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27-28). To make a resolution for a Hindu-only nation adheres to a form of cleansing and purification.

The population is instilled with fear of the victim group and the idea that “if we don’t kill them, they will kill us”.

This idea can be found in the following when Swami Giri warned at the Haridwar event that “either you prepare to die now, or get ready to kill, there’s no other way.” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27).

Genocidal acts are thus regarded as self-defense.

As more or less concrete plans are made for genocidal killings and these plans are referred as a form of “purification”, “ethnic cleansing” and “counterterrorism” and as a result there is a fear instilled in the population that the victim group will kill us if we don’t kill them first. Genocidal acts are thus regarded as self-defense, i.e., “either you prepare to die now, or get ready to kill, there’s no other way” (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27).

There is a sudden increase in hate rhetoric.

NDTV carried out an analysis consisting of 1300 articles cross-referenced with databases and 1000 recent tweets by politicians and public figures ending with April 2018. It found that there have been 124 instances of hate speech by 45 prominent politicians. Since 2014, divisive and hateful speech by high-standing politicians has increased by almost 500 %. On concrete terms, from May 2014 to April 2018 during Modi’s first term in government there has been an increase in hate speech by 490 %. In comparison, there were 21 such instances under UPA 2 (Jain et. al., 2018).

According to a US-based research group, every day in 2023 India experienced almost two instances of anti-Muslim hate speech. 75 % took place in BJP-ruled states. Around 30 percent

of hate speech was by Vishwa Hindu Parishad and the Bajrang Dal. BJP was responsible for 50 hate speech events. There was a 60 % increase in the second half of the year. A period that coincided with political campaigning for general elections and voting for four key state elections (Muzaffar, 2024).

As noted, from the previous term to the term when BJP came to power there was sudden increase in hate rhetoric, with an increase of almost 500 %. Hence this relates to Gregory Stanton’s 7th stage of the 10 stages towards genocide.

Genocide can be triggered by forthcoming elections or political processes that may threaten the genocidal group’s total dominance.

Even though rallying cries appear intensify and appear more often, and legislations come into force in a more rapid speed than what could earlier be anticipated by how the process was processing forward there is no evidence of genocide itself being triggered by the forthcoming elections.

Conclusion

We have findings that indicate the elements that consists of this stage. This is illustrated and explained in detail under the titles. However, this does not mean that because the elements are evident this means the preparations have in fact begun. The whole aim of the 10 stages that have been mapped out by Gregory Stanton is to provide to tool to navigate in overwhelming space in which genocide might occur.

Table of findings:

Plans for genocidal killings are made by national leaders or perpetrator group leaders.	✓
Genocide is defined in terms as “counterterrorism,” “ethnic cleansing” or “purification.”	✓

The population is instilled with fear of the victim group and the idea that “if we don’t kill them, they will kill us.”	✓
Genocidal acts are thus regarded as self-defense	✓
There is a sudden increase in hate rhetoric.	✓
Genocide can be triggered by forecoming elections or political processes that may threaten the genocidal group’s total dominance	X

6.2.8 Persecution

Individuals from the targeted group is identified and singled out on the basis of religious or ethnic identity, and death lists are compiled.

Kapil Mishra is one of the ministers in the BJP government. In a speech on February 23, 2020, he fiercely said to “shoot the traitors to the nation!”. His adherents took the prompt as a call which they acted upon. For five consecutive days, neighborhoods with Muslim-majority in Delhi were attacked by a mob of Hindu nationalists. This caused a death toll of 50, most of them Muslims. Experts explained it as a pogrom, a form of organized massacre. Journalists and experts have drawn similarities of the violent episode to the internationally known pogrom that occurred in Gujarat in 2002 (Tazamal, 2022, p. 29-30).

Similar incidents have occurred for instance in Tripura (2021), Madhu Pradesh (2022) and Nuh district in Haryana (2023) (Bhaumik, 2021; Rajshekhar 2022; Mukharji 2023). According to Tazamal such incidents follow similar patterns. Muslim targets are identified by name, clothing, or appearance. They are forced to chant nationalist slogans and pledge their loyalty to the country. During all of this, the targeted individuals are beaten by the group, many times with weapons. In many documented cases, the victims are left on the spot in a serious critical condition. Many succumb to their injuries. The preparators record their cruelty

and post it on social media platforms. Despite video recordings among other evidence, the attackers rarely face prosecution (Tazamal, 2022, p. 30). In these cases, the victims and their families can point out the attackers and inform the police while facing threats, but the police authorities take little to no further notice (Tazamal, 2022, p. 31).

Thus, this part in the persecution stage is present.

Members of the targeted group may be forced to wear identifying symbols in state sponsored genocide.

There are no findings of members of the targeted group being forced to wear identifying symbols (in state sponsored genocide).

Their property is often unsafe and expropriated.

The BJP government in Delhi has razed homes and business properties in Muslim-majority areas in Delhi. Analysts have concluded following this that the BJP aims to evict Muslims from the capital and thus the demolitions are targeted. In April 2022, communal clashes occurred between Hindus and Muslims in Jahangirpuri in Delhi. Afterwards, a mosque and Muslim homes and businesses were targeted by bulldozers. Noticeably, the bulldozer stopped and did not proceed further when it got by a Hindu temple. This strengthened the belief that only Muslim property was targeted. Even though the clash involved members of both religious groups (Tazamal, 2022, p. 31).

This is described as a familiar pattern as well. The authority links Muslim individuals to “crimes” such as partaking in protest. Then they are blamed for violence. At final, their houses are destroyed. The destruction sends out a message to vocal individuals that there are severe consequences for raising their voices against state authority. It sends a message to the wider community as well as a preventative measure so less people inspire to speak up (Tazamal, 2022, p. 32).

The use of bulldozers on properties of Muslims in India as form of arbitrary punishment showcases that their property is unsafe and expropriated. The minority groups' property is unsafe when communal violence erupts. Thus, this part of the persecution stage is present.

Sometimes, members of the target group are deported into concentration camps, or into ghettos segregated from the rest of the population.

The imminent threat of violence and harassment from extremist Hindutva groups have caused Muslim families in cities to migrate as they abandon their homes or sell them due to security fears. They move from mixed neighborhoods to Muslim-dominated areas (Tazamal, 2022, p. 22). Suchitra Vijayan is a lawyer and author based in New York. She is the author of the book *Midnight's Borders*, "A people's history of modern India" (2021). She said to Al Jazeera that sometimes a household is forced to move several times because of violence. "(...) it is so common against marginalized Muslim community in India." Vijayan stated that the community has earlier been forced to migrate in large numbers to ghettos or Muslim-only enclaves after the Gujarat pogrom (2002), Nellie massacre (1983) and now in Delhi more recently (Zaffar & Akram, 2021).

The Assam government moved their first batch of detainees to the Matia Transit Camp in January 2023. It is the largest detention center in India to hold "illegal foreigners". The state government had shared in September 2022 that 195 detainees were held in six detention camps. It has now shifted to one big camp, the Matia Transit Camp. In Assam people are declared foreigners if they cannot prove that they or their forefathers lived in India on or prior to 1971. This is derived from the Assam Accord of 1985. The Accord also mandates to expel "foreigners" who crossed into Assam later. The passage of the Citizenship Amendment Act in 2019 further complicates the agreement. The reason being that non-Muslims who have fled religious persecution in Bangladesh can still be granted citizenship by the law if they meet the condition that they had entered the country before 2014 (The Wire Staff, 2023).

The silent migration into Muslim-only enclaves and ghettos from mixed neighborhoods in cities show that this part of the persecution stage is prominent with the formation of detention camps as well for foreigners in the state of Assam, neighboring Muslim-majority country Bangladesh.

They can also be confined to a region struck by famine and starved.

There are no findings of starvation or that suggest confinement to a region struck by famine.

Programmes to prevent reproduction such as forced abortions or forced sterilization is introduced and implemented.

There are no findings of introduction and implementation of programmes that prevent reproduction such as forced abortions or forced sterilization.

Children might be taken from their parents by force.

There are no findings of children being taken from their parents by force.

Basic human rights may be violated systematically through displacement, torture, and extrajudicial killings.

Extrajudicial killings have been discussed in 6.2.2. Symbolization (cow lynchings).

Massacres begin as acts of genocide as they destroy parts of the group intentionally.

Such examples have been mentioned in 6.2.8 Persecution.

The perpetrators might look for any international reaction for their atrocities.

Earlier this year on March 2024, UN human rights experts issued that they are alarmed over reports coming in of attacks on minority groups, civil society, and media in India. They have called for “urgent corrective action as the country prepares to hold elections in early 2024.” “We call on India to implement its human rights obligations fully and set a positive example by reversing the erosion of human rights and addressing recurring concerns raised by UN human rights mechanisms,” the experts said. However, the experts did show concern towards the low level of response from India to their communications. Since 2017, 15 requests made by UN human rights experts to conduct official visits to the country are pending as the Government has given no replies. They urge India to take concrete measures regarding concerns voiced in earlier reports and communications (OHCHR, 2024). The reactions from the UN human rights experts are examples of international reaction to atrocities the perpetrators might look for. Thus, this part of the persecution stage is present in a way.

If there is no strong international reaction, it means the leaders can carry out the genocide unhinged, and the international community will permit the crucial acts passively.

The international community has shown concern, see previous part. There are no findings of strong international reaction which hinge genocide and would not permit the crucial acts. Thus, this part of the persecution stage is not present.

A Genocide Emergency must be declared.

There are no findings of the need to declare a Genocide Emergency. The process has not exceeded this stage. Thus, this part of the persecution stage is not present.

Political will should be mobilized to prepare peacekeeping forces for armed international intervention or heavy assistance should be provided to the victim group for self-defense.

There are no findings of such as the genocide process has not exceeded to this stage. Thus, this part of the persecution stage is not present.

Humanitarian relief should be organized as well.

As this point follows the points before this, there has not been a need for large-scale humanitarian relief. Thus, this part of the persecution stage is not present.

Table of findings:

Individuals from the targeted group is identified and singled out on the basis of religious or ethnic identity, and death lists are compiled.	✓
Members of the targeted group may be forced to wear identifying symbols in state sponsored genocide.	X
Their property is often unsafe and expropriated.	✓
Sometimes, members of the target group are deported into concentration camps, or into ghettos segregated from the rest of the population.	✓
They can also be confined to a region struck by famine and starved.	X

Programmes to prevent reproduction such as forced abortions or forced sterilization is introduced and implemented	X
Children might be taken from their parents by force.	X
Basic human rights may be violated systematically through displacement, torture and extrajudicial killings.	✓
Massacres begin as acts of genocide as they destroy parts of the group intentionally.	✓
The perpetrators might look for any international reaction for their atrocities.	✓
If there is no strong international reaction, it means the leaders can carry out the genocide unhinged, and the international community will permit the crucial acts passively.	✓
A Genocide Emergency must be declared.	X
Political will should be mobilized to prepare peacekeeping forces for armed international intervention or heavy assistance should be provided to the victim group for self-defense.	X
Humanitarian relief should be organized as well.	X

Table 8.

6.2.9 Extermination

For the preparators, the mass killing is “extermination” as they do not consider their victims to be fully human.

Hindu religious leader like Yati Narsinghanand Saraswati are individuals with large platforms. He has openly called for exterminating Muslims (Tazamal, 2022, p. 20). And used examples of genocide of Muslims in other parts of Asia (Tazamal, 2022, p. 27). Mobs of Hindu nationalists openly call on Muslims to be expelled from the country and/or killed in video recordings. Calls of this kind are made openly almost daily in India (Tazamal, 2022, p. 35).

When the genocide is state-sponsored the military forces often work together with militias to carry out the killings

There are no findings of the Indian military forces working together with militias to carry out killings. Thus, this part of the extermination stage is not present. However, there are examples of the police not taking real action when mob killings or other incidents of violence occur (see 6.2.8 Persecution).

Sometimes the genocide may result in revenge killings.

The genocide at a large scale has not been undertaken. Thus, this part that may sometimes occur in the extermination is not found to be present.

Genocidal acts illustrate how dehumanized the victims have become.

Genocidal acts of such scale have not occurred. There are examples of lynchings and killings in a very dehumanized and disturbing manner (Biswas, 2017). Examples of communal violence where the victims have been burned alive in their homes are present too.

Religious and cultural property is destroyed to erase the group’s existence from history.

The primary efforts towards destruction of cultural and religious property have been against mosques. Hindutva groups often reason their destruction behind the claim that the mosques were originally built upon temples or other sites of religious significance for Hindus (see 7.2.2). Supreme Court’s decision regarding the Babri mosque has emboldened right-wing voices. As a result, the right-wing discourse now feels supported and protected by the authorities, the law and justice (Tazamal, 2022, p. 35). Here, it is unclear whether the motive

is to erase the group's existence from history or the incentive to destroy the property is that it earlier was a temple site. Therefore, this part of the extermination stage is deemed to not be present.

Mass rape of women and girls is a characteristic in all modern genocides.

There are profound allegations that the Muslim population will overtake the Hindu population's position as a majority (see 6.2.4 Dehumanization). These allegations have strong appeal despite Muslims only making 14 % of the Indian population. These kinds of allegations are used to justify actions to "prevent" Muslim from overtaking demographically. The actions include appeal to Hindu men to marry Muslim women by force. To rape them and impregnate them. To correct the demographic trend and "imbalance" in India (Tazamal, 2022, p. 35). These kind of calls to rape can be seen as a critical concern and precursor to this part of the extermination stage. India is not at this part of the extermination stage.

In some genocides all men of a fighting age are murdered.

The process has not proceeded to this stage. Thus, there are no findings on this part in India.

In total genocide all the members of the victim group are exterminated.

India is not on this stage; therefore, this part is not relevant for analysis and discussion in India.

During this stage only an overwhelmingly armed intervention can stop genocide.

India is not on this stage; therefore, this part is not relevant for analysis and discussion in India.

Safe areas heavily protected by the international army should be established.

India is not on this stage; therefore, this part is not relevant for analysis and discussion in India.

Table of findings:

For the preparators, the mass killing is “extermination” as they do not consider their victims to be fully human	✓
When the genocide is state-sponsored the military forces often work together with militias to carry out the killings	X
Sometimes the genocide may result in revenge killings.	X
Genocidal acts illustrate how dehumanized the victims have become.	X
Religious and cultural property is destroyed to erase the group’s existence from history	X
Mass rape of women and girls is a characteristic in all modern genocides.	X
In some genocides all men of a fighting age are murdered.	X
In total genocide all the members of the victim group are exterminated.	X
During this stage only an overwhelmingly armed intervention can stop genocide.	X
Safe areas heavily protected by the international army should be established.	X

Table 9.

6.2.10 Denial

India has not reached this stage and therefore it is not relevant for analysis.

7.DISCUSSION

Nota bene: The discussion goes into the details of some of the findings in part 6. Analysis and other assessments.

7.1 Theoretical conclusion

The nationalism of extreme right parties is nationalistic and anti-democratic. The reason being, that nationalism rejects the notion of equality and is based upon an opposition to pluralism. Extreme right parties, in their own ways, believe the nation is in danger. The response to this threat is an anti-democratic one. Therefore, even though Bharatiya Janata Party and its political actors, members and adherents do not project themselves as anti-democratic their nationalism might tell a different story. Their aggression and demands of submission and the authoritarianism is anti-democratic by character (Carter, 2018, p. 174).

The values promoted and drawn on by extreme parties are strongly shaped by how they view the nation. The conception of nation is that it is an organic entity. The belief is that it must be safeguarded and valorized. Safeguarding and protection that the nation requires demands order and discipline. Threats to the nation should then be met with aggression. Especially if the threat is from outgroups who are believed to not conform to the traditional understanding of the nation and its national community. These traditional values about the nation as we have seen through the study of Hindutva as an ideology, in expression and practice are anti-pluralistic and promote inequality. These ideas also display how authoritarianism and nationalism are interconnected. As such, the aggression expressed in some of the speeches analyzed is driven by their nationalism and traditional values (aka Adityanath) (Carter, 2018, p. 174).

Aggression towards those who do not conform to Hindutva values reflected in punitive measures, condemnation, and discrimination as we have seen through our studies in this paper expose a rejection of individual freedoms, pluralism, and equality (Carter, 2018, p. 174).

Right-wing extremism was defined by two anti-democratic and anti-constitutional features. One is a rejection of the fundamental human equality principle. The second is a rejection of procedures, institutions, and fundamental values of a democratic constitution-based state. This can be related to the Hindutva discourse. The idea of the superior Hindu rejects the principle of fundamental human equality. The ideological ground for Hindutva rejects the fundamental values enshrined in the Indian constitution of pluralism, equality, secularism, and unity. Here,

the attitude towards the values of liberal democracy in the Hindutva discourse is stated and there is less emphasis in the democratic procedures (Carter, 2018, p. 175).

All models are ideal-typical presentations of reality. Stanton emphasizes to not confuse a genocide process stage with a status as each stage itself is a process (Operation Broken Silence, 2020). Genocide is a human phenomenon. Thus, it can be understood, analyzed, and may be prevented (Montreal Holocaust Museum, w. y.). In this paper we did not have the capacity to investigate the preventative measures. Prevention is undoubtedly a fitting subject for further research. With that said, to be aware of the stages that can lead to genocide and to prevent these from occurring or reverse them is itself prevention. Each stage is an opportunity to halt genocide before it happens (Holocaust Memorial Day Trust, w.y.).

7.2 Empirical discussion

7.2.1 Narendra Modi's speech

As compared to conventional Hindutva actors, Modi expresses his Muslim sentiment in a quiet concealed manner. He decided to stay silent on all references to Muslims in his speech. This makes it difficult to imagine Muslim role in India and the contributions of Muslims in the present and past. For instance, their patience in the dispute in Ayodhya and the verdict not being in their favor and their contributions to cultural heritage as the likes of the Babri mosque. There is some anti-Muslim sentiment in the speech which is subtle. The subtleness confirms the perception about him wanting to come across as more moderate than his Hindutva counterparts (Zaman, 2020, p. 21).

“Lord Rama calls for protecting the one who seeks refuge is the responsibility of all”. This statement is interesting in the speech keeping in mind the controversial citizenship amendment bill passed by the Modi government. As per the bill, not everyone is welcome to seek refuge. And the government clearly denounces themselves of this “responsibility of all”.

The grand temple is defined as an indicator of rich heritage of Indian culture “as good as Lord Rama”, built upon a demolished historical mosque. He considers Hindu heritage and neglects Muslim heritage in the speech. The implication from the statement is that he does not consider the mosque in the same way, “as an indicator of rich heritage of Indian culture”. Even though the 460-year-old mosque was an indicator of important cultural heritage of the subcontinent. Modi seems negligent of it in the speech with no direct acknowledgement of it

that can be pointed out. The phrases “on behalf of 130-crore Indian (...)”, “each heart is illuminated” and “entire country is emotional (...)” in the speech with regards to the construction launch ceremony are inconsiderate towards the Indian Muslim community as he is seemingly uniting the entire country through erasure of Muslim heritage and celebrating it (Zaman, 2020, p. 20).

In the Hindutva ideology the definition of a Hindu is broad yet narrow. Some religions are included in the rubric of Hinduism while others are excluded. To be included in the definition of Hinduism the criterion is having India as the “holy land.” This criterion is used as a reasoning to exclude “foreign” traditions from the larger cloak of “Hinduness”, most importantly Christianity and Islam. In the speech, Modi reinforces his idea of the Ram temple uniting the entire nation by connecting many religions to Ram, including Islam with reference to Kabir. It is insightful to note that Kabir is not equally prominent in Islam as the other religious figures mentioned in the speech are to their religions. In the speech Kabir is mentioned among founders of religions (Zaman, 2020, p. 17-18).

In modern times Kabir is often depicted as a harmonizer of Hindu and Muslim belief, but it would be more accurate to say that he was equally critical of both beliefs. Buddha and Nanak founded their own religious movements. However, Hindutva do not regard them as independent religious movements, merely as branches of Hinduism. In the speech Modi is very aligned with this idea in the way he connects all the references mentioned here to the Hindu deity Ram or Ayodhya (Zaman, 2020, p. 18).

7.2.2 Yogi Adityanath’s speech excerpts

The background context for the temple constructions works can provide further meaningful insight. Ram temple was built on the site of the Babri mosque (Al Jazeera, 2024b). And the temple in Kashi was built upon the Mughal constructed Gyanvapi mosque. In Mathura Vrindavan, the BJP leaders are promising the construction of a “grand temple” at the Krishna Janmabhoomi complex that also houses the 17th century Shahi Idgah mosque (Shankar, 2024).

Critics say a new temple is unnecessary at the cost of communal harmony when there already exists a magnified temple at Lord Krishna’s birthplace (Aswani, 2023). BJP leader’s remarks about plans for new temple for Lord Krishna have created tensions whereas a result police force had to be deployed in the area (Ranjan, 2021).

The repetitive pattern of razing mosques to build or expand temples that Adityanath mentions in his speeches can be related to how the extreme right emphasizes incompatibility of cultures and advocates to resist cultural mixing. Segregation of cultures is enforced politically (Carter, 2018, p. 165). The underlying theme in Adityanath's speeches regarding replacing Mughal heritage religious sites conflate with the idea of incompatibility of cultures and the notion to resist cultural mixing (Carter, 2018, p. 165). For instance, to integrate a 17th century historical mosque site into an even more grand Lord Krishna birthplace complex.

What we see from the speeches is that Adityanath repeats the same narratives over and over which eventually manifests in the public and his target group. The Taliban, rioter and criminal narrative is a prominent narrative. The narrative aligns with the ideas that non-natives pose a threat to the host community (Carter, 2018, p. 164) and that Muslim communities have harboring terrorist intentions against their home states (Banaji, 2018, p. 343). The savior narrative is also prominent where the narrative is set of chaos which is settled by the BJP and Yogi Adityanath. Hindutva is promoted to create a sense of a shared culture, history, and an awareness of India as one's Holy Land (Leidig, 2020, p. 226).

The Yogi Adityanath administration and how it carries out bulldozer demolitions in Uttar Pradesh makes it clear that he and his police force decides how to dispense justice. They do this by deciding who is a "criminal" and then demolishing their homes. There is not any law in India that poses demolition of a convicted person's house as a penalty offence. Demolition of the home of a convicted criminal as a form of punishment has never been ordered by a court ever before. The bulldozer campaign serves as a testimony of the ruthlessness the Yogi Adityanath administration are willing to employ, especially when it comes to Muslims (Bhushan, 2022).

The Congress Party is deemed as the "corrupt elite". Not only is it seen as corrupt but also as a pathway to Muslim power in Indian politics. BJP often accuses the Congress for "appeasing" to Muslims to gain their vote. It also frames decades long "left-wing" governance as contributing to the decline of societal and moral values. The critique of the Congress party and other left-wing parties such as the Samajwadi party in the speech excerpts is along these lines. BJP implies that the previous governments had lost the vision and spirit of the independence movement and failed to comprehend India's inner vitality. On the opposite hand, BJP stands for the authentic and genuine "Indian psyche" with its "indigenous" ethos (Leidig & Mudde, 2023 p. 368).

But in recent years, the bulldozers have become a political tool to target Muslim community properties and to intimidate the opposition and government's critics, especially Muslims (Pandey, 2022).

Yogi Adityanath first used bulldozers in 2020. The use of bulldozer was initially ordered against property of a criminal accused of killing eight police officers, among others. This action was applauded by some citizens as a symbol of firm administration stand against criminals. It sends a message to *mafias* and *professional criminals* that they can be targeted with bulldozers on their home or private property or that they will have a personal cost to pay following their actions. However, critics say that the government has now turned bulldozers into a weapon to cement hate politics against Muslims (Pandey, BBC, 20th June 2022). Bulldozers were a prominent feature during Adityanath's election campaign. They were also rolled out for the local politician's victory parade. Adityanath as the Chief Minister of the state orders the use of bulldozers. Hence, he and his police force decide who is a *mafia* or a *professional criminal*. They then dispense justice by demolishing their homes and/or properties (Bhushan, 2022).

The authorities reason the use of bulldozers by some issues in construction. One reason used is that the residences are unauthorized constructions. Another reason is that they have flouted zoning regulations. Furthermore, it is often said that destruction was necessary for the great cause of national development. The affected party or family receive little to no warning before their home or property's demolition. For this reason, it is not possible to challenge the destruction order in court. Courts would in any way never order the demolition of homes, even as a form of punishment for a convicted criminal. It shows Chief Minister Adityanath taking the law in his own hands.

However, when BJP-politician Adityanath refers to his bulldozer campaign two years after its initial use, the context is changed. It conveys in many ways the political message that *government bulldozers* are used to punish the Muslim collective as a whole and is not limited to notorious criminals. And to be able to have the bulldozers always running BJP is necessary. BJP enables such campaigns (against Muslims). From one perspective, the use of bulldozers signals firm administration. From another perspective, it signals an absence of law and order.

7.2.3 Laxmi Dubey's song

Riots in India have historically followed a pattern. The leader gives a speech leading to riots. The patterns have gradually changed. The recent mob attacks against Muslims follow a pattern where large groups of Hindutva adherents enter Muslim neighborhoods. Hate songs and speeches are played. Especially, in front of the mosques. Inevitably, the situation escalates into communal violence. The creators express that the songs are merely an assertion of being a “proud Hindu” and a form of devotion to the Hindu faith (The Associated Press, 2022). We find several such themes of pride in Hindu faith in the analysis (see 6.1.3).

2.2.4 The ten stages of genocide analysis

The genocidal process in few words can be explained as prejudice that continues to grow as genocide is never a random event (The Genocide Education Project, w. y. & The Senitel Project, w. y.). The factors we have analyzed can increase group tensions, isolate minorities, and prepare people to comply with directions for genocide from their leaders (The Senitel Project, w. y.). Stanton emphasizes that the movement to stop genocide must come from popular resistance and not from an armed international intervention.

It means that the population must resist to every form of discrimination, dehumanization, and hate speech. They must resist hate groups from forming, the rise of political parties that kindle hatred and racism, violation of human rights and crimes against victim groups (Genocide Watch, 2023).

8.CONCLUSION

In Modi’s speech we find ideas aligned with the classification and dehumanization dimensions and ideas of ethnic nationalism. In Adityanath’s speech we find ideas within the classification, dehumanization, symbolization and preparation dimensions and ideas of xenophobia and racism, and anti-democratic and authoritarian tendencies. In Dubey’s song we find ideas aligned with the classification, symbolization and dehumanization dimensions and ideas of ethnic nationalism, xenophobia and racism, and conspiracy thinking.

The paper concludes that the ideas of right-wing extremism, Hindutva, and genocide process are present in the speeches and the song to a great extent. Modi expresses these ideas in a subtle way with more implicit references about for example “them”. Modi’s ideas about Muslims are not expressed in an explicit manner in the speech (Zaman, 2020, p. 21).

Adityanath's references are substantially more explicit, clearer, and daring. He uses references like rioters, terrorists, and mafia. However, just like Modi he does not clearly call out Muslims but uses other designated terms and figures such as "80 % versus 20 % election". In Dubey's song the more controversial stanzas are followed up by chants of hails to Lord Rama and praises to the motherland to balance and sentiments of "Hindustan" for Hindus and pride in being Hindu are clear.

Through the analysis of Stanton's ten stages of genocide in India we conclude that the classification is somewhat present, the symbolization stage is largely present, the discrimination stage is present, the dehumanization stage is present, the organization for the intent of genocide is not present, polarization is mostly present, preparation stage is present to an alarming great extent, persecution is halfway present, extermination is not present (with exception of one part), and lastly denial is not present. As mentioned in the introduction, Stanton has stated that the genocide is underway in India. The detailed analysis displays in what ways the genocide process is underway in India. India can be classified under Gregory Stanton's ten stages of genocide to a great extent.

The paper has attempted to contribute to literature that defines Hindutva as a variant of right-wing extremism with our detailed analysis of texts derived from actors in the Hindutva movement where interpretation of ideas in text has been a central part. The ideas have been structured in dimensions derived from Stanton's model that showcases process towards genocide. The ideal-typical presentations in the genocide process model are aligned with the ideas of right-wing extremism and Hindutva and can be closely related to divisive ideologies. Hence, these three complement each other and are applied together in a table of ideal types. Ideas about right-wing extremism and Hindutva are derived from renowned scholars in their respective fields. This paper has attempted to not only research the ideologies and what the ideologies consists of, but how they unfold in India today with prominent Hindutva actors in power and because of mainstream appeal for this movement. For this purpose, Stanton's genocide process model has been useful.

Eviane Leidig has written about "Hindutva as a variant of right-wing extremism" (2020). Mobashra Tazamal has written about "Is a genocide of Muslims underway in India?" (2022). This thesis paper hopes to contribute to the academic research in this field by combining both.

With this, I hope to showcase the ideology *and* how the consequences of it unfolds. I also hope to show this through a global perspective of right-wing extremism and contribute with an analysis that goes in-depth.

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10. APPENDIXES

Narendra Modi speech August 5, 2020. Source: Indian Express.

Siyawar Ramachandra ki Jai!

Hail Lord Rama!

Siyawar Ramachandra ki Jai!

Hail Lord Rama! Hail Lord Rama! Hail Lord Rama! Jai Siyaram! Jai Siyaram! Jai Siyaram!

Today this call is reverberating not only in this Ayodhya city of Lord Rama, but its resonance is being felt across the entire globe. On this monumental occasion, I extend my heartfelt greetings to all the ardent devotees of Lord Rama, my fellow countrymen and the crores of Indian nationals spread across the continents.

My greetings to the eminent dignitaries on the dais- the enthusiastic, proactive and celebrated Chief Minister of UP Shriman Yogi Adityanath, Governor of UP Srimati Anandi Ben Patel ji, Parampujya Mahant Nritya Gopaldasji Maharaj, our dear reverend Shri Mohan Rao Bhagwat ji, great and learned saints and gurus, epitomes of austerity who have come today from all corners of the country and my dear fellow Indians.

I feel highly obliged to be invited by Shri Ram Janmbhumi Trust on this auspicious and historic occasion. I am deeply indebted to the trust for this honour. Ofcourse it wasn't an

occasion to be missed as we say “राम काजु कीन्हे बिनु मोहह कहाँ बिश्राम॥ (Ram Kaju keenhe Mohi Kahan Vishram)” meaning “After all how can I rest without accomplishing the work assigned by Lord Rama”.

India is witnessing a golden historic moment with the blessings of the mighty Lord Bhaskara on the banks of the auspicious river Saryu. Across the length and breadth of India, from Kanyakumari to KsheerBhawani, from Koteswar to Kamakhya, from Jagannath to Kedarnath, from Somnath to Kashi Vishwanath, SameetShikhar to ShrawanBelagola, from Bodhgaya to Sarnath, from Amritsar to Patna Sahib, from Andaman to Ajmer, from Lakshadweep to Leh, the entire country is encompassed by and for Lord Rama!

The whole country is ecstatic, and each heart is illuminated. Entire country is emotional and overwhelmed to be a part of history and witness this long awaited historic moment.

The centuries of wait is getting over today. Crores of Indians, I am sure are unable to believe that they could be a part of such a momentous occasion in their lifetimes.

Ladies and gentlemen, dignitaries, the time has come when a proper temple can be provided to the deity of Lord Rama by moving it from the make shift tent and canopy, where it was kept for decades. A grand temple will now be built for our Lord Rama.

Today, the Ram Janmabhoomi has become free from the centuries-old chain of destruction and resurrection.

Chant with me once again ... Hail Lord Ram, Hail Lord Ram.

Friends, several generations devoted themselves completely during our freedom struggle. There was never a moment during the period of slavery that there was not a movement for freedom. There was not a place in our country where sacrifices were not made for the freedom. 15th August is the embodiment of sacrifices of the lakhs of people and a deep yearning for the independence.

Similarly, several generations have made self-less sacrifices for several centuries for the construction of the Ram Temple. Today marks the culmination of that centuries-old penance, sacrifices and resolve. There was sacrifice, dedication and resolve during the movement for the construction of the Ram Temple and that dream is being realized today because of their sacrifices and struggle. I, on behalf of the 130 crore people of the country, salute them and bow before them for their sacrifices which have led to the foundation of the Ram Temple. Today, all the powers of the Universe, everybody who was involved in the sacred struggle for the construction of the Ram Temple, are watching this programme. They are all very happy and blessing this occasion.

Friends, Lord Ram is entrenched in our hearts. Whenever we undertake any work, we look upon to Lord Rama for inspiration. Look at the phenomenal powers of Lord Rama. Buildings collapsed, every attempt was made to erase the existence ... but Lord Rama is fully embedded in our hearts. Lord Rama is the foundation of our culture; he is the dignity of India. He

personifies dignity. It is with this splendour that the “bhoomipujan” (ground-breaking) ceremony of the grand temple of Sri Ram has taken place.

Before reaching here, I paid my visit to Hanumangarhi. Hanuman Ji takes care of the work of Lord Rama.

Hanuman Ji has the responsibility to preserve the ideals of Lord Rama in this Kaliyug. The Groundbreaking ceremony of the Shri Ram JanmaBhoomi began with the blessings of Lord Hanuman.

Shree Ram Temple would be the modern symbol of our culture and I am intentionally using the word ‘modern’. It will symbolise our eternal hope. It will epitomise our national feeling. This temple will be the emblem of collective will power of millions of people. This shrine would inspire hope, devotion, and determination in the minds of future generation.

Once the shrine is constructed, not only the grandeur of Ayodhya would become multi-fold but the entire economy of this region would undergo massive transformation. There would be new avenues & new opportunities in every sector. Imagine people from across the world would visit here. Entire world would come here for the darshan of Lord Rama and Goddess Sita. How radically things will transform here!

Fellow mates, the construction of Shree Ram Temple is a task to unite the entire nation. This celebration is an occasion to unite the belief with the reality, man with Supreme God, mankind with conviction, present with past, and self with ethos.

Today’s historical moment would be recounted across the globe for ages and bring laurels our country. This day is the proof of the honesty of the millions of determined devotees of Shree Ram.

This day is a unique gift from the law-abiding India to truth, non-violence, faith & sacrifice.

Owing to the situation caused by the Corona [pandemic](#), this occasion of BhoomiPoojan is being organised with a strict decorum. The nation has displayed the decorum that should befit any work concerning Lord Rama and provided a perfect example to it.

We displayed a similar discipline when the Supreme Court pronounced the historic decision. Back then we witnessed how the entire nation accepted the decision peacefully and graciously

keeping in mind the sensitivities of everybody. Even today we are experiencing the similar peaceful conduct.

Fellow mates, with the enshrining of this temple not only a new history is being written, but also history is repeating itself.

Just as a squirrel, monkeys as well a ferryman and those living in forests played important role in the victory of Lord Ram;

*just as the animal herders had helped Sri Krishna in lifting the Govardhan hill;
just as Mavale was important in Chatrapati Shivaji's conquest of establishing Swaraj;*

just as the poor and the backward people played a crucial role in Maharaja Suheldev's fight against the foreign invaders;

just as the dalits, downtrodden, tribals and all walks of society assisted Gandhi ji in the fight for independence,

in a similar manner, the pious task of the construction of Ram Temple began today with the support of the people of India.

Just like, the Ram Setu was built with stones engraved with the name of Sri Rama, similarly, the rocks brought with penance & devotion from every household & village have become the source of energy here.

Sacred Soil and water from all the major religious sites and sacred rivers across the nation, the culture and spirit of those places has become the unique strength of this place today.

Indeed it is in line with this saying –

न भूतो न भविष्यतत।

This devotion of India and the unity of the people of India and this great strength of the Unity of India is something that the world needs to study& analyse.

Friends,

Sri Ramachandra's agility has been compared to the sun; his forgiving nature is comparable to the earth, his wisdom is considered equivalent to that of Brihaspati and he is considered equal to Indra in terms of fame.

The nature of Lord Rama epitomises unwavering truth & honesty and hence Lord Rama is considered the absolute.

That's why he has remained the source of inspiration for India for thousands of years. Lord Ram made social harmony as the keystone of his rule.

He received knowledge from Guru Vashistha, love from Kevat, the motherly love from Shabari, support & cooperation from Hanuman Ji and forest dwellers and confidence from the people.

In fact, he accepted the significance of a squirrel with a great delight. His wonderful personality, his heroism, generosity, integrity, patience, perspective, and philosophical vision will continue to inspire the several generations to come.

Rama had equal love for his people but he had a special attention towards the poor and the oppressed.

Therefore, Mother Sita used to say for Ram ji..

दीन दयाल बिररदु संभारी'।

That is, Sri Rama is the support of the poor and the oppressed.

There is no such segment in anyone's life which is untouched by Lord Rama's inspiration.

There is no corner of India which doesn't reflect Lord Rama

Rama is in the faith of India, Rama is in the ideals of India, Rama is in India's divinity, Rama resides in India's philosophy!

Thousands of years ago, the Rama who was an inspiration to the ancient India as depicted in Valmiki's Ramayana, the Rama who was inspiring India through Tulsi, Kabir and Nanak in the Medieval era, the same Rama was present in the Bapu's bhajans during the fight for freedom in the form of non-violence and satyagraha.

Tulsi's Rama was with form (sagun) while Nanak & Kabir's Rama was formless (nirgun).

Lord Buddha was also connected to Lord Ram. At the same time, this city of Ayodhya has also been the center of Jain religion for centuries. This is the ubiquity of Ram, it reflects the unity in diversity that is of India!

In Tamil, we have Kamb Ramayana while in Telugu we have Raghunath and Ranganath Ramayana.

We have Ruipad-Katerpadi Ramayan in Odiya, while there is Kumudendu Ramayana in Kannada. In Kashmir, you will find Ramavatar Charit while Ramacharitam in Malayalam.

In Bangla, we have Krittibas Ramayana while Guru Gobind Singh has himself written Gobind Ramayana.

You will find Rama in different forms, in the different Ramayanas, but Ram is present everywhere, Rama is for all. That is why, Rama is the connecting link in India's 'unity in diversity'.

Friends, many countries of the world are saluting Lord Rama, their citizens believe themselves to be affiliated to Lord Rama.

Indonesia is the country that has the maximum number of muslims in the world. They are having various unique versions of Ramayana i.e. 'Kakawin Ramayana', 'Swarnadeep Ramayana', 'Yogeshwar Ramayana' just like our country. Lord Rama is venerated & adored there even today.

There are 'Ramker Ramayana' in Cambodia, 'Fra Lak Fra Lam Ramayana' in Lao, 'Hikayat Seri Ram' in Malaysia and 'Ramaken' in Thailand.

You will find description of Lord Rama and Rama Katha even in Iran and China.

In Sri Lanka, the katha of Ramayana is taught & sung in the name of 'Janaki Harana' i.e. Abduction of Janaki. Nepal is directly connected to Lord Rama through Mata Janaki.

There are many more countries and parts of the world, where Lord Rama venerated owing to their faith or past!

Even today, there are many countries outside India, where Rama Katha (Saga of Lord Rama) is popular in their traditions.

I am sure that the people of these countries will also be feeling pleased on the occasion of the beginning of construction of temple of Lord Rama.

After all, Lord Rama belongs to all and lives in all.

Friends, I am sure this grand temple being constructed in Ayodhya will be an indicator of rich heritage of Indian culture as good as Lord Rama.

I am sure that Ram Mandir being constructed here will continue to inspire the entire humankind till many years to come. Therefore, we need to ensure that the message of Lord Rama, Ram Temple and our tradition of thousands of years reaches to the entire world till years to come.

It is the responsibility of present generation and future generations to make world familiar with our knowledge, our way of life.

Keeping this in mind, 'Rama Circuit' is being created in the country, following the holy trail of Rama.

Ayodhya is the town of Lord Rama himself. Lord Rama himself has described the glory of Ayodhya

“जन्मभूमम मम पूरी सुहाितन।।” i.e “My birthplace Ayodhya is the city of supernatural beauty.”

I am happy that many historic works are undertaken to enhance glory and divinity of the birthplace of Lord Rama.

Friends, it has been mentioned in the scriptures, the holy books that “न राम सदृश्यो राजा, प्रततभ्याम नीततिन अभूत्।” that is there was no ruler who was as virtuous as Lord Rama in the

entire world.

Lord Rama teaches – “no one should be sad, no one should remain poor”.

Lord Rama gives social message that all the people, both men & women should be equally happy.

Lord Rama gives message “Farmers, Cowherds should always remain happy”.

Lord Rama orders “the old, the children and the doctors should always be protected.” Lord Rama calls for protecting the one who seeks refuge is the responsibility of all.

The slogan of Lord Rama is “our motherland is superior than heaven also”

And Brothers and Sisters, Lord Rama’s principle is भयबिनु होइ नप्रीतत i.e “there is no love in absence of fear”.

Therefore, India would be peaceful and happy as long as it continues to grow stronger. The same policy and practice of Lord Rama has been guiding India for many years.

The father of nation Mahatma Gandhi envisioned Rama Rajya with reference to these formulae and principles. The life and conduct of Lord Rama inspired the Gandhiji’s vision of ‘Rama Rajya’.

Friends, Lord Rama has himself said-

देश काल असि अनुहारी। िले िचन बितनत बिचारी

That is “Rama speaks, thinks and acts according to time, place and circumstances”.

Lord Rama teaches us how to grow and move with time.

Lord Rama is the advocate of change and modernity.

India is moving ahead today profoundly with these inspirations, these ideals of Lord Rama.

Friends, Lord Rama has taught us how to fulfil our duties.

He also taught us how to face challenges and how to seek and attain knowledge. The Ram Mandir should be built with bricks of love, respect & brotherhood.

We need to keep in mind that the humanity could progress whenever it kept its faith in Lord Rama, and that it moved towards destruction, whenever it swept away from Lord Rama.

We need to respect the sentiments of all. We need to be together, progress together & trust one another.

We need to develop a confident and self-reliant India with the help of our efforts and resolution.

Friends, Lord Rama states in Tamil Ramayana, “we need not delay, we need to move ahead”. Lord Rama has the same message for today’s India and all of us.

I am sure we will move ahead, our country will move ahead. This temple of Lord Rama will continue to inspire and guide humankind/ humanity for years to come.

The self-restraint way of Lord Rama is much more needed today in the situation of Corona Pandemic. We need to maintain the safe distance of two yards and always wear a mask.

I pray to Lord Rama that to keeps my country healthy and happy.

May Mother Sita and Lord Rama continue to shower their blessings on all. With this, I once again congratulate the countrymen on this occasion. Hail! Siyapati Lord Ramachandra ki Jay !!!

Yogi Adityanath speech excerpts. Source: The Wire.

Kairana 8th November 2021.

The people who did not want the Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, who are against Article 370 ending in Kashmir, when are these people happy? When there are riots in Muzaffarnagar. When there is an exodus in Kairana, and when the Taliban is established in Afghanistan, that’s when their slogans ring out. But we will not allow the Taliban to be established, and whoever supports the Taliban, the government will stop it with strength.

Badaun 9th November 2021.

Before 2017, because of Uttar Pradesh’s miserable law and order situation, every third day there was a riot. Any festival could not be celebrated peacefully.

Mathura 8th December 2021.

Brothers and sisters, had Babua been on the path of his Abbajaan then he'd have shot dead the people working for the construction of the Ram Mandir because he would have had no time for respecting your faith, women and farmers but only for freeing terrorists from court cases.

Sonbhadra 22nd December 2021.

If any festivals would come, then before the festivals riots would begin. Huge riots would happen. Even in Sonbhadra there were riots. The Janmashtami procession was not allowed to go. In Navratri, they did not allow Durga pooja. Ram Leela events would be stopped. The Kanvar yatra was not allowed to leave. Every type of effort was made to disrupt festivals. But brothers and sisters, now the rioters have been taken to where they were meant to go.

Amroha 29th December 2021.

Are you happy with the Ram Mandir at Ayodhya? Everyone? And now in Kashi, Bhagwan Vishwanath Dham has been made beautifully. You've seen it, no? And then how will Mathura Vrindavan be left behind? Work has been going forward with pomp there. In Braj, we have constituted the Braj Teerth Vikas Parishad (Braj Pilgrimage Development Committee) and given a renewed push to the development work there.

29th January 2022.

If you think that government bulldozers should be always running against the mafia and professional criminals, then the BJP is necessary.

30th January 2022.

The heat, which is being displayed in Kairana and Muzaffarnagar, all of this will be calmed...In May-June I will make it Shimla.

Famous statement.

Uttar Pradesh would be an 80 % versus 20 % election. The 80 % will move ahead with positive energy. The 20 % has always opposed and will continue to oppose but BJP will come to power.

Har Ghar Bhagva Chayyega Laxmi Dubey song.

Har ghar bhagva chayega

Ram raj jab ayega

X2

Kar do ja ke yeh aelan

Bhagva rang meri pehchan

X2

Hum hindu jagana aye hain

Hum hindu jaga kar jayenge

Marte dum tak apne mukh se

Jai shri ram gayen ge

Chamak rahi talwaren sabki

Chamak raha dil shol hai

Hindu ko kamzor na samjho

Yeh dushman ki bhool hai

ab mein rab aur rab mein raam

Mil kar bolo jai shri raam

Mil kar bolo jai shri raam

Jai shri raam

Jai shri raam

Lal karti

Lal karti

Lal karti

Azadi hai

kyun nahi bhagva hui kashmir ki har wadi hai?

kehdo padosi mulk se ke baaz ajaye chaal se

sher hind ke veer hai takraye na mahtaal se

chapa chapa karden ge shri raam ke adikar mein

hindu sheron ko roq sake wo dam na raha gadddar mein

Hindustan mein rehna hai to vande mahtram kehna seekho

Vande mahtaram kehna seekho

Aur auqaat mein rehna sekho

Vande mataram

Jai shri ram

Jai shri raam

Jai shri raam

X4

Maang rahe hain

Vachan raam se

Humko bharat maat mile

Har janam mein hindustan mile

Har janam mein hindu naam mile