Modituva: A Corollary of Hindutva Ideology and its Anti-Pakistan Obsession

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Abstract

The arrival of Narendra Modi in Indian politics as the 14th Prime Minister in the elections of 2014 and the defeat of the Congress Party placed Indian politics under the ideologically fanatical Hindutva mindset. Under Narendra Modi, the emergence of ultra-religious thoughts in Indian domestic politics has augmented the anti-Pakistan policies of New Delhi with several modern trends parallel to overtly intensifying the anti-Muslim sentiments of Indian society. Unfortunately, the Modi government supports and promotes its version of Hindutva ideology in Indian society, which could be dubbed as 'Modituva.' In this context, the paper's central theme attempts to investigate how the Modi administration has introduced a politically vicious transformation of Hindutva ideology into an explicit anti-Pakistan narrative at national and international levels. Therefore, this paper seeks to explore the nature of 'Modituva' and its promotion of anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan narratives in the South Asian regional and extra-regional affairs. Based on this scenario, the paper's primary objective is to provide a logical understanding of the Modi's version of Hindutva and its contemporary political manifestations. The paper's central argument is an academic endeavour to unfold the prevailing Modituva ideology on Indian domestic politics and the increasing insecurities of Muslim community in India.

Keywords: Hindutva, Narendra Modi, BJP, India-Pakistan Relations, Anti-Muslim Narrative, Anti-Pakistan Sentiments.

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Introduction

The arrival of Narendra Modi in Indian politics as the 14th Prime Minister altered the conventional foundations of Indian domestic politics, which enabled him to promote a different version of Hindutva ideology aligned with the core principles of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). A closed interconnectedness between the Modi Government and Hindutva ideology became a prevailing trend in Indian domestic politics, and it hampered the conventional socio-political and socio-religious orientations of the Indian society. Promoting Hindutva culture, its norms, and practice in the government led by the BJP is primarily designed to cultivate broader public support on religious lines without estimating its worst impacts on the constitutional notions of secularism and pluralism in India.[1] It further placed Indian domestic politics under global criticism by initiating a new debate on Modi's political approach based on religious grounds. Inculcation of anti-Muslim rather anti-minorities mind set in an otherwise secular Hindu society is now becoming a concern and a topic for global intellectual and academic circles. Modi's driven societal and religious polarisation endangered the status of Indian Muslim population, which have ideologically solid associations with the Muslim population of Kashmir and Pakistan. Similarly, the Sikh community living inside and outside India has not been spared from Modi's anti-minorities policies. The proponents of Modi's ideology called this approach a New Delhi's 'appropriate way' of advancing Hindu religion and its inseparable association with the nation's cultural heritage. It has been considered an essential factor in supporting the notions of national unity, pride, and superiority of the Hindu majority in India. So, it is widely believed in contemporary India under the current regime of BJP that the transformation of India as a Hindu-only nation is in favour of broader Indian strategic and economic interests due to Modi's efforts to align socio-religious trends with the core national security interests of the country. This scenario has created a politics of Hindutva in India while making it a robust and influential force nurturing the core values of Hindu Nationalism in the country.[2]

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[1] Anchal Vohra, "Modi Tried, and Failed, to Homogenise Hindus," *Foreign Policy* (blog), June 28, 2024, https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/06/12/modi-bjp-hindus-india-election/

[2] "The Politics of Hindutva in India," IISS, https://www.iiss.org/en/publications/strategic-comments/2020/hindutva-politics-india/.

To promote the core nationalist agenda of Modi's politics in the country, New Delhi based legislative authorities have synchronised religious thoughts of Hinduism with the traditional societal structure of the country. It can be measured through the vision of Modi and its symbolic attachment to the Hindutva-driven ideological frontiers of India.[3] It has resulted in the promotion of Hindutva principles across the country, such as support for religiously prominent festivals, infrastructural improvements of temples, and the design of various cow-protection policies, as mentioned by Yamini Narayanan in her study *Mother Cow Mother India: A Multispecies Politics of Dairy in India*.[4] A plethora of literature has emerged from different parts of the world, acknowledging the fact that the fanatical religious values of Indian society have been revolutionised under Modi's leadership. It has become a powerful force influencing the country's position in regional and extra-regional affairs while integrating the core ideological principles of Hindutva with the conventional foreign policy framework of New Delhi. Hindu cultural nationalism started supporting Indian diplomatic forces in the world while promoting various anti-Sikh and anti-Muslim narratives. The anti-Sikh narrative is struggling to stigmatise the international Sikh diaspora, whereas the anti-Muslim sentiments of the Modi administration have caused greater damage to regional peace through intensifying decades-long India-Pakistan hostility.[5]

Therefore, it has become an irrefutable truth that the Modi's ultra-nationalist religious thoughts have become a vibrant trend in Indian domestic politics, which could not be divorced from mainstream New Delhi's foreign relations. It has fractured the scope of peace and stability in South Asia by adopting a strict anti-Pakistan stance different from previous regimes. It has initiated a countrywide campaign attacking the ideological orientations of Pakistani society and its Islamic state politics, parallel to criticising the support of Pakistan to Muslim populations surviving under

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[3] '"The Rise of Hindu Nationalism and Its Regional and Global Ramifications," Association for Asian Studies, https://www.asianstudies.org/publications/eaa/archives/the-rise-of-hindu-nationalism-and-its-regional-and-global-ramifications/

[4] Yamini Narayanan, *Mother Cow Mother India: A Multispecies Politics of Dairy in India* (Stanford University Press, 2023),181.

[5] Areeja Syed, "Narendra Modi's Hindutva Policy: A Detailed Examination of Its Implications on Indo-Pak Diplomatic and Strategic Relations," *BTTN Journal* 2, no. 1 (2023): 1, https://doi.org/10.61732/bj.v2i1.14.

the anti-Muslim practices of Modi government.[6] In this way, this paper seeks to evaluate Modi's corollary of Hindutva ideology, which is internationally labelled as Modituva.[7] This paper's descriptive and analytical arguments seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of Modituva ideology, its political manifestations cemented in a wider anti-Pakistani narrative, and its impacts on Pakistan-India long-term ideological inflexibilities.

Nature of Modituva

The conceptual explanation of 'Modituva' describes an inseparable connection between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his political positioning based on the fundamentalist Hindutva ideology. Due to Modi's distinguishing Hindutva ideology, Indian domestic politics is altered through a discrete combination of policies concerning societal modifications, economic reforms, and political developments under obsessive religious thoughts. The genesis of such changes in Indian domestic politics can be traced in the 2014 elections, when Modi became the 14th Prime Minister of India and introduced multi-level reforms in mainstream social, political, and economic state structures. The launching of Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (a countrywide cleaning campaign) in 2014,[8] the celebration of first Yoga Day in 2014,[9] and Rashtriya Sanskirti Mahostav (Hindu cultural promotion) in 2015,[10] announcement of Maha Kumbh Mela (an international event of Hindu pilgrims) in 2019,[11] initiating a project for constructing building of Grand Ramayan Circuit

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[6] Rohan Mukherjee, "A Hindu Nationalist Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, April 4, 2024, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/india/hindu-nationalist-foreign-policy.

[7] Shashi Tharoor, *Why I Am a Hindu* (Hurst, 2018).

[8] "Swachh Bharat Abhiyan | Prime Minister of India," https://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/major_initiatives/swachh-bharat-abhiyan/.

[9] "International Day of Yoga," https://www.indiainnewyork.gov.in/yogaday/about.html.

[10] "'Rashtriya Sanskriti Mahotsav, a Cultural Extravaganza to Showcase India's Rich and Diverse Cultural Heritage to Be Held Inthe First Week of November in New Delhi," https://www.pib.gov.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=130052&reg=3&lang=2.

[11] "Prime Minister Narendra Modi Felicitates the Safai Karmacharis Working in Kumbh," https://www.pib.gov.in/www.pib.gov.in/Pressreleaseshare.aspx?PRID=1566179.

(supporting Hindu tourism) in 2019,[12] and celebration of the Partition Horrors Remembrance Day (recalling the suffering and sacrifices of Partition) in 2023[13] were the factors realigning the Indian nation with core religious values of Hinduism.[14] A glimpse of Modi's ideological initiatives depicts that BJP's tenure is consistent with advancing religion-driven cultural values in the country's formal policy frameworks and different governance programs.

Hindu-first politics was the central theme of the BJP's 2024 election campaigns, which created various anti-Muslim slogans across the country. This pattern of state-society relationship constructed by fundamental religious thoughts can be measured by collecting several statements of the Modi government and its mainstream leadership. These statements initially sensitised the intra-ideological issues of Indian society and then motivated its support to the core nationalist agenda of the Indian Prime Minister Modi. The landmark developments of Modi's anti-Muslim narrative affected the positions of Muslim populations living in India and its occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir. The revocation of Articles 370[15] and 35 A[16] in 2019 was a significant development in the history of Indian anti-Muslim laws, which were introduced and implemented by the Modi government in its occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir.[17] This legislative change affected the status of the Muslim-majority population of Jammu and Kashmir region, parallel to violating their fundamental political and social rights. The sufferings of the Kashmiri Muslim population were multiplied when the Modi government imposed months-long communication blockade of specific areas where the local population raised their voices against Indian

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[12] "Fifteen Destinations Have Been Identified by the Government for Development of Tourism under the Ramayana Circuit," https://www.pib.gov.in/www.pib.gov.in/Pressreleaseshare.aspx?PRID=1576706.

[13] "Event Detail | Events & Activities | Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav, Ministry of Culture, Government of India," https://amritkaal.nic.in/event-detail?262713.

[14] *Modi's Reformation | East Asia Forum*, 28 January 2015, https://eastasiaforum.org/2015/01/29/modis-reformation/.

[15] Jon Lunn, *Kashmir: The Effects of Revoking Article 370*, 8 August 2019, https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/kashmir-the-effects-of-revoking-article-370/.

[16] *Article 35A | International Journal of Law Management & Humanities*, n.d., accessed 5 January 2026, https://ijlmh.com/article-35a/.

[17] "Ministry Of Information and Broadcasting (Moib), Pakistan," https://moib.gov.pk/Pages/1209/KashmirSiegeDay

constitutional changes.[18] Moreover, the decision of the Modi government to construct the Ayodhya Ram Mandir in the place of the Grand Babri Mosque was another significant step, jeopardising the status of the Muslim population living in India and its occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir.[19] Moreover, the international propagation of different anti-Muslim narratives by the Modi government formulated a clandestine network of various disinformation operations targeting Pakistan and its ideological support to the Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir.

The literature maintained by a few authors attempted to evaluate the prevailing ultra-nationalist and ultra-religious ideology of Modi critically and labelled it as Modituva because Modi's way of managing socio-religious divisions of the country in support of the majority Hindu population unmasked the violent faces of Hindutva ideology. Modi's style of refreshing the conventional patterns of Hindu nationalism and aligning it with modern Indian society without estimating its destabilising effects on the constitutional secular foundations of the Indian state system unfolded the violent approaches of Hinduism in politics. In other words, there is no harm in saying that the Hindutva has transformed into Modituva under Modi's robust populist regime and its multiplying public admiration at the indigenous level.[20] The existing descriptions of Modituva refers to the influential role of Modi's ideology in upgrading decades-old Hindutva ideology and its conventional practices, which are questionable in the modern age.[21] A renowned Indian political and intellectual figure, Shashi Tharoor, is of the view that the inception of the Modituva doctrine in the Indian political system is an open assault on the country's democratic values while having an impatient influence on the mainstream structures of the

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[18] Leoni Connah, "Double Lockdown in Kashmir during the Covid-19 Pandemic," *Peace Review* 33, no. 1 (2021): 33-38, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2021.1956128.

[19] Organization of Islamic Cooperation, "OIC General Secretariat Denounces Opening of "Ram Temple" on Demolished Historic Babri Mosque," *OIC General Secretariat Denounces Opening of "Ram Temple" on Demolished Historic Babri Mosque*, January 23, 2024, https://www.oic-oci.org/topic/ampg.asp?t_id=40258&t_ref=26873&lan=en.

[20] Awais Ali, "Moditva Wins at the Expense of an Identity Crisis," Strafasia | Strategy, Analysis, News and Insight of Emerging Asia, https://strafasia.com/moditva-wins-at-the-expense-of-an-identity-crisis/.

[21] Ian Hall, *Modi and the Reinvention of Indian Foreign Policy* (Bristol University Press, 2019), 75.

Indian state. [22] Tharoor's academic contributions logically prove the overwhelming impact of Modituva doctrine on Indian domestic politics and its reorganisation of the fundamental ideological orientations of Hinduism.

Anti-Muslim Narrative

The promotion of anti-Muslim narrative has become an explicit political agenda of Modi government, which has resulted in the misinterpretation of specific cultural, religious, and societal values of the Muslim community living in India. It is aligned with the fundamental practices of narrative formulation based on the selective framing of specific incidents and ideological values Muslim population for certain propaganda purposes. The promotion of such narratives uses leading media outlets and state-controlled information sharing mechanism relying on the manipulated facts and erroneous information laced with several convincing arguments. [23] The fundamental objectives of such narrative campaigns are to shape public opinion against a particular community through influencing their social behaviours. Witnessing from the history of propaganda narratives and their widespread use for several strategic objectives, the contemporary developments of such narrative formulation can be seen in present Indian politics under BJP's rule.[24]

Modituva ideology is primarily an attempt of the BJP to covertly make India ─ a purely Hindu nation where Muslim minorities are compelled to follow anti-Muslim legislative measures of the state. This scenario provided massive support to the traditional anti-Muslim sentiment of Indian society and made it a prevailing social trend in the country. The adaptation and advancement of the anti-Muslim narrative of the Modi government are fundamentally inherited in the broader anti-Pakistani agenda of the BJP, which comprises different ideological pressures, legislative measures, and socio-political rhetoric for undermining the status of the Muslim community in India. In this way, the emphasis of the BJP's Modi government on Indian politics introduced various policies for the creation

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[22] "Dr. Shashi Tharoor's Official Website," https://shashitharoor.in/writings_my_essays_details/465.
[23] DS Wilbur, " Employing Junk News to Drive a Propaganda Narrative," *Journal of Information Warfare* 21, no. 4 (2022): 28.
[24] IISS, "The Politics of Hindutva in India."

of India, predominantly ─ a Hindu state where Hindu identities are marked as the privileged segments of the society parallel to supressing the Muslim population.

These reforms were envisioned to inflict a sense of societal unity and national pride in the Indian nation to consolidate the patronage of the Hindu majority population. It was a deliberate move of the BJP to increase the political mobilisation of the society based on the belief that multi-layered religious applications helped Indian leaders cultivate widespread public support. The result of such ideological modifications of the society on cultural and religious grounds unexpectedly gave rise to the BJP's vote bank. It enabled Modi to secure his third term as the Indian Prime Minister in June 2024.[25] During the 2024 general elections, BJP's campaign for securing its consecutive third term as a ruling party was mainly based on its broader agenda of promoting the nation's anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistani sentiments. The Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA),[26] National Register of Citizens (NRC),[27] and Triple Talaq Bill[28] were significant legislative measures of New Delhi to please the Hindu population of the country while exploiting their socio-religious views. Additionally, the Love Jihad Laws,[29] Anti-Convention Laws,[30] Uniform Civil Code (UCC)[31] and various anti-Cow slaughter laws cemented in cow-protection programs of the

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[25] "Hindutva vs Moditva: Who Won and Who Lost?," *Times of India*, n.d., https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/hindutva-vs-moditva-who-won-and-who-lost/articleshow/111089091.cms

[26] "Indian Citizenship Online," https://indiancitizenshiponline.nic.in/.

[27] *India: Citizenship Bill Discriminates Against Muslims | Human Rights Watch*, 11 December 2019, https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/12/11/india-citizenship-bill-discriminates-against-muslims.

[28] "The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Act, 2019," https://pib.gov.in/FactsheetDetails.aspx?Id=148565.

[29] Nidah Kaiser, "'New' Muslim Women and the Myth of "Love Jihad": From Victims to Security Threats," *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, no. 32 (October 2024), https://doi.org/10.4000/136kd.

[30] "India's New Anti-Conversion Laws - Department of Social Anthropology," https://www.sv.uio.no/sai/english/research/projects/csad/blog/india%E2%80%99s-new-anti-conversion-laws.html.

[31] "Complete Guide to Filing a Public Interest Litigation (PIL): All about It," https://www.lloydlawcollege.edu.in/blog/uniform-civil-code-act.html.

governments have created beef-politics or cow-politics in India against its Muslim population.[32]

The above-mentioned legislative changes against Muslim communities proved that the Modi administration was active in empowering the anti-Muslim public sentiments in his government, which the leading politicians of the BJP have formally acknowledged. During the 2024 election campaign, Yogi Adityanath, an active BJP politician and Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh (UP), several times recorded formally his anti-Muslim and purely Hindu ideological stance at various national forums. He is in favour of converting the Taj Mahal into a greater Hindu spiritual place, the Ram Mahal, while highlighting the occupational history of this place under various Hindu regimes.[33] Adityanath is a radical Hindutva leader who has become a symbol of misogynism against Muslims through his support of various anti-Muslim Indian chronicles. He is internationally recognised as a controversial Hindu priest who envisioned creating India as a Muslim-free state where other minorities have no place.[34]

Akin to Adityanath, Amit Shah is another prominent BJP leader who served as the president of the party and the Home Minister in Modi administration. He communicated his anti-Muslim agenda to the public through various inflammatory speeches. His hawkish position on the Hindu-Muslim narrative in the country led him to cultivate widespread public support for Modi's third term as Prime Minister. The election campaign speeches of Shah recalled the history of Modi's ideological legislative measures without calculating their impacts on Muslims and other minorities like Sikhs. In his speech to a public rally in Telangana, he used bigotry language about the Holy Book of Islam and bashed the core

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[32] hksspr, "Cow Vigilantes and the Rise of Hindu Nationalism," *HKS Student Policy Review*, May 4, 2019, https://studentreview.hks.harvard.edu/cow-vigilantes-and-the-rise-of-hindu-nationalism/.

[33] "Yogi Adityanath: A Rising Threat for Muslims | Pakistan Today," https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2022/04/27/yogi-adityanath-a-rising-threat-for-muslims/

[34] Michael Safi, "Controversial Hindu Priest Chosen as Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister," World News, *Guardian*, March 19, 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/mar/19/uttar-pradesh-yogi-adityanath-hindu-priest-chief-minister

principle of Muslim thoughts.[35] Similar harsh views have been expressed by a prominent religious leader of the BJP, Sakshi Maharaj, who is renowned for his critical and strict positions on cow slaughter laws, Muslim marriage laws, and religious conversion laws. His antipathy towards fundamental Muslim beliefs has made him a controversial figure at the national and international levels, parallel to his prominent position in the BJP.[36] The positions of these leaders provide a brief overview of Indian radical leadership under the Modi government and their strict positions against Muslim populations and their core Islamic values.

The prominent places of these leaders in the government and their influential roles in the party politics cannot be separated from the analogous positions of Pragya Thakur, Giriraj Singh, Anantkumar Hedge, Vinay Katiyar, and Kapil Mishra on critical Hindu-Muslim interactions. The formal positions of these leaders on the intra-religious problems of India broadly supported Modi's version of Hindutva to marginalise the role of leading Muslim communities. Thus, the leading circles of international intellectual communities marked BJP's anti-Muslim political rhetoric as the reflection of New Delhi's newly adopted Islamophobia-centric approach at the national level.[37]

Anti-Pakistan Posture of the Modi Government

An analytical overview of the BJP's politics shows that its leadership generally relies on the use of anti-Pakistani or anti-Muslim narratives as political strategy in Indian domestic politics. It portrays the political mobilisation of Muslim population as an existential threat for Hindu

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[35] "'If BJP Wins, We Will Scrap Muslim Reservation and Give It to SC, ST, and OBC,Says Amit Shah in Telangana'," *Times of India*, May 9, 2024, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/if-bjp-wins-we-will-scrap-muslim-reservation-and-give-it-to-sc-st-and-obc-says-amit-shah-in-telangana/articleshow/109979007.cms.

[36] "FIR against BJP MP Sakshi Maharaj for Birthday Event in Rishikesh," *Hindustan Times*, January 13, 2022, https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/dehradun-news/fir-against-bjp-mp-sakshi-maharaj-for-birthday-event-in-rishikesh-101642074300009.html

[37] Prashant Waikar, "Reading Islamophobia in Hindutva: An Analysis of Narendra Modi's Political Discourse," *Islamophobia Studies Journal* 4, no. 2 (2018): 161-80, https://doi.org/10.13169/islastudj.4.2.0161.

population under the shadows of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS)'s political ideology. Moreover, it treats Muslims as the intruders or anti-nationalist endangering the traditional Hindu demographical features of Indian society which needs a consolidated response from Hindu leadership.[38] The promotion of such societal practices inherited in a multifaceted anti-Muslim agenda has led the BJP's leadership to empower its standing in indigenous politics parallel to creating an ideological hegemony within the country. In this way, the multi-layered anti-Muslim campaign of the Modi government intermingled with the historical anti-Pakistan thinking of New Delhi. It has resulted in different anti-Muslim state policies and public drives marking Muslims living inside and outside the Indian territory as others. The mainstream political leadership of BJP has started empowering the rule of the Hindu majority in India, while adopting a bigotry approach to deal with the Muslim minority and their ideological connections with the Muslim populations of Kashmir and Pakistan.[39]

The genesis of Modi's anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan narrative can be traced to the history of communal violence in India when Narendra Modi was the Chief Minister of Gujarat. His involvement in the Gujarat riots showed the hawkish thinking of the then Chief Minister, and under his government, the state machinery was used in anti-Muslim riots.[40] During his politics in Gujarat, Modi tried to prove himself as one of the strongest ideological leaders of the country and a defender of the core Indian national security interests. This approach explicitly treated Pakistan as a potential external threat to India's regionally dominating aspirations. Continuing his anti-Pakistani narrative, Narendra Modi preferred to use Indian antipathy toward Pakistan as a prime supporting element of BJP's election campaign. The political narratives during election campaigns shaped several critical slogans against Muslim communities and overtly linked these slogans with Pakistan. The use of Pakistan as a potential threat to India's strategic regional ambitions tried to further communicate to local Hindu voters that the BJP was a supreme defender of Indian national

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[38] Lindsay Maizland, "India's Muslims: An Increasingly Marginalized Population | Council on Foreign Relations," https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/india-muslims-marginalized-population-bjp-modi.

[39] Ismat Ara, "A Modi Win Will Only Mean More Trouble for Indian Muslims," *TIME*, May 31, 2024, https://time.com/6984269/modi-election-indian-muslims-essay/

[40] Asghar Ali Engineer, "Gujarat Riots in the Light of the History of Communal Violence," *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 50 (2002): 5047-54, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4412966.

interests. The BJP leadership followed Modi's position on Hindu-Muslim issues corresponding to marking Indian Muslims as the supporter and promoter of Pakistan's national interests in India.[41] The prevalence of this ultra-religious posture of the BJP raised suspicions about the loyalties of Indian Muslims. It jeopardised the status of Muslim communities in the social, economic and political landscapes of the country.

Modi's version of Hindu nationalism is rooted primarily in India's anti-Pakistani sentiments, which aims to achieve certain strategic objectives such as opposition to the ideological foundation of Pakistan and Islamabad's Jammu and Kashmir policy. Moreover, the rising voices of Pakistan on the sufferings of Muslims living as a minority inside India and Islamabad's vocal stance on the massive human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir are the driving forces behind Modi's determination to promote nationwide anti-Muslim and anti-Pakistan sentiments. In addition to marginalising the role of the Muslim population in India and the quest for regulating their ideological inclinations towards Pakistan, Prime Minster Modi has upgraded the traditional vision of Hindutva and aligned it with the new realities of the digital world where New Delhi has launched various digital operations stigmatising the national image of Pakistan at the regional and international levels. The validation of this argument can be obtained from several research reports, various research papers, and different academic books published by different authors in which they rationalised India's increasing reliance on the modern warfare tactics of the information age.

The growing number of Indian disinformation campaigns worldwide has been verified by a report by the EU Disinfo Lab *Indian Chronicles* published in 2019.[42] The report revealed that the Indian government under Modi has established a worldwide network of India-centric fake news campaigns to serve New Delhi's strategic interests. Thus, the worldwide spread of multileveled disinformation operations have become one of the prime tactics of Modi's government for propagating the national image of Pakistan. The clandestine activities of these India-sponsored disinformation

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[41] Christophe Jaffrelot, "Gujarat: The Meaning of Modi's Victory," *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no. 15 (2008): 12-17, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40277329.

[42] "Indian Chronicles: Deep Dive into a 15-Year Operation Targeting the EU and UN to Serve Indian Interests," *EU DisinfoLab*, n.d., https://www.disinfo.eu/publications/indian-chronicles-deep-dive-into-a-15-year-operation-targeting-the-eu-and-un-to-serve-indian-interests/

operations are designed to support New Delhi's anti-Pakistani narrative in the world. Moreover, the use of social media in the BJP's government has created a link between national politics and foreign policy to shape a specific direction of public opinion for more significant support of BJP. In short, the control of social media for the promotion of the pro-Hindutva narrative has become a vibrant trend of the Modi government, where Pakistani domestic politics and the ideological foundations of Pakistan are the prime targets of Modituva politics. The BJP has created a private IT and media cell to serve the core party interests through various disinformation reports laced with manipulated facts and erroneous arguments. [43] These trends have shown that the classical trends of Hindutva ideology have been upgraded in the digital world, and New Delhi has started relying on the power of newly emerged social media platforms.

Impact on India-Pakistan Relations

Modi's corollary of Hindutva has greater implications for India-Pakistan decades-long hostile relations because the ideological upgradation in the traditional conceptual framework of Hindutva reshaped New Delhi's strategic posture against Pakistan. Modi's altered version of Hinduism and its political descriptions have caused greater damage to South Asian regional security environment, where nuclear-capable Pakistan has a counterbalancing potential against New Delhi's regional hegemonic aspirations. In this way, the India-Pakistan relationship witnessed an era of tensions and border confrontation under the nuclear shadows in South Asia. The main disagreements between New Delhi and Islamabad in the Modi regime are on the transnational functioning of non-state entities, maintaining robust border security, and adopting a decisive position on the unsettled Jammu and Kashmir dispute. [44] An analytical overview of BJP's last two terms in the government suggests that the Modi government frequently used the anti-Pakistan narrative by portraying Pakistan as a prime security threat for India in South Asia's regional and extra-regional affairs.

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[43] "AI Deepfakes, Bad Laws – and a Big Fat Indian Election | Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism," https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/news/ai-deepfakes-bad-laws-and-big-fat-indian-election.

[44] Sudha Ramachandran, "Hindutva Violence in India: Trends and Implications," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 12, no. 4 (2020): 15-20, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26918077

While undermining the deterring role of nuclear weapons in the region, the Modi government tried to rupture the fundamental conception of deterrence by conducting so-called surgical strikes in 2016 after Pathankot attack,[45] Balakot 2019 air strikes,[46] and the most recent 87 hours Indo-Pak conflict.[47] The pro-Hindutva state leaders defined these operations as essential to securing India's long-term security goals against Pakistan. It resulted from BJP's national security strategy, supported by its political and ideological principles. The later statements of Indian politicians such as Rahul Gandhi publicly unmasked Modi's election campaign of increasing the vote bank in 2019 mainly designed the Pulwama attack.[48] In his remarks on Modi's narrative on terrorism and its association with Jammu and Kashmir, Rahul Gandhi has raised various critical points on the BJP's inappropriate way of managing issues of Kashmir and India-Pakistan relations.[49]

Despite receiving national and international criticisms, the anti-Pakistan narrative of the Modi government gained momentous support from various ideological and political groupings of Hindu leaders. Apart from RSS, Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), Bajrang Dal, Shiv Sena, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), and Hindu Sena, are the prominent supporters of Hindutva's objective of spreading anti-Pakistan narrative through several religious rationalisations. The international propagation of Pakistan's national image has designated specific tasks to certain political parties. BJP is mainly involved in creating general anti-Pakistan rhetoric, Ranvir Sena has developed affiliations with anti-Pakistani groups, Bhagat Singh Kranti Sena (BSKS) deals with diverse anti-Pakistani activities,

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[45] Sylvia Mishra and Sitara Noor, "Hot Takes: Uri in Context," *South Asian Voices*, September 30, 2016, https://southasianvoices.org/hot-takes-uri-in-context/.

[46] Muhammad Husnain et al., "Analysis of Pakistani and Indian Media towards Warfare: Case Study of Pulwama Attack & Balakot Airstrike," *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 8 (2021): 7316-25.

[47] "Issra.Pk/Insight/2025/Strategic-Implications-of-4-Day-Military-Escalation-of-May-2025/Insight.Html," https://issra.pk/insight/2025/strategic-implications-of-4-day-military-escalation-of-may-2025/insight.html.

[48] "On Pulwama Attack Anniversary Rahul Gandhi Asking Who Benefitted from Pulwama Is Shocking!," *Times of India*, n.d., https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/readersblog/myviewsmyindia/on-pulwama-attack-anniversary-rahul-gandhi-asking-who-benefitted-from-pulwama-is-shocking-10218/

[49] PTI, "Congress Questions PM Modi's "silence" on Terror Attacks in Jammu and Kashmir," *New Indian Express*, June 12, 2024, https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2024/Jun/12/congress-questions-pm-modis-silence-on-terror-attacks-in-jammu-and-kashmir

Hindu Sena Rashtriya Sangh (HSRS) exclusively targets Pakistan's policies, and Shiv Sena and Abhinav Bharat work on local agenda of exploiting anti-Pakistani public sentiments.[50]

The support of these right-wing political parties to Modi's political orientations of Hindutva has given rise to anti-Pakistan-specific Hindu nationalism in the country, which has reached the Indian diaspora working around the world.[51] All these political parties have created their global connection with the overseas Hindu communities to formulate a consolidated stance on Modi's Hindu nationalism and its link with Indian national security. The prominent groups of overseas Indians who support and promote Modi's Pakistan-specific antipathy are Overseas Friends of BJP (OFBJP), Hindu Swayamsevak Sangh (HSS), Vishwa Hindu Parishad of America (VHPA), and Friends of India Society International (FISI).[52]

These groups have strong affiliations with the Indian political parties, which facilitate them arranging public rallies and celebration of national day events while supporting and promoting the Indian position on Kashmir and its opposition to nuclear Pakistan.[53] In this way, it is appropriate to maintain that the Indian diaspora plays a vital role in globally propagating BJPS's anti-Pakistani narrative under the leadership of Modi and its modified version of Hindutva. It aims to influence public opinion internationally by attacking the diplomatic forces of Pakistan. In the Western world, active overseas community members are lobbying for Indian national interests with local political authorities. The political lobbying of the Indian diaspora has been verified by an American senator, Larry Pressler, in his book, *Neighbours in Arms: An American Senators'*

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[50] Jawad Falak, "Militant Hindutva and Pakistan," *Centre for Strategic and Contemporary Research*, September 17, 2016, https://cscr.pk/explore/themes/defense-security/militant-hindutva-pakistan/.
[51] *Hindu Nationalism - ECPS*, n.d., https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/hindu-nationalism/
[52] "The Hindutva Threat Outside India | Hudson," June 5, 2024, https://www.hudson.org/religious-freedom/hindutva-threat-outside-india
[53] Pratick Mallick, "Diaspora Hinduism and Hindutva: A Historiography of Modern Indian Politics," in *Beyond the Death of God*, ed. Simone Raudino and Patricia Sohn, Religion in 21st Century International Politics (University of Michigan Press, 2022), https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3998/mpub.11866503.19

Quest for Disarmament in a Nuclear Subcontinent.[54] Akin to Pressler, many authors and political authorities of different states have overtly confirmed the involvement of Indian overseas communities in political manipulation and political lobbying in favour of Indian national interest.

Human Rights Violations in Kashmir

The disputed land of Jammu and Kashmir and its controversial status is not spared from Modi's ultra-nationalist approach and its implementation in the occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir to curtail the voices of independence and freedom from Indian aggression. The Indian aggression in Kashmir dramatically increased human rights violations and made Kashmiri Muslim society ─ a miserable picture of humanity by brutally eliminating their struggle for freedom. The use of pellet guns to disperse crowds or to control public protests is generally called a non-lethal action. However, its severe injuries consisting of partial and complete blindness and various other permanent disabilities cannot be overruled.[55]

In response to the growing struggle of the local Muslim population of Jammu and Kashmir against Indian illegal occupation, the Indian Occupied Forces deployed in Jammu and Kashmir started using pellet guns. They made women and children the prime victims of pellet bullets.[56] Several international organisations started opposing Modi's decision to use pellet guns on unarmed humans struggling for their sovereign rights. Human Rights Watch initially raised its voice for stopping Indian government and prohibiting Indian forces from taking such vicious actions against local people.[57] Amnesty International also reported the growing physical and

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[54] Larry Pressler, *Neighbours in Arms: An American Senator's Quest for Disarmament in a Nuclear Subcontinent* (Penguin Random House India Private Limited, 2017).

[55] Medha, *The Revocation of Kashmir's Autonomy: High-Risk Hindutva Politics at Play* (German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA), 2019), https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24808.

[56] Ananya Sharma, "Spectacular Violence: Pellet Guns and the Sovereign Right to Maim in Kashmir," *E-International Relations*, February 11, 2022, https://www.e-ir.info/2022/02/11/spectacular-violence-pellet-guns-and-the-sovereign-right-to-maim-in-kashmir/

[57] *India: Stop Using Pellet-Firing Shotguns in Kashmir | Human Rights Watch*, 4 September 2020, https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/09/04/india-stop-using-pellet-firing-shotguns-kashmir.

mental health problems of local Kashmiri people as the result of pellet bullets. This act of Indian occupied forces caused psychological trauma in the public without sparing university and school students.[58] On analogous grounds, the human rights concerns of the United Nations (UN) also raised their concerns about the high rates of human rights abuses in the Indian-occupied areas of Jammu and Kashmir, where people are facing crimes of kidnapping, sexual violence, forced disappearances, and illegal detentions.[59] The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) published a comprehensive report detailing the major human rights violations of Jammu Kashmir in 2019[60] while declaring the Modi government responsible for Kashmiri sufferings, which New Delhi formally denied with several unconvincing and inadequate logic. Another report prepared by Human Rights Watch provides a glimpse of the growing death toll in 2024 which is due to extreme torture and extrajudicial killings of Muslim population in Jammu and Kashmir. It mentioned the "121 deaths in police custody, 1558 death in judicial custody, and 93 extrajudicial killings in the first nine months of 2024."[61]

Furthermore, the months-long communication lockdown added the worst chapter in the history of Kashmiri independence struggle, which continued even during the Corona lockdown under severe health emergency conditions. Following the revocation of Article 370 and the passing of Kashmir-centric constitutional amendments in India, the Modi government imposed a communication lockdown to prevent rising social unrest against New Delhi's newly adopted legislative move. The imposition of a total communication blackout resulted in the suspension of digital services and internet facilities, and the termination of mobile networks and landline services.[62]

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[58] "Losing Sight in Kashmir: The Impact of Pellet-Firing Shotguns | Amnesty International USA," https://www.amnestyusa.org/reports/losing-sight-in-kashmir-the-impact-of-pellet-firing-shotguns/.

[59] "First-Ever UN Human Rights Report on Kashmir Calls for International Inquiry into Multiple Violations," ', OHCHR, https://www.ohchr.org/en/2018/06/first-ever-un-human-rights-report-kashmir-calls-international-inquiry-multiple-violations.

[60] "Update of the Situation of Human Rights in Indian-Administered Kashmir and Pakistan-Administered Kashmir from May 2018 to April 2019," OHCHR, https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/country-reports/update-situation-human-rights-indian-administered-kashmir-and-pakistan.

[61] Human Rights Watch, "India: Events of 2024', in *World Report 2025* (2025), https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2025/country-chapters/india.

[62] Nighat Shafi Pandit, "Impact of Lockdown in Kashmir," WRN, September 25, 2020, https://www.womensregionalnetwork.org/single-post/impact-of-lockdown-in-kashmir.

These actions of the BJP government were rooted in Modi's vision of *Naya Kashmir* (New Kashmir), which is aimed at serving the greater geostrategic interests of New Delhi against Islamabad.[63] The changed status of Kashmir led the Modi government to align the disputed land of Jammu and Kashmir as an essential part of India and its socio-cultural fabric, integrating the Kashmiri population with the rest of Indian society. The grand 75th-anniversary independence celebration under *Azadi ka Amrit Mahostav* (Elixir of energy of independence)[64] emphasised the Kashmiri occupational areas of India, where society, politics, and economy were considered the main concentrations of New Delhi.[65] Such changes in Jammu and Kashmir attempted to change the status of this disputed territory under the *Akhand Bharat* (undivided India) ideology and its nationwide practices under the BJP's rule.[66] The proponents of BJP's ideology and the radical Indian Hindu leadership believe that the dream of *Hindu Rashtra, Akhand Bharat*, will be a reality in which the annexation of Jammu and Kashmir will be a milestone development for BJP and Modi.[67]

Conclusion

This research is an academic endeavour to study the nature of Modi's Modituva and its multileveled application in domestic and regional politics under a newly formed version of the BJP's Hindu nationalism, which gave rise to Modi in the three consecutive elections, i.e., 2014, 2019 and 2024 elections.[68] This is descriptive research concerning Modi's version of

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[63] Fahad Shah / Srinagar Kashmir, "What It's Like Inside Kashmir During the Shutdown," *TIME*, August 7, 2019, https://time.com/5646005/inside-kashmir-communication-shutdown/.

[64] "Home," https://amritkaal.nic.in/.

[65] "PM Participates in Program Marking Culmination of Meri Maati Mera Desh Campaign's Amrit Kalash Yatra," https://pib.gov.in/pib.gov.in/Pressreleaseshare.aspx?PRID=1973478.

[66] Admin, "Mapping India's Project Akhand Bharat," *Pakistan politico*, July 24, 2023, https://pakistanpolitico.com/akhandbharat/.

[67] Atif Shafique, "The Case for Constructivism In Analysing the India-Pakistan Conflict," *E-International Relations*, September 7, 2011, https://www.e-ir.info/2011/09/07/the-case-for-constructivism-in-analysing-the-india-pakistan-conflict/

[68] Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, *India Votes 2024: A Resurgent Hindu Nationalism Sets the Stage for the Upcoming Elections, Driving Communal*

Hinduism and its association with New Delhi's aspiration to make India a Hindu-only nation by dismantling the status of other minorities, like Sikhs and Muslims. Under the religious justifications of Hindutva ideology, the Indian government persistently passed legislative reforms under the leadership of Modi to marginalise the status of leading minority populations, where Muslims are the prime targets of Modi's Modituva. The increasing role of Hindutva's ultra-nationalist and ultra-religious agenda in Indian domestic politics has resulted in various Pakistan-specific critical developments originating from New Delhi's anti-Muslim narratives. The anti-Muslim narrative of the Modi government based on an altered description of Hindu nationalism intertwined the Hindutva ideology with the main framework of Indian foreign relations, which started targeting Pakistan and its position in the regional and international environments.

The scenario mentioned above suggests that Modi's promotion of Hindu nationalism under the political orientations of Hinduism introduced a new debate in the contemporary politics of the nuclearised Subcontinent in which the transformation of the anti-Muslim narrative into anti-Pakistan sentiments destabilised the regional security environment of South Asia. It has underestimated the scope of peace, stability and development in South Asia due to increasing complications in the Delhi-Islamabad strategic matrix. The promotion of religion in foreign relations inflicts a sense of insecurity in Pakistan's strategic calculations, where Islamabad is determined to keep its counterbalancing potential to the Indian anti-Pakistan narrative. Additionally, the government of Pakistan is trying to empower its diplomatic forces to counter an increasing appreciation of the Indian-South Asian policy of the Modi regime. Therefore, Modi's Modituva has become a prime force in augmenting New Delhi's strategic competition with Islamabad under the nuclear shadows, persistently fracturing the crisis-stability vision in the nuclearised Subcontinent.

Violence (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, 2024), https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep59571