

 2023 Khan & Muhammad. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons-Attribution-Noncommercial-Share Alike License 4.0 International (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly attributed, not used for commercial purposes, and, if transformed, the resulting work is redistributed under the same or similar license to this one.

Received:
January 30,
2023

Revised:
February 09,
2023 &
February 27,
2023

Published:
June 10, 2023

Journal of Politics and International Studies
Vol. 9, No. 1, January–June 2023, pp.189–200

Democracy and Far Right Populism: Shrinking Space for Minorities in India under Modi

Rafia Mushtaq Khan

Ph.D Scholar, Peace and Conflict Studies, National Defense University,
Islamabad-Pakistan

Email: rafiamushtaqkhan@gmail.com

Niaz Muhammad

Ph.D Scholar, Peace and Conflict Studies, National Defense University,
Islamabad-Pakistan

Correspondence: niazwazir94@gmail.com

Abstract

Since the interwar period, populist trends began emerging in the world posing challenges to democracy. However, a strong polarization amid scholars over whether populism is a threat or a byproduct of democracy became a point of inquiry. With Modi assuming power in India, far right populism started making inroads in India's secular democratic culture causing tremors in the country. BJP leadership has been intended at radically changing India's Constitution by incorporating its dictatorial and anti-minority Hindutva ideology at its core. Indian policies and minority specific laws reflect a far-right ideological approach of Modi government that is capable of articulating genocidal attacks, religious intolerance and fascist majoritarianism which poses serious threats to Indian democracy. The paper aims to examine influence of Modi's far-right populism on India's democratic system and patterns through which Indian minorities have been experiencing structural violence in the form of suppression and human rights violation.

Key Words: Populism, Minorities, Hindutva, Democracy, Democratic Values, Pluralism,

Introduction

For the past 15 years, democracy has remained in peril, with continuous expansion of populist trends and parallel antidemocratic systems. Authoritarian expansion has been taking place not only in long-established authoritarian nations but also in democratic states around the world. Several nations had chosen populist leaders who advocated principles undermining liberal democratic standards. Most recently, democratically elected populist rulers have toppled world's leading democratic states (Bolsover, 2019).

In recent times, the world has witnessed an inevitable ascent of populism. Populism has been viewed as the greatest menace to the survival of liberal democracy. In ideological terms, populism may serve as a threat to democracy or as a false conviction for the state (Bhatt, 2004). It advocates arbitrary strategies to address

society's structural issues, which ends up undermining the state and the rule of law. The rise of populism is widely perceived as a threat to liberal democracy and a menace to global order. The potential threats of populism and radical majoritarianism challenges the writ of the state and its democratic values. Populists have long advocated the notion of democracy through anti-pluralist practices that are contrary to defending human rights and upholding values of a state. The recent rise of populist groups demonstrates that populist regimes not only challenge liberal rhetoric but also pose a substantial threat to the state's democratic norms. Concerns have been raised by academics, politicians and international lawyers concerning the advancement of populism and authoritarian regime (Hummle, 2022). In the era of populism, concept of democratic rule of law may be eroded along with the degradation of the rule of law and human rights (Alston, 2017).

Since its independence, India has claimed to be the world's largest democracy. However, there is a huge discrepancy between India's claims of democracy and democracy index assessments published by international institutes. Based on the Economist Intelligence Unit, India has fallen to 53rd position in the international rating of Democracy Index 2020. With rising pressure on India's democratic principles, the country's score dropped from 7.92 in 2014 to 6.61 in 2020, and its global ranking dropped from 27th (in 2014) to 53rd (in 2020) as a result of "oppressive systems" under Modi administration (The Hindu, February 3, 2021). The Democracy Index 2020 defines 23 nations as absolute democracies, 52 as defective democracies, 35 as hybrid regimes and 57 as authoritarian governments. India is categorized as a "flawed democracy" under the calamitous umbrella of yearlong protest by farmers against new farmer laws as well as India's failure to contain and cease religious minority' persecution within the state.

Although, India claims to be the world's largest democracy, dictatorial inclinations are observed in the country under the leadership of Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Modi's Hindu nationalist administration has changed its citizenship laws to favor Hindus over Muslims and has committed himself to establish a nation of Hindus only. Numerous international bodies have labelled India as an anti-democratic state. There exists an increasing body of literature that analyses Modi's popularity in India, his ideology of religious nationalism rooted in grounds of fragmentation and polarization thus weakening India's democratic principles (Ibrahim, 2020).

To further comprehend this complicated relationship, this study provides a comprehensive examination of far-right populism and democracy, explaining how the latter is negatively impacted by populist movements. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the origin and causes of Modi's populism, its ramifications on democracy and how the rise of a populist leader like Modi has influenced the nation's democratic principles.

Research Question

This research aims to answer the following two main questions

- 1) How does the concept of Hindutva undermine the secular democratic nature of Indian political system under Modi?
- 2) How do the constitutional and legal changes in state structure affect the political status and identity of minorities?

Research Methodology

For this qualitative research, we adopted thematic analysis as research methodology to reach at certain findings. For this purpose, we selected Human Rights Watch Reports, Reuters, Al Jazeera, Express Tribune and the Hindu as our basic sources for data collection. We utilized these news outlets for collection of primary data and secondary data was collected from literature review. We meticulously recorded all facts and figures for a period of one year starting from June 1, 2022 to June 1, 2023. During the study, we used various computer software for data analysis. Besides this, we also created manual flow charts, codes and timelines to thoroughly extract the relevant data from newspapers and reports. We kept updating our record on daily basis so that nothing relevant goes unnoticed. Moreover, throughout the one-year period of our study we constantly used to cross check our data and findings. In addition, we often matched our computer statistics with our manual flow charts, codes and timelines to ensure accuracy and precision. While concluding our research, we also performed data and methodology triangulation to avoid human and software errors.

The actual aim of this research is to unearth the underlying causes of the discrimination against minorities in India under Modi. In addition, we try to explain the structural and policy changes effecting the secular democratic nature of Indian state and society. In this article, we argue that India is rapidly losing pluralistic values and norms and moving towards increasing state of intolerance threatening the peaceful co-existence of religious, ethnic, linguistic and geographical minorities. Similarly, we also argue that the most dangerous trend is the official patronage extended by Modi regime to the supremacist and extremist Hindu organizations and groups. The discrimination against minorities is clearly reflected in sates policies and priorities. So, we compelling argument can be made that minorities in India are experiencing identity crisis under Modi regime as saffronization and hinduization has adopted a national color suppressing other identities.

Conceptualizing Far Right Populism

The advent of populist governments around the world has sparked academic debates regarding populism and democracy. Populism is gaining traction in constitutionally democratic countries such as *Turkiye*, Hungary, Russia, India, and Pakistan. Populist politicians in the aforementioned countries gained power by exploiting various strains of populism. Populist regimes tend to exhibit authoritarian traits by adopting a particular angle of enmity in a state such as its adversaries, opposing political parties, corruption, religion, race, and class etc. Through the prism of democracy, populism is considered as an illiberal phenomenon fueled by unlawful ideology that eventually challenges a state's democratic principles (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2017). At the core, authoritative approach of populist leaders is embedded in the nature of populism that poses serious threats to democracy (Meyer and Wagner, 2020).

According to Kurt Weyland, populism is a compendium of political ideologies which perceives political contestation as a battle between the virtuous people and the corrupt elites (Hawkins et al, 2019). Similarly, Cas Mudde also defines populism as an ideology that addresses a populist leader's political objective (Mudde, 2019). In the case of India, the designation of far-right populism alludes to Modi's anti-

minority ideology, which runs parallel to his political spectrum of governance (ibid). To augment the Indian far-right populism, the BJP has undertaken a number of policy measures to strengthen Modi's Hindutva ideology which advocates the idea that India's sacred motherland is exclusively for Hindus. Since Modi's first foray into political arena of India, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and its sister groups have pursued a nationalist agenda, undermining India's huge minority population in the cause of preserving a pure Hindu ethnic fabric (Masood and Nisar, 2020).

Far Right Populism Making Inroads under Modi Regime

Narendra Modi has adopted policies that have damaged the India's democratic values ever since he assumed power in 2019. His authoritarian regime has exploited the legal system to silence dissent, abuse the investigation procedure to prosecute frivolous accusations against political adversaries and created detention facilities expressly for persons who could not establish their citizenship with disproportionately bad consequences for Muslims. On multiple fronts, India's democracy is gradually collapsing. Modi's administration, with a definite electoral popularity, has approved laws that casted suspicions about its devotion to democratic norms of the state. The resolution to abolish the special status of Indian-administrated Kashmir in August 2019 and Citizenship Amendment Act approved in December 2019 did not follow constitutional and democratic procedure rather withered the living vacuum for minorities. Modi and the BJP have utilized the draconian Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, first established in 1967, to suppress legal opposition. It has provisions that permit the authorities to declare any individual a terrorist without providing proof. According to certain lawmakers, the Central Bureau of Investigation and the Directorate of Enforcement, two of India's main investigative bodies, are reportedly involved in resolving political grudges (Al-Jazeera, 22 September 2022).

Christophe Jaffrelot's most recent book, "*Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy*", is framed against alarming backdrop of Modi's anti-democratic approach (Schaffer, 2022). He contended that if prevailing patterns continue, India would devolve into an ethnic democracy - a majoritarian state that underestimates the rights of religious minorities, notably Muslims. Jaffrelot in his book exemplifies the prime minister's unrelenting quest of demolishing what little remains of India's democratic and secular values and relying on a narrative of populism to secure support from the public. Therefore, describing India as a state on the verge of being a failed democracy is fundamentally accurate. Since Modi's arrival into power, he has relentlessly pursued populist agenda. With Modi's twice triumph in elections, India has transitioned from being a secular state to a Hindu expansionist authoritarian state with marginal constitutional protection of Muslims, Christians, Sikhs etc.

India's Threatened Minorities

Majoritarian democracy is described as the root cause of recurrence of serious offenses against variety and humanity. The notion that majoritarian democracies are directly related to populist regimes is another way of describing majoritarian democracies. Such democracies portray a populist image of government that is an inherent threat to minorities. India has seen a multitude of alarming events since the Hindu-nationalist BJP won 2014 election and appointed its leader Narendra Modi as prime minister, notably the potential ramifications of Modi's populist

majoritarianism on religious tolerance and the safeguarding rights of religious minorities. The ruling party has gradually propagated illiberal ideologies including vigilante groups targeting minorities during BJP-led government. BJP has also been involved in making attempts to control and censor the media while aiming to destabilize a number of scholarly and cultural bodies (Ganguly, 2019).

After being re-elected, Modi spearheaded the internal execution of the Hindu nationalist agenda in India, undermining the fundamental values and beliefs of the country. Hindutva, the political philosophy, endorsed by Modi and the right-wing Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), aims to turn India into a nation dominated by Hindus. Recent BJP policy agendas have marginalized religious minorities from Indian citizenship and identity, which has spurred an upsurge in anti-religion sentiments in India's public discourse. Since Modi sought to unite Hindus against minorities in India, his far-right populism has been used as a tool of social retaliation by higher castes against minorities and other backward classes.

Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains as well as other religious minorities for whom India is not only a fatherland but a Holy land have historically been distinguished from others like Muslims and Christians whose Holy land is located outside India. In light of this, its ideological agenda is to ethically and politically marginalize the latter as being foreign to India while assimilating the former under the larger dome of Hinduism (Mitchell, 2023). These approaches of assimilation are often situated within the context of fundamental Hindu beliefs as an Indian Cabinet Minister said in May 2014 that "all Indians are Hindu, and there is nothing wrong with the name Hindu being applied equally to all people (ibid)".

Muslims

Although Modi's charismatic leadership and his development plan have been credited with the BJP's success, the party's ideological commitment to the promotion of Hindutva (the supremacy of Hindu values) undermines efforts to accommodate religious minorities. A violent 'Cow Protection' movement has been started that targets Muslims and lower caste Hindus in particular, to convert disadvantaged and marginalized Muslims to Hindu, anti-conversion legislation has been used to restrict religious freedom, and there have been notable incidents of violence against religious minorities, particularly in states where elections are impending.

According to a study by Human Rights Watch, the Indian government has implemented laws and practices that rigorously discriminate against Muslims and disparage those who oppose it. Prejudices ingrained in the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the country's leading Hindu nationalist party, have permeated autonomous institutions like the police and judiciary, allowing nationalist organizations to openly threaten, harass, and assault religious minorities (Human Rights Watch, 19 February 2021). Meenakshi Ganguly, Director South Asia at Human Rights Watch specified that the BJP's support of the Hindu majority at the cost of minorities has permeated through governmental institutions, compromising the principle of equal protection under the law without discrimination. Not only has the government failed to defend Muslims and other minorities against violence, but it also supports racism via political patronage.

A Hindu is viewed as a '*son of the land*' sacred and devoted to the mother India in the Hindu populist-nationalist paradigm. Hindu nationalists demand that all religious minorities must be completely assimilated. This prevents minorities from retaining their distinctive religious identities by denying any special constitutional protections. The increasing criminal judicial system in several states reflects the BJP's bigoted and racist ideology of protecting its followers while persecuting members of minority religious groups. In December 2019, the government's newly imposed citizenship rules provoked weeks of widespread demonstrations (Reuters, 12 December 2019). Police in numerous instances remained silent while BJP-affiliated militants attacked demonstrators. Police used disproportionate and needless fatal force in at least three BJP-run states, killing at least 30 protesters and wounding dozens more. BJP officials spearheaded slogans of "*shoot the traitors*," while others referred to the demonstrators as anti-national and pro-Pakistan in nature (ibid).

After the Indian government withdrew Jammu and Kashmir's constitutional autonomous status in August 2019, it enforced severe restrictions and unjustly arrested thousands of individuals, including elected officials, political leaders, activists, journalists and attorneys (Human Rights Watch, 2019). Many of these persons were arrested without informing their relatives of their location and others were even moved to jails outside the state. The government imposed a state-wide blanket internet outage in August 2019. In January 2020, it only permitted access to a small number of websites over broadband and 2G internet at a slow speed. The government removed limitations on websites in March, but only for 2G mobile internet services, which prevents users from using services like video calls, emails, or visiting websites containing images or videos. After being banned for 18 months, the government ultimately resumed 4G mobile internet services in February 2021. The government proceeds to crack down on journalists and human rights advocates, accusing them of political terrorism under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and intimidating them with counterterrorism operations.

Sikhs

Since PM Modi came into power, the already oppressed Sikh minority is suffering a major increase in all types of state oppression. Recent incidents of governmental violence against Sikhs highlight a long pattern of discrimination that draws on deeply ingrained biases against the Sikh population in Indian legal and constitutional framework. The Sikh community, which makes up less than 2% of India's population, has been treated brutally for many years.

Punjab remained under Indian rule following independence in August 1947. Sikhs from all around the world voted in an unofficial referendum in November 2020 to secede from India and reestablish Punjab as a sovereign nation. The referendum was conducted by the human rights organization "Sikhs for Justice" (SFJ). The Referendum 2020 campaign of 'Sikhs for Justice' (SFJ) is seen as a viable political movement that operates according to democratic principles and is firmly embedded in the international law of the right to self-determination of all peoples.

Despite Referendum 2020's peaceful and democratic nature, Indian government seems keen to put a stop to the movement by violence, filing baseless allegations that the campaign is 'terrorism' its followers are 'terrorists' and detaining and torturing Sikh activists who supported Referendum 2020. Additionally, to link

proponents of Referendum 2020 to terrorist cases, the Indian government are "fabricating evidence" and "exaggerating claims." There are some examples of such cases. Amid violent conflicts between the police and protesting farmers, the authorities filed fictitious criminal charges against Sikh journalists, suspended several sites and forced Twitter to deactivate around 1,200 accounts, including those journalists and news organizations. Some of these accounts were eventually restored by Twitter. A climate activist was detained on February 14 after the police claimed she had edited a paper detailing the demonstrations and was engaging in criminal conspiracy (Gunya, 2023).

Several riots have taken place, most of which are a result of continuing demonstrations in India against the country's agriculture regulations. The responsibility is placed on Sikhs and they are accused of having a "*Khalistani*" (the concept of a separate state for Sikhs) agenda by senior BJP officials, their followers on social media, and pro-government media. This accusation alludes to a Sikh separatist uprising in Punjab in the 1980s and 1990s. In a speech to the legislature on February 8, 2021, Prime Minister Narendra Modi referred to protesters as "parasites" and termed global criticism of India's growing authoritarianism in India as a "foreign destructive ideology" (The Indian Express, 8 February 2021).

Christians

Since the previous Universal Periodic Review (UPR) was held in 2012, the situation for Religious Minorities in India has become worse. Christians have been assaulted and even murdered in India on numerous occasions. Christians have been the targets of widespread attacks in the States of Gujarat, Orissa, and Karnataka in recent years. Involvement of state government can be traced in all these major attacks. Along with mayhem and death, the right-wing groups are involved in rapes, looting, arson, and burnings (Biswas, 2023).

Christians were brutally assaulted and faced physical violence in the cities of Jaunpur, Bulandshahr, Ghaziabad, and Hapur shortly after the release of the election results in May 2014. On December 25, 2014, a Shuddhikaran ceremony (literally purification) was scheduled by the RSS's Dharma Jagran Vibhag with the intention of "reconverting" thousands of Christians to Hinduism (Alishan, 2023). Church leaders raised their distress over such activities. Regarding matters involving minorities, religious freedom, or freedom of expression, the prime minister has mostly remained silent. During his election campaigns, PM Modi adamantly denied the attacks on the minority Christian population in India when he appeared on a TV program (Zaman, 2021). This was challenged by the Christian leadership in the country.

Christians in India's tribal regions, particularly in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Orissa and South Gujarat frequently report cases of preachers being targeted, churches being attacked, destroyed, or burned, and parishioners being threatened by extremist Hindu forces that have colonized these regions (Zishan et al, 2022) While there has been an increase in such violent incidents in Uttar Pradesh and the southern State of Tamil Nadu, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh have a history of anti-Christian practices and violent non-state organizations that target the group (ibid). Similar patterns have been observed from Madhya Pradesh's Jhabua and Dhar areas as well as from Arunachal Pradesh in

North East India, where Christian community has been denied Tribal certifications on the basis that they had changed their faith (ibid). Additionally, there are accusations of massive tribal propaganda intended to undermine the 150-year-old Christian influence present in the region.

The religious minority most impacted by state laws against "forced" conversion is Christianity. These laws employ vague definitions of forced conversion and give state agents the authority of arrest. Missionaries who are thought to have violated these rules may be subject to fines of various amounts according on the state where the conversion took place, as well as other penalties like prison terms of up to 4 years. The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF) emphasizes that 'very few' people have been arrested and prosecuted for violating these rules, nonetheless. As a result of suspected "forced" conversions, there have also been occasional instances of authorities failing to look into or pursue individuals responsible for atrocities against Christians. In India, Christians, especially those suspected of forcibly converting or trying to convert someone to Christianity, may experience local state discrimination, including police hostility and harassment as well as the prospect of being arrested and detained.

Threatening Indian Democracy

The term "populism" is now used to describe a wide spectrum of phenomena that include radical ideologies, sentiments, and political views on the right and left. When populism rejects democratic pluralism, and asserts that its leader and party are the only real, genuine manifestation of the popular will, anti-pluralists define populism as a threat to democracy (Balakumar, 2021). Illiberalism's proponents contend that populism threatens democracy when it attempts to curtail the rights of political, racial, ethnic, and other minorities, or when it simply works to limit people's freedoms of expression or their capacity to criticize the elected populist leader. Populism has some inherent risks for democracy because it is majoritarian and plebiscitary. Populism poses some challenges for democracy, and if populist reform sentiment acts disruptively, it could harm existing institutions to the point that democracy as a whole is undermined (Fleurbaey, 2016).

Populism can take on many different forms, ranging from mild to virulent, and from the left wing to the right wing. As seen in India's instance, populism and nationalism frequently go hand in hand, revealing authoritarian and discriminatory tactics towards people or viewpoints seen to be anti-national. Ethnic minorities do indeed seem to be severely marginalized, despite the democratic Constitution still being observed in some ways. While in power, Modi has implemented a number of measures that have damaged liberal democracy, including minority rights, media independence, and repression of dissent. Minority groups are portrayed as anti-national, foreign, and polluting forces plotting to undermine the integrity of the Hindu nation, and their presence in the purportedly democratic state of Hindu Maharashtra is seen as a grave insult. The BJP in India harvests the aggressive and anti-minority ideology of Hindutva as a result of deliberately coordinated violence. The BJP and its allies in the Hindu nationalist movement now have a rare opportunity to develop policies and advance the nationalist agenda of the BJP, which has seriously harmed Indian democracy, thanks to Modi's populism as a leader. Modi's authoritarian populist tactics attempt to reshape Indian democracy along

risky lines of far-right populism and religious authoritarianism (McDonnell and Cabrera, 2018).

Findings of the Study

The findings of this study are

- 1) This research shows that India is experiencing a downward trajectory on various Democracy Indices under Modi.
- 2) It has also revealed that India is rapidly losing its secular democratic political culture giving way to far-right Fascist Hindutva ideology.
- 3) The study has disclosed that Modi's regime has introduced constitutional and legal changes that has violated the core political status and identity of minorities for instance the abolition of the special status of Indian Administered Kashmir (IAK) by revoking Article 370 of the constitution.
- 4) This study has highlighted that BJP is pursuing a policy of Hinduization of India by abolishing the cultural, religious and ethnic identities of minorities by popularizing Hindu culture, symbols and values.
- 5) The findings have also unearthed the fact that although all minorities are experiencing discrimination but Muslims are deliberately portrayed as 'others' and 'non-natives'.

Conclusion

India's democratic values have been tampered with shrewd politics of religious fundamentalism, terror, threats, killings, fraudulent police raids, media intrusions, bureaucratic obstacles and fraudulent claims of successes. Concerns about the sustainability and functionality of democracy in India mostly stems from institutional degradation. India is now referred to as a country functioning under Hindu principles of its populist leader. Populism of Narendra Modi has rekindled traumas inflicted by India's religious divide. Policies of BJP administration have fueled racial animosity that has fostered deep schisms in society and instilled fear and suspicion in minority populations. India's status as a secular democratic state is in jeopardy until the government repeals oppressive laws and policies against minorities.

References

- [1] Gillian Bolsover (2019), “*Indian Democracy Under Threat: The BJP’s Online Authoritarian Populism as a Means to Advance an Ethnoreligious Nationalist Agenda in the 2019 General Election,*” *International Journal of Communication* 16, No. 249.
- [2] Chetan Bhatt (2004), “*Democracy and Hindu Nationalism,*” *Democratization* 11, No. 4, 139, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1351034042000234567>.
- [3] Kristian Humble (2022), “*Populism and the Threat to International Law,*” *Laws* 11, No.3, Vol.51, <https://doi.org/10.3390/laws11030050>.
- [4] Philip Alston (2017), “*The Populist Challenge to Human Rights,*” *Journal of Human Rights Practice* 9, No.1, Issue.9, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/hux007>.
- [5] “*India Falls to 53rd Position in EIU’s Democracy Index,*” *The Hindu*, February 3, 2021, sec. India, accessed December 23, 2022, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/india-falls-to-53rd-position-in-eiu-democracy-index/article33739128.ece>.
- [6] Azeem Ibrahim (2020), “*Modi’s Slide Toward Autocracy,*” <https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/07/13/modi-india-hindutva-hindu-nationalism-autocracy/>
- [7] Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (2017), “*Populism: A Very Short Introduction*” Oxford University, London, UK
- [8] Thomas M. Meyer and Markus Wagner (2020), “The Rise of Populism in Modern Democracies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, Oxford University Press
- [9] Kirk A. Hawkins et al (2019), “*The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory and Analysis*”, Routledge Reino Unido, Issue.8, No. 2, PP-240-256.
- [10] Cas Mudde (2021), “*Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism (The Government and Opposition/Leonard Schapiro Lecture 2019),*” *Government and Opposition* 56, No.4, PP.572-589.
- [11] Ayesha Masood and Muhammad Azfar Nisar (2020), “*Speaking out: A Postcolonial Critique of the Academic Discourse on Far-Right Populism,*” *Organization* 27, No.1, PP163-177
- [12] “*India Arrests Dozens after Nationwide Raids on Muslim Group PFI,*” <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/9/22/nationwide-raids-on-muslim-group-pfi-in-india-over-100-arrested#:~:text=India's%20top%20investigation%20agencies%20arrest,si>

[multaneous%20raids%20in%2015%20states.&text=An%20earlier%20version%20of%20this,100%20PFI%20members%20were%20arrested.](#)

- [13] Teresita C. Schaffer (2022), “*South Asia*,” *Global Politics and Strategy* 64, No. 5, PP.155, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2022.2126185>
- [14] Sumit Ganguly, “*India Under Modi: Threats to Pluralism*” *Journal of Democracy*, Issue. 30, No.1, 89, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/713724>
- [15] Travis Mitchell (2021), “*Religion in India: Tolerance and Segregation*” Pew Research Center’s Religion & Public Life Project, <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/06/29/religion-in-india-tolerance-and-segregation/>
- [16] “*India: Government Policies, Actions Target Minorities*,” Human Rights Watch Report 2019, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/19/india-government-policies-actions-target-minorities>
- [17] “What does India’s new citizenship law mean?” <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSKBN1YG1LY/> Ibid
- [18] “*India: Basic Freedoms at Risk in Kashmir*,” Human Rights Watch Report, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/06/india-basic-freedoms-risk-kashmir>.
- [19] Amy Gunya (2021), “*What the Arrest of Disha Ravi, a Climate Activist Linked to Greta Thunberg, Says About India’s Crackdown on Dissent*,” <https://time.com/5939627/disha-ravi-india-toolkit-arrest/>.
- [20] “*India Must Save Itself from ‘Foreign Destructive Ideology’: PM Modi in Rajya Sabha*,” <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-must-save-itself-from-foreign-destructive-ideology-pm-modi-in-rajya-sabha-7179445/>.
- [21] Soutik Biswas (2023), “*Hathras Case: Dalit Women Are among the Most Oppressed in the World*,” <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-54418513>.
- [22] Neel Madhav Jafri Alishan (2023), “*Why India Is Witnessing Spike in Attacks on Christians, Churches*,” <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/12/2/india-christians-church-hindu-groups-bjp-conversion>
- [23] Yusuf Zaman (203), “*Hindutva: A Looming Threat to Minorities in India*” <https://tribune.com.pk/story/2282129/hindutva-a-looming-threat-to-minorities-in-india>
- [24] Zishan Z. et al (2022). The Rise of Hindutva: Implications for Indian Muslim Minorities. *Pakistan Journal of Social Research*, 4(2), 923-933.
- [25] Sanjay Balakumar (2021). *Threats to Democracy in India*. Australian Institute of International Affairs. Retrieved from

<https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/resource/threats-to-democracy-in-india/>.

- [26] Marc Fleurbaey (2016), “*Populism as a Challenge to Democracy from Within*” Scholars Strategy Network,
<https://scholars.org/contribution/populism-challenge-democracy-within>.
- [27] Duncan McDonnell and Luis Cabrera, “*The Right-Wing Populism of India’s Bharatiya Janata Party (and Why Comparativists Should Care)*,”
Democratization 26, No. 46
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2018.1551885>.