The authentic leader in the neoliberal times-Development, identity dominance and the politics of "doing" in India

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Abstract

What is the future of right-wing politics in India? Is India as a nation laden in the cultural foundation of conservatism and purity or it is a diversity moulded through the power of right-wing into a singular cultural system? The recent crises of right-wing politics in India founded in the new politics of social change where the historical oppression of diverse groups based on social class, religion, gender and caste has been politicized with new meaning under the garb of 'doing' development, cultural revivalism and the discourses of neoliberalism. Present research attempt to understand how the social identity of an authentic leader is shaped by the global neoliberal values and in what way the preference of authentic leaders by the group is moderated by the social class mobility and change. Also, some of the systematic attacks on the freedom of universities gave rise to students' politics and movements with new vocabularies of resistance and leadership. It is need of the time to understand the leaders conscious 'doing' and conscious 'not doing', constructing the meaning of a nation in a different way or limiting it.

The authentic leader in the neoliberal times: Development, identity dominance and the politics of "doing" in India[1]

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Abstract

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"Most dangerous person in the world is the person who believes he has discovered the meaning of life" (Isaiah Berlin)

Corporatisation is not development and market control does not mean freedom of choice. The current observation of right-wing populist[3] understanding about the various sociopolitical notions directly shows the prevalence of right-wing mindset at the general level. Some of the debates about the rise of right-wing alternatively seen as de-escalation of check over the right wing mindset which was always in its ritualised format within the cultural domain. This change in the language of rising has, in reality, halted the deep-seated need for change. In other words, the language of development in the name of right and authentic leadership immobilises social mobility and the further chance of social change.

The notion that in a democracy, it does not matter who gets elected has taken democracy and election in the reified understanding. The whole position of social change has been turned into different direction moderated by the populist understanding and reduced it to something inflated form of understanding of technology, traditions, and culture. Right-wing populism is not about the culture which people share, but it is an amalgamation of hegemonised beliefs about the modernity as anti-cultural together with the power discourse and state support. It is the imposition of one power discourse on others giving no space to an alternative version of the reality. The rise of right-wing government is not that democratic system has chosen it, but it also shows the rise of identity politics based on the social mobility and social class climbing based on the populist notions about *Vikas* (development)[4].

The current times of majoritarianism combined with development and security nurtured the deep-seated support for the Varna and caste system. As Varna and caste system is not separate from the Hindu religion and in the current time, it has got its strong support from the politics of Hindutva. In one way, the leader who represents the system has got its face, which mirrors the face of impression long lived in the history of India, that is about identity purity and impurity. This dichotomy of the Indian society has overpowered many fields of thoughts

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[3] Here I critically evaluate the right wing politics and right wing authoritarianism (RWA). However, some scholars are talking about the existence of other kind like left wing authoritarianism (LWA) in US context (Conway, Houck, Gornick, & Repke, 2018) where authoritarianism exists in both the cases and directly connects to prejudice, dogmatism, and attitude strength. In India there is not specific scientific research highlighting the existence of LWA (see Finding the Loch Ness Monster: Left-Wing Authoritarianism in the United States/https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/pops.12470)

[4] See also EPW Engage highlighted few myths about caste based reservation policies, one of them is "Unmeritorious people are getting promoted. India will never become a developed country like this." Thus the politics of development are much connected through the right wing populism about merits, development and progress against the notion that reservation deaccelerates development and progress, which is a myth and illogical

and extended into the daily struggle of people from poverty, casteism and patriarchy. These events of the rise of right-wing are not new as it spread in a hegemonic way and it does not have the debatable ground too, as it was clear about what is deserving and undeserving, pure and impure, upper and lower, capable-mindful with incapable-mindless. Thus whole self aggrandization of being tolerant, as Hindu religion claim, towards the other was nothing but the right-wing propaganda to show itself as indigenous Hindu and the victim of outside forces. This categorisation of Hindu self-nurtured the hidden animosity for the diverse group and minority in the name of cultural revivalism which was suppressed in the past by the colonial force who brought the modernity and replaced the culture with new voices. This social order of caste and gender cannot be the result of the one-person army but the dominant identities who are driven by these social constructions, where even the hardest leader is the victim and who depict the face of the society or is a mirror image.

The notion that development is the marker of modernity is a historical paradox. In the times of 'rise' development[5] or *Vikas* has been limited to the rise of highways, deforestations, corporatisation, the building of smart cities for upper middle classes, mines together with the revivalist agenda of Hindutva. This whole effort of the refurbishment of culture through the methodology of violence, trolling, humiliations of the leader who represents dissenting ideas has given the name of a new modernity, which is intolerant toward the socially powerless. The modernity which revitalises the fading pride of being from dominant caste and culture having the power to control the oppressed, which is the marker of one's solid stand in the society. The diversity is needed to provide a comparative ground to asserts one's dominance again with all the tools of regulations such as beating, killing, lynching, insulting and reactionary and intolerant.

The possibility of dialogue is less or no more, as questioning to the powerful is anti-national and contrary to the prevailing ethos of society. This prevailing ethos and nationalism, transformed through the force of Hindutva ideology and the agenda of this kind of development and modernity are the representations of the middle class and upper caste culture which in the current times heavily influenced the other classes too. Their aspiration elevate through these discourse of new modernity and change, which stamped the authenticity of Hindu Varna and caste systems, patriarchy, and populists understanding of poverty and social class (see

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[5] EPW Engage: How Many People Will We Continue to Displace In the Name of Development? https://www.epw.in/engage/article/how-many-people-will-we-continue

Guduvarthy, 2018[6]). A critical impact out of many of these development politics showed how the dominant industrialist class expanded its discourse about change and new India, which channelised the charisma of leader and took the hermeneutic turn where youths in all sections, middle class, academician, workers and other ordinary people were profoundly influenced and taken over.

The whole idea of development was constructed into the varieties of meaning by the people. As people want change, the development agenda shaped the hope of people and constructed their new self, which is in rhythm with the power discourse of the right wing. The power of right-wing authoritarianism[7] injects as one's self where both symbolises as one. Thus any idea contrary or critical to the agenda of the state is seen as a replacement of one's self with something toxic and anti-cultural. So, to be a critique of power, to be dissenter and dialogic, one has to bear the brunt of being with the enemy who wishes to destroy the culture and ethos of India. Here the enemies are the nations or people from the diverse group who hold different religious practices, people from the minority background who are the victims of that dominant culture, and people who do not see the majoritarian leader as a representative of their collective self. For example, if the leader built the special economic zones (SEZ)[8] eroding the tribal from their land and memories, their protest against the power and state's attempt is brutally rejected as anti-nation and anti-development.

The focus of the present paper is to explore why, in some sociocultural context, the doing of a leader is perceived as work not done or done contrary to their interest? The choice of a leader by some group begets into the belief polarisation lest they portray the image of in-group with the same socio-cultural background. In India, the country of many beliefs connected to the religion, caste, languages, and region, we can guess that we appropriate our leaders who represent our shared culture. However, the definition of leaders also changes according to the need rather than solely through the identities, but not much scientific data are available. The crisis of leadership is felt from time to time, and we have observed the turns in our interpretations of a leader. For example, India, as claimed by the Hindu nationalist, has Hindu past, contrary to the other groups who reject this idea of Saffron tunnel building, instead

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[6] Guduvarthy, A. (2018). *India after Modi: Populism and right wing*. Delhi: Bloomsbury

[7] Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). The authoritarian personality. Oxford, England: Harpers.
Martin, J. L. (2001). The authoritarian personality, 50 years latter: What lessons are there for political psychology? Politcal Psychology, 22 (1), 1-26.
[8] Cross, J. (2014). Dream zones: Anticipating capitalism and development in India. Pluto Press.

emphasis on the multicultural ethos which makes India a nation. Sometimes not doing something makes the idea of the nation as safe connections to different identities, as compared to doing something to stop it with an iron hand and destroying the freedom of being as a citizen with varied sociocultural identities. Thus, how the leaders conscious 'doing' and conscious 'not doing', construct the meaning of a nation is a significant point of contentions.

The present article follows three trajectories to understand the future of right-wing politics in India, first, the politics of revivalism, secondly, authentic leaders in the neoliberal times and thirdly, the meaning of development, identity dominance and the politics of "doing" in India.

The rise of right-wing and politics of revivalism[9]

The current results of the 2019 election stamped the majoritarian mindset in India. The great victory of the rightwing protagonists' party Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP)[10] challenged the minority mindset that India is just not Hindu but a tolerant, diverse culture. One may question this minority view from the democratic angle that this result is the open mandate by the majority of people of India. The real number increases the authenticity of the voters' action to select the party to run the country. This action of the voter is mechanised as real psychology of the voters showing their choice for the party which can work perfectly for them. The duality between the personality of the party's leader and policy, which was implemented by the leader transforms into the charisma of the leader.

The issues of development and poverty eradication get resolved through the single personality factors in Indian politics. It is the leader who matters and represents the self of the people which depends on the imagination of being from the nation which belongs to Hindus. It seems to be the priority together with the tools of systematic exclusions of minorities and migrants. The agenda of protecting the Hindutva which has a deep-seated belief in the Varna system with the substituents of language, rituals, caste and gender take two pathways of populist's discourse, first, an anti-modern squad which denies the self as a changeable entity and talks about its pollution due to intruding foreign culture. They fix upon the cultural self which got hurt by the colonial inclusion. Any form of contact with the new or stereotyped culture seems to dilute the idea of nationality, which attach to the emotions and the cultural sentiments of people. The second pathway is more direct and regulatory in terms of in-

[9] This part is published in countercurrent.org
[10] https://www.thehindu.com/elections/lok-sabha-2019/analysis-highest-ever-national-vote-share-for-the-bjp/article27218550.ece

voluntarism of caste status and impermeability of boundary, which gave impetus to the Brahmanism. The second pathway nurtures the caste-based ideologies, which had created a stiff irreversible societal ascription on the individuals and social groups. The whole economy of survival, oppressions, regulations or dominations have given a comfortable space to the dominant groups, and any form of collective movements by the historically oppressed controlled violently. This deep-seated majoritarian self has got its legitimacy by winning the majority votes. The nation does not mean number all the time. However, the assimilation of number with the Hindutva self has created a situation of the legitimacy of the Hindu nation.

Some of the instances like killing, arrest and threat to the scholars, journalists, students and social workers who questioned the Hindutva ideology created a dichotomy of right and wrong. These people who question the power and its oppressive philosophy were considered wrong and anti-national, and those who pay their obeisance labelled as right nationalists and citizens. It is the irony of the democracy where the majority of numbers and the majority way of thinking regulates the legitimacy of ideology and exclude other voices. The consequences of this kind of right-wing nationalism resulted in killings, confinements and resentment of scholars, activists, journalists and students at the large scale snatching the freedom of expression and criticality which are essential markers of democracy. The current right-wing government vowed development as its agenda to lure the people in need of employment, housing, and basic amenities along with the sense of certainty of being belonging to a dominant Hindu religion group[11]. The ideological narrative of new India confined to the exclusion of minorities and homogeneity of one religion values. Some of the speeches of the leaders from the BJP confirms their motives aligned with the people's need.

The need theory applied to people cannot be taken for granted as need are not merely essential but it has a much powerful extension to the social need. Even the person who is striving for the basic needs may continue to opt for suffering unless he gains satisfaction from the desire of group enhancement, recognition and esteem. It is premature to generalise the nation on the basis of poor and non-poor as there is some common thread which gives identity to the people. Precisely this happened during the rise of the right-wing, which caught this common thread connecting the identities through the populist understanding of nature. For example, all Hindus were called to fight the common enemy who dislocated the idea of Hindu Rashtra. The call for revivalism, thus, added with the populist notions such as Khan Market

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[11] Muslims votes were less and almost the same in both the Lok Sabha elections

Gang, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) anti-nationals who questioned the authority and influential industrialists and state, Congress Mukta Bharat[12].

Many of the bloody history of violence on minorities in the recent past in Gujrat and other parts of India[13] resulted in the electoral win of the right wings groups. As it aptly noticed that BJP fared better in areas where there had been riots in Gujrat (see Reicher & Rath, 2017[14]). This rise of the right-wing shows how the Hindutva ideology has socialised people gradually with the hatred directed towards the people from the minority group. The positioning of the Hindutva complemented with the discourse on nationalism (Rashtrawad) and at the same time positioning the oppositions with a discourse on family business (Parivarwad) and popular understanding of individuality and elitism. It is evident in the recent speech by the member of RSS that the Hindus were the indigenous people of the Bharat territory, who had their own culture and society. He canonically appropriated the idea of Hinduism with the nativity of the people who lived in this geographical region. This claim of authentic citizenship laden from the time primordial legitimise the meaning of being Hindu, though he did not acknowledge the identity complexities in terms of varieties of languages, castes, value systems. All the complexities and diversities were taken into one order of Hindutva as 'we Hindu belong here and our cultural values will prevail".

Vishnu puraan me bada sundar varnan hai - Himalaya se lekar aur Indu sarovar tak yeh jo beech me rehne wala saara samaj yeh Hindu samaj kehlata tha… Himalaya se lekar ke neeche samudra tak jo samaaj hai yeh Hindu samaj aur rehne wala Hindu nagrik Hindu vyakti (It has been well described in Vishnu Purana that the entire society living from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean was called Hindu society. The people living between the Himalayas and the sea is Hindu society and the people are Hindu citizens and Hindu persons) (Spoken by RSS functionary Krishna Gopal; Borrowed from Indian Express, June 19, 2019)[15]

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[12] As congress seems to be more elitist, arrogant and pro-diverse which include the affirmative actions for the minorities and Dalits, caste-based politics, inclusion of Ambedkarites into the Hindu system which was later rejected by Ambedkar in Annihilation of caste and Bahiskrit Bharat.Also, Congress seems centrist but it has pro Hindutva inclinations and it was once supported by RSS rather than BJP (see Hansen 2005)

[13] Wilkinson, S. I. (2005). Religious politics and communal violence. New Delhi: Oxford University Press; Ludden, D. (1996). Contesting the nation: Religion, community and the politics of democracy in India. University of Pennsylvania press.

14 Reicher, S & Rath, R. (2017). Riots, religion and the mobilization of communal hatred in India. In G. Elcheroth & S. Reicher (Eds.), Identity, violence and power (pp. 155-181). UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

[15] https://indianexpress.com/article/india/rss-functionary-krishna-gopal-in-video-hindu-is-spiritual-more-effective-than-bharat-5787402/

One of the methodology to fuel the movement of revivalism of Hindutva is to identify the threats to the indigenous culture. Since indigeneity claimed by the Hindutva protagonist and all the efforts for development propagated in the name of cultural enhancement is all encompassed by the dominant Hindu organisations. In one way this also nurtures a paradox, a claim for being indigenous is a dominant claim which is unquestionably accepted by the majority of Hindu society. It is also seen as an assertion, threat to those who question, and hegemonic, so the claim towards nativity and being formerly belonging to the concerned space is a matter of emotionally flared existence rather than objectivity. There are other identities within the pronounced Hindu Identity, as imposed by the claimants of being culturally superiors and upper castes to retain the humiliated and powerless identities within the system of Hindutva identity, who denounce the superiority of the dominant culture.

To talk about being indigenous does not change the objectivity of the present, which marks the increasing oppressiveness, intolerance, killing and arrest of people who offer critique. This hegemonic spread of Hindutva has a long history, and any claim of its authenticity based on its unquestionable history of dominance and to cut off the voices which only squealed. This religious network with firm caste boundaries is historically laden and spread in the general everyday conscience of people. They are the markers of socialisation in which a shared sense of self-constructed through different channels and parental practices. The rise of the right-wing explored more politically, but its essence as embedded in the everyday sensemaking. Any critical conjectures were taken as granted beliefs uncomfortably received by the right-wing sympathisers, media, and institutions, and many times ends up in the violence and aggression. The idea of India as a nation built upon the constitutional platform has a short history but has a differently understood long past. The entrenched consciousness of one's cultural identity got its political meaning in the rising right-wing populism and hard work done in spreading the ideology of Hindutva or making people actively engage with their Hindu identity. This Hindu identity is unnoticed and banal in the daily practices, and one becomes aware of it when the person confronts divergent viewpoints criticising caste system, masculinity, or rituals committed. Even this Hindu identity emerges in the context of comparison and threats.

The comparison with different religion and practices and the feeling that the other religion dominantly occupies one's space, has created new politicised meaning were the fancy of compositeness and blurring of boundaries, overpowered by the sense of nativity and claims of Hindu space. It was seen just not in terms of practising religion, marriages, education and languages, the hatred was also seen towards the products of everyday use, foods and medicines.

The marketisation of the products in the name of the indigenous way of life which is politically supported had created a large market of indigenously made product marketed as pure and saviour of Indian economy which are taken away again by the foreign product market. In this lieu, the foreign products and eatables are blamed for their untrustworthiness, spoiling the economy, eroding the indigenous culture and making Bharat again the victim of the colonisation for which the Hindus fought before the independence. This particular emphasis on the Hindutva identity and creating a memory of the struggle for the Hindu Rashtra[16] has been accommodated with the Hind Swaraj without any credit to the people from other religion and castes who participated for the freedom struggle against the British rule (see for authentic analysis Khan, Svensson, Jogdand, & Liu, 2017)[17].

The struggle for freedom from the colonial rule was to establish the Hindu Rashtra and despite the variations in the Hinduism where all memories and experiences were framed and distilled under the same framework. There were struggles against the Brahmanism, untouchability and caste-based occupation by the Dalit, where the western influence to some extent proved to be emancipatory, liberating and a possibility to make the imposed and ascribed caste-based identity permeable. The struggle of the minority groups portrayed from the same monolithic Hindu identity (Shani, 2007[18]; see also Reicher & Rath, 2017[19]) moulded as Hindu struggle. However, it was B R Ambedkar who earlier initiated the annihilation of caste and creating the boundary of caste permeable but later discarded the whole Hindu religion as oppressive because of its caste system and opted for Buddhism which was emancipatory, progressive and caste-less. The tool adopted by the Hindu revivalist groups applied in various domains where people were emotionally centred, like the protection of cow, which is a symbol of holiness and purity. The movement to protect the cow from getting slaughtered is not new, but people were engaged earlier also with active mobilisations of Hindus against the Muslims who labelled as cow killer.

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[16] Savarkar, V. S (1928). Hindutva: Who is Hindu? and Golwalkar, M. S. (1939). We, or our nationhood defined.

[17] Khan, S. S., Svensson, T., Jogdand, Y. A., & Liu, J. H. (2017). Lessons from the Past for the Future: The Definition and Mobilisation of Hindu Nationhood by the Hindu Nationalist Movement of India. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 5 (2), 477-511

[18] Shani, O. (2007). Communalism, Caste and Hindu Nationalism: The Violence in Gujarat. UK: Cambridge university Press.

[19] Reicher, S & Rath, R. (2017). Riots, religion and the mobilization of communal hatred in India. In G. Elcheroth & S. Reicher (Eds.), Identity, violence and power (pp. 155-181). UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

In the current times, the number of incidents and reports showed the mass lynching of Muslims and Dalit in the name of cow vigilantism. Even the naturally dead cow whose transportation outside the locality was considered as intentionally driven for these minorities communities by the vigilante groups. Though cow vigilantism (*Gau Rakshak*) is at the peak in the current right-wing times in the name of protection of cow considered as a mother who sustains life and bring economic prosperity, the cows as a mother are only holy or as a token, only till the time, it is giving milk. When it is life-sustaining properties are exhausted, or when the cow is dead, there are no reports about the offering of respect. It is, however, discarded as dead animal carcass, and poor Dalit are called to remove its body, no one comes forward, even people from those vigilante group, to offer her respect. The politics of cow is only an empty idea and shallow movement to target the poor minorities for the political purpose and for gaining the political ends. The whole idea of purity of cow symbolises the politics of purity and impurity in the society where the upper caste gets full control over the society. So, in a way revivalism of Hindutva is not about something which has objectively vanished, since it is always there and in the current times its practice has become more intense and directed. So there is no question of something traditional and cultural which got replaced by something which is called modernity. The publicity of astrological predictions through media and other online sources, the rise of people practising rituals and travelling across India for different religious purposes, increase in the number of websites offering solutions to the daily life problems, TV channels containing different religious programs frame the discourses and identities of people. Thus, the revivalism is a political stunt on the part of right-wing where threats are made explicit and visible in the minorities, academia, dissenters and students to reprieve the Hindus false ego.

Now the question is "who is right-wing and what they do?" This question often creates a puzzle whether a person who believes in the right-wing ideology is someone whose belief is permanent or not. In many instances, people were seen changing their political stance, ideologies and political parties, which shows that this mindset, way of thought, or collective thinking changes with the time. In the Indian context itself, we can see that despite holding a similar cultural identity and religious identity, people may have differed ideologically and vice versa. The revivalist project of the Hindutva mobilisation group gets the season of operation at different times and in a different way. For example, when Mayawati government was there in Uttar Pradesh (e.g. 2007-2012), the Hindutva mobilisation was sporadic[20] and it had controlled

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[20] See also India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India

the Hindutva forces to some extent if not completely[21]. Though the rise of atrocities was high on Dalits and minorities[22] during that time, confirming the fact that the spread of the Hindutva ideology based on the violence and aggression towards the group seeking empowerment. The win of BJP in Uttar Pradesh gave unhindered confidence among the Hindutva forces to deal with the matter contrary to the idea of Hindutva, like, and the, interreligious marriage, posting comments on social media against the famous leaders of BJP etc.

The right-wing members are those who identify strongly with the Hindutva ideology as circulated by the nationalist's group from Rashtriya Swayam Sevak (RSS) Sangh and Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP). These organisations mobilise people at the local level with the strong emotions affiliated with the past of Hindus, which was destroyed or on the verge to be destroyed by the outside forces. They create a support base by engaging at the institutional and cultural level. Since people identify with their religion and caste and take active participation in various religious festivals and rituals, these organisations provide an aura of memories of previous generations who cultured the coming generations and provided them with the sense of self-respect. Anything outside this constructed Hindutva boundary is mocked, taken not seriously or dealt aggressively with violence. The unspoken assurance that they will not be convicted for any atrocities on the minorities[23] had given some of the Hindutva group a sense of cultural superiority and sense of moral righteousness. Some of the main accused in the Lynching of Akhlaq was seen in the mass meeting of current UP CM Yogi Adityanath, showing how the right-wing government has given the green signal to them to carry on with this Hindutva agenda of revivalism with any method they opt. The biggest threat to democracy is the complacency of Hindutva as morally upright, which gave them immense power to feel beyond the constitution. Although the Hindutva organisations such as RSS and VHP as NGO, operate from behind, creating the army of revivalists and moral police spread in almost all the major institutions, there are reports that they are heavily funded and promoted[24] by the external agencies. The problem with the systematic approach to elevate the authenticity of these organizations is its unquestionable bearing by the people, where one is systematic, political and

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[21] https://roundtableindia.co.in/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7632:dalit-revolution-and-hindutva-counter-revolution-in-indian-politics&catid=119:feature&Itemid=132
[22] https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/bhim-army-can-transcend-bsp-unveil-a-new-emancipation-of-dalits/
[23] Teltumbde, A. (2010). The Persistence of Caste: The Khairlanji Murders and India's Hidden Apartheid. Navayana. https://countercurrents.org/2017/06/peddling-identity-trash-under-the-shadow-of-fascism

[24] https://scroll.in/article/667071/an-unnoticed-fact-the-rss-indias-biggest-ngo-gets-foreign-funding-too?fbclid=IwAR17zilNb35XD-mvLBjvXiHLXOCApU-JNleQsCeXwCE_LjH2kmbQsFEpkcM
http://stopfundinghate.org/sacw/appendixh.html

consciously moulding the others thought whatever is the hidden motive and agenda, and the other is at the receiving end, emotionally driven, treated as an object and quickly dilapidated.

The coming of Hindutva being had got its force with the coming of leadership which did not make the mistake of being a polite opposition, sympathetic towards the dissents, trying to be centrist or taking a middle ground. All these oppositional strategies had proven weak and sober. Instead, the political leadership emphasised its inclination forcefully for Hindutva ideology, Hindu nation, mighty and attacking. The image of leader was created as pro-poorer, strong, locale, catering to the Hindu need despite differences and uncompromising as compared to the Congress leadership as meek, pro-immigrants, pro-diversity and Muslims, pro elitists, unable to reinvent the Hindu Rashtra and bring back the lost glory. The leadership which emerged acted as a magnet which pulled the consciousness of Hindutva out of the people even placed in the different parties. This idea of being strong and masculine Hindu[25] added fuel to Jai Shri Ram politics and disengaged many people in the oppositions to work hard for the elevation of the party image at the local level. BJP with the active support of RSS and VHP worked at the local level to mobilise their ideology which was making congruent and fitting with the Hindu culture and everyday psychological needs and demobilising the image of the Congress and other oppositional parties as corrupt, elitists, casteist and full of criminally tainted politicians. So, the same person and his family who had hoped with the Congress or other parties for fulfilling their needs did not find his everyday struggle reduced and opted for a change in the BJP which promised respectful cultural identity, feeling of enthusiasm with the politics of new India of upper caste and middle-class value system. This image of elevation from their current situation had taken over the consciousness of almost all the members of diversified groups too, and they found the shelter in the aura of hopes created by the long-struggling and gradually becoming stronger Hindutva movements.

To emerge as a nationalist party, one has to tackle the expectations of organisations strong at the local level. The strengthening of the party may happen when BJP reviewed its stature as a nationalist party and connected strongly with the expectations of VHP and RSS, in other words, connected to the expectations of the people mobilised into the populist discourse by these influential right-wing organisations. The leadership catering to the new India analogy witnessed a change in ideological references. For example, what was prime during the time of Congress and other oppositional leadership, becomes outdated and stale in the BJP time, and a

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[25] Kinnvall, C. (2019). Populism, ontological insecurity and Hindutva: Modi and the masculinization of Indian politics, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2019.1588851

new name allotted to the cities, localities, policies, concerning the ideological narratives of Hindutva and their prominent leaders. This technology of narrative building with the language of Hindutva created new reality and facts of India. So the power shift to the BJP with these narratives of self-renunciation which shaped through several mechanisms of building the Hindu nation, Bharat and nationalism. There is no proof whether the members of Congress or any other parties based on their ideological and political position were not nurturing the idea of Hindu self. However, the shift in the voting behaviour, preferences for the leadership, hatred and records of communal violence in the pre-colonial to postcolonial times shows that the idea of Hindu self is deeply entrenched and practised widely. What makes BJP unique from others were open acceptance and practice of religious rituals, karma, the dualism of mind and body, meditations and yoga and the caste-based discrimination. One can contest how meditations and yoga connect to the caste, but there is not a single record where Dalit or any community from the oppressed group mentioned practising it or allowed to do so. The only people whom practices uncontestably considered as pure and dominant, as the duality of Veda did not believe in the oneness of mind-self and body but differentiated it rigorously, so how anybody who was given the impure status or animals status without the mind will doing Yoga. They were doing service to the upper caste, example, manual scavenging, a humiliating job forced to do by the dominant upper castes rather than the choice to do meditations or yoga and connecting with one's mind and self (atman). In the recent time, the widespread enthusiasm to do Yoga by the new government for the physical and mental health of people has created the situation of self-control of one's health, however, how many in the lower strata have that freedom of will to do Yoga is not clear.

The wave of modernity which handled the irrationality of the society and to some extent empowered the Dalit and oppressed to cross the barriers of caste and class boundaries is now shaped by the Saffron (Kesaria) Modernity in their ambitious project of Hindu revivalism. The idea of Saffron modernity has given new impetus and language to the embedded duality and prejudice against social change and social inclusion. It resolved the ambivalence towards either being radicalised Hindu and at the same time urge to be modern, democratic (See Jaffrelot, 2013) and portraying *Bharat as Vishwa guru* in terms of portraying itself as a model of morality to the world. This politics of portraying itself morally upright based on its sense of purity, cultural values, being tolerant and peaceful as compared to the other practices in the world which are violent, intolerant and impure. The idea of being culturally pure system had emerged due to the various kinds of connects that happened in the political history of India such as coming of Westerners which was allowed by the Muslim rulers and before them, coming of

Muslims with the force of violence and atrocities. These foreign identities were considered as impure by the dominant Hindu caste in India and were considered as destroyers of the indigenous culture, as claimed by the upper caste calling themselves as the descendants of A*ryavrat.* These foreign connections were the touch of masculinity which attacked the already established masculinity of the Caste Hindus. However, the Varna system kept Dalit outside the system and was humiliated without any sense of respected identity. They were called as impure, untouchable, decrepit and wretched, though their touch was punishable by anyone in the upper caste and earlier there were no records of protecting them from atrocities. On the other hand, the connection with the dominant forces from outside was the overriding and unwanted touch and hurt the masculinity of dominant caste Hindus. Thus this majoritarian mindset was there, and politically, established in the latter times.

The reason for this establishment is not one, but as per the saffronizing of the modernity, it has become mainstream and well connected to the orbit of democracy through the process of majoritarianism. The question is whether democracy is in the natural will of the people where the freedom of choice is their fundamental right or is it systematic socialisation of the people to shape their freedom of choice according to the will of the law? However, one thing common in both the cases is the consensus, that is, if people agree that free country is the country where people practice collective social identity as dictated by the dominant institutions and leaders, or free country is the country where social identity does not matter.

In case of the current rise of right-wing, people talk about democracy, dissents, diversity and development but how much does it cater to the right of people from the diverse backgrounds is the matter of consensus. There are different kinds of collectivities where one based on the building and strengthening of the Hindu nation and others based on the hopes and needs. There are divergence and integration, where for some Hindutva revivalism is more important than anything else, some demands both revivalism and need fulfilments, and some are solely in the hope of need fulfilment and feel empowered in the social structure. For example, the middle class and upper caste in maximum cases have voted this time to BJP for ensuring security of their jobs, to enhance their standards of living and their knowledge about the right-wing politics to be anti-reservation towards the minorities. These minorities groups were prejudices and believed to snatch the jobs inherently meant for the dominant castes and believe that their ability and merits are taken over by the affirmative action policy. The consequences of these thinking have created many groups of upper caste, and unemployed individuals joining the right-wing organisations or identifying with the right-wing as their

movement to save their Hindutva identity and against the minorities who are getting support by the other centrist, left and Dalit parties.

By looking at the past decades it may be faulty to see that rise of right-wing was sole because of Hindutva movement as Hindu dominance was already pre-existing through their caste system, but it was also a matter of social and psychological space which was threatened by the inclusive effort of radical groups. On the other hand, working-class voted based on fear mobilisation and forced hopes for better living. It was also possible due to the forceful and continuous presence of the right-wing core group activists and local gatekeepers who have dominant control over the working class (see also Kaviraj, 2011[26]). Thus, creating an image of new India many of the pro-middle class who was quite influenced by the varieties of populism[27]. Even the internal critiques and senior members were systematically expelled out or not given any value to their opinion and labelled as a chameleon. The all populist reality is nothing but a zone of comfort which privileged one and not others, the privileged class call it their hard work and emotional attachment without having any empathetic understanding of the plight of working-class and Dalit. For them, the imaginary enemy is more pronounced than the clear evidence about the inequality, violence, oppression.

How any memory legitimized under the political regime and how lay historians preserve those inauthentic memories? For example, the Bhima-Koregaon incident when a group of Dalit paying homage to their ancestors, who fought as a British army with the powerful Marathas, was arrested. As Marathas lost to the British army and it was the matter of shame this narrative was discouraged in the history, however, for Dalit, it was the matter of honour and bravery of their ancestor. Since Dalit were the oppressed groups, past untouchables and was not given any respect if anyhow they were part of the Maratha army, the winning of the battle was momentous to raise the self-esteem of the historically degraded group. The state interventions influenced by the powerful right-wing to erase or suppress this honourable memory of Dalit labelled as anti-national activities or treachery of supporting the colonial rule instead of being neutral, shows how powerful right-wing regime manipulated the history, tried to fabricate it or remove it all together through the dominant narratives. One cannot talk about

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[26] Kaviraj, S. (2011). The enchantment of democracy and India: Politics and ideas. Ranikhet: Permanent Black.
[27] Like Hindi-English dichotomy but educate their children in English medium and talk in special Hindi format, against Muslim culture and call themselves tolerant and respecting towards other religion, anti-poor but don't hesitate to count their act of small charity as great help laden with emotions of sympathy, anti-activists and anti-scholars who work for the poor as anti-national and fancy terms like urban naxals (for critical understanding see Singh, 2018[27]).

culture and modernity through exclusionary politics, as it had never been the reality or scientifically impossible. Things change its nature with the time and social exchanges, and that is why even what we are adamant about, such as traditionality was never nascent or isolatory in itself (see Nandy, 2007[28]). Current scenario of rising right-wing does not seem to correlate with either the idea of Hindutva nor the practice as both in itself are paradoxes where the community feeling and social identity of being Hindu is always at stake.

As one talk about Hindu identity undeniably of its caste structure, which in itself is not homogenous. The question about which identity is more critical to a person, his religious identity or caste identity has a complicated answer, but both the cases are strongly connected. If one is no more Hindu, by adopting different religious practices or becoming a non-believer, it will affect the person caste identity because there also practices and rituals get the shift. Conversely, if one tries to change his caste, which is near to impossible in the Hindu society, he has to change his religion. In both cases, thus, the person has to suffer the loss of identities, which are complementary, but Hindu identity is the precursor. Thus, the politics of Hindutva is also the politics of caste, a channelised program to present something mythological as real and objective. How the Hindutva politics prove that it is objective self, how the language of reality constructed about something farcical, dividing and violent?

Hindutva politics emphasised diversity, in their Saffron modernisation agenda, but the kind of diversity and spiritual calmness which highlighted is a simple acceptance of the caste hierarchy positioning endowed on various social groups. When a group of upper caste people go to temple, they may feel the aura of diversity on seeing people from different upper-caste background and may also feel proud of their rich culture where compositeness is inherent, but the moment any lower caste, Muslim and lower social class come to their space, the feeling of disgust overpowers them. Here the diversity gets its shift, showing that even diversity looks for common ground in the Hindutva designed communal space. The idea of nationality, as it was depicted in history and currently where the value system of privileged becomes the theme of diversity is problematic. In other words, it might seem a flopped idea of nationality where majoritarian vote become the final marker of democracy.

Authentic leaders in the neoliberal times[29]

An authentic leader is a group leader and fulfils the expectations of the group. Typical authentic leaders are true to their selves, personal values and display consistency between their

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[28] Nandy, A. (2007). *Time Treks: The uncertain future of old and new despotisms*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2007.
[29] This part is published in Countercurrents.org

words and deeds generating trust and performance from their followers[30]. However, they can't be so neutral and open, as the values, words and convictions may do correspond to the democratic ethos and diversity needs, but it matches with the followers' expectations and fit into the hegemonised belief system. Neoliberal time is not the same for all the culture, as, for some, it adds to their culture, and for others, it erodes the culture with something forced upon and unpreventable. For example, if we look at the formation of social categories, there are some culture which values independence and freedom of choice and some which value interdependence. In both cases, the idea of intelligence, hard work, development, competitiveness and meritoriousness matters.

The full skill performance of any community member is a matter of pride for the group, and many members may strive with the same fervour where interdependence matters. In the case of an individualistic culture, competitiveness and individual enhancement is a norm and that what makes their identity. The discourses and way of seeing others thus depend upon people alignment with political ideologies which nurtures the perceptions of societal expectations from the individuals and societal duty for the people. In the present political situation of India, where majoritarian culture supersedes on others, the idea of neoliberalism fit directly with the idea of individualism and meritocracy.

The personality of the leader who resembles the majoritarian Hindu upper caste-middle class thoughts about individual effort, merit and development seen as an authentic leader whose ideological stand resembles the majoritarian prejudices and his action corresponds to their imaginations of nationalism. The representation of the majoritarian viewpoint can be camouflaged as democracy in the lay language but it creates a hurdle to the social change which emanates from the minority view and questioning from their experiences. When leader authentically purports his ideology in action or engage in the 'politics of doing', his action symbolizes the action of followers. In the current time of urge to finalize India as a Hindu nation, the effort is made to homogenize the diversity into a singular system and pattern of thought as a collective. For example, Modi in a rally in Mangalore started his speech as:
"Aaj Aisa lag Raha Hai Ki Kesaria Samundar Lahra Raha Hai."
"it seems today like a wave of the saffron sea."

 The idea of India imagined and enacted after the independence gives way to the diversity by recognising it and then the idea of nationality was to build up by accepting it as 'unity in diversity" without divides and prejudices. Here the leaders approach to build a nation on the Brahmanical ideology and populist stance nurtures the nationalism of new kind where the Hindutva revivalist agenda fulfilled. The two necessary platforms on which the authenticity of right-wing leaders in India placed are saving the purity of the Hindu culture and development of India by adopting the neoliberal stance. Since right-wing authority established in India through the working of many groups such as RSS, VHP and some group where Muslims are also the members, the selection of these leaders shows the will of these organisations to fulfil their agenda of Hindu pride and thus Hindu nationalism.

The question is whether Hinduism as 'way of life or as religion' empowers Hindutva politics giving it authenticity to define nationalism and diversity? The idea of one nation, one belief, one kind of tolerance has immensely masqueraded the voice of people. The right to dissent and raise voice suppressed through several mechanisms which looks systematic and rational. This normalising of the voices is contrary to the idea of authentic diversity, where the voice of weakest and oppressed raised. The normalising of the nationality suppresses the freedom to express and hence unconstitutional. Even the followers who are the voters too have the feeling due to several informal everyday discussion that they are competent enough to

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[30] Avolio, B. J., & Gardner, W. L. (2005). Authentic leadership development: Getting to the root of positive forms of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly, 16*(3), 315-338.

choose their leader who works for their social-emotional and basic needs. For example, when Modi won the election by the full majority, there was a feeling that a member from their house has become Prime Minister. This can turn into a faulty thinking, as depicted in the form Dunning Kruger effect in the realm of political knowledge (see Anson 2018) where followers due to the saliency of partisan identity feel themselves to be high on political knowledge despite their low political expertise (Fernbach, Rogers, Fox, & Sloman, 2013)[31].

The winning of the current BJP leader[32] (e.g. Narender Modi) as the choice of most of the people in India despite the record of riots and violence in the name of Hindutva shows how the followers reconstructed their anxieties and uncertainties. This resolution committed by selecting their leader who can fulfil their need of Hindu Rashtra, saving of the caste-based social structure, save meritorious people from the reservation, stop immigration, increase economic prosperity (*Ache din* metaphor), and increase white collar jobs. It is also the case that even these expectations not fulfilled and people deemed to be in a difficult economic situation like the sudden announcement of demonetization, death of lakhs of farmers, lynching in the name of cow vigilantism, the unspoken norm of uncritical acceptance of the government policy, there was unflinching support for the leader. The personality of the leader, in this case, fit into the perception of people as a stable and incontestable (*Ajay*) leader and conversely nurturing the followers' collective selves.

The persona of leaders as a mirror image of the followers' selves, the way followers see themselves as their leader and at the meta-level look at their leader as themselves shows the family resemblance of leader, as a father figure who is both nurturant and task-oriented (see Sinha, 1980). The way an Indian child is nurtured and see his/her role model as a father who is visible as hardworking, value-oriented, preaching, reliable and controlling. The diversity of communities, way of thought and handling the community cultural artefacts has all faced a transformation with the new face where diversity has been overshadowed or schematized in a singular template of neoliberalism of upper middle class. However, this obeisance to the leader is not sufficient as there is also a hidden direction for the leader such as "we selected you and you have to go by us, by our majoritarian self", so here leader's authenticity is now an authenticity of the followers. Collectively constructed within the populists' norms, where the so-called follower defines his self, feel the leader as himself, think himself morally high and think that all his action is authentic because of his choice of the leader who resembles his sensemaking. So, the definition of the leader gets the fundamental shift in the context of Hindutva majoritarian self.

Further questions such as "How political discourses emerge and become ordinary or banal? What are the political discourses in favour of Right Wing and against it? How the discourse shifts and on what basis? Does this shift in the discourse decides the future of any political party and its coming to power? How people form discourse about the personality of the political figure? Is it the party's, its agenda, the personality of the leader, preference, needs and identity of the people or all? How social identity of leaders get framed by the neoliberal discourses, how leader's social identity in the right-wing times reconfigured according to the populist notions of right and wrong, authentic and inauthentic? Moreover, further, how political actors use populism to mobilise people and become their authentic leader?

In the comparative debate about the weak and robust leader, voters longed for the strong leader who is self-made and can lead India as a strong nation. Leadership after the Indira Gandhi, look compromising to the foreign policies, symbolic, gullible, not fitting to the masculine expectation of being emerging as a hero. However, these are the stereotypes about the leader quite prevalent in the country which has historically socialised as the victim of

[31] Fernbach, P. M., Rogers, T., Fox, C. R., & Sloman, S. A. (2013). Political Extremism Is Supported by an Illusion of Understanding. *Psychological Science*, *24*(6), 939–946. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797612464058
[32] https://washingtonmonthly.com/2019/04/22/will-modi-drive-india-away-from-democracy/

foreign rule, and a vision of new India constructed to handle these forces which are diluting the idea of India. This vision requires a fearless leader who can nurture the idea of new India, uncorrupted, reliable and uncompromising, and fit into the popular imagination.

The metaphorical visualization of the current leader as emerging among the masses, son of the poor, ordinary person, tea-seller (*chaiwala*), unaristocratic and grounded and inspiration for the common people and metaphorical portrayal of his personality as muscular (56 inches chest or *56 inches kaa seen*) added to the common man's imagination. However, the right-wing mindset has not been shaped by the personality factors only, and it is because of the people geography of thoughts mapped in the cultural framework of masculinity and caste. Though personality factor looks like the property of an individual but shaped in the cultural context, the dominant and economically influential leaders (*dabang*) are preferred and obeyed, and they provide fuel to the longing Hindutva self and certainty to the rising majoritarian nationalism which is contrary to the idea of India for example as Rabindranath Tagore imagined (see Nandy, 2006)[33]. So, what we see are filtered based on our collective concept about someone as a leader. The leader who represented the majority becomes authentic, and the leaders of the minority who represented the oppressed became inauthentic in the majoritarian regime in India[34].

Since the majoritarian leader is more economically powerful, he has the advantage on the less powerful representatives making them irrelevant to the idea of India as imagined through different traditions of Indian mysticism and poets such as Kabir, Rahim, Music and spirituality and so on[35]. However, these attempts of unity and collective emotions towards the peace dominated by a narcissistic, toxic, noisy and reactionary form of nationalism. As Guduvarthy (2018) opined that the emotions which earlier privately expressed are now expressed publically without any sympathy for the victims of those emotional expressions. Hurling abuses if anyone criticises the government or religious politics or dominance culture, false information about others, mob lynching, has become the norms or we can speculate that the mobilisation and concretisation of the social categories have created this norm of intolerance and dehumanisation. One aspect of an authentic leader with whom the idea of India and development firmly attached can be the personality which matters when we talk about authentic leadership. The evidence that even the leader who has not fulfilled the promise to the nations but aligns with dominant identities was considered as authentic among the ruling class of the society. This image of being a ruling class has derailed the notion of peace, and the urgent desire to be a masculine nation has flared up with the signifier leader considered as authentic. Here the authentic leadership representing the Hindutva ideology made the people feel victimised and cheated under the leadership of Congress and other minority parties and then employed himself as a real saviour from the shackles of terrorism and poverty which that weak leadership could not solve. For example,

"Terrorists, Pakistan wants me to lose, opposition to win"…"Congress leaders in their hatred for Modi had stopped looking at national interest" (Modi at a rally in Meerut). So, the dominant identities had the feeling of being the victim, and psychologically; this encouraged the politics of hatred towards the minorities visualised as a historical repressor, dominant and anti-Indian. Since the rise of the right wing is due to mobilisation of Hindutva politics at the large scale, when compared to previous times the only difference was its lesser support of middle classes which intensified in the coming time and fuelled the imagination of being in the middle class.

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[33] https://arcade.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/article_pdfs/OCCASION_v03_Nandy_031512_0.pdf
[34] https://www.liberationnews.org/indian-election-victorious-modi-masks-attacks-on-workers-with-far-right-bigotry/
[35] See note 11

The leadership and mobilisation of right-wing politics are creating a false image of the nation and eroding the memory which transmitted to the posterity of peace, solidarity and empathy. Since the leadership gave the deep-seated religion and caste identity direction, it is same a dormant volcano which sometimes erupts unstoppable. The agenda here is to question the authenticity of the authentic leader in terms of what they do and don't do? Maybe for the typical ideologues and nationalist's making bridge or refurbishing temple is doing something for the nation and they may also infer it some social change and for them, a leader who impinges their demands are the authentic leader. What about leaders who are with the tribal and oppressed classes and they are resisting the idea of development which is contrary to their community, for example cutting of trees and eroding of old villages, for making any unnecessary bridge, considered as a toxic leader by the dominant classes? How toxic leadership and authentic leadership connects in the current political regime of India? Where are the people? What are the people interests and needs and who in real sense is taken care of by the leader? What are the fundamental requirements of people and the environment which matters most rather than surface level show off like constructing some statue (which denotes the identity of the dominant classes rather than oppressed classes), purification and modernization of rivers, policing of the universities, keeping checks on critical scholars and books, social media interventions and rising trolls? In what way any leader who challenges the preserved memories becomes stigmatised by the dominant society (see Peter Burke)[36]? Why prejudice towards the leader who represents the identity of minorities, and oppressed classes pronounced, and their leadership considered as inauthentic? The discursive practices and dialogues among the leaders and followers of the oppressed group eroded by the dominant discourses of oppressive classes and castes.

The scenario of the recent rise of right-wing leader and his open remarks overshadowed the remarks made by the leaders of the oppressed group. The followers from the historically oppressed groups were also influenced by the dominant right-wing leader's personality and his ideology despite their experience of continued dominance from the right wing group. The recent campaigns like "*Main Bhi Chowkidar*" metaphorically signified the rise of vigilantism towards the critiques, radicals and extremists, which played a massive role in the winning of Modi as a leader[37]. The earlier portrayal of oneself as a role model of poor through the populist discourse of anti-elitism against the previous elitist leaders through the "*chaiwala*" metaphors. Even the tea seller in BJP could elevate to the higher position unlikely the confinement of other parties to their elitist leaders. These very assertions of his place among the masses, Modi constructed himself as an authentic leader as a true representative of the people and who has the grit to go by his promises. Thus the emergence of two different situations, one against the poverty and for development and the other building keen new India in safe hands against the Islamic terrorism and Maoism worked as a turning point in the history of Hindutva politics. In between, there were loss of lives, unemployment, demonetization menace, farmers suicide, terror of right-wing groups, normalcy and hegemony of powerful voices which eroded from the memory of people through speeches, terror events (e.g. Pulwama attack), increase in hate-based crime[38] and the security metaphors. Sometime historian creates or represents the past as truth to suit their political agendas, and any representative of outgroup who counters question them labelled as anti-national and working against the national interest which based on some preserved memories which created some identity as being a citizen of the nation. So, the creation of rich Hindu past by directing history through the deed of a great man and neglecting

[36] https://www.forbes.com/sites/matthewgabriele/2019/03/24/historians-as-tax-collectors/#40bae75a7ae3
[37] Ankit Kawade: What Are the Political Implications of Narendra Modi's #MainBhiChowkidar Campaign?https://www.epw.in/engage/article/what-are-political-implications-narendra-modis
[38] https://p.factchecker.in/

the subaltern history in between such as the history of tribal, lower castes, Dalit women, they have created a new present filled with the illusions of greatness and karma.

The new vision of India induced into the memory of people where the leader is visualised as an authentic, doing development, and a good time is approaching. Even the riots of Gujrat with evidence of the involvement of Hindutva leaders, the killings of Muslim not taken seriously, and leaders offer no apology for their leadership role[39]. In one way the Hindutva self has justified the killings of Muslims and other minority groups that often happens in a different part of the country. These killings justified on the grounds of karma and past deed, a clear cut demarcation between good and evil where the Muslims and minorities took as evil in the Hindutva conscience. All the accusation of the leader eroded from the people memory through the media effort and repetitions of the leader as a man of development (*Vikas Purush),* grounded and pro-poor as compared to the other leader from the opposition who charged as elite and corrupt. The continuous media mobilisation through the news channel and newspapers had stamped the righteousness of the leader despite the criminal charges and made him absolute and unquestionable fact of being authentic.

Development, identity dominance and the politics of "doing" in India

What are the politics of doing and enactments? Does an authentic leader mean who does something for the community? What if that leader enacts the prejudices held by the dominant group? Will he be, in a real sense, an authentic leader? The neoliberalism has changed the meaning of development from social aspiration to individual aspirations. The hegemonic aspirations[40] of the new middle class, which was captured by the new India discourse changing the discourse of diversity politics and democracy into the homogenised form of nationalism. Social aspiration linked to the community building, for example, enhancement of the group's dignity and self-esteem and giving back to the community by the members, in contrast to the individual aspiration as believing one's merit, the superiority of class, and ejecting out of the community, if circumstances are favourable.

Neoliberalism is not seeming to be self-sustaining and multiplying economic approach but very much promoted, socially constructed through the dominant discourses, invisible, and regulated capitalists' enterprise in the name of free reign. The current leadership promoting the neoliberalism are representative of classes that believe in individuality and independence, meritocracy and market, globalisation and technocratic capitalism. They believe that technology is the saviour of humanity which they constructed according to their experiences and rejects the experiences and values of other caste and tribal groups as savage, non-meritocratic, antagonistic to the idea of new India. The point of contention is despite their

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[39] https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/no-guilty-feeling-about-gujarat-riots-says-modi/article4908704.ece
[40] Leela Fernandes & Patrick Heller (2006) HEGEMONIC ASPIRATIONS, Critical Asian Studies, 38:4, 495-522,DOI: 10.1080/14672710601073028

apparent knowledge of being liberal, their Hindu self becomes more rigid when it comes to caste-based rituals and to follow the saffronized modernity.

The politics of doing and development is not a new subject for any political regime, for example, the coming of special economic zones (SEZ), smart cities, big industries, roads and IT hubs at the cost of farmers and tribal interest. These developments had raised the employment of the middle classes, but at the same time isolating the lower classes and forcing them to the menial labour works. Instead of giving a technological help to the manual scavengers and labourers who risk their life, more emphasis is given to the skilled classes which are well versed in technological handling of education, government-run website, and banking service. Thus, an image of 'development and doing' is created, depicting a universal picture of the development and happiness of people. The Hindutva self and its representative leader have categorised the Indian society into a web of rigid categories which has less chance of bringing authentic social change which could protect the minority, diverse groups, and environment. Hindutva ideology is contrary to the natural self which connects to the ecology, rather it mesmerises itself in the false ego and selves, leading to destruction and making the minorities voiceless. The idea of India as propagated by the Hindutva forces cannot materialise under the universal and homogenous ideological system. However, there is less doubt that it is mostly present almost everywhere in families, institutions and in everyday interaction and will never vanish, and the concretisation of social categories without dialogues and tolerance will be contrary to the idea of India.

The states conscious politics of doing development and creating an imaginary space of sound and prosperous life, under the garb of more considerable effort with the help of media and political workers (*karyakartas*), they intentionally tried to stop freedom of universities and educational space, for example, arresting the critical leaders in the name of anti-nationality. Also, the presentations of the political will such as cleanliness movement (*Swach Bharat Abhiyan*) under the politics of doing cleanliness very much attach to the inherent purity and impurity based social structure under the garb of which the caste-based occupational system has rigidified. The millions of manual scavengers (*safai karamcharis*) are from lower caste background and the token to present India as a clean state forcibly normalised this caste-based occupational system. There is very less improvement of these workers' status and working conditions with the help of technology which the government promoted as a useful tool of development. The discourse of development is limited but profound. It focuses more on the economic rise and poverty removal rather than life with dignity and social justice (see Rebecca

Eapen[41], EPW). The term development may connect to some set features of the developed economy, and the political discourses based on development seem above the involuntary identities laden in one's permanent belongingness to the social groups such as caste.

The discourses on doing and not doing are not new in the Indian political system. How the history of any nation is co-constructed with the people and goals are not made clear? Does development and doing are co-constructed goals? Who is involved in those co-constructions? No doubt change matters for every class where poverty and economic change matters a lot, especially to the oppresses classes when they had lost any scope of another kind of social change, so economic change is a bull work for their hope, as they feel they cannot cross their involuntary identities such as caste, and gender. Two waves of nationalism and the politics of doing observed. First, the politics of doing at the time of soft right and at the time of hard right is not to deny that hard right weakened when soft right reign over India. The bipolarity of being different kinds of right is also not an illusion that the right was not any person but spread in the sociopolitical and local need of the people. It is also not that right personality does not matter but the deeds and needs. The rhetoric of development and the way people think that this is a matter of authentic leadership and how any leader shows the people his authenticity, what rhetoric followed and what image is portrayed (e.g. *Main Bhi Chowkidar* rhetoric, either you are with India or with Pakistan rhetoric). The notion of development as leaders' market it to the people is incomplete without a critical positioning of neoliberalism and capitalism. There are several instances where the development agenda of prominent industrialists are quickly established and given a green signal as compared to the fulfilment of the basic needs of people. The state induced administrative reforms have become the face of democracy in India, whereas local level power distribution and institutional development for the marginalised hardly noticed (see Gurukkal, 2018, p. 108)[42]. What is development and how this has turned into developmentalism is a matter of oppression when the notion of development itself overpower the weaker section of society and snatches their freedom with little space of raising the voice.

In conclusion, the massive movement to normalise history, rationality and development, the current leadership has claimed itself as authentic, righteous and absolute. It fitted into the scriptural model of Gita that whenever there is a breach of righteousness and morality, god transforms himself into human and come to earth to restore morality and righteousness. This transformation of god into the current leadership is becoming absolute and

[41] Eapen, R. (2004). Democracies in Development: An Exploration. *Economic & Politcal Weekly, 39* (5), 415-418.
[42] https://www.epw.in/journal/2018/34/special-articles/death-democracy.html

unquestionable. It has infused enough anxiety among the dominant groups that if our PM was not elected what will happen to India and all the promises made. In the same way, as people punished for criticising god and becoming unrighteousness through their criticality, the general masses of India, who are are also thinking beings was made unpolitical, unquestioning and prone to the coercive ideology of Hindutva (see Gurrukal, 2018). In an ideal way, authentic leadership must be valid to democratic values and deeds. However, there are many people from the marginalised background together with Dalit, Muslims, tribal and other who do not have the voice and are continuously on the verge of marginalisation without any scope of social change. The ideology of Hindutva is dehumanising and oppressing without any space for understanding the power dominance and state designed democracy. The coming up of various capitalistic enterprises are considered as pro-development but help given to the needy students to study in the university at the subsidy rate are not encouraged or rejected as unnecessary exchequer cost on the taxpayer money. There are colossal funding and charity given to the religious trusts, which are unaccountable to the public and making the Hindutva group more potent at the local level. Overall, these attempts to politicise the karma has added fuel to the self of the current regime and dominant groups majoritarian ethics at the cost of authentic democratic processes.