

Contents

PREFACE	ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
INTRODUCTION	xv

I. SECULARISM AT STAKE

THE BIRTH AND RISE OF HINDU NATIONALISM

1. Composite culture is not multiculturalism: a study of the Indian Constituent Assembly debates	3
2. From Indian territory to Hindu <i>bhoomi</i> : the ethnicization of nation-state mapping in India	22
3. The invention of an ethnic nationalism	38
4. Hindu nationalism, strategic syncretism in ideology-building	54
5. The genesis and development of Hindu nationalism in the Punjab: from the Arya Samaj to the Hindu Sabha (1875–1910)	74
6. The idea of the Hindu race in the writings of Hindu nationalist ideologues in the 1920s and 1930s: a concept between two cultures	123
7. Militant Hindus and the conversion issue (1885–1990): from <i>shuddhi</i> to <i>dharm parivartan</i> : politicization and diffusion of an ‘invention of tradition’	144
8. The rise of Hindu nationalism and the marginalization of Muslims in India today	170

II. THE SANGH PARIVAR

9. The <i>Sangh Parivar</i> : how cohesive is this family?	189
10. Hindu nationalism and democracy	207
11. The Vishva Hindu Parishad: a nationalist but mimetic attempt at federating the Hindu sects	226
12. The BJP in Madhya Pradesh: networks, strategies and power	247
13. The Hindu nationalist movement in Delhi: from ‘locals’ to refugees—and towards peripheral groups?	281
14. Hindu nationalism and the (not so easy) art of being outraged: the <i>Ram Setu</i> controversy	305
15. The Hindu nationalist reinterpretation of pilgrimage in India: the limits of <i>yatra</i> politics	324

III. COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 16. The politics of processions and Hindu-Muslim riots | 343 |
| 17. The 2002 pogrom in Gujarat: the post-9/11 face of Hindu nationalist anti-Muslim violence | 376 |
| 18. Gujarat: the meaning of Modi's victory in 2007 | 397 |

IV. THE RISE OF THE LOWER CASTES

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 19. The plebeianization of the Indian political class | 411 |
| 20. The changing identity of the Jats in north India: kshatriyas, <i>kisans</i> or backwards? | 430 |
| 21. Sanskritization vs. ethnicization in India: changing identities and caste politics before Mandal | 449 |
| 22. The rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi belt | 459 |
| 23. The subordinate castes' revolution | 485 |
| 24. The impact of affirmative action in India: more political than socioeconomic | 517 |
| 25. The Bahujan Samaj Party in north India: no longer just a Dalit party? | 532 |
| 26. The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh: whose party is it? | 560 |

V. THE POLITICAL CULTURE (OF VOTING) IN INDIA

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 27. Voting in India: electoral symbols, the party system and the collective citizen | 583 |
| 28. 'Why should we vote?': the Indian middle class and the functioning of the world's largest democracy | 604 |
| 29. Indian democracy: the rule of law on trial | 620 |
| 30. India and Pakistan: interpreting the divergence of two political trajectories | 660 |

VI. INDIA AND THE WORLD

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 31. The cardinal points of Indian foreign policy | 681 |
| 32. The <i>Sangh Parivar</i> and the Hindu diaspora in the west: what kind of 'long-distance nationalism'? | 695 |
| 33. India's Look East policy: an Asianist strategy in perspective | 717 |
| 34. Does Europe matter to India? | 747 |
| 35. The India-US rapprochement: state-driven or middle class-driven? | 765 |

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	781
---------------------	-----

INDEX	787
-------	-----