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# Digital Nationalism and the Rewriting of Historical Consciousness in Contemporary India: A Historiographical Analysis of Social Media Narratives.

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines the intersection of digital nationalism and historical consciousness in India between 2014 and 2026, a period marked by the ascendancy of the Bharatiya Janata Party under Narendra Modi and the simultaneous explosion of social media usage across the country. Drawing on historiographical methodology, discourse analysis, and digital humanities scholarship, this study investigates how platforms such as WhatsApp, YouTube, Twitter/X, and Instagram have become contested arenas for the construction, dissemination, and legitimisation of alternative historical narratives. The paper argues that digital nationalism in India constitutes a form of 'mnemonic warfare'—a systematic effort to reshape collective memory by privileging certain historical episodes while marginalising others. It further contends that this phenomenon represents a qualitative shift in the historiographical landscape, challenging the hegemony of academic history while simultaneously democratising and distorting public engagement with the past. The analysis proceeds through three thematic pillars: the genealogy of Hindutva historiography and its digital articulation; the mechanics of historical misinformation on social media platforms; and the institutional and counter-hegemonic responses from historians, civil society, and subaltern communities. The paper concludes by reflecting on the implications for archival practices, historical pedagogy, and democratic epistemology in an increasingly polarised information environment.

**Keywords:** *digital nationalism, Hindutva, historical consciousness, social media, India, historiography, mnemonic warfare, misinformation, collective memory*

## 1. Introduction: The Digital Turn in Indian Historical Culture

On the 15th of August 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi delivered his first Independence Day address from the ramparts of the Red Fort in New Delhi. The speech, broadcast simultaneously across television, radio, and a dazzling array of newly mobilised social media channels, inaugurated what many commentators would later identify as a new phase in the politics of Indian national identity. Within hours, WhatsApp forwards circulated

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

historical claims about pre-colonial India's scientific achievements, YouTube channels uploaded documentaries challenging the 'Aryan Invasion Theory,' and Twitter hashtags celebrated a civilisational renaissance. The digital revolution had arrived in Indian historiography—uninvited by the academy, but enthusiastically embraced by millions.

India's social media landscape between 2014 and 2026 is extraordinary in its scope and velocity. The country added over 750 million internet users during this period, many of them first-generation consumers of digital content in regional languages. WhatsApp, with more than 500 million Indian users by 2023, became the primary conduit for informal information—including historical narratives—among a population that had never engaged directly with academic historical scholarship. The consequences for historical consciousness have been profound and deeply ambivalent.

This paper situates itself at the intersection of three scholarly conversations: the historiography of modern India, the sociology of digital media, and the political theory of nationalism. It draws methodologically on Pierre Nora's concept of 'lieux de mémoire' (sites of memory), Jan Assmann's framework of cultural memory, and Benedict Anderson's theorisation of nationalism as an 'imagined community' sustained through print capitalism—here extended to encompass what we might term 'digital capitalism.' The central argument is that social media platforms in India have become what this paper calls 'sites of mnemonic contestation,' arenas in which competing visions of the national past are mobilised for present political purposes with a speed, scale, and emotional intensity that traditional historiographical institutions are ill-equipped to contest.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section two provides a genealogy of Hindutva historiography and its pre-digital antecedents. Section three analyses the specific mechanisms through which historical narratives circulate on Indian social media. Section four examines the institutional responses of academic historians and civil society. Section five considers the perspectives of marginalised communities—Dalit, Adivasi, and Muslim—whose historical experiences are most acutely distorted by dominant digital nationalisms. The conclusion reflects on what this analysis implies for the future of historical culture in democratic India.

## 2. Genealogy of Hindutva Historiography: From Print to Pixel

### 2.1 Ideological Foundations and Pre-Digital Historiography

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

The project of rewriting Indian history in accordance with Hindu nationalist principles long predates the age of social media. Its intellectual lineage can be traced to Vinayak Damodar Savarkar's 1923 pamphlet 'Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?', which established the foundational categories of a Hindu nationalist historical consciousness: the idea of Bharatavarsha as a primordial Hindu homeland, the periodisation of Indian history into Hindu golden ages disrupted by Muslim 'invasions,' and the framing of the Partition and subsequent political arrangements as unfinished historical business.

This ideological framework was elaborated and institutionalised through a network of Sangh Parivar organisations—principally the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP), and their affiliated educational bodies—throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. The Deendayal Research Institute, the Bharatiya Itihas Sankalan Yojana, and various RSS-affiliated publishing houses produced a substantial corpus of alternative historiography that challenged the dominant Nehruvian framework, which was characterised by its secular nationalism, its emphasis on composite culture, and its institutional home in institutions such as the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) and Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU).

The Ayodhya movement of the late 1980s and early 1990s was a watershed moment in this history. The campaign to 'liberate' the Ram Janmabhoomi site from the Babri Masjid—a mosque built, according to the nationalist narrative, on the exact birthplace of Lord Rama by the Mughal emperor Babur in 1528—mobilised historical claims as political ammunition on an unprecedented scale. Pamphlets, audio cassettes, and vernacular newspapers circulated contested archaeological 'evidence' and hagiographic accounts of Hindu resistance to Muslim rule across millions of Indian households. The demolition of the Babri Masjid on December 6, 1992, demonstrated with brutal clarity the political stakes of historical narrative.

## 2.2 The Digital Infrastructure of Nationalist Historiography

The BJP's electoral victories of 2014 and 2019—won on platforms that included explicit commitments to 'reclaiming' Indian history—coincided with, and were partly enabled by, a dramatic transformation in the infrastructural conditions of historical discourse. The proliferation of cheap smartphones, the Jio telecommunications revolution of 2016 (which dramatically reduced mobile data costs), and the saturation of rural and semi-urban India with WhatsApp groups collectively created the technical substrate for a mass alternative historiography.

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

What emerged was a decentralised but ideologically coherent ecosystem of historical content production. YouTube channels such as 'Pragyata,' 'Sangam Talks,' and dozens of regional-language equivalents produced professional-quality video content revisiting medieval battles, pre-colonial science, and ancient Hindu cosmology. Facebook groups with memberships in the millions shared daily historical 'facts'—many of them fabricated or dramatically decontextualised—celebrating Hindu civilisational achievements and documenting Muslim 'atrocities.' Telegram channels disseminated curated reading lists of Hindutva historiography. The combined reach of this ecosystem dwarfed that of any individual academic historian or peer-reviewed journal.

Scholars of digital media have observed that this ecosystem exhibits the characteristics of what Yochai Benkler termed 'networked propaganda': a mode of information production that achieves its persuasive effects not through centralised control but through the distributed enthusiasm of ideologically motivated participants. The historical content circulating in these networks is rarely straightforwardly invented; it more commonly involves selective quotation, decontextualisation, the conflation of legendary and historical sources, and the strategic amplification of minority scholarly positions as if they represented mainstream consensus.

## 3. Mechanics of Historical Misinformation on Indian Social Media

### 3.1 The Viral Morphology of Historical Claims

The circulation of historical misinformation on Indian social media follows recognisable patterns that have been extensively documented by fact-checking organisations such as Alt News, Boom Live, and the Quint's WebQoof project. Understanding these patterns is essential to any historiographical assessment of the phenomenon. Four principal mechanisms can be identified: fabrication, misattribution, anachronism, and selective omission.

Fabrication—the straightforward invention of historical 'facts'—is less common than popular commentary suggests, precisely because it is most easily refuted. More typical are episodes of misattribution, in which genuine quotations, images, or documents are falsely attributed to historical figures or events. A notable example from this period involves the widespread circulation of a photograph purportedly depicting the 'original' Ram Mandir in Ayodhya, which upon investigation proved to be an image of a temple in Cambodia. Such misattributions acquire authority through repetition and the visual credibility of photographic

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

evidence, exploiting the cognitive shortcut that Henri Bergson identified as 'image recognition' as a substitute for critical reasoning.

Anachronism—the reading of contemporary political categories back into historical contexts where they were absent—is perhaps the most intellectually consequential mechanism. The routine description of Tipu Sultan as a 'jihadi,' of Aurangzeb as emblematic of a timeless 'Islamic intolerance,' or of medieval Hindu kingdoms as proto-nationalist resistance movements imposes modern ideological frameworks on pre-modern political realities in ways that trained historians find manifestly inadequate but that social media audiences, lacking the contextual knowledge to evaluate such claims, find intuitively plausible.

## 3.2 WhatsApp, the Vernacular Public Sphere, and Historical Memory

The role of WhatsApp in the dissemination of historical narratives deserves particular attention. Unlike public platforms such as Twitter or YouTube, WhatsApp's encrypted, group-based architecture creates what researchers at the Oxford Internet Institute have called 'dark social' spaces—information environments that are invisible to external monitoring, highly trusted by participants, and resistant to external correction. A false historical claim circulating through a WhatsApp group composed of extended family members carries an authority derived from social trust that no academic rebuttal can easily penetrate.

The vernacular dimension of this phenomenon is equally significant. The explosion of historical content in Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Marathi, and dozens of other Indian languages between 2014 and 2026 represents a qualitative expansion of the historical public sphere into domains that academic historiography—conducted primarily in English and, to a lesser extent, in a small number of major regional languages—has historically been unable to reach. This democratisation of historical discourse is genuinely significant: millions of Indians are engaging with their past in new ways. The problem, from a historiographical perspective, is that this democratic expansion has been predominantly captured by ideologically motivated content producers whose relationship to evidentiary standards and scholarly method is, at best, casual.

The Indian state's own digital interventions have compounded these dynamics. The government's 'India: The Mother of Democracy' campaign, its promotion of the 'Amrit Mahotsav' (75th Independence anniversary) historical content, and its revision of school textbook curricula have all reinforced particular historical narratives at the official level, providing a governmental imprimatur that social media content can invoke to lend authority to

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

unofficial claims. The deletion of chapters on Mughal history from NCERT textbooks in 2022–23 is perhaps the most significant example of this official-unofficial dynamic: a curriculum change that simultaneously reflected and amplified the historiographical contestations playing out on social media.

## 4. Institutional Responses: Historians, Archives, and Civil Society

### 4.1 The Academic Historian in the Age of Virality

The Indian academic historical profession's response to the challenge of digital nationalism has been, by most assessments, inadequate to the scale and urgency of the problem. This inadequacy is partly structural: academic historians are trained in, and rewarded for, the production of long-form, citation-dense scholarship addressed to specialist audiences—a mode of communication fundamentally ill-suited to competition with the viral short-form content that dominates social media feeds. The peer-review process, the disciplinary norm of qualified judgement, and the professional culture of hedged claims are all significant disadvantages in an information environment that rewards confident assertion and emotional resonance.

Nevertheless, significant counter-institutional responses have emerged. The Indian History Congress has issued repeated public statements challenging specific historical claims circulating on social media. A number of individual historians—Romila Thapar, Audrey Truschke, Rana Safvi, and S. Irfan Habib among the most prominent—have engaged directly with social media audiences through op-eds, Twitter/X threads, podcast appearances, and public lectures, achieving modest popular reach while attracting intense and often abusive online backlash. The campaign against the proposed revision of the National Museum's curatorial frameworks in 2021–22 represented one of the more effective mobilisations of historical expertise in the public domain, bringing together archaeologists, art historians, and cultural heritage professionals in a coordinated advocacy effort.

### 4.2 Fact-Checking as Historiographical Practice

The most sustained and systematic institutional response to historical misinformation has come not from academic historians but from independent digital journalism organisations. Alt News, founded in 2017 by Pratik Sinha and Mohammed Zubair, has published hundreds of detailed investigations into specific historical claims circulating on social media, deploying reverse image searches, archival research, and expert consultation to demonstrate the fabricated

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

or distorted nature of viral 'historical facts.' The organisation's methodology is, in important respects, historiographical: it insists on primary sources, interrogates chains of evidence, and situates claims within their broader interpretive contexts.

The personal cost of this work has been considerable. Mohammed Zubair's arrest in 2022 under Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code (Laws governing incitement)—charges widely understood to be retaliatory—illustrates the extent to which historical fact-checking has become politically dangerous in contemporary India. The use of legal mechanisms to silence historical dissent represents a significant chilling effect on the institutional capacity to contest nationalist historiography in the public domain.

## 5. Subaltern Histories and Counter-Memories

### 5.1 Dalit Digital Historiography

Any account of digital nationalism and historical consciousness in India that focuses exclusively on the majoritarian narrative risks reproducing the very silencing that it purports to analyse. Alongside the dominant stream of Hindu nationalist digital history, a rich and often explicitly counter-hegemonic tradition of Dalit digital historiography has emerged during this period, drawing on the legacy of B.R. Ambedkar's historical and constitutional thought to contest both Brahminical Hindu nationalism and its Nehruvian secular nationalist rival.

Platforms such as 'Round Table India,' the 'Ambedkar Age Collective,' and dozens of vernacular social media channels have developed sophisticated digital archives of Ambedkarite scholarship, circulating his critiques of the caste system, his reinterpretation of Indian Buddhist history, and his challenge to the foundational categories of Hindu civilisational nationalism. The digital commemoration of Ambedkar Jayanti (April 14) has become one of the most significant annual events in the Indian social media calendar, with tens of millions of posts challenging the dominant narratives of national heritage.

This Dalit digital historiography is engaged in what Paul Connerton would recognise as a form of counter-commemorative practice—an attempt to inscribe alternative memories into the practices of everyday digital life in ways that challenge the naturalised assumptions of dominant historical culture. It represents a genuinely democratic expansion of historical discourse, one that academic historiography has too often failed to engage with seriously.

### 5.2 Muslim and Adivasi Historical Memory in the Digital Public Sphere

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

India's Muslim communities have navigated a particularly fraught relationship with the digital historical public sphere during this period. The communalisation of historical discourse—the routine equation of medieval Muslim rule with violence, destruction, and civilisational regression—has made the digital space a site of considerable psychological hostility for Muslim users and content creators. The demolition of the Babri Masjid, the abrogation of Article 370, and the debates over the Gyanvapi mosque in Varanasi have all generated intense social media historiography in which Muslim voices have been systematically marginalised or subjected to abuse.

The Adivasi or tribal communities of India have experienced a different but equally significant marginalisation. The digital nationalist tendency to absorb Adivasi cultures into an overarching 'Hindu' civilisational narrative—a move with deep roots in RSS organisational practice—has encountered digital resistance from Adivasi intellectuals and activists who insist on the distinctiveness of tribal historical experience. The demand for a separate Adivasi religion code in the census, widely circulated on social media during the run-up to the 2021 census (ultimately delayed to 2024), is one illustration of the ways in which digital media have enabled marginalised communities to assert historiographical claims that challenge the incorporative logic of Hindu nationalism.

## 6. Theoretical Reflections: Mnemonic Warfare and Epistemic Democracy

The analysis presented in this paper suggests that the appropriate theoretical framework for understanding digital nationalism and historical consciousness in India is neither simply one of 'disinformation' (implying a straightforwardly false narrative imposed on a passive audience) nor of unqualified democratisation (implying the liberation of popular historical memory from elite academic gatekeeping). The concept of 'mnemonic warfare'—adapted from international relations scholarship on historical revisionism—captures more adequately the competitive, strategic, and politically consequential character of the phenomenon.

Mnemonic warfare, as understood here, involves the deliberate mobilisation of historical narratives as political resources: the selective invocation of the past to legitimise present power arrangements, delegitimise political opponents, and construct or reinforce collective identities. It is 'warfare' in the sense that it is contested—the dominant digital nationalism faces real, if asymmetrically resourced, opposition from counter-hegemonic

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

historical voices—and in the sense that its consequences are genuinely high-stakes, shaping citizenship, belonging, and the boundaries of the political community.

The democratic implications of this analysis are deeply uncomfortable. Social media has, indisputably, expanded popular engagement with Indian history in ways that have enormous positive potential. The circulation of Ambedkarite scholarship, the digital preservation of regional linguistic and cultural traditions, the crowd-sourced documentation of local historical sites—all of these represent genuine contributions to historical culture. But the same infrastructural conditions that enable these possibilities also enable the weaponisation of history in ways that can deepen communal divisions, delegitimise minority communities, and erode the evidentiary norms on which any shared public discourse depends.

Jan-Werner Müller's analysis of populism is instructive here: he argues that populist movements characteristically claim to speak for 'the real people' against corrupt elites. Digital nationalism in India performs an analogous historiographical move, claiming to recover the 'true' history of the Hindu nation against the distortions of secular Nehruvian historians, Western orientalists, and their supposed domestic allies. This framing positions academic historiography—with its institutional affiliations, its foreign funding, its English-medium discourse—as itself a form of historical falsification, inverting the epistemic hierarchy in ways that make scholarly rebuttal structurally ineffective.

## 7. Conclusion: Towards a Critical Digital Historiography

This paper has argued that digital nationalism in India between 2014 and 2026 has constituted a significant and underanalysed transformation in the conditions of historical consciousness. The social media ecosystem has become a primary site of historical meaning-making for hundreds of millions of Indians, operating largely outside the institutional frameworks—peer review, archival discipline, evidentiary norms—through which academic historiography has sought to regulate historical knowledge production. The consequences for communal relations, democratic citizenship, and the integrity of public discourse have been substantial and, in significant measure, harmful.

Yet the analysis also points toward the limitations of a purely defensive historiographical posture. Academic historians cannot win the struggle for historical consciousness simply by producing better-documented refutations of social media misinformation, circulated in journals that their intended audiences will never read. A more

10.48047/jocaaa.2024.33.08.518

adequate response requires engagement with the specific affordances of digital platforms—the visual, the affective, the vernacular, the networked—in ways that many professional historians find uncomfortable.

The most productive models, as this analysis suggests, come from unexpected quarters: the digital Ambedkarite intellectuals who have made Dalit history viral, the regional-language podcasters who have brought local archival research to mass audiences, the fact-checkers who have developed hybrid methodologies drawing on both journalistic and historical skills. These practices suggest the outlines of what might be called a 'critical digital historiography': a form of historical practice that is technically fluent, democratically oriented, epistemically rigorous, and politically aware of the conditions under which it operates.

The stakes of this endeavour are high. India in 2026 stands at a crossroads in its engagement with its own past. The decisions made in the next decade about how to educate citizens in historical thinking, how to regulate digital misinformation without sacrificing free expression, and how to create institutional frameworks for the democratic contestation of historical narratives will shape the character of Indian democracy for generations. Historians—professional and amateur, academic and activist, majoritarian and subaltern—have an indispensable role to play in that decision. Whether the discipline of history, as currently constituted, has the institutional imagination and the political will to play it remains, as of this writing, an open question.

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