

Rise of bharatiya janata party as single majority party in Modi's era: A review

Lalit Kumar Sharma

Project Officer, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies, Institute of Integrated Himalayan Studies, UGC Centre of Excellence, Himachal Pradesh University, Summer Hill, Shimla, Himachal Pradesh, India

Abstract

Politics, like money, never sleeps. Nor does Narendra Modi or so it seemed in 2019 Modi government, when the Prime Minister was perennially in fast-forward mode, working punishing hours even on holidays and setting a scorching pace that his colleagues and rivals found hard to match. Modi offered himself at the head of 'a *Majboot Sarkar*' since 1980 when the Congress sought votes in Indira Gandhi's name, had a political party given primacy to an individual leader and his presumed transformational leadership over and above any other calculus. The BJP to rise from two seats in the Lok Sabha in 1984 to 303 in 2019, and vote share of 7.7 percent to 48 percent today. BJP solo score can compare well with the popular sympathy vote caused by Indira Gandhi assassination in 1984 giving the Congress the highest 415 seats and 49.10 percent vote share. The outcome of the poll proved to be a landmark not just for Prime Minister Narendra Modi, but in India's electoral history as well. Modi led his party to a clear majority with the BJP winning 303 seats on its own and its allies winning another 50 seats to take the NDA tally to 353 in the 545 members Lok Sabha not since Indira Gandhi's back to back majorities in the 1967 and 1971 elections. In Modi quest for re-election, was ably assisted by BJP president Amit Shah, with whom he shares a guru-shishya relationship. Far from being complacent after the 2014 victory, Shah honed the party into an even more formidable fighting machine, its strength reaching 110 million in August 2019, making it arguably the largest democratic political party in the world. Modi's action to abrogation of Article 370 of the constitution which conferred special autonomy on J&K, ensuring closure on the Ayodhya Ram Mandir issue, setting up a National Register of Citizen & NRC (in future) to weed out illegal immigrants, particularly the large number of Bangladesh Muslims, amending the citizenship Act to help Hindu refugees from neighbouring countries become Indian citizens and establishing a uniform civil code, is urgent for nation because, between 1951 and 2011 censuses the Muslim population grew about 36 percent faster per year than the Hindu population numbers that Hindi activists have used to argue that India has an illegal (Muslim) immigration from neighbouring Muslims counties.

Keywords: Bharatiya Janata party, national democratic alliance, Janata dal united, Jan Sangh, Indian national congress

1. Introduction

The transformation of world's largest functioning democratic political system in India from one party dominance system of governance to a multi-party coalition one has been a phenomenal development. The multi-party system has inevitably led to multi-cornered contests^[1], within the broad multi-ethnic national matrix of India. Since 1990s major transformative changes occurred in Indian politics such as assertion of Dalit politics, the emergence of the right wingers and liberalization of the economy have resulted of the rise of local parties^[2]. The first three general elections of the Lok Sabha (1952, 1957 & 1962) were contested by many political parties, but the Congress Party maintained her electoral dominance by winning a majority of seats in the Lok Sabha and in almost all the states in India. The election of 1967 was a kind of watershed because the Congress Party was defeated in eight major states of India, i.e. Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Odisha. At the national level the first non-Congress government of Janata Party was formed in 1977, in post-emergency period^[3].

The popular base of single party dominance which ruled India during 1952-1989 (except 1977-79) it represented different religious, reasons, caste, class and interests can succeed in amassing the maximum seats. It provided a fertile ground for the birth of a regional parties^[4]. and the

regionalization of the national politics.^[5] It started from the 9th general elections of the Lok Sabha to 15th general elections. In these seven general elections, no single party has been able to achieve majority in the Lok Sabha. In 16th general elections which were held in May 2014. Under the leadership of Narendra Modi, Bharatiya Janata Party won 282 of the 543 seats reducing the Congress to 44 seats, a number so small the India's oldest party of Indira Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru for 54 of the 67 years that the country had been ruled. In 2014 Modi, then the long-time Chief Minister of the western state of Gujarat and leader of the Hindu nationalist BJP, was elected to power by the greatest mandate the country had seen in 30 years^[6]. In 2019 general elections of Lok Sabha Modi became the first Indian Prime Minister since 1971 to secure a single party majority twice in a row^[7]. not since Indira Gandhi's back to back majorities in the 1967 and 1971 elections had an Indian leader achieved such a feat^[8].

2. Rise of Bharatiya Janata Party

The Bharatiya Jan Sangh was an Indian right-wing political party that existed from 1951-1977 and was the political arm of Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh (RSS), a Hindu nationalist volunteer organisation, was founded by Shyama Prasad Mookerjee in 21st October 1951. He was a distinguished statesman and he was invited by Jawahar Lal

Nehru to join his first cabinet, because of his administrative experiences and personal integrity later he resigned from the cabinet, due to policy and ideological differences with Nehru and he sought to organize an alternative to the Congress Party at Indian policies^[9]. In 1952, BJS was fought first general election and got 3.06 percent of the total popular votes^[10]. After emergency in 1977, the Jan Sangh was joined the mainstream of Indian politics and to end its political isolation, merged with several other left, centre and right parties opposed to the Indian National Congress and formed the Janata Party.

The Janata Party was apparently a single party, but in reality it was a combination of the socialist party, BJS, Lok Dal, Congress-O and the group of dissident congressmen led by Jagjivan Ram, Ram Manohar Lohiya and H.N. Bahuguna^[11]. won the 1977 Lok Sabha elections under the leadership of Morarji Desai a coalition government was formed^[12]. In this government Jan Sangh not only had the largest contingent of the Janata party MPs in the Parliament but also had three cabinet positions. Atal Behari Vajpayee, L.K. Advani and Brij Lal Verma, were given the portfolio of foreign affairs, information and broad casting and industry by all accounts their performance in their respective department was highly rated,^[13] but in 1978 BJS leader resigns from the Janata Party rather than severs it relation with the (RSS) when Raj Naryain, Madhu Limaya and George Fernades raised dule membership controversy (Janata Party and RSS)^[14]. after the Janata Party split, in 6th April 1980 the former Jan Sangh was recreated as the Bharatiya Janata Party, which is currently India's largest political party by primary membership and representation in the Lok Sabha. BJP claimed its strength of membership, reaching 110 million in August 2019, making it arguably the largest democratic political party in the world^[15].

The BJP returned to power in May 2019 general elections with a thumping majority, more than 600 million votes exercised their franchise in the national elections and 44 percent of them voted Modi led National Democratic Alliance to power with 353 seats. BJP solo score 303 seats, it can compare well with the one by Indira Gandhi in 1971 when she fought off a united non-communist oppositions 'grand alliance' one is not taking into account in popular sympathy vote caused by her assassination in 1984 giving the congress the highest 415 seats^[16]. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's critics said that 56 percent of the voter rejected him, but the first and foremost mantra of democracy is this: one who wins the majority number of votes in a first-past-the post system is the winner and by that yard stick, Modi and Amit Shah were clear winner^[17]. On this thumping majority Modi said the mandate laid the foundation for the 21st century India, where there would be only two castes, "the first of these castes would be the poor and the second those who want to fight poverty"^[18]. Modi has gone on record saying "My government's only religion is India first. It treats the constitution as its sole scripture. It worships only the cause of the welfare of all^[19]". on 30th May 2019, Modi, along with 57 Ministers took oath of office at a grand swearing in ceremony at Rashtrapati Bhawan^[20].

In 2014 Lok Sabha elections BJP won two out of every three seats, it contested 428 seats and won 282, has had a clear parliamentary majority, similarly, no party has captured more than 30 percent of the total votes cast since 1991^[21]. While the BJP did get a majority on its own, its

overall vote share was only 31 percent. We must not that in India's electoral history the lowest vote share of a party securing majority in Lok Sabha was 41 percent (Congress in 1967 and the Janata Party in 1977). The BJP polled 31 percent of the votes in the election. This was indeed a great leap for the party that had receded to barely 19 percent votes in 2009, it was 3 percent more votes compared to the ruling Congress but could not emerge as the party with absolute majority in the Lok Sabha^[22]. in the last seven general elections starting from 1989 till 2009 no party has been able to achieve parliamentary majority but BJP has emerged the single largest party in 1996, 1998 and 1999^[23]. general elections and formed the coalition governments, Vajpayee returned with a clear majority of National Democratic Alliance in 1999 and completed its full term in the office.

3. Regional, religion, class and cast support base of the BJP

The Bharatiya Janata Party has been a major player in the northern, centre and the western regions of India from the 1970s onwards, when the 2019 Lok Sabha elections commenced; there was not much doubt about the powers of the BJP as far as north, central and western India. The curiosity was about the east and the south. In 2014, the BJP had a skewed base and was not able to expand enough in there two regions, now that has changed^[24]. The BJP almost double its parliamentary seats count in the northeast as the National Democratic Alliance bagged 18 out of 25 seats in the region in 2019 Lok Sabha elections^[25]. due to "Look East" Policy did yield positive results to the BJP. Among southern states, Karnataka is the only state in South India that followed the national trend of endorsing a second term for the BJP^[26]. The BJP has registered its best ever performance in Karnataka, won 25 of the total 28 seats while another seat has been won by an independent candidate supported by it, in 2004 when it won 18 seats. It kept up the tempo & winning 19 and 17 seats respectively in 2009 and 2014 polls^[27]. it also won four seats in Telangana a spectacular performance by the party^[28]. While it has still not made head way in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and only limited inroads into Orisha^[29]. On BJP defeat in Tamil Nadu, DMK leader Stalin's said, we were able to sustain the anti-Modi campaign throughout the last few years and in every nook and corner of the states^[30]. In Andhra Pradesh BJP vote share of 0.90 percent in lower than the 1.50 percent polled by the none of the above (NOTA)^[31]. but in Kerala party might not have succeeded in breaking a long standing 'Political Curse' of not winning a parliament seat in Modi wave^[32].

The BJP won 18 seats out of 42 in West Bengal the left's failure in opening its account, and the BJP went from 10 percent vote share in the 2016 assembly elections to 40 percent in the 2019 Lok Sabha polls^[33]. It took almost 40 years since its inception in 6th April 1980 for the BJP to truly reach west-mony of the Trinamool and challenged Ms. Banerjee's popularity. Although 43 percent of the voters of West Bengal liked Mamta Banerjee more than Modi as a leader, Modi was not far behind 37 percent Modi popularity at the national level prevailed over. Banerjee's popularity 42 percent of the respondent's preferred him as the Prime Minister while only 13 percent who preferred Banerjee^[34]. Among best Prime Minister, Modi was rated higher than all other prime Ministers by a substantial margin 37 percent compared to Indira Gandhi (14 percent) Atal Bihari

Vajpayee (11 percent) and Jawahar Lal Nehru (9 percent). Modi has the remarkable skill of keeping his ear to the ground and feeling the pulse of the people, better than anyone else in recent history, that coupled with a tremendous self-belief, deep convictions, hard word, the ability to think big and take even bigger risk extraordinary communication skill and talent for dramatic facts accomplish seems to have elevated him to his current exalted status^[35]. Four other significant qualities that should make Modi happy he is seem as pro-poor, uncorrupt, possessing an extraordinary connect with people and believing in Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikaas, Sabka Vishvaas^[36]. Charismatic leaders have always resorted to truth manipulation and have shown the totalitarian aspects of leadership which are more than evident in Modi's personality, campaign and speeches^[37].

The Narendra Modi wave 2.0 was clearly visible in North India states, like Haryana, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi where the BJP won all the seats while the Congress drew a blank^[38]. The BJP not only won majority of Lok Sabha seats in the western states like Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra^[39], and central states like Madhya Pradesh, Chhatisgarh, Jharkhand for the second straight elections but won them also with mammoth margins bigger than those in 2014^[40]. around six months after the BJP lost the assembly elections in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhatisgarh to the Congress, the party along with an ally, carried out a near complete sweep of the Lok Sabha seats in the three states winning 62 out of the 65 constituencies^[41]. it was a 100 percent strike rate in these areas.^[42] In Uttar Pradesh BJP won 64 out of 80 seats along with its ally Apna Dal^[43]. and winning 39 out of 40 seats, the NDA registered an unprecedented victory in the Bihar getting 53 percent votes. The only seat that the NDA lost was minority dominated Kishanganj where the Congress candidate defeated the JD (U) candidate^[44]. The 2019 verdict has also dismantled social justice politics in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, two states that together send 120 members to the Lok Sabha. The rise of Hindutva since the 1980s had a parallel a new wave of backward caste, mobilization in many parts of northern and western India^[45]. Modi also played his OBC card in the deep South in Kerala. The strategy aimed at eroding the left parties power base in Kerala^[46]. Modi's life story was told as the struggle of a man from a backward caste, born into poverty and devoting his entire life to the cause of social service and the well-being of his people. The past two decades leaders from middle and backward castes became the face of the party at the state level too, about one-third of the OBC's voted for the BJP and they constituted nearly 40 percent all the voters the BJP got in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, the BJP saw a rise of 8 percent vote among the OBC's 10 percent among the scheduled castes and 14 percent among the scheduled tribes while only 24 percent of the poor, 31 percent lower class, 38 percent of the upper middle classes preferred vote for the BJP in 2019 elections. The 2019 Lok Sabha election saw not only the highest number of the women candidates contesting (724), but also the highest number of women winner (78) for the first time in India's electoral history, the voter turnout for men and women was almost equal 66.79 percent and 66.68 percent^[47]. Out of 542 MPs 78 are women, with Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal leading at 11 each. Nearly 12 percent of the member in 17th Lok Sabha is below the age of 40, in 16th Lok Sabha had 8 percent of its MPs below the age of 40

years that indicates "This looks the longer-term trend of the Lok Sabha getting older. The proportion of the MPs below 40 years of age has steadily declined from 26 percent in the first Lok Sabha^[48].

The history of democracy tells you that nationalism and (majority) religion is an unbeatable combination. The Hindu were on the one side and the minorities were clearly on the other side, indicating a deeply polarized verdict only 8 percent of Muslim voters, vote for the BJP 11 percent Christians, 20 percent Sikhs. This lack of enthusiasm for the BJP among the minority communities are also evident in the party not being able to perform too well in minority communities are also evident in the party not being able to perform too well in minority concentrated states like Kerala, Punjab, Goa and J&K^[49]. The most prominent charge leveled by Modi's opponents is that he is communal and divisive and will alienate the minorities^[50]. but BJP leaders believe that recent results such as the increase in the alliance's vote share in the 2019 Lok Sabha election are a result of Prime Minister Modi's popularity^[51]. India represents a civilization of composite and syncretic culture. Thus India is a sangam (Fusion) of different cultures where none loses its unique characteristic and qualities and yet forms a perfect union. This Ganga Jamuni Tehzeeb championed by freedom fighters life. Sarojini Naidu is the soul of Indian nationhood^[52]. People of a vast and diverse land put up with a bunch of cow belt Brahmins, Banions and Thakurs dictating term, before showing them their middle fingers? The Hindu's upper caste hegemony spreading fear, anger, anxiety and hate while very meticulously converting a large section of the Hindu population also into a stable vote bank blurring caste, class, religion and regional distinction in the process^[53].

4. Schemes, policies and strategies of Modi's governments

Bharatiya Janata Party had declared Narendra Modi as its Prime Ministerial candidate in September 2013, nine months before the votes were polled for the 16th Lok Sabha in May 2014. He was announced as the Prime Ministerial candidate, by the 12 members Parliamentary Board of the BJP^[54]. The BJP's strategy of declaring its Prime Minister candidature, several of months before the elections provided the party an advantage over its principal rival the Congress. In 2014 general election BJP consciously crafted its entire campaigns around Modi's personality of a strong Vikas Purush^[55]. Over the last four general elections in India, the leadership factor has been central to election campaigns. In this election Modi covering 3,00,000 kilometers within nine months, attending 5187 events, addressed 477 rallies in 25 states, 1350 rallies through 3D technology, 15000 hoarding across India, bought the most prominent ad slots, across nation, regional and vernacular newspapers for 40 days and bought about 2000 spot a day across-Hindi, English and regional news general entertainments. In this whole campaign BJP's spent around ` 5000 crore^[56].

The pitch was rooted in the promise of acche din, jobs revival of manufacturing, basic welfare for the poor, Modi came through as a strong Vikas Purush as someone who set India off on a new trajectory and get the Sunehri Chidiya to fly again. After declaration of elections result BJP won an absolute majority in the Lower House of Parliament (282) for the first time in its electoral history after the Congress Party's appeal vanished in a haze of corruption. Modi and

his NDA were criticized for winning the popular vote share lower-even 31 percent and 330 of the 543 available seats in parliament and Congress won 44 seats, a number so small the India's oldest party no longer even had the right to lead the opposition. The decline of the Congress is symptomatic of the fading appeal of the old ways of conducting politics and also fails to upgrade its message modes of outreach and organizational structure^[57].

The Bharatiya Janata Party electoral successes after 2014 are largely the result of communal mobilization, various schemes, which recognition of the life changing benefits that the government had been able to deliver on the ground to the poorest of the poor, for instance the toilets which saved crores of women from the same of defecating in the open. Jan Dhan bank accounts that gave crores of Indian their first taste of the formal economy, LPG, which freed families from spending their evenings in the depressing environment of smoke-filled huts, Ujjwala Yojana, Swachh Bharat Abhiyan, Bharat Aayusaman Yojana, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, Bet Bachao, Bet Padhao^[58]. Deen Dayal Upadhyay Gram Viduytikaran Yojana, Mudhra Yojana, Make in India, Digital India, P.M. Kisan Saman Yojana, start-up India^[59]. such many schemes and programmes that Modi government launched and executive successfully in last five years. The 2019 general election BJP was fought on, development, national security, nationalism and sectarianism^[60]. Vikas rather than Hindutva that contributed to BJP's massive win in the 2019 Lok Sabha polls is evident from the massive 8 percent increase in turn out of rural women. The party win percentage was 59 percent in rural India versus 52 percent in urban (its traditional turf) against pointing to the appeal of grass roots schemes that actually went through^[61]. gave 48 percent popular vote to the BJP. It can claim to be close to the 1984 score of 49.10 percent (415 seats) and BJP got 7.7 percent then and only two members won.

In the 2019 Lok Sabha polls BJP replaces its candidates or denying ticket to long-term MPs paid rich dividends to the BJP in the Lok Sabha elections with the party winning 89.8 percent of those 89 seats which was replaced by the party. The party side lined nine other MPs by giving their seats to allies such as the Janata Dal (U) in Bihar, the Shiv Sena in Maharashtra and the Apna Dal in Uttar Pradesh. The allies won all the seats the BJP had yielded^[62]. The result of 2019 Hindutva has pushed Nehruvian secularism to the margins of Indian politics. This election was led by Nehru's great-grand son Rahul Gandhi, did better than in 2014, but not enough to ever be recognized as the official opposition in the Lok Sabha, Rahul Gandhi took 100 percent responsibility for the crushing defeat of his party in the 2019 Lok Sabha polls, Punjab is the only state in the northern region and the second after Kerala in the whole of India where the Congress performed well^[63]. Since 2014, it has been noted that young voters are particularly strong supporters of the BJP. Party initiated several campaign programmes to attract the youth before the 2019 Lok Sabha election. A digital campaign, youth with Modi, was launched on social media to connect people on a single platform to discuss and advertise the popular policies introduced by the NDA government. The youth wing of the BJP's Yuva Shakti this was used to popularize. The BJP's schemes among college students^[64]. The Party President Amit Shah seemed to have had different plans of

establishing its own independent footprint exploiting the popularity of Narendra Modi^[65].

Modi headed the government during a period of major job losses, serious agrarian crises, marginalization of the minorities and polarization of society. And yet he was re-elected to power what is the secret of his appeal to voters across, class and caste? Over the past five years we see a worldwide trend e.g. in the US, Russia, Turkey, the Philippines, Hungary, Poland and Brazil of a shift to a mode of politics known as authoritarian populism, populist leaders are not anti-democratic, they are elected often with huge mandates^[66]. Modi 2.0 government took historical steps within six months on the most prominent achievement of eliminating Article 370 from J&K. The state has been downgraded to Union Territory status, and key powers transferred to New Delhi^[67]. ban on instant triple *talaq* and Supreme Court order for the construction of Ram Temple at Ayodhya^[68]. Passed the citizenship (Amendment) act (CAA) in the winter session of Parliament^[69]. This type of performance by Modi government, nobody can take Modi away from the BJP. No leader seems to be rising anywhere at this point who could conceivably challenge Modi even in 2024 general elections^[70]. The history of democracy tells us that nationalism good governance and (Majority) religion is an unbeatable combination to win the popular votes. Modi government dream to make India's economy \$ 5 Trillion by 2024^[71]. but China made virus name Corona, Covid-19 stand behind the commitment against Modi government.

5. Conclusion

Modi and the BJP have also started losing their aura of electoral invincibility in recent months, conceding power in the Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Delhi Assembly Elections to a new opposition combine and forced to form a coalition government in Haryana. Today the BJP's foot print in the states has halved from 71 percent in December 2018 to about 35 percent now. The Delhi assembly verdict may force the BJP back to the drawing board on its girds up for future elections. Five are coming up over the next two years. Meanwhile, protest continues across the country over (CAA, NRC, NPR) the perceived communal bias. This protests are supported by opposition (mainly Congress and Left Parties) may have found the glue that will give them oxygen and polarization of the Muslim Voters in favor of them against national interest. Modi government on the national issues of Abrogation of Article 370 from Kashmir, ban on Instant Triple Talaq and Construction of Ram Temple at Ayodhya a still larger majority (59 percent) are in favor of these issues and nationalism, strengthen the Modi government for future polls against opportunist opposition parties.

References

1. Suryanarayan Shastri DT. (ed.), Fifty Years of Indian Independence and the Polity. New Delhi, APH. Publishing House Corporation, 2000, 230.
2. Chatterji Saubhadra. How Congress Votes have shifted to Dominant Regional Parties. Hindustan Times. 2020; 19:9.
3. Yellaiah Dr. P. Coalition Government in India an Overview. Third Concept. 2013; 26(311):20-21.
4. Suri KC. Andhra Pradesh Politics of Conformation. The Indian Journal of Political Science. 1994; 4(3):199.
5. Ahuja ML. Handbook of General Electoral Reforms. New Delhi, Mittal Publications, 2000, 7.

6. Taseer Aatish. Of the Great Democracies to fall Populism India was the first. *Time*, May 30, 2019, P. 33.
7. Editorial Narendra Modi's Land slide: Bad for India's soul. *Mainstream*. 2019; 57(24):31- 3.
8. Chengappa Raj. The Power of two. *India Today*. 2020; 6:22-23.
9. Jagat Singh S. The Return of Democracy. New Delhi. Pankaj Publications. 1977, 43-44.
10. Yogendra K. Malik and Singh VB. Hindu Nationalists in India, the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party. New Delhi, Vistaar Publications, 1995, 30.
11. Bakshi SR. (ed.), Atal Behari Vajpayee. New Delhi, Deep & Deep Publications, 1998, 155.
12. Maheshwari SR. Political Development in India. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1984, 77.
13. Malhotra Vinay Kumar. Coalition Government in India: A Critique of Prevalent Theories. *Journal of Political Science*. Jalandhar, Post-Graduate Department of Political Science, DAV College. 2005; 1(1):61-62.
14. Asghar Ali. Engineer. Defeat of NDA, Victory of Secularism, in center for study of society and secularism. 2004; 16-31:1.
15. Ayyub Rana, Amit Shah. India's invisible Prime Minister, gets more powerful and dangerous. *Mainstream*. 2019; 57(25):7-10.
16. Ved Mahendra. Modi 2.0 pluralism is out, majoritarianism is in. *Mainstream*. 2010; 57(25):16.
17. Shekhar Shashi. How 2020 could be better than 2019. *The Hindustan Times*, 2010, 10.
18. Hebbar Nistula. A mandate from a new India. *The Hindu*, 2019, 1.
19. Gupta Barun Das. Modi's one year as Prime Minister. *Mainstream*. 2015; 53(23):9.
20. Hebbar Nistula. Modi takes oath with 57 Ministers at glittering event. *The Hindu*, 2019, 1.
21. Verma Rahul, Pradeep Chibber. The BJP's Modi wave. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 2014; 54(39):53-54.
22. Suri KC, Suhas Palshikar. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 2014; 49(39):40-47.
23. Sridharan E. Class voting in the 2014 Lok Sabha Election. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 2014; 49(39):73.
24. Palshikar Suhas. The BJP's Act East/ Moment. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
25. Karmakar Rahul. BJP doubles North East seat tally. *The Hindu*, 2019, 5.
26. Nagash KL, Veena Devi. Heading towards political uncertainty. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
27. Kumar Satish BS. BJP points Karnataka Saffron. *The Hindu*, 2019, 4.
28. Geetanath V. Double delight for BJP in Telangana. *The Hindu*, 2019, 14.
29. Chatterjee Partha. Populism plus. *Mainstream*. 2019; 57(25):11-12.
30. Ramakrishnana T. DMK-led front capitalized on anti-Modi narrative. *The Hindu*, 2019, 4.
31. Raghavendra V. BJP drows a blank in Andhra Pradesh, routed in Assembly, LS. *The Hindu*, 2019, 4.
32. Menon Girish. UDF tsunami drowns left, JPB in Kerala. *The Hindu*, 2019, 4.
33. Hebbar Nistula. How the saffron tide shook the Trinamool citadel. *The Hindu*, 2019, 6.
34. Basu Suprio, Jyoti Prasad Chatterjee. When the left moved right. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
35. Changappa Raj. *Modistan*. *Indian Today*, 2019, 24.
36. Kumar Arun. One year of NDA Rule: Issue is not activity but its direction. *Mainstream*. 2015; 53(23):3.
37. Hari Krishnan B. Pradeep Nair, Navneet Sharma. The Making and Rise of Narendra Modi. *Mainstream*. 2014; 52(21):28.
38. Phukan Sandeep. Modi Wave 2.0 Floods Haryana, HP, Uttarakhand. *The Hindu*, 2019, 5.
39. Kumar Sanjay, Sandeep Shastri, Suhas Palshikar. Modi all the way. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
40. Parmar Bhanu, Mahashweta Jani. BJP irons out 2017 wrinkles. *The Hindu*, 2019, 10.
41. Nath Damini. Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh swing back to BJP. *The Hindu*, 2019, 5.
42. Shastri Sandeep. A mixed bag up North. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
43. Rashid Omar. It's a BJP sweep in Uttar Pradesh. *The Hindu*, 2019, 8.
44. Alam Sanjeer, Vinay Kumar Singh, Rakesh Ranjan. Reposing trust in the NDA and the Prime Minister. *The Hindu*, 2019, 12.
45. Editorial. For a rediscovery of India. *The Hindu*, 2019, 10.
46. Kumar MK, Bhadra. Modi caste wars. *Mainstream*. 2014; 52(21):14.
47. Anurag Jain, Vibha Attri. When schemes translate into votes. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
48. Press Trust of India. 78 women MPs in New Lok Sabha. *The Hindu*, 2019, 11.
49. Attri Vibha, Sardesai Shreyas. The verdict is a manifestation of the deepening religious divide in India. *The Hindu*, 2019, 9.
50. Kumar Sanjay. Should only minorities be worried over Narendra Modi? *Mainstream*. 2014; 52(21):15.
51. Mahajan Anilesh S. Clouds over the House of Badals. *India Today*, 2020, 22.
52. Ranjan Prabhash. Our freedom fighters did not fight for a parochial views of nationalism. *Hindustan Times*, 2019, 12.
53. Sagar Satya. Phantom of the Vedic opera returns in India. *Mainstream*. 2019; 57(25):4-5.
54. Bijalwan Anubhav, Deeksha Gupta. Prime Ministerial candidate in a Parliamentary Democracy. *Mainstream*, 2019; 57(15):20.
55. Syal Reetika, Sandeep Shastri. Leadership in context. *Economic & Political Weekly*. 2014; 49(39):78-79.
56. Sardesai Shreyas, Rahul Verma. Does Media Exposure affect voting behaviour and political preference in India. *Economic & Political Weekly*. 2014; 49(39):83-84.
57. Editorial. Facing the debacle. *The Hindu*, 2019, 8.
58. Tripathi, Purnima S. Tribal anger. *Frontline*, 2019, 27.
59. Diwakar DM. Are NDA-II government's budgets farmer-focused and rural centric? *Mainstream*. 2018; 56(10):20-21.
60. Puniyani Ram. Can Indian democracy survive another five years of Modi rule? *Mainstream*. 2019; 57(25):17.
61. Kansal Rahul. Hundutva's diminishing return. *The Times of India*. 2019, 10.
62. Karmakar Rahul. BJP gains by candidate change. *The Hindu*, 2019, 11.

63. Mishra Jyoti, Ashutosh Kumar, Jagrup Singh Sekhon. An outlier in the north. *The Hindu*, 2019, 10.
64. Mishra Jyoti, Amrit Negi. The most preferred party of young India. *The Hindu*, 2019, 1.
65. Gudavarthy Ajay. History repeats itself for the TDP. *The Hindu*, 2019, 10.
66. Chandhoke Neera. The making of the 2019 verdict. *The Hindu*, 2019, 8.
67. Rajeev Gowda. 100 days of reckless and dangerous governance. *Hindustan Times*, 2019, 10.
68. Shekhar Shashi. 1992-2019: from darkness to light. *Hindustan Times*, 2019, 10.
69. Kidwai Rasheed. Today's BJP a far cry from Deendayal era. *The Tribune*, 2019, 9.
70. Gupta Shekhar. How AAP beat BJP at its own game. *Hindustan Times*, 2020, 10.
71. Panagariya Arvind. How to do \$5 trillion by 2024. *The Times of India*, 2019, 10.