



# An episteme of Indian Election studies

## *Towards understanding 70 years of narratives of research on Elections in India*

Arulselvan S

This paper aims to provide a modest idea about the contemporary literature on Indian Election Studies<sup>1</sup>, by analysing 106 journal articles<sup>2</sup> published in academic journals since 1952 when the first general election was conducted in India after independence. Through this study, an attempt has been made to capture factors ranging from corrupt candidates nominated by national political parties, influence of caste and religion, marginalisation of dalits, addivasis, women and minorities in the political participation, vote buying by political parties through patronage and favour, paid news in moulding public opinion to the egregious interest evinced by American scholars in Indian electoral studies. The extensive review of literature spanning across 17 general elections to Parliament in India brings out the obvious research gaps and oversights as well. Besides, the study maps the significant institutions, agencies, research groups involved, databases compiled, special numbers published by academic journals, related to elections of India. By analysing the literature of past seventy years, one can safely imagine the course of further trajectory of Indian politics, elections and democracy.

### The birth of electoral democracy in India

India is one of the oldest continuous democracies in Asia, excluding only a brief authoritarian interlude in the mid-1970s (Choi, 2009). At the time of India's independence, few believed that India would survive as a democracy (Diwakar, 2015) and the imperialists believed<sup>3</sup> that non-Europeans were not suited to self-government, and that Asians were prone to 'oriental despotism'.

Elections are considered as mechanisms to distribute and redistribute political power, and, therefore, electoral politics is supposed to be the central mode of expression of political differences in a democracy. The idea of elected representation was introduced with the Government of India Act in 1919 and 1935, granting direct elections at all levels. The British introduced Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882 for representative elections at the level of local bodies, followed by the 1892 Indian Councils Act introducing legislative changes and further stating free opinion and civil rights (Julia, 2018).

Elections are considered as mechanisms to distribute and redistribute political power, and, therefore, electoral politics is supposed to be the central mode of expression of political differences in a democracy. The idea of elected representation<sup>4</sup> was introduced with the Government of

- 
1. Tawa Lama-Rewal defines election studies as scholarly work focusing on the major phases of the electoral process, i.e. the campaign, the vote, the announcement of results and subsequent government formation (Tawa Lama-Rewal, 2009).
  2. List of 106 articles given in the annexure 1
  3. The Delhi correspondent of The Times (London), in a series on 'India's Disintegrating Democracy', published in late January 1967, stated that 'the great experiment of developing India within a democratic framework has failed,' and referred to 'the fourth- and surely last-general election' (Palmer, 1967).

India Act in 1919 and 1935, granting direct elections at all levels<sup>5</sup>. The British introduced Lord Ripon's resolution of 1882 for representative elections at the level of local bodies, followed by the 1892 Indian Councils Act introducing legislative changes and further stating free opinion and civil rights (Julia, 2018).

Norman Palmer (1975) points out lucidly the significance of election studies in a democratically governed society:

The study of elections provides an opportunity to study the political system in action. If we take a longitudinal view of the political system, elections are situated at its interstices, but they bring out the interacting social forces that are at work in the polity, and further provide insights into different aspects of the system and its actual functioning. In India, elections played a central role in mobilising millions of people into the political process, crystallising public opinion on many public issues, and also in locating a new political elite (Palmer, 1975).

In debating the virtues of establishing an Election Commission for India, the framers were guided by three cardinal principles: equality, independence, and representation (Kapur et al., 2018). Indian democracy took a giant step forward with the first general election held in 1951–52 over a four-month period. With nearly 700 million voters, a general election to Lok Sabha, was the biggest experiment and the largest single event organised in a democracy in the world. Most of the voters were poor, illiterate, and rural, and had no prior experience of elections. The big question at the time was how people would respond to this opportunity. In all, candidates of over fourteen national and sixty-three regional parties and a large number of independents contested 489 Lok Sabha seats and 3,283 state assembly seats<sup>6</sup> (B. Chandra et al., 2007).

The mechanics of the elections, scheduled for the first months of 1952, presented a 'problem of colossal proportions', noted Park (Park, 1952). Citing a couple of news stories and features that appeared in the news media, Guha (2002) paints a clear picture about the socio political reality that prevailed during the first general elections. 'Amita Malik<sup>7</sup>, commented in an essay on the elections that it 'was an unequal fight. The Congress has merely to remind the villager that it got rid of the British Raj in office'. However, the Congress campaign 'was a one-man affair - Nehru, Nehru and more Nehru. He was chief of staff, field commander, spokesman and foot-soldier at one and the same time', remarked Michael Brecher<sup>8</sup>. C. R. Srinivasan, a veteran Madras editor<sup>9</sup>, recorded: 'A large majority will exercise votes for the first time: not many know what the vote is, why they should vote, and whom they should vote for; no wonder the whole adventure is rated as the biggest gamble in history' (Guha, 2002). Amartya Sen observed that 'the elections, the mass media, and the political liberties' do not give prominence to 'endemic malnutrition and hunger that is not acute', and 'easily allow the quiet continuation of persistent injustices. It permits the injustice of keeping a large majority of the people illiterate while the elite enjoy the benefits of a vast system of higher education' (Sen, 1983).

4. Indian democracy follows the 'Single Member Plurality System' (SMPS), which has been widely known as the 'First Past the Post' (FPTP) system, to elect the members of the Lok Sabha, and to State Assemblies. The candidate receiving the maximum number of votes wins the election. This system produces disproportionality, between votes and seats (Diwakar, 2015).

5. To read more on the elections in India, prior to independence, read: Tiwari (Tiwari, 2018)

6. Of these, 98 seats for the Lok Sabha and 669 for the State Assemblies were reserved for the Dalits and adhvavis. Closer to 17,500 candidates stood for the seats to the Lok Sabha and the state legislatures. The elections held for about four months from 25 October 1951 to 21 February 1952.

7. Amita Malik, "As India Votes," *New Statesman* published from London on January 19, 1952

8. In his book *Nehru: A Political Biography*, published by Oxford University Press in 1959

9. "The Elections Are On," *The Indian Review*, January 1952.

Since the first elections, there have been three vital changes in the structure of party competition (Yadav 1996). First, the period from 1947 to 1967 was known for single-party dominance<sup>10</sup>, wherein Congress was a catchall party that drew support from across the society (Kothari 1964). Second, there was the ‘Congress–opposition system’, starting from 1967 until 1993. Though Congress was the most prominent party across the country, it was not considered to be a dominant party. Though Congress party was a significant player in almost all the States, it faced effective opposition from the regional parties, such as the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamil Nadu and the Telugu Desam Party in Andhra Pradesh. The third phase from 1989 onwards, kick-started during the assembly elections held during 1993-95, signals a shift towards a multi-party system, wherein the rise of the BJP and Backward Caste parties, such as the Samajwadi Party, Bahujan Samaj Party, and the Rashtriya Janata Dal, in Northern States, and coalition governments became the new face of Indian electoral system. The emergence, maintenance and decline of the political dominance of the Congress Party were one of the earliest topics for research in the study of Indian politics (Kothari 1964, Chhibber 2005). Caste and their connection to electoral and party politics in India have been another significant area of research within academia. Another significant theme has been the implication of the structure of organized civil society on the consolidation of party and electoral politics (Chhibber 1999). This theme is quite clearly connected to the study of the regional differentiation and overall regionalization of party and electoral politics (Pehl, 2010) (Yadav, 1996), (Ziegfeld 2012) and (Heath, 2015).

## Methodology

This study analyses 106 research papers that appeared in academic research journals, since the first general elections till the 17th general elections held to the Indian Parliament in 2019. The journal articles were compiled from Google Scholar and a few other databases. Studies about Indian elections alone were taken into account. A few articles were chosen from the special numbers published by journals on Indian election. Since the mid-1990s, the National Election Studies (NES) has researched electoral behaviour in India, covering the 1996, 1998, 2004, 2009 and 2014 parliamentary elections. Since the 1990s, the National Election Studies conducted by CSDS, has enabled quantitative analyses of political designs (Francesca R. Jensenius & Verniers, 2017). Major themes of the journal articles, identified through a critical reading of all the 106 journal articles, are presented below:

1. Evolution of Election studies in India
2. Americans’ interest in Indian elections
3. Caste influence in Indian elections
4. Women in Indian elections
5. Criminals’ engagement
6. Media and elections
7. Vote Bank and Indian election
8. Party systems, voter turnout, and anti-incumbency
9. Other Issues

---

10. Between 1950 and 1967 were a period of solid dominance of the Congress party, referred to as the Congress System, a term coined and used by Rajni Kothari. This was a system wherein kin and caste were taken into it and pressures and compromises were the norms of the system (Rajni, 1988).

## 1. Evolution of election studies in India

In the 1950s, there were no market research organizations in India unlike the sprouting number of poll agencies that practise psephology. In other words, the dominance of the Congress party prevented any agency to develop political polls (Butler, David; Lahiri, Ashok; Roy, Prannoy, 1995). All election studies were read as a 'state of democracy report'. The election reports conveyed a rosy picture, since elections were usually conducted in a 'free and fair' manner in India (Jayal, 2001). India-based election studies emerged from individual researchers as well as from Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), founded in New Delhi in 1963. Prannoy Roy<sup>11</sup> carried out survey research on elections in India from 1980s. He co-produced a series of volumes, with Butler and Lahiri<sup>12</sup>, and conducted a series of pan-India opinion polls. Prior to Prannoy Roy, survey research was introduced in India in the late 1950s by an economist turned journalist, Eric Da Cost<sup>13</sup>, considered 'the father of opinion polling in India' (Butler, David; Lahiri, Ashok; Roy, Prannoy, 1995).

Rajni Kothari<sup>14</sup>, who founded Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), New Delhi, in 1963, (Samuel & Ahmed, 1978), and applied survey research in his works at the CSDS to study general elections in 1967, 1971 and 1980. Later, the Centre started working on National Election Studies (NES) series. The CSDS team included Yogendra Yadav, a well-known political scientist whose literature on election studies of India is widely cited. In 1995, the CSDS team created Lokniti<sup>15</sup>, a network of scholars based in Indian states, working on democracy and on elections (Tawa Lama-Rewal, 2009).

The field of political communication studies in India is less developed than works in East Asia, the United States, or Europe. The earliest studies concentrated on descriptive analyses of political parties, candidates, policies, campaigns, and voting behaviour (Willnat & Annette, 2009). Many of these studies by Indian researchers were criticised for being journalistic and descriptive. They tend to be based on case studies or surveys of individual voters looking into aspects, such as the selection of candidates, campaign strategies, voting behaviours of individual voters, party preferences, and socio-economic status. Studies based on statistical analysis of aggregate election data, began to emerge after the 1970s (Pathy, 1979). Kondo (2007) conducted a comprehensive review of the elections studies up to the early years of 2000. Studies were divided into those based on aggregate longitudinal data and those based on survey data of the electorate. Voter turnout and votes polled by party were the two main variables analysed (Kondo, 2007). Going through a large material relating to elections from 1952 to the 1990s, Wendy Singer (2007) shows how some details of the electoral process reveal important social changes over time.

Several election studies were conducted during the first to third general elections, and subsequently election and voting behaviour studies became widespread, and the works multiplied with the financial support of the ICSSR (Indian Council of Social Science Research) and the UGC (University Grants Commission) (Pathy, 1979). The series of surveys sought to understand the long-term transformation of the support base of major parties, especially in measuring how the upper caste, Other Backward Classes (OBCs), SCs, STs, Muslims, Christians

11. Prannoy Roy, Executive Co-Chairperson NDTV Group, has a PhD in Economics from the Delhi School of Economics and he earlier served as Economic Advisor with the Ministry of Finance, Government of India. He founded the New Delhi Television (NDTV) along with his wife Radhika Roy.

12. Sir David Butler is political scientist of Oxford University, and Ashok Lahiri is an economist.

13. Eric Da Costa is the founder editor of the Journal of Public Opinion

14. Rajni Kothari, was an Eminent scholar, political scientist and a former Planning Commission member

15. Some of the leading media publications like the Hindu, India Today, Frontline and the Economist supported NES [National Election Studies] between 1996 and 1999.

etc. shifted their loyalty from the Congress party to other parties (Kondo, 2003). Most of these studies explained electoral outcomes through aggregate data, individual survey data, and case studies (Tawa Lama-Rewal, 2009). Theoretical frameworks used to evaluate voting behaviour in India are mostly based on Michigan and Columbia school of thoughts<sup>16</sup> (Kondo, 2007) .

### Ethnography as a method of study

Though survey method or ethnography were primarily employed in understanding the electoral system in India, one could notice a clear demarcation in using these methods. While, studies conducted by market agencies located in the Indian territory use survey methods, researchers serving in North American, East European and East Asian Universities used ethnography as a primary method. For instance, Chauchard (2018) collected ethnographic data over a period of 32 months, which included two elections: the 2014 legislative election and the 2017 municipal election (Chauchard, 2018). Norman D Palmer, was in India from early October 1966, to late April 1967, to study the fourth general elections to Indian Parliament, concentrating on Delhi, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Kerala. Palmer was in India after the first general election and during the second and third general elections. Gorringer (2016) offered an assessment based on a fieldwork conducted for about eight months in 2012 studying how the Viduthalai Chiruththigaikal Katchi (VCK) party in Tamilnadu is viewed today. Collins (2018) carried out more than eight years of field work in India (2008-16) conducting interviews with VCK politicians and eliciting data from field research during the 2014 Lok Sabha Election (March–April) to examine VCK's experiences of its election campaign and challenges related to election finance and coalition politics in India. In her ethnographic work in West Bengal, Mukulika Banerjee (year) argues that elections offer the citizens an opportunity to express their citizenship, and to understand the duties and rights in a democracy' (JAFFRELOT, 2012). Lisa Björkman conducted an ethnographic study over 24 months, between 2008 and 2012 to look into the influence of handouts in Mumbai Municipal elections (Björkman, 2014).

### 2. American scholars' interest in Indian election studies

After the end of World War II, the United States showed interest in economic and political affairs of other countries. Besides, the liberation of many countries from the colonial rule provided the stimulus for scholars from America to engage with the study of politics, especially in the third world countries. In the West, political scientists forayed into studying political behaviour of citizens. For instance, the Columbia and Michigan studies on voting behaviour had an impact on studies in India determining the research agenda. Later, election studies were launched in collaboration with American scholars, who were interested in understanding how far Indian polity could do away with the influence of communism<sup>18</sup>. American political scientists like Almond, Dahl, Deutsch, Huntington, Key, Lane, La Palmbora, Lipset, Powel, Pye, Riesman and Weiner<sup>19</sup> became key mentors (Pathy, 1979) for Indian scholars.

16. The work of Columbian traditions demonstrated the potential of election surveys as data for understanding campaigns and elections. Whereas, the Michigan election studies were based upon national survey samples. They were suited to develop and test theories of voting behavior and to provide an historical record of the considerations shaping the outcomes of specific national elections.

17. The Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi is one of the many small parties in India that sees Ambedkar as an inspiration. The VCK leader Thirumavalavan served as an MP in Delhi between 2009 and 2014 (Gorringer, 2019) and reelected to Parliament in 2019 election.

18. The cold war, communist revolution in China and communist insurrection in Telegana raised concern about communist expansion, and two significant books on Communist Party of India were published during this period (Kautsky, 1956; Overstreet, & Windmiller., 1959).

19. Myron Weiner (1931 – 1999) was an American political scientist and renowned scholar of India, South Asia, ethnic conflict, democratization, political demography, and the politics of developing countries.

Weiner (1957), began his much cited publication with 'Party Politics in India,' that provides an overview of India's party system in a comparative perspective. When Communists had emerged as the second largest party in Parliament in the first general election, Americans were worried that 'India would soon be lost to the Western world'<sup>20</sup> (Schwartz, 1952).

The results of the first general election to the Indian Parliament received a strange reception in many American newspapers. Emphasis was placed on the success of Communist candidates<sup>21</sup> as Communism winning elections outside of the Communist sphere of control was unprecedented. However, Communists only received 5.44 per cent of the popular vote in the first general elections indicating that India is not overrun with Communists or Communist sympathizers (SCHWARTZ, 1952).

American scholars collaborated with Indian scholars and published on Indian politics, elections and voting behaviour during later 60s and early 70s<sup>22</sup>. These works provided some of the sophisticated analyses of Indian voting behaviour<sup>23</sup>. Shortly after the emergency was declared, a warrant had been issued to arrest Jethmalani, who had continued to be an outspoken critic of Indira Gandhi's government. He was granted asylum in the United States. After the Janata party nominated Jethmalani for the Bombay seat, he flew back to India.

Patronage poured in to pursue research on Indian elections and politics. For instance, Paul Wallace, was awarded five Smithsonian funded awards for election studies in India, besides a Senior Fulbright Award. He authored / edited nine books including five on Indian national elections published by Sage, and over 40 articles. Anderson with Damle authored a book on the RSS, tracing its growth since its formation in the mid-1920s (Andersen & Damle, 2018). Research interest of US scholars on Indian elections continued even during the 17th Parliamentary elections and the recent book on 2019 elections comes from the celebrated researcher Wallace on Indian elections (Wallace, 2020).

It is said that America uses its intelligence gained from intensive research conducted in India. One case worth citing is of Walter Anderson. Walter Andersen is the Director of the South Asia Studies program at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He retired as chief of the US State Department's South Asia Division in the Office of Analysis for the Near East and South Asia. Andersen held other key positions within the State Department, including special assistant to the ambassador at the US Embassy in New Delhi and member of the Policy Planning Staff in Washington, DC. He previously taught at the College of Wooster, University of Chicago, and American University. He has written extensively on foreign affairs in South Asia and has written a book on Hindu nationalism.

### 3. Caste and Indian elections

India begun its post independent history, with the politicisation of the lower castes who voted their representatives to power as soon as they started liberating themselves from the caste elite's domination. Basiruddin Ahmed (1970) argues that in India caste remains the principal basis

20. A Communist, Ravi Narayan Reddy won a seat in Parliament by the largest margin, larger than Jawaharlal Nehru (Guha, 2002).

21. But the ground reality was different. In its effort to build strength, the Communist party of India (CPI) employed three strategies: cooperation with the Indian government, attempt at revolutionary seizure of power, and united front with other leftist parties vis-h-vis the Congress party (SCHWARTZ, 1952). However, in 1946 Nehru declared that the Indian Communist party 'speaks in a language which finds no echo in the hearts of the people (Nehru, 2008)

22. Weiner (1968) continued the trend (Myron Weiner, 1968) concerned with local politics. Franda conducted a study of Indian federalism (Franda, 1968). Weiner and Kothari (Myron Weiner & Kothari, 1965) edited one of the earliest volumes to study Indian voting behavior. Baxter (1969) also published a study of the Jana Sangh, and Howard Erdman (Erdman, 1967) published his examination of the evolution of the Swatantra party.

23. (Franda and Field 1974, Barnett (Barnett, 975) ; Field (Field, 1977); Palmer (Palmer, 1975); (Myron Weiner, 1978), Eldersveld and Ahmed (Samuel & Ahmed, 1978); and Blair (Elkins et al., 1979).

of social organization, and caste identities become the primary channels to mobilize political support. In urban areas, linguistic identities, occupational interests, or other considerations influence voting than caste. Despite the presence of ethnic factors, their influence is considerably reduced in the urban environment by the new role of the individuals, and the effects of 'a widening economic, intellectual, and political life' (Ahmed, 1970).

In the contemporary politics, political parties wish to select candidates for elections based on merit, despite the fact that there are other pressing factors, such as caste, party performance, and the prospects of election victory (Palmer, 1967). Rajni Kothari and others pointed out that caste has become politicized and in the process has changed its character. Caste, religious extremism and pressures of social justice are realities of everyday Indian life even at the beginning of a new millennium. After the end of Nehru's socialism, and the secular nationalism, caste, religion and region have become the dominant forces in directing power politics in India (Roy, & Paul Wallace (Eds), 2000). Jayaprakash Narayan commented that 'caste is the biggest party in India,' which is a reality even today.

In India, an ethnic party represents the cause of one ethnic category to the exclusion of others and such a representation mobilizes votes among the ethnic group (K. Chandra, 2004). After more than 70 years of democratic governance, it is still a rare phenomenon for the Dalits and Adhivasi candidates to be elected to a general unreserved seats (Pradhan, 2015). National Election Study 2009 data points out that the Dalit vote is not favourable to any one political party. But the Dalit vote is determined by the dynamics of the political party system in constituencies of most states (VERMA, 2009). Chandra argues that Dalit voters treat the vote as an instrument with which they get the best outcome, instead of considering it as an opportunity to express their preferences. They are more likely to vote for their preferred party only when they are numerous enough to exercise leverage over the victory or defeat of another party's candidate, otherwise, they are unlikely to do so (K. Chandra, 2009).

A study by Jaffrelot and Kumar examines the individual trajectory of 16 states, from the 1950s to 2000s, to trace the evolution of the caste background of their elected representatives. The study also takes into account other variables like occupation, gender, age and education (Jaffrelot & Kumar, 2009). Differences in education, income and occupation reduce the shared interests within the caste, and expose the members of the community to other non-caste groupings. When the caste identities weaken, political parties mobilize support from the members of a caste by appealing to them on the grounds of ideology, class and other interests such as occupation or party (Ahmed, 1970).

The states themselves are often identified with a few caste groups. This is the inevitable outcome of the redrawing of the map of India according to the linguistic criterion, during the 1950s. As a result of the redrawing of the Indian map, the Marathas became the dominant caste of Maharashtra. None of the castes associated with political parties vote en bloc for one party; caste remains the primary building block of political affiliation at the ground level (Yadav & Palshikar, 2009). Based on NES 2009 data, Lodha argues that in Rajasthan, 74% of the Brahmins, 59% of the Jats and 55% of the Rajputs voted for the BJP while 66% of the Dalits voted for the Congress (Lodha, 2009).

A study by Jensenius using constituency-level dataset for 15 Indian states explore the effects of reservations between 1974 and 2007 by matching about 3,000 constituencies from 1971. Jensenius argues that 'there are clear trade-offs in institutional design and that an electoral system might work well to reduce social bias and prevent conflict without improving the substantive representation of minority groups' (Francesca Refsum Jensenius, 2013).

#### 4. *Women in elections*

Lijphart argues that 'political equality and political participation are both basic democratic ideals' (Lijphart, 1997). But the worldwide belief is that women are politically less active than men. Particularly women in developing societies are still less exposed to politics due to socio-cultural constraints (Deshpande, 2004). Indian scenario is no way better than the global trend. Political equality will be a dream for Indian women at least for a few more decades.

Guha (2002) narrates the status of women's political participation during the conduct of its first general elections: Many women in northern India were reluctant to register under their own names, wishing instead to identify themselves as A's mother or B's wife. Sukumar Sen, the first Chief Election Commissioner of India directed his officials to correct the rolls by inserting the names of the women. Nearly 2.8 million eligible women voters, who refused to cooperate had to be struck off the rolls.

Gosh and Lama Rewal (2005) discuss the role of women in four Municipal Corporation Elections, based on a survey with four main types of sources: participant observation of the electoral campaign of a few female candidates in every city; interviews with candidates and party cadres; reports of the State Election Commissions; and press clippings. Focus group discussions in the four cities provided insights on women's perception of issues relating to municipal elections, such as the selection of candidates, election expenditure, or the rotation of seats (Gosh & Lama Rewal, 2005). It reported a significant rise in the proportion of women voters in the total electorate between the election years of 1996-98. It further recorded the highest turnout of women voters in all elections held so far.

#### 5. *Criminals in Indian elections*

The median voter framework of Anthony Downs predicted that voters would elect the politician who represented the preferences of the median voter, wherein the identity of the politician was irrelevant (Downs, 1957). But, quite contrary to this, Osborne and Slivinski (Osborne & Slivinski, 1996) and Besley and Coate (Besley & Coate, 1997) piloted the 'citizen-candidate' model of politics, where political identity became a key driver both of selection and of future policy change. A politician's identity matters for voters and for policy outcomes. While we have many frameworks to understand the selection of candidates for contesting in an election, and their acceptance level among voters, many researchers wondered why the Indian political parties field criminals as its candidates to contest in a parliamentary or legislative elections. According to Varghese<sup>24</sup>, in India 'the chances of winning was higher for candidates with criminal cases, than candidates with a clean record'.

The general election of 2014<sup>25</sup> has seen a number of politicians with criminal records being elected to the Indian parliament. As per records, every third newly elected MP in the Indian parliament has a criminal record. An analysis of 541 of the 543 winning candidates by Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR) shows that 34 percent of the newly elected MPs have confessed in their election affidavits that they have criminal cases against them. In the 2009 Lok Sabha, the figure was about 30 percent of the elected MPs<sup>26</sup>.

24. Varghese, Johnlee (2014). 186 Indian MPs Have Criminal Cases Including Murder and Rape. URL: <http://www.ibtimes.co.in/186-indian-members-parliament-have-criminal-cases-including-murder-rape-600584>.

25. The outcome of the 16th Lok Sabha elections has received considerable academic attention both at national and at international levels. There have been significant journalistic interventions (Khare 2014; Sardesai 2014) besides academic analyses of BJP victory and the electoral rout of the Congress and its partners (Krishna and Laxman 2014; Varshney 2014; Wallace 2015). Palshikar's volume is an addition to this list of academic interpretations of 2014 (Palshikar et al., 2017)

26. <http://www.ibtimes.co.in/jaya-bachchan-not-richest-mp-king-mahendra-declares-rs-4000-crore-assets-763737>



A phd dissertation<sup>27</sup> submitted to Columbia University explains how democratic elections in India coexist with a significant number of politicians implicated in criminal wrongdoing (Vaishnav, 2012). This dissertation argues that parties are attracted to criminal politicians because they have access to financial resources that allow them to function as self-financing candidates. Whereas the voters support ‘bad politicians,’ because they lack adequate information on candidate quality. Based on this, the researcher developed an alternate theory that suggests well-informed voters can display rational behavior by voting for right candidates. An author-constructed database of affidavits submitted by more than 60,000 candidates contesting state and national elections between 2003 and 2009 in 37 elections was used in the study. The study extracted data from webpages and created a dataset of 46,739 candidates from 35 assembly elections held in 28 States during the period 2003-2009, reflecting 5,001 discrete, constituency level elections.

Another study by Chemin compares the welfare impacts of criminal politicians by comparing districts where a criminal candidate barely won the election to those where such a candidate barely lost. This study finds that electing a criminal severely reduces the consumption of the most vulnerable groups in society in that district. In addition, he finds that criminal politicians are associated with an increase in the level of violent criminality but a decrease in local corruption (Chemin, 2012).

Jaffrelot has documented the ground situation through his study: anyone who now wants to obtain votes needs to offer people welfare schemes and gifts of cash and liquor during elections (Jaffrelot, 2002). A judgement of the Supreme Court in 2002 required every candidate contesting legislative and parliamentary elections to submit a legal affidavit disclosing his or her personal educational, financial, and criminal records. The court stipulated that wide publicity should be given to the contents of the affidavits so that the electorate can take an informed decision about who to elect to the assemblies and parliaments. The Supreme Court’s order does not have had much impact in so far as the influx of legislators with criminal records is concerned. The judgement has been helpful to several researchers who have exploited the information contained in the affidavits. Apart from these papers, other widely cited papers such as *Incumbents and Criminals in the Indian National Legislature* (Aidt et al., 2011), *Do Criminal Politicians Reduce Corruption? Evidence from India* (Chemin, 2008), *Holding a Mirror to the New Lok Sabha* (Paul & Vivekananda, 2004) have portrayed more insights on criminalisation of politics in India (Dutta & Gupta, 2014).

## 6. *Media and election studies in India*

Media play an inevitably significant role in the conduct of elections. When the electoral process fails to recognise the media as a core component, it leads to the denial of citizens the ability to demand democratic outcomes, says a report of IDEA<sup>28</sup>. With regard to the literature examining the relationship between the media and politics, a vast body of literature is available. One meta-analysis of 90 research studies found that reading newspapers, watching the television news, or listening to the radio, has a positive effect on voter turnout (Smets & van Ham, 2013b). Media are implicated in ‘management of visibility’, whereas, they play a big role in ‘managing democracy’ (Thompson, 1995).

More and more studies have been conducted both in India and across the globe, ranging from understanding the role of interpersonal communication to mediated communication in

27. Title of the thesis: *The Merits of Money and Muscle: Essays on Criminality, Elections and Democracy in India*

28. *Media Assistance In Elections: Toward an Integral Approach: Policy Paper of IDEA* (2015)

the process of elections. While referring to the quality of election studies conducted in India, Suri points out that many Indian studies analysed the potential impact of demographic background factors on voting behaviour, and most studies did not move much beyond reporting on 'who voted for whom.' Willnat and Annette are too critical on the quality of Indian election studies. Despite a 50-year tradition of democratic elections, little is known about the impact of these campaigns on voters, and only a few studies on media and elections have been done in India. Existing Indian studies are descriptive and far below the global standards, lacking theoretical framework and get lost in descriptions of events or processes. Indian media scholars have done a few studies that tried to analyse the effects of social and cultural profiles on voting behaviour (Willnat & Annette, 2009). The scholarly interest in studying elections from a media perspective is new in India (Saeed, 2014), and there has been a lack of in-depth scholarly literature that directly deal with media and elections in India. Studies are in the form of surveys, exit polls or report cards of elections, explaining the influence of regional politics with the Centre (Shastri et al., 2009).

If we look at the history of election related research in the Communication discipline, we can come across the fact that the earliest media studies discounted the effect of mass communications on elections, but more recent studies conclude that it can have a huge influence on election outcomes. Till recently, the literature on voting behaviour did not consider media exposure to have a sizeable effect on election outcomes. Only a few among the early studies on voting behaviour considered media impact and campaign effort to be a predictor of vote choice. Later works adopted 'the minimal effects' perspective, assuming that campaign and media coverage do have some influence on voters' preference. However, minimal effects hypothesis began losing its central position in political communication (Finkel & Geer, 1998). At the dawn of 21st century, election campaigns in most parts of the world evolved into nationally coordinated, personalised, capital-intense, and media-oriented demonstrations; the process popularly known as 'Americanisation of election campaigns' (Norris, 2000). During the first three general elections Television did not exist in India, except on an experimental basis in Delhi, and the facilities of All-India Radio were not used by the parties<sup>29</sup>, as they could not agree on the allotment of the limited time that was offered to them (Palmer, 1967). Until 2004, the parties were confined to free advertising segments on the television and radio. Though political advertisements in newspapers and magazines were permissible, the widespread illiteracy among Indian voters limited the impact of print advertising campaigns severely.

There is a consensus among scholars that the media shapes the public's political knowledge, attitudes and behaviour (Besley & Burgess, 2002), (Hamilton, 2004). More studies have found that in close elections, campaign strategies and media coverage, influence voter preferences and decide election outcomes (Box-Steffensmeier et al., 2009). Due to the media penetration and the ever increasing live coverage of political rallies and electoral campaigning, there is a growing link between political interests and owners of media houses; Indian politics is becoming more mediatised<sup>30</sup> and the electoral process is transforming into Americanised way of electioneering

---

29. All-India Radio did broadcast campaign highlights and election instructions and appeals for voter turnout, and it offered service by presenting prompt and full reports of election results. Few political advertisements were run in newspapers, but Indian newspapers, journals of opinion, and other publications gave remarkably full and detailed coverage to all aspects of the election.

30. While discussing about mediatised, the idea of Habermas requires attention: the depoliticization of the population and the decline of the public realm are components of domination that exclude practical questions from public discussions. The exercise of power has its counterpart in public realm confined to spectacles and acclamation. This ensures approval of a mediatised population (Habermas, 1971).

(Strömbäck, 2008). More sophisticated approaches needed to figure out whether voters in India are passive consumers of news or whether they actively engage with it and decide whom to vote for after discounting media bias (Verma & Sardesai, 2014). For long, research on voting behaviour in India held voters beholden to their caste and community, and now it is being suggested that voters get easily swayed by what they consume on news media. The Press Council of India asked its two of its members, K Sreenivas Reddy and Paranjoy Guha Thakurta to prepare a report on the status of 'Paid News'<sup>31</sup> in India<sup>32</sup> (Thakurta & Reddy, 2010).

Literature on media and politics discusses mediatisation of politics (Bennett & Entman, 2000) (Swanson & Mancini, 1996). Comparatively, the 2014 Lok Sabha elections has been considered as a 'substantially mediatised' one (Palshikar, 2014). Studies discussed factors such as religion, caste, and interpersonal relations in the campaigns and the influence of media on voting behaviour. Pradip Thomas argues that BJP is the most media-savvy political party in India as it exploited the neo liberal economic ambience with a well-planned media strategy (Thomas, 2010). The focus in 2014 election was primarily on economic growth and corruption (Jaffrelot, 2013). Documenting the effects of Gujarat model, studies conducted during 2017 Gujarat State Elections find that unequal economic growth, unemployment and the agrarian crisis influence the electoral choice and lower the trust of citizens in democracy. Further, a lack of social mobility and economic constraints provoke identity conflicts between citizens that leads to continued erosion of political support bases (Julia, 2018). The Gujarat Model has benefited the urban middle classes at the expense of the minorities, Dalits and Adivasis (Jaffrelot, 2015). Chhibber predicted the future course of the right wing government, immediately after the 2014 elections: 'BJP would engineer a shift to the right on the economy and in social and foreign policy, threatening India's democracy, endangering peace on the subcontinent, and dismantling its social fabric of pluralism and secularism' (P. Chhibber & Verma, 2014).

### Social media: An elections gamechanger

When the agenda of the mainstream media was not transparent, social media reached the young voters who were a generation away from the memories of the past<sup>33</sup> (Ranganathan, 2014a). One of the study analysed the use of social media by parties such as BJP, BSP, CPI(M), INC, NCP and AAP<sup>34</sup> during the 2014 Lok Sabha election campaigns in terms of content posted by these parties on Twitter and Facebook for about 67 days. The BJP's extensive media campaign kept gaining strength as the election approached, and regular viewers and readers of news were influenced by the campaign messages. The Lokniti programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung collaboratively analysed the growth of social networking sites and apps and how they shaped political preferences and attitudes in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Facebook and WhatsApp are being used by one-third of the electorate making them the popular networking sites in the country (Social Media & Political Behaviour, CSDS Report 2019).

### 7. The idea of 'vote bank politics'

Vote banks are an inherent part of India's electoral system and the term was coined by M N Srinivas (1955) in his much cited essay, 'The Social Structure of a Mysore Village'. Srinivas's

31. Paid news refers to payment of money by candidates to representatives of media companies for favourable coverage, where the affordable pay media outlets to feature in the news and to ensure sustained positive coverage (Sainath, 2010).

32. The report may be accessed at : [http://www.indiatogether.org/uploads/document/document\\_upload/2146/PCisc-intro.pdf](http://www.indiatogether.org/uploads/document/document_upload/2146/PCisc-intro.pdf)

33. Shekar Gupta's 2014 lecture, "Understanding India in transition", is available at <https://youtube.com/watch?v=ymE5Jexk5ck>

34. BJP – Bharathiya Janata Party; BSP – Bahujan Samaj Party; CPI(M) – Communist Party of India (Marxist), INC – Indian National Congress, NCP – Nationalist Congress Party; and AAP – Aam Aadmi Party.

'vote bank' became a ubiquitous term to understand electoral politics, which represented a configuration of three groups of individuals: (1) a village middle man, (2) a political party, and (3) local constituents. Srinivas used the term to refer to the ability of a powerful village leader to mobilise all the votes of his village or caste to elect a prominent regional politician, referring to the general tendency of individuals to vote in groups, whether these groups were defined in terms of caste, class, language or religion (Guha, 2019). The Congress party in 1950s delivered material benefits to their clienteles through party loyal middlemen. These systems of patronage were in the form of material exchanges to buy the votes of citizens: At the time of elections, the crystallisation of parties takes place around patrons. Each patron has a 'vote bank' which he/she can place at the disposal of a provincial or national party for consideration (M N Srinivas, 1951).

Earlier, vote banks were used to disseminate information about political parties and elections to citizens, and redistributing income to citizens. Later, they disseminated information between landlord and tenant, master and servant, and creditor and debtor. Motivation for engaging in vote banks was to gain support utilising patron-client relations (Manor, 2007). In another research, vote bank benefits are grouped into programmatic and particularistic benefits. Programmatic benefits are benefits distributed by politicians through the government programmes. Particularistic benefits refer to benefits outside of government policies to individuals towards gaining their political support (Shaffer, 2006).

Development schemes open vote bank activities and therefore vote banks sustain a system where parties continue to 'pay lip-service' to the causes of villagers and farmers (D. Gupta, 2005). Economic and political developments have redefined the meanings of patronage and reciprocity in the new form of vote banks. While the form remains unaltered, three changes in Indian politics have shaped the meaning of reciprocity in the vote banks: the rise of party competition, changes in identity politics, and economic growth and reform (BREEDING, 2011).

Ethnographic studies conducted after independence showed how backward castes once delivered their votes to upper caste patrons in exchange for kind. Literature suggests that such dominance associated with vote banks are a thing of the past, due to the secret vote which has enabled the lower castes to vote against their patrons. While acknowledging shifts in power, literature on local elections illustrate the shifting patterns of vote-bank politics. Srinivas (1994) uses the term dominant caste, to refer to those who control village politics due to their superior numbers, land ownership and education.

### **Vote as a commodity in Indian elections**

Indian politics resembles a kind of electoral E-bay. Every vote, every candidate, and every alliance is up for sale says Arvind Subramaniam (Subramaniam, 2009). Rajeev Gowda and Sridharan (year) observe that the political parties have a liking for fielding 'crorepati' candidates, who are capable of self-financing their election campaigns. Their study establishes a correlation between candidate expenditure and vote share, further indicating that candidates who spend more tend to benefit return on their investment. Collins (2018) argues that campaign financing patterns affect the participation of marginalized groups. Quoting Chatterjee (2008), Collins argues that political society as a domain where subaltern groups make claims on the state, where they use 'a large range of connections' and gain access to welfare subsidies that sustain their precarious livelihoods (Chatterjee 2008). These concessions are understood as products of political expediency instead of considering them as recognised rights (M. Collins, 2017).

Another study by Lisa Björkman argues that flow of money is not leading to the commoditization of the vote. But the actors involved in operating the money flow have many aspirations (Björkman, 2014). Voters are rewarding the incumbents who deliver better economic outcomes, points out another empirical analysis of the 2009 general elections. In that study, Poonam Gupta and Arvind Panagariya find out an association between economic growth and the electoral fortunes of incumbent candidates. The rising levels of competition in India over the past 3, 4 decades may contribute to the omnipresence of handouts in the country.

Initially candidates offer cash to influential local persons such as housing society presidents, or caste association presidents, and union leaders. In addition to payments delivered, money from several candidates seeped down through party networks directly on voters in a secretive during the last few hours of the campaign. This seepage was limited to the poorest areas and where the voters were the least organized (Chauchard, 2018).

Wilkinson book (Kitschelt, , & Wilkinson, 2007) has been cited often for the culture and practice of patronage in Indian elections. In one of the chapters, Kanchan Chandra proposes a model which argues that voters, under acute information constraints, are biased toward ethnic categorization and favoritism.

A Study by Sircar (2014) based on eight months of direct observation around the election, explores the effect of kinship networks on vote choice over an electoral campaign. The study analyzes data collected in two villages before and after the campaigns during the 2011 Assembly election in West Bengal. The research finds strong kinship network effects over a campaign, on changes in vote choice. The author of the study argued that this influence is due to information pooling, political discussion and coordination of political behaviour within the family. This paper provides finer information on the role of kinship networks in changing vote choice (Sircar, 2014).

As countries like Japan or Italy grow more affluent, increasing competitiveness makes clientelism very expensive, which leads to an erosion of clientelist linkage mechanisms (Kitschelt, , & Wilkinson, 2007). War and monopolistic economies reinforce clientelist patterns, even in developed countries such as Austria, Belgium, Italy, and Japan, which points out the fact that competition undermines clientelism.

### *8. Party systems, voter turnout, anti-incumbency and other issues*

Farooqui and Sridharan analyse the internal functioning of five parties in India, such as nomination of candidates for elections, and how parties re-nominate former candidates and incumbents (Farooqui & Sridharan, 2014). The authors examine three hypotheses: (1) high rate of re-nomination of incumbents during early elections, as in 1980, 1991, 1998 and 1999 (2) Ethnic and ideological parties, which have a loyal voter base, drop the incumbent candidates. (3) Compared to parties with centralised selection processes, parties with institutionalised processes find it difficult to drop incumbents for nomination. The findings indicate that fragmentation has led to less activity in the assemblies. From the data set on legislative assemblies in 15 Indian states between 1967 and 2007, this study noted that in states with dominant parties and low political competition, legislative activity is fairly high (Farooqui & Sridharan, 2014).

### **Studies on voter turnout**

Yadav (1999) observes that voter turnout rates were higher in urban India than in rural India during the first few general elections to Parliament. This trend reversed during 1984 and 1990 elections. The poorest and disadvantaged are equally enthusiastic supporters of democracy than

the others. This raises the question: “why do people vote?”. Insights gained through ethnographic research reveal that elections have occupied a sacrosanct place in the minds of the modern Indian public (Banerjee, 2017). Studies of voting behavior pointed out that socio-economic status (SES) is not related to voting. A large proportion of the lower SES citizens exercise their franchise dutifully, compared to the high SES citizens (Yadav 1996; 2004). This is considered as a paradox in literature related to voting behaviour, because political theories argue that those with lower SES are less likely to vote than the voters with higher SES, as voters with lower SES remain the least beneficiaries of government services, while the well placed are the maximum benefitted through state politics (Ahuja & Chhibber, 2007).

Voting behaviour of citizens have been widely registered in many studies. The polling day for Parliamentary and assembly elections are those few days when, ‘the state can be sighted similarly by one and all’ (Ahuja & Chhibber, 2007). General elections to Lok Sabha have recorded turnout of around 60 per cent while it is about 70 per cent or above for the state assembly elections and significantly higher for panchayat elections (Yadav, 1999), (Palshikar and Kumar 2004). Chhibber has noted in a study, where a ricksawalla told him, ‘If we don’t vote how we can prove that we are citizens of our country’.

There are two explanations offered on considering ‘vote as a rational tool’, first one derived from rational choice theory, that stipulates that the vote is a rational and instrumental tool to maximise self-interest and voters use it to see improvement in the material condition of their lives. An example is Kanchan Chandra’s discussion of ‘patronage democracy’ (K. Chandra, 2004). But, voting has rarely been a rational activity in India.

### **Birth of coalition era and emergence of regional parties**

Suhas Palshikar, K C Suri, and Yogendra Yadav argued that the Congress adapted to the compulsions of coalition politics post 2008. They further presented how the unsettling features of the post-Congress polity led to normalization of the electoral competition (Palshikar et al., 2014). The advent of coalition government in 1989 helped in the growth and consolidation of regional political parties. The shift from single-party majority to coalition government incentivized politicians to establish and join regional parties that became crucial to government formation at the national level. In response to these new incentives, many high-profile politicians established new regional parties whose success accounts for the support for regional political parties in the 1990s (Adam Ziegfeld, 2012).

From 1952 through 1989, only three parties held ministerial berths: Congress, the Janata Party, and the AIADMK<sup>35</sup>. From 1989 through 2010, thirty-three of the eighty-four parties that won seats in the lower legislative house gained cabinet representation. These thirty-three parties include nearly every major regional party in India. The parties at the national level that have never had the chance to hold cabinet berths are the BSP, Janata Dal (Secular), and Indian National Lok Dal. The CPM, Revolutionary Socialist Party, and Forward Bloc have supported governments from the outside but refused to take ministerial berths (Adam Ziegfeld, 2012).

### **Understanding the anti-incumbency**

In the history of Indian electoral politics, after the Nehruvian era, winning an election by an incumbent party has become a rare phenomenon. Yadav estimated that between 1989 and 1999 at least two out of three of the ruling parties in any state would lose elections (Yadav, 1999). After the independence, analysing the electoral studies, it has been found that voters in India prioritize factors other than economic performance while evaluating incumbent governments.

35. All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

Suri cites known examples of state governments that wooed voters on claims of good economic governance only to get badly punished by voters in elections (Suri, 2004; Vaishnav & Swanson, 2015). Congress leader Salman Khurshid once explained to journalist Thakurta that the expectations of the electorate are excessively and frighteningly high and unrealistic and, therefore, next to impossible for a candidate contesting an election to fulfil. He added that the money that is made available to MPs or MLAs under schemes like the MPLADS (Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme) is quite small in comparison to the funds that could be spent by a district magistrate. The happiness gets spread rather thinly, Khurshid said, adding: 'you may be able to build a road in a village but in the process also alienate those living in a neighbouring village who will then not vote for you' (THAKURTA, 2009).

Sanjay Kumar, Shreyas Sardesai and Pranav Gupta conducted a study compiling dataset on 320 state assembly elections held during the period 1951 and 2012. The study found that incumbent retention was high in the initial years of the Indian republic, around 85 % during the period 1951 to 1966. This declined during the 1990s, reached 27 percent. Since 1999, re-election rates increased. A growing number of state chief ministers were primarily re-elected for their good governance and rewarded by the voters. This suggests a shift towards economic voting (Kumar et al., 2013).

## Conclusion

Travelling through more than 70 years of research literature, gives an experience of learning the much fascinating socio-political history of Indian election narratives. This study also has pointed out the domains where research on election studies of India are being conducted, and pinpoints the research gaps where more and more studies are required. Further research on this line would contribute a lot for the policy making of election related reforms in India. Meanwhile, studies on 2019 Parliamentary elections would be published during the next couple of years. Pratap Bhanu Mehta is indicative of the future research on 2019 elections: we can do a lot of sophisticated sociological analysis, but ultimately this [2019] election is about two words: Narendra Modi (Diwakar, 2019).

## Annexure: 1

### 106 Journal articles studied

(Andersen, 2017), (Baishya, 2015), (Bajaj, 2017) (Banerjee, 2007), (Barclay et al., 2014), (Bhavnani, 2015), (Bhavnani & Jensenius, 2019), (Björkman, 2014), (Bohlken, 2018), (BREEDING, 2011), (Burakowski & Iwanek, 2017), (Cancela & Geys, 2016), (Chakravarthy & Roy, 2015), (K. Chandra, 2009), (Chauchard, 2018), (P. Chhibber et al., 2014), (P. Chhibber & Jassal, 2018), (P. Chhibber & Jensenius, 2016) (P. Chhibber & Verma, 2014), (P. K. Chhibber & Petrocik, 1989), (Chiriyankandath, 2014), (Clark & da Silva, 2009). (Choi, 2009), (Diwakar, 2019) (Dutta & Gupta, 2014), (Kushner, 2015), (Deshpande, 2004), (Diwakar, 2008, 2015), (Diwakar, 2019), (Eulau, 1980), (Elkins et al., 1979), (Farooqui & Sridharan, 2014), (Gorringer, 2016), (P. Gupta & Panagariya, 2014), (Hauser & Singer, 1986), (Heath, 2015), (Heath et al., 2015), (Francesca R. Jensenius & Verniers, 2017), (F. R. Jensenius & Suryanarayan, 2015), (JAFFRELOT, 2012), (Jha, 2017) (Kadekod & Hanagodimath, 2015), (Kanungo, 2015), (Kapur et al., 2018). (Keefer & Khemani, 2004) (Khemani, 2003), (Kitschelt, & Wilkinson, 2007). (Kohli, 1998), (Kothari, 1964) (Myon Weiner & Kothari, 1965), (Kothari, 1964), (Kumar, 2004), (Kumar, 2009). (Tawa Lama-Rewal, 2009), (Lama-Rewal, 2016), (Martin, 2020), (Mitra & Schöttli, 2016), (Pai, 1994), (Palmer, 1967), (Palshikar, 2014), (Palshikar, 2018),

(Palshikar et al., 2014), (Palshikar et al., 2017) . (Palshikar & Suri, 2017), (Pandita, 2015), (Park, 1952), (Paul & Vivekananda, 2004), (Pradhan, 2015), (Ranganathan, 2014b), (Ranganathan, 2014a), (Rodden & Wilkinson, 2005), (Rubinoff, 1998), (SCHWARTZ, 1952), (Selvaraj, 2014), (SHAH, 2010), (Smets & van Ham, 2013a), (Sridharan, 2005), (Farooqui & Sridharan, 2014), (Sridharan, 2014), (Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas, 1957). (K. C. Suri, 2004) (K. C. Suri, 2009), (S. Suri, 1962), (Thachil, 2014), (THAKURTA, 2009). (Tillin, 2015), (Vaishnav & Swanson, 2015), (Vaishnav, 2017), (Varshney, 2007), (Varshney, 2014), (Verma & Sardesai, 2014), (Wyatt, 2014), (Wyatt, 2015), (Yadav, 1999), (Yadav, 2004) (Yadav & Palshikar, 2009), (Yadav & Palshikar, 2003), (A. Ziegfeld, 2015; Adam Ziegfeld, 2012), (Adam Ziegfeld, 2013), (Adam Ziegfeld & Tudor, 2017).

---

## Notes on the Contributor

**Dr S Arulseivan** is a faculty at the Department of Electronic Media and Mass Communication, Pondicherry University, Puducherry, India. He specialises in political communication and culture studies.

## References

- Ahmed, B. (1970). Caste and Electoral Politics. *ASIAN SURVEY*, 10(11), 979–992. [https://www.jstor.org/stable/2642818?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/2642818?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)
- Ahuja, A., & Chhibber, P. (2007). Civic Duty, Empowerment and Patronage: Patterns of Political Participation in India. Conference Working Paper Comparative Politics Workshop, University of California, Los Angeles, 31.
- Aidt, T. S., Golden, M. A., & Tiwari, D. (2011). Incumbents and criminals in the indian national legislature.
- Andersen, W. (2017). Evolution of a Hindu-oriented Political Party. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 37(1S), S-7-S-19. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2017.0012>
- Andersen, W., & Damle, S. D. (2018). *Messengers of Hindu Nationalism: How the RSS Reshaped India*. Hurst & Company.
- Anderson, Walter K., & Shridhar, D. D. (1987). *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*. Boulder: Westview.
- Baishya, A. K. (2015). #NaMo: The Political Work of the Selfie in the 2014 Indian General Elections. 15.
- Bajaj, S. G. (2017). The Use of Twitter during the 2014 Indian General Elections. *Asian Survey*, 57(2), 249–270. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2017.57.2.249>
- Banerjee, M. (2007). Sacred Elections. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42(17), 1556–1562. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4419523>
- Barclay, F. P., Pichandy, C., & Venkat, A. (2014). Indian Elections, 2014: Political Orientation of English Newspapers. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 24(1), 7–22. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1326365X14539215>
- Barnett, M. R. (1975). *Electoral Politics in the Indian States: Party Systems and Cleavages*. Manohar.
- Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M. (2000). *Mediated politics: Communication in the future of democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Besley, T., & Burgess, R. (2002). *The political economy of government responsiveness: Theory*



and evidence from India. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(4), 1415–1451.

Besley, T., & Coate, S. (1997). An economic model of representative democracy. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(1), 85–114.

Bhavnani, R. R. (2015). The effects of malapportionment on cabinet inclusion: Subnational evidence from India. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41(1), 69–89.

Bhavnani, R. R., & Jensenius, F. R. (2019). Voting for development? Ruling coalitions and literacy in India. *Electoral Studies*, 62, 102069. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2019.102069>

Björkman, L. (2014). “You can’t buy a vote”: Meanings of money in a Mumbai election. *American Ethnologist*, 41(4), 617–634. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12101>

Blair, H. W. (1990). “Electoral Support and Party Institutionalisation in Bihar: Congress and the Opposition, 1977-85.” in Sission, Richard and Ramashray Roy (eds.), *Diversity and Dominance in Indian Politics, Volume 1, Changing Bases of Congress Support*. Sage.

Blair, H. W. (1993). Local Support Bases and the Ninth General Election in Bihar and Maharashtra.” in Gould, Harold A. and Sumit Ganguly (eds.), *India Votes—Alliance Politics and Minority Governments in the Ninth and Tenth General Elections*,. Boulder: Westview.

Bohlken, A. T. (2018). Targeting ordinary voters or political elites? Why pork is distributed along partisan lines in India. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(4), 796–812.

Box-Steffensmeier, J. M., Darmofal, D., & Farrell, C. A. (2009). The aggregate dynamics of campaigns. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(1), 309–323.

Brass, P. (1980). The Politicization of the Peasantry in a North Indian State. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, July and September.

Brass, P. (1993). “Caste, Class, and Community in the Ninth General Elections for the Lok Sabha in Uttar Pradesh” and “The Rise of BJP and the Future of Party Politics in Uttar Pradesh.” In Gould, Harold A. and Sumit Ganguly (eds.), *India Votes—Alliance Politics and Minority Governments in the Ninth and Tenth General Elections*. Boulder: Westview.

BREEDING, M. E. (2011). The Micro-Politics of Vote Banks in Karnataka. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(14), 71–77.

Burakowski, A., & Iwanek, K. (2017). India’s Aam Aadmi (Common Man’s) Party. *Asian Survey*, 57(3), 528–547. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2017.57.3.528>

Butler, David; Lahiri, Ashok; Roy, Prannoy. (1995). *India Decides. Elections 1952-1995*. Books & Things.

Cancela, J., & Geys, B. (2016). Explaining voter turnout: A meta-analysis of national and subnational elections. *Electoral Studies*, 42, 264–275. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2016.03.005>

Chakravarthy, P., & Roy, S. (2015). Mr. Modi Goes to Delhi: Mediated Populism and the 2014 Indian Elections—Paula Chakravartty, Srirupa Roy, 2015. *Television and New Media (SAGE)*, 16(4), 311–322. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1527476415573957>

Chandra, B., Mukherjee, M., & Mukherjee, A. (2007). *India Since Independence (Vol. 1–s)*. Penguin.

Chandra, K. (2004). *Why ethnic parties succeed: Patronage and ethnic head counts in India*. Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, K. (2009). Why voters in patronage democracies split their tickets: Strategic voting for ethnic parties. *Electoral Studies*, 28(1), 21–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2008.06.006>

Chauchard, S. (2018). Electoral Handouts in Mumbai Elections: The Cost of Political Competition. *Asian Survey*, 58(2), 341–364. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2018.58.2.341>

Chemin, M. (2008). Do criminal politicians reduce corruption? Evidence from India.

- Chemin, M. (2012). Welfare effects of criminal politicians: A discontinuity-based approach. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 55(3), 667–690.
- Chhibber, P., & Jassal, N. (2018). India in 2017: The BJP, Economic Reform, and Contentious Politics. *Asian Survey*, 58(1), 86–99. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2018.58.1.86>
- Chhibber, P., & Jensenius, F. R. (2016). Privileging one's own? Voting patterns and politicized spending in India. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Chhibber, P., Jensenius, F. R., & Suryanarayan, P. (2014). Party organization and party proliferation in India. *Party Politics*, 20(4), 489–505. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068811436059>
- Chhibber, P. K. (1999). *Democracy without associations: Transformation of the party system and social cleavages in India*. University of Michigan Press.
- Chhibber, P. K., & Petrocik, J. R. (1989). The Puzzle of Indian Politics: Social Cleavages and the Indian Party System. *British Journal of Political Science*, 19(2), 191–210. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123400005433>
- Chhibber, P., & Nooruddin, I. (1999). Party Competition and Fragmentation in Indian National Elections: 1957-1998.” in Roy, Ramashray and Paul Wallace (eds.), *Indian Politics and the 1998 Election: Regionalism, Hindutva and State Politics*. SAGE.
- Chhibber, P., & Verma, R. (2014). The BJP's 2014 “Modi Wave”: An Ideological Consolidation of the Right. 8.
- Chiriyankandath, J. (2014). Parties and political change in South Asia. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 52(1), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2013.867686>
- Choi, J. (2009). Strategic Voting in India: Its Extent and Determinants in the 2004 General Election. *Asian Survey*, 49(4), 609–624. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2009.49.4.609>
- Clark, T. N., & da Silva, F. C. (2009). *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xii+377. \$90.00 (cloth); \$37.99 (paper). *American Journal of Sociology*, 114(6), 1845–1847. <https://doi.org/10.1086/600306>
- Collins, M. (2017). Writing Dalit assertion: Early Dalit Panther politics and legal advocacy in 1980s Tamil Nadu. *Contemporary South Asia*, 25(3), 238–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2017.1350142>
- Collins, M. A. (2018). Navigating Fiscal Constraints: Dalit Parties and Electoral Politics in Tamil Nadu. In *COSTS OF DEMOCRACY : Political Finance in India* (p. 38). Oxford University Press.
- Dasgupta, B., & Jones, W. H. M. (1975). *Patterns and Trends in Indian Politics – An Ecological Analysis of Aggregate Data on Society and Elections*. Allied Publishers.
- Deshpande, R. (2004). How Gendered Was Women's Participation in Election 2004? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(51), 5431–5436. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4415927>
- Dikshit, S. K. (1993). *Electoral Geography of India, With Special Reference to Sixth and Seventh Lok Sabha Elections*. Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan,.
- Diwakar, R. (2008). Voter Turnout in the Indian States: An Empirical Analysis. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 18(1), 75–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17457280701858631>
- Diwakar, R. (2015). The 16th general election in India, April–May 2014. *Electoral Studies*, 37, 120–125. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2014.11.005>
- Diwakar, R. (2019). 2019 Election and the Future of Indian Democracy. *Political Insight*, 10(3), 12–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2041905819871838>
- Downs, A. (1957). An economic theory of political action in a democracy. *Journal of Political Economy*, 65(2), 135–150.

- Dutta, B., & Gupta, P. (2014). How Indian Voters Respond to Candidates with Criminal Charges: Evidence from the 2009 Lok Sabha Elections. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 43–51.
- Elkins, D. J., Weiner, M., Field, J. O., Blair, H. W., Eldersveld, S. J., Ahmed, B., Verba, S., Nie, N. H., & Kim, J. (1979). The American Science of Indian Politics. *Pacific Affairs*, 52(3), 491. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2757660>
- Elkins, D. L. (1975). *Electoral Participation in a South Indian Context*. Vikas.
- Erdman, H. L. (1967). *The Swantantra Party and Indian Conservatism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eulau, H. (1980). The Columbia Studies of Personal Influence: Social Network Analysis. *Social Science History*, 4(2), 207. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1171163>
- Farooqui, A., & Sridharan, E. (2014). Incumbency, internal processes and renomination in Indian parties. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 52(1), 78–108. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2013.867690>
- Field, J. O. (1977). *Electoral Politics in the Indian States: The Impact of Modernization*. Manohar.
- Finkel, S. E., & Geer, J. G. (1998). Spot Check: Casting Doubt on the Demobilization Hypothesis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 42(1), 573–595.
- Franda, M. R. (1968). *West Bengal and the Federalizing Process in India*. Princeton University Press.
- Gorringe, H. (2016). Dalit Parties and the Dilemmas of Democratization in Tamil Nadu. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 4(1), 49–62. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2321023016634933>
- Gorringe, H. (2019). ‘A voice for the last and least’: Thirumavalavan and the Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi in the Lok Sabha, *Contemporary South Asia*, 27:1, 103-116, DOI: 10.1080/09584935.2019.1566299
- Gosh, A., & Lama Rewal, S. T. (2005). Gender in municipal elections. In *Democratization in Progress. Women and Local Politics in Urban India* (p. 16).
- Guha, R. (2002). Democracy’s Biggest Gamble: India’s First Free Elections in 1952. *World Policy Journal*, 19(1), 95–103. <https://doi.org/10.1215/07402775-2002-2005>
- Guha, R. (2019, January 3). THE SENSITIVE SOCIOLOGIST - M.N. Srinivas coined three concepts that endure even today. *The Telegraph*. <https://www.telegraphindia.com/opinion/the-sensitive-sociologist-m-n-srinivas-coined-three-concepts-that-endure-even-today/cid/511937>
- Gupta, D. (2005). CASTE AND POLITICS: Identity Over System. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34(1), 409–427. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120649>
- Gupta, P., & Panagariya, A. (2014). Growth and Election Outcomes in a Developing Country. *Economics & Politics*, 26(2), 332–354. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ecpo.12038>
- Habermas, J., & Habermas, J. (1971). *Toward a rational society: Student protest, science, and politics* (Vol. 404). Beacon Press.
- Hamilton, J. (2004). *All the news that’s fit to sell: How the market transforms information into news*. Princeton University Press.
- Hauser, W., & Singer, W. (1986). The Democratic Rite: Celebration and Participation in the Indian Elections. *ASIAN SURVEY*, XXVI,(9), 18.
- Heath, O. (2015). The BJP’s return to power: Mobilisation, conversion and vote swing in the 2014 Indian elections. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(2), 123–135. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2015.1019427>
- Heath, O., Verniers, G., & Kumar, S. (2015). Do Muslim voters prefer Muslim candidates? Co-religiosity and voting behaviour in India. *Electoral Studies*, 38, 10–18. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2015.01.005>

- Jaffrelot, C. (2002). Indian democracy: The rule of law on trial. *India Review*, 1(1), 77–121.
- JAFFRELOT, C. (2012). The caste based mosaic of Indian politics. *Seminar*, 633. [https://www.india-seminar.com/2012/633/633\\_christophe\\_jaffrelot.htm](https://www.india-seminar.com/2012/633/633_christophe_jaffrelot.htm)
- Jaffrelot, C. (2013). Gujarat elections: The sub-text of Modi's 'hattrick'—High tech populism and the 'neo-middle class.' *Studies in Indian Politics*, 1(1), 79–95.
- Jaffrelot, C. (2015). What 'Gujarat model'?—Growth without development—And with socio-political polarisation. *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, 38(4), 820–838.
- Jaffrelot, C., & Kumar, S. (2009). *Rise of the Plebeians? The Changing Face of the Indian Legislative Assemblies*. Routledge.
- Jayal, N. G. (2001). Introduction (pp. 1–49). Oxford University Press.
- Jensenius, F. R., & Suryanarayan, P. (2015). Fragmentation and Decline in India's State Assemblies: A Review, 1967-2007. *Asian Survey*, 55(5), 862–881. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2015.55.5.862>
- Jensenius, Francesca R., & Verniers, G. (2017). Studying Indian Politics with Large-scale Data: Indian Election Data 1961–Today. *Studies in Indian Politics*, 5(2), 269–275. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2321023017727984>
- Jensenius, Francesca Refsum. (2013). *Power, Performance and Bias: Evaluating the Electoral Quotas for Scheduled Castes in India*. University of California, Berkeley.
- Jha, P. (2017). *How the BJP wins: Inside India's greatest election machine*.
- Julia, S. (2018). *The rural-urban divide in India's electorate Exploring the case of Gujarat* [M. Sc. International Economic Policy- Master's thesis supervised by Prof. Christophe Jaffrelot Senior Research Fellow at CNRS, Sciences Po]. Sciences Po, Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA).
- Kadekod, G. K., & Hanagodimath, S. (2015). Does Development Motivate More to Vote? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(18), 8.
- Kanungo, N. (2015). India's Digital Poll Battle: Political Parties and Social Media in the 16th Lok Sabha Elections -. *Studies in Indian Politics*. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/2321023015601743>
- Kapur, D., Mehta, P. B., & Vaishnav, M. (2018). *Rethinking public institutions in India*. Oxford University Press.
- Kautsky, J. H. (1956). *Moscow and the Communist Party of India: A Study in the Postwar Evolution of International Communist Strategy*. The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Keefer, P., & Khemani, S. (2004). Why do the poor receive poor services? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 935–943.
- Khemani, S. (2003). *Partisan politics and intergovernmental transfers in India*. The World Bank.
- Kitschelt, H., & Wilkinson, S. I. (2007). *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kohli, A. (1998). India Defies the Odds: Enduring Another Election. *Journal of Democracy*, 9(3), 7–20. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.1998.0047>
- Kondo, N. (2007). *Election Studies in India*. IDE Discussion Paper, 98, 21.
- Kothari, R. (1964). The Congress 'System' in India. *Asian Survey*, 4(12), 58–72.
- Kumar, S. (2004). Impact of Economic Reforms on Indian Electorate. *EPW*, 39, 1621–1630.
- Kumar, S. (2009). Patterns of Political Participation: Trends and Perspective. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(39), 47–51.
- Kumar, S., Sardesai, S., & Gupta, P. (2013). The weakening of electoral anti-incumbency. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 128–131.

- Kushner, D. (2015). How Indian Parties Connect Voters to Leaders: Hearing Voters. *Asian Survey*, 55(5), 969–990. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2015.55.5.969>
- Lama-Rewal, S. (2016). Political representation in India: Enlarging the perspective. *India Review*, 15(2), 163–171. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736489.2016.1165552>
- Lijphart, A. (1997). Unequal participation: Democracy's unresolved dilemma presidential address, American Political Science Association, 1996. *American Political Science Review*, 91(1), 1–14.
- Lodha, S. (2009). Rajasthan: Performance and Campaigning Pay Dividends. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 186–190.
- Manor, J. (2007). Change in Karnataka over the last generation: Villages and the wider context. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 653–660.
- Martin, N. (2020). Enforcing political loyalties in local elections: An ethnographic account from Punjab. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 58(1), 63–81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662043.2020.1700019>
- Mitra, S. K., & Schöttli, J. (2016). India's 2014 General Elections. *Asian Survey*, 56(4), 605–628. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2016.56.4.605>
- Nehru, J. (2008). *Discovery of India*. Penguin UK.
- Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Osborne, M. J., & Slivinski, A. (1996). A model of political competition with citizen-candidates. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 111(1), 65–96.
- Overstreet, G. D., & Windmiller, M. (1959). *Communism In India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Pai, S. (1994). CASTE AND COMMUNAL MOBILIZATION IN THE ELECTORAL POLITICS OF UTTAR PRADESH. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 55(3), 307–320. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41855702>
- Palmer, N. D. (1967). India's Fourth General Election. *Asian Survey*, 7.
- Palmer, N. D. (1975). *Elections and Political Development: The South Asian Experience*. Durham, NC: Duke University.
- Palshikar, S. (2014). The making of a “neo-Hindu” democracy. *Seminar*, 665, 37–41. [http://www.india-seminar.com/2015/665/665\\_suhas\\_palshikar.htm](http://www.india-seminar.com/2015/665/665_suhas_palshikar.htm)
- Palshikar, S. (2018). Towards Hegemony: BJP beyond Electoral Dominance | *Economic and Political Weekly*. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 53(33). <https://www.epw.in/journal/2018/33/indias-democracy-today/towards-hegemony.html>
- Palshikar, S., Kumar, S., & Lodha, S. (2017). Electoral politics in India: The resurgence of the Bharatiya Janata Party.
- Palshikar, S., & Suri, K. C. (2017). India's Second Dominant Party System. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 52(11), 7–8. <https://www.epw.in/journal/2017/11/web-exclusives/indias-second-dominant-party-system.html>
- Palshikar, S., Suri, K. C., & Yadav, Y. (2014). *Party Competition in Indian States: Electoral Politics in Post-Congress Polity*. OUP.
- Pandita, R. (2015). Public Participation in the General Elections of India: An Overview since 1951. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, 64, 17–34. <https://www.learntechlib.org/p/177147/>
- Park, R., L. (1952). India's General Election ` . *Far Eastern Survey*.

- Pathy, J. (1979). *Election Studies in India: An Evaluation* by Iqbal Narain, K. C. Pande, M. L. Sharma and Hansa Rajpal. Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1978. *Social Scientist*, 8(3), 73–78. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3520395>
- Paul, S., & Vivekananda, M. (2004). Holding a mirror to the new Lok Sabha. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 4927–4934.
- Pehl, M. (2010). *Regionalization and Institutionalization: Dimensions of Multi-level Party System Change in India* [PhD Thesis].
- Pradhan, A. (2015). SCIENTIFIC AND POLITICAL DEBATES RELATED TO THE STUDY OF ELECTIONS IN INDIA. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4(4), 15–30. <http://paper.researchbib.com/view/paper/47749>
- Rajni, K. (1988). *State against Democracy: In Search of Humane Governance*. Ajanta Publication.
- Ranganathan, M. (2014a). Indian elections, 2014: Commercial media pushes social media into focus. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 24(1), 23–38.
- Ranganathan, M. (2014b). Indian elections, 2014: Commercial media pushes social media into focus. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 24(1), 23–38.
- Rodden, J., & Wilkinson, S. (2005). The shifting political economy of redistribution in the Indian federation.
- Roy, R., & Paul Wallace (Eds). (2000). *Indian Politics and the 1998 Election: Regionalism, Hindutva and State Politics*. SAGE.
- Rubinoff, A. G. (1998). The decline of India's parliament. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 4(4), 13–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572339808420571>
- Saeed, S. (2014). Consent or coercion: 2014 election in India as a media conquest. *ElectIon*, 31.
- Sainath, P. (2010). Paid news undermining democracy: Press Council report. *The Hindu*, 21.
- Samuel, J. E., & Ahmed, B. (1978). *Citizens and Politics: Mass Political Behavior in India*. University of Chicago Press.
- SCHWARTZ, S. (1952). Communism and the Indian Election. *The American Scholar*, 21(4), 433–442. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41206944>
- Selvaraj, M. S. (2014). The Online Public in India: An analysis of BJP's Online Election Campaign. *Journal of Media and Social Development*. [https://www.academia.edu/11666131/The\\_Online\\_Public\\_in\\_India\\_An\\_Analysis\\_of\\_the\\_BJP's\\_Social\\_Media\\_Use\\_in\\_the\\_2014\\_Elections](https://www.academia.edu/11666131/The_Online_Public_in_India_An_Analysis_of_the_BJP's_Social_Media_Use_in_the_2014_Elections)
- Sen, A. (1983). India: The Doing and the Undoing. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 237–240.
- Shaffer, F. C. (2006). *Vote Buying: Who, What, When and How?* B: Lynne Rienner.
- SHAH, G. (2010). Beyond Caste Voting: Modasa, Gujarat Revisited. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(4), 54–61. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25664045>
- Shastri, S., Suri, K. C., & Yadav, Y. (2009). *Electoral politics in Indian states: Lok Sabha elections in 2004 and beyond*. Oxford University Press.
- Sircar, N. (2014). *A Tale of Two Villages: Kinship Networks and Preference Formation in Rural India*. International Growth Centre, LSE, LONDON., 38.
- Smets, K., & van Ham, C. (2013a). The embarrassment of riches? A meta-analysis of individual-level research on voter turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 344–359. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2012.12.006>
- Smets, K., & van Ham, C. (2013b). The embarrassment of riches? A meta-analysis of individual-level research on voter turnout. *Electoral Studies*, 32(2), 344–359. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2012.12.006>
- Sridharan, E. (2005). *Coalition strategies and the BJP's expansion, 1989–2004*. Commonwealth

- & Comparative Politics, 43(2), 194–221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662040500151093>
- Sridharan, E. (2014). Class Voting in the 2014 Lok Sabha Elections. 39, 6.
- Srinivas, M N. (1951). The Social Structure of a Mysore Village. *The Economic Weekly*, 1051–1056.
- Srinivas, Mysore Narasimhachar. (1957). Caste in modern India. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 16(4), 529–548.
- Srinivas, Mysore Narasimhachar. (1994). *The dominant caste and other essays*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Strömbäck, J. (2008). Four phases of mediatization: An analysis of the mediatization of politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(3), 228–246.
- Subramanian, A. d. (2009, April 17). The India Vote [News Magazine webstie]. *Wall Street Journal*. <https://www.piie.com/commentary/op-eds/india-vote>
- Suri, K. C. (2004). Democracy, economic reforms and election results in India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 5404–5411.
- Suri, K. C. (2009). The Economy and Voting in the 15th Lok Sabha Elections. *EPW*, 44,(39), 64–70.
- Suri, S. (1962). Towards a Theory of Indian Politics-Some Implications of the Results of the General Election. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 14(48), 7–8. <https://www.epw.in/journal/1962/48/special-articles/towards-theory-indian-politics-some-implications-results-general>
- Swanson, D. L., & Mancini, P. (1996). *Politics, media, and modern democracy: An international study of innovations in electoral campaigning and their consequences*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Tawa Lama-Rewal, S. (2009). Studying Elections in India: Scientific and Political Debates. *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.4000/samaj.2784>
- Thachil, T. (2014). Elite Parties and Poor Voters: Theory and Evidence from India. *American Political Science Review*, 108(2), 454–477. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055414000069>
- THAKURTA, P. G. (2009). Making sense of anti-incumbency. *Seminar*, 596. [https://www.india-seminar.com/2009/596/596\\_paranjoy\\_guha\\_thakurta.htm](https://www.india-seminar.com/2009/596/596_paranjoy_guha_thakurta.htm)
- Thakurta, P. G., & Reddy, S. K. (2010). *Paid News”: How Corruption in the Indian Media Undermines Democracy*. Press Council of India, New Delhi.
- Thomas, P. N. (2010). *Political economy of communications in India: The good, the bad and the ugly*. SAGE Publications India.
- Thompson, J. B. (1995). *The media and modernity: A social theory of the media*. Stanford University Press.
- Tillin, L. (2015). Indian elections 2014: Explaining the landslide. *Contemporary South Asia*, 23(2), 117–122. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09584935.2015.1030354>
- Tiwari, R. K. (2018). *Political Parties, Party Manifestos and Elections in India, 1909–2014*. Taylor & Francis.
- Vaishnav, M. (2012). *The Merits of Money and “Muscle”: Essays on Criminality, Elections and Democracy in India* (p. 290) [PhD Thesis]. Columbia University.
- Vaishnav, M. (2017). Ethnic Identifiability in India. *Asian Survey*, 57(4), 738–763. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2017.57.4.738>
- Vaishnav, M., & Swanson, R. (2015). Does Good Economics Make for Good Politics? Evidence from Indian States. *India Review*, 14(3), 279–311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14736489.2015.1066>

- Varshney, A. (2007). India's Democratic Challenge. *Foreign Affairs*, 86(2), 93–106. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20032286>
- Varshney, A. (2014). India's Watershed Vote: Hindu Nationalism in Power? *Journal of Democracy*, 25(4), 34–45. <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/indias-watershed-vote-hindu-nationalism-in-power/>
- VERMA, R. (2009). Dalit Voting Patterns. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44(39), 95–98. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25663603>
- Verma, R., & Sardesai, S. (2014). Does Media Exposure Affect Voting Behaviour and Political Preferences in India? *EPW*, 39, 7.
- Wallace, P. (Ed.). (2020). *India's 2019 elections: The Hindutva wave and Indian nationalism*. SAGE Publishing.
- Weiner, Myon. (1957). *Party politics in India*. Princeton University Press.
- Weiner, Myon, & Kothari, R. (1965). *Indian Voting Behaviour: Studies of the 1962 General Elections*. Calcutta: KLM.
- Weiner, Myron. (1968). *State Politics in India*. Princeton University Press.
- Weiner, Myron. (1978). *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. Princeton University Press.
- Wendy, S. (2007). 'A Constituency Suitable for Ladies' And Other Social Histories of Indian Elections,. Oxford University Press.
- Willnat, L., & Annette, A. (2009). *Elections in India: One Billion People and Democracy* (p. 19).
- Wyatt, A. (2014). India in 2013: Braced for an Election. *Asian Survey*, 54(1), 151–164. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2014.54.1.151>
- Wyatt, A. (2015). India in 2014: Decisive National Elections. *Asian Survey*, 55(1), 33–47. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2015.55.1.33>
- Yadav, Y. (1996). *Reconfiguration in Indian Politics*. 10.
- Yadav, Y. (1999). Electoral Politics in the Time of Change: India's Third Electoral System, 1989-99. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 34(34/35), 2393–2399. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4408334>
- Yadav, Y. (2004). The Elusive Mandate of 2004. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 39(51), 5383–5398. JSTOR. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4415921>
- Yadav, Y., & Palshikar, S. (2003). From hegemony to convergence: Party system and electoral politics in the Indian states, 1952-2002. *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, 15(1), 5–44.
- Yadav, Y., & Palshikar, S. (2009). Between Fortuna and Virtu: Explaining the Congress' Ambiguous Victory in 2009. *EPW*, 44(39), 33–46.
- Ziegfeld, A. (2015). Candidate Characteristics in Indian Elections: Who Wins Votes? *Asian Survey*, 55(5), 1018–1043. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2015.55.5.1018>
- Ziegfeld, Adam. (2012). Coalition Government and Party System Change: Explaining the Rise of Regional Political Parties in India. *Comparative Politics*, 45(1), 69–87. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041512802822905>
- Ziegfeld, Adam. (2013). Are higher-magnitude electoral districts always better for small parties? *Electoral Studies*, 32(1), 63–77.
- Ziegfeld, Adam, & Tudor, M. (2017). How opposition parties sustain single-party dominance: Lessons from India. *Party Politics*, 23(3), 262–273.