

## DECLINE OF CONGRESS IN INDIAN POLITICS: 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.

### Manuscript Info

Submission: 13-10-2019

Acceptance: 29-10-2019

Publication: 05-01-2020

### Keywords

Bhartiya Janata Party, National Democratic Alliance, United Progressive Alliance, Indian National Congress, Trinamool Congress, National Congress Party

### ABSTRACT

The fall of Rajiv Gandhi government and the emergence of the coalition era are associated with the decline of the Congress and the rise of the Post-Congress polity. Since 1989, the life of the post-Congress polity has so far undergone two phases. Its first phase was quit naturally categorized by a halting evolution of coalition politics, clumsy uncertainty of political configurations supplemented by unstable and short lived governments in centre and states. The second phase of post-Congress polity saw semblance of order and stability when the Vajpayee led Jumbo coalition government of 24 parties National Democratic Alliance (NDA) completed its five years term and Bhartiya Janata Party majority governments of Narendra Modi led (NDA) effectively serving the country. This phase also saw political adjustments in the form of two alliances BJP-led NDA and Congress-led United Progressive Alliance, also confirmed that power alternated only between them at the all India level. The outcome of the 16th and 17th Lok Sabha elections thus remains a part of the post-Congress polity and yet takes the logic of post Congress polity much farther and perhaps in a different direction, the Congress is reduced to a very minute position during (Modi era) in the Lok Sabha. The performance of the BJP was very inspirational. The Congress party, running the UPA for two terms (2004 and 2009) and as such the decade-long occupation of office brought many rejections to the party. The non-political control of the government, the uncooperative split of governmental power and party power, the uncertainty within the Congress over policy direction and political strategy, the suicidal response of the UPA to the anti-corruption movement, all direct attention to the debit of politics from which the party was suffering. In the context of national politics, virtually every non-NDA political party is looking for an alternative to the Modi. Parties like the Trinamool Congress, Biju Janata Dal, DMK, Left Parties, TDP, TRS, RJD, NCP, Samajwadi party, Bhahujan Samaj Party, NCP, AAP and others are completely upset with Congress national leader Rahul Gandhi's capability to take on the Modi government, on the Muslim women (Protection of Rights on marriage) Act 2019, to amending the constitution's temporary Article 370 on J&K, restructuring the medical education regulatory system, CAA, NRC, NPR, national security, slowdown of economy, foreign affairs, and a range of other issues.

### I. INTRODUCTION

The entry of India into Modern Political pitch started with the formation of the Indian National Congress, on 27<sup>th</sup> of the December 1885 by a retired civil servant of the British Administrations from Poona Allan Octavian Hume who was a British citizen (Seshadri, 1986). Lord Dufferin granted the permission for the formation of the Indian National Congress and he was very aware of the social consciousness, which had put down India and by his promising gesture, he wanted to meet the challenges of the elite and to recognize their work in the sphere of social uplift (Hasan, 1979). The INC promoted social uplift with the support and help of the British and to be a forum for promoting friendly relations among the

educated class. A.O. Hume out of the 18 persons who held the office of the president of the Congress in its different sessions, four were Englishman, George Yule (1888), Sir William Wedderburn (1889), Alfred Webb (1894) and Sir Henry Cotton (1904) they were bound to be loyal to British government in India as their own benefits were involved in continuation of the rule. The leaders, who were responsible for shaping the policy and program of the Congress during the first two decades of its presence (1885-1905) came from the higher sections of society and most of them were the products of western education (Dass, 1998).

The year 1905 was remarkable in the history of political extremism in the country. Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal into two parts. The nationalists provided a new facet to India's struggle for freedom. The old mendicant policy of the Congress was rejected by the new generation of leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Lala Laj Pat Rai and Aurobindo Ghose. In December, 1906 marked the establishment of an open split between the 'old party' of the veteran conservatives and the new party of the nationalist or the extremists, led by Tilak in the twenty second session of the Congress held in Calcutta. After a long political career of thirty five years of the INC in the freedom struggle, the first non-cooperation movement in 1920 with the initiative of Mahatma Gandhi and many other leaders were conducted (Bakshi, 1985). In 1930 the independence pledge drawn up, the committee thus decided to issue the following new pledge for the Independence Day on 26<sup>th</sup> January 1938, and defined in some detail the moral and material harm done to India by British imperialism (Chatter's, 1999). The Congress which united diverse classes and social groups of India's multi-structural in social class's terms also in the new conditions (Chicherov, 1985). Jawahar Lal Nehru expressed that India's social structure was distinguished by great 'resilience' ideal stability and moral ingenuity (Parekh, 1995).

INC forced British ruler for the freedom of India, on the eve of India's independence (1947) one of the major question that INC faced was whether or not the INC had successfully, albeit at the great cost won freedom for India, must be dissolved. The question became all the more pressing since Mahatma Gandhi advocated its closure. His thought, keep the Congress out of insalubrious competition with political parties and communal bodies and allow it 'flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh and work for the social moral and economic independence of the country in terms of its 6,00,000 villages. Most of the members of the Congress high command were not convinced of the conception of politics that Mahatma Gandhi's

advice to disband the Congress party (Roy, 1987). The post-independence, Congress dominated Indian politics (except 1977-79) for four decades. It had been disowned by the entire national excepting a few southern states. After emergency Congress had lost 1977 general elections by multiparty association named Janata Party, that elections only southern states saved the existence of the Congress party. Excluding the brief period of Janata Party rule Congress leading India's centre government till 1989, the opposition parties have to identify that, their struggle against the Congress is not over. The political competition in India is around ideologies issues and regional multiplicities (Bhambhri, 1992).

The reign of the Congress had been a differentiating feature of the India's party system, both before and after the splitting. The Congress had faced no real challenge from outside itself. Even before independence, different political parties or groups existed with in the Congress. During Nehru's period only opposition party that took up office in a state was Communist Party at (1957-59) in Kerala state but it was sacked from office in the wake of the liberations movement in the state, the Congress controls entire Indian states till 1967. In 1967 Congress has lost major eight states to the opposition parties and Congress conflict became intensified, on 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1969 the INC formally split when Mrs. Indira Gandhi was debarred by the working committee by a majority of one, and her government has lost its majority in the Lok Sabha and government depend on the outside support of CPI, DMK and other small parties (Wallace, 2003).

After the Congress split, she took strong and more popular step, eliminate the privy purses and ICS privileges and her clash with the judiciary over the privy purses issue brought her mass support and she decided to dissolve fourth Lok Sabha in the midway, soon after its winter session in 1970 and fresh mid-term elections were held in 1971 (Limaye, 1999). In this election Indira Gandhi won big majority in the Lok Sabha and form the

government, in 1972 assemblies elections she snatched all the states from opposition parties and maintained Congress supremacy in Indian politics lasts for about six years, the two events that shaped the politics of this period were the 1967 elections and the split in the Congress party in 1969. The 1967 elections indicated the end of Congress system a polity generally dominated by one party (Frankel, 1999). The weakening of Congress supremacy at the centre and in states builds conditions of country wide political instability. Bihar suffered the most witnessing nine coalition governments' three spells of President's rule and a mid-term election between 1967 and 1972. Consensus, which had provided the framework for the resolution of conflicts, became a casualty in the contest for the administrative mechanism of the Congress party.

Indira Gandhi is among the resilient leader of independent India. She had to break free from the dominion of the old guard and carve her own path. Her quest to assert herself culminated in the Emergency (1975-77) and its excesses. The defeat in the 1977 elections, modesty and quiet self-esteem in wilderness and her comeback in 1980, showed she was made of sterner stuff, a sight of which was to be had during the 1971 war to liberate Bangladesh and peaceful nuclear explosion experiment (PNEE) of May 18, 1974 which declared to the world the rise of a sixth nuclear weapon power. Around 1973-74 a student's agitation against Indira Gandhi led by Gandhian socialist Jayaprakash Narayan called 'Yuvashakti' coming from diverse shades of ideologies, student leaders, many of whom went on to rise in national and state politics helped coordinate protests not only during the emergency but months before. The Congress party has been beaten at the parliamentary elections starting with 1977; it experienced setbacks in 1989, 1996 and 2014. In fact, the 1996 and 2014 defeat confirmed its consequent incapability to gain power in two more elections. It must also be borne in mind that the 1977 and 1989 defeats took place under the leadership of much stronger

leaders (Indira and Rajiv Gandhi) who were themselves leading the government. The 1989 defeat as the creation of the post-Congress polity, the 1977 defeat itself marked the sharp weakening in the ability of the Congress party to continue its hegemonic hold over the polity. The two defeats of 1977 and 1989 brought about structural changes in the arena of competitive politics in India. In both 1977 and 1989, various non-Congress parties came together to ensure that the Congress was beaten within the framework of the simple multitude (First-Past-the-Post (FPTP) system (Suhas, 2014).

During the 1990s, along with structural changes in the system of party's competition, the process of social reconfiguration motivated by major whipping in terms of social blocs getting redefined and inclining to readjust also began to take shape. The last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, observed the steady decline of the Congress party as the dominant formation in Indian Politics (Hansen, *et al.* 1998). In this period major change occurred in India such as declaration of Dalit politics, the emergence of the right wingers and liberalization of the economy have resulted in rise of local regional and state parties (Rangarajan, 2005). As a results 9<sup>th</sup> General Elections 1989 to 15<sup>th</sup> General Election 2009 witnessed the growth of regional parties and the regionalization of national politics, but the rise of the Bhartiya Janata Party as the single largest party in three Lok Sabha Elections (1996, 1997 and 1999) showed the complete decline of the Congress party in Indian politics (Ahuja, 2000). The general elections of 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha 2014 and 17<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha 2019 observed the steady decline of the Congress party with 44 and 51 seats. In this sense the 2014 and 2019 defeat are the party's worst ever defeat so far. In 2009 General Election the party polled 29 percent of the votes and 206 seats so with in five year it last 160 seats.



**Table 1: Seats Won and Votes Secured by the Congress in different Elections since 1984**

Year	Total Seats	Turnout	Congress	
			Won	Vote
1984	542	64.07	415	48.01
1989	529	61.95	194	39.53
1991	537	55.88	244	36.64
1996	543	57.94	140	28.80
1998	543	61.97	141	25.82
1999	543	59.99	114	28.30
2004	543	58.07	145	26.53
2009	543	58.20	206	28.55
2014	543	66.44	44	19.31
2019	543	67.1	51	19.6

*Source: CSDS Data Unit*

Table 1 shows the performance of the Congress since its decline began in 1989. It is clear from the table that in the entire period of last 30 years, the Congress was never able to improve from its down slide except in 2009. In 2019 general elections, once again the collapse the Congress as a pan-India party was seen. The congress did put up a forceful fight and yet it failed to slow down the Modi juggernaut. Its enormous underachievement means a depletion of disagreement ranks and voices in the Lok Sabha, just as in the 1990s, in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections too, Congress has not only failed to secure robust vote share, it has failed to retain any social character and the other outstanding thing about the Congress is that its performance at the state level is the real cause for worry for the party. In state like Assam, Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra the party has been in and out. Since 1984, the party has been constantly unable to withstand itself as an electoral force in the state. There is not even a single state in which the Congress sincerely improved in the post-1989 period.

## II. HOW CONGRESS VOTES HAVE SHIFTED TO DOMINANT REGIONAL AND STATE POLITICS

Apart from the Congress party electoral downfall in national elections (1989, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2014 and now in 2019) one trend that is becoming apparent is that Indian polity has undergone a fundamental change from the Congress at pole

position to strong, regional satraps and Bharatiya Janata Party (especially in the post-mandal and Kamandalra and most of state parties grew at the expense of the Congress) who existed along with the Congress, to strong regional satraps that now co-exist with the BJP in national level. Almost every non-BJP led-NDA political party is looking for an alternative to Modi. Parties like the Trinamool Congress, Biju Janata Dal, DMK, Bahujan Samaj Party, TDP, RTS, left parties and others are completely dissatisfied with Congress national leader Rahul's capability to national and regional issues, economy, internal security, foreign affairs, vigilantism and a range of other public issues. The deep-seated anti-Congressism has existed for decades when the grand old party was in power and the Congress task of leading from the front has been more hopeful than based on ground realities. So far, the regional parties have had their own problems. Without a national party like the Congress, they do not stand much of a chance to take on the Modi government on foreign policy, defense and economic issues. The Modi government, despite its many admirable accomplishments over five years, gave pivotal mandate to Modi Majboot Sarkar not since 1980, when the Congress sought votes in Indira Gandhi name and her successes had a political party given primary to an individual leader and his presumed transformational leadership, over and above any other calculus, it show again in 2019 general elections Modi leadership, Hindutva and nationalism has pushed Nehruvian secularism to the margins of Indian politics, the Congress, led by Nehru's great grandson Rahul Gandhi, did better than in 2014, but not enough to even be renowned as the official opposition in the Lok Sabha.

The rise of Hindutva since the 1990s had a parallel a new wave of backward caste mobilization in parts of northern and western India. The Congress used to be the umbrella party of OBC, Dalit, ST and Muslim voters for a long time. Now regional and state parties have strong support base of these sections and the Muslims have shifted towards the dominant regional parties like the Trinmool

Congress, NCP, Samajwadi party, left parties, BSP, Aam Aadmi Party understanding they have potential to take on the BJP. The Muslim in Delhi Assembly election, who had usually voted the Congress, switched their pledge to the AAP deliberately in order to confirm the defeat of the BJP (Denzil, 2015). The competition was between the AAP and the BJP and the voting pattern so decisive that 63 of the 68 Congress candidates surrendered their deposits, which had ruled Delhi uninterruptedly for 15 years; this was a major setback (Lakshmi, 2020). The Congress leader Rahul Gandhi and Priyanka Vadra half-heartedly addressed a couple of meetings each (Purnima, 2020). The Congress has seen a theatrical decline. Its vote in the recently concluded election was lowest ever at 4.26 percent. At present voting pattern has also dismantled social justice. Politics in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, both states send 120 members to the Lok Sabha. The last time Bihar and U.P. had a Congress Chief Minister was 1990. In West Bengal, the third largest electoral state after U.P. and Maharashtra, the waiting list for the Congress is even longer. The party has not had a C.M. since the emergency ended in 1977. Tamil Nadu which vacillates between the two regional giants, the AIAMDK and the DMK, last saw a Congress C.M. 1967, when it was still called Madras state and yet to be named again as Tamil Nadu. The Congress may have, at one time or the other, ruled 18 of the current 28 states in the union when Indira Gandhi was the PM, but over the past three decades, its performance had dipped. In contrast, the BJP, which has, at one time or the other ruled 15 of the 28 individually and with alliance partner 18 out of 28 has seen its performance improve in the past 5 years (2014-18) Delhi once a Congress versus BJP battleground is now an AAP versus BJP phenomenon. This is a repeat of Odisha BJD versus BJP, in U.P. the BJP in pole position and the Samajwadi Party and Bhaujan Samajwadi Party in competition, in West Bengal the BJP and Trinamool, in Jammu and Kashmir NCP, PDP versus BJP. Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh

and Uttarakhand, the party competition has already alleviated around only two players and there was little the Congress could have done to alter.

There is a difference between the regional parties in south and north India while southern parties came with precise regional agenda of linguistic and culture identities, Dravidian politics in Tamil Nadu, Hindutva in Karnataka, linguistic, Political and cultural factors in West Bengal and Odisha and Northern Parties struggle for a larger role in national politics. The northern zone has seen a comparatively lower number of regionalist parties. Besides, the centre has always been linked with the north. The relatively greater homogeneity of the north in terms of language, history, culture, politics social and economic background has also not permitted the idea of being different to be manufactured. The competition space between the regionalist and non-regionalist states is very dissimilar. A regionalist agenda which gives important to a particular state, region, language culture and so on is often at odds with the framework of a polity-wide party. Regionalist parties basically make three types of claims. One, the so-called national parties are not addressing the interests of certain states and they can do it better, two regional or state pride, honor, culture, language and so on must be protected three, they make demands on the centre to relinquish power on certain subjects and areas (Kailash, 2014). In regionalist states the National Parties focused more on issues like development, work, good leadership and dishonesty free governance rather than positional issues like rearrangement centre-state relations and regional pride, many regional leaders like Uddhav Thackeray, M.K. Stalin, Chandrashekhar Rao and Naveen Patnaik are happy to be regional players. Just a regional satrap in the 1996-1998 united front eras had looked and opted for H.D. Deve Gowda and Inder Kumar Gujral type of Prime Minister, 2020 may be throw similar situation. The Congress party has to immediately recover this lost ground by confirming a return to its foundational Principle



that had won it the faith of millions in the past decades. Else it will face the prospect of extinction; other political association takes its place in the contestation with the country Principal party the BJP (Biju, 2015).

While Modi and Amit Shah have often talked about a 'Congress-Mukt Bharat' fatefully, the fact is that it is the BJP itself, which has become an updated more brutal and clearly more communal version of the Congress of the seventies and eighties. It is not a concurrence at all that a vast number of BJP MPs and MLA's are in fact former Congress operators who jumped ship to safeguard their personal welfares. The confrontation comes not only from those who fear they may be pensioned off, but also from those young leaders who do not see a future for themselves under the Congress leadership.

At present Congress President Sonia Gandhi has adopted the approach of allying with strong regional outfits and uniting the party's base in other states. The presence of the Nehru-Gandhi family at the head of the party is a big impediment to stitching a broad-based anti-Modi resistance front. There is no dearth of Congress leaders who feel that the leadership of such a front should be with the Congress, but Congress young leaders Rahul Gandhi and Priyanka Vadra, to rebuild the Congress is to work towards much better ideological precision, attract good people with political talent, be in regular touch with the grass roots workers and do actual street-level distresses on burning national issues. However, it is difficult to see the Congress leaders get back to power in next general elections, without a lot of coalition building and inclination to share power with regional players. If they fail other non-BJP political forces will have to rise to fill the slot of an effective national opposition (Satya, 2019). However, regional campaigners like Sharad Pawar, Mayawati, Akhilesh Yadav, Chandrababu Naidu, Chandra Shekher Rao and even Mamta Banerjee and Naveen Patnaik have an aversion towards the Sonia and Rahul Gandhi led Congress. In recent

part the AIADMK, TMC and BJD have given enough hints that their opposition to the NDA notwithstanding. They do not like playing second fiddle to the Congress.

### **III. RISE OF BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY AS PRINCIPAL PARTY**

In the outcome of the BJP's rise since 1989, and against the back drop of its emergence as the single largest party in 1996, 1998 and 1999 and majority party in 2014 and 2019 elections put forward the concept of a new social bloc' a loose coming together of groups united by relative economic and social privilege that were tending towards the B JP, urban rich and middle classes, upper castes and rising landed peasant castes. As they put it "*a new social coalition of various groups, that now lays claim to political power*" formed by the convergence of traditional caste-community differences and class difference, amalgamation of the middle-caste agrarian capitalists into BJP's fold either directly or via their regional parties as National Democratic Alliance (NDA) coalition partners of the BJP in many states (Sridharan, 2014). At their peak in 1999, there were 33 parties which represented 28 states. While the number of polity wide parties and cross-regional parties has remained stable there has been considerable decline in the number of state exemplified by cross-regional parties. The BJP's victory in the 2014 elections was remarkable for other reason as well since 1984, no party has had a clear parliamentary majority likewise, and no party has captured more than 30 percent of the total votes cast since 1991. The party won more than 50 percent of the votes in 137 seats and in another 132 seats it received more than 40 percent of vote share. The party won two out of every three seats it contested or 282 of the 428 seats of which is put up candidates (Rahul, *et al.* 2014).

While the BJP did get a majority on its own, its overall vote share was only 31 percent we must note 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). Thus the BJP's majority in the Lok Sabha is still based on a rather this electoral support base for the past three decades leaders from middle and backward castes became the face of the party at the state level too. Venakiah Naidu, A. Kamma and Bangaru Lxman, a dalit from Andhra Pradesh became party presidents. The party proposed leaders such as Uma Bharati (a Lodh) who became the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, followed by Shivraj Singh Chouhan (Kirar-caste) Sushil Kumar Modi depute C.M. in Bihar and Late Gopinath Munde (Vanjara caste) in Maharashtra. But this period also saw an uneasy co-existence of the upper castes and the backward castes in the BJP from whom the party drew support in almost an equal measure. The same upper castes that once supported the Congress vis-à-vis the middle and backward castes but now abandoned that in favor of the BJP.

The 2014 election saw a rejuvenation of the BJP's strategy to expand its electoral support among the OBCs and the dalits with a willpower to stage a comeback. This was epitomized by the rise of Modi in the party on the eve of elections to become its chief campaigner and the projected Prime Ministerial candidate. Modi more explicitly went on referring to his backward caste background. His insistent victory in Gujarat assembly elections of 2012, third time in a row, brought him to the centre stage of national politics. As the election campaign grew, Modi became very forceful in his references to political rights of the backward castes. He said that the BJP was no longer an upper caste party, he stressed his own lower caste origins and said, the next-decade will belong to the dalits and the backwards in 2019 general elections of Lok Sabha Modi has become the first Indian Prime Minister since 1971 to secure a single party majority twice in a row not since Indira Gandhi's back to back majorities in the 1967 and 1971 elections had an Indian leader accomplished such a feat (Suri *et al.* 2014 and Anonymous, 2019). Over the last four general elections in India, the leadership factor has been central to election

campaign. The BJP's strategy of declaring its Prime Ministerial candidate several months before the election provided the party an advantage over its principal rival, the Congress. The BJP consciously crafted its entire electoral campaign around Modi's personality (Reetika, *et al.* 2014).

#### IV. CONCLUSION

There are many factors for the decline of the Congress party since 1989, major changes occurred in India, for instance assertion of Dalit, backward class politics, emergency of the right wingers and liberalizations of the Indian economy have resulted in rise to local, state and regional parties and in national level the rise of Bharatiya Janata Party since 1989 and rise the single leading party in 1996, 1998 and 1999 and majority party in 2014, 2019 in the Lok Sabha became the national principal party in Indian politics instead of Congress which had ruled Indian since independence. The deep-seated anti-Congressism has been there for decades when the grand old party was in power and the Congress task of leading from the front has been more hopeful than based on ground realities.

#### REFERENCES

- Anonymous (2019). Narendra Modi's Landslide: Bad for India's Soul. *Mainstream*; 57(24):3.
- Ahuja, M. L. (2000). *Handbook of General Elections and Electoral Reforms*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Bakshi, S. R. (1985). *Swaraj Party and the Indian National Congress*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Bhambhri, C. P. (1992). *Politics in Indian 1991-92*. Delhi: Shipra Publications.
- Biju, M.R. (2015). *Political Significance of Aam Admi Party (AAP) and its Performance in Delhi Poll 2015*. *Mainstream*; 53(10):19-20.
- Chatter's, B. (1999). *Towards Freedom Documents on the Movement for Independence in India 1938*. Part-I, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Chicherov, A. (1985). *Jawahar Lal Nehru and the Indian National Congress*. New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

- Dass, H. H. (1998). *The History of Freedom Movement in India (1857-1947)*. New Delhi: National Publishing House.
- Denzil, F. (2015). AAP's Fairytale Political Journey. *Mainstream*; 53(10):11.
- Frankel, F. R. (1999). *Dominance and State Power in Modern India, Decline of a Social Order*, Vol. II, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hansen, T. B. and Jaffrelot, C. (1998). *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Hasan, M. (1979). *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications.
- Kailash, K. K. (2014). *Regional Parties in the 16<sup>th</sup> Lok Sabha Elections*. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 49(39):65-67.
- Lakshmi T. K. R. (2020). *Vote for Performance*. Frontline.
- Limaye, M. (1999). *Cabinet Government in India*. New Delhi: Radiant Publishers.
- Parekh, B. (1995). Jawahar Lal Nehru and the Crisis of Modernization In *Crisis and Change in Contemporary India* Upendra Baxi and Bhikhu Parekh (ed.). New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Purnima, T. S. (2020). Hate and Perish. *Frontline*: 17.
- Rahul, V. and Chhiber, P. (2014). *The BJP's 2014 Modi Wave*. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 49(39): 50-55.
- Rangarajan, M. (2005). *Polity in Transition, India after the 2004 General Elections*. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 40(32): 3600-3601.
- Reetika, S. and Shastri, S. (2014). *Leadership in Context*. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 69(39): 77-79.
- Roy, R. (1987). *Perspectives of Indian Politics*, Delhi: Discovery Publishing House.
- Satya, S. (2019). *Phantom of the Vedic Opera Returns in Indira*. *Mainstream*; 57(25):4-5.
- Seshadri, K. (1986). *Studies in Indian Party*. New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.
- Sridharan, E. (2014). *Class Voting in the 2014 Lok Sabha Elections*. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 49(39):73.
- Suhas, P. (2014). The defeat of the Congress. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 49(39): 57.
- Suri K.C. and Palshikar, S. (2014). *India's 2014 Lok Sabha Elections*. *Economic and Political Weekly*; 49(39): 43-47.
- Wallace, P. (2003). Introduction: The New National Party System and State Politics In *India's 1999 Elections and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Politics* Paul Wallace and Ramashray Roy (ed.). New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt. Ltd.