

Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

Module 5: Macro Report

Version: September 14, 2016

Country: **India**

Date of Election: **11 April 2019 – 19 May 2019 (7 phases in total)**

Phase I: **11 April 2019**

Phase II: **18 April 2019**

Phase III: **23 April 2019**

Phase IV: **29 April 2019**

Phase V: **6 May 2019**

Phase VI: **12 May 2019**

Phase VII: **19 May 2019**

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This version of the Macro Report is updated with information obtained in subsequent communication with the collaborators.

NOTES TO COLLABORATORS

- There are eight sections (numbered A-H inclusive) in this report. Please ensure that you complete all the sections.
- The information provided in this report contributes to the macro data portion of the CSES, an important component of the CSES project. The information may be filled out by yourself, or by an expert or experts of your choice. Your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated.
- Any supplementary documents that you can provide (e.g.: electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports, district data) are also appreciated, and may be made available on the CSES website.
- Answers should be as of the date of the election being studied.
- Where brackets [] appear, collaborators should answer by placing an “X” within the appropriate bracket or brackets. For example: [X]
- If more space is needed to answer any question, please lengthen the document as necessary.

A) DATA PERTINENT TO ELECTION AT WHICH MODULE WAS ADMINISTERED

1a. Type of Election:

- Parliamentary/Legislative
- Parliamentary/Legislative and Presidential
- Presidential
- Other; please specify: _____

1b. If the type of election in Question 1a included Parliamentary/Legislative, was the election for the Upper House, Lower House, or both?

- Upper House
- Lower House
- Both
- Other; please specify: _____

2a. What was the party of the president *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential? **NDA (BJP)**

2b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *prior* to the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary? **NDA (BJP)**

2c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".) Please also provide a website link to this data if possible.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
BJP	37
SAD	1
LJP	1

2d. What was the size of the cabinet *prior* to the election (i.e.: total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 2c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.

(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

- 3a. What was the party of the president *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was presidential? **NDA (BJP)**
- 3b. What was the party of the Prime Minister *after* the most recent election, regardless of whether the election was parliamentary? **NDA (BJP)**
- 3c. Report the number of cabinet ministers of each party or parties in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all"). Please provide a website link to this data if possible.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings. Please also list cabinet members that are 'independent'. If known, specify if the 'independents' are affiliated or close to certain parties).

Party Name	Number of cabinet positions
BJP	29
RLJP	1

- 3d. What was the size of the cabinet *after* the election (total number of cabinet ministers detailed in 3c)? Please include only full ministers and the prime minister in the count.
(Definition: Ministers are considered those members of government who are members of the Cabinet and who have voting rights at Cabinet meetings).

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- 4a. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **national level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.
(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

Election Commission of India: <https://eci.gov.in/>

- 4b. Please provide **a source** of data detailing the official election results at the **district level** (votes and seats) for **all** parties participating in the election. Please provide a website link to this data if possible. If the data is not available electronically, please provide the information in paper format.
(Note: There is no requirement to detail the results here. Instead, an official source where this data can be accessed is sufficient).

Election Commission of India: <https://eci.gov.in/>

- 4c. Can voters cast a ballot before Election Day(s)? (i.e.: Is early voting possible)?
 Yes, for the whole electorate
 Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

[X] No

4d. Can voters cast a ballot by mail?

[] Yes, for the whole electorate

[X] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below: **Non-resident Indians and active-duty military personnel**

[] No

4e. Can voters cast a ballot by the Internet?

[] Yes, for the whole electorate

[] Yes, but only for some of the electorate – please specify below:

[X] No

B) PARTY POSITIONS

5a. Ideological family of political parties: Please indicate the ideological party family for each party by using the numbered categories below. For this question, please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Note: Because India has state-specific party systems, with the list of competing parties varying from constituency to constituency, every constituency in the sample had its own mock ballot tailored to its specificities. Below we list only the major national parties and important state parties.

Party Name	Ideological Family
A. Indian National Congress	Liberal Parties
B. Bharatiya Janata Party	Conservative Parties
C. Bahujan Samaj Party - BSP	Ethnic Parties
D. Communist Party of India-Marxist - CPI(M)	Communist Parties
E. Communist Party of India – CPI	Communist Parties
F. Nationalist Congress Party – NCP	Regional Parties
G. Aam Aadmi Party – AAP	Others
H. Samajwadi Party - SP	Socialist Parties
I. Rashtriya Lok Dal – RLD	Regional Parties
J. Telugu Desam Party – TDP	Regional Parties
K. Janata Dal United - JD(U)	Socialist Parties
L. Rashtriya Janata Dal – RJD	Socialist Parties
M. Shiv Sena – SS	Conservative Parties
N. Shiromani Akali Dal – SAD	Conservative Parties
O. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - DMK	Regional Parties

P. All India Trinamool Congress - AITC/TMC	Regional Parties
The Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP or YCP)	Regional Party / Social Democratic

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation.)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Ecology Parties | (6) Liberal Parties | (11) Agrarian Parties |
| (2) Communist Parties | (7) Right Liberal Parties | (12) Ethnic Parties |
| (3) Socialist Parties | (8) Christian Democratic Parties | (13) Regional Parties |
| (4) Social Democratic Parties | (9) Conservative Parties | (14) Independents |
| (5) Left Liberal Parties | (10) National Parties | (15) Others |

5b: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? **2**

6a1. Ideological Positions of Parties: Please indicate party positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator(s)). Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Party Name	Left										Right	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
A. Indian National Congress					X							
B. Bharatiya Janata Party									X			
C. Bahujan Samaj Party - BSP				X								
D. Communist Party of India-Marxist - CPI(M)		X										
E. Communist Party of India – CPI		X										
F. Nationalist Congress Party – NCP						X						
G. Aam Aadmi Party – AAP								X				
H. Samajwadi Party - SP				X								
I. Rashtriya Lok Dal – RLD						X						
J. Telugu Desam Party – TDP						X						
K. Janata Dal United - JD(U)					X							
L. Rashtriya Janata Dal – RJD						X						
M. Shiv Sena – SS								X				
N. Shiromani Akali Dal – SAD							X					
O. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - DMK						X						
The Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP or YCP)							X					
All India Trinamool Congress - AITC/TMC							X					

6a2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? **2**

6a3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand

them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

The left-right ideological placement scale does not apply to Indian parties. See Chhibber & Verma 2019.

6b1. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension. Please use the same parties that were used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire, and label them the same way (A-I).

Not applicable

Name of dimension: _____
 Label for 0 position: _____
 Label for 10 position: _____

Party Name	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A.											
B.											
C.											
D.											
E.											
F.											
G.											
H.											
I.											

6b2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? **N/A**

6b3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

N/A

6c. Populist classification of parties: As Module 5 focuses in part on populism, please indicate the degree to which each of the parties (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator) can be characterized as a populist party? Please use the same parties used in the CSES Module 5 respondent questionnaire and label them the same way (A-I). The definition of populism advanced by the Module 5 theme committee is below:

DEFINITION: Populism can be defined as a thin-centred ideology that pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous ‘others’ who are depicted as depriving “the people” of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice. The emphasis on anti-elite/anti-establishment rhetoric and the contrast between the “pure people” and the “corrupt elite” are thus indications of the degree to which a party is populist. Populist parties can be found across the left-right ideological spectrum. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is “not at all populist” and 10 is “very populist”, where would you place each of the parties in your country?

Party Name	Not at all populist					Very populist					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A. Indian National Congress					X						
B. Bharatiya Janata Party										X	
C. Bahujan Samaj Party - BSP									X		
D. Communist Party of India-Marxist - CPI(M)		X									
E. Communist Party of India – CPI		X									
F. Nationalist Congress Party – NCP				X							
G. Aam Aadmi Party – AAP											X
H. Samajwadi Party - SP				X							
I. Rashtriya Lok Dal – RLD									X		
J. Telugu Desam Party – TDP							X				
K. Janata Dal United - JD(U)				X							
L. Rashtriya Janata Dal – RJD					X						
M. Shiv Sena – SS									X		
N. Shiromani Akali Dal – SAD				X							
O. Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam - DMK									X		
The Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP or YCP)								X			
All India Trinamool Congress - AITC/TMC							X				

6c2: How many country experts/national collaborators have assisted in the classification of parties on the above scale? **2**

6c3: We encourage collaborators to provide any further specific or relevant information (if applicable) regarding the above classifications which might help users of the data understand them to a greater extent. This information will be included in the CSES codebook. Please fill in below.

C) SALIENT ISSUES IN THE ELECTION

7. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g.: major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?
Note: Please rank the issues according to their salience (1 = most salient).

1. Jingoism following a terrorist incident in Kashmir which the Indian government blamed on Pakistan and then carried out a cross-border attack in retribution.
2. Consolidation of the Hindu vote behind the BJP
3. Economic aspirations and desire for economic growth
4. Prime Minister Modi's personal popularity
5. Failure of opposition parties to mount a unified front thereby splitting opposition votes

D) FAIRNESS OF THE ELECTION & ELECTION SCHEDULING

8a. How impartial was the body that administered the election law?

- Very impartial
- Mostly impartial
- Not very impartial
- Not impartial at all

8b. Was there a formal complaint against the national level results?

- Yes
- No

8c. Were there irregularities reported by international election observers?

- Yes
- No
- No international election observers

8d. On what date was the election originally legally scheduled to be held? **11-April-2019 through 19-May-2019 in 7 phases**

8e. On what date was the election actually held? If different from 8d, please explain why. **11-April-2019 through 19-May-2019 in 7 phases**

E) ELECTION VIOLENCE

9a. To what extent was there violence and voter or candidate intimidation **during** the election campaign and on the election day?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

9b. If there was violence, was it geographically concentrated or national?

- Geographically concentrated
- National

9c. To what extent was there violence following the election?

- No violence at all
- Sporadic violence on the part of the government
- Sporadic violence on the part of opposition groups
- Sporadic violence on all sides
- Significant violence on the part of the government
- Significant violence on the part of opposition groups
- Significant violence of all sides

9d. To what extent was there protest following the election?

- No protest at all
- Sporadic protest
- Significant protest

F) ELECTORAL ALLIANCES

10. Joint Lists/Candidates

There are multiple types of electoral alliances/coalitions, but we are specifically interested in those involving joint lists or candidates - i.e. those where parties compete as a unit during the election.

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

10a. Is this type of electoral coalition legally allowable?

Yes

No

10b. Is this type of electoral coalition used in practice, even if not legally allowable?

Yes

No

10c. If “Yes” was answered to either of the above questions, then please complete the following table for the election at which the Module was administered. Please mention only alliances that received at least 1% of the vote nationally. Add additional lines to the table as necessary.

Alliance Name	Participating Parties (please indicate dominant members with an “*”)
Alliance 1:	
Alliance 2:	
Alliance 3:	
Alliance 4:	
Alliance 5:	

11. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. (please mark all applicable responses)

- Yes, joint party lists must satisfy higher thresholds
- Yes, joint party lists may present different numbers of candidates
- Yes, joint party lists are subject to other regulations that are different from the regulations governing independent parties; please specify: _____
- No, joint parties are governed by the same rules as the other parties
- Not applicable; no joint party lists are allowed

12a. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?

- Yes
- No

12b. If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements: **N/A**

- lists of the same party in the same constituency
- lists of the same party from different constituencies
- lists of different parties in the same constituency

13a. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?

- Yes
- No

13b. If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

- No
- No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper
- Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties
- Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing him/her, each time with the name of the endorsing party
- Yes, other; please explain: _____

G) ELECTORAL INSTITUTIONS

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

Please note: Questions 15a through 21d must be repeated for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature.

Electoral Tier (Segment) and House

14a. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which electoral tier (segment) is being referred to? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Parliamentary constituency (PC) for the Lok Sabha

14b. In your answers for questions 15a through 21d, which house is being referred to (lower or upper)? (Note: Countries with only one tier may skip this question.)

Lok Sabha (lower house)

Questions about Voting

15a. How many votes do voters cast or can cast? In systems where voters rank order the candidates, if there are 10 candidates (for example), the response to this question should be 10.

1

15b. Do they vote for candidates (not party lists) or party lists? (Note: Collaborators may select multiple answers, if appropriate.)

(Definition: Party bloc voting is used in multi-member districts where voters cast a single party-centered vote for their party of choice; the party with the most votes wins all of the district seats.)

Candidates

Party Lists

Party Bloc Voting

Other; please explain: _____

15c. How many rounds of voting are there? **1**

15d. If there are lists, are they closed, open, flexible, or is there party bloc voting? **No lists**

Closed (order of candidates elected is determined by the party and voters are unable to express preference for a particular candidate)

Open (voters can indicate their preferred party and their favored candidate within that party)

Flexible (voters can allocate votes to candidates either within a single party list or across different party lists as they see fit)

16. Are the votes transferable?

(Definition: In systems with preferential voting, a voter can express a list of preferences. E.g., votes can be cast by putting a '1' in the column next to the voter's preferred candidate, a '2' beside their second favorite candidate and so on. Votes are counted according to the first preferences and any candidates who have achieved the predetermined quota are elected. To decide which of the remaining candidates are elected the votes are transferred from candidates who have more than the necessary number to achieve the quota and from the candidate with the least number of votes. An example of this is the election in Ireland in 2002.)

Yes

No

17. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

(Definition: Cumulative voting refers to systems in which voters are allowed to cast more than one vote for a single candidate.)

Yes

No

18. Is voting compulsory?

(Definition: Voting is compulsory if the law states that all those who have the right to vote are obliged to exercise that right.)

Yes; Strictly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Weakly Enforced Sanctions

Yes; Without Sanction for Violation

No

19. Please list and describe any other features of voting that should be noted.

- None of the Above (NOTA) is an option available on all ballots

Questions about Converting Votes into Seats

20a. Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats?

Yes

No

20b. If YES in Question 21a, what is the threshold? **N/A**

20c. If YES in Question 21a, what is the unit for the threshold mentioned in Question 21b? **N/A**

Percent of total votes

Percent of valid votes

Percent of the total electorate

Other; please explain: _____

20d. If YES in Question 21a, please specify to what House/ Electoral Tier (Segment) the threshold(s) apply.

Please repeat questions 15a through 21d for each electoral tier (segment) of each directly elected house of the legislature. Countries with only one tier should proceed to Question 22.

H) References

21. Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described. Include website links if applicable.

Chhibber, Pradeep K., and Rahul Verma. 2018. *Ideology and identity: The changing party systems of India*. Oxford University Press.

Chhibber, Pradeep, and Rahul Verma. 2019. "The rise of the second dominant party system in India: BJP's new social coalition in 2019." *Studies in Indian Politics* 7 (2): 131-148.

Jaffrelot, Christophe, and Gilles Verniers. 2020. "A new party system or a new political system?" *Contemporary South Asia*, 28 (2): 141-154.

Nooruddin, Irfan, and Pradeep K. Chhibber. 2008. Unstable politics: Fiscal space and electoral volatility in the Indian states. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41 (8):1069-1091.

Palshikar, Suhas, Sanjay Kumar, and Sanjay Lodha, eds. 2017. *Electoral politics in India: The resurgence of the Bharatiya Janata party*. Taylor & Francis.

Ziegfeld, Adam. 2016. *Why regional parties?* Cambridge University Press.